

Understanding World Language Writing Practice: A Transdisciplinary
Contribution from Discourse Analysis and Complex Dynamic Systems Theory

by

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ABSTRACT

This study merges Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) and identity theory (Gee, 2000) as a transdisciplinary framework to examine world language writers' writing discourses. This study uses Discourse analysis that Gee (2012) suggested to investigate four Mandarin learners' writing discourses. Five tools—identity building tool, relationship building tool, significant event tool, social language tool, and sign system and knowledge construction tool are selected from Discourse analysis to explore the interviewees' identity shifts while writing in Mandarin, affordances and constraints in world language writing processes, and community of practice in the given language discourses. Data collection integrates interview transcripts and researchers' reflexivity. The collected data is portrayed as stories with the model that Clandinin and Connelly (2000) developed to present the interviewees' situation, continuity, and interaction.

The research findings reveal: (1) World language writers tend to shift identities when they have unsuccessful repertoire transformations, when they are in emotional discourses, or when they reposition in the given discourses. (2) World language writers' affordances and constraints are affected by language status, writing system, and cultural immersion. (3) World language writers' community of practice is associated with their cultural knowledge, identities, and complex dynamic systems. The implications of this study suggest that Chinese pedagogy is in need of transformation, particularly considering writing system. The 5Cs standards—communication, connections, cultures, comparisons, and communities that American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) suggested can be examined through the transdisciplinary framework

of this study. The five analytic tools of Discourse analysis contribute to future studies for further investigation on self-directed world language writers' identity constructions, relationships, social languages, significant events, and cultural knowledge.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the relationships between world language (WL) writing discourses, language communities, and WL writing processes. My introduction outlines the historical background of second language writing in the United States and relates it to current issues in WL studies. It also addresses relevant terminology and reviews the history of WL studies.

The Development of Second Language Writing in the United States

The need to be able to write in a second language (L2) has gradually increased in the United States since World War II, due to the increasing presence of international students and multicultural citizens. Teacher preparation, curriculum design, and pedagogical research favored speaking English for non-native speakers through the late 1950s. When the English Language Institute (ELI)—the first institute for L2 studies in the United States—was established at the University of Michigan in 1941, it offered English as a Second Language (ESL) and Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL), but did not provide instruction in L2 writing programs. To date, while ESL writing resources and services are widespread and have institutional support, scholars' interest in L2 writing studies has lagged, with the earliest studies dating to the late 1950s.

The topic of L2 writing was first presented at the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) in 1949. At that meeting, the attendees mostly came from composition and ESL programs. Presenters recommended using ESL to

ground L2 writing studies—in short, applying first language (L1) writing theory and L2 spoken-based pedagogical theory to L2 writing studies. A dispute between composition and ESL programs ensued and continued into the 1960s. ESL researchers conducted L2 writing research and subsequently developed TESL programs designed to train teachers to teach ESL. Since 1966, the study of L2 writing has generally been conducted by TESL programs.

Mastuda (2006) claims that the boundaries between L2 and ESL are blurry and that L2 studies, in particular, borrow extensively from ESL programs. Higher education's approach to language learning has changed due to variables such as the increasing number of international students and new social media practices, as well as the influence of cultural studies. These changes have challenged existing ESL practices and shaped L2 writing pedagogy.

Terminology

Scholars use a variety of terms to describe speakers' relationships to multiple languages, including second language (L2), foreign language (FL), and global language (GL). This section will provide definitions for each term, as used in this dissertation.

As Crystal (2003) explains, the term second language (L2) can refer to either the second language a person learns or a state-designated language. Many countries name English or another non-native language as the state-designated L2, although residents may learn that language as a third or fourth language, or not at all. Throughout, I use the term L2 to refer to the second language a person learns, rather than a legally or nationally designated language.

The second term, foreign language (FL), is also problematic since it implies national boundaries that may be irrelevant to speakers' language communities. For example, the official languages in Hong Kong are Mandarin and English. These designations reflect historical events and not necessarily language prevalence, considering the most prevalent language in Hong Kong is Cantonese. Mandarin and English are foreign to most people in Hong Kong, yet they are not technically "FLs." As García (2008) notes, "transglossia"¹ better describes Hong Kong's language policy. Given these complications, this dissertation will not use the term "foreign language."

A third term, global language (GL), generally refers to one language: English. Crystal (2003) defines English as the global language because it has achieved a genuinely global status. This dissertation will not use "global language," as it privileges English.

Lastly, the term world language (WL) references any language that is used internationally. The term WL refers to non-native languages but is not limited to L2 or FL. The former indicates the sequence of learning order; the latter implies geographic boundaries of language use. The term WL is a more inclusive term for exploring diverse language learning discourses. Thus, I will use WL in this study since Mandarin is a WL but not necessarily a L2 or FL for all participants.

A Gap of Theoretical Framework in WL Writing

I propose a transdisciplinary framework to examine WL writing processes. In this study, I examine the interaction between individuals' identities using the theoretical perspective of complex dynamic systems (CDS) (Gee, 2000; Larsen-Freeman &

¹ According to García (2008), transglossia is a societal bilingualism, which is a stable but dynamic communicative network with many languages in a functional interrelationship.

Cameron, 2008a). This approach permits me to answer my research questions about WL writers' identity shifts during writing, affordances in writing processes, and community practices. In this section, I will address the history of second language acquisition (SLA) research by tracing its development from social psychology to the recent CDS theory, in order to point out a gap in WL writing pedagogy. In next chapter, I will further explain what identity is and what I propose for this transdisciplinary framework.

A gap in theoretical knowledge related to WL writing pedagogy inspires my investigation. The transdisciplinary framework proposed by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) attempts to fill in the gap by drawing on biological, ecological, and psychological perspectives. They conceptualize CDS theory as emergentist, connectionist, and functionalist. In addition, Dörnyei, Henry, and MacIntyre (2015) agree that CDS offers alternative methods for research, including mixed methods. Furthermore, Henry (2015) and Mercer (2015) support the use of CDS by exploring the relationships between writers' identities and writing performances.

Despite the fact that CDS sufficiently describes the dynamic complexity of language learning systems, a lack of discussion remains regarding learners' subjectivities, and this raises concern. According to Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a), CDS has been applied in multiple fields, such as business, biology, and psychology. In each of these fields, scholars continue to focus on the butterfly effect relationships between two irrelevant events that can have significant aftereffects. Drawing on this body of work, I argue that writers' subjectivities and past experiences play a previously unrecognized role in WL writing processes.

Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) focus on the dynamic complexity of L2 learning. However, identity shifts in WL writing have not been adequately theorized. They describe the features of CDS, but reduce the power of human agency in ecologies. I argue that WL writing relates to writers' intellectual abilities, authorships, language proficiencies, past experiences, and social statuses, and these factors influence agency on the part of WL writers. As Henry (2015) argues, CDS fails to address the dynamic dimensions of the L2 self in terms of learning to write. Therefore, in terms of WL writing pedagogy, I argue that writers' identities are influenced by prior experiences, as well as current learning environments.

The gap in epistemology relates to research methods, validities, and scopes. It is unreasonable to standardize the WL research paradigm because of the complex variations among WLs and learning environments. To limit WL research methods, test research validities, and research samples may result in generality in WL learning but will do little to explain the dynamic complexity of WL learning in the given contexts. The openness of discourses needs an inclusive framework to construct epistemology. The existence of multiple epistemological perspectives that have been applied to WL research has contributed to this hidden crisis in WL writing studies. Leki (2003) considers WL research to be undertheorized, raising questions about the intellectual contributions of WL studies. In addition to Leki (2003), multiple WL writing scholars (Atkinson, 2010; Belcher and Hirvela, 2010; Matsuda, 2006; Normak, Pata, & Kaipainen, 2012; Hinkel, 2011) argue that WL writing studies urgently need a theoretical framework that can be inclusively adopted for multiple interests. In addition, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that WL writing research lacks consensus in terms of epistemology and that current

WL writing studies lack a comprehensive framework that is aligned with appropriate research methods.

The application of a vast range of perspectives to WL research, including behaviorism, transfer theory, information processing theory, connectionist models, cognitive approach, and social cultural theory, is grounded in different premises about learning language and how these diverse methods are used to investigate language learning. Theorizing a comprehensive framework in this field would not only bridge the gap of epistemology, but also contribute to future studies.

Leki (2003) argues that there is a lack of a theoretical framework in the WL writing field due to the paradigm shift that Kuhn described in the 1960s. This scientific revolution has identified different rationalities within the science community and argued that diverse methodological approaches are needed to further knowledge. For example, deductive reasoning is commonly applied in positivism, whereas inductive reasoning often operates as a tool for epistemic uncertainty. Experimental design, which emphasizes the predictions of students' learning outcomes in the WL writing curriculum, is an example of positivism. In such, a narrative analysis of WL writers' learning stories highlights learning experiences, in order to seek multiple truths based on inductive reasoning. The effect of a paradigm shift from deductive reasoning to inductive reasoning has raised various tensions within the field of WL writing and has led to the conceptualization and implication of research methodologies that draw on new paradigms and epistemologies (Van Lier, 2000).

Van Lier (2000) argues that the field of SLA has been dominated by western civilization, which exposes versions of positivism, causality, system, and linearity. A quantitative approach is most likely to focus on objective learning outcomes and is designed to allow us to predict learning curves. However, these methodologies have resulted in reductionism in SLA, which is worrisome if SLA researchers tend to overgeneralize findings, categorize data, and manipulate validity (Van Lier, 2000).

Traditionally, behaviorists regarded human subjects as predictable objects. In addition, learning was simulated in experiments that repeatedly used animals, and results were evidenced through external behaviors.² However, ignoring cultural diversity and reducing human learning trajectories to determine human learning behaviors raised concerns from some scholars, including Lev Semenovich Vygotsky (Lewis, Enciso, & Moje, 2007).

Vygotsky (1986) argued that human beings and their psychological functions are mediated by social practices and cultural artifacts. His arguments inspired early scholars in the field of social linguistics. Since Vygotsky, scholars in the field of SLA have increasingly attended to “environment” in the language learning process. The notion of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) has become an explosive black box through which SLA researchers strive to understand and/or manipulate human meaning-making processes.

During the 1960s, scholars built on the work of Vygotsky in two ways. Some researchers focused on cognition. These scholars believe that brain structure is

² This includes many well-known experiments, such as Pavlov’s classical conditioning experiments, the Asch conformity experiments, Harlow’s Rhesus monkey experiments, the Milgram obedience experiment, and the Stanford prison experiment.

responsible for information processing and learning outputs are the consequence of accommodation and assimilation. They believe that the human mind is similar to a computer, and they describe the WL writing process as the interactions between human schemes and environments. In this sense, the human brain programs behaviors and thus affects human developments (Van Lier, 2000).

Other scholars developed a situated approach that highlights the meaning-making process within learning environments and contexts, but does not fully exclude a cognitive perspective. Various social theorists are deeply influenced by this approach (Heft, 1989; Kramsch, 2003; Van Lier, 2000). Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed ecological theory to explain the interaction between ecological systems and human development. However, human's ecological systems vary time after time. Therefore, he updated his ecological theory model with Ceci fifteen years later, adding the factor of "time" as an additional analytic tool and renaming ecological theory as bioecological theory. Later, Van Lier (2000) proposed an ecological approach in SLA and argued for a computational mechanism process in SLA. While cognitive theories have been critiqued for underestimating the influence of environment, Van Lier (2000) states that L2 learning contexts are influential for the meaning-making process.

Consistent with a situated approach, Gibson (1979) investigated how humans perceive external objects and construct meanings. He proposed the notion of "affordance" to conceptualize relationships between subjects and objects. For Gibson (2014), affordance is a "process of perceiving a value-rich ecological object" (p. 60). The meaning-making process does not solely depend on objects' functions, however; it also relates to how individuals perceive the objects' functions and then construct meanings.

Based on Gibson's work, Normak et al. (2012) developed a spatio-dynamic ontology approach, examining fifty-three master's students' self-directed learning paths. They argued against the assumption that "learning is sequential" since educational settings have tremendously changed in the last few decades. School is not the only knowledge building space, though. Alternatively, online resources allow various forms of knowledge to be presented and inquired about. Therefore, learning processes are dynamic, due to the diverse initial learning conditions (which they refer to as communities), resources, and positions within a given space. Individuals' various initial learning conditions influence their learning patterns and result in different learning paths.

However, I argue that a spatio-dynamic ontology approach misses an essential dimension of language learning relative to WL writing. The differences of writing systems and cultural practices among learners' target languages and L1s affect writers' affordances in learning processes, which is not taken into account in a spatio-dynamic ontology approach. Normak et al.'s model (2012) situates participants' learning within preferred contexts and their self-selected learning tools. In addition, the interactions between learning paths and learning patterns are not sufficiently explained.

In short, Van Lier (2000), Bronfenbrenner (1979), and Gibson (2014) address the importance of relationships among subjects and environments and highlight the social effects of contexts in the knowledge construction process. From an ecological perspective, language learning is regarded as a social practice. It is not simply a linguistic acquisition; rather, the learning of a WL often is a dimension of people's everyday life. Learning language is often motivated and practiced through actions, rather than by learning mechanism operation. Undoubtedly, ecological perspectives address interactions between

subjects and environments; however, the effects of environmental change have not been carefully examined since CDS theory was developed by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron in 2008.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the identity shifts experienced by college students learning to write Mandarin within a language learning community and explore how these shifts relate to the idiosyncratic experiences of WL writers. I hypothesize that WL writers present identities differently in different languages. I also hypothesize that learning to write in a WL is not linear³ and that different learners master the process differently because they learn WLs for different purposes. In addition, different L1s and communities affect the experiences of learners.

One purpose of this study is to explore the writing identities of WL writers through the extension of CDS. In particular, I argue that WL writers draw on contextual dimensions, including cognitional, sociological, and cultural factors, as they learn to write in a new language. CDS theory invites scholars to recognize the nuances of WL writing in relation to available discourses about writing and provides a writer-centered space for those who are interested in investigating WL writing (Collin, 2009).

Using CDS as a research lens to examine, understand, and interpret my data will allow me to identify relationships among contexts and social interactions within individuals' ecosystems that contribute to identity shifts for WL writers. This qualitative

³ Here, linear refers to a sequential approach to language learning, such as a write-talk-revise process, which writing centers commonly suggest.

study will involve in-depth interviews and the analysis of students' written texts in Mandarin.

Research Questions

This study explores how WL writers engage in writing processes and how they respond to WL instruction. Bassetti and Cook (2005) argue that “the major task of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research must be to map out the complex relationship between these two languages in the same mind—whether they stay separate, interact, or merge” (p. 28). For Kostouli (2009), writing is not only an individual mental operation, but also a nexus of social practices. She observes that recent curricula view writing “as a tool for negotiating social meanings, for constructing identities, and for new ways of communicating with the world—ways that foster dialogue with writing” (p. 106). My argument is that over-emphasizing the conventions of writing in WL instruction may influence how learners perceive themselves as WL writers. Therefore, this dissertation will accordingly focus on these questions:

1. How do learners present their identities when writing in Mandarin? How do learners present their identities when writing in their L1s?
2. What are the affordances and constraints that affect emerging WL writers' identities when writing in Mandarin and in their L1s?
3. How do participants describe the effects of their participation when belonging to multiple language communities?

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR WL WRITING PEDAGOGY:

COMPLEX DYNAMIC SYSTEMS THEORY AND IDENTITY

This study draws on complex dynamic systems (CDS) theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a) and theories of identity (Gee, 2000), as related to WL writing issues. The application of these two theories enables me to explain how WL writers' external environments and internal mechanisms affect their identity shifts, affordances and constraints, and community practices in their writing processes.

CDS provides a transdisciplinary framework for examining WL writing processes. CDS also helps to understand the contexts that predict WL writers' performances. This study uses CDS because it offers a broad view on WL writing processes that includes change, space, complexity, relationships, initial conditions, openness and non-finality, adaption, and context within systems (Larsen-Freeman, 2015). However, in order to answer my research questions, I must connect CDS to theories of identity.

Since CDS provides little insight into WL writers' identities, identity theory is needed to answer my research questions. Gee (2000) defines identity as a unity of nature identity, institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity. These four dimensions enable me to examine how WL writers act and draw on both internal mechanisms and external environments. Together, CDS and identity theories contribute to this study because I am not only interested in WL writing processes but also in WL writers' identity shifts. To explore the interactions among complex dynamic WL writing

systems and WL writers' identities, CDS allows a focus on WL writing patterns that at times are affected by identity; this helps researchers analyze WL writers' identity construction. The next section will provide an overview of these theories.

Overview of Complex Dynamic Systems Theory and Identity Theory

CDS theory provides a framework for this study (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a). Physicists who were interested in chaos theory invented CDS to explain physical phenomena like the "butterfly effect," in which butterfly wings in South America might cause tornadoes in California. Researchers in both biological and social sciences use CDS. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) first applied it to language learning to illustrate the unpredictable and irreproducible features of an individual's language learning trajectory. The processes of WL writing development vary for individuals for many reasons. In short, individual WL writing development is unpredictable and irreproducible. In spite of this instability, WL writing occurs with writers' ecological systems and consistently maintains equilibrium among different systems because, as CDS explains, language learners have the ability to adapt to environmental changes and implement appropriate actions to balance shifting learning experiences.

Because of this, CDS provides an appropriate framework to examine WL writers' internal and external learning. Traditionally, researchers of WL education have disagreed with SLA researchers, who focus on innate linguistic ability. Researchers of SLA focus on how human mechanisms affect language learning, whereas WL education researchers focus on creating environments, designing curriculum, and developing instruction to enhance WL proficiency (Ringbom, 1980). WL writing is not only a behavior, but also a social practice that enables mental activity and development. In other words, WL writing

theory takes biological, psychological, and socio-cultural perspectives into account. This broad scope also supports the use of CDS and identity theory to deepen the understanding of WL writing theory.

Complex Dynamic Systems Theory

Three features of CDS are significantly related to WL writing: heterogeneity, agency, and attractors. Though WL writing processes are unpredictable, these features help researchers explore different writers' language.

Heterogeneity. WL writing reflects the heterogeneity of WL writers' social lives and language use (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a). Table 2.1 presents these differences. Identifying the heterogeneous dimension of WL writing is challenging, since many researchers have not always recognized the heterogeneity involved in WL writing; these studies of writing have generally focused on particular aspects of learning to write.

Table 2.1 Differences Related to WL Writers' Social Lives and Language Use Adapted from Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008)

Field (External)	Economic (External)	Finance (External)	Ecology (External)	Spoken Interaction (External)	Classroom Language Learning (External)	Psychology (Internal)
heterogeneity i.e., Students located in different universities, having different resources and campus climates.	tastes, incomes i.e., Students have different economics statuses that will influence how they value their WL learning processes.	risk, preferences, information i.e., Students select different institutes due to their financial situations.	eating, nesting, breeding, habits i.e., Ecology affects students' writing processes. Some people are productive in the morning.	language learning background, style, discourse topics i.e., Facial expressions and gestures affect communicat ion.	ability, personalities, learning demands i.e., Interactions with instructors and peers affect students' knowledge construction.	motivation, prior knowledge, learning strategies i.e., Past experiences decide how students adapt new knowledge and learning motivations.

According to Table 2.1, various factors interact within WL writers' writing processes and identities. In general, these dimensions can be sorted into two categories: internal mechanisms and external environmental influences. Traditionally, researchers of SLA tended to explore internal mechanisms, such as motivation and learning strategies, whereas researchers of language learning focused on external settings, including learners' learning environments, language communities, ecologies, and economic statuses.

Researchers of SLA generally argue that internal mechanisms activate language learning. For example, Chomsky (2006) described language as an innate human ability that is embedded in a universal grammar (UG). He explained that all languages contain referents and referees, and humans have the innate ability to learn grammatical patterns and express ideas. According to Chomsky, innate human language abilities result in different learning strategies, styles, and learning demands. Of the dimensions listed in Table 2.1, only the psychological dimensions of language reflect internal mechanisms.

In contrast, WL learning scholars consider the influences of external factors on learners' psychological states. They argue that appropriate interactions and experiences transmit second languages reliably. Table 2.1 lists several dimensions of differences related to external environments (field, economics, finance, ecology, spoken interaction, and classroom language learning).

WL writing theories address these external elements. They argue that multiple dimensions dynamically operate as WL learners learn to write a new language. To be successful, WL writers need to integrate both external environments and internal mechanisms, referred to in CDS theory as co-adaption. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron

(2008a) argue that “co-adaptation is an interactive process, with each individual adjusting to the other over and over again” (p. 126). This includes changes in human cognition, progress toward WL proficiency, the adaptation of environments, and connections within social contexts, which are all interconnected. To co-adapt these differences requires a longer timescale; it is impossible for WL writers to engage in learning environments, participate in communities, make progress in WL writing, and be successfully involved in the given contexts all at once. Since these changes relate to writers’ identities, co-adaptation is a lifetime practice. As such, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) argue that “co-adaptation is developmentally constructed, not programmed or performed. It comes into being through interactions between the organism and its surroundings as well as interactions within the organism” (p. 127).

That being said, WL writing differences are the result of interactions between external environments and internal mechanisms. Despite the fact that SLA researchers are prone to investigate internal mechanisms and WL learning scholars tend to focus on external environments, CDS theory regards all differences as constituting the heterogeneity of WL writers’ social lives and language use. In the next section, the notion of agency will be introduced to explain how WL writers make decisions while writing.

Agency. The heterogeneity of WL writing processes reflects complex relationships among writers’ internal mechanisms and various external environmental factors. These differences result in acts of agency by writers. Agency is the ability of individuals to make choices independently. For example, students behave differently as they learn to write in a WL because their acts of agency are most likely to reflect past experiences and prior patterns of activities. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) argue

that “humans make choices in the moment to employ the semiotic resources, including linguistic ones, they have had to realize their transactional, interpersonal, and self-expression goals”; however, “human agencies are being transformed beyond the consciousness of their speakers” (p. 8). That is to say, in WL writing development, a writer makes preferable and/or possible choices because of interactions between established internal mechanisms and external environmental factors.

CDS argues that agency is associated with “change” and a set of “attractors.” As such, the decisions people make are related to WL writing processes. CDS describes two types of change: changes in “the state of the system” and “phase shifts or bifurcations.” Changes in the state of the system reflect the dynamic actions of multiple behaviors at a particular point in time. For example, every WL writing class can be considered a performance of an activity, and WL writing curricula can be viewed as a system in which these performances exist. In a WL writing classroom, a student participates in classroom activities, such as reading aloud, giving presentations, practicing grammar exercises, and engaging in group discussions. In this microsystem, these activities interact dynamically—engaging human acts of agency, as well as influencing external elements. Changes constantly occur in systems, and learners expect them. When a class repeatedly experiences these four activities, these activities come to be expected in WL writing classes, even though they are not exactly the same each time they are experienced. This can be considered “the state of the system.”

The major difference between “the state of the system” and “phase shifts” (or bifurcations) is the degree of the change to the system. “The state of the system” indicates a synthesis of changes that come from heterogeneous sources; in turn, “phase shifts”

create radical changes in a snapshot or sudden change to a new mode (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a). From an ecological systems perspective, phase shifts significantly impact an individual's microsystem. A dramatic change in an individual's primary activity may result from interactions with other systems and can influence other systems as well. For example, phase shifts such as attending a new school, entering new classrooms, having new instructors, occupying a new seat, having new classmates, using new textbooks, entering a new community, following a new schedule, and encountering new curricula all affect the transfer student. The student has to adapt to sudden changes and become accustomed to engaging in the new environment.

Human agency influences WL writers' language learning behaviors. When faced with different types of changes ("state of the system" or "phase shifts"), CDS scholars argue that individuals either exercise agency according to their past experiences or preferred/possible actions in relation to interactions among external environmental factors and internal mechanisms (Hiver, 2015; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a; Piniel & Csizer, 2015). As described above, an attractor plays a significant role in deciding whether a learner's learning activities are preferred or possible.

Attractors. Attractors⁴ reflect a set of various properties that emerge and are situated within a given context. Lucas (2006) argues that attractors can be applied to the human mind, and systems of attractors eventually stabilize in a periodic or chaotic trajectory. According to connectivism, Lucas (2006) argues that learning is a networking process that learners prioritize. As a result, learners build up learning paths based on past

⁴ An attractor is a part of particular behaviors or a pattern of movements in systems, which are the modes that the system prefers.

experiences rather than innate ability. Attractors serve as current information for learners to sort out, to help select their learning resources in the given contexts. When unpredictable events occur in a WL writing process, WL writers have the ability to adapt in order to maintain stability and move toward balance. Adaption is an innate human ability that enables people to understand their writing processes.

Hiver (2015) describes an attractor as “a pocket of stability.” Attractors can vary within given recurring contexts. A butterfly flying around in a garden is a stable hunting pattern; however, the weather system is unpredictably sensitive and could be affected by sudden changes related to the butterfly’s flapping wings. In this sense, the butterfly effect implies that agency generally operates along a preferred path in a WL learning process, but still may be affected by possible changes related to unpredictable attractors.

A trajectory of WL learning is affected by three types of attractors (see Table 2.2): fixed point, cyclic (or closed loop), and chaotic (or strange). First, a fixed point attractor is the most predictable change in daily life. Since it is stable, people are most likely to exercise agencies in preferred ways based on their past experiences. For example, bringing a dictionary to a WL writing class could be a successful strategy for a student to adapt to the new environment. This recurring behavior (bringing a dictionary) helps the student accommodate to change in a new WL class since new vocabulary may be randomly introduced in new situations.

Second, a cyclic (or closed loop) attractor occurs within a longer timescale, such as a month, semester, or year. Since it exists in a larger timescale, the stability of a cyclic (or closed loop) attractor is less than that of the fixed point attractor. Writing a thesis can

be regarded as a process that might typically involve cyclic attractors. There are various unstable events in a thesis writing process, including reading WL literature, making appointments with committee members, working with professional editors, fulfilling other duties related to thesis writing, and being interrupted by irrelevant events. Some relationships become cyclic attractors that recur during this process, and they may stably or unstably interact with each other. Therefore, within this closed loop, WL writers exercise agency in preferred or possible ways to adapt to changes until the periodical goals are accomplished or failed.

Third, a chaotic attractor is unpredictable but not random. This attractor is also called a strange attractor because it may have significant effects that seem irrelevant in relation to the ultimate consequences. Chaotic attractors can be seen as significant interferences that result in a major consequence with appropriate conditions. For instance, say that a little bug flew in a student's laptop and destroyed all saved documents, including the WL writer's thesis. The idea that such a trivial single event could result in one's graduation being postponed may sound ridiculous. However, chaotic attractors exist and function with appropriate conditions. A chaotic attractor challenges how human agency deals with these irrelevant, unpredictable, non-negotiable changes in daily life.

In Table 2.2, the three types of attractors are described further. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) claim that humans have the innate ability to co-adapt to the complexity of multiple systems and to self-organize attractors in systems to maintain stability.

Table 2.2 Three Types of Attractors in CDS Adapted from Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008)

Type of Attractors	Definition	Example in WL writing systems
Fixed point attractor	The simplest and the most stable attractor which always remains in a preferred state.	Regular take home writing assignments. Students submit their assignments and teachers return with feedback in the following class.
Cyclic (or closed loop) attractor	A periodical move which is mostly like to be seen as a dynamic predator-prey system.	The midterm and the final can be considered a cyclic or closed attractor. It creates a competitive climate in the class in that period.
Chaotic (or strange) attractor	An unpredictable but not random attractor. It makes a system unstable.	A bug flew into a student's laptop and the laptop was dead afterward. All the written documents were gone, including graduation thesis.

As you can see, attractors are situated in learners' contexts and ultimately remain stable after varying for some time. Different types of attractors occur in learners' daily lives and affect learners in different ways. The complexity of the writing process is influenced by various types of attractors, but is also determined by human agency and identity. In the next section, identity theory is discussed to strengthen the relevance of identity and CDS.

Identity

Gee's (2000) definition of identity is applied to this study. He argues that a person's identity actually entails multiple identities. Gee argues that these multiple

identities co-exist and can be viewed from four perspectives: nature identity, institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity.

Nature Identity. Nature identity reflects the natural physical elements and psychological mechanisms of identity (Gee, 2000). One's color, gender, race, physical traits, innate abilities, and learning aptitudes are all a part of nature identity. It is undeniable that I am an Asian woman born in Taiwan, and this nature identity affects other dimensions of the self. For example, I speak both Mandarin and Taiwanese because of my family. However, I choose to maintain my Taiwanese proficiency due to my nature identity as a Taiwanese woman. I never expect someone to recognize me as white or black. I love to engage in different racial communities, but I am an Asian woman from Taiwan, and this is my nature identity that I present.

Institution Identity. Institution identity relates to one's position in a given context. One's position is authorized by institutions and acknowledged by society (Gee, 2000). For example, people may identify me as an international student from Asia in accordance with my nature identity, which I am unable to hide. My institution identity is not inborn; it is constructed by social expectations and values for one's institutional and social role. My visa status proves that I am an international doctoral student originally from Taiwan. Therefore, my institution identity is authorized and documented by the U.S. government. Moreover, I am expected to affiliate with the school of education at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in the United States. As you can see, my institution identity represents my status in the U.S. context, and it creates certain social expectations and limitations, including “knowledge producer” in higher education. My institution allows me to take courses in a specific field and use campus resources to produce

knowledge according to existing standards and regulations. I am expected to publish academic papers with the Institution Research Board's (IRB) approval to verify my research ethics. Principal investigators, who are granted by universities to supervise the research processes and authorize the research findings, mentor my research work. On the contrary, I am not allowed to do research without institutional oversight if I want to maintain my institution identity.

Discourse Identity. Discourse identity is about how individuals recognize each other through social affiliations (Gee, 2000). Discourse identity is associated with languages, materials, activities, semiotics, and sociocultural aspects (Gee & Green, 1998). To recognize one's discourse identity, one must attend to the topics raised in daily conversations, the speakers' tone, and the language used. Discourses operate within and through participant institutions. For Gee (2011), "[D]iscourse is a dance that exists in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of words, deeds, values, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places and in the here and now as a performance that is recognizable as just such a coordination" (p. 19). Human language activities occur in primary and secondary discourse. Primary discourse refers to daily language use in an individual's primary setting, whereas secondary discourse engages in language use in the public sphere (Gee, 2011). My discourse identity can be seen in both my primary and secondary discourses. Talking about my research life sounds different in my primary and secondary discourse. In my academic discourse, I would precisely name and title my committee members if I mentioned them. This relates to my professionalism as a graduate student and my respect for my teachers. However, when I talk to family members about my academic life, I only use the first names of the professors. It is not common practice for my family members to

use people's titles in our daily conversations. However, my sense making dynamically interplays with my primary and secondary discourses, which means I intentionally speak differently in different discourse spaces. However, this does not mean I can clearly change my tone or genre. My discourse identity is incorporated with my primary and secondary discourses. This incorporation is an interactive process involving how I become aware of my discourse identities (Gee, 2011).

Affinity Identity. Affinity identity reflects one's communities of practice, such as the information that an individual shares and the groups they belong to (Gee, 2000). Different from institution identity, affinity identity does not necessarily involve official practices or authorized activities. It may connect to institution identity, but does not speak to the credibility or reliability of the results. Because affinity identity relates to personal interests, it could involve lifestyles, beliefs, rituals, and/or social practices. It could connect with other identities, but not necessarily be relevant to them. My affinity identity allows me to be a participant in events related to Taiwanese democracy activities, female issues, Asian studies, Korean drama, Zumba dance, and American fashion. These social practices are not directly related to my other identities but significantly influence my lifestyle.

