

## **Socio-Psychological Factors Affecting Heritage Language Education: A Case Study of Chinese American Adolescents**

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### **Abstract**

This article analyzes the socio-psychological factors affecting heritage language education among six second-generation Chinese American adolescents. Grounded in the framework of *Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC)* and *investment*, it explores how Chinese heritage language learners make both ideological and instrumental investment across various settings. The case study illuminates that Chinese American children's various investments mediate between their identity construction, and linguistic and socio-cultural development: it is within the INLC that individual learners come up with various degrees of commitment to language learning (investment); as a result of the individual's investment in phenomenological experiences, the linguistic aptitude/competence along with vitality beliefs and ethnic identification becomes the basis for the individual's language behaviors, which in turn influences the quality and quantity of the ethnolinguistic experiences. In particular, their investment in idiomatic expressions, peer-mediated interactions, and media-based contacts play significant roles in the co-construction of linguistic competence and socio-cultural development.

Like other immigrant populations, Chinese American children are torn between assimilation and ethnicity and between mainstream American and Chinese identities. Changed from sojourners to settlers after World War II, Chinese Americans are undergoing more intense

acculturation than ever before (Chang, 2003; Lai, 2004; Tong 2003). Acquiring at least the rudiments of Chinese language and culture is not a necessary skill for survival in American society. Some parents and students even consider learning Chinese as impediments to mainstream education. How to retain heritage language and culture, thus, becomes one of the biggest challenges facing Chinese American children. This article aims to analyze the socio-psychological factors affecting heritage language education among second-generation Chinese American adolescents. First, I will briefly overview heritage language education among the Chinese Diaspora. Second, I will discuss two concepts, *Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC)* and *investment*, as my theoretical framework. This is followed by an introduction of the research context, and the methodologies and procedures of data collection and data analysis. Then, I will investigate how these heritage language learners make both ideological and instrumental investment in idiomatic expressions, peer interactions, and media-based contacts. This paper is concluded with a synthesis of the major findings as well as its educational implications for future studies.

### **Heritage Language Education among the Chinese Diaspora**

Chinese heritage language education has been an abiding interest to researchers. Some studies are centered on Chinese immigrants' general attitudes towards learning and use of the Chinese language.

Wong (1992), through a comparative study of the education of Chinese children in Britain and the United States, finds that Chinese parents in both countries attach great importance to Chinese language education, because they regard language as a highly salient dimension of ethnic identity. In another empirical study of Chinese groups' attitudes toward heritage language in Australia, Smolicz (1992) finds that most Chinese immigrants regard Chinese language as core values of ethnic cultures. In particular, he argues that the appreciation of the importance of Mandarin as the written language acts as a unifying cultural force for all Chinese people and represents an integral part of Chinese identity.

Since community-based language schools are committed to teaching ethnic language and cultural practices, as well as enhancing identity (Fishman, Nahirny, Hoffman, & Hayden, 1966), the Chinese heritage language school is the most commonly discussed topic. Some studies have analyzed the role of Chinese schools from a historical perspective (Lai, 2004; Tong, 2003). Although established for conscious transmission of Chinese language, culture, and identity, from the outset, the Chinese schools in the United States have been confronted with the biggest challenge of the younger generation's increasing acculturation to American society. How to motivate Chinese Americans to retain their heritage has been the toughest task. One of the major findings from this research is that motivation emerges interactively across time and space. In spite of all challenges and difficulties, Chinese schools during the prewar era did help many Chinese Americans develop an ethnic awareness through acquiring the fundamentals of Chinese language and culture. This was especially true when racial discrimination was rampant in American society. Chinese schools also played key roles in stimulating

nationalist sentiments. The contemporary Chinese heritage language school is also believed to be the most important institution for the transmission of Chinese language, culture, and identity (Chang, 1998).

In addition to studies of the general functions of Chinese schools, some works are oriented toward identity construction through language use at the Chinese school from a language socialization perspective. For example, He (2000) focuses on language use as an important milieu for cultural development for Chinese American children. She argues that, "the interactional and grammatical organizations of teachers' directives provide rich resources for the socialization of cultural values to the students" (p. 120). In another study, she adopts conversation analysis to study repair sequences in teacher-student interactions and analyzes how these specific language forms construct various affective stances of certainty or uncertainty, knowledgeable or unknowledgeable, affiliation or disaffiliation, which in turn give rise to participants' identities of expert/novice, teacher/students, Chinese or American or Chinese American (He, 2004). There are two important implications of He's innovative studies: 1) recurrent patterns of interactions in seemingly ordinary activities can be primary sites for the socialization of values, goals, and practices; and 2) language, as both a target of socialization and as a tool for socialization, plays a central role in identity construction.

Besides studies of language maintenance associated with identity construction in Chinese heritage language schools, research has been carried out in other social contexts. Some are concerned with the correlation between language maintenance and family relations. Based on a case study of Chinese immigrant children in Australia, Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) find that family relations play a significant role in

language maintenance in immigrant children. It is claimed that children who feel a part of a cohesive, unified family system are more likely to internalize the values and behaviors of that system, which in turn increases their possibility to use their parents' language. This is not a mere causal influence; rather, it is bi-directional, as part of a continuous and dynamic process. Other works are focused on the interaction of social networks and heritage language maintenance. For example, by studying thirty-four British-born Chinese children and their families in Northeastern England, Raschka, Wei, and Lee (2002) argue that children's immediate social ties play very important roles in the maintenance of their Chinese language ability. With the switch of their main social networks from non-peer parent-oriented networks to peer-oriented ones, children's language choice also changes from pure Chinese to pure English or mixtures. Other studies deal with how various immigrant institutions other than Chinese schools function as ethnic centers for preserving the Chinese language and selective cultural traditions. For example, Muse's (2002) ethnographic study of Chinese Christian churches in Boston's Chinatown indicates that Christianity provides a context in which to perform Chineseness. By illuminating ways one performs Chineseness within the context of the Church, she discusses the dynamic interaction between language, religion, ethnicity, and identity. In particular, she analyzes the role of literacy practices in integrating multiple identities as being Chinese, American, and Christian.

In spite of all these fruitful works concerning the Chinese Diaspora, there are many problems left to be further explored. First of all, most previous studies are concerned with either Chinese immigrants with lower socio-economic status or a concentrated population (for example,

Chinatown in New York City). Since more and more well-educated Chinese people immigrated to the United States in recent decades and they are settled in dispersed areas, it is necessary to take this elite population into consideration. This is because socio-economic situation and settlement patterns definitely have influence upon Chinese immigrants' attitudes toward Chinese language and culture in the post-modern era of globalization. Secondly, while there is a significant body of work examining the dynamics of Chinese schools, other ethnic institutions have yet to receive the same kind of sustained scholarly attention. It is worthwhile to look at Chinese Americans' language learning processes across various settings, because the Chinese school is only one of the various Chinese immigrant organizations. In particular, it is interesting to look at the interconnections between institutional activities, language practices, and identity construction processes. Last but not the least, there is no comprehensive framework to study how Chinese immigrant children maintain the mother tongue and how it is related to their cognitive and cultural development. In my opinion, language development is a dynamic process that would be influenced by various factors depending on different contexts. Therefore, a more comprehensive study with the consideration of both external and internal factors is needed to investigate how Chinese immigrants develop their first and second languages through time and how this dynamic process is related to their self-identification.

In view of all these limitations, my paper aims to close some gaps and to answer some major questions that have not been successfully answered. I argue that INLC and investment provide a useful framework to investigate various socio-psychological factors affecting Chinese American children's learning and use of Chinese and

English respectively, which in turn gives rise to different senses of self through time and across space. In the following section, I will briefly discuss the two theoretical concepts.

### Theoretical Framework

#### INLC

When studying these Chinese American adolescents' language experience, I utilize Allard and Landry's (1992) concept of INLC from the model of additive and subtractive bilingual development. This model comprises three levels of analysis: sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological. Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) constitutes the sociological level of analysis. It refers to the objective EV including demographic, political, economic capital, and cultural capital that an ethnolinguistic group acquires. It is this EV that influences the structure and composition of individual networks of linguistic contacts (INLC) which is at the socio-psychological level of analysis. The INLC is established through interpersonal contacts, media-based contacts, and educational support. These networks determine the quantity and quality of a person's ethnolinguistic experiences. At the psychological level, it is the INLC that determines both the linguistic competences and the cognitive-affective dispositions toward the ethnolinguistic groups with which one is in contact. In other words, the individual's experiences in the INLC leads to the development of various vitality beliefs. A sense of ethnic belongingness can also be formed as a result of the individual's experiences in the INLC. Therefore, the INLC functions as a bridge between the sociological and psychological level of analysis. More precisely, it forges connections between objective EV and subjective EV. Then, as a result of the individual's phenomenological experience

of the INLC, the linguistic aptitude/competence along with vitality beliefs and ethnic identification becomes the basis for the individual's language behavior, which in turn influences the quality and quantity of the ethnolinguistic experiences in the INLC. Finally, different language behaviors give rise to different routes of bilingual development: additive, balanced, or subtractive bilingualism.

The INLC is different from the notion of *social network*, the pattern of informal relationships people are involved in on a regular basis. First, the INLC includes both formal and informal relationships. Second, the INLC covers both regular and irregular interactions, the latter of which may provide prime examples of the emergent nature of language learning. Third, the INLC highlights the role of language in mediating social interactions. It functions as a bridge to connect the larger social environment and individual's psychological factors. The linguistic experiences within the INLC determine one's beliefs and identities which in turn influence one's language behavior. Last but not least, the INLC emphasizes the import of media in language socialization.

#### Investment

The second theoretical concept I adopt here is Peirce's (1995) investment to depict language learners' commitment to learning the target language. There are four advantages of using investment over motivation in analyzing heritage language learning. First, this approach considers language as a specific capital, a valuable resource to achieve social ends (Bourdieu, 1990). As Heller (1994) argues,

Language functions not only as an emblem of identity, but as a means in and of itself to define group boundaries and to regulate access to the resources which the group controls. As such, it becomes itself a valued resource, a form

of symbolic capital worth fighting to preserve or to acquire. (p. 102)

Second, the concept of investment presupposes that language learners have the expectation that they will have a good return on their investment. As Peirce (1995) points out, “they will acquire a wide range of symbolic and material resources, which will in return increase the value of their cultural capital” (p. 17). Third, the notion of investment captures the evolving, dynamic relationship between language learners and the social world. In other words, investment implies that language learners constantly make sense of their identities in relation to language practice. Therefore, they are not ahistorical or unidimensional but have a complex social history. Last but not least, the use of investment over motivation provides a better scenario that language learners may have multiple desires, just like a portfolio, a collection of investments which are not independent but connected in various ways.

Unlike Gardner and Lambert’s (1972) and Gardner’s (1985) distinction between instrumental and integrative motivation in second language acquisition (SLA), I propose two kinds of investments, ideological and instrumental, in the context of HL learning. As mentioned earlier, since language is regarded as a specific capital, individuals will invest in language learning to acquire a wide range of symbolic and material resources. Accordingly, their various investments are mainly made along the ideological-instrumental dimension. Generally speaking, ideological investment refers to HL learners’ desires to maintain ethnic identity and cultural heritage. Instrumental investment references the desires that language learners learn their heritage language for utilitarian purposes such as employment.

Since research (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; He, 2006; Li & Duff, 2008; Lu & Li,

2008; Valdes, 2001; Wen, 2011) has demonstrated that HL learning differs significantly from first language (L1) acquisition and second language (L2) acquisition, ideological and instrumental investments better capture the set of complications and ambiguities involving HL learning. In particular, the use of ideological investment over integrative motivation implies that HL learners are not only hoping to embrace the target language and culture, but to develop a subjective identification of their cultural heritage with an ideology of a (at least imagined) shared history, unique past, and possibly a symbolic attachment with a homeland (Geertz, 1963).

Although the INLC and investment are presented as separate concepts, they are linked altogether when discussing HL learning. As mentioned before, the INLC functions as a bridge between the sociological and psychological level of analysis. As a result of the individual’s investment in phenomenological experiences of the INLC, the linguistic aptitude/competence along with vitality beliefs and ethnic identification becomes the basis for the individual’s language behaviors, which in turn influence the quality and quantity of the ethnolinguistic experiences in the INLC. In addition, as investment highlights language learners as having a complex history and multiple desires, the three components of the INLC (educational support, interpersonal contacts, and media-based contacts) are not independent of one another but connected in various ways. Therefore, I argue that the INLC and investment provide a useful framework to study the dynamic interactions of space, time, and identity among HL learners (He, 2006). In what follows, I will unfold the inquiry by laying out the research context, the methodologies, and the background information of the focal informants.