Gee's (2000) four identities relate to my three research questions. First, I am interested in how WL learners' experience identity shifts during WL writing processes. The interviewees' nature identities help me understand the impact of physical differences among WL writers. Their institution identities reflect the students' intentions in learning Mandarin as a WL in relation to institutional practices and policies. Second, this study also explores affordances and constraints that WL writers encounter while writing. WL

writers' discourse identities reflect their values and beliefs through daily conversations. Their identities reveal how they perceive their learning environments and reflect on their learning processes. Third, the last research question deals with WL writers' communities of practices. WL writers may participate in formal and/or informal activities that represent either their affinity identities or institution identities, or both.

Using Gee's theory of identity helps to conceptualize my research questions and methodologies, in order to explore connections between WL and identity construction. In the next section, I describe the relevance of both CDS and Gee's identity theory to this study.

The Relevance of CDS and Identity

In this study, I merge complex dynamic systems (CDS) theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a) and Gee's (2000) theory of identity to provide a framework for examining WL writing pedagogy. My argument for using both is that CDS lacks an explicit explanation regarding the relationships within human agency identity (wherein identity theory comes in), and CDS informs WL writing pedagogy. In this section, I review the relationships among the different identities described by Gee (2000) and offer CDS as a way to explain the relevance of writers' identities and writing activities.

Identity is a multiple-faced construction (Gee, 2000). Gee's four dimensions of identity should not be seen as suggesting that identities emerge from separate dimensions. My analysis focuses on these four dimensions of identity and how they link reference agency as it operates within complex dynamic systems.

CDS and Nature Identity. CDS theory regards WL writing processes as unpredictable and ungeneralizable due to heterogeneous factors, including different acts of agency and attractors within WL writing processes (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a). This section illustrates how human agency affects how people construct their nature identity within complex dynamic systems.

Identity is neither fully artificial nor environmentally constructed. Gee's (2000) theory of nature identity reflects the biological influences that Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) address as part of complex dynamic learning processes. CDS focuses on relationships within language systems that not only involve reciprocal interactions among external factors but also learners' internal mechanisms, such as their language learning aptitudes. Gee (2000) argues that nature identity is imposed by nature. For example, it is undeniable and resolute that WL writers have different levels of proficiency due to cultural and social differences and differences in development. Nature identity reflects biological influences and partially directs how WL writers exercise agency.

I argue that nature identity derives from both physical and psychological dimensions. Gender identity is a physical feature that individuals would struggle to deny, whereas language learning aptitude is a psychological mechanism that can dynamically shift due to external influences such as learning performances. While gender and language learning aptitude are dimensions of nature identity that individuals inherit and are unlikely to change, some dimensions of nature identity may appear to shift due to the interactions with external environments, as in the case of learning aptitude.

For example, Piniel and Csizer's (2015) study uses CDS as a framework to investigate the writing self-efficacy of college students majoring in English within a

semester. Their findings show that students maintained the same motivation but decreased their self-efficacy due to the increased difficulty of tasks. In other words, students claimed to like English, but were less confident that they could write it well. Increasingly challenging writing tasks made students falsely underestimate their writing proficiencies. Their strong willingness to learn to write did not decrease across the semester, but their beliefs in their abilities to write well gradually decreased.

While students' language learning aptitudes did not change, some students questioned or reshaped their assessment of their natural abilities and underestimated their language learning aptitude when they encountered increasingly challenging tasks. Nature identity is a collective self-concept that reflects how an individual identifies his/her biological features. An individual may identify as a female, English speaker, Caucasian, with a strong language-learning aptitude. This is unlikely to change, but individuals may shift their understandings due to changes in their environment.

Over time, a student who keeps failing her English writing assignments, experiencing learning frustrations with advanced tasks, and finding herself in discouraging environments may question her natural ability to effectively learn a WL due to these environmental "facts." Additionally, the uncertainty of learning aptitudes can result in learning difficulties. The complexity of learners' ecologies may affect their identity constructions, including what they connect to their natural abilities as a writer.

CDS and Institution Identity. A WL writer's institution identity is responsive to acts of agency. CDS argues that individuals do not always act the same but display various learning patterns when facing heterogeneous factors in their lives. These learning patterns reflect WL writers' preferred activities related to their various identities.

Institution identity results from an individual's position in society. On one hand, it involves authorities that offer resources to WL writers. On the other hand, institutions hold writers accountable for their writing performances. Although there are various writing purposes and forms of writing, WL writers exercise preferred or possible agency to construct institution identities. Not only are individuals responsible to these institutions, but they are also supported by specific institutions in particular ways (Gee, 2000; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a).

As you can see in Table 2.1, WL writers' institution identities are constructed within multiple fields, ecologies, and financial situations. Different fields reflect distinctive institutions that bring various regulations and policies that encourage or discourage WL writers' writing activity. Different ecologies relate to the diverse habits that WL writers assume, as well as their living conditions. WL writers operate across various institutions, and these ecologies can inform their decisions related to writing. Differing financial support from various institutions relates to WL writers' autonomy and agency in managing their learning trajectories.

That being said, institution identity significantly interacts with human agency because individuals make various decisions that correspond to their social expectations and thus construct their institution identity. Within a complex dynamic WL writing system, a WL writer is constrained and/or supported by a given institution in terms of

fields, ecologies, and finances. Institution identity is not only related to nature identity but also discourse identity. It is daily social practice to act and/or speak appropriately, so that people can recognize an individual's identity and then carry out appropriate interactions with others. The relationship between CDS and discourse identity will be explained in the following section.

CDS and Discourse Identity. Unlike nature identity or institution identity, discourse identity is recognized rather than imposed or authorized. When we describe one's identity, nature identity and institution identity can be observed based on biological characteristics or social status. Conversations are processes for understanding and meaning making. Having conversations does not only entail initial assessment of people's identities and positions, but also the ways in which they continue to demonstrate themselves. It is a recurring process to know one's characteristics, personality, and/or dispositions. In short, people understand each other and make meanings through language interactions (Gee, 2000). Gee (2011) states that Discourse (with a capital "D") "involves acting-interacting-thinking-valuing-talking-writing-reading in the appropriate way with the appropriate props at the appropriate times in appropriate places" (p. 17). The notion of discourse identity is particularly important for the current study because it provides a framework to examine how WL writers rationalize their writing processes and interact with others within complex dynamic systems.

People create identities by drawing on and using Discourses. Gee (2010) critiques traditional linguistic theories that suggest that WL learning is about internal mechanisms (i.e., developments, proficiencies, abilities) and standards (at corrections). In fact, language is socially contested, and it cannot be practiced without meaning. Discourse

identity is a meaning-making process through which individuals construct their identities while conveying meanings. It is a process for WL writers that engage in various dimensions of environment, community, and identity.

Table 2.1 identifies heterogeneous factors that affect learners' spoken interactions and their classroom language learning. For CDS, Discourse is complex, dynamic, and contextual, and involves various potential attractors. While CDS advocates that human agency is maintained in patterned ways, CDS also recognizes that unpredictable moves might occur at anytime (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008b). Whether decision-making processes maintain stability or result in sudden change, discourse identity reflects individuals' meaning construction in different situations because individuals reflect various identities when engaging in distinctive Discourses.

How human agency is exercised depends on how individuals perceive and respond to environments while demonstrating their discourse identities. In WL writing, this process relates to writers' language backgrounds, expression styles, learning abilities, and personalities (see Table 2.1). WL writers' discourse identities reflect different types of attractors and thus they exercise agencies differently. According to Gee (2011), language occurs within primary and secondary Discourses. Primary Discourses refer to daily language use in an individual's primary setting, whereas secondary Discourses engage people within language use in other public spheres. As a result, the use of primary and secondary Discourses occurs dynamically in WL classrooms as WL writers either follow established patterns or co-adapt to changes within new contexts.

CDS and Affinity Identity. Affinity identity reflects interests that individuals share with members of communities. It entails various social practices in which individuals actively participate. Affinity identities are associated with individuals' networks and reflect the contexts people occupy (Gee, 2000; Mercer, 2015).

Affinity identity significantly influences WL writers' writing processes and maps out relationships among individuals and their relevant affiliations. These relationships are complex, dynamic, and different. Mercer (2015) concludes that networks can be structured as patterns of behavior that affect the nature of relationships, ensuring development. Gee (2000) argues that affinity identities reflect individuals' lifestyles, but do not necessarily relate to their nature identities and institution identities. For example, WL writers learning Mandarin as a WL may speak, write, act, think, or live like a Chinese person, but may not have been biologically born as Chinese or authorized by a Chinese-related institution.

Mercer (2015) uses the terms "uniplexity" and "multiplexity" to describe the complex links among relationships based on CDS. Mercer (2015) claims that the network structures among different identities could be connected uni-directionally, dual-directionally, or multi-directionally. Uniplexity indicates a relationship limited to mutual interactions that affect only one role. Multiplexity refers to multiple relationships that entail different roles. For example, a WL writer and her instructor could be limited to a uniplex relationship in which they only function as teacher and student within a particular educational setting. In short, their identities are interplayed uni-directionally in terms of institution identity. Or, they could develop multiplex relationships as teacher and student, reader and writer, friends, neighbors, or colleagues. Here, there are multiple identities

connected multi-directionally that include institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity. Examining these relationships could explain how and why individuals exercise agency, what changes or attractors occur in their communities, and what agential actions they practice.

To summarize, CDS provides a comprehensive framework to examine the complex dynamic systems in WL writing but explores little about the relevance of human agency and identity (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a; Gee, 2000). In contrast, people's decision-making processes are associated with various aspects of agency and their identities, which are related to each other. Without carefully examining WL writers' nature, institution, discourse, and affiliation identities, CDS is unable to investigate the interactions within the WL writing system. Therefore, conceptualizing a theoretical framework that involves both CDS and identity theory is helpful to investigate WL writing processes, as it allows me to answer the research questions that address WL writers' identity shifts, as well as affordances and constraints of particular contexts and within communities of practice (Gee, 2000; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008a).

CHAPTER THREE

IDENTITY, TRANSFER, AND CULTURE

The literature review is categorized into three sections based on the research questions. The first section explores the relationship between WL writers' identities and writing discourses (Cote & Levine, 2002; Ivanic, 1998; Kormos, 2012; Liu, 2011; Pomerantz & Kearney, 2012). The second section reviews linguistic transfer and knowledge transfer ((Bournot-Trites & Séror, 2010; Chen, 1999; DePalma & Ringer, 2011; Durgunoğlu, 2002; Kasper, 1992; Kormos, 2012a; Pasquarella, Chen, Lam, Luo, & Ramirez, 2011). The last section addresses Chinese learning culture by reviewing detailed accounts of Chinese classrooms (Commander, Zhao, Li, Zabrocky, & Agler, 2014; Corcoran, 2014; Fuson & Li, 2014; Lee, 2014; Li, 2001, 2003; Lu, Jiang, Yu, & Li, 2014; Ma, 2014).

World Language Writing and Identity

Multiple studies acknowledge the interaction between WL writing and writers' identities, despite the fact that those studies draw on different discourses about writing. As will be discussed in the following section, Ivanic (1998), Pomerantz and Kearney (2012), and Rahimivand and Kuhi (2014) address academic writing. Ivanic (1998) and Pomerantz and Kearney (2012) adopt a qualitative method, whereas Rahimivand and Kuhi (2014) use a quantitative approach. Liu (2011) claims that the WL writers' intertextualities⁵ could be affected by politics. Taylor and Cummins (2011) investigate

⁵ According to Ivanic (1998), the distinction between genre and discourse help us understand the notions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The former refers to WL writers' intellectual abilities in referencing multiple texts to position themselves in particular social realms. The later indicates writers' conventional expressions with paternal types due to their identities.

multilingual classrooms and find that the marginalized WL writers' writing performances are highly relevant to the feedback from members in their microsystems. Kormos (2012) focuses on WL writers' cognition and motivation, which not only relates to WL writers' identities but also their language investments.

Ivanic (1998) argues that WL writing studies are associated with identity and can be categorized in four ways: a writer's autobiographical self, a writer's discoursal self, the self as author, and socially available possibilities for selfhood/subject positions. These modes interact with WL writers' identity capitals in different ways.

Ivanic (1998) specifically addresses the relationship between one's writing and discoursal selves. Her case study describes how a first generation college student suffers through writing processes due to multi-positioned identities. Being unskilled with technology results in her detachment from the academic community, while the gap between theoretical practice and occupational experience⁶ leads to her failure to complete the assignment. To some extent, she negotiates her identity and "plays the game"⁷ in her writing. A love-hate relationship between her writing and identity constructs her new identity as a diploma-getter but a dishonest writer.

Pomerantz and Kearney (2012) interview international doctoral students in the United States who write in English as their WL. They find that WL writers focus on English academic writing in ways that sacrifice content ideas. In other words, international doctoral students pay more attention to the English academic writing genre

⁶ The interviewee is a social worker before she enrolls in the social work department. She thinks the theory isn't useful in her workplace, and she feels her work experience disconnects with her study.

⁷ She regards the social science writing discipline as a game that applies a theory to convince a reader, whether or not it is practical in the workplace.

and style than to their ideas about the research topic. Pomerantz and Kearney (2012) argue that WL writing does not conform simply to a “write-talk-revise” model. Their investigations explore multiple discursal factors that affect WL writers’ identities, including English genre, readers’ (such as their advisors) expectations, and academic writing as a discipline.

Rahimivand and Kuhi (2014) adopt Ivanic’s framework to examine WL writers’ scholarly academic performances in Iran. They describe five markers of performance: hedges, evidence, booster, attitude, and self-promotion. They use a meta-linguistic approach to show how WL writers present their identities in the introductory sections of the papers they write. They also show that the marker of “attitude” is underused by some WL writers who are less confident in displaying for their identities; these WL writers were prone to cite as many scholars as possible in their academic papers to ensure the legitimacy of their ideas. Rahimivand and Kuhi (2014) advocate for recognizing relationships between WL writing and identity; however, insufficient qualitative data makes the research findings less contextualized.

Liu’s study (2011) indicates that power differentiations between WL writers and readers could result in different identity constructions. She pairs non-English native speakers (NENSs) and English native speakers (ENSs) as pen pals, and then interviews them across two semesters. According to Liu’s (2011) investigation, some NENSs accommodate writing strategies and modify writing content to increase mutual understanding. NENSs are prone to use more alternative writing strategies, such as adding symbols to demonstrate facial expressions and using informal etiquette to communicate. However, in some cases, NENSs feel that ENSs take advantage of English

and are unwilling to understand the struggles of NENSs. For example, one NENS feels that she is subordinate in her pen pal relationship. She feels that her pen pal gives a perfunctory reply when she brings up cultural topics in their conversations. In addition, she feels that she is a tutee, responsible for enriching the dialogue by improving her English-writing proficiency.

Kormos (2012) recognizes that different WL writers develop distinctive learning abilities; additionally, different languages rely on mastering various abilities. Take Mandarin as an example. Learning Mandarin requires stronger visual memory due to its writing system. In Kormos' study (2012), the participants report different WL writing challenges due to the demands of the target languages. However, Kormos (2012) concludes that these distinctions also reflect individual cognitive factors and motivation. I argue that the writers' psychological factors are related to their identity construction and that WL writers' writing decisions result from prior writing experiences.

Therefore, to explore WL writers' writing process development and identities, several factors should be addressed: 1) WL writers' social status in the language community; 2) WL writers' identity shifts in active and passive circumstances; 3) WL writers' psychological state, including writing motivation and language learning aptitude; and 4) language differences among writers' L1 and other WL writing systems. In order to theorize WL writing pedagogy, these factors must be addressed in-depth because, as described previously, they significantly affect writers' writing performances and processes.

Transfer across Writing Systems

Multiple studies address connections among writers' identities and writing discourses (Bassetti & Cook, 2005; Chan & Bergen, 2005 ; Durgunoğlu, 2002; Guan, Liu, Chan, Ye, & Perfetti, 2011; Kasper, 1992; Leong, 2011; Qu, Damian, Zhang, & Zhu, 2011) . This section addresses relationships among writing systems, especially the Mandarin system. It also reviews contexts that will be helpful in addressing my research questions that are related to writers' affordances and constraints that accompany writing in Mandarin.

This section reviews literature about transfer across writing systems, which is a cognitional process that demonstrates how much WL writers can afford to pay attention to the target writing systems (Gibson, 2014). Gibson takes ecological components into account to explain the complexity of writing behaviors. A writing system is neither something that can be possessed nor a subjective experience. Instead, WL writers perceive and enact target language writing systems by drawing on the affordances of their native language.

To avoid over-generalization, it is crucial to clarify what WL writing systems are explicitly addressed in this proposal. To narrow the scope of investigation, this study builds on research that focuses on Mandarin writing systems.

Definition of Transfer across Writing Systems. Woodworth and Thorndike (1901) are the first to use the term “transfer” to describe a psychological process where learners extend what they learn from one context to new contexts (Byrne, 1996). This study will focus on transfer across WL writing systems.

Bassetti and Cook (2005) define WL language transfer as occurring on a continuum. WL writing transfer is a knowledge-obtaining process with multiple grammars in one mind. A multilingual writer unintentionally expresses ideas in different utterances, grammars, and genres based on their prior writing experience. To adapt different writing systems, WL writers develop diverse writing strategies for distinctive writing systems (Bassetti & Cook, 2005).

An Introduction to Writing Systems. Writing systems can be categorized into two major categories: meaning-based and sound-based (Bassetti & Cook, 2005). Meaning-based writing systems are assembled by morphemes and involve graphemes that directly link to meanings. Mandarin is a meaning-based language; its independent characters must be recognized in order to understand the texts.

Other writing systems are sound-based and intensively linked phonetically to spoken language. There are two units for the pronunciation of sound: syllables and phonemes. A syllable is a unit of pronunciation having one vowel sound, with or without consonants. For instance, the Japanese Kana is a well-known syllable writing system. A phoneme is a set of letters that directly corresponds to speech sounds. Additionally, two types of script—consonantal and alphabetic—are used in phoneme systems (Figure 3.1). The distinction between alphabetic and consonantal systems is phonological transparency. An alphabetic writing system corresponds less to its spoken language in comparison with a consonantal system. Alphabetic systems reflect vowels and/or consonants, whereas consonantal systems reflect all consonants. English is an alphabetic system, and Turkish is a consonantal system. The Turkish writing system uses phonemes regularly and vowels are harmoniously co-listed in a lexicon. For example, “manager” is spelled as “manajer”

in Turkish, “hobby” is spelled as “hobi,” “televizyon” in Turkish means “television,” “train” becomes “tren,” and “boat” is spelled as “bot.” These instances demonstrate that Turkish is a writing system with comparatively high phonological transparency (Bassetti & Cook, 2005).

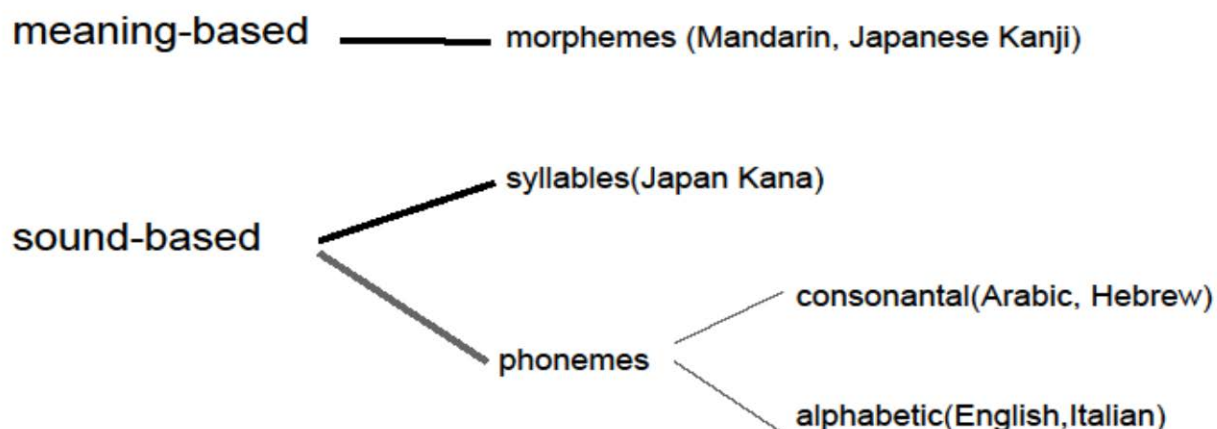


Figure 3.1 Major Types of Writing Systems (Bassetti & Cook, 2005)

This study investigates college students who learn Mandarin as a WL and engage with different L1 writing systems. Therefore, understanding the differences between writing systems facilitates our understanding of potential transfer processes.

Transfer among WLs to the Mandarin Writing System. Numerous studies (Bassetti & Cook, 2005; Chan & Bergen, 2005; Durgunoğlu, 2002; Guan, Liu, Chan, Ye, & Perfetti, 2011; Kasper, 1992; Leong, 2011; Qu, Damian, Zhang, & Zhu, 2011) stress that the L1 writing system significantly affects cross-language writing performance. These influences affect different aspects because WL writing can be transferred in terms of writing strategy, linguistic ability, and knowledge (Karim & Nassaji, 2013). When WL

writers transfer distinctive skills across languages, they perform differently in WL writing and encounter diverse learning difficulties.

Over the last few decades, scholars of writing transfer have focused on various topics in relation to Mandarin. Wang and Kirkpatrick (2012) state that the unique Mandarin tonal phonetic system and the logographical script system complicate language transfer processes for people whose L1 is not a meaning-based language. Chan and Bergen (2005) note that writing orientation and directionality influence spatial cognition, which affects the transfer across writing systems. They present speakers of English, Chinese, and Taiwanese (ten of each), all of whom were right handed, with a series of images for three seconds and asked them to recall the images. Writers of English recall significantly more images in the top-left area, while Chinese and Taiwanese writers recall more images from the top-right area. This is because English is written from the top-left to right, whereas Chinese is written from the top-right down, moving toward the left. This suggests that confronting a different directional writing system affects WL writers' attention and recall.

Symbol formation is another variable that affects WL writing transfer. Lee and Kalyuga (2011) claim that comprehension of Mandarin characters is constrained for sound-based writing system writers, due to the limited load on working memory operated by sound-based system users. Their study (2011) finds that English speakers respond more effectively when characters and Pinyin (the Chinese spelling system) are displayed vertically because English and Mandarin have different symbol formations (Figure 3.2). Vertical display connects the Mandarin character with its pronunciation, whereas a parallel display does not highlight the symbol connection between Mandarin and English.

I argue that Lee and Kalyuga's study (2011b) is innovative, but does not establish a pedagogical contribution to WL writing studies. Symbol formation affects WL writing transfer because it relates to writers' abilities with diverse language forms. Take an English–Chinese textbook as an example, where multiple writing systems are presented; the textbook combines Mandarin characters, Pinyin, and English translations. Regardless of learners' L1 writing systems, they cannot learn efficiently due to the confusion of symbol formation.

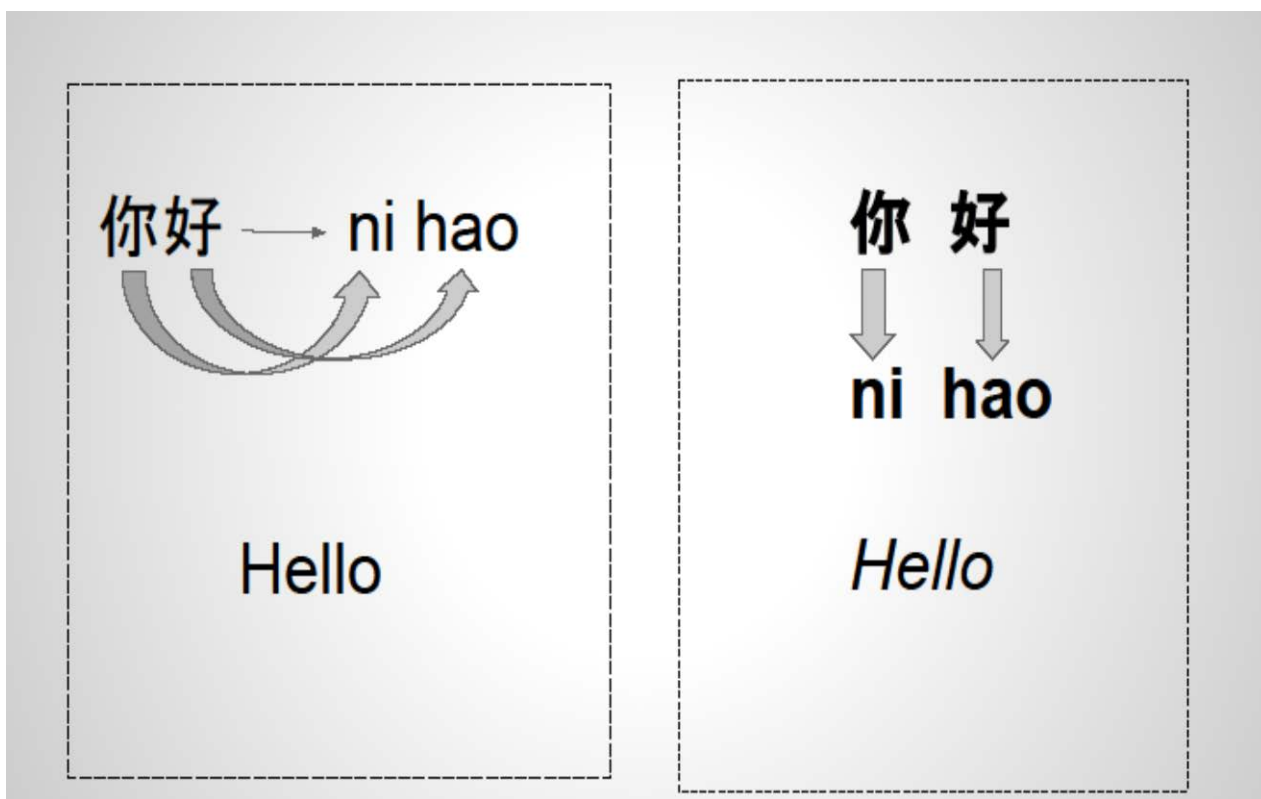


Figure 3.2 The vertical and horizontal displays between Pinyin and Chinese characters

Linguistics scholars have shown that different learning affects the features of distinctive writing systems. (Pasquarella et al., 2011) examine Mandarin–English bilingual elementary students' cross-language transfer and find that students transfer compound words most effectively but morphology least effectively. The similarity of

lexical structures stated as compound words in both languages facilitates the transfer of writing in Mandarin. In contrast, Mandarin morphology limits the transfer of word recognition. Mandarin is a meaning-based writing system, which has a different word form from English. English words consist of phonemes and display word roots in the alphabet. Mandarin characters display word roots in pictograms and phonemes. The distinction of writing systems should be taken into account in a WL classroom. Teachers should incorporate students' linguistic awareness and meta-awareness to bridge the two languages (Pasquarella et al., 2011).

In relation to morphology, Opitz, Schneiders, Krick, and Mecklinger (2014) suggest that the Mandarin writing system imposes particular demands on the writers' visual memory. They design a working memory training session to test German speakers who have no relevant logographic language knowledge related to the Chinese language. They find that frequent visual memory activation bolsters Mandarin vocabulary learning and suggest that this might transfer to writing. However, this experimental study insufficiently explores reasons for transfer differs. It is also questionable as to whether the trainees are able to apply the given vocabulary contextually or composedly when they engage in conversations. In short, Opitz, Schneiders, Krick, and Mecklinger's (2014) study claims that visual memory is related to the recognition of Mandarin characters. Nonetheless, the research findings do not tell if these trainees were able to apply Mandarin characters in the right contexts. In other words, visual memory facilitates learners' character recognition, but does not necessarily help learners transfer their writing skills in Mandarin. If learners contextualize the given Mandarin characters by episodic memory, then visual memory activation would not be the sole consideration.

In accordance with Opitz, Schneiders, Krick, and Mecklinger (2014), visual memory is significantly associated with WL writers' ability to utilize the Mandarin writing system. However, Cook (2014) notes that the teaching trend for Mandarin writing focuses on phonetic approaches instead of traditional morphologography because computer-based writing is overtaking handwriting. The distinction between handwriting and typing is that handwriting strongly relies on visual memory in terms of symbols, whereas typing requires spelling the sound of a character and then selecting the targeted word from a list of different characters that are pronounced the same. That is to say, visual memory is still required, but it is not the sole psychological condition.

Transfer between the Mandarin and English writing systems is not only challenging to WL learners of Mandarin but also to Chinese immigrant students in the United States (Xiao & Wong, 2014). As Xiao and Wong (2014) note, writing in Mandarin is a stressful learning process due to the complexity of Mandarin characters. This remains an issue, in spite of students' high proficiency in speaking and listening. Xiao and Wong (2014) agree that computer-based writing eases demands because heritage students are able to select characters from the word list and are less anxious about handwriting.

Therefore, it is evident that transfer involving Mandarin affects WL writers' learning (Basseti & Cook, 2005; Chan & Bergen, 2005; Cook, 2014; Lee & Kalyuga, 2011; Opitz et al., 2014; Pasquarella et al., 2011; Xiao & Wong, 2014). Traditionally, handwriting is the most common way for teachers to introduce Mandarin writing systems, and for students to practice writing Mandarin characters (Shen, 2013). Writing orientation, symbol formation, and lexical coinage all affect WL learners' writing

performance across writing systems (Chan & Bergen, 2005; C. H. Lee & Kalyuga, 2011; Pasquarella et al., 2011). However, different writing systems result in transfer difficulty in the target language. Despite the fact that visual memory significantly affects Mandarin character recognition, a lack of evidence exists to illustrate the correlation between visual memory and Mandarin writing proficiency (Opitz et al., 2014).

While Cook (2014) optimistically addresses the potential transfer across English and Mandarin writing systems for phonetic computer-based writing, there is scant research exploring phonemic writing processes in relation to logographic writing systems. The English writing system is generally investigated in comparison to Mandarin; however, WL learners use diverse WL writing systems, not just English. I argue that writing systems other than English should be taken into account since Mandarin learners come from all over the world and speak a wide range of L1s.

As a result, transfer between Mandarin and L1 writing systems are associated with a writer's linguistic proficiency and transfer ability, as well as instructional approaches. This study investigates how people who use different writing systems learn the Mandarin writing process. Specifically, I analyze the affordances and constraints of Mandarin in relation to various language backgrounds, proficiencies, transfer skills, and learning approaches.

Mandarin writing is only one dimension of Chinese culture. However, exploring Mandarin writing processes while disregarding the cultural dimension would create an incomplete picture. Accordingly, the following section examines Chinese learning culture and the teacher's role in addressing my third research question.

When Western Education Meets Chinese Culture: Differences between Learning and Teaching

WL writing is an intersubjective process that allows writers to express identities and portray thoughts in different languages. Although Chinese is taught by different instructors and in distinctive regions, each variation of change presents its own values and epistemology through the creation of vocabulary, writing systems, idioms, and so on. When multicultural writers are exposed to Mandarin writing pedagogy, some writers adapt to this intertextual process quickly, while others have a harder time—possibly due to different cultural orientations.