## Unfolding the Stories

### Research Contexts

Data presented in this paper were based on an 11-month ethnographic study of second-generation Chinese American adolescents' HL learning and language use along with identity formation processes in upstate New York. These children were either born in the United States or came to the United States with their parents at a very young age. Like other second-generation immigrants, most of these youngsters are already English-dominant, though some of them are bilingual in Chinese and English in the oral form. In order to maintain Chinese language skills as well as to retain cultural heritage, they are sent by their parents to attend the local Chinese heritage language school during the weekends. Both Chinese language classes and Chinese culture classes are offered there. In addition, some parents teach Chinese language and culture at home, such as reading Chinese stories, watching Chinese movies/TV programs, and practicing traditional Chinese calligraphy. Some children are also encouraged to participate in activities organized by the Chinese heritage language school and the local Chinese Community Center (CCC),<sup>1</sup> such as the annual Chinese New Year Celebration, the Storytelling Contest, and the International Festival. Overall, it is to improve their Chinese language proficiency and maintain their Chinese cultural identity that these children are engaged in various events/activities across different settings.

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<sup>1</sup> Different from traditional Chinese immigrant institutions/organizations founded in urban Chinatowns, the vast majority of its members are from middle-class families. This is because the New York State government, two major research universities, and various companies and businesses have attracted many Chinese professionals to work and live in the Capital Region.

### Methodologies and Procedures

My fieldwork was divided into two stages: general/preliminary study and intensive case study with different objectives and procedures. The objective of my general/preliminary study was to get a rough understanding of the language/identity dynamics as well as the socio-cultural contexts in which my fieldwork was conducted. At first, I distributed a Language and Attitude Survey (please see Appendix A) for all Chinese American students between Grade 4 and Grade 12.<sup>2</sup> This survey was designed to attain a general idea of these students' linguistic and social backgrounds. Eighty-four surveys were distributed and sixty-nine were finally returned. Next, I conducted informal interviews with some students about their life stories and had conversations with various groups of people, including teachers, parents, school administrators, and other members of the CCC, to get their opinions on Chinese heritage language education from different perspectives. Furthermore, I went to each class from Grade 4 to Grade 10 (a total of eight classes) to observe classroom interactions between teachers and students. It is through the survey, various interviews, and classroom observations that I collected general information about the Chinese School, the CCC, students' bilingual upbringing, past and present Chinese language experiences, and their attitudes towards Chinese language and culture.

After the general/preliminary study, I selected six focal informants (please see Table 1 as a brief summary of their background) to explore their language socialization processes through the INLC. Basically, I used convenience sampling to recruit these informants who participated in

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<sup>2</sup> Younger children were not included in my survey because they might have difficulties in completing the survey.

the general study and agreed to be included in the case study group. In addition, in view of the diversity of Chinese Americans in terms of place of birth, place of origin, language, length of stay in the United States, and socio-economic status, I selected them according to the following criteria: 1) both parents were born in Mainland China; 2) Mandarin is used at home by at least one family member; and 3) he/she was born in the United States or immigrated to the United States before school age. A sample of six was judged adequate to represent various linguistic, cultural, and educational experiences of the entire group.

Participant observation and interview are my main ways of gathering data. Since there are three kinds of contacts within the INLC: educational support, interpersonal contacts, and contacts through media, I paid special attention to various contexts in

which the INLC is established. I went to the local Chinese heritage language school every Sunday to observe and audio-tape classroom interactions. I also went to their homes to observe and audio-tape their interactions with family members as well as with the media (e.g., music, films, TV shows, and the Internet). In addition, I participated in different kinds of ethnic activities (e.g., a Chinese New Year Party), which offered me opportunities to observe the informants' behaviors in various settings. Furthermore, I conducted semi-structured interviews with these informants, their families, and Chinese teachers, which aimed to get additional information of their life stories from different perspectives. Last but not least, I also had interviews with their teachers at regular English schools, the objective of which was to make comparisons of their behaviors across different settings.

Table 1  
*Background Information of Six Focal Informants*

Name <sup>3</sup>	Age	Gender	Years in the U.S.	Grade level in the Chinese School	Years in the Chinese School
Judy	11	Girl	Born in the U.S.	7 <sup>th</sup> grade	4
Alex	13	Boy	Born in the U.S.	7 <sup>th</sup> grade	3
Megan	14	Girl	Born in the U.S.	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	6
Yichen <sup>4</sup>	16	Boy	11	10 <sup>th</sup> grade	5
Joy	17	Girl	Born in the U.S.	Graduated	9
Linda	17	Girl	Born in the U.S.	Graduated	10

<sup>3</sup> To keep the confidentiality of the informants, all names are pseudonyms.

<sup>4</sup> Although Yichen is the only one who was not born in the United States, I include him in the second-generation pool. This is because he came to the United States at age of five (before school age), and his linguistic and cultural development shares a lot of similarities with other American-born informants.



In regard to data analysis, I did both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the survey and transcribed all tape-recorded interviews and observations. I also wrote biographic narrative texts for each focal informant based on conversations with them and their parents, teachers, and friends. In addition, some written documents, including homework, essays, diaries, exams, and teachers' reflections were also used to analyze students' language proficiency and attitudes towards Chinese culture. Generally speaking, participant observations aim to get first-hand data on how these Chinese American children are socialized through the INLC and what identity dynamics are embodied in moment-to-moment interactions to accrue spatial data, while interviews, life histories, and other documents have been used to solicit background information of a temporal nature to supplement observations. Then, I used both methodological triangulation (interviews, observations, surveys, and documents) and data triangulation (across time, space, and persons) to cross check whether there were some consistent patterns/themes coming out of these different sources of data (Denzin, 2006). As a result, idiomatic expressions, peer interactions, and media-based contacts are among the major recurrent factors that have played important roles in HL learning and socio-cultural development for these Chinese American children, which will be discussed in the next section.

## Results and Discussion

### Investment in Chinese Heritage Language Education

Although these six informants illuminate different life trajectories of Chinese American teenagers, they have some common implications for HL education

within the INLC. All of these informants, along with their parents and Chinese

teachers, consider Chinese language education as both an ideological investment and an instrumental investment. The meaning of "ideological investment" is pretty straightforward, i.e., learning Chinese language enhances one's ethnic identity, because language is a symbolic capital, one of the most important components of one's identity. All these children, their parents, and Chinese teachers agree that learning Chinese helps children develop a strong and healthy sense of self. The following remarks from Linda and Yichen illustrate this point.