The Definition of Learning in Chinese Culture. In order to answer the final research question about WL writers' communities of practice and to understand how Chinese culture is embedded in the writing process, this section will define learning and the teacher's role in Chinese culture.

Every language community has its own forms of knowledge, rituals of learning, and cultural practices. Learning has been conceptualized differently in distinctive cultures. Li (2001) states that “[c]ultural models [for learning] refer to culturally constructed and shared domains of knowledge that serve to structure and constrain people’s experiences, supplying interpretations and inferences about those experiences and goals for action in a given culture” (p. 113). If this is true, Chinese language is embedded in Chinese models of learning; thus, language becomes an agent of cognition and shapes learners’ experiences.

For Li (2001, 2003), learning is a form of mind-orientation in Western pedagogy, whereas learning is a form of person-orientation in the Chinese model. Western pedagogy

assumes that learning is a natural behavior required for individual cognition. A person's capacity for learning depends on their abilities and learning achievements, which are associated with the learner's social contexts. On the other hand, learning in a Chinese model is about becoming a moral contributor to society. It is a lifelong, lasting commitment in the pursuit of self-perfection. In other words, learning is a moral process rather than an exploration of knowledge. This distinction between Western and Chinese conceptions of learning results in different ideas about knowledge, the role of teachers, and learning environments.

According to Li's study (2003), learners in the United States conceptualize learning as having two parts: learning process and learning content. They associate learning with the learner's own characteristics and social context. Moreover, learning is a process involving individual characteristics, internal and external resources, developmental foundations, school settings, and instructional methods. By contrast, the Chinese learner acknowledges that learning is a journey toward self-perfection. Learners are not only responsible for their achievements, but also for self-navigating their own pursuit of knowledge. In Chinese culture, learners pursue achievements for the sake of personal morality, self-fulfillment, and spiritual enlightenment.

Corcoran (2014) states that the modern Chinese learning style⁸ is informed by Confucianism, as well as Western learning theories. He analyzes the Chinese learning style in terms of behaviorist, liberalist, and connectivist perspectives, and concludes that the Chinese learning style incorporates both Western learning forms and Confucian

⁸ Modern Chinese learning style refers to Chinese learning culture after the 19th century, according to Corcoran (2014).

values. In particular, he identifies surface harmony, which is frequently passed on through group discussions and socialized activities, as playing a crucial role in Chinese learning processes (Corcoran, 2014; Fung, 2014). Furthermore, maintaining surface harmony involves a moral obedience to demonstrate respect and gain support from others.

Corcoran's (2014) definition of learning in modern Chinese society is illustrated by Commander, Zhao, Li, Zabrocky, and Agler's study (2014). They examine college students' self-predictions and post-testing of classroom examinations in the United States and China. They find that Chinese students are more aware of their studies and more likely to accurately predict their test results than U.S. students. Though the higher education systems in the United States and China resemble one another, in general, Chinese college students are more responsible for their learning achievements and frequently review their learning effectiveness because Chinese students take their educational achievement more personally.

In Chinese learning culture, intellectual interaction has a surface harmony that easily can be observed in a classroom setting. Fung's (2014) study provides an example. He finds that the debate-type discussion is challengingly led in China because it conflicts with the traditional value of harmony. Moreover, critical thinking is also difficult to observe with individuals in China, not only because personal voices potentially destroy social harmony, but also because individual knowledge is regarded as personal intellectual property rather than a socially constructed process.

Similarly, Fuson and Li's study (2014) reflects the distinctions between Western and Chinese learning cultures. They compare China's mathematics standard released in

2011 with the United States' Common Core State Standards. They find that the Chinese mathematics learning standard addresses learning paths and supports to a loose extent. In contrast, these are considered crucial components in Western learning processes. I argue that Chinese learning culture adopts Western forms but employs a pedagogical practice that aligns with traditional values. Therefore, learning is an individual's pursuit of self-perfection rather than merely knowledge obtained.

Confucian perspectives are densely embedded in Chinese learning culture (Corcoran, 2014). This feature of modern Chinese learning culture is often associated with WL learners' learning anxiety. Lee (2014) investigates the anxiety about learning Mandarin among 107 international students from seventeen diverse countries and finds that students are anxious to adapt to Chinese culture because they are unsure how to behave appropriately in the Chinese context.

Corcoran (2014) encourages the development of Chinese learning theory since Western learning theories are not appropriately practiced in the Chinese context. While Western learning theories are prevalent and influential, they do not explain the Chinese context. Unfortunately, current scholars have little knowledge about Chinese learning cultures.

The Role of Teachers in Western Culture and in China. Due to the conflicts described above, in the Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) classroom, teachers and students have different perceptions of learning culture, particularly in relation to the role of teachers. Since Western and Chinese cultures conceptualize learning differently, these variances affect how individual students and teachers define the role of teachers.

The teacher–student relationships influence both students’ learning processes and teachers’ teaching activities. Native Chinese teachers might assume students are seeking knowledge for the purpose of self-perfection (Li, 2001). Therefore, they self-identify as spiritual leaders and expect students to demonstrate the utmost respect. Learning is an individualized knowledge-seeking journey, and teachers are students’ role models. They expect students to synthesize the knowledge they have gained from observing their teachers, and then practice these behaviors in their daily lives. In short, learning in China is ideal-oriented (Li, 2003).

Lu, Jiang, Yu, and Li (2014) examine teachers’ autonomy and self-efficacy in a collaborative teaching classroom in Hong Kong and find that teachers are more motivated to work for an intrinsic reward than extrinsic reward. Teachers have higher self-efficacy for motivations, not duties. This result corresponds to the concept of “self-perfection” through education in Chinese culture. Ma (2014) also mentions that Chinese teachers are expected to be self-perfecting, self-criticizing, and self-cultivating. This is valuable in order for teachers to build up personal relationships and be a strong role model for students. Because of this, Chinese teachers expect students to show them respect.

In contrast, Western students might regard teachers as one learning resource and expect their teachers to facilitate their learning. The student-centered approach is the core of Western education. In order to develop students’ abilities, teachers are expected to design curricula and conduct their instruction based on students’ needs and interests. Learning is a process that allows learners to explore their interests and develop their abilities. Teachers are identified as facilitators who assist students in translating their worldview into practice (Li, 2001, 2003).

My argument is that this distinction, between ideal-oriented and student-centered education, reflects different conceptions of the teacher's role in terms of authority, responsibility, and accountability. In Western education, teachers are accountable for students' learning outcomes, and they are considered to be a variable in students' learning contexts. Therefore, Western teachers are required to apply certain standardized approaches to their instruction. On the other hand, in order to maintain a hierarchical teacher-student relationship, Chinese teachers have to be strictly well behaved and, in particular, show moral mind. Their top-down authority permits Chinese teachers to reproduce expected aptitudes in students and model specific philosophies. This relationship motivates students to pursue academic achievements and develop a lifelong commitment to learning.

As evidenced here, the literature review explores studies related to WL writing and identity, writing systems, and Chinese learning culture. The literature review aligns with research questions related to WL writers' identities, affordances and constraints, and language communities. Writers who are learning Mandarin as a WL face multiple challenges in developing new writing processes. Reviewing previous studies helps researchers focus on the connections among previous research findings and explore unknown phenomena.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Research Method

This study explores world language (WL) writers' identity shifts as they move between their first language (L1) and a WL, as well as affordances and constraints related to WL learning processes and learning communities. To investigate these questions, I employ complex dynamic systems (CDS) theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) and identity theory (Gee, 2000). As these theoretical frameworks indicate, WL writers exercise agency differently according to the affordances in WL writing contexts. In addition, I also review how individual language learning is related to each respective language community.

Among qualitative research methods, discourse analysis (DA) is selected for this study because it will allow me to collect the narrative accounts of WL writers to explain the ways in which they describe and present their identities within particular WL writing contexts. As an analytic, DA will allow me to focus on both linguistic and sociocultural aspects of language learning that inform identity construction. Gee's (2012) DA combines linguistic analysis and sociocultural investigation, which allows me to present research findings that explore the impact of various ecological systems, referencing past experiences and contextual influences. In addition, it captures individual perceptions across languages. Therefore, DA is used in this study to answer the following questions:

1. How do learners present their identities when writing in Mandarin? How do learners present their identities when writing in their L1s?

2. What are the affordances and constraints that affect emerging WL writers identify when writing in Mandarin and in their L1s?
3. How do participants describe the effects of their participation when belonging to multiple language communities?

To answer these questions, I conducted in-depth interviews with four college students who were learning Mandarin as WL writers (ten hours per interviewee), and also collected their Mandarin writing assignments (ten essays per person) to analyze discourses they used to craft their narratives and answer the research questions.

Gee (2011) uses Discourse (with a capital “D”) to distinguish it from linguistic discourse and defines it as follows:

A Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language and other symbolic expressions, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting, as well as using various tools, technologies, or props that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or “social network,” to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful “role,” or to signal that one is filling a social niche in a distinctively recognizable fashion (p. 158).

Gee (2011) argues that researchers can analyze Discourse to examine tone, grammar, syntax, and lexicon in much the same way as a dancer is evaluated on the grounds of technique. However, focusing on language without investigating the relevant

sociocultural context is like ignoring the background music, audience, dress, and stage lighting that accompany a dance. From Gee's perspective (2011), language discourse is part of capital-d "Discourse." Gee and Green (1998) advise researchers to apply a logic of inquiry approach, as they argue that language use is an association of multiple symbolic expressions. Qualitative researchers should analyze data in relation to the contextual factors that dynamically interact with the participants.

DA is selected as an analytic tool because it aligns with my focus on contextual experiences as defined by the CDS approach. Using DA to examine Mandarin written texts and interviews via their use of various discourses will help me in analyzing identity construction for WL writers (Gee & Green, 1998).

By focusing on social language-in-use, I can begin to explore how meaning-making is embedded in individuals' ecological systems. Taking WL writing as an example, different instructors may teach differently from the same textbook, and diverse learners may comprehend these lessons distinctively because of their prior experiences in both their L1 and WL. These variances affect comprehensive processes related to the ecological systems that WL writers inhabit and have inhabited in the past. That is why, to analyze WL writers' identity construction and its dynamic complexity, I will apply DA, as it offers several tools that will enable me to fully examine WL writers' identity construction.

Research Design

In this study, I collected participants' Mandarin written texts, interview transcripts, and my field notes. I met with interviewees before they submitted their writing

assignments, not only collecting the copies of texts but also interviewing them about their Mandarin writing processes and their thoughts about the assigned topics. The participants' instructors assigned the writing topics, which generally related to the lessons taught by their instructors. Each week, I asked questions about interviewees' writing processes and collected their responses/reflections from the previous weeks' assignments, which included teachers' feedback. I also asked questions about events in their daily lives that were associated with WL activities. Documenting incidents in their daily lives was important, in order to understand community practices across different language communities.

In accordance with my IRB approval protocol (see Appendix 1), I asked questions such as: "What do you think about this topic?" "How did you decide what to write?" "How do you evaluate your writing performance this week?" "How much time did you spend on this assignment?" "What resources did you find for this assignment?" "What do you think about your teacher's feedback on the previous week's assignment?" "What particular stories might you want to share?" Based on participants' responses, follow-up questions were crafted to further explore participants' thinking.

Every interviewee was invited to submit her weekly Mandarin writing assignments (ten papers per person) and talk about her writing process (ten hours per person; one hour per week in average). Their assignments were handwritten or typed, depending on the interviewees' preferences. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and audio recorded. Since participants brought different levels of Mandarin proficiency, both English and Chinese were used during interviews—for both my questions and their

responses. All audio files were stored in a secure database, and written texts were locked in storage.

When I first recruited volunteers, four female students volunteered for this study. In order to balance the gender variable, I targeted male students during my second recruitment efforts, but male students declined participation in this study. As a result, four female participants joined this study. They had been learning Mandarin as a WL for at least three years and were currently enrolled in college-level Mandarin language courses or programs. Their Mandarin proficiencies were communicative. Below are their profiles:

Table 4.1 Interviewees' profiles

Participant's Name (Pseudonym)	Profile
Abby	Abby is a college senior who is double majoring in political science and Chinese literature at "Lake University" (pseudonym) in the United States. She is Caucasian. She is a native English speaker and speaks French and Mandarin as her WLs. She started learning Mandarin in college, but was disappointed with her Mandarin courses. She is determined, however, and works very hard to learn Mandarin because she wants to work in China after graduation. Her dream is to work as a translator for politicians. However, she worries her language proficiency could become a challenge in her career. She also experienced a

	problem with cultural adaption, as she often felt awkward in Chinese environments while studying in China.
Cady	Cady is a Korean immigrant. She was born in the United States, but moved back to Korea when she was four years old. She returned to the United States again when she was ten years old, and then returned to Korea five years later for high school. Afterward, she moved back to the U.S. for college. She has a strong Korean identity and is very family-oriented. Some of her family members also learned Mandarin, and she believes that learning Mandarin has been beneficial to her career because of her father's influence.
Betty	Betty is a prospective graduate student at "Dragon University" (pseudonym) in China. Before starting her master's program, she studied two semesters of Mandarin in China. She is originally from Turkey and studied English literature for her bachelor's degree. She provided extensive reflection on her Mandarin learning process, especially when it came to reading and writing. Her focus is on academic writing, and her writing proficiency is a significant worry.
Jane	Jane's life experience is very different from the other participants. She is Korean but strongly dislikes Korean culture. She left Korea after high school and moved to Singapore to

	work. Two years later, she started her own business after she was laid off from a previous job. Through self-learning, she speaks Japanese, Malay, and Mandarin. Now she is learning Mandarin in China, and she would like to work in China when she finishes her Chinese language program. For her, writing in Chinese is a process of self-exploration. She regards writing as a liberation movement.
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To summarize, the participants were enrolled in different classes and studied in different parts of the world. Abby and Cady studied Mandarin in the United States; they both attend “Lake University” in the Midwestern United States and previously studied abroad in China. Betty and Jane are speakers of Turkish and Korean. They attended “Dragon University” in China, where they were enrolled in Mandarin language courses.

The participants have different educational backgrounds, past language learning experiences, and motivations. In addition, they were situated in different language communities. Abby and Cady were in a university-based course in the United States. Their Mandarin writing assignments affected their GPAs, which might significantly influence future job prospects. The Chinese language community at Lake University is small, and the Chinese courses there integrate heritage Chinese speakers and native English speakers, which results in a disadvantaged learning environment for Abby and Cady since heritage Chinese speakers have richer cultural resources.

In contrast, Jane and Betty were assigned to classes that match their individual Mandarin proficiency. Since they live in China, they interact with Chinese speakers and other international students. Their learning routes are justifiable considering for their goods, and their written texts present examples of cultural adaptation. These differences allow me to explore participants' diverse identities, affordances, and communities of practice.

My observations during the interviews were documented as field notes, in order to denote symbolic non-verbal expressions, including emotions, facial expressions, gestures, and attitudes. My field notes were handwritten in English, as doing so helps me make the most appropriate judgments about my understanding of my observations and their meanings at that moment. The field notes helped me compare interviewees' verbal and non-verbal information and form follow-up questions. I also used tables and/or figures to summarize information and/or link connections.

Analytic Tools

Gee (2010) provides twenty-seven tools for researchers to examine language use in discourses; I used five of these analytic tools to analyze the interview data. Gee provides multiple analytic tools because meanings can be inferred differently based on the ways language reveals assumed premises, distinctive types of prior knowledge, diverse understandings about contexts, singular rational processes, and different habits related to language uses.

Meaning has multiple definitions. Gee (2000; 2011) applies Bakhtin's (1981) notion of "heteroglossia" to describe a phenomenon in which people who speak the same

language use different utterances in unique contexts. These varying systems of interpretation result in different meanings of words as they circulate among speakers. Gee (1999) claims that meanings can be described as “general meanings” or “specific meanings” (or situated meanings) (p. 54). The former indicates the common explanations that dictionaries offer, whereas the latter points to the situated and specific meanings that function within particular contexts (Gee, 2011). Gee (1999) defines situated meaning as “an image or pattern that we assemble on the spot as we communicate in a given context, based on our construal of that context and on our past experience” (p. 94). I selected five of the twenty-seven analytic tools of DA described by Gee (2010) because these tools help me answer my research questions and investigate WL writers’ identity shifts, affordances, constraints, and communities of practice during their WL writing processes.

The Significance Building Tool. First, the significance building tool is selected to explore the WL writers’ meaning-making processes. People build significance through language, which can be verbal or non-verbal. There are multiple ways to examine the interviewees’ significance building processes. To begin with, one can assess the grammatical devices used. Grammatically, sentences are comprised of content words and function words. Content words are also called lexical words, which contain facts or meanings of the words. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives are content words that indicate something to which speakers want to refer. Function words are also called grammatical words, and they connect and articulate the meanings of the sentences. Articles, pronouns, prepositions, and quantifiers are function words used to bridge content words and precise the context of sentences. If we examine how the interviewees built significance through grammatical devices, various clues emerge. For example, we can compare the following

phrases: “I really love my job” and “I like this job.” While these sentences provide similar function and content words, the significance is built differently. The verbs “like” and “love” have distinct levels of affection, and the adverb “really” emphasizes the verb. Moreover, the former sentence uses the pronoun “my,” whereas the latter uses the demonstrative adjective “this.” Linguistically (regardless of the context), the sentence “I really love my job” is more significant than “I like this job” because the former sentence grammatically stresses the content words.

Another way to use the significance building tool is to examine interviewees’ non-verbal messages. Non-verbal messages include tones, pitches, behaviors, and facial expressions that situate meanings. If a person says, “I really love my job,” while rolling his/her eyes, the meaning could be interpreted as the opposite of what the words might indicate. In this case, the non-verbal message serves as a sarcastic tool to build significance in a negative way.

The last way to build significance is through repetition. Meaning-making is a socially recognized process. As Linde (1993) argues, the process of storytelling is embedded within a coherence system in which speakers reasonably claim completeness of a story. The repetition of explanations, descriptions, and behaviors signals the significance of the stories. Therefore, examining what the interviewees said most frequently is a way to explore the significance and meaning of their words.

The Working with the Identities Building Tool. This tool is used to explore identity constructions of WL writers. This tool helps me explore how an interviewee positions herself within a given community and creates relationships between her identity

and others' identities through discourses. When interviewees discussed the topics related to their writing assignments, they expressed their ideas slightly differently in written versus spoken forms. This relates to which identities they want to present to different readers. Gee (2011) argues that "making sense is always a social and variable matter. What makes sense to one community may not make sense to another" (p. 112). I noticed that the interviewees presented different ideas on a topic. For example, what they wrote did not always convey what they were thinking. They may have shifted their identities because of different readers or contexts. For instance, their language instructors were the readers of the written assignments, and this may bring about certain expectations regarding what should be written. Additionally, my role as an interviewer may create a distinct social relationship, which is also why their spoken thoughts may have differed from their written assignments. The identities building tool helps me observe participants' sense-making processes and explore their identity shifts.

The Relation Building Tool. The third tool I selected deals with relation building. Drawing on CDS, I illustrate the flexibility and unpredictability of WL writing systems, in which complexity and dynamic changes may occur due to the heterogeneity of individuals' external environments and internal mechanisms. Moreover, individuals' heterogeneities and identities are multi-directional and interrelated. This tool relates to the previous tool (the identities building tool) because the relation building tool involves how distinctive identities are presented within individuals via specific relationships across various social interactions. The identities building tool focuses on the speaker's identity construction through language, whereas the relation building tool pays attention to positions and social statuses among speakers in given interactions. Multiple

relationships are embedded in discourses, including teacher–student relationships, romantic relationships, patriotic relationships, and community relationships. Different relationships affect how individuals act, speak, write, and what identities they embody in these situated interactions.

The Sign Systems and Knowledge Building Tool. This tool is used to explore WL writers’ practices in diverse language communities. Sign systems are verbal and non-verbal expressions, writing artifacts, writing systems, cultural competences, knowledge, and inquiries. Different sign systems represent diverse ways of knowing. For example, English and Mandarin use different grammars to present ideas. Academic writing and biographies are different genres that use distinct forms to make points; narration and images present information in different types such as using tables and figures to summarize information (Gee, 1999). Since the interviewees have varying language backgrounds and experience varying difficulties with learning Mandarin—related to community engagement and cultural adaption—the sign systems and knowledge building tool is important because it helps to understand how language deprives and segregates learners from various communities.

I offer the following excerpt from Abby’s interview to illustrate her tensions with her Mandarin instructor:

1 I was so upset about my teacher,

2 and I told him my frustration.

3 He always writes me a nice email, but it doesn’t work.

4 I have never been friend[s] with professors or teachers, but I really think we are friends.

5 You cannot push me too much or treat me like a child.

6 I have mental baggage.

7 I am an English person and he forgets

On line 3, Abby is frustrated because she does not think that the “nice” email her instructor sent provides real help. She treats her instructor as a friend. A nice, encouraging email does not correlate to this friendship for her. She expects a helpful talk between friends, not a teacher’s official response. Her frustration arises because she and her instructor are using different sign systems. From line 1 to line 5, she tries to emphasize that her relationship with the instructor should more than a teacher–student relationship. In line 5, she is trying to diminish the top-down teacher–student relationship with what she says: “You cannot push me too much or treat me like a child.” She gets frustrated because her instructor behaves as a professional academic lecturer and demonstrates an academic institutional sign system. In line 7, Abby clearly points out that her instructor didn’t consider her sign systems as an English speaker. She uses “mental baggage” in line 6 as a metaphor to describe her difficulty in adapting to two language systems.

This excerpt shows Abby’s frustration that develops because she is not able to communicate with her instructor in the way she wants to, and she has difficulties adapting to two language systems. Later in the interview, she says that she needs “help” instead of a “coach, tutor, or mentor.” One may ask for help when experiencing any hardship, but one would only need a coach to reinforce skills or knowledge. She uses the word “help” instead of “coach” because friends should be willing to offer help in a wide

variety of situations. Abby clearly is struggling with her accessibility to connect with her professor and the Mandarin language system.

The Social Languages Tool. This tool applies to a series of complex language activities that occur in different contexts. Gee (2011) argues that people use distinctive social languages on different occasions to enact their identities and social positions within specific contexts. Social languages are purposely interactive within an individual's discourses and can be combined to reach particular purposes (Gee, 1999). For Gee (2011), social language is a series of purposeful language activities that demonstrate speakers' positions and intentions when speaking. For example, when Betty talked about the Chinese writing system, she uses the term "Western" to express her views. She positions herself as "Western" and me as "Eastern." She purposely uses Western contexts to convince me that the Chinese writing system does not make any sense at all.

In summary, I have selected these five tools from Gee's (2010) DA for specific reasons. The significance building tool is used to explore individuals' expressions about important events. The identities building tool is used to investigate individuals' positions in different discourses. The relation building tool is used to analyze interactions among individuals and others. The sign systems and knowledge building tool is utilized to examine individuals' knowledge constructions across various contexts. The social languages tool is used to analyze meaning-making processes in distinctive discourses. With these five analytic tools, WL writers' identity shifts, affordances, and community practices during Mandarin writing processes are explored to determine how they contribute to WL writing pedagogy.

Data Presentations

In this section, I will explain how stories are selected as analytic data and what model I will use to organize the storylines. Based on my research questions, the interview process, and my chosen theoretical framework, there are three criteria for story selection: themes, significant events, and changes. Based on these three criteria, interview transcripts and field notes will be partially selected as data for analysis. Once the data is selected, the three-dimensional approach that Clandinin and Connelly (2000) develop is applied as a model in order to craft every story for participants. When stories are selected, the model is then used to organize the storyline in a thematic sequence, and the stanza is the format to present selective stories. The next two sections (Story Selection and Story Model) will explain more details about data presentation.

Story Selection. There are three criteria for story selection. Gee's tools are used to analyze the stories after they are selected. The three criteria are as follows:

1. **Themes.** The story is directly related to my research questions. Therefore, topics related to identity, learners' affordances and constraints in learning processes, and community practices are identified as stories.
2. **Significant Events.** These are stories that interviewees identify as significant, or the stories that are emphasized across interviewees. Most importantly, stories related to social justice cannot be ignored. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) point out that social significance should be considered when researchers justify the selection of narrative accounts.
3. **Changes.** I select storylines that involve unexpected changes because they present the complex and dynamic process of WL writing.

These three criteria serve as a way for various storylines to emerge that addresses my research interest. I select some stories that address all three criteria and also some that relate to only one criterion. My goal is to synthesize what the interviewees talk about across the criteria, rather than omit the stories and select only those that address all three themes. For example, when Abby speaks about her relationship with her instructor, this storyline does not seem significant and is not tightly related to the research questions. However, one significant event occurs later that changes everything. I did not start this story at the turning point; instead, I draw on all her words from the beginning. Then, I create the story using Abby's transcripts, my field notes, and her written texts to ensure that this story is complete, as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest.

Story Model. I choose to use Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional approach to structure. The three dimensions are interaction, continuity, and situation. The interaction dimension draws on the interviewees' internal conditions (feelings and dispositions) and existential conditions (experiences). The continuity dimension includes the past, present, and future elements of the storylines. The situation dimension focuses on the variables of the places and environments (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I present the stories as "stanzas," as suggested by Gee (2012).

I choose the three-dimensional approach because the interaction dimension displays WL writers' discourses (interactions of internal mechanisms and external environments), whereas the continuity and situation dimensions structure their contexts. Combining these dimensions and structuring theme-oriented stories corresponds to the theoretical framework of this study and allows me to more fully analyze the discourses of WL writers.

The three-dimensional approach is applied as a model, in order to craft stories for participants. Take one of Abby's stories as an example; she drops her Chinese class in her last semester of college because of the "broken" teacher–student relationship. The damaged teacher–student relationship is the result of difficulties related to one of her Mandarin writing assignments. She misunderstands her relationship with the instructor, and she writes and submits some "funny" sentences⁹ to bring some joy to her WL writing process. Her instructor regards her conduct as an insult. The following table shows how the three-dimensional approach helps me mark relevant events and craft this story.

Table 4.2: Application of Abby's Teacher–Student Relationship Story to the Three-Dimensional Approach Adapted from Clandinin and Connelly (2000)

Interaction		Continuity			Situation
<i>Personal</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Situation/ place</i>
Not a friend-maker but value friends very much	Went to Mr. Wang's weekly office hour for homework help	Mr. Wang offered free tutoring service after his work hours	Mr. Wang became harsh and has higher expectation of Abby. His feedback became less constructive but more critical from Abby's perspective.		Mr. Wang's office in Lake University
	Travelled to China with other classmates, including Mr. Wang for summer language program (2 months)	Abby told him about her romantic experience in China. Mr. Wang provided writing tips and analyzed her writing errors.			Summer Language Program in China
	Mr Wang offered private tutor and helped with Abby's summer internship writing assignments		She wrote some sentences for fun but Mr. Wang felt insulted. Abby apologized but Mr. Wang kept his distance. Abby consulted other Chinese friends and decided to bring a gift to him. He refused to accept her gift.	She does not enroll in last semester's Chinese class.	Mr. Wang's office in Lake University

The stories are presented in stanzas and thematic sequence. Since I focus on the interviewees' WL writing discourses, I choose to use thematic sequence over chronological or consequential sequence, as Riessman (1993) suggests. Thematic sequence helps me focus on stories related to my research questions and discourses. In

⁹ Abby uses Mr. Wang and other female instructors as examples in her Mandarin writing assignments. Abby thinks it is funny, but Mr. Wang feels insulted. Her writing content will be shown in the next chapter.

addition, Gee's (1999) DA also uses thematic sequence to present data. He constructs lines as a stanza and connects stanzas relative to themes. Lines serve as phonological organization; like prosody, it entails pitch, stress, and topic change. Gee (2008) argues that "lines and stanzas are the products of the mental mechanism by which humans produce speech" (p. 127). A stanza is a set of lines with a particular motif embedded in the theme.

Analysis Process

Theme-oriented stories will be presented as stanzas and analyzed using five analytic tools of DA. I select stories based on their relevance, in terms of research questions, significances, and changes. Afterward, I use a three-dimensional approach (interaction, continuity, and situation) as the model to organize the stories and analyze them with five of the tools that Gee (2010) suggests.

I sort Abby's teacher-student relationship story into 27 stanzas, which contain a total of 330 lines. The storyline starts with Abby's summer language exchange program, where she first meets Mr. Wang. Afterward, they have two conflicts when they return to Lake University. This is a significant story that completely changes Abby's perspective on learning Mandarin. The following chapter includes data and five sections of analysis, organized by the selected analytic tools of Gee's DA that were previously discussed.

Limitations

Two primary limitations exist for this study. A major research limitation is evident in the fact that I am not able to observe these classes. Teachers are unwilling to open their classrooms because they worry my observations may affect instruction. In

addition, the teachers and other students in the classes did not participate this study, so other relevant information could not be obtained. This lack of classroom observations limits my ability to examine the environmental aspects of these stories. Thus, my understanding of the contexts relies merely on interviews and artifacts.

The second limitation is the gender variable. Because there are no male participants, this limits the research findings in explaining the relationships between WL writing and gender identity. It is not possible, therefore, to show the differences related to gender when encountering problems during individual WL writing processes.

Summary

This chapter is structured as seven sections. First, Gee's (2011) DA is introduced as the research method to investigate WL writers' writing discourses. To answer my research questions and explore social association among the interviewees' WL writing practices, DA is appropriately selected for this study. Second, this study is designed to collect interviewees' written texts, interview transcripts, and my field notes. By integrating three sources of data, one can examine the reliability of this study. Third, I list interviewees' profiles to help the reader understand their Mandarin learning history and educational background. This process helps me understand the interviewees' perspectives and position their statuses in the given contexts.

Fourth, I explain why the five tools of DA are selected for this study and their applications for data analysis. Fifth, I demonstrate how data is presented within the narrative accounts. I select stories using three criteria that relate to my research questions. Afterward, I use Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional model to ensure the

contextual elements of the stories are presented. Then, as Gee (2011) suggests, the stanza is chosen as the genre to present selective stories, in order to depict interviewees' discourses. Sixth, I demonstrate the analysis process with an example of Abby's teacher–student relationship story in the next chapter. Lastly, I point out two limitations of this study and how these limitations restrict my investigation and potentially affect the results.

The next chapter contains three parts. To begin with, one story of this study is presented. Second, five tools are applied to the data, and analysis is conducted. Third, my reflexivity of the story is illustrated to address my position and observations of this process.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter is organized by the summary of each story, story lines in stanzas, data analysis, and researcher's reflexivity. The summary of each story provides a whole picture for readers to understand the story thread. The lines of each story present interviewees' transcripts to demonstrate their languages, tones, and the expressional moments. The five tools are used to analyze stories' significance, relationship, identity, social language, and sign language. The analyses correspond to research questions in terms of WL writers' identities, affordances in writing processes, and community practice. My personal reflexivity points out my blind points, feelings, experiences, limits and perceptions for this interview. Each story is organized as below:

- ★ Summary of the Story
 - ★ Story Lines (Stanzas)
 - ★ Discourse Analysis (Five Tools):
 - Significance
 - Identity Construction'
 - Relationship
 - Sign system and knowledge building
 - Social Language
 - ★ Reflexivity
- 

Figure 5.1 Data Analysis Process

In this study, there are four stories are presented as data and those stories are organized based on Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional approach to demonstrate interaction, continuity, and situation of the interviews. Afterward, the stories are portrait as stanzas that Gee (2011) suggested to highlight the criteria: themes, significant events, and changes of the story model.