#### Data Segment 1: Linda's Self Reflection.

Learning a language is not simply about learning to speak, write, and read fluently or even passively. Languages are embodiments of the culture, traditions, of people to whom it belongs to; they aid in defining people. (*The CCC Newsletter*, 2003, p. 16)

#### Data Segment 2: Yichen's Self Report.

We are obligated to serve as bridges a link between two divergent cultures, helping to connect the world through understanding. For this, we need to learn about China. Thus, we go to Chinese school every Sunday and get our heads filled with "Chinese." In learning the language, we are learning what it means to be Chinese. (Personal communication, March 6, 2007)

With the burgeoning economy of China during the past 30 years, these parents and their children also realize the practical needs of learning Chinese. The following words by Megan best demonstrate such practical needs.

### **Data Segment 3: Megan's Self Report.**

Our family goes back to China every few years, and I want to talk with my cousins. In addition, I want to talk with people in Chinese stores. I want to understand Chinese movies. I also want to watch the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008. My parents are always saying that no matter if you are going to college or looking for a job, it is necessary to speak Chinese. (Personal communication, January 18, 2007)

All six focal informants mention to me that learning Chinese opens up a lot of personal and professional opportunities for them. For example, Linda wants to be an interpreter for the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. Megan's dream job is to work in China as an English teacher. Joy's plan is even more ambitious: she wants to be the U.S. Ambassador in China. In addition to these bigger goals/dreams, five of them (except for Yichen) are also investing in learning Chinese language in order to get access to Chinese media resources (films, TV series, pop music, and fashion magazines).

In other words, these immigrant children have made commitments to HL learning based on both ideological and instrumental considerations. However, these two kinds of investments are not separated, but intertwined at various ways. As mentioned earlier, the INLC functions as a bridge between psychological and sociological factors. In other words, it is various aspirations, attitudes, feelings, and ideas towards heritage language and culture within ideological investment that influences these immigrant children's learning and use of Chinese in various contexts (educational support, interpersonal contact, and media-based), which helps to establish ethnic belongingness; on the other hand, their strong ethnic identifications incline them to make instrumental investment in certain

phenomenological experience within the INLC, which in turn facilitates their learning and use of Chinese. In particular, my case study suggests that idiomatic expressions, peer interactions, and media-based contacts play crucial roles in fulfilling ideological and instrumental investment. In what follows, I will explore these three factors one by one.

### **Idiomatic Expression as Site of Language Socialization**

My case study suggests that learning and use of Chinese idiomatic expressions functions as an important means to facilitate these adolescents' language proficiency and cultural competence, although there are few works that have addressed HL learners' experience of learning these culture specific concepts. My observations of the focal informants in and out of the classroom as well as interviews with them and their parents and teachers suggest that idiomatic expressions provide interesting lens to examine language both as a target of socialization and as a tool for socialization (He, 2000; He, 2004). This is because Chinese idiomatic expressions contain a lot of culture-specific meanings, which best demonstrate the indexical relationship between linguistic forms and socio-cultural contexts (Ochs, 1996).

As what follows, I will use discourse analysis to discuss the indexical relationship between idiomatic expressions and socio-cultural contexts in one specific setting, the Chinese New Year Party, to illustrate how learners apply their pragmatic knowledge to use idiomatic expressions. This example involves a standup comedy, one of the performances (Joy and Linda are two of the six performers) at the school's Chinese New Year Party, celebrating the Year of Dog based on the Chinese zodiac. This performance is of particular interest to study the interplay of language and culture,

because Chinese standup comedy is a culture-specific genre which requires both excellent verbal skills and cultural knowledge to achieve humorous effects. In addition, the topic of this comedy is on dogs from which the Chinese language has so many idiomatic expressions. The following conversation is a short excerpt from this comic performance.<sup>5</sup> Let us look at how students' linguistic and cultural competences are embodied in their use of dog related expressions.

#### Data Segment 4: A Chinese Standup Comic.

A--F Six performers in the standup comedy

1 A: 说到狗，今年是狗年，咱们得给狗讨个公道？

Shuodao gou, jinnian shi gounian, zanmen dei gei gou tao ge gongdao?  
Speaking of dog this year COP dog year we need for dog beg MSR justice  
**“Speaking of dogs, this year is the Year of the Dog. We need to return justice to dogs.”**

2 B: 不错，在中文里，狗字大多是贬义的。

Bucuo, zai zhongwen li, gou zi daduo shi bainyi de  
Right in Chinese inside dog character almost COP derogatory EMP  
**“Right, the connotations of the character ‘dog’ are almost derogatory in the Chinese language.”**

3 C: 不是吗，文革那时，大字报不是说你爷爷是不齿于人类的狗屎堆吗？(to A)

Bushi ma, wenge nashi, dazibao bushi shuo ni yeye shi buchi yu  
NEG Q, cultural revolution that time big character flier NEG say you grandpa COP despise by  
renlei de goushi dui ma  
human beings POS dog shit pile Q  
**“During the Cultural Revolution, your grandpa was depicted as bad and worthless as dog shit on Big Character Fliers, wasn't he?”**

4 A: 那人家不也说你奶奶是落水狗，还痛打落水狗呢。(to C)

Na renjia bu ye shuo ni nainai shi luoshui gou, hai tong da luoshui gou ne  
CONJ somebody NEG also say you grandma COP fall water dog also harshly beat fall water dog PRT  
**“Your grandma was also called ‘falling water dog’ who was harshly beaten.”**

5 D: 你别狗眼看人低。(to C)

Ni bie gou yan kan ren di  
You NEG dog eye look person low  
**“Don't despise people the same way as dogs look at people.”**

6 E: 你怎么提那些事，狗拿耗子，多管闲事。(to A)

Ni zenme ti naxie shi, gou na haozi, duo guan xian shi  
You how mention those thing dog catch mouse more care casual affai  
**“How come you mentioned those things? It is not appropriate to meddle into others' affairs, just as it is not dogs' business to catch mice.”**

<sup>5</sup> All the Chinese utterances in this transcript follow a four-part transcription: the first line is the original utterances written in Chinese characters; the second line is *hanyupinyin*, the Chinese phonetic alphabet; the third line is the word-to-word literal translation from Chinese to English; the fourth line is the complete English translation in bold.