Abby's Mandarin Writing Practice

Abby had two conflicts with her Mandarin instructor, Mr. Wang. She met Mr. Wang during her third summer of college, when attended a summer language exchange program at Dragon University in China; Mr. Wang was the program leader. He was responsible for students' lives in China and was an academic supervisor for all students attending from Lake University. Abby built a special teacher–student relationship with Mr. Wang because she had a summer internship near Dragon University, and she needed a tutor for her work assignments. In China, Mr. Wang was patient and devoted during his off-work hours, helping Abby with her writing assignments for both her class and work duties. After the summer, she came back to the states and took another Mandarin class. Coincidentally, Mr. Wang was the instructor for this class. This should have been an advantage for Abby since she knew him so well after the summer program. However, she felt her Mandarin didn't improve as much as Mr. Wang expected. She felt that he pushed her very hard. At the same time, she was very anxious about her Mandarin proficiency because she planned to work in China after graduation. During her second to last semester at Lake University, she had a severe conflict with Mr. Wang because she wrote something “funny” in an assignment, but it was actually offensive to Mr. Wang. She tried,

but was unable to fix, this broken teacher–student relationship, and she didn’t take a Mandarin class during her last semester.

The Storylines of Abby’s Teacher-Student Relationship Story.

Stanza 1: Meeting Mr. Wang

- 1 My summer was like crazy
- 2 I had classes in the morning
- 3 And started the internship in the afternoon
- 4 After work, I was being tutoring
- 5 My tutor was Mr. Wang
- 6 He is a grad student and he taught Chinese literature
- 7 He loved that
- 8 He helped me a lot in summer

Stanza 2: Summer Internship

- 9 I worked at a food science company
- 10 Basically, it’s an internship
- 11 We don’t know what to do
- 12 Because they haven’t had a lot of Americans work there before

Stanza 3: Starting Point of Friendship

- 13 So this is what I did
- 14 Pretty much like translated as best as I could in summer
- 15 And this is why Mr. Wang and I are friends
- 16 Because like there is something like I have no idea
- 17 Like “人□”¹⁰ what is it?
- 18 Man hole?
- 19 I cannot translate correctly (*laughs*)
- 20 That’s how I feel like
- 21 He and I, as my teacher

¹⁰人□ is a compound word, and it refers to population. But if we look at these words separately, 人 means people or human, and □ refers to mouth or hole. Abby doesn’t know 人□ is a compound word, so she combines the meanings of these two characters as “man hole”. That is why 人□ doesn’t make sense to her.

- 22 I am very comfortable around him
- 23 Because he saw I did struggle

Stanza 4: Tutoring Session

- 24 I had homework from the company too
- 25 They did have expectations, like you have to have this PowerPoint done because we need to use it by Friday
- 26 I used Mr. Wang a lot
- 27 Because he is extremely smart
- 28 And he is my tutor
- 29 He will ask like
- 30 “How was your internship today?”
- 31 “Do you have questions?”
- 32 “Maybe I can help with?”
- 33 Because I don’t have a whole lot of time
- 34 Most of time, with PowerPoint is English to Chinese from my work
- 35 I think it is harder for me
- 36 Because I am not sure what characters should be used
- 37 So what I would do is tell my boss
- 38 I had a rough hour and I need to look at it tonight
- 39 And I passed it to Mr. Wang

Stanza 5: In Need of Conversation to Improve Language Proficiency

- 40 I asked, “Am I saying it correctly?”
- 41 Sometimes I used an adjective as a verb
- 42 You know it happens
- 43 Because Chinese is not obvious
- 44 So for me, I learn much better when I can talk it through
- 45 Learning by myself
- 46 To figure out by myself is not working
- 47 I need to talk

Stanza 6: Recap of the Summer

- 48 It was lots of work; I was like very tired
- 49 In the end of the summer, I was like burnt out

50 It used so much time, so in the end of summer
51 I was like restart
52 I cannot speak at all
53 And sometimes for me, like it was so much pressure to do it
54 Maybe if I went back, I think I will do it again
55 But at the same time
56 Make it less pressure

Stanza 7: Intense Summer Schedule

57 I would like be gone for 10 hours a day
58 Plus school, plus tutoring
59 And like Mr. Wang was tutoring me
60 Even between 8 to 9 or 9 to 10 at night
61 He was like he sacrificed himself too
62 I mean it was so much so intense and so long for two months
63 I studied on the bus if I didn't talk to somebody
64 Mr. Wang helped me with homework at night
65 I was studying before class usually at 8 am
66 And I study until 8:30 am
67 Many times I study on the bus for my company
68 And basically study company document in the company
69 And study on the bus home
70 Then not had dinner
71 And then go to tutoring right away
72 Had no dinner then go to bed

Stanza 8: Overall Summer Experience

73 So not that this life is bad
74 Not at all
75 It's more I have owned life this summer
76 I've created like being in school, having internship
77 Like very much on my own over this summer
78 I am not nearly as busy now as I was in summer
79 I miss it
80 Because it is so intense and determined
81 And I am like what's going on

Stanza 9: After Summer; Back to Lake University

- 82 Back to school
- 83 Mr. Wang became my instructor
- 84 I worked with him a lot; I practiced HSK test¹¹ now
- 85 Like 縱然and 即使¹²; nobody speaks that
- 86 I asked Mr. Wang to give me an example
- 87 He said this kind of sentence is what I saw in the summer

Stanza 10: Mr. Wang is Motivating

- 88 Summer like you have lots of things to do
- 89 You have mass things to translate or put in action
- 90 But I haven't developed a method to understand
- 91 So like he helped me a lot
- 92 He was much motivating
- 93 And he was crazy
- 94 Or maybe I was being crazy
- 95 Because I met him every day
- 96 I had questions everyday
- 97 I think he liked that
- 98 It made him feel good being a teacher
- 99 I think he found it was rewarding
- 100 I asked the most retarded questions
- 101 He loved these questions
- 102 He loves it
- 103 He was a gift to me
- 104 He was extremely detailed
- 105 He liked us to ask questions
- 106 I could see my improvement
- 107 He used English to answer these questions
- 108 Other people used Chinese to answer my questions
- 109 It was not clear to me

Stanza 11: Frustration with Mr. Wang

¹¹ HSK stands for Hànyǔ Shuǐpíng Kǎoshì. It is a standard Mandarin language exam.

¹² “縱然” means “in spite of”; 即使 means “even though”.

110 Because Mr. Wang has been very demanding
111 Classes are very active, with a lot of participation
112 So I was upset about Mr. Wang
113 He was very hard on me
114 I have one year to improve myself as much as I can
115 Then I want to move back to China
116 That real world
117 So I am nervous
118 I am anxious with Mr. Wang
119 It's frustrating
120 My Chinese is never good enough (*She tears up at this moment.*)
121 He was very hard on me

Stanza 12: First Conflict with Mr. Wang

122 I wrote an email to express my frustration
123 And he sent me a nice
124 Too nice email back
125 But I don't know I was very upset
126 And I know he just wants to help me but sometimes like
127 You pushed me too hard
128 He knows I want to improve as much as possible
129 And he knows I want to do it as short as possible
130 This situation just stressed me out
131 I am not ready to push that hard

Stanza 13: Mental Baggage

132 I am an English person
133 But it is like he forgot
134 I have certain
135 I have baggage
136 I have mental baggage
137 I know I do
138 He knows I do
139 He was like "hold my hands...you need to have confidence"
140 I am just like "you cannot tell me that, don't tell me that...you know"
141 It won't help
142 It's not about confidence, it's not

Stanza 14: Apology

143 I do a lot
144 I am upset about that
145 But I need to talk to him
146 I need to apologize
147 He is my teacher

Stanza 15: Hope of Repairing Friendship

148 I never have been a friend of a professor
149 I really feel like Mr. Wang and I are more like friends
150 Like tutoring in China and being my Chinese teacher here
151 But, yay, Mr. Wang is so traditional and I am so American
152 I don't think it is possible for American to culturally understand Chinese people
153 Maybe it is my negativity, but I don't think it is possible anymore
154 When I was upset with myself on Tuesday (*the day she visited during his office hours*)
155 I didn't even defend myself
156 I just cried
157 He has been teaching me how to study
158 He has been teaching how to learn Chinese
159 That's fine
160 And sometimes he goes too far

Stanza 16: Second Conflict with Mr. Wang

161 And now, he was mad at me
162 He gave me an "F" this week
163 He was angry about what I wrote
164 And wanted me to resubmit
165 I feel like it is an emotional thing
166 I don't know if he is mad or angry
167 So I called him last night like 8 pm or 9 pm
168 Leaving message like I am really sorry
169 Can we meet tomorrow or whatever

170 He didn't call me back
 171 I will see how class goes
 172 If it is still awkward, I will give him the weekend
 173 I am young...haha
 174 I am 22, please...haha

Stanza 17: Trying to Apologize

175 I went to his office and talked an hour at most
 176 I was angry because he was downgrading me
 177 He said he was not able to see me
 178 I was like...what do you want from me
 179 So it was a shock for me that
 180 After he thought about that he gave me an "F"
 181 So either he thinks he was inappropriate
 182 I don't really know what's going on with him
 183 He definitely had a different attitude toward me since I wrote these sentences
 184 It's like...we are not friends anymore

Stanza 18: The Conversation about the Conflict

185 For the word “雞巴”¹³
 186 I do remember he said I shouldn't have written it
 187 I shouldn't write it in general
 188 So that was a misunderstanding of mine
 189 I thought about not writing this word, but it is what I wanted to say
 190 So whatever, he gave me an "F"
 191 Then he revised his grade to an "A" before handing it back
 192 I was surprised to see that
 193 You cannot downgrade me for this (*strong*)
 194 Basically, I remember he was kind like
 195 "I am your teacher, you cannot write these things to me"
 (*long silence*)

Stanza 19: Explanation

¹³ The male reproductive organs in Mandarin

196 When I wrote this
 197 I viewed him as my teacher and as my friend
 198 He had known me since May
 199 And that is a substantial chunk of my...
 200 Even we talked more over the summer
 201 He was my friend, and he knows a lot of personal things about me
 202 So it kind of felt like we were friends
 203 I definitely had the wrong perspective
 204 And I probably overstepped the boundary between what is acceptable as
 friends
 205 And what is acceptable as teacher
 206 I definitely view he is like...
 207 This is ok for me to hand in because our relationship
 208 Because I would not hand it in to teacher Chen or teacher Ming
 209 I definitely have different expectations
 210 I handed it in, that one, and I think it is ok

Stanza 20: Inappropriateness of Her Writing

211 I would say the most upsetting thing to him is about the language
 212 The people we both know
 213 Like Sam
 214 And he was also very angry I used teacher Ming's name
 215 She is my third year teacher
 216 This is the thing that he was upset about
 217 I think to me more than anything I think it is respect
 218 I thought it was respect
 219 This is a really serious trouble I never heard of this
 220 His attitude toward me even in the class has completely changed
 221 Very low eye contact
 222 Little eye contact
 223 Often count on me
 224 I have to speak by myself
 225 He definitely doesn't see the differences

Stanza 21: Apologizing in the Chinese Way

226 I have a conversational partner
 227 She is Chinese about the same age

228 I ask her if you disrespect your teacher
 229 What do you do
 230 She said, you should give him a gift
 231 I said "This is not the same in American culture; we don't give gifts to teachers."
 232 This is not like elementary school
 233 But...I brought him a gift and a card
 234 I got him a scarf
 235 Because she said the gift should depend on previous relationship
 236 You are not basically friends
 237 But you are not distinctly formal teacher and student

Stanza 22: Being Rejected

238 And I brought him a nice card
 239 And thanked him for being my teacher
 240 And trying to set up meetings independently
 241 He refused
 242 He said he was busy
 243 And I said "can I meet after class instead"
 244 I want to talk to you
 245 So it happened that many people stayed after class that day
 246 I didn't have a chance to talk to him
 247 I asked "can I accompany to your office"
 248 He was like "no, no, no"
 249 Pretty much like set outside of the room
 250 And I was like "What's the problem?"
 251 I cannot learn Chinese now?
 252 I thought it was so awkward
 253 You used to be a great teacher
 254 And I just want to like...be a friend
 255 My previous behavior was inappropriate
 256 And I wanna apologize
 257 He is like, "Can I refuse being apologized to?"
 258 He kept cutting me off
 259 I just wanted to express my apology
 260 Give you a gift
 261 You know Christmas is coming
 262 And he looked bad
 263 He refused the gift like twice
 264 I didn't do the third

265 He was just like “NO”
 266 I cannot accept the gift
 267 You can give it to anyone
 268 So I still have the scarf and the card

Stanza 23: The Action after His Rejection

269 I don't think I will take his class next semester
 270 Because I will deal with this
 271 This point...I wanna get a recommendation
 272 Because I am graduating in May
 273 I have spent a lot of time on this
 274 It's not like my behavior has been always been bad
 275 I wasn't always inappropriate
 276 This is the only time
 277 So...I was planning to apply for his recommendation
 278 But I don't think that's an option anymore
 (long silence)

Stanza 24: Reflection

279 I have offended him on many, many levels
 280 Like we talk about a Chinese man like him
 281 I disrespected him as a teacher
 282 This is understandable
 283 But I don't know if I offended him as far as his manhood?
 284 Some people use this term whereas I don't know if I like sexually offended him
 285 I don't mean to in this way
 286 Used these words or just like stepped over the boundary
 287 And made him doubt himself as a teacher
 288 I think it is a progression thing *(starts crying)*
 289 I need to show that he is the superior one
 290 And I respect him in the Chinese way
 291 But it totally backfires like this in Chinese culture
 292 This is the American culture
 293 I would like to give you this gesture to the Chinese culture
 294 And he is like “this is not appropriate
 295 I am teaching in America”

Stanza 25: Backlash

296 I have never, never thought things will go in this way
297 This is called like either silence or violence
298 And I am definitely the more violent type
299 He is absolutely a silent type
300 Using the phrase I am in the dog house
301 I think his behavior is very inappropriate as my teacher
302 I have never had this happen with my teachers
303 Never been in this position
304 I don't know how to solve it because he is not American
305 As an American, I can go in his office and be like
306 I can talk about my emotions
307 I can say this is how I feel
308 I am sorry brarara

Stanza 26: A Lesson on Culture

309 I think I am capable
310 I think I have been taught well in Chinese culture
311 It is so different from American culture
312 We are so direct
313 We are initially open
314 Our attitudes or feelings
315 But it's like meeting someone that doesn't want to self-express
316 Or like language differences
317 I don't have fluent culturally appropriate lingua
318 I have my English to transform to Chinese basically
319 That was difficult
320 Because it was like somebody consciously correcting you and being frustrated in
a culturally sensitive manner
321 But like you need to be taught these things
322 You can embrace culture
323 But in the end, cultural things you need to be taught

Stanza 27: Hopeless

324 I don't know if I can do it again (*crying*)
325 I don't know if it's healthy

326 He had given me the motivation
 327 That had changed the game
 328 But now (*crying*)
 329 It doesn't matter
 330 Just need to let it go

The Significance of Abby's Teacher–Student Relationship Story. The first tool used is *the significance building tool* to analyze how Abby described the changing relationship between her and Mr. Wang and how it affected her writing discourse. I selected four content words (crazy, friend, hard, and culture) that Abby spoke most frequently and one non-verbal sign that Abby portrayed after the given stanzas. These words/signs show the significance of the storyline that Abby wanted to present for her friendship with Mr. Wang. Significance can be revealed by verbal language, non-verbal gestures, and repetition. Linde (1993) claims that repetition provides rich information in a narrative account. Furthermore, the story was selected because it significantly impacted Abby's Mandarin learning path (see Table 4.1).

The four content words—crazy, friend, hard, and culture—are constantly repeated as Abby tells her story. First, she uses “crazy” to describe her collaboration with Mr. Wang during the summer, such as “My summer was like crazy” and “he was crazy or maybe I was being crazy”. The craziness that Abby describes includes the intense learning progress during the summer program in China, Mr. Wang's high demand for Abby to excel, and Abby's strong learning motivation. She opens her story by using crazy, “My summer was like crazy”, to describe her summer Mandarin learning path. For her, that summer was crazy and both Mr. Wang and she were crazily engaged in the learning experience as well. As she described:

He was crazy or maybe I was being crazy. Because I met him every day, I had questions every day. I think he liked that. It made him feel good being a teacher. I think he found it was rewarding. I asked the most retarded questions. He loved these questions. He loves it.

This was a positive reciprocal learning loop since she was extremely motivated. Those emotional words, such as “crazy” and “love”, implied her relationship with Mr. Wang. Abby was motivated by not only Mandarin itself but their close friendship. It was significant that their intimacy cultivated their engagements in the discourses during summer program. However, this intense engagement frustrated her after all since the discourses had changed.

Summer program was a periodical discourse; therefore, its activities remained closed loop attractors. Their interaction during summer was a periodical move due to their temperate roles in the informal academic discourse which allowed their teacher student relationship being blurred. Here is an example:

This is why Mr. Wang and I are friends. Because like there is something like I have no idea. Like “人□”¹⁴ what is it? Man hole? I cannot translate correctly (*laughs*). That’s how I feel like, he and I, as my teacher. I am very comfortable around him because he saw I did struggle...And like Mr. Wang was tutoring me. Even between 8 to 9 or 9 to 10 at night. He was like he sacrificed himself too.

¹⁴人□ is a compound word, and it refers to population. But if we look at these words separately, 人 means people or human, and □ refers to mouth or hole. Abby doesn’t know 人□ is a compound word, so she combines the meanings of these two characters as “man hole”. That is why 人□ doesn’t make sense to her.

When the summer program ended, they both returned their daily lives that fixed point attractors occur. The intimacy they built in the summer still affected their interaction in the fall semester. This complexity resulted in the first conflict between Abby and Mr. Wang as follow:

Because Mr. Wang has been very demanding, classes are very active, with a lot of participation. So I was upset about Mr. Wang. He was very hard on me.

Abby was upset because she initially emphasized that Mr. Wang used to be extremely supportive friend who used to sacrifice his late evening time to tutor her. Later, she recognized that the conflicts resulted from her misunderstanding of this teacher–student relationship. When they had their first conflict, Abby emphasized the specialness of her friendship with Mr. Wang as “I never have been a friend of a professor” and expressed her hope to repair this friendship. However, Abby had second conflict with Mr. Wang for her inappropriate writing assignment. She explained that her inappropriateness would not be sustained if this incident happened between friends. However, it was unacceptable to share her inappropriate writing assignments with a teacher when she reflected that:

When I wrote this, I viewed him as my teacher and as my friend. He had known me since May. Even we talked more over the summer. He was my friend, and he knows a lot of personal things about me. It’s kind of felt like we were friends. I definitely had the wrong perspective.

On one hand, the blurred boundary of their friendship resulted in her inappropriate writing manner to Mr. Wang as she reflected that “You are not basically

friends, but you are not distinctly formal teacher and student.” On the other hand, she took Mr. Wang’s forgiveness for granted since she said “I am young, I am twenty-two, please”. Thus, they both misunderstood their relationship and it was significant enough to affect Abby’s learning trajectory.

Abby also highlighted that Mr. Wang was pushing hard on her writing performance. This was a significant turning point because Abby had not adapted her role and expectation to the new semester. She had not moved forward so she sent a complaint letter to Mr. Wang to express her frustrations for his high standard. As she said:

I am nervous. I am anxious with Mr. Wang. It’s frustrating. My Chinese is never good enough (*She tears up at this moment.*) He was very hard on me. I wrote an email to express my frustration. And he sent me a nice, too nice email back. But I don’t know I was very upset. And I know he just wants to help me but sometimes like. You pushed me too hard.

Abby cried because she was unable to meet Mr. Wang’s expectations and her Mandarin proficiency did not improve as much as she thought. As she said:

He knows I want to improve as much as possible. And he knows I want to do it as short as possible. This situation just stressed me out. I am not ready to push that hard.

Most importantly, Mr. Wang and Abby had a wrong perspective to each other. When Abby regarded him as a friend, Mr. Wang maintained professional teacher student relationship since he was an instructor not a summer program coordinator.

Forth, the content word “culture” was mentioned multiple times. Abby had a problem fitting in Chinese culture when she said “you can embrace culture, but in the end cultural things you need to be taught”. I argue that her conflicts with Mr. Wang resulted from her cultural disadvantages. It implied that the content of cultural knowledge was insufficient in Chinese curriculum; therefore, individuals lack cultural knowledge to exercise appropriately in Chinese community. As Abby reflected:

I think I have been taught well in Chinese culture. It is so different from American culture. We are so direct. We are initially open. I have my English to transform to Chinese basically. That was difficult because it was like somebody consciously correcting you and being frustrated in a culturally sensitive manner.

Her reflection supports that writing is a social practice; it relates to how writers connect to their readers. If WL writers are not taught about culturally sensitive matters, they could be potentially marginalized in the target language community. Abby was cut off and discouraged to learn Mandarin because of her inappropriate cultural practice in the community.

Abby’s non-verbal presentation provides additional information to address her difficulty of social practice in Chinese community. I recorded the moment when she cried and remained silent (lines 120, 195, 278, 288, and 324). In the first conflict with Mr. Wang, she cried and said “my Chinese is never good enough”. Beside Mr. Wang was pushing too hard on her academic performance, Abby also upset about his misunderstanding of her frustration. She explained:

He was like “hold my hands...you need to have confidence”. I am just like “you cannot tell me that, don’t tell me that...you know”. It won’t help

It’s not about confidence, it’s not.

Abby was disappointed that Mr. Wang didn’t understand her struggle and performed differently. He used to support and to assist her learning issues but now he only offered oral encouragement. His changing attitude disappointed Abby and significantly affected her learning motivation.

Abby’s Identity Construction. The working with the identities building tool is used to identify Abby’s positions and relevant social roles in the given contexts. Gee’s identity theory (nature identity, institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity) is used in this analysis. In this story, Abby constructs multiple identities in different discourses as follows: WL writer, college student, internship worker, American, and woman.

In this story, Abby’s identity shifts can be broken down into four parts. First, college student was part of Abby’s institution identity; however, she also displayed her discourse identity when she expressed her frustration. She believed that it was acceptable to joke about her teacher on writing assignment because they had been working closely over the past summer. Based on the shared context that she had had with Mr. Wang, Abby wrote an email to Mr. Wang, telling him that he had pushed her too hard. Because of her past learning experience and relationship with Mr. Wang, Abby shifted her role as a college student to a friend and complained about Mr. Wang’s instruction.

The second identity shift can be seen when Abby used the term “mental baggage” to describe her struggle in learning Mandarin, she displayed her nature identity to explain her struggle. She recognized her efforts on learning Mandarin, but the learning stress that Mr. Wang put on her was overwhelming. Abby’s psychological mechanism was unable to carry the flux of learning Mandarin. As she said:

I am an English person. But it is like he forgot. I have certain. I have baggage. I have mental baggage. I know I do. He knows I do.

Her nature identity of being an English speaker was not entirely considered by her instructor and did not successfully emerge in her Mandarin writing discourse. English became a linguistic baggage that Abby was unable to give away. “Metal baggage” was a metaphor to imply her difficulty of code switching, and it was associated with her mechanism that she barely controlled.

The third identity shift can be seen as Abby used her network to investigate the appropriate manner to show her apology to Mr. Wang. Her Chinese language conversational partner suggests that bringing a gift to Mr. Wang could show her greatest sincerity. In the beginning, Abby hesitated to give a gift because it was not American manner; however, her affinity identity was negotiated and performed Chinese manner to make an apology. She described:

I have a conversational partner. I ask her if you disrespect your teacher. What do you do? She said, “You should give him a gift”. I said “This is not the same in American culture; we don’t give gifts to teachers.” This is not like elementary

school. But...I brought him a gift and a card... And trying to set up meetings independently. He refused.

The last identity shift can be seen when Abby questioned her inappropriateness that offended not only Mr. Wang's institution identity but also manhood. As she said:

I have offended him on many, many levels. I disrespected him as a teacher. This is understandable. But I don't know if I offended him as far as his manhood?

Some people use this term whereas I don't know if I like sexually offended him. I don't mean to in this way...I need to show that he is the superior one. And I respect him in the Chinese way.

I agree with Abby that she offended his manhood, especially in her writing assignment, she sexually offended Mr. Wang. Even they were friend, it was still not appropriate to hand in this written content. In addition, she suspected that Mr. Wang also shifted his institution identity as a teacher to a Chinese man when he reviewed Abby's written assignment.

I argue that her inappropriate written assignment was disrespectful to a teacher, and the particular the vocabulary she wrote—雞巴—was seriously sexually offended either a man or a teacher. It was absolutely disrespect to joke about the instructor; therefore, Abby shifted her identity as a student and a woman to demonstrate her apology in Chinese manner.

The Change of Relationship between Abby and Mr. Wang. The third tool, *relation building*, considers that individuals enact or contrast in the given contexts (Gee,

1999). It is important to observe how Abby constructed, maintained, or deconstructed different relationships with Mr. Wang and the consequences of their various relationships.

Abby and Mr. Wang had built four types of relationships: teacher–student relationship, friendship, Chinese–American relationship, and man–woman relationship. Abby behaved differently in each distinctive relationship. This section focuses on their friendship and the Chinese–American relationship because these relationships dynamically switched in Abby’s writing discourses and were influential in their other relationships.

Abby and Mr. Wang constructed their friendship during the summer program. Particularly, Abby gave examples of how Mr. Wang cared about her during her days in China and how he also sacrificed his evening time for her tutoring. Based on their interactions over the summer, I argue that she might feel affection for Mr. Wang since she admitted that she was comfortable around him and admired his intelligence. As she said:

I used Mr. Wang a lot. Because he is extremely smart. And he is my tutor

He will ask like “How was your internship today?” “Do you have questions?”

“Maybe I can help with?” ...He was like he sacrificed himself too... this is why Mr. Wang and I are friends.

Their friendship had changed because the summer program had completely different educational purposes, environments, and human resources with Mandarin course at Lake University. Different environments affect their perspectives on their roles

as a student and an instructor. Table 2.2 illustrates three types of attractors (fixed point attractor, cyclic attractor, and chaotic attractor) that occur in complex dynamic systems. During the summer, Abby and Mr. Wang built their friendship to a common place because the cyclic attractors were undertaken periodically in the discourses. It was a periodical task for Mr. Wang to adapt to Abby's intense schedule and assist her assignments. Especially his role as a summer language coordinator was responsible for students' daily lives, learning outcomes, and satisfaction.

However, when they returned to the United States, the academic discourse had been changed. Both Mr. Wang and Abby were under an institutional framework with program standards and professional regulations. Mr. Wang therefore became a lecturer instead of Abby's private tutor. The changing social roles affected their relationship and resulted in their conflicts. Abby freely expressed her frustrations and wrote "funny" sentences to Mr. Wang because she hadn't recognized the environmental changes in the given discourse.

The second relationship that Abby addressed was the American–Chinese relationship. Abby had a hard time to understand Chinese culture, despite of the fact that she had learned Mandarin for years. Their teacher–student relationship was associated with cross-cultural immersion. A Chinese teacher and an American student conceptualized education and social roles differently (Li, 2001; 2003). Building a friendship and a teacher–student relationship with different cultural understandings created dissimilar perspectives. As Abby demonstrated:

I definitely had the wrong perspective. And I probably overstepped the boundary between what is acceptable as friends. And what is acceptable as teacher. This is ok for me to hand in because our relationship. I would not hand it in to teacher Chen or teacher Ming. I definitely have different expectations. I handed it in, that one, and I think it is ok.

In Chinese culture, teachers are not commonly regarded as friends. Rather, teachers are expected to be a moral model and be responsible for students' behaviors (Li, 2001; 2003). Abby was not aware of cultural differences until their relationship was broken. Although she tried to apologize, she was unable to fix their relationship. Thus, she said:

Mr. Wang is so traditional and I am so American. I don't think it is possible for American to culturally understand Chinese people. Maybe it is my negativity, but I don't think it is possible anymore.

She reflected that "culture has to be taught", despite of the fact that she had lived in a Chinese environment and had learned the language for three years. She acted as an American student when she freely expressed her frustrations; meanwhile, she acted as Mr. Wang's friend writing inappropriate sentences. The misconduct occurred because of her misidentification of cross cultural teacher student relationship.

Use of the Sign Systems. *The sign systems and knowledge building tool* is used to analyze symbolic information in Abby's writing discourses. WL writing relates to different writing systems and cultural modes. WL writers' affordances and constraints, in terms of writing in Mandarin, relate to their L1 writing systems, syntax, grammar, and

logic of inquiry. When one or more sign systems are operating, this results in different knowledge building processes, and this informs the privilege form of knowledge in the given contexts for individuals. There are three analyses regarding Abby's sign systems in this story.

To begin with, her internship company is inexperienced in mentoring "Americans". As she described:

I worked at a food science company. Basically, it's an internship

We don't know what to do. Because they haven't had a lot of Americans work there before.

Therefore, her professionalism in the food science company was valued less than her English proficiency as she said "So this is what I did. Pretty much like translated as best as I could in summer." Translation is the most frequent task at her internship. This situation relates to her sign systems of language and food science. Abby had no chance to contribute her knowledge of food science to her internship because the company staff valued her language sign systems more than her scientific knowledge.¹⁵ Thus, she had opportunities to translate and work with Mr. Wang.

Second, from Mr. Wang's perspective, Abby used inappropriate sign systems in her writing assignment. She created sentences with people who were around their community and used non-academic genres; despite this fact, the grammar was perfect.

¹⁵ Abby complains about this issue in another story. I do not include too much information in this story because I want to focus on how she deals with the teacher-student relationship.

Abby used her Mandarin knowledge to prove her linguistic proficiency but contextually used the wrong sign systems in this situation. She explained:

For the word “雞巴”¹⁶. I do remember he said I shouldn’t have written it...So that was a misunderstanding of mine. I thought about not writing this word, but it is what I wanted to say... I would say the most upsetting thing to him is about the language. And he was also very angry I used teacher Ming’s name. She is my third year teacher. This is the thing that he was upset about.

Properly completing and turning in homework to a university lecturer is related to academic creditability in higher education. While academic performance encourages students to illustrate ideas and intelligence. To put it simply, this is more like a “show me what you know and how smart you are” system than a “show me your humor” system. Therefore, Abby used the wrong sign systems in this situation.

Third, Abby operated under a specific semiotics system to convey messages of apology. When Abby realized that her conflicts with Mr. Wang not only affected her grade in this class but also her learning motivation, she wanted to apologize and repair their friendship. As she described:

Now, he was mad at me. He gave me an “F” this week. He was angry about what I wrote. And wanted me to resubmit...I don’t think I will take his class next semester because I will deal with this.

Abby took three actions sequentially for her apology: made a call, scheduled a meeting, and bought a gift. Calling an instructor’s private cell phone and leaving a

¹⁶ The male reproductive organs in Mandarin

message in the late evening is unlikely to be seen as common sense either in a friendship or a teacher student relationship. Meanwhile, she tried to schedule a time to speak after class, but Mr. Wang kept rejecting her with the excuse of being busy. His rejection made her anxious. As she said:

I don't know if he is mad or angry. So I called him last night like 8 pm or 9 pm and left message like I am really sorry. Can we meet tomorrow or whatever. He didn't call me back... I don't have a chance to talk to him... He said he was busy.

The verbal sign of "I am busy" in this situation had a specific meaning. It was a symbolic meaning of "no" in this context. He verbally said that "he is busy," but actually it seemed he was unwilling to make an appointment with Abby because he might guess Abby was going to apologize. Mr. Wang operated his verbal sign system politely and professionally but distanced himself from Abby. Abby received his non-verbal messages and tried harder to bridge the communication gap by calling at night or meeting after class. She then consulted a Chinese friend and bought a gift for Mr. Wang to represent her apology as follow:

I want to apologize. He is like, "Can I refuse being apologized to?". He kept cutting me off. I just wanted to express my apology. Give you a gift...And he looked bad. He refused the gift like twice...He was just like "NO". I cannot accept the gift. You can give it to anyone. So I still have the scarf and the card... I need to show that he is the superior one. And I respect him in the Chinese way. But it totally backfires like this in Chinese culture. This is the American culture. I

would like to give you this gesture to the Chinese culture. And he is like “this is not appropriate. I am teaching in America”

There was a paradox between Abby’s and Mr. Wang’s sign systems. Mr. Wang claimed that it was not acceptable for a teacher to receive a gift from a student in the United States. However, he was unwilling to open a conversation and symbolically cut off Abby in class, as she described:

His attitude toward me even in the class has completely changed. Very low eye contact. Little eye contact.

His indirect rejection made Abby behave in alternative ways (like bringing him a gift), but this backfired for Abby especially because he wanted Abby to give away the gift to someone else. Abby felt embarrassed and confused about her behavior. In fact, Abby was situated in a disadvantage position not only because of the unequal teacher–student relationship but also because of Mr. Wang’s silence. As she said:

I have never never thought things will go in this way. This is called like either silence or violence. And I am definitely the more violent type. He is absolutely a silent type. Using the phrase I am in the dog house.

Abby’s Social Languages. *The social languages tool* is used to focus on varying utterances that WL writers speak in different occasions. Distinctive “I” statements, identities, relationships, and sign systems may cause different social languages. For WL writers, the complexities of contexts relate to individuals’ agencies and language uses. Mapping the individuals’ relationships to others, identifying their identity construction, and situating their contexts help rationalize the interviewees’ social languages.

When Abby had second fight with Mr. Wang, she positioned herself as a young undergraduate student. In the beginning, she didn't realize that this incident was way more significant than she imagined and actually threatened her grade in the class. She enacted an emotionally social language as a naïve student to explain her behavior of calling her instructor in the late evening as "I feel like it is an emotional thing. I don't know if he is mad or angry." When Abby considered Mr. Wang was emotional in regards to this conflict, she assumed this frustrating situation could be gone as long as he recovered from the bad mood. Her social language for her first apology was not formal and significant. According to Abby's "I" statements— "I will see how class goes" and "I will give him the weekend"—She believed that she could manage the situation and it was under control. She believed that her immaturity should be forgiven in this educational framework thus she said, "I will see how class goes. If it is still awkward, I will give him the weekend. I am young...haha. I am 22, please...haha." In fact, her laugh reinforced this message.

However, when Mr. Wang turned down her apology twice, Abby changed her social language. She instead became a proactive problem solver. She created interactions, engaged in Chinese culture, observed Mr. Wang's attitude, and took action for her apology. She said:

I brought him a nice card. And thanked him for being my teacher. And trying to set up meetings independently...I told him that I want to talk to you. So it happened that many people stayed after class that day. I didn't have a chance to talk to him. I asked "can I accompany to your office". He was like "no, no, no"...I

have a conversational partner. She is Chinese about the same age...She said, you should give him a gift.

Abby was frustrated again for being rejected, This time, she used a different social language to analyze the conflict. She synthesized her reflections and acknowledged her mistakes. She also raised a few critical issues such as gender and culture in this process and expressed her overwhelming experience. As she described:

I have offended him on many, many levels. Like we talk about a Chinese man like him. I disrespected him as a teacher. This is understandable. But I don't know if I offended him as far as his manhood?

Lastly, she advocated her right as a college student at an American institute and suggested that culture should be taught in class. On one hand, Abby's social language portrayed a self-determined college student who was responsible for her behaviors and considered her grade prior to her suffering. On the other hand, she was a critical thinker who considered social justice in this writing discourse. She illustrated how cultural differences can affect a WL learner and how there were variances between learning about a culture and liking a culture. As she said"

As an American, I can go in his office and be like. I can talk about my emotions. I can say this is how I feel. I am sorry brarara...This point...I want to get a recommendation. I have spent a lot of time on this. It's not like my behavior has been always been bad. I wasn't always inappropriate. This is the only time. So...I was planning to apply for his recommendation. But I don't think that's an option anymore...I think I am capable. I think I have been taught well in Chinese culture.

I don't have fluent culturally appropriate lingua. I have my English to transform to Chinese basically. That was difficult. Because it was like somebody consciously correcting you and being frustrated in a culturally sensitive manner... But in the end, cultural things you need to be taught.

Reflexivity of Abby's Story. In this section, I highlight Abby's emotional responses that were not addressed in her story. My reflexivity mainly comes from my interaction with Abby. It helps me review and explain how I rationalize Abby's teacher-student story. In the end of this section, I also draw on my own reflections about this story.

Abby cries a few times during the interviews. When I synthesized her interviews, my understanding of her struggles is important. Her relationship with Mr. Wang definitely impacted her motivation and cultural exploration. As an international student in the United States, I understand how frustrating it is when a WL learner only makes limited improvement with a lot of effort. She believed that she could make it, but it took too long. And she is right; I felt the same way, in that my English is never good enough. It is hurtful. As a result, she broke down, cried for her failings, and wrote a complaint letter. It actually was a S.O.S message that Abby delivered to Mr. Wang. She needed his help and his understanding about her struggle. She sent the email was to remind Mr. Wang responding her learning needs as the past summer that she felt fulfilled and improved.

At the time that she wrote the letter to Mr. Wang, she didn't stop to think of culture, manners, and the dynamics of the classroom. I feel that she just needed a hug or to hear sweet words from her friend. I have doubted that Abby and Mr. Wang had

romantic affection but she denied. Abby emphasized that she and Mr. Wang were friends. In my position as an international scholar, I understand the stress of being a lecturer. Students' evaluations affect the career reputation and class enrollment for next semester. In addition, Mr. Wang might have other research or service duties besides teaching. He could play a role as a friend in the past summer, but not in fall semester because he was under different restrictions. However, Abby was not aware of these changes in their relationship.

My role, as a friend who is more experienced in higher education, should have been to remind her about her blind spots. However, I chose to stand aside and observe her behaviors in this chaotic situation. I was struggling. She showed me her homework before submitting it. I knew it was inappropriate and disrespectful to write such bad language in academic discourse. I wish I could have said something to help her rethink this decision. I think I should have reminded her not to cross a boundary, or I should have told her what trouble she might have if she submitted the homework. I chose not to do that because I was not sure how intimate their friendship was, and I was not sure if it was appropriate for an interviewer to advise and get involved in these incidents. I was associated and struggle with the role of a researcher and research ethic.

Abby made distinctive efforts to fix her broken relationship with Mr. Wang. My observation regarding her Mandarin proficiency was that her writing and reading were average, but her speaking was weak due to her pronunciation. Mandarin has four tones, and she confused the tones. Having a conversation with Mr. Wang strongly motivated her. I was surprised when she told me she would not enroll during her last semester in a Mandarin class because she didn't want to deal with Mr. Wang. It makes me wonder if

she admired him as a teacher. She mentioned that he was smart, and his intelligence could have been an attractive trait that motivated Abby. Abby might have regarded Mr. Wang as a role model. But her over dependence on Mr. Wang's instruction caused her strong disappointment with his cold responses.

My dilemma of being a friend, an experienced teacher, and a researcher was heightened when Abby informed that she would not take a Mandarin class during her last semester. I regret my pessimistic attitude when I read her joking written assignment. With my cultural knowledge and institution identity, I should have convinced her not to submit the inappropriate assignment. I should have played a role in her Mandarin learning trajectory. The research limits constrained me to examine their intimacy, and my multiple identities that interacted with Abby made me regret being a speechless observer.

Betty's Mandarin Writing Practice Story

Betty came to Shanghai because she won a scholarship. She was very confident, until she realized that her first and second language learning experiences could not be fully transferred to her Mandarin learning process. The cross-writing system significantly affected her writing performance. Unlike English or Turkish, Chinese is a meaning-based writing system. When she interacted with her classmates in China, she realized that those who knew Korean and Japanese had an advantage in learning the Chinese writing system because of the similarity between the systems (It is called "Sinophone"). She argued that the Chinese curriculum and instruction were not inclusive, and her teachers were not aware of different students' needs.

Betty emphasized her identity as Western and analyzed why the writing instruction did not efficiently work for Western students. For her, the writing instruction was Asian-centered, especially when it came to character repetition practice. For Western students, character repetition was meaningless unless learners understood the meanings and structures of the characters. Betty developed her own learning strategy and engaged more with her learning community. She used a dictionary and read compound words. She copied the textbook's sentences and replaced the nouns or verbs. She liked to study with her classmates who spoke Korean or Japanese as their L1s because they could help with Betty's writing assignments.

In summary, Betty had positive writing experience in both English and Turkish. However, her difficulty in memorizing characters when learning Mandarin resulted in her reflections on her study skills in Mandarin particularly. She explored how to understand characters instead of just remembering them. She also pointed out the issue of Chinese pedagogy and offered her suggestions.

The Storylines of Betty's Mandarin Writing Practice Story.

Stanza 1: Language Learning Interest in Mandarin Characters

- 1 Actually, I am interested in many languages.
- 2 I do Chinese because grammar and vocabulary make senses to me
- 3 For example...
- 4 The characters have different radicals
- 5 And I can see the connections between the characters and the meanings
- 6 For me, it is like a game
- 7 You can see the pictures and link them to the meanings

Stanza 2: The Main Reason to learn Mandarin

- 8 I like Chinese culture

- 9 No, actually, I was planning to learn Japanese
- 10 But I know if I learned Japanese
- 11 I would still need to recognize Chinese characters
- 12 Japanese and Korean are both rooted in Mandarin
- 13 So I decided to take Chinese

Stanza 3: Reflection on Her Mandarin Learning Experience in Turkey

- 14 I started Mandarin almost three years ago
- 15 But I started with self-learning
- 16 I didn't go to the classes every day
- 17 I learned Chinese during my weekends with a Chinese conversational partner
- 18 But not every weekend
- 19 Because I had to go home, you know
- 20 And during summer session, I was unable to attend because I went back home
- 21 So...It was not really solid for those three years but I started three years ago
- 22 My college had a Chinese center
- 23 There were native Chinese teachers there
- 24 I signed up for the program and went to the classes
- 25 They wanted me to be patient with Chinese
- 26 Because it is quite different from most European languages

Stanza 4: Challenge to Learn Mandarin in Turkey

- 27 My families speak Turkish and English
- 28 No one knows Chinese
- 29 In Turkey, if you don't intentionally look for language resources
- 30 There is no way to learn Chinese unless you are a Chinese major
- 31 That is why I decided to study in China
- 32 It's not common like in the U.S.
- 33 Where many people learn Chinese
- 34 Especially because Chinese characters are so difficult for me
- 35 And the Chinese class I went to
- 36 Half of the students dropped out because they thought it was too difficult

Stanza 5: Coming to Shanghai

- 37 I got a scholarship for this language program
- 38 My scholarship was funded by the Confucius Institute
- 39 A successful applicant should have a good GPA and take the HSK exam

- 40 For real, I don't like Shanghai but it is more comfortable and convenient to study here
- 41 It is easier to meet people, to find restaurants, to study
- 42 Actually, I was more interested in Beijing
- 43 Because I know Shanghai has its own dialect
- 44 Sometimes it was just confusing; I couldn't hear it clearly
- 45 I was planning to go to Beijing because their Mandarin is more articulate
- 46 People in Shanghai speak sharp and brief
- 47 People from Beijing have 儿話¹⁷
- 48 It was difficult to tell the difference, but now it is easier for me

Stanza 6: Self Evaluation of WL Proficiency

- 49 I speak two second languages
- 50 I think my English speaking is not good enough
- 51 I rank my English skills as reading, writing, listening,
- 52 And the last one is speaking
- 53 Because I haven't visited Britain or America
- 54 So I worry about my English pronunciation
- 55 For Chinese, I think my listening is the best
- 56 Then speaking
- 57 If I have computer, my writing would be better
- 58 But when writing by hand, it's poor
- 59 So the order is listening, speaking, reading, and writing
- 60 I put my writing as the weakest because I cannot memorize the characters
- 61 Sometimes I use the wrong words
- 62 Unlike my Korean classmates, who know Chinese characters already
- 63 So for me, writing is harder
- 64 My Japanese and Korean classmates understand the text without taking time on word recognition
- 65 But I have to carefully see the characters and guess the meanings
- 66 Those who know Japanese or Korean can tell what characters to use in what situations
- 67 But I cannot

¹⁷ 儿話 (er-style) is a particular accent from Beijing. "Hello" is pronounced as "ni-hao" in Mandarin, but it sounds like "ni-haoer" when spoken by most of Beijing Mandarin speakers.

Stanza 7: Knowledge of WLs

- 68 I know there are traditional and simplified Chinese characters
- 69 Of course, everyone chooses simplified
- 70 Not many people want to learn the traditional characters
- 71 But some people are interested
- 72 They start with simplified
- 73 Turkish grammar is more like Japanese and Korean
- 74 Because the verb is at the end of the sentence
- 75 But English and Chinese grammar are similar
- 76 There are also culture differences
- 77 I like to use Chinese set phrases¹⁸ in my Chinese writing
- 78 There are only four words, but they are very meaningful

Stanza 8: Writing Difficulty in Chinese Writing System

- 79 I like writing, but writing in Chinese is really difficult
- 80 It may take 15 minutes for typing
- 81 But it took me more than half an hour to do handwriting
- 82 My major is English literature
- 83 I write a lot
- 84 Sometimes I have to read four or five books at once
- 85 And then do a review or analysis
- 86 I only have an English-Chinese dictionary
- 87 It's ok when I use the dictionary for reading and to understand the meaning
- 88 But if I want to use vocabulary for writing
- 89 Sometimes it is hard to find a word to express myself
- 90 Especially since I don't know how to choose the right words for the context
- 91 So I have to read a lot to remember
- 92 It is very frustrating that I spend so much time on word recognition
- 93 Because it also affects how much I can say
- 94 I cannot write what I want to say because I don't know what characters are used in what situations
- 95 I think we Westerners have to pay more attention to the writing system
- 96 I study with my Japanese and Korean classmates

¹⁸ Chinese set phrases are called “Chengyu.” It almost always consists of four characters and is an idiomatic expression. For example, “十全十美” is pronounced as “shi-quan-shi-mei”. 十 is ten, 全 is whole, 美 is beautiful. Combining the meanings of characters, it refers to being perfect and fulfilled.

- 97 They are so fast because they don't have to check the dictionary for word recognition
- 98 But I have to use the dictionary for each word to write down my idea
- 99 When I see, for example, an "egg"
- 100 I know how to say it, but I don't know how to write it
- 101 It is helpful if you have classmates who show you the characters
- 102 Learning Chinese, you have to recognize words
- 103 For the Easterners, repetitively writing characters work
- 104 Because they don't have to take extra time to understand the cultural context
- 105 But for me, being Western
- 106 There is no explanation
- 107 It won't work to just write and write and write
- 108 I need to know why I would use this word in this situation, why that word in that situation
- 109 Then I can read and I can remember

Stanza 9: Writing Strategy

- 110 So, I read the textbook and make similar sentences, then replace the vocabulary
- 111 I check the dictionary before using it
- 112 I usually write the introduction for my first paragraph, then body, why you say this in this way, and conclusion
- 113 I use the same strategy to write in English and Turkish as well
- 114 So when I write in Chinese, I use the same strategy

Stanza 10: Writing Instruction in Shanghai

- 115 We have a writing class
- 116 The teacher tells you how to write on a topic but doesn't explain why
- 117 They said the first part should include this and this¹⁹
- 118 The second part should include this
- 119 But don't really teach you how to be a better writer
- 120 For me, English writing is clearer
- 121 It has statements and follows up with explanations
- 122 But in Chinese, for example, the textbook gives us a story
- 123 But doesn't tell us what happens in the end
- 124 There is no conclusion

¹⁹ She pointed to the vocabulary section in her textbook as she talked in lines 115 and 116.

- 125 No end for the story
 126 For example, the story talks about three brothers who work together and fight
 for their family fortune
 127 The elder one does this, the second oldest one does that, and the youngest does
 that, and then nobody gets the money
 128 I believe if a Spanish or British person would read the story, they would be
 confused
 129 Because it is not clear
 130 We don't know what it means
 131 It could be rewritten like this: the elder brother does this but fails because
 blah..., and it shows his blat
 132 That helps me understand the perspective of this story
 133 Sometimes it has no explanation to bring it to the end

Stanza 11: Preferred Teacher's Style

- 134 There are good teachers and bad teachers
 135 Good teachers are like a father
 136 He can take care of your learning
 137 He may explain clearly and want to know where he can do more for you
 138 Like I am Western
 139 Some teachers try to understand my learning style and try to explain more to
 help me understand
 140 I personally like a strict teacher
 141 Because I feel like it's more personal
 142 Taking your learning as his responsibility

Stanza 12: If I Were a Teacher

- 143 If I were a teacher, and my students are Western,
 144 I would introduce the structure of Chinese characters
 145 And maybe give a more historical overview
 146 Like the character 人²⁰ didn't look like this before
 147 It was supposed to look like that
 148 The evolution of the Chinese writing system would be introduced in my first
 class
 149 It should be explained how the Chinese writing system has been categorized
 150 I know Chinese characters are formed by six parts²¹

²⁰ 人(ren) means human.

151 It would be easier for the Western students to understand
 152 I would remind my students about the features of the Chinese writing system
 153 I am Western as well
 154 I understand, that to read Chinese
 155 You read the words individually, not all at once
 156 I would tell them to circle the words that they recognize
 157 Then carefully see the characters
 158 Similar words even have the same pronunciations, but mean different things
 159 Because they have different radicals²²
 160 So I always analyze the characters' structures then guess their meanings

Stanza 13: A Critique of Teaching Approach

161 I don't really understand Chinese people
 162 I don't know why they teach writing in this way
 163 It may be a Chinese cultural center or a Chinese learning center
 164 Even the teachers in Turkey that I met have similar teaching styles
 165 They are native Chinese speakers who are not very experienced in Western culture
 166 I don't think a good language teacher has to be a native speaker
 167 But a good teacher should understand us
 168 And know why students struggle
 169 Like one of our teachers would ask us in the class
 170 "What's the meaning of this phrase?"
 171 There is no translation, and I don't recognize the words
 172 How do I know?
 173 I don't know how to find the answer, but teachers assume we have it figured out
 174 So I look like a bad student
 175 Sometime they give us a topic and tell us the word limit is 200
 176 But sometimes I write more than 200 because I need to explain my idea clearly
 177 I especially like the teacher who asks us to use the vocabulary in the chapter on our writing assignment
 178 I think it is helpful for me to clarify if I understand or use it in the right way
 179 I don't like when they just give us a topic because it is too broad for me

²¹ It is actually called six characters or six scripts. Basically, Chinese characters are classified but not limited to six scripts. The six scripts are pictograph, ideographic, compound ideographs, phono-semantic, phonetic loan characters, and derivative cognates (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_character_classification).

²² A radical is a semantic indicator of a character, and it connects to the meaning of a word. Betty gives an example on lines 222 to 225.

180 I want to improve my Chinese skills more than present my idea
 181 The teacher of my reading class asks us to make a sentence for the new
 vocabulary
 182 I think it works because everybody uses language differently
 183 Sometimes they (the teachers) may use other languages like English to explain
 the vocabulary, but sometimes it is not quite close enough
 184 My teacher can tell if I understand these words through my sentences
 185 And it reminds me to look at my mistakes
 186 Or they can discuss all students' mistakes in the class, so we know how to avoid
 it in the future

Stanza 14: Meta-Cognitive Chinese Writing Strategy

187 I know many Westerners learn Chinese
 188 And they think it is not necessary to do word recognition
 189 They are kind of like, "I don't need to write"
 190 "I don't need to read"
 191 But when you have trouble listening
 192 Reading can help you figure out the meaning
 193 I think it is really helpful to study with Korean or Japanese classmates
 194 Because they can tell you the characters
 195 I also figured out my own way to memorize
 196 They memorize characters by repetition
 197 But it doesn't work for me
 198 I check the dictionary and understand the meaning then memorize the meanings
 199 I don't write as much as before
 200 I see the character and I read the whole sentence to understand how the
 vocabulary will be used
 201 For example, I know I want to write something about my feelings
 202 I take my dictionary, then I go the chapter of the "heart" radical²³
 203 I review those words
 204 I can tell what word I am going to use, then I select a word and read the
 compound words
 205 Then I apply the compound words in my sentence
 206 When I study with Korean or Japanese classmates
 207 They can also point out what radicals are related to emotions, feelings
 208 I can save time on searching characters
 209 I don't need to do handwriting of specific words for 100 times, 200 times

²³ The heart radical indicates emotion, mind, and feeling.

210 I can remember it if I understand its structure and context
 211 When I write, I just write my ideas and leave some words blank
 212 Once I finish the essay, then I come back to fill in the right characters
 213 Also, Chinese grammar and Turkish grammar are different
 214 If I made grammar mistake
 215 My Korean or Japanese friends tell me where and what's wrong with my essay
 216 Then I understand what mistake I made
 217 Because we have many students
 218 We make different mistakes
 219 But that would be good if someone could help me clarify what's wrong with
 my writing
 220 Because I need to check the dictionary for which words should be used under
 which contexts
 221 I was told to write characters
 222 The more you write, the more you remember
 223 But it doesn't work for the Westerners
 224 Like I recognize these two words, but I don't know these two words can
 combine together as a compound word
 225 I need to understand插 is a verb and 花 is a noun²⁴
 226 It would be more understandable if I comprehend the grammar and the radical
 227 插's radical is hand (扌)
 228 And 花 is a plant with radical grass (艹)
 229 I read this compound word together and understand why it is used in these two
 characters
 230 This helps me memorize everything
 231 Like painting, I can paint a similar image if I just copy the picture
 232 But I cannot paint the same thing if I cannot remember the meaning of the
 picture
 233 Like I can speak the words, but I cannot recall the images of the words if I
 don't understand why these words are structured in this way
 234 When I listen, I know what situation they are talking about
 235 I can guess the right character, but not necessarily write it perfectly or correctly
 236 But I know what exact word they are talking about
 237 Because I understand in this situation what characters should be used

Stanza 15: Observations on Cross-Cultural Learning Styles

²⁴ 插(cha) is a verb, which means insert, and 花(hua) is a noun, which means flower. 插花(cha-hua) is a compound word referring to flowering.

238 In general, the Western students know they can skip class
 239 They can learn by themselves
 240 But the Eastern students, they go to class everyday
 241 But I notice that they are not always learning something in class
 242 Because it is not important how long you spend on learning
 243 If you don't understand, it is unnecessary to spend so much time
 244 So I feel the Western students are more responsible
 245 We will figure out how to learn by ourselves
 246 Find some way to help ourselves
 247 Understand what we need and what makes our learning so weak
 248 But the Eastern students, they just learn and they don't know whether if they
 keep studying, they can learn something or not
 249 And they also don't know what they want to learn
 250 Speaking is easy, but reading and writing are not
 251 If you don't know what you want to learn
 252 You won't work harder
 253 I feel the Chinese don't want to work hard
 254 It is a difference, not a weakness
 255 What I notice is the college students do not try to study hard for their class

Stanza 16: Classroom Setting

256 Actually I am the only Western student in this class
 257 They are all Korean or Japanese
 258 We have one American, but actually he is a heritage Chinese speaker
 259 They can easily connect to Chinese
 260 If a class has half Asian and half Western students
 261 Western students will always be left behind
 262 It is stressful
 263 Because I forget what teachers taught
 264 And no one—even teachers—notices that there is a Western student who didn't
 catch up in the class
 265 Asian students, they know Chinese characters, but they cannot speak
 266 They don't understand, but just keep learning
 267 So I think, in general, the Western students' speaking and listening is better
 268 Because Western students have to understand first to express and communicate
 269 The Asian students' writing and reading is better because it links to their first
 language

Stanza 17: Expectations

270 For me, the most important thing is to express what I think
 271 It is ok if my writing clearly presents my thought
 272 For me, schooling is not the most important thing
 273 For me, improving my language proficiency is the most important
 274 First, I want my teacher to understand what I am talking about
 275 Second, I want my teacher to help me
 276 I want them to tell me how to use the new vocabulary and tell me the misused
 vocabulary and how they should be used in what context
 277 I won't be stressed out if I can talk about my writing individually—not in the
 class—because my teacher knows I am a foreigner
 278 I can freely use the old vocabulary and the new vocabulary, and then they can
 tell me whether my understanding is correct
 279 I really need to improve my writing
 280 Because I want to get my master's here
 281 I want to express my ideas in writing

The Significant Learning Difficulty. There are three significant turning points in Betty's writing practice. First, Betty decided to take Mandarin as a WL instead of her preferred Japanese because she regarded Chinese characters as the foundation of other Sinophone writing systems, such as Korean and Japanese. Second, she looked forward to an emerging learning environment, so she applied for a scholarship and went to China. Third, character recognition was a significant learning difficulty for Betty, and she made great efforts when it came to memorizing characters. As she acknowledged:

I like Chinese culture. No, actually, I was planning to learn Japanese. But I know if I learned Japanese. I would still need to recognize Chinese characters. Japanese and Korean are both rooted in Mandarin. So I decided to take Chinese.

Mandarin actually was not Betty's WL learning priority. She was hoping to learn Japanese because she loved Japanese culture. Later, she changed her mind since she

realized that Japanese (Kanji) contains many Chinese characters. For this practical reason, Betty decided to learn Mandarin instead.

Betty decided to study abroad because her college was unable to provide sufficient WL learning resources in Turkey. She won a scholarship, and it supported her study in China. It was significant for Betty to have an opportunity to engage in a Mandarin community with financial support. She needed to improve her writing skills because she aimed to apply graduate school in China. As Betty claimed:

In Turkey, if you don't intentionally look for language resources. There is no way to learn Chinese unless you are a Chinese major. That is why I decided to study in China. ..I really need to improve my writing because I want to get my master's here. I want to express my ideas in writing.

Betty's Mandarin learning weakness was character recognition because she mentioned this issue eight times. She emotionally described her struggles with character recognition, provided examples to explicate her learning difficulty. According to Cook (2005), this is a common phenomenon for language learners across writing systems. Betty's first language resulted in learning difficulty in character recognition compared with her Asian classmates. As she concluded:

Especially because Chinese characters are so difficult for me...I put my writing as the weakest because I cannot memorize the characters...Sometimes I use the wrong words...Unlike my Korean classmates, who know Chinese characters already. So for me, writing is harder...I like writing, but writing in Chinese is really difficult...Sometimes it is hard to find a word to express myself. Especially

I don't know how to choose the right words for the context...It is very frustrating that I spend so much time on word recognition...If a class has half Asian and half Western students. Western students will always be left behind. It is stressful.

Betty emphasized her perseverance in learning Mandarin. Many of her peers dropped the class when she was in Turkey. "The Chinese class I went to, half of the students dropped out because they thought it was too difficult." The complexity of Chinese writing system significantly discouraged learners in her community. Because of the lack of group support and resources there, she decided to study in China. When she came to Shanghai, the new community made her to re-evaluate her Mandarin proficiency. In particular, hand writing was the most challenging as she claimed:

I like writing, but writing in Chinese is really difficult. It may take 15 minutes for typing. But it took me more than half an hour to do handwriting.

Writing was an interesting practice for Betty; however, her difficulties with character recognition made writing become time-consuming and impractical. Especially handwriting took twice as long as typing because it was hard to find the right word to describe her ideas, and it took time to find the right characters.

Betty's Western Identity. In Betty's story, she kept shifting her identities when she talked about different topics. Particularly, institution identity and affiliation identity were demonstrated constantly. I noticed that Betty repetitively used the term "We Western" or "We European" to claim her nature identity instead of using "Turkish". In most cases, she dichotomized cultural mode and language knowledge by Western and

Eastern framework. She was prone to categorize the world in Western and Eastern systems.

Her knowledge about Mandarin came from her personal experience in the classroom and interactions with community members. She heard about the difficulty of Mandarin before learning it. The Chinese center staff warmed her when she signed up for the program. They said: “It is quite different from most European languages.” They hinted that Betty should be well prepared for her decision because learning Mandarin was not as same as learning other European languages. She described:

My college had a Chinese center. There were native Chinese teachers there. I signed up for the program and went to the classes. They wanted me to be patient with Chinese because it is quite different from most European languages.

Betty signed up for the Chinese program and studied abroad. At this point, she explicitly demonstrated her institute identity and advocated her qualification by winning the scholarship. “I got a scholarship for this language program. My scholarship was funded by the Confucius Institute. A successful applicant should have a good GPA and take the HSK exam.” When she won the scholarship and decided what city she would stay in, Betty considered her affinity identity prior to others. As she concluded:

For real, I don’t like Shanghai but it is more comfortable and convenient to study here. It is easier to meet people, to find restaurants, to study. Actually, I was more interested in Beijing. Because I know Shanghai has its own dialect. Sometimes it was just confusing; I couldn’t hear it clearly. I was planning to go to Beijing because their Mandarin is more articulate. People in Shanghai speak sharp and

brief. People from Beijing have 儿話²⁵. It was difficult to tell the difference, but now it is easier for me.

In comparison with Beijing, life functions in Shanghai are stronger, despite the fact that Betty thinks people in Shanghai randomly speak its dialect, which might confuse her. She considered Shanghai over Beijing because she thinks Shanghai is more convenient and easier to accommodate her lifestyle. It is important for her to meet people and find restaurants.

According to Betty's description, she assumed that language has a standard and she was most likely to learn standard Mandarin which she believed people in Beijing are more articulate in their speech. Her discourse identity demonstrated her belief in the orthodox nature of Mandarin. She was aware of her learning weaknesses, and she explained where the weaknesses came from. As she explained:

It's ok when I use the dictionary for reading and to understand the meaning. If I want to use vocabulary for writing. Sometimes it is hard to find a word to express myself. I don't know how to choose the right words for the context. So I have to read a lot to remember.

Betty claimed her Western identity five times in this story. Western identity refers to Betty's nature identity, institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity. It is undeniable that Betty is a Western student from Turkey. However, her statements

²⁵ 儿話 (er-style) is a particular accent from Beijing. "Hello" is pronounced as "ni-hao" in Mandarin, but it sounds like "ni-haoer" when spoken by most of Beijing Mandarin speakers.

regarding Western identity were associated with writing systems, cultural differences, and language distinctions, which also related to her other identities. She reflected that “We Westerners have to pay more attention on writing system”. Due to social comparison, she observed these learning differences while studying with other Sinophone speakers in China. This community practice affected her affinity identity as a Western student. She realized that Western students’ Mandarin writing weaknesses resulted from the cross-writing systems between Turkish and Mandarin. As she reflected:

Learning Chinese, you have to recognize words. For the Easterners, repetitively writing characters work. Because they don’t have to take extra time to understand the cultural context. But for me, being Western, there is no explanation. It won’t work to just write and write and write. I need to know why I would use this word in this situation, that word in that situation.