7 F: 你这是狗咬吕洞宾, 不识好人心。(to E)

Ni zhe shi gou yao Lvdongbin, bu shi hao ren xin

You this COP dog bite Lv Dongbin

NEG recognize good person heart

**“You are unable to recognize others’ good intentions, just as the dog bites Lv Dongbin who is a good guy.”**

8 A: 你这狗嘴里吐不出象牙。(to E)

Ni zhe gou zui li tu bu chu xiang ya

You this dog mouth inside spit NEG COMP elephant tooth

**“You can’t say anything good out of your mouth, just as the dog can’t spit ivory out of its mouth.”**

9 E: 你们不要狗咬狗, 好不好?

Nimen bu yao gou yao gou, hao bu hao

You NEG should dog bite dog ok NEG ok

**“Don’t speak ill of one another, just as dogs bite each other, OK?”**

10 C: 狗也有好的, 不是说狗是最忠实的吗?

Gou ye you hao de, bushi shuo gou shi zui zhongshi de ma

Dog also have good EMP, NEG say dog COP outmost loyal EMP Q

**“Dogs also have good aspects. It is said that dogs are most loyal, isn’t it?”**

11 D: 是呀, 是最忠实的走狗。

Shi ya, shi zui zhongshi de zou gou

Yes PRT, COP outmost loyal POS

walk dog  
**“Yes, they are walking dogs who are most loyal because they always follow their masters.”**

In this conversation, six students are talking about dogs or dog-related issues. Student A initiates the topic of dogs (line 1),

and student B notices that the connotations of dogs are usually derogatory in Chinese (line 2). To illustrate B’s remarks, student C gives an example that A’s grandpa was depicted as bad and worthless as dog shit in the Cultural Revolution (line 3). In response to C’s mentioning of A’s grandpa as *goushi dui* (dog shit), A fights back by giving another example that C’s grandma was harshly beaten like a falling water dog (line 4). Uncomfortable with C’s use of *goushi dui* (dog shit), student D told C not to despise people the same way dogs look at people (line 5). Unhappy with A’s mentioning of C’s grandma being beaten like a falling water dog during the Cultural Revolution, Student E uses another dog-related idiom: it is not appropriate to meddle into others’ affairs, just as it is not dogs’ business to catch mice (line 6). Immediately responding to E’s comments on A, student F uses another Chinese idiom to criticize E—you cannot recognize A’s good intention, just as the dog bites Lv Dongbin who is a decent guy (line 7). This idiom implies that E has misunderstood A’s intention of using *luorui gou* (falling water dog) as an example to show derogatory meaning of “dog” in Chinese. In response to E’s blame, A teases back by saying—you can’t say anything good out of your mouth, just as the dog can’t spit ivory out of its mouth (line 8). Uncomfortable with all previous insulting remarks, student E proposes not to speak ill of one another just as dogs bite each other (line 9). In an effort to divert the current topic on negative meanings of “dog” to positive ones, student C claims that dogs are most loyal animals (line 10). However, student D clarifies the connotation of dogs’ loyalty by pointing out that they are walking dogs who always follow their masters, which again has derogatory connotations (line 11).

When I first saw their performance at the Chinese New Year Party, I was so surprised

that these Chinese American youngsters could use so many Chinese dog-related idioms in such a good way that they were like professional Chinese comedians. It turned out later that these six students came from the most advanced Chinese class and that this comedy was written and directed by their teacher who is an expert in Chinese language and culture. I interviewed the teacher and got a lot of interesting stories behind this show.

#### **Data Segment 5: Teacher's Self Report.**

Well, I feel that integrating dog related idioms into the standup comedy is a perfect choice to help my students to learn Chinese language and culture. This is because "dog" is a very culture specific concept in Chinese, which has totally different meanings from English....These students had a hard time understanding why the character *gou* (dog) has so many different meanings in various idioms, most of the time, negative connotations....I spent a lot of time explaining this cultural difference. Since all of these idioms are metaphorical expressions, I also urged my students to not only learn them as functional units but also understand the culture-specific information carried by these idioms. In doing so, students were able to internalize the connections between the linguistic forms and their metaphorical meanings. In order to perform well, the students also had to be familiar with this comic routine.... (Personal communication, February 22, 2006)

The teacher's reflection indicates that Chinese idiomatic expressions are windows to look into the Chinese past. It is through the learning and use of both literal and metaphorical meanings that these HL

learners may be able to develop a better sense of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural awareness. In addition, these advanced HL learners (12th grade) are involved in a process of conceptual socialization (Kecskes, 2002) that is one step further beyond language socialization. In other words, in order to master these idioms in a pragmatic manner, they need to internalize the socio-cultural information implied in those Chinese idioms and to use metaphorical thinking in new circumstances. As a matter of fact, both Joy and Linda were able to use some dog-related idioms beyond the comic performance. For example, Joy once used the idiom 狗咬吕洞宾, 不识好心 (meaning being unable to recognize others' good intentions, just as the dog bites Lv Dongbin who is a good guy) to complain about her younger sister who misinterpreted Joy's good intention of buying a present for her. Linda also used the idiom 狗拿耗子, 多管闲事 (meaning to meddle into others' business, just as dogs intend to catch mice) to make comment on one of her high school classmates who turned out to be overly bossy.

My observations from the classrooms also show that teachers are trying to integrate idiomatic expressions into pedagogical practice on a regular basis. These interactional routines are useful for children to acquire language and culture, for they provide youngsters with a large amount of linguistic input in a very predictable way, facilitating their perception, analysis, and practice of utterances. Meanwhile, when learning culturally formulated ways of communication through interactional routines, children also acquire the social rules attached to different uses of language (Peters & Boggs, 1986).

#### **Peer Interactions**

Although many works have addressed the important role of family relations in

language maintenance among immigrant children (Kondo, 1998; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002), few studies have emphasized peer interactions. My case study provides interesting examples of how interactions with peer groups could facilitate teenagers' learning of Chinese language and culture.

As discussed in the previous section, Joy and Linda, together with four other classmates in the Chinese class, were involved in using dog-related idioms to perform a stand-up comedy during the Chinese New Year Celebration. I interviewed Linda about her feeling on her learning and use of these dog-related idioms and how she interacted with other performers as follows:

**Data Segment 6: Linda's Self Report.**

...although it was hard to get the idea of what those idioms exactly meant at the very beginning, I felt very proud of manipulating my Chinese linguistic and cultural knowledge in the performance....I, Joy and other boys and girls worked together to figure out the meanings of these idioms. We helped each other. We kept practicing a lot at home, and even in our high school. Of course, our classmates had no idea about what we were doing....This is definitely a fantastic experience, because learning these Chinese idioms is not only about learning language itself per se, but learning about, in my case as well as numerous others, one's roots, one's history....Well, it was also fun to put down others by using metaphoric expressions in Chinese. (Personal communication, February 15, 2006)

Linda's reflection on her experience suggests that these teenagers' understanding of idioms could be facilitated through peer interactions. To be pragmatically competent, these young performers were also socialized

into a rivalry genre which is quite different from everyday Chinese or English conversations, which may entail a "we-feeling," especially when they were practicing in front of non-Chinese speaking classmates from their high school. In addition, these Chinese American teenagers' ethnic pride might increase when they feel proud of being Chinese comedians by applying various dog-related idioms in such a comic performance.