She argued that the Mandarin writing instruction did not include the Western writing system’s perspective. Rogers (1995) argues that some WL learners read by ear, but others read by eye. These different reading tendencies relate to their L1 writing system. Betty presented her institution identity and argued that the instructions of her Mandarin classes did not inclusively consider diverse learners. She clearly pointed out that repetition made her vain since her L1 writing system does not connect to Mandarin’s writing system.

Her disappointment for the Mandarin writing instruction reflected on her expectation of a WL teacher. She claimed that teachers who took her learning results as their responsibilities were her ideal WL teachers. She argued that WL teachers should

understand Western students' learning styles and help more. An ideal teacher should be knowledgeable in instruction and was willing to devote extra time and effort for Western students. Here, Betty hoped her institutional Western identity and affinity identity could be understood. As she said:

There are good teachers and bad teachers....He can take care of your learning. He may explain clearly and want to know where he can do more for you. Like I am a Western, some teachers try to understand my learning style and try to explain more to help me understand.

In addition, Betty presented strong institution identity to advocate how current Mandarin curriculum should be reformed. If she were a Mandarin teacher, Chinese character structures would be introduced in the first class. Her teaching approach was more Western-centered since she understood the struggle of character recognition. Students are educated under Western pedagogy have different ways of inquiring knowledge. She gave two examples to demonstrate how Chinese characters could be reasonably understood by Western students, instead of memorizing. As she said:

If I were a teacher, and my students are Western, I would introduce the structure of Chinese characters. And maybe give a more historical overview...The evolution of the Chinese writing system would be introduced in my first class. It should be explained how the Chinese writing system has been categorized...It would be easier for the Western students to understand...Like I recognize these two words, but I don't know these two words can combine together as a

compound word. I need to understand插 is a verb and 花 is a noun²⁶. It would be more understandable if I comprehend the grammar and the radical. 插's radical is hand (扌) and 花 is a plant with radical grass (艹). I read this compound word together and understand why it is used in these two characters. This helps me memorize everything.

On the other hand, Abby presented her institution identity as a Western scholar to criticize most Western students' learning goals. She pointed out how literacy relates to speaking and listening and positioned herself as an experienced learner to orient other Western learners toward the right direction. As she suggested:

I know many Westerners learn Chinese and they think it is not necessary to do word recognition. They are kind of like, "I don't need to write". "I don't need to read". But when you have trouble listening. Reading can help you figure out the meaning.

Betty categorized learning style as Western and Eastern. From Betty's perspective, Western students are more independent and able to manage their learning progress. Her absences of some classes evidently presented her institution identity for learning autonomy. On the contrary, her observation of her Asian classmates was that they were more prone to please teachers by being proactive in classes. Betty advocated that students have the autonomy to learn in different approaches, not limited to classes. As she claimed:

²⁶ 插(cha) is a verb, which means insert, and 花(hua) is a noun, which means flower. 插花(cha-hua) is a compound word referring to flowering.

The Western students know they can skip class. They can learn by themselves. But the Eastern students, they go to class every day. But I notice that they are not always learning something in class...I feel the Western students are more responsible. We will figure out how to learn by ourselves. Find some way to help ourselves...But the Eastern students, they just learn and they don't know whether if they keep studying, they can learn something or not.

Who are Western students? Betty didn't clearly point this out in her definition. According to her description, I argue that she conceptualized Western students as European students. When she critiqued the content of her Chinese textbook, she used an example of "I believe if a Spanish or British person would read the story, they would be confused" to support her point that the Chinese textbook lacked clarity and logic. However, the notion of Western is not limited to just European framework.

Understanding the Chinese Writing System and Language. This section of analysis uses the sign systems and knowledge-building tool that Gee (2000) suggested. Betty underestimated the learning difficulty of Mandarin; she knew Mandarin grammar is similar to her L2 of English, and she thought that Chinese characters are a combination of pictograms and phonemes. As she said:

I do Chinese because grammar and vocabulary make senses to me... I can see the connections between the characters and the meanings. For me, it is like a game. You can see the pictures and link them to the meanings.

Betty said "it is like a game" and "Turkish grammar is more like Japanese and Korean because the verb is at the end of the sentence". Betty was knowledgeable about

features of various WLs, she analyzed what WLs are worth it to invest her time in. She concluded that “English grammar is similar to Mandarin, and Turkish grammar is more like Japanese and Korean”. Grammar was not be the biggest concern in her case, but writing systems was.

She decided to learn Mandarin based on two reasons. First, Japanese is a mixed system; Japanese orthography derives ultimately from Chinese scripts (Sampson, 1985). Therefore, Betty selected Mandarin over Japanese because Chinese scripts fundamentally influence Japanese. Second, Betty loved Chinese four-word phrases as she said “I like to use Chinese set phrases²⁷ in my Chinese writing. There are only four words, but they are very meaningful”. The semiotics of Chinese language has created meanings that mostly imply metaphors.

Betty constructed her Mandarin sign system by reading because her past experience demonstrated that reading was her most proficient learning activity. As she remembered: “My major is English literature. I write a lot. Sometimes I have to read four or five books at once and then do a review or analysis”. Based on her L1 learning experience, it was common for her to conduct intellectual activities. However, transferring her English learning experience to Mandarin writing was not as successful as it was from Turkish to English. In addition, both typing and handwriting were time consuming due to cross-writing systems. Betty tried to “understand” Chinese characters, and she also tried repetition. She indicated that Eastern learners are able to learn Chinese

²⁷ Chinese set phrases are called “Chengyu.” It almost always consists of four characters and is an idiomatic expression. For example, “十全十美” is pronounced as “shi-quan-shi-mei”. 十 is ten, 全 is whole, 美 is beautiful. Combining the meanings of characters, it refers to being perfect and fulfilled.

characters through repetition because of the similarity of writing systems and culture repertoire, whereas she, as a Western learner, was better able to recognize the characters by vision. As she argued:

Learning Chinese, you have to recognize words. For the Easterners, repetitively writing characters work. Because they don't have to take extra time to understand the cultural context. But for me, being Western, there is no explanation... I read the textbook and make similar sentences, then replace the vocabulary... I usually write the introduction for my first paragraph, then body, why you say this in this way, and conclusion. I use the same strategy to write in English and Turkish as well. So when I write in Chinese, I use the same strategy.

Betty's statement correlates to Opitz et al.'s (2014) study, in which visual working memory affects Chinese character recognition to some extent. She used a meta-cognitive strategy, in which her prior WL learning experience was transferred to the present task. For example, she practiced her writing skills by duplicating sentences from the textbook and then replacing verbs, subjects, and objects. Through mimicry, Betty assimilated her prior writing experiences to her present writing tasks, in order to master her Mandarin writing skills.

Betty's educational background allowed her to examine and compare knowledge-building processes through different languages. Betty critiqued Chinese writing in comparison with English. She used a typical English academic genre to make her argument. First, she made her statement that "English writing is clearer." Then, she explained why Chinese writing is not as clear as English. She also gave an example

following her explanation to support her argument. In particular, she demonstrated how to improve Chinese writing, to make it more understandable for Western students. As she said:

English writing is clearer. It has statements and follows up with explanations. But in Chinese, for example, the textbook gives us a story. But doesn't tell us what happens in the end. There is no conclusion...For example, the story talks about three brothers who work together and fight for their family fortune. The elder one does this, the second oldest one does that, and the youngest does that, and then nobody gets the money. I believe if a Spanish or British person would read the story, they would be confused. Because it is not clear...It could be rewritten like this: the elder brother does this but fails because blah..., and it shows his blat. That helps me understand the perspective of this story.

In terms of cross-writing systems, Betty distinguished between different writing systems and developed her own way to recognize Chinese characters. She did not follow the instructor's advice to practice repetition. Instead, she read and analyzed characters' structures and connected these with characters' meanings. She transferred her reading skills to Chinese character recognition and tried to understand the structures of Chinese characters. She used the dictionary and categorized words according to their radicals; this was her way to memorize and understand the Chinese writing system. As she shared:

I am Western as well...You read the words individually, not all at once. I would tell them to circle the words that they recognize then carefully see the characters. Similar words even have the same pronunciations, but mean different things.

Because they have different radicals²⁸ so I always analyze the characters' structures then guess their meanings.

Relationships with Writing Fellows. This section analyzes Betty's relationships with her classmates in China. Social comparison was a significant factor when Betty engaged in her Mandarin learning discourse. As the only Western student in the class, she had the opportunity to study with her classmates who spoke Japanese or Korean as L1s. Within this context, her cultural and language capital became peripheral in this community.

Betty actively engaged in the learning community, and she acted as a delegator in this community. According to Wenger (1998), community of practice has three dimensions: joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and shared repertoire. Betty's story indicates her association with her community members, in terms of classroom learning activities and afterschool writing practice. These engagements occurred within Betty's external relations (Wenger, 1998), and they related to the three dimensions that Wenger mentioned. She participated in joint enterprise by attending classes, had mutual engagement when doing writing assignments with classmates, and shared repertoire by comparing writing and reading behaviors.

Betty's Mandarin writing practice involved multiple communities of practices, including writing system adaption and learning authority. Wenger (1998) stated that multiple communities of practice eventually encounter discontinuity over time, and these practices would then develop a new form. In other words, Betty would not permanently

²⁸ A radical is a semantic indicator of a character, and it connects to the meaning of a word. Betty gives an example on lines 222 to 225.

maintain same practices, but the current practices would transform—as her writing knowledge developed—to the next community/relation.

However, the connection of practices in different communities depends on how individuals act or negotiate when they encounter boundaries. Wenger (1998) provided three types of boundary encounters: one-on-one, immersion, and delegation. Betty delegated her practice and knowledge across multiple boundaries. She neither individually interacted with her community members, nor fully immersed in the core values of her community. Rather, she oversaw similarities and distinctions between and within communities, and negotiated meanings across boundaries.

Betty's delegations in this story can be seen in her writing system adaption and learning authority. Betty noticed that differing writing systems affected her writing efficiency when she studied with her Korean and Japanese classmates. As she explained:

Unlike my Korean classmates, who know Chinese characters already. So for me, writing is harder. My Japanese and Korean classmates understand the text without taking time on word recognition. But I have to carefully see the characters and guess the meanings. Those who know Japanese or Korean can tell what characters to use in what situations. But I cannot...When I study with Korean or Japanese classmates. They can also point out what radicals are related to emotions, feelings.

She did not fully immerse herself into the learning strategies that her peers adopted. Instead, she analyzed the distinctions of the writing systems and referenced her prior learning experience to create the most efficient approach to recognizing Chinese characters. She used reading repetition instead of the writing repetition that teachers

suggested to memorize the structures of characters. On the other hand, she studied with classmates who were using writing systems similar to Chinese to correct her hand writing . Most importantly, they explained the connections between characters and meanings.

Moreover, Asian students had a different understanding in learning according to Betty's observations. She claimed that students have the authority to manage their learning paths, so she had the right to choose whether to go to the class. However, Asian students were most likely to be perceived as good students and please their teachers by writing every word they heard in the class. She had learned this repertoire, but did not follow it; therefore, she claimed herself as a bad student in that context. As she reflected:

I don't know how to find the answer, but teachers assume we have it figured out. So I look like a bad student...Because it is not important how long you spend on learning. If you don't understand, it is unnecessary to spend so much time.

When Betty carried her old experiences from her original/previous community, she encountered boundaries across communities. Based on CDS, under this circumstance, she acted her agency appropriately to co-adapt to interactions among attractors in different communities. Betty did not fully immerse or deny the practice from her new community in China. But she delegated all notions and practiced in a preferred way to facilitate her community of practice, including her writing practice and learning authority. Wenger (1998) stated that "the delegation process allows each side to get a sense of how the negotiation of meaning takes place in the other community. Delegations do provide two-way connections, but the problem with this arrangement is that participants may

cling to their own internal relations, perspectives, and ways of thinking.” (p. 113). Betty engaged in her new community in China and delegated the similarities and differences across boundaries; she then took actions based on what she valued was right for her.

Social Language. I use the social language tool that Gee (2000) suggested to analyze Betty’s social language usage in this story. I was identified as Taiwanese, a WL learner, and a WL educator from Betty’s perspective. In talking to a Taiwanese person, Betty honestly told me her viewpoints about her impression of Chinese culture. She said she liked Chinese culture, but she negated this on next line when she admitted that she planned to learn Japanese. She decided to learn Mandarin because the Chinese writing system is more influential on other languages.

Another social language that Betty used was her argument about Chinese traditional characters. She argued that Chinese traditional characters were more difficult and unpopular, in comparison with simplify Chinese characters. Although she knew Taiwan was politically against China, she urged Taiwanese authorities using Chinese simplify characters instead. Betty spoke to me from a linguistic discourse whereas the current Mandarin writing systems resulted from a political discourse. My nature identity as a Taiwanese and my institution identity as a WL scholar served as context and allowed her having this unique dialogue with me.

When talking to me as a WL learner, Betty knew I was an international student in the United States. She positioned herself within my WL learning context in the United States and explained the differences between the U.S. and Turkey in terms of WL learning resources. She also pointed out the common mistakes that Western students

made. However, when she judged Chinese students, I felt offended. I also argue her observation because she studied in language program not official university courses. Although she highlighted the fact that Chinese college students not being diligent was a difference not a weakness, I did not support this idea as she said:

It's not common like in the U.S. where many people learn Chinese...If you (Chinese college students) don't know what you want to learn. You won't work harder. I feel the Chinese don't want to work hard. It is a difference, not a weakness. What I notice is the college students do not try to study hard for their class.

As she talked to me as a WL educator, Betty shared her learning experience and viewpoint of Chinese pedagogy. In stanza 12, she created a scenario where she became a teacher who designed instruction, which would take Western students' background knowledge into account. Betty provided an innovational perspective to offer Chinese character evolution as an introduction to students. She believed that knowing the development and evolution of Chinese characters would facilitate Western students' understanding of character structures. I agree with her, and I think her idea is very inspiring.

To sum up, Betty's story provides five dimensions: significance, identity, relationship, knowledge construction, and social language. First, the significance of her story lies within her decision to learn Mandarin as a WL because the Chinese writing system is more influential. A lack of WL learning resources in Turkey resulted in her study abroad in China. Second, the complexity of the Chinese writing system became her

learning difficulty. Third, Betty's Western identity was constantly brought up in her story. She switched her institution identity and affinity identity more frequently to demonstrate her perspectives on WL teaching styles and learning approaches.

Fourth, Betty's writing practice was associated with her knowledge construction process. She transferred knowledge in terms of writing systems, learning strategies, and genres. These practices resulted from her prior WL learning experience. Last, Betty conducted delegation when she encountered diverse values in her previous and current communities. She did not fully immerse or deny practices that the current community provided. She absorbed all information and adopted her preferred behaviors, including reading repetition and maintain learning autonomy. In addition, Betty spoke differently when she identified me within different social roles. She shared learning strategies and difficulties when she identified my role as a WL learner. She intellectually shared her pedagogical viewpoint when she viewed me as a WL educator. When she regarded me as Taiwanese, she shared her cultural experiences with me.

Reflexivity of Betty's Story. Betty and I had a great amount of intellectual discussion related to writing strategies, cultural knowledge, and language learning experience. She urged me to listen carefully about her frustrations of learning Mandarin because she thought her learning difficulties did not take into account when instructors designed the curriculum and conducted instructions. In addition, her interviews reminded me to pay attention to a factor of writing system in WL writing process. I re-examined all interviews among this study and realized that language learners' L1s affect the effectiveness of transfer in writing system.

My feeling was complicated when I interviewed Betty. Sometimes she regarded me as a language instructor, a graduate student, but sometimes, I feel that she identified me as an eastern which was strange in the giving discourses. My feeling came from my interactive experience with different WL learners and my logic of dichotomy. Although Betty never orally named me as an Eastern, I suspected she identified me as an eastern while she was naming herself as a western. I was never associated with the situation that people might tag me as an eastern instead of Asian or Taiwanese. In addition, I never met people who claim themselves as western but Betty. However, my limited knowledge of Turkish language constrains my understanding of words contrast between Turkish and Mandarin. It would make sense if “western” is a common usage in Turkish to describe identity. I should have asked Betty to clarify this perspective and explain her reasons for using western as self-identity.

Jane’s Wandering Story

Jane learned WLs through herself not schooling. The economic disadvantage of her family made her stop going to college and work abroad. She started her Mandarin due to business. Later, she came to China and signed up a Mandarin program for working in China.

Jane’s Mandarin writing assignments provided many critical viewpoints which intensely related to her life experiences. In this section, five of her Mandarin essays are discussed in this story. The first essay “Enjoy Life”, she highlighted the importance of freedom in her life. Her argument was about how money-driven value dehumanized and constructed an unhealthy work culture in Korea. Jane’s second essay argued that the

higher education system had failed in human capital. Students were mistakenly placed on tracks which did not meet their interests. In her third essay “fate”, she asserted that people always have choices to change their fates. Jane took her study abroad as an example to support her statement. Her social economic status was not resourceful but she successfully made her way and studied abroad. The fourth essay’s topic was “Marriage”. She clearly pointed out that her objection for marriage and she shared her experiences to support her statement. The last essay was about “Change”. Jane browsed Mandarin books to find sources for this writing assignment, and she found a Chinese writer who had similar life experience with her. This writing experience resulted in her reflections on her life courses in multiple aspects.

Storyline of Jane’s Story.

Stanza 1: Working Experience in Singapore

- 1 I am from the second largest city in Korea
- 2 I went to Singapore after high school
- 3 My study was weak and my family relationship was not good
- 4 I left Korea right after I graduated from high school
- 5 I heard people said that Singapore had lots of opportunities
- 6 So I started a small business
- 7 I knew I was too ignorant to manage my business
- 8 I tried and I failed

Stanza 2: Start Over

- 9 I decided to learn business
- 10 Like marketing or management
- 11 So I stayed there for two years
- 12 The first half year was doing small business
- 13 The rest of time studied business
- 14 Later, I worked in a Business Company in Malaysia
- 15 I went to Philippine, India, and Australia
- 16 I travelled a couple countries for work

Stanza 3: Leaving Malaysia

- 17 My first time visited there, I didn't feel there was busy
- 18 But later , I couldn't and I didn't want to stay there
- 19 Because there were many funny laws and regulations
- 20 You could not do this you could not do that
- 21 Too much
- 22 It was so boring but they were proud of their law
- 23 So I went back to Korea and prepared to study Chinese

Stanza 4: Study Chinese for Freedom

- 24 I was lay off because the company was broke
- 25 They compensated us some money
- 26 I used that money to pay my tuition here
- 27 I didn't want to stay in Korea so I decided to stay here at least one year
- 28 I use my money
- 29 The money that I save
- 30 I don't take money from my parents
- 31 I appreciate they give me freedom
- 32 I can survive with a little money but I cannot survive without freedom
- 33 I know most Korean won't choose this kind of life style
- 34 But it makes me happy
- 35 I like the environment here
- 36 very quiet
- 37 I am here for study, you know
- 38 So I don't want to live in the city center
- 39 And I don't like cold
- 40 I chose Shanghai because Beijing or Harbin is too cold

Stanza 5: Learning Motivation

- 41 Many Korean learn Chinese because it is promising
- 42 They think the US has declined and China is growing
- 43 There are lots of jobs for Korean to work with Chinese
- 44 They believe China is growing so people come
- 45 I love learning languages
- 46 As long as something I am interested, I will go for it
- 47 I went to Singapore learning both English and Mandarin because there were many Chinese there
- 48 I had to speak Chinese for work
- 49 I learned Chinese by myself

50 Some of my Korean friends do not study hard
 51 But, I mean for real, Chinese and English are both important
 52 My landlord didn't speak English, so I had to speak Chinese to her on phone
 53 I never learned Chinese in Singapore
 54 But I read Chinese dictionary
 55 I read it for a while and started to learn Chinese here
 56 I won't say Chinese is an easy language
 57 But it is easy for me
 58 Because I am interested in it and I can remember it
 59 Chinese is my favorite language

Stanza 6: Jane's Perspective on Ideal Life

60 In my article "enjoy life"
 61 I wrote "I like a country where has the slow path but still can make money"
 62 It is my ideal life style
 63 I think my value is definitely different from most of Korean
 64 So I left Korea as soon as possible
 65 I think the life style in Korea is too boring
 66 Everything is about money
 67 Only money
 68 I don't understand why people can pursue nothing but money
 69 If I don't leave, I will follow that kind of life style
 70 They do everything for money, that's it, nothing else
 71 They can sacrifice life quality
 72 I cannot sacrifice my life
 73 It is not healthy, something should be considered.
 74 I knew I couldn't stand it when I was in Korea
 75 I don't like Korean culture when I was in Korea
 76 I feel this way when I was little
 77 Especially my mom is so traditional
 78 They think money is everything
 79 But I don't feel in this way
 80 To be rich or not be rich, not because they work harder
 81 There is no reason why some people are richer
 82 But something they don't understand
 83 There are many opportunities to make money
 84 But when the opportunity comes
 85 Your life quality will be shirked
 86 But if you choose to lead a good life
 87 There always has opportunity to make money

88 Many people study hard for money
 89 But only a few people can make it
 90 For those who fail at making money
 91 There is a reason but no standard answer
 92 It is totally random
 93 What is the purpose to make lots of money
 94 Nothing special to being rich
 95 You can buy luxurious stuff
 96 But what do you do to buy many expensive stuff
 97 Those luxury cannot give you nutrition and happiness
 98 Happiness does not come with money

Stanza 7: My Fate

99 In my essay "Fate", I wrote "I don't believe in fate. I think people have choice"
 100 I really believe this
 101 I don't care how people talk about me
 102 I do whatever I think it is right
 103 I don't judge people
 104 Good or bad is my choice
 105 I can solve my problems
 106 Like learning languages, nobody pushes me but also no body encourages me
 107 My fate supposed to make money in Korea
 108 I born in a middle class family
 109 My father is ok
 110 But my mother is too typical Korean
 111 Also my mother's side
 112 I frequently fight with my grand mom and my mom
 113 They disagree with me because they think I am so wrong in many ways
 114 I have three sisters.
 115 I am the third and I am the only one has problem with my mom
 116 My sisters are very close to my mom and they are very obedient
 117 I am more close to my father
 118 I am not close to my mom just because we have different ideas
 119 She is very traditional because she lives in that environment
 120 To accommodate that environment, she cannot has her own idea because she has
 got used to it
 121 For that society, money is everything
 122 So they only think of money, nothing can be more important
 123 I am the only person has travel experience
 124 My sisters stay in Korea and they make money after high school

125 Then they do jobs, not special jobs, nothing special
 126 I would be my fate I didn't work abroad

Stanza 8: Malfunctioned Higher Education

127 I got a high score in the essay "college life"
 128 I say, college should be a place for people know research and people know what
 they want to study
 129 It is not a place to judge people
 130 If you want to be a respectful person then you have to have college degree
 131 Is that really a good system?
 132 I feel some people are just interested in one subject but the test examines
 everything
 133 So many people cannot go to college
 134 There are geniuses but cannot go to college
 135 So I don't like this system
 136 If you go to the college and chose the right major
 137 You got a good job
 138 If you got a wrong major
 139 You don't get a good job
 140 It doesn't like that
 141 The reason having college is not for judging a person
 142 A person's intelligence is what he want to learn
 143 Not a college evaluates students and tells you what should you do
 144 . It should be a place motivate students and help him have more ideas
 145 Do you know this? Do you want that? not for exam
 146 If I have a chance, I would not go to college in Korea
 147 It is nothing about my choice
 148 It is about my ability
 149 I am not qualified to do this
 150 I have my strength, of course, I do
 151 But college requires too much
 152 For that thing, I am not good
 153 I think the most impacting thing is salary
 154 If I have that degree, I may have more choice
 155 That is something unfair but I appreciate
 156 If I haven't experienced these unfair situations
 157 Nothing can make me different
 158 If I went to college, then got a job after graduation
 159 I definitely lead a common life, bored life
 160 I may work every day to pay back my college tuition after graduation

Stanza 9: Mandarin Writing Tips

161 I saw people typing but I prefer handwriting
162 Typing is not challenging but I don't know
163 I get used to do handwriting
164 . My ideas must be clearly demonstrated
165 And they must be meaningful
166 The essay "Shanghai", I had drunk when I wrote it
167 I actually think this essay is very disorganized
168 My Chinese proficiency is not good enough but at least I write what I want to
say
169 I don't care what teacher says about this
170 You know Korean drink for no reason
171 But I think be sober is better for writing because the structure is more
disorganized if I drink
172 I have 30% thinking in Korean when I write in Mandarin
173 I would brainstorm with my own Chinese word
174 I don't fully translate from Korean
175 Since I am not a professional translator
176 I don't really work as hard as other people
177 I learn from TV
178 I really need to learn in a short time
179 I feel I learn most from listening and it is faster
180 So I spend time on watching TV at home
181 But writing would be different
182 There are countless Chinese words
183 For writing, I work harder and step by step
184 To write something, I read a lot of characters
185 I read Chinese book
186 It is not difficult because I know many Chinese characters
187 I understand when I read
188 But when I have to write, I don't remember, I cannot write
189 So I write write write
190 I copy the words on my note book
191 I practice one month, then I recognize some words
192 I at least read an hour and maybe one or two hours I can finish an essay
193 I have to think through and try harder to write something close to my thought
194 I have to carefully think a better way to express my idea. I keep looking for the
most appropriate expression
195 Before I came here, what I learn is more like business Chinese
196 It is easy and you have chance to use it

197 But now, for classes, it is more complicated
 198 Because you have to come out your ideas, express your thought
 199 I have to try out writing something from my mind
 200 It is really different from work place
 201 My proficiency is still weak
 202 I have to work harder

Stanza 10: Self Evaluation

203 I don't speak too much Korean
 204 And I don't really hangout with Korean
 205 I have less and less opportunities to speak Korean
 206 My Korean is not good as well
 207 Give me a topic and ask me to write in Korean is still difficult for me
 208 For Chinese, I think my speaking and writing is similar
 209 But my pronunciation is not accurate so I can say more in writing
 210 I don't really try hard for Chinese
 211 I can do better if I really try harder for one or two months
 212 There is no the most difficult part for me because I haven't worked hard yet.
 213 I say writing is not challenging for me because I am not afraid making mistake in
 my writing

Stanza 11: Inspiration

214 My writing ideas come from my mind
 215 No TV program or book told me this stuff
 216 This is an idea original comes from my mind
 217 I think a lot
 218 I wrote "Human is a great existence, but nature embraces human"
 219 My teacher circles the second sentence
 220 Because in Chinese, people don't say like this
 221 But, this is my idea and I feel in this way
 222 Because human is being in the natural system
 223 There are animals and planes in the nature
 224 Even we make many scientific or artificial stuff
 225 We are part of nature so I feel "the nature embraces us"
 226 I don't really care how to make my idea sounds right because it is my idea
 227 I feel sorry to my teacher because I still keep creating my sentence
 228 And actually my level only allows me to write like this.

Stanza 12: Future

229 I want to learn English in China

230 I want to stay here so I want to choose what I want to learn
 231 Other Koreans or foreigners are doing business in China
 232 I have to work hard and I don't mind dropping from the school
 233 I want to learn by myself
 234 I read those business books but I don't like it
 235 I definitely won't take class for business
 236 What I want to learn is English
 237 It is good for me if my English is better than Chinese
 238 I read international business law because I worked in that field
 239 I think these knowledge is not really helpful
 240 I don't think it is worth to learn that kind of thing
 241 I choose to learn my loved Chinese and English
 242 These two languages are contradict but also similar
 243 These two languages, grammars are similar
 244 But writing systems are different and also pronunciation.

Stanza 13: Marriage

245 In my article "marriage", I wrote "I don't want to get married because of
 freedom"
 246 Freedom is the first thing in my life
 247 It is more important than money
 248 It is more important than love
 249 Even my parents told me to stay single
 250 They didn't behave this way to my sisters
 251 They treat me differently because my personality is too different
 252 They never say I have to marry
 253 No one can force me to do something
 254 My mom took my date of birth to a fortune teller
 255 He said that it is difficult for me to get married
 256 It was a bad new for my mom but it is a good news for me
 257 Because it is exactly what I want
 258 I had a several relationships
 259 They do understand me
 260 Man always understand woman before marriage
 261 Because he wants me
 262 So they have to be a good listener
 263 They have their purposes so I won't trust men
 264 I am a very sweet girl friend
 265 I am not a bad kind
 266 But if he treats me bad, I won't stand it.

Stanza 14: What Counts as Good Language Curriculum

267 I may create a nature environment
 268 I would use more simple approach...how to say
 269 Why Chinese speak Chinese?
 270 Because they use this language every day
 271 From the moment you get up and the moment to bed
 272 I don't think the content is the most important
 273 Take time to immerge is more important
 274 And for students, don't let students feel bored, don't let them dislike the class
 275 I liked Chinese, but it is too boring in the class
 276 I less like Chinese now
 277 So the most important thing is to help student like this language
 278 What you taught is not that important
 279 Because language is a nature thing
 280 If you like it, you will pick up
 281 I really think listening is really important
 282 Don't worry too much about speaking, because it is too much to remember

Stanza 15: Power of WL Literacy

283 I read Ni-Kuang's²⁹ books because I went to library to find resource for my
 homework
 284 I had an essay and the topic was about "Change"
 285 So I went to library and randomly picked a book
 286 I found it was interesting
 287 People change
 288 Like Ni-Kuang, he has quitted smoke, alcohol, and women
 289 You can read him through his book
 290 Then he brought God in his book
 291 His previous books are more like fiction novels
 292 He wrote a lot of psychedelic and delusional stuff
 293 But since he believed in God
 294 He changed a lot
 295 He quitted smoke and drink and is faith to one woman
 296 Before, he definitely didn't think he was wrong
 297 He said, why should I resist this
 298 I think it was a bad temptation and guided me to the wrong direction
 299 But the wrong direction made me happy

²⁹ Ni-Kuang is a Chinese writer come from Hong Kong. He wrote many fiction novels and film scripts.

300 A temperate happiness
301 It was fun and I felt good
302 But now I do bible study in a Chinese church
303 You can feel God
304 There are bright side and dark side
305 But you have to make efforts and make the right decision
306 I did something bad because of curiosity
307 You know my personality
308 I like experiencing as much as possible
309 I desire to experience
310 I am a little bit stupid
311 So I am not satisfied what I read from book
312 Because I don't fully understand
313 Because I am an impatient person
314 I have to experience by myself
315 Without experiencing, I cannot understand what books say
316 But when I experienced, I knew I had made mistakes
317 So in my experience, there are lots of mistakes that I made
318 Of course those mistakes hurt me and made me sad
319 But I learn
320 I try not to do this again but my desire is still there
321 So I doubt myself and I question
322 But since I do bible study
323 I feel I have better self-control
324 It's real, I am not lying
325 I can control my will
326 Especially I have a very bad characteristic
327 I love adventure
328 I like doing something people don't dare to do.
329 I must try, I want to explore
330 People say to me like "you are trap yourself from pursing success"
331 But I think taking adventure is more important than being successful
332 Last time, I read his prose
333 He wrote about lots of relationships
334 I feel he is a little Chauvinism
335 He is very conflicting like me
336 One of his piece is very interesting
337 It is about "distance"
338 He said "people must remind distance whether how close you are "
339 "Only having distance, people can define relationships"

340 I never think about this
 341 I don't want to keep distance with people
 342 I hope and I like to be intimacy, no distance, but it seems impossible
 343 But somehow I cannot tell people about my secret
 344 A secret is told, it is not a secret
 345 But I really want to have friends who can share secrets
 346 I guess I am definitely not the only one who feels in this way
 347 His prose comforts me.
 348 I think everyone has his secrets and thinks their secrets are the most valuable.
 349 When I write, I image that someone fully understands me
 350 If I know this person, I would share my secrets
 351 I wouldn't share my thought before
 352 But now, I think I can

The Significance of Jane's Story. Jane's story mainly consisted of three significant events—Failure of academic, pursuit of freedom, and financial independency. First, Jane was unconfident in academic performance. She left Korea after high school mainly because her academic performance was too weak to apply a college. As she said: "My study was weak and my family relationship was not good. So I left Korea right after I graduated from high school."

On one hand, her discouraging k-12 learning experiences affected her self-efficacy. She attributed her business failure to her undereducated status when she said "I knew I was too ignorant to manage my business, I tried but I failed". On the other hand, she barely learned by reading for a lack of academic toolkit to inquire knowledge. She claimed that she would not take suggestions from books until she tried and experienced. She viewed her experimental attitude as foolish whereas I argue that her unrewarding schooling resulted in her low self-efficacy. She attributed her failures to her insufficient education and intelligence. As she said:

I like to experience as much as possible. I desire to experience. I am a little bit stupid. So I am not satisfied what I read from book. I don't fully understand. I am an impatient person. I have to experience by myself. Without experiencing, I cannot understand what books say. But when I experienced, I knew I had made mistakes. So in my experience, there are lots of mistakes that I made. Of course those mistakes hurt me and made me sad, but I learn.

Freedom is significant in Jane's life course. She verbally restated the importance of freedom during interviews and repetitively addressed this point in her essays. One significant life change would be her moving to China. She used to live in Malaysia and Singapore but she decided to move since the strict law counterworked her belief in freedom. As she said:

My first time visited there (Singapore), I didn't feel the busy path. But later, I couldn't and I didn't want to stay there because there were many funny laws and regulations.

She practiced her belief of freedom by choosing residency and being single. She wrote that "I don't want to get married because of freedom". Freedom was her first priority over love and money. She pointed out her personality was different from the majority of Korean. In fact, pursuing freedom cut her off from mainstream of Korean culture, even her connection with her family. As she said:

Even my parents told me to stay single. They didn't behave this way to my sisters. They treat me differently because my personality is too different.

Last, financial independency was significant for Jane to pursue freedom. Using CDS to analyze Jane's agency, she overtopped freedom as life gist resulted from external factors of her ecology (see Table 2.1). In particular, Jane's finance and economic status affected her decisions, such as learning Mandarin and worked abroad. To pursue an ideal life style, Jane chose to work abroad and learn WLs for work. She described that "I went to Singapore learning both English and Mandarin because there were many Chinese there. I had to speak Chinese for work." Despite of the fact that her business was shutdown and she was laid off later, she restated that her current expense came from her saving not her family. According to Jane's narration, she traded in her financial independency for freedom. She paid her tuition and she therefore was able to study Mandarin in China. Because she didn't ask money from home, she could stay single. Freedom was traded by her financial independency as she said:

I use my money. The money that I save. I don't take money from my parents. I appreciate they give me freedom. I can survive with a little money but I cannot survive without freedom. I know most Korean won't choose this kind of life style. But it makes me happy.

Jane's Identity Construction. It can be seen that Jane's identity construction constantly shifted among different topics. In particular, Jane was explicit about her different identities when the topics of "self-learning" and "against Korean culture" arose. According to CDS, learners are affected by multiple external and internal factors (Table 2.1). In Jane's circumstance, she had little external support from her economic, finance and ecological field but she was strongly motivated in learning WLs supported by her psychological stance.

Jane demonstrated her nature identity as a language lover as she proudly claimed that “I learn Chinese by myself”. Learning language was her learning aptitude and derived from her nature identity. She argued that most of WL learners make efforts on learning to merit their careers on purpose. She questioned the current WL learning trend because it diminished the joy of learning WL. She argued that “What is the purpose to make lots of money? Nothing is special to be rich. Those luxuries cannot give you nutrition and happiness. Happiness does not come with money.” In comparison with other learners, especially Korean, Jane’s language learning motivation was relatively less academic. As she described:

Many Korean learn Chinese because it is promising. They think the US has declined and China is growing. There are lots of jobs for Korean to work with Chinese. They believe China is growing so people come...I love learning languages. As long as something I am interested, I will go for it. I learned Chinese by myself...I won’t say Chinese is an easy language. But it is easy for me. Because I am interested in it and I can remember it. Chinese is my favorite language.

Jane refused to construct institution identity. She refused to build academic toolkits, meet teachers’ expectations, and be institutionalized. Jane deeply believed that working hard was the only way to enhance her proficiency. She constantly emphasized that her poor Chinese resulted from her insufficient efforts, as she confessed “I don’t really work as hard as other people. I have to work hard and I don’t mind dropping from the school. I want to learn by myself.” Her explanation evidently referred to her refusal of academic tool kit.

In Jane's Mandarin writing discourse, she chose not to co-adapt the complexity of her external environments and internal mechanism. She chose to be self-centered rather than trusting professionalism. She ignored teachers' feedback on her writing but adopted self-directed approach, such as reading Chinese books that she selected, to improve her Mandarin. Jane would rather disappoint her teacher for being faithful to her agency. It was not negotiable for Jane if her teachers' or the school' requirements were different from her opinions. She was unwilling to incorporate and shift her different identities; therefore, she chose to leave her institute identity behind. As she reflected:

My writing ideas come from my mind. No TV program or book told me this stuff. This is an idea original comes from my mind. I think a lot. I wrote "Human is a great existence, but nature embraces human". My teacher circles the second sentence. Because in Chinese, people don't say like this. But, this is my idea and I feel in this way. I don't really care how to make my idea sounds right because it is my idea. I feel sorry to my teacher because I still keep creating my sentences.

Jane presented different identities to illustrate her opposition of Korean culture. Her impression of Korean cultural was mostly from her experience of family interactions. Jane's work abroad was a motion of cultural escape and self-isolation. What Jane argued was the social comparison and working culture in Korea. For example, she demonstrated her natural identity as a Korean woman and her affinity identity as a member of her family. She resisted the cultural expectations for a woman and a daughter. She also took her sisters as comparison to stand out her argument. In her Chinese written text, she described her motion of identity construction as follow:

In my essay “Fate”, I wrote “I don’t believe in fate. I think people have choice. Like learning languages, nobody pushes me but also no body encourages me. My fate supposed to make money in Korea. I was born in a middle class family. My father is ok. But my mother is too typical Korean. They disagree with me because they think I am so wrong in many ways. I have three sisters. I am the third and I am the only one has problem with my mom...She is very traditional because she lives in that environment... For that society, money is everything. So they only think of money, nothing can be more important... My sisters stay in Korea and they make money after high school. Then they do jobs, not special jobs, nothing special. I would be my fate I didn’t work abroad.”

Working abroad was a motion to construct Jane’s identity and it was also a phase shift according to CDS in her life course. From Jane’s written text and narration, her disagreement of money-driven culture and social comparison excluded herself emerging in Korean culture. She acknowledged that her fate should have followed her sisters’ paths and no varieties for her to against unless she ran. As she said, “I think my value is definitely different from most of Korean. So I left Korea as soon as possible.” Jane’s identity construction process during work abroad period was affected by a cyclic attractor. To adapt the foreign environment, Jane had to do self- directed learning in Mandarin to maintain a stability of her life change.

Mommy Issues. In this section, I used the relation building tool that Gee (2010) suggested to analyze three of Jane’s essays, “Enjoy life”, “fate”, and “Marriage”, as resources to explore how Jane’s identity construction which has been affected by her relationship with her mother. Jane’s identity shifts can be seen in the comparison of

written texts and interview transcripts, particularly, the shifts between institution identity and affinity identity. In the last section, I pointed out that Jane had refused to co-adapt her institution identity as a student and a Chinese language learner with other identities. For example, pedagogically, she did not take the teacher' feedback as account; linguistically, she did not strive for writing progress. Instead, she powerfully sustained her authorship which was associated with her institution identity and it was majorly exercised her role as a WL student writer. As she stated:

My Chinese proficiency is not good enough but at least I write what I want to say.

I don't care what teachers say about this.

Jane's institution identity construction was significantly influenced by her affinity identity. The selected essays were all associated with her relationship in family discourse. The ideas came from her reflections and experience of life stories, particularly her affinity identity construction from her interactions with her mother. Therefore, in her writing, the family stories served as evidences to support her arguments.

For example, in her "enjoy life" essay, she positioned as an objective writer to critique the general social economical and marriage systems. However, I argue that her opinions are extensively limited and linked to her family. In this essay, she pointed out that "I like a country where has the slow path but still can make money". She didn't answer where would be the ideal country for her to enjoy life; nonetheless, Korea unquestioningly was not the place. As she advocated:

I think my value is definitely different from most of Korean. So I left Korea as soon as possible. I think the life style in Korea is too boring. Everything is about money, only money.

For Jane, the way to enjoy her ideal life was leaving Korea. Her fear of been simulating by Korean culture resulted from her mother. She conceptualized Korean cultural as over-material from her observation of her mother's characteristics and the social expectation for a traditional Korean. As she described:

I knew I couldn't stand it when I was in Korea. I didn't like Korean culture when I was in Korea. I felt this way when I was little. Especially my mom is so traditional. They think money is everything. But I don't feel in this way.

Jane had been unable to practice and strive for her ideal life since her mother had distracted her from her goal. Her family life resulted in her in identity crisis because she was unable to co-adapt attractors from her external environments and internal mechanism while living in Korea with her family. To maintain equilibrium in her complex dynamic systems, despite Jane emotionally couldn't cut off her natural identity as a Korean and a daughter of a traditional Korean mother, she physically left Korea to pursuit her ideal life. The financial stress that she carried from her mother significantly affected her affinity identity and made her believe that if she wanted to well-engage in her situated community, her value of life style had to be changed. Therefore, she decided to leave Korean and said "I don't understand why people can pursue nothing but money. If I don't leave, I will follow that kind of life style".

The strife between Jane and her mother was presented in another essay that Jane wrote. In her essay, Jane powerfully and firmly stated that “I don’t believe in fate” because “I think people have choice”. This is not a truth-be-told statement but a fact that she responded to her family relationship. She knew what her fate suppose to look like but she decided not to behave what people expected. She wrote:

I don’t care how people talk about me. I do whatever I think it is right. I don’t judge people. Good or bad is my choice. I can solve my problems. Like learning languages, nobody pushes me but also no body encourages me.

It is recognizable that Jane lacked social capital based on her essay. Emotionally, learning Mandarin was her intuitional desire without social conformity. In addition, it is unknown that whether her family members even had participated in her career developmental process. She knew her fate supposed to be if she didn’t leave her community. The influence of her mother made her try so hard to change her fate. As she said:

I was born in a middle class family. My father is ok. But my mother is too typical Korean...I frequently fought with my grand mom and my mom. They disagreed with me because they thought I was so wrong in many ways. I have three sisters. I am the third and I am the only one has problem with my mom. My sisters are very close to my mom and they are very obedient...She (Jane’s mother) is very traditional because she lives in that environment. She cannot have her own idea and she has got used to it.

Jane's unconventional approach to life had led her detachment to her family, especially with her mother. Although her essay "Marriage" did not detail her conflict with her mother, her opposition to Korean conventions was explicitly presented. Her statement of freedom demonstrated her institution identity was empowered and exercised on her Mandarin writing activities. As she claimed:

In my article, I wrote "I don't want to get married because of freedom". Freedom is the first thing in my life. It is more important than money. It is more important than love.

Jane ranked freedom prior to love and money because her experience of several failed romantic relationships and poor family relationship. Freedom was the main reason that she determined to stay single. Interestingly, Jane's parents supported her decision for social harmony rather than respect of personal choice. As she said:

Even my parents told me to stay single. They didn't behave this way to my sisters. They treat me differently because my personality is too different. They never say I have to marry.

In fact, Jane's mother was struggle on whether supporting Jane to stay single. On one way, she was so tradition that her daughter supposed to be on the track of tradition growing path as well as most of Korean women. On the other way, she knew Jane's inconformity of Korean culture might be worrisome. Therefore, Jane's mother looked for a traditional solution— asks for a future teller. As Jane described:

My mom took my date of birth to a fortune teller. He said that it is difficult for me to get married. It was bad news for my mom but it is good news for me.

The motions of Jane and her mother both support the notion of co-adaption. Despite of the fact that Jane and her mother maintained a poor mother-daughter relationship, both of them sought solutions respectively to maintain balance in this relationship. Jane demonstrated her institution identity on writing to describe her discomfort in her given community and empowered/ reconstructed her identity through WL writing.

All about Motivation. I used sign systems and knowledge building tool that Gee (2010) suggested to analyze Jane's knowledge of WL building process. Jane had an impression that higher education system was developed to abandon specific groups and prevented people from making effort on their interest. As she wrote:

College should be a place for people know research and people know what they want to study. It is not a place to judge people.

Jane didn't enjoy her schooling but surely love to learn WLs by herself after graduation. The mistrust of higher education and failure in k-12 system resulted in her refusal to construct language knowledge through institutions to some extent. Motivation, was the main reason driving Jane to learn or unlearn because she said: "I love learning languages. As long as something I am interested, I will go for it."

A lack of academic toolkit resulted from Jane's poor social capital and weak school performance. Despite that Jane had little strategies to manage mass knowledge system, her intrinsic motivation drove her to explore and self-direct her WL learning trajectory. From CDS's perspective (Table 2.1), Jane significantly relied on her internal mechanism because she was driven by her motivation and had limited resources from the

external environments. Thus, Jane claimed that knowledge and sign systems should be delivered from emergent environments, as part as human nature. As she stated:

Why do Chinese speak Chinese? Because they use this language every day from the moment you get up and the moment to bed...Language is a nature thing. If you like it, you will pick up.

It was true that Jane had no hardship to live in China because she attentively emerged in the given environment and reduced her opportunities to speak Korean. As she performed:

I like the environment here, very quiet... I don't speak too much Korean and I don't really hangout with Korean. I have less and less opportunities to speak Korean.

However, I argue that Jane limited her self-mentoring ability that might benefit her language progression. First, her teacher provided feedback on her texts to improve her understanding of Mandarin idiom usages. The linguistic corrections from professional instructors would benefit her writing skills and word choices. However, she dominated her authorship and took over her writing process as one-way communication regardless her readers'/teacher's understandings, though she confessed that "I feel sorry to my teacher because I still keep creating my sentence".

Second, she denied to interact with Chinese learners whose L1 are Korean. Jane adapt to Chinese culture and learned language independently rather worked with supporting groups. I argue that Jane excluded herself in Korean community within the given Chinese learning community, which might slow her learning progress and

knowledge construction. Writing is social practice which relates to writers' ecological systems (Kostouli, 2009). A lack of interactions within Jane's ecological systems resulted in her marginalized status in her language community.

I also argue that Jane's learning behaviors contrasted her learning philosophy. She articulated her ideal language curriculum should be: "I may create a nature environment. I would use more simple approach...I don't think the content is the most important. Take time to immerse is more important." Jane was aware of emergent environments where fostered language proficiency but she intentionally refused to interact with specific groups and ignore teachers' feedback. She didn't fully emerge the given environment; instead, she created her learning space. As she said:

Don't let students feel bored; don't let them dislike the class. I liked Chinese, but it is too boring in the class. I less like Chinese now. So the most important thing is to help student like this language. What you taught is not that important.

It was problematic for Jane when school system was too academic to satisfy Jane's interest. This partially resulted from her previous learning experience in Korea. Informal learning resource, including TV programs and novel reading, played a more important role than formal textbooks in her knowledge construction process. She did not purposely search materials to improve her Chinese proficiency. Rather, her favorite reading sources were associated with her life experience. As she described:

I read Ni-Kuang's books because I went to library to find resource for my homework. I had an essay and the topic was about "Change". So I went to library and randomly picked a book. I found it was interesting. People change. Like Ni-

Kuang, he has quitted smoke, alcohol, and women. You can read him through his book.

There was a gap between Jane's notion of epistemology and school pedagogy. On one hand, as abovementioned, Jane lacked academic toolkits to adapt to school culture and study skills due to her weak academic performance in k-12 school in Korea. On the other hand, a lack of connection between academic knowledge and her life experience resulted in her reluctance to emerge in the given learning community. A lack of social capital and academic toolkit allowed Jane motivated herself by selecting novels or short stories related to her life experience. As she said:

Last time, I read his (Ni-Kuang) prose. He wrote about lots of relationships. I felt that he was chauvinistic. He was very conflicting like me. One of his pieces was very interesting. It was about "distance". He said "people must remind distance whether how close you are". "Only having distance, people can define relationships". I never thought about this. I don't want to keep distance with people. I hope and I like to be intimacy, no distance, but it seems impossible for me.

Insightfully, Jane reflected on her learning weakness and was aware of her disconnection to academia through reading Chinese books. Jane acknowledged her learning preference and make decisions for her learning activities. Her knowledge constructional process reflected a fact that language courses did not connect to learners' experience and were privileged to those who have sufficient academic resources.

Therefore, Jane constructed her knowledge and built up her individual learning trajectory to retain her Chinese proficiency and motivation. As she stated:

I like experiencing as much as possible. I desire to experience. I am a little bit stupid. So I am not satisfied what I read from book. Because I don't fully understand and I am impatient, I have to experience by myself. Without experiencing, I cannot understand what books say. After I experienced, I knew I had made mistakes. So in my experience, there are lots of mistakes that I made. Of course those mistakes hurt me and made me sad. But I learn.

Jane recognized that learning in hand benefited her learning effectiveness because she had to experience primarily. She constructed her knowledge of Mandarin language and meta-cognition of learning strategies through self-directed learning. She said: "I learn from TV. I really need to learn in a short time. I feel that I learn most from listening and it is faster. So I spend time on watching TV at home." Jane honestly pointed out her learning preference and claimed that she only read Chinese books related to her life experience. She did not simply adapt to the language curriculum but reading books other than textbooks to align with her prior experience.

Jane's L1 affected her strategy of transfer writing systems between Korean and Chinese. Nowadays, Korean schools teach some Chinese characters because modern Korean alphabet (Hangul) was just developed by the King—Sejong Daewang in the 15th century³⁰. Despite of the fact that modern Korean uses syllables sound-based writing system, Chinese characters used to be used in Korea for a period of time. Because of this

³⁰ Korean language used Chinese characters until the king Sejong Daewang replaced with Hangul in 1443. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hangul>

historical writing system development, Jane had learned Chinese characters in school and aligned with the same strategy to memorize Chinese characters. She reflected:

It is not difficult because I have known many Chinese characters. I understand what I read but when I have to write, I don't remember, I cannot write. So I write, write, write. I copy the words on my note book. I practice one month, and then I recognize some words.

When Jane claimed that emerging in the Chinese environment was the most optimized strategy to learn language, she moved to China and emerged in various cultural activities, such as reading Chinese books and watching local TV program. However, Jane used multiple meta-cognitive learning strategies to memorize Chinese characters, such as repetition, reading, and note-taking. She didn't compliant the complexity of Chinese characters but carefully self-mentored if her thought was appropriately expressed by her words. I argue that Jane had internalized Chinese characters as part of her L1 since Ancient Korean used Chinese characters as well.

I am who I am. This section used the social language tool that Gee (2010) suggested to analyze Jane's discourses when she particularly demonstrated her social status. From Jane's interviews, she was little explicit to her social status because she avoided to be situated in any social roles. She worked abroad to avoid her social roles as a Korean woman and a daughter of a transitional Korean mother. She ignored language teachers' feedback because she was unwilling to acknowledge her social role as a student who was expected to meet the academic standards.

Jane didn't attempt to become someone or fit in expecting social roles. On one hand, she emphasized that she was faithful to her will and made decisions following her heart. As she emphasized: "I don't judge people. Good or bad is my choice. I can solve my problems" On the other hand, she reflected that her personality had troubled her life and career development, thus she looked for religion's help to fix her problem. As she described:

I did something bad because of curiosity...I like experiencing as much as possible...But once I experienced, I knew I had made mistakes...I try not to do this again but my desire is still there. So I doubt myself and I question. Since I study bible, I feel I have better self-control. It's real. I am not lying. I can control my will."

Jane honestly revealed her confusion and struggle for her personality when she took Christian's status. She didn't hesitate to make decisions for her own good or regretted what she had done but she became unsure and reflected on her life differently when she identified herself as a Christian. Particularly, she was so obsessed with Ni-Kuon's book because he had the same transition with Jane. According to CDS, this is an attractor and change occurred in Jane's learning trajectory and also reflected on her Chinese writing. The topic "Change" that Jane wrote referenced Ni-Kuon's sources but borrowing the author's experience to her practice. She reflected:

People say that I trap myself from pursuing success. But I think taking adventure is more important than being successful. Last time, I read his (Ni-Kuon) prose...he is very conflicting like me...He said "people must remind distance whether how

close you are”. “Only having distance, people can define relationships”. I never think about this. I don’t want to keep distance with people. I hope and I like to be intimacy, no distance, but it seems impossible. But somehow I am afraid to be friend with people. But I really want to have friends who can share secrets... His prose comforts me... When I write, I image that someone fully understands me. If I know this person, I would share my secrets. I wouldn’t share my thought before. But now, I think I find a way.

It is powerful that Jane emerged her literacy to life practice and deliberated through WL literacy. When Jane positioned herself as a student or a Korean, she would neither expect to be understood or desire to participant in the given environments where have norms for every social roles. However, she disclosed her reflections for her changes and regrets in terms of learning experience and personality. Her confessions would not stand out until she found a space where she would not be suppressed, would be accepted, and would be understood, such as Chinese Christian community. Meanwhile, she deliberated her thoughts and faced her weaknesses thought Chinese literacy because she was comforted. Mandarin, for Jane, was not merely a language but a cultural mode allowed her deliberation.

Reflexivity of Jane’s Story. I was intimidated by Jane when we firstly met in China. She looked so distanced and defensive, which was my first impression to her. However, she was so involved in the interview process and generously shared her emotion. She gave a great amount of emotional talk and was eager to be understood. I felt she was so longing since she was a trouble maker in her family and a rebel in Korean culture. She was desired to be recognized and supported by Korean norm. I cannot deny

that her story was very encouraging, especially my Asian woman experience is able to situate her helpless and disappointment under the trap of cultural expectation. I also understand how she was suppressed by educational system for her disadvantageous socioeconomic status (SES). I admire her courage to work abroad, to start her business, to explore her learning interest, and to lead her life.

I argue that she was in denial in acknowledging her learning difficulties since it would hurt her self-esteem. I offered to check her Mandarin writing assignments before she handed in since I noticed that she had many grammar errors and syntax misuse. However, she said that she didn't want my feedback. She also tried to convince me that her ignorance of teacher's corrections was her intention to exercise her agency. It was because using the correct grammar and syntax was not as important as expressing her feelings through Mandarin writing. Despite of that fact that Jane denied the social norm, she was somehow sensitive when she faced her learning weakness.

Cady's Story

Cady was born in a new middle class that Bourdieu defines (1984). Her father was a professor and her mother was a social worker. She was born in Michigan State while her parents were pursuing PhD degree. Her parents arranged a couple moves for Cady's education. Her first move was in her childhood. She moved back to Korea because her father got an offer from a University in Korea. The second move was in Cady's 12 years old. Her parents would like to improve her English proficiency and to offer an emergent language environment. The third move was in her 15 to 18 years old,

she moved back Korea for high school in order to instill her Korean identity at this stage.

The last move was in her post graduate to pursue college degree.

Because of her educational trajectory and international experience, Cady performed identities differently. However, she performed same academic writing skills on all WLs that she learned. Her strong academic toolkit facilitated her learning to write across WLs.

Cady's Writing Story.

Stanza 1: Family Background

- 1 I am the only child. My parents studied in Michigan
- 2 My father is a Phd and my mom got a master degree
- 3 I was born in the United State then we got back to Korea
- 4 My father is a professor and my mom is a social worker
- 5 I am a citizen but I also have Korean VISA
- 6 I think they plan my education for long time

Stanza 2: Cross-Cultural Educational Experience (ESL)

- 7 I was born in Michigan; we went back to Korea when I was one.
- 8 Until my 12, I studied in junior high school one year then came back to California two years to finish junior high school
- 9 Then get back to Korea again for 3 year high school
- 10 This is an international school
- 11 I only can say "Hello, my name is Cady" besides introduction, other than that, I learn English but I didn't really pay attention beside Korean
- 12 I can read simple words, but I don't really learn English before coming California
- 13 Because my middle school was very small, besides me and one Mexican are foreigner
- 14 They arranged a teacher to meet with us once or twice a week
- 15 But consistently, school provides us ESL for simple English
- 16 There is an old teacher, made us reading, because that school emphasizes reading
- 17 I came with my mom. Just me and my mom
- 18 Because my parents want me to have some experience in United States
- 19 I was young to everything and I just feel excited with living in a new environment
- 20 Meeting my friends and having that idea of living in United States

- 21 It's all new and it is all over again
- 22 You know I didn't really think about difficulty because I was young
- 23 We moved and then I really enjoy that
- 24 I learn really quickly. I met lots of friends
- 25 Learning little things and then I felt comfortable about speaking
- 26 I do ESL as well but I do well, I really do well
- 27 Making friends, Russian friends just move to USA, American friends
- 28 It was fun for me because American education is easy for me
- 29 At that time I didn't have any academic pressure other than learning English
- 30 It wasn't having struggle or hard time because it wasn't so easy but it is ok for me to learn
- 31 Then my parents told me that we stay here for 2 years and we ready to go back
- 32 So two year end, we moved back to Korea very bad because at the same time I like the system but I miss Korea
- 33 My first time to have home sick. Even my mom was almost there, but leaving my home country so....and I moved out

Stanza 3: Cross-Cultural Educational Experience (Chinese Courses)

- 34 The Chinese classes are huge different
- 35 The teaching approaches are different
- 36 In china is more like lecture more
- 37 But here, it is called lecture but actually is more discussion
- 38 Here is more creative, like report, presentation and then they are so many structures in the states
- 39 Everything is clearly listed on syllabus
- 40 But also...everybody takes Chinese for grade
- 41 But in China, everybody comes for different reason and classmates are diverse
- 42 In China is more relaxing not competitive in learning, fighting for grade
- 43 And here, eventually we care about the grade at most
- 44 Classes are more structured I guess because that university is well-known for teaching Chinese as second language
- 45 It is structured but different structured in United States
- 46 Between classmates, we all use Chinese because people don't speak English
- 47 There are more opportunities to learn even you don't really physically study
- 48 But here, we required to memorize the texts, we had final exam in the end
- 49 In China, there is just one test and not have too much homework
- 50 In China, we have classmates come from everywhere
- 51 We have Russian, French, Burgeon, Philippine, American, of course Korean, Chinese born in British and Italian
- 52 So people come from eight different countries discuss together

- 53 It is extremely interesting
- 54 Their ideas are different, their experiences are different, it is diverse, really, it is so diverse
- 55 Some of them love travel, there was a lawyer who loves Japanese culture, so he lived in Japan for seven years
- 56 And he is also a monk. I don't know why he came to China but I know he is interested in Japanese culture so he lived there for a while
- 57 Then the French student, he met a Chinese girl and they love each other so much
- 58 There are so many different stories. It was fun.
- 59 We went to bar together, we had dinner, of course, speaking Chinese
- 60 Of course, our Chinese proficiencies are similar but better than not using it.
- 61 We learn vocabularies so fast, because we attempted to use it right after the class
- 62 We intentionally use the latest vocabularies that we learnt and speak to waiters
- 63 So to speak, we have more opportunities to practice.

Stanza 4 –Cultural Experience (First-Time Studying in the US)

- 64 Think about when I were 13 year old. You don't know what race is
- 65 The particular town I lived is like middle high upper social class
- 66 I remember there were very diversity
- 67 You know like certain amount of African American kids, Asian kids, but not so much
- 68 It was dominated by white kids but I didn't feel isolated
- 69 I think...um...I was really acting like out of American kid
- 70 I am proud of Korea and I am from Korea
- 71 I am always introduce myself as a Korean and just stay here for two year
- 72 I remember I had so many different friends, so wired. There wasn't any Korean.
- 73 There are some Korean but Korean American who born in California. I still keep in touch with her. And then one African American girl in middle school I met,

Stanza 5 –Family's influence of learning Mandarin

- 74 My dad is very fluent in Chinese
- 75 He learned Chinese since 2001 because he thinks China will become one of the largest counties in the future
- 76 Not geography but economical
- 77 He visited us when we travelled to Yellowstone and Yosemite national park
- 78 At the park, he just practiced his Chinese
- 79 He is one people who starts learning L2 in my family
- 80 He went to Beijing many times
- 81 Actually, I follow his stuff when I was in Beijing
- 82 I went to the school he went to

83 He knows a lot of friends there
 84 So that's how I survive in Beijing
 85 But later on, I made my own connection
 86 I made friends but you know initially was his
 87 His Chinese student helped me get my apartment and set little things
 88 In high school, I enrolled Chinese as my second language
 89 In high school, there are French, Korean, Spanish and Chinese available for our
 L2
 90 Because my dad learned Chinese, it is nature for me to go toward it since junior
 year I started learning Chinese
 91 11 to 12 grade I learned Chinese then I pursue here too
 92 In Korea, more and more schools offer for Japanese
 93 A few schools offer courses for Chinese too
 94 Even elementary school too
 95 My cousin goes to public elementary school
 96 She is learning Chinese. I mean learning Chinese characters is kind of any kind
 of courses in elementary school, high school
 97 But for languages, Chinese becomes more popular and more elementary schools
 offer Chinese
 98 Learning Chinese is kind of trend in my family
 99 Haha...it's weird, my uncle learned Chinese but he gave up
 100 But he can understand basic Chinese, like listening and reading
 101 I think is marketing
 102 He has his company, he learned Chinese because he has many Chinese clients
 103 My cousin is younger than me four years
 104 She learned Chinese since high school and her mother works at a Taiwanese
 company
 105 She occasionally went to Taiwan with her mom.
 106 Although now she only speaks simple Chinese but I feel that if she studies in
 Chinese for three months, her level may be as same as mine.