According to interviews from informants, their parents, and Chinese teachers, five out of six informants (except Yichen) keep close contacts with friends and relatives in China or the United States to maintain their Chinese language proficiency and socio-cultural knowledge. For instance, Megan has a close relationship with her cousin who is only four months older than her. She has been updated with everything in China by calling her cousin a couple of times every month. Because of their similar age, they talk about everything over the phone including Chinese pop music, fashion, videos, and movie stars. Judy also mentions that her Chinese language proficiency has been greatly improved by talking to her cousin in Shanghai. Joy is also influenced by her good friend in the United States to listen to Chinese pop music. In all these cases, the peer group functions as a linguistic and cultural broker that brings authentic Chinese practices to these informants.

My case study also shows that all of them are inclined to make Asian friends who share similar cultural backgrounds. All of them mention that they have made good friends at the Chinese school, because they feel that it is easier for them to make friends with those who share similar cultural backgrounds. The friendship also extends to other contexts. In particular, Linda and Joy were brought up together with a few other Chinese American kids and have maintained an "Asian gathering" at their high school,

which indicates a strong sensibility about their ethnic identity. On the other hand, both Joy's and Linda's teachers from their high school reported that the two girls occasionally spoke Chinese to each other and with their Chinese American friends at their high school to exclude "the others," which in turn demonstrates their sensibility of manipulating their linguistic repertoires to display their unique ethnic identities. In this sense, Chinese language functions as a group boundary marker between "in-group" and "out-group."

On other occasions where these Chinese American teenagers interact with individuals of different ethnic groups, their awareness of ethnic belongingness could also be intensified. The following remarks, from Joy's writing about her experience of representing the CCC as Miss China in the Albany Festivals of Nations, reflect this dynamic process:

**Data Segment 7: Joy's Self Reflection.**

The Albany Festival of Nations was something that I would've almost never dreamed myself to participate in, and even less to represent my country as Miss China. I can think of not one better experience than this one that provoked my desire to learn more and to research about my native country. I've developed, in a short amount of time so many friendships with the rest of the girls participated and represented different countries. Knowing that we live in such a heterogeneous area had opened my eyes to a whole new world in front of me. Many of the girls that I've talked to have the same or very similar morals and values as I do, all drilled in by their parents who most of them were immigrants themselves to America. The festival of nations is an amazing place that unites over 30 different countries in one place. I realized that we really are the land of plenty, and even now,

America welcomes new immigrants everyday. (*The CCC Newsletter*, 2004, p. 22)

**Media-Based Contacts**

Many scholars point out that media provides alternative ways of learning and understanding outside school settings (Gee, 2004; Squire, 2003). My survey, observations, interviews with students, parents, and teachers all suggest that watching Chinese TV/videos, exploring the Internet, and listening to Chinese pop music are important factors in socializing these teenagers into alternative ways of knowing. Five out of six focal informants (except for Yichen) indicate that exploring the Internet could help them learn Chinese language and culture. Generally speaking, the Internet provides these teenagers with a fast and convenient way to get access to needed information. While Judy and Alex explore the Internet to search materials for their Chinese assignments, Megan, Linda, and Joy use Chinese websites to look for Chinese music. The following is an example of how Judy uses various websites to complete a Chinese project:

**Data Segment 8: Exploring the Internet at Home.**

When Jing arrives at her home on a Saturday afternoon, Judy is doing a project about Chinese culture. Jing is told that this project is an assignment for the Chinese school's learning fair. The purpose of this Chinese learning fair is to stimulate students' interest in learning Chinese language and culture through searching related literature, preparing a poster, and interpreting contents to the audience by using Chinese. After getting suggestions from her mother (also her Chinese teacher at the Chinese school), Judy chooses Chinese calligraphy and painting as her topic. She is supposed to

use both language and pictures to illustrate this topic. In response to Jing's question on how she gets access to the needed information, Judy explains that, "It's so easy. I just go to the Internet to find everything I want." Then she shows Jing the whole process. First, she clicks on Google image search from her Bookmarks, and types in the key word 中国书画 (Chinese calligraphy and painting) to search. Then, thousands of pictures come out on the screen. She only needs to choose a few according to her preferences. After that, she shows how to find relevant information in written language. This time, she does not use Google; instead, she opens another website

<http://chinese.chnedu.com/index.htm>, which is considered as a leading Chinese learning site. The website is comprehensive (see Figure 1), which includes various aspects of China such as geography, climate, culture, travel,

and festival. In addition, it is displayed in both Chinese and English. Judy seems to be very familiar with this website. She quickly clicks on a subsection of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting from the section of Chinese Culture. Then a lot of information about introduction, history, typology of Chinese calligraphy and painting is unfolded in both Chinese and English. Responding to the question of how to choose some out of all the information and apply it into her own project, Judy explains that she would read all the English information first to get a general idea, and make a decision on which contents she is interested in. Then, she would go to the Chinese section to figure out how to express those ideas in Chinese words. Finally, she would paraphrase those Chinese contents and make them into her own words. (Personal observation, January 20, 2007)





Figure 1. Chinese education website

This example suggests that Judy is proficient in using appropriate channels (Google Image Search or Chinese learning website) and appropriate languages (English for reading comprehension or Chinese for written report) to achieve various purposes of learning. It is the Internet that provides Judy, as well as other Chinese students, with the ability to learn various contents of Chinese language and culture that are not necessarily familiar to their middle-aged parents and Chinese teachers. In this sense, Judy is an expert in media-based language learning. These different interactions and processes also indicate that knowledge transmission is not only instruction-dependent; rather, it is situated in multiple sites in and out of school (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Another interesting issue comes up when Jing asks Judy why she chooses to

paraphrase instead of directly copying the contents from the website. It is much easier and also saves time to copy and paste, and both her mother (also her Chinese teacher) and father would allow her to do so. However, Judy tells Jing that, “I know Chinese people do not care about it, but that is plagiarism in America. It is totally wrong.” Judy’s way of doing this Chinese project shows a good example of how ethnic self emerges with other aspects of identity. On the one hand, she enjoys exploring the bilingual website to finish her Chinese project, which shows her strong ethnic affiliation. On the other hand, her choice of paraphrasing instead of directly copying embodies her blending of Chinese and American knowledge and affiliations regardless of her parents’ (her mother as Chinese teacher as well) suggestions.