Stanza 6: Reason for Learning Mandarin

107 I initially learned Chinese because of my dad
 108 He always emphasizes Chinese Chinese Chinese
 109 In his university, there are many Chinese international students
 110 He would visit his Chinese students' houses in Mongolia, qin-dou
 111 Now he has several sister schools in Shanghai
 112 So now he goes to China a lot and goes to conferences
 113 So he knows what's going on in China so he always told me how's got to be
 different in the future

114 And it comes, it really happens, right?
 115 So it wasn't like nature for me, but as I learned from high school then university
 116 I realized I only interested in Chinese, practice with Chinese student
 117 I visited China a few times. I went to Beijing in 2008 for 2 weeks
 118 My father came with me. It was a winter. After that, we went back in summer

Stanza 7: Learning Chinese in China

119 It was not a university program
 120 In Beijin, there are so many foreigners
 121 Lots of foreigner language schools. Some are public, some are private
 122 The one I went is private. It is like cram school, some of them are very big and famous
 123 The one I went is the big one where my father had been there
 124 I went there 6 weeks and having classes every day
 125 The number of the class is depended
 126 The largest has 15, some has 5, 4, 10
 127 I can choose my classes
 128 A lot of choices. Grammar class, media, speaking and listening, various classes
 129 You can plan what classes you want to go
 130 The contents I learned in China was more difficult
 131 Here is easy for me
 132 The courses there was high-mediate
 133 I think it is equal to 7 semester here

Stanza 8--- Chinese Proficiency

134 HSK is what I want to take
 135 I recently took NSK. Level 6 is the highest and I pass level 6
 136 Reading, Writing, and Listening. There is no speaking
 137 So it is different in every level
 138 It is kind of easy for me to take level five
 139 Reading is like SAT and then like TOEFL
 140 I took 5th level last year after my two month stay in China
 141 Afterward, I went back to China and stay three months, then back to Korea and took 6th level immediately
 142 I would say the rank of my Chinese proficiency
 143 Is..listening...reading...no...reading is my strength
 144 If I cannot read through, I can guess
 145 My reading and writing is better

146 Reading then listening then the last is writing
 147 Speaking is ok, similar to listening
 148 I know lots of American has problem with writing
 149 But for me I don't have so much problems on it

Stanza 9—The Similarity of Korean Writing System and Chinese Writing System

150 I select hand writing although typing is faster
 151 Once your language proficiency goes up, once you learn in-depth
 152 It is very relates to culture
 153 It's really culture relates to history
 154 For Korean learner, some points you even don't have to explain to me
 155 Like in China, you got to be polite
 156 I don't need to be told because sometimes I understand automatically
 157 But for American students, they need to know about the culture and learn it
 158 Many words are learned through Korean, grammar is more like Japanese
 159 But the words we choose are very similar to Chinese words
 160 So if you study with Korean students in China
 161 like say....ethic "dou-de"
 162 In Korean we say "do- dole"
 163 We have Korean can convert to Chinese characters
 164 "dou-de" and "do-dole" which are Chinese words
 165 It is written differently and we say differently but you can convert to Chinese
 character
 166 So we say "dou-de" Korean students look at dictionary
 167 The will "oh"....you don't need to explain, they know what it means
 168 Some words are different but meanings are similar.

Stanza 10---Writing Strategy

169 Because I was trained to write academic paper in English since high school
 170 I mean, I didn't really write any Korean essay before, I mean a few
 171 But since high school, I was trained to write English paper and even in college
 172 I never wrote essay in Korean beyond four pages reports
 173 I think I am more like English structure
 174 Like writing a paper, I would say it is more English way
 175 My writing assignment takes up to 30 minutes, properly less than 30 minutes
 176 The homework are assigned which relate to the chapter, not really creative or
 new
 177 You just use similar phase or structure in textbook
 178 How I learn in English is clearly express your points

179 Even using different language, I still use the same structure because that's how I learn
 180 No matter what kind of paper
 181 What language of writing
 182 You must maintain your thesis of introduction so people got to know what you write about
 183 There must have thesis
 184 And it is always successful and help me achieve good grade
 185 I may think about several topics because marriage is a very broad topic.
 186 I will do brainstorm first
 187 I have to write on my note
 188 Any ideas about the topic.....and I will survey what's my claim for marriage
 189 The introductory I like to say I want to marry somebody who understand me
 190 The last sentence of the introduction would be thesis I would talk about the plan that I have for my future marriage
 191 First, I would like to marry
 192 Second, I would like to raise how many kids
 193 Third, I will make a conclusion
 194 To improve writing
 195 I think they need to do lots of reading, like textbooks, samples of sentences
 196 It would help grammar
 197 And you slowly pick up your own style
 198 You know the grammar structure then substitute the words and sentences
 199 There is no way to get wrong
 200 I think the Mandarin courses in the US help my writing more
 201 Because there are a lot of writing assignments
 202 In fact, it is almost the same
 203 You write once a week, but here, it relates to grade
 204 So I spent more time on it

Stanza 11---Chinese Learning Difficulties

205 The more I learn, the more upset I have
 206 Because there are too many stuff
 207 I can read some newspaper quickly but my level is not read through it and understand
 208 So I mean I have a long way to go there
 209 And I didn't really learn anything about phrase
 210 When I write, I think in Chinese
 211 I think in Chinese because it is similar to Korean
 212 My homework has textbook and I can easily use the vocabularies

213 If I just write a topic without reference, I cannot do it so well
 214 I cannot think of good vocabularies
 215 Chinese characters was not a problem in the beginning
 216 But with more and more characters
 217 You start losing this side that side
 218 But once you show me the character, I can recognize
 219 Because you know, just like English
 220 You don't spell it precisely right but when you see it prompt up
 221 you know that is the word

Stanza 12--- Identity

222 My parents moved back to Korea in two years because there is a crucial time to
 build identity
 223 My dad want me have strong Korean identity
 224 Even learning English is important
 225 So if you see many Asian American in states
 226 They don't have sensitivity about their races, but still...
 227 They left doubt because they cannot
 228 They don't really involve in any society in America, they don't really belong in
 their own country because they felt they are American
 229 I identify myself as Korean because I did feel the way too
 230 Korean friends who went to Korean college like "she is American; I am so
 American, right?"
 231 I have very strong sensitive of Korean culture and I do identify myself as a
 Korean girl
 232 Just like many international students
 233 That's way all I tried to hang out with Korean students who went to Korean
 university but it's odd to connect with them now
 234 So if you think about Korean American here, like Deb, I know her Korean is very
 fluent
 235 But still...she is American
 236 But culturally, she might say she is strong Korean.
 237 But Korean people in Korea
 238 They knew she is Korean but may view her as ABK
 239 I won't really talk about Korean celebrities with Deb
 240 She wouldn't know them
 241 Let's say talk about Korean drama,
 242 If you don't really connect to that culture those little things
 243 I mean Deb is a very special case because her Korean is very fluent to other
 Korean American

244 You know her parents always encourage her to eat Korean food
 245 But still a lot of identity I can tell it's very Americanized
 246 Some people may think I am American
 247 I don't try to be American
 248 Actually, I don't like ABK.
 249 They think they are Korean
 250 But I think they are too American
 251 But they think they are Korean. It's weird
 252 I don't get along with ABK
 253 For me, it is hard to connect with them. Value, a lot of things
 254 And in fact, some ABK is more conservatives
 255 Some ABK just look for ABK.
 256 Because I was born in Michigan but I spent more than half my life in Korea

Stanza 13---Imaging Cross-Cultural Conflict in Future Work Place

257 I want to work at American company or western company
 258 So first one will be business firm
 259 Because Korean company is very different from western one
 260 Company culture is very important; personally, I don't like Korean company culture
 261 I think if I work at Korean company, I will have a hard time changing and adapting myself
 262 Something like freedom, American culture, so that's why I am going to American company
 263 I may work in Taiwan, I may work in China, I may work in the US. I am applying different positions.
 264 I never work and I heard a lot from other Korean who graduate here then go back to Korea
 265 You know a guy works at LG told me the culture directly interacting with people
 266 Lots of American students have a hard time get used to it
 267 Because they are not used to having no strong autonomy
 268 The reason I don't want to work in Korea because I know that I can work something bigger
 269 And then even eventually I go back to Korea
 270 I would love to work for Korean company in the end
 271 And to contribute my experience
 272 I want to go back to Korea then help them develop too
 273 I am very love my culture and proud of my country
 274 What I am doing right now the ultimate goal is to go back to Korea enhance Korean company to have better performance

Stanza 14----Love Diversity

275 My family is always emphasize be nice to everybody, be friend with everybody,
no matter who they are
276 They told you don't judge people or don't mistreat people because they are
different
277 That's what I learn from my family
278. My grandma speaks Japanese and she learn it by herself
279 It's like my family members are so like explore different cultures
280 So that's why I am different I think
281 I have very wide variety of friends
282 A lot of them just hang out with Asian American. My closest friends are Asian
American, Taiwan American, Chinese American, Philippine American. I have
more diversity most like.

Stanza 15--- Marriage Perspective

283 First, it is not for fun dating, it is for married.
284 That is different, right?
285 If I have any choice of dating any race, I would not matter as long as it is fun
286 But if you think about marriage, it is an important thing
287 So you need to think about it, think a lot
288 I am 23 now, but in korea, you add one more year, so I am 24 in Korea
289 Ideally, I want to get married in 27
290 Actually, I want to get married as soon as possible.
291 My parents are hoping I can get married earlier
292 Because I am the oldest grandson in whole family and plus I am the only child
293 Even they say, no worry, don't be stressful, but you just can feel that. They
expect that
294 I am very traditional even I am a bilingual person
295 I think a gay's background is matters
296 I like a gay come from a good family
297 If he has good parents, always nice to others, and we are likely to raise a good
kids
298 It is important if his families are nice but about income, I am ok
299 My parents keep reminding me, you better not marry to a rich gay and you better
find someone's family similar to us
300 I know it is the ideal situation but it is the most difficult.

Stanza 16--- Taking Care of the Elderly

301 I only look for a person who value parents and family

302 If like most American don't take responsibility for parents
303 It is unacceptable
304 I am not saying my husband has to physically take care of parents
305 Because I am the only child, my mom wants to close with me and maybe she
wants to take care of my baby
306 I mean my parents are very independent, they just want to visit me
307 I really very prioritize my parents, not just my parents, also my grandparents
308 Because that's how I was raised, my mom is also the only child
309 So she has been taken care of my grandmother
310 Who provide everything when we grow up? Including daily life and
accommodation?
311 Students should understand they have to return to their parents
312 For example, I want to give my mom a big gift when I start making money
313 Because my mom said she want to live in Italy for a month
314 I want to make money and let she live there
315 I think they can be very nice to their parents
316 But in American culture, parents want children to be independent not to rely to
them
317 They expect them to be independent in college and live in college
318 I talk to the people that I know they don't think parents are their responsibilities
319 They are not like Asian
320 For example, I would talk to my mom then see how she is doing.
321 But of course I don't say every American is irresponsible to their parents
322 In general, they see each other more infrequent because first
323 This country is so big
324 If you live in different states, you see them in Thanksgiving or X'mas or other
holidays
325 At most three times a year. Not enough, I think it is not enough
326 In Korea, parents have no income after retirement
327 So they financially depends on their children
328 But in the US, the elderly has pension
329 They don't have to rely on their kids
330 Government will give you money
331 So pension is a huge big deal in the US
332 After your retirement, company will pay you for social security
333 In my country, government does not guarantee our finance after retirement
334 They give money but too little
335 My parents and my grandparents have their money
336 I don't want their money

337 I don't really worry about the financial situation for my parents even my parents
get old

Stanza 17----Korean Writing Proficiency

338 I never read or write about scholarly article in Korean
339 Because I took Korean literature class not linguistic so we read literature like
thick book because I wanted to take that because like
340 Even I finished middle school, my Korean level is still elementary
341 So I took that class which had a lot of writing for two years
342 I did a lot of Korean writing at that time
343 So....That's good
344 When I think about writing, I think in English
345 If I try to express in Korean style, they don't understand
346 So I had a hard time fixing in freshman year and sophomore year in middle
school
347 Now, I think is automatically in English
348 They always told me you have to specifically stay with your thesis.
349 Even in brainstorm, I try to write in English
350 I feel comfortable converting English to Korean

Stanza 18—Reflection of Classroom Setting

351 I have fulfilled the graduate requirement
352 I don't need to take ant Chinese class but I can if I want it
353 But it is not necessary
354 I feel like the author of textbook writes for Americans
355 Even most topics are not related to America but
356 Like caring for the elderly is not a big deal here
357 But this is a big issue in Asia
358 It is important because more and more elders have no money
359 Their kids do not take care of them
360 It is an important social issue
361 But in the US, it seems not as important as other issues
362 So I think the author brings out this topic and let American know about Asian's
culture
363 I think they intentionally choose textbooks which demonstrate more cultural
perspectives
364 And also the topic of "beggar" is strange
365 In Asia, people be beggars because they are not capable of earning money but in
the US they just don't want to work
366 The concept of beggar is different

367 So textbook brings out this concept and let American think about it
 368 I don't get it, the topic of beggar is not that important
 369 Why they choose this topic? I think it is particularly chosen for American
 370 Especially the discussion, "do you think beggars select their life style or the
 social structure made them to do so"
 371 I feel this question is so strange and many people have different ideas

Stanza 19---Instruction in China and the US

372 I think the teachers in China are more experienced and professional
 373 Although they didn't study abroad, but they are more experienced in teaching
 foreigners
 374 The teachers here only teach American students
 375 The teachers in China understand Japanese students' thoughts, Italian students'
 thoughts
 376 Some of them teach over 10 years
 377 We had lots of discussions so they know about lots of cultures
 378 Like when we learn a vocabulary, they will explain differently to help student
 understand because students understand differently
 379 Most of time, the western has a hard time understand the vocabularies
 380 They would explain in different way or other students help with them
 381 Most of time teachers here use Chinese but if they want to make an
 announcement, they use English ensure people understand
 382 But in China, of course very fast and the topics are very different

Education, Diversity, and Mobility. This section is analyzed by the significant building tool that Gee (2010) suggested. Reviewing Cady's story line, the influence of her family was embedded in the thread of her life story. In particular, three features affected Cady's experience— education, diversity perspective, and mobility. In her acknowledgement, she was deeply influenced by her family in identity and life practice.

Mandarin was an encouraging learning subject in Cady's family. When she had multiple WL learning opportunities in her high school, her father suggested Mandarin as her second language. In addition, her uncle and other relatives studied Mandarin as well. Under Cady's circumstance, choosing Mandarin as her target WL, in CDS, is a fixed

point attractor since it was stable, preferable, and mostly predictable change in her learning trajectory. As she described:

I initially learn Chinese because of my dad. And he always emphasize Chinese Chinese Chinese...in his university, there are many Chinese international students. He visit his Chinese students' houses in Mongolia and Qindou...now he has several sister schools in Shanghai. So now he goes to China a lot and goes to conferences... Learning Chinese is kind of trend in my family...My uncle learned Chinese because he has many Chinese clients...My cousin learned Chinese since high school and her mother worked in a Taiwanese company.... So it wasn't like nature for me, but as I learned from high school, then university, I realized that I only interested in Chinese.

Cady's family discourse offered sufficient educational resources for her to adapt different language environments. According to Table 2.1, Cady's external environments had been settled and well-arranged by her family in terms of field, economy, finance, ecology, social interaction, and classroom learning environment so as to facilitate her internal mechanism development. Her parents' professions had provided academic visions and literacy capitals for Cady to adapt, construct, modify, and negotiate within her complex dynamic systems in different contexts. As she said:

I think they plan my education for long time. My father is a professor and my mom is a social worker. I was born in Michigan but grew up in Korea until twelve years old. I studied my junior high school in California and went back to Korea for high school.

Two significant examples were Cady's experience of interacting with diverse groups and engaging in different communities in her educational trajectory. The experience of studying both in the US and Korea and the mobility of engaging in different language communities during her k-12 education influenced her understanding of diversity and identity. Her cross-cultural life experience resulted in her pedagogical practices in WL learning. As she described:

Think about when I was thirteen year old. You don't know what race is. The particular town I lived is like middle high upper social class. I remember that there was very diverse. You know like certain amount of African American kids, Asian kids, but not so much. It was dominated by white kids but I didn't feel isolated....Maybe it's just me, I didn't feel isolated or disconnected with culture at all. I mean they are all young. They don't have sense what other country, they don't know anything at that time. They didn't have education about other country. They don't know what Korea was. I didn't feel bad at all.

The welcoming environment helped Cady accommodate the classroom setting although her English was poor in her thirteen. "I only can say "hello, my name is Cady"...I didn't really learn English before coming to California." Essentially, peer support fostered her mutuality of adapting diversity and behaving appropriate community practices. As she remembered:

I was young to everything and I just feel excited with living in a new environment, meeting my friends and having that idea of living in the United States. I learn

really quickly. I met lots of friends. 5th grade likes just first 3 months there.

Learning little things and then I felt comfortable about speaking.

In addition to peer support, Cady's parents might have pondered questions of what would be the most optimized educational path and environments for Cady. Her mobility had been associated with specific educational purposes that her parents planned. In particular, the educational environments were selected for language emergent. As she said:

I did ESL and I did well, I really did well. Making friends, Russian friends who just moved to the USA, American friends... It was fun for me because American education is easy for me. At that time I didn't have any academic pressure other than learning English. It wasn't having struggle or hard time because it wasn't so easy but it is ok for me to learn.

In sum, there are three features affected Cady's identity construction, affordance and constraint, and community practices in her Mandarin learning trajectory. Her educational transitions between Korean and American schooling influenced her vision of diversity. Her international mobility was supported and sponsored by her family, which significantly influenced her incoming educational choices and fields of social interactions, such as choosing Mandarin as her WL and studies abroad in China.

I am Korean, neither American born Korean nor American? I use the working with identity building tool that Gee (2010) suggested to analyze Cady's identity construction through her interviews and written texts regarding the topics of marriage and elderly care. Since Cady was born in the US and having Korean passport, she therefore

was identified as Korean, American born Korean or American in national, ethnical, and cultural perspectives. Based on Cady's educational experience and VISA status, her natural identity may be identified as a Korean, American born Korean (ABK), or American. Cady didn't struggle too much on her identity because her parents constantly instilled her Korean identity and intentionally provided multilingual environments where English was mainly regarded as an educational tool. As she described:

I don't try to be an American... That is why my parents moved back to Korea in two years. There is a crucial time to build identity. My dad wanted me to have strong Korean identity. Even learning English is important.

Cady strongly advocated her Korean identity both in interviews and written texts. Two of her Chinese writing assignments, the topics of "marriage" and "elderly care", demonstrated her Korean conventions. Cady used various social languages to present her Korean nature identity and affinity identity in the written texts. As she described:

I am 23 now, but in Korea, you add one more year, so I am 24 in Korea³¹. Ideally, I want to get married in 27. If non-Korean but work out well and know about Korea. It also fine because I speak English. But I think my parents will not pleasant about this. Because I stay in the US too long, I want to please my mom. I think American is ok. But Chinese is definitely not. I am the oldest grandson in whole family and plus I am the only child. So it is stressful. Even they say, no worry, don't be stressful, but you just can feel that. They expect that.

³¹ Some countries use lunar calendar, including Korea.

Cady's view of marriage was significantly influenced by her family and it was no doubt Korean-centered. Moreover, her affinity identity as a Korean female made her identified her age as a concern for marriage. She even claimed herself older than her actual age for Korean's calendar's sake, so that Korean won't misrecognize her mutuality. When Cady adopted Korean convention to reflect on her identity, she accommodated Korean cultural mode as standard to select her potential spouse. Besides Cady's macro-system, family's expectation became a compelling reason for her to believe that her eldest status in the family was responsible for being a role model for her younger siblings. Marring a qualified spouse was an urgent mission constructed by her affinity identities. As she acknowledged:

I am very traditional even I am a bilingual person. I think a guy's background is matters. I like a guy come from a good family...My parents keep reminding me, you better not marry to a rich gay and you better find someone's family similar to us. I know it is the ideal situation but it is the most difficult.

I argue that Cady's affinity identity was constructed by a new meddle class³² (Bourdieu, 1984) where her family situated. Her family expressed their hope for class reproduction to maintain their social class. It was discouraging to marry privilege or under privilege groups other than new middle class. Cady's convention of marriage was explicitly presented in her written texts and her family's expectations were clearly advocated.

³² The new middle class refers to the groups of professions, who accumulate properties by high-skilled labor. In comparison, traditional middle class posse a small amount of capitals. Professors and engineers represent the former group whereas liquor store owners are the latter one.

“Elderly care” was one of Cady’s Chinese writing assignments. She articulately criticize the culture of individualism and unjust social welfare system in the US and Korea respectively. She applied Korean convention of elderly care to provoke western family value; meanwhile, she argued that social welfare of elderly care was comparably poor in Korea. As she compared:

Some Western people are different, also I only look for a person who value parents and family. Some American don’t take responsibility for parents, it is unacceptable. I really very prioritize my parents, not just my parents, also my grandparents. Because that’s how I was raised, my father keeps reminding “you need to be nice to your grandparents”... But in the US, the elder has pension. They don’t have to rely on their kids. Government will give you money. So pension is a huge big deal in the US... Korean government gives too little. If you talk to general Korean people, in middle class, that’s why many young people are under financial stress.

With Cady’s cross-cultural experience, her social language stood out her strong identity as Korean. She clearly identifies her identities as Korean and argued how elderly care and social welfare in the US segregated and unmotivated children to proactively take care of their parents while they were getting old. Despite of the fact that Cady was educated in western educational system, her reflections on multiple issues were most likely to reflect on Korean culture which was displayed in the first place. As she described:

I feel like the author of textbook writes for Americans. even most topics are not related to America...for example...like caring for elderly parents is not a big deal here, but this is a big issue in Asia, It is important because more and more elders have no money or their kids do not take care of them. So this is an important social issue. But in the US, it seems not as important as other issues. So I think the author brings out this topic and let American know about Asian's culture. I think they intentionally choose textbooks which demonstrate more cultural perspectives.

Cady presented her institution identity as a cross-cultural student who examined the teaching contents and educational goals for her Chinese course. Cady's agency allowed her to compare and mentor her language learning processes and co-adapt the WL learning contexts in different language communities. As abovementioned transcripts, Cady was aware of the ideology that the textbook tried to deliver and was reasoning the purpose of the curriculum in her US experience. Meanwhile, she positioned herself as Asian and interpreted the importance of cultural understanding while learning Mandarin.

To sum up, speaking to the topics of "marriage" and "elderly care", Cady explicitly presented her nature identity as a Korean and affinity identity as a family member who had been raised in the new middle class and advocated her Korean convention in these topics. While she reflected on the contents of the Mandarin textbooks, her institution identity as a cross-cultural student meta-cognitively recognized that the Mandarin curriculum purposefully instill Chinese culture conventions by using textbooks to deliver cultural understanding and constructing Chinese identity to Mandarin learners.

Friendship. I use the relation building tool that Gee (2010) suggested to analyze Cady's social interactions in different discourses and examine how those interactions related to her identity constrictions. Interestingly, Cady positioned herself as Korean and comfortably interacted with various international students but ABK. She held different perspectives toward her ABK friends because she did not identify herself as ABK despite others did. In china, Cady friendly interacted with international students who enrolled the same Chinese language summer program. As she said:

In China, we had classmates come from everywhere. We had Russian, French, Burgeon, Philippine, American, of course Korean, Chinese born in British and Italian. So people came from eight different countries and we discussed together. It was extremely interesting. Their ideas were different, their experiences were different, it was diverse, really, it was so diverse.

I argue that Cady practiced differently in different communities (China and the US) due to her different relation building processes. Under CDS' lens, the heterogeneity of the international students who studies Mandarin in the same summer program all faced a cyclic (closed loop) attractor in the same period. When dynamic systems within individuals were interacted during a period of time, individuals developed co-adaption to maintain balance and stability in their learning trajectories. In Cady's case, speaking Chinese was one of approaches to adapt this diversity and implement activities. It drove learning motivation when many international students engaged in one language community and adapted shared attractors. As she said:

Some of them loved travel. There was a lawyer who loved Japanese culture, so he lived in Japan for seven years. And he was also a monk. I don't know why he came to China but I know he was interested in Japanese culture so he lived there for a while. Then the French student, he met a Chinese girl and they love each other so much. So he came to China. There are so many different stories. It was fun. We went to bar together, we had dinner, of course, speaking Chinese. Of course, our Chinese proficiencies are similar but better than not using it. We learn vocabularies so fast, because we attempted to use it right after the class. We intentionally use the latest vocabularies that we learnt and speak to Chinese waiters so that we have more opportunities to practice.

Attending language summer program in China was a particular environment that Cady developed friendship with diverse groups. In comparison with summer intensive Chinese program, Cady criticized some ABK students that she met in her university for either their unsure or self-assertive Korean identity. Cady selectively developed her friendship in different communities and held different perspectives. As she reflected:

Actually, I don't like ABK. They think they are Korean, but I think they are too American. But they think they are Korean. It's weird. I don't get along with ABK. For me, it is hard to connect with them. Value, a lot of things...and some ABK are more conservatives. Some ABK just look for ABK.

Cady questioned ASK's identity because she regarded ABK as genetically and ethnically born as Korean, but culturally disconnected with Korean stream. There was a cultural norm that Cady conceptualized as a lens to examine one's Korean cultural

competency. She took one of her ABK friends (Deb) as an example, they both recognized their nature identity as Korean and institution identity as college students in the US University. However, Deb's affinity identity detached to Korean cultural activities. It made Cady recognize Deb as an ABK and categorize Deb as the group of otherness. As she said:

If you think about Korean American here, like Deb, I know her Korean is very fluent. But still...she is American. She might strongly claim herself as Korean. But Korean people in Korea, they knew she is Korean but may view her as ABK. I won't really talk about Korean celebrities with Deb, she wouldn't know them. That is just a tiny example, she might know, but let's say talk about Korean drama; if you don't really connect to that culture those little things...And she grows up in that way, you know her parents always encourage her to eat Korean food. But still a lot of identity I can tell that she's much Americanized. I mean she is entirely grown up here. So you cannot expect she becomes Korean suddenly.

Cady's identity significantly related to her friendship building process. Using CDS to explain her varying perspectives toward diverse groups and ABK, the fixed point or cyclic attractors might occur when Cady interacted with the former group whereas the latter might additionally develop chaos attractors. Cady used "weird" to describe a situation when ABK self-identified as Korean. Interacting with diverse groups was predictable and manageable for Cady to present Korean repertoire and exercise community of practice in the particular discourse. On the contrary, the unsure similarity and difference cultural understanding between Cady and her ABK friends might affect her identity construction. Deb, her ABK friend, had been practiced most of culture

activities, including spoke fluent Korean and had Korean food. However, Cady could not fully shared repertoire with Deb and prevented her from claiming Korean identity.

Since Cady was instilled strong Korean identity, she denied ABK or American status in her identity constructional process. This consequence affected her friendship with ABK students and it was impacting because she was most likely to be recognized as ABK. Cady was able to co-adapt the heterogeneities among diverse students and create an inclusive environment; however, ABK is the exceptional community that she was unable/unwilling to emerge. She neither acknowledged her ABK status nor other ABK's Korean identity.

Western Mind with Korean Heart. I use the sign systems and knowledge building tool that Gee (2010) suggested to analyze Cady's knowledge construction process. Despite that Cady strongly claimed her Korean identity, her know-how skills were mastered through her western schooling.

Cady had high Chinese proficiency and had passed the highest level of HSK. She recognized that her Chinese literacy significantly connected to her prior exam-taking skills as well as SAT and TOEFL. Her extensive experience of test-taking was due to her cross-cultural education in Korean and the US. Her experience of exam-taking resulted from the replacement tests for every relocation. The familiarity of test format in language acquisition mastered her adaption among different languages, as she said:

I passed HSK level 6 and this score can be certified for Two years... It is kind of easy for me because reading is like SAT and then like TOEFL.

In particular, Cady not only successfully transferred writing skills from English to Mandarin but also knowledge of writing systems from Korean to Mandarin. Moreover, her knowledge of Korean language fostered her understanding of semantics in Mandarin and her academic writing training in English was also applied in her Mandarin writing assignments.

To begin with writing skills, Cady acknowledged and honored her training of academic writing. The paradigm of academic writing was commonly referred to western writing genre and English was also recognized as the most powerful language in the field of academic writing. It was advantageous for Cady to learn Mandarin as WL since she learned Mandarin for academic purpose as well as her English. Cady had known how to present her thoughts in academic genre and mentored her writing process. It became a manageable learning process for Cady to exercise her agency while facing Mandarin writing, as she described:

Because I was trained to write academic paper in English since high school, I was trained to write English paper and even in college. I never wrote essay in Korean beyond four pages reports. I think I am more like English structure. Like writing a paper, just opening sentences...um...continue an essay. How I learn in English is clearly express your points. Even using different languages, I still use the same structure because that's how I learn. No matter what kind of paper, what language of writing, you must maintain your thesis of introduction so people know what you write about. There must have thesis. And it is always successful and helps me achieve good grade.

From writing systems' perspectives, since Cady had learned some of Chinese characters during her 7-12 grade in Korea, Chinese writing system was not a pain for her. Meanwhile, the similarity of semantics between Korean and Mandarin ease her tasks to memorize and understand the meanings of words. Her heritage cultural capitals benefited her Mandarin writing. As she described:

Once your language proficiency goes up, once you learn in-depth, it is very relates to culture. Like I learn Chinese phrases, it's all culture related. I can really think about it over my head. For Korean learner, some points you even don't have to explain to me...I don't need to be told because sometimes I understand automatically. But for American students, they need to know about the culture and learn it. Many words are learned through Korean, grammar is more like Japanese. But the words we choose are very similar to Chinese words. Like the word "ethic" pronounced as "dou-de" in Mandarin, in Korean we say "do- dole". "dou-de" and "do-dole" are Chinese phrases. Although it writes differently and we pronounce differently, you can convert to Chinese characters. You don't need to explain, they know what it means.

I argue that Cady's sign systems and knowledge building process are multi-directed. Cady co-adapt Korean, Mandarin, and English writing systems and interacted with all these languages while writing in Mandarin. She thought in Mandarin because her Korean proficiency helped her select the appropriate vocabularies to deliver meaning accurately whereas she mentored her texts with the same spelling skill that she applied in English. As she described:

I think in Chinese because it is similar to Korean... with more and more characters, you start losing this side and that side. But once you show me the character, I can recognize. Because you know, just like English. You don't spell it precisely right but when you see it prompt up, you know that is the word. You know it is right, doesn't mean you have to memorize it.

In sum, Cady's internal mechanism functioned in two ways. One was transferring writing systems from Korean to Mandarin; the other was transferring writing genre from English to Mandarin. In light of her reflection, she co-adapted English and Korean's linguistic features to facilitate her Mandarin writing and maintain balanced learning processes in all language learning.

Social Language. I use social language tool that Gee suggested (2010) to examine Cady's discourses in different social roles. Social language is a set of purposeful language activities which reflects a language user's social status. In Cady's interviews, she constantly presented her identity as a Korean and a multilingual student who received Western academic toolkits. In addition to these two identities, Cady randomly presented other social roles to different topics for different purposes.

First, Cady presented her senior status in college to explain her discontinuation for the last semester's Mandarin course. Despite of the fact that her Mandarin learning results had been encouraging enough to merit further investment, Cady did not enroll the last semester Chinese course. It was because that her GPA had been fulfilled and her credits had been sufficient to receive the Chinese minor for her Bachelor degree. In this specific

discourse, Cady presented a social language as a senior college student in the United States. Carefully managing course enrollment was her priority at this stage, as she said:

I have fulfilled the graduate requirement. I don't need to take any Chinese class. I can if I want it. But it is not necessary...In China is more relaxing not competitive in learning, fighting for grade. And here, eventually we care about the grade at most.

Cady's social language reflected on her different Mandarin learning expectations. Summer program brought her tremendous joy for meeting diverse groups and practicing daily