Regarding other media-mediated learning, almost half of the students (49.3%) in the survey indicate that watching Chinese TV/videos is important to help learn Chinese language and culture, the third most significant factor after “Going to Chinese school” (62.3%) and “Travelling to China” (56.5%). My interviews with five informants (except for Yichen) as well as their teachers and parents also confirm the positive role of Chinese TV/videos in learning Chinese language and culture, although there is a lack of direct observations.<sup>6</sup> Here are some common findings from those interviews. First, all of them prefer to watch historical videos instead of modern ones. Their common explanation is that it is the glorious Chinese history, not contemporary China, which sparks their curiosity about Chinese culture. Actually, Alex, Judy, and Megan mentioned that they felt disappointed after watching Chinese modern action or romance movies. As Alex says, “They are much worse than American ones. I just don’t want to waste my time” (Personal communication, February 28, 2007). Second, watching these movies enhances students’ interest in learning Chinese language and culture. For example, both Alex and Linda are fascinated by the martial arts in the movie *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*. In order to understand all the terminologies, they searched other relevant information about Chinese martial arts. Third, watching movies is an efficient way to enlarge Chinese vocabulary, especially idiomatic expressions. As mentioned before, although these HL learners have learned idiomatic

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<sup>6</sup> Since all the parents do not allow their children to watch TV/videos during the school year, I got little chance to do direct observations. Even though I did observe Linda watching a TV series as well as Judy watching a cartoon during the summer, both of them felt reluctant to give any opinion on the TV/video. This is possibly because they positioned me as an authority on Chinese language and culture and felt uncomfortable about talking.

expressions in the textbook or from their Chinese teachers or from their parents, it is easier for them to learn these expressions in specific contexts, which enable them to internalize the meaning and use them in appropriate situations. Fourth, reading subtitles helps them to recognize Chinese characters. Although students know how to speak certain words, they do not necessarily know the written form. When they hear the words, they could match them with the subtitles, which in turn improves their Chinese literacy. Last but not least, watching historical TV/movies also enhances students’ ethnic pride. Provided with vivid images of Chinese civilizations, students feel proud of their ancestors who created numerous miracles in world history.

In addition to watching Chinese TV/videos, there are other media-based contacts that might also be efficient for some Chinese American students. Stories from Megan, Joy, and Linda indicate that listening to Chinese music may indirectly facilitate learning Chinese language and culture. For example, the process of searching lyrics through Chinese websites helps Joy recognize more Chinese characters. In addition, in order to understand the lyrics, Joy asks her parents and her Chinese teacher about some background information, which in turn broadens her socio-cultural knowledge.

### **Implications**

As discussed in the previous section, these Chinese HL learners’ investment in idiomatic expressions, peer-mediated interactions, and media-based contacts play significant roles in the co-construction of linguistic competence and socio-cultural development. In regards to idiomatic expressions, my case study suggests that learning and use of idiomatic expressions are intricately linked with cultural development. This is because Chinese

idiomatic expressions are metaphorical language, which requires deciphering the indexical relationship between the linguistic form and its socio-cultural meaning. In addition, it suggests that learning and use of idioms might enhance a learner's ethnic identity, especially when those idioms have instrumental relevance to their own life.

Concerning peer interactions, heritage language provides important access to peer participation in ethnic activities and formation of group boundaries (Heller, 1994). On the one hand, it is through participating in and being exposed to various ethnic activities that children develop a strong sense of being a community, and the shared experience entails a "we-feeling." On the other hand, heritage language is an important ethnic boundary marker. Thus, learning and use of heritage language entails a distinction between one's own "in-group" and another "out-group."

Although there is a lack of empirical evidence showing how exactly Chinese media socialize these teenagers into alternative ways of knowing, there are some general implications. First, watching Chinese movies or TV series provides an important means of learning Chinese language and culture. This is because it enhances students' interests, enlarges their Chinese vocabulary, and enhances their ethnic pride, just to name a few. Second, the Internet provides these teenagers with a fast and convenient way to get access to needed information on Chinese language and culture. Finally, listening to Chinese music might indirectly facilitate learning the Chinese language and culture in that the process of searching lyrics through Chinese websites helps the students to recognize Chinese characters and to improve reading comprehension.

These three sets of investments, among other investments of HL learners' portfolio, are not independent, but intertwined together

in complicated ways. Generally speaking, the learning and use of idiomatic expressions could be facilitated through peer interactions and media-based contacts. Peer interactions facilitates a deep attachment to Chinese popular culture (Chinese TVs, films, and music), which in turn promotes the use of media resources. In addition, ideological investment and instrumental investment are not separate entities, but may go hand in hand. For example, Linda's close contact with her cousins in Beijing enables her to keep a close track of Chinese popular culture, in which Chinese language is a central means of making sense out of that shared experience. In other words, her instrumental investment in communicating with her peer group leads her to make another instrumental investment in getting access to Chinese media, which in turn facilitates her ideological investment in cultural heritage and ethnic identification.

### **Conclusion**

This paper explores some important socio-psychological factors that favor the retention of heritage language and ethnic identity among second-generation Chinese heritage language learners. It illuminates that learning Chinese is not just for cultural retention or for ethnic pride. It also serves as an instrumental investment that allows these youths to have practical images, expectations, and self-actualizations that extend beyond temporal spatial limits. Generally speaking, Chinese American children's various investments mediate between their identity construction, and linguistic and socio-cultural development: it is within the INLC that individual learners come up with various degrees of commitment to language learning (investment); As a result of the individual's investment in phenomenological experience, the linguistic aptitude/competence along with vitality beliefs and ethnic identification

becomes the basis for the individual's language behavior, which in turn influences the quality and quantity of the ethnolinguistic experiences.

However, learning and use of heritage language does not necessarily lead to homogeneous ethnic identity. By interacting within different social networks through time and across space, immigrant children may display different relationships to their ethnic group and different senses of being a minority (Jo, 2002). My findings also suggest that these immigrant children's diverse experiences make them develop overlapping or even conflicting identities (like Judy's refusal to do copy-paste instead of paraphrasing). They are not simply the combination of being Chinese and American, but rather the sum of their personal experiences. Accordingly, their language choices and group affiliation are not fixed and unchanging, but fluid and contingent, as they adapt to specific types of social, economic, and political circumstances in a multilingual and multiethnic society (He, 2010).

To conclude, by exploring the confrontations and conduits holding between immigrants and "host" societies, language ideologies and identity positions, immigrant institutions and community-based school practices, this paper sheds some light on the research of the intersections of language, power, identity, and ideology in the increasingly globalized world. However, there are still some important questions that need to be further addressed in future studies. First of all, this study cannot be applied to all Chinese American populations, for it is only concerned with middle-class children. As Collins (2006) argues, social class is an important dimension of analysis in research on second language learning. Children from other socio-economic backgrounds might have different social networks and learning

opportunities from the ones I have studied, which might end up with different routes of linguistic and cultural development. Therefore, some comparative studies among Chinese American populations need to be carried out in the future. Secondly, gender issues are not addressed either. Although my case study has no clear implication on how gender influences these immigrant children's bilingual and bicultural development, there is some vague support from the general study that girls seems to be more submissive than boys in following parents' and teachers' orders of learning Chinese language and culture. It might be interesting to look at how boys and girls redefine their masculine and feminine roles through learning Chinese language and culture. Thirdly, Yichen provides an exceptional example among the six informants, i.e., he is the only person who was born in China and who does not use Chinese media nor interact with peer group in China. What socio-psychological factors have contributed to his linguistic and cultural behaviors? What does his case tell us about the symbiosis of HL learning and identity development? Last but not least, there is a lack of empirical evidence to support the role of media in socializing these Chinese American teenagers. How do we extend concepts of participation to complex forms of mediated participation, especially related to media-based interactions? How do we analyze identity and agency in a globalized world of multilingual and multimedia contact? In answering these questions, heritage language education, by combining elements of family, community, and school, opens up possibilities for us to re-examine the relationship between linguistic expertise, situated learning, and the construction of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Wortham, 2005).

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### Appendix A. Language and Attitude Survey

1. Age \_\_\_\_\_ Boy/Girl \_\_\_\_\_ Place of birth \_\_\_\_\_  
 If you were born outside the U.S., when did you come to the U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Where do your parents come from?  
 a. Mainland China  
 b. Hong Kong  
 c. Taiwan  
 d. USA  
 e. Others \_\_\_\_\_
3. What's your mother's job? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What's your father's job? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How many people are there in your family? \_\_\_\_\_
6. What language(s) do you speak at home? (You may choose more than one if you like)  
 a. English  
 b. Mandarin Chinese  
 c. Chinese dialect (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_)
7. What language(s) do your parents speak to you? (You may choose more than one if you like)  
 a. English  
 b. Mandarin Chinese  
 c. Chinese dialect (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_)
8. What language(s) do your siblings speak to you? (You may choose more than one if you like)  
 a. English  
 b. Mandarin Chinese  
 c. Chinese dialect (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_)
9. To whom do you speak Chinese? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)  
 a. My parents  
 b. My grandparents  
 c. My siblings  
 d. My Chinese friends/relatives in the U.S.  
 e. My friends/relatives in Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong  
 f. Teachers in the Chinese class  
 g. Classmates in the Chinese class  
 h. None  
 i. Other \_\_\_\_\_



10. In what situations do you speak Chinese? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. At home
- b. At the Chinese School
- c. In a Chinese church
- d. In Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong
- e. At a Chinese restaurant
- f. At a Chinese grocery store
- g. When celebrating traditional Chinese festivals
- h. None
- i. Other \_\_\_\_\_

11. Please mark any of the following items if you have used them before. (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. Chinese TV programs
- b. Chinese newspaper
- c. Chinese magazines
- d. Chinese videos/films
- e. Chinese radio programs
- f. Chinese cartoons/books
- g. Chinese music

12. How do you evaluate your Chinese language proficiency? (Please circle one answer for each line)

a. Listening	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
b. Speaking	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
c. Reading	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
d. Writing	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor

13. How do you identify yourself?

- a. Chinese
- b. More Chinese than American
- c. Both Chinese and American
- d. More American than Chinese
- e. American
- f. Other \_\_\_\_\_

14. What does it mean to you personally to be Chinese? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. Speaking good Chinese
- b. Understanding Chinese culture and history
- c. Keeping Chinese traditions and lifestyles
- d. Other \_\_\_\_\_

15. If a person says that he/she is a Chinese, what does it mean? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. He/she speaks good Chinese
- b. He/she understands Chinese culture and history
- c. He/she keeps Chinese traditions and lifestyles
- d. Other \_\_\_\_\_

16. For people who have Chinese heritage but do not speak Chinese, which of the following are true? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. They are not Chinese
- b. They are just another racial group in America.
- c. They lost Chinese values and traditions.
- d. They can still be Chinese without speaking the language
- e. Other \_\_\_\_\_

17. Have you ever visited Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong? If so, please explain when you visited where for what kind of purposes and how long you stayed there.

18. If you have relatives/friends in Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong, do you make phone calls to them? If yes, which language/dialect do you use? How often do you call them?

19. Do you eat Chinese food on a regular basis? And do you like Chinese food?

20. Do you celebrate Chinese traditional festivals (e.g., Spring Festival, Mid-Autumn Festival)? If yes, please explain what traditional festivals you celebrate with whom at what places.

21. Which grade are you in at your regular English school? \_\_\_\_\_

22. Which class are you in at the Chinese School? \_\_\_\_\_

23. Did you ever attend primary, high school or summer school in Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong? If so, please explain what kinds of schools you have attended for how long.

24. How many years have you been in this Chinese School? \_\_\_\_\_

25. Why are you coming to the Chinese class? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. My parents ask me to come
- b. I can improve my Chinese language skills
- c. I can learn Chinese culture
- d. I can make friends with others
- e. Other reasons \_\_\_\_\_

26. Please mark any of the following items if you have used them to learn Chinese? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. Private tutoring
- b. Language class in my English school
- c. Teaching by my parents/grandparents
- d. Talking with my Chinese friends
- e. Self-study
- f. Visiting Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong
- g. Other \_\_\_\_\_

27. Which of the following(s) are you likely to use to learn Chinese? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. Chinese school
- b. Private tutoring
- c. Language class in my English school
- d. Teaching by my parents/grandparents
- e. Talking with my Chinese friends
- f. Visiting Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong
- g. Watching Chinese movies/TV programs
- h. Self-study
- i. Reading Chinese newspapers/books/magazines
- j. Other \_\_\_\_\_

28. In your opinion, what factors are most important to help you to learn Chinese language and culture? (You may choose more than one answer if you like)

- a. Attending Chinese school
- b. Speaking Chinese at home
- c. Visiting Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong
- d. Watching Chinese videos/films
- e. Reading Chinese newspapers/books/magazines
- f. Self-interests
- g. Making friends with Chinese people
- h. Other \_\_\_\_\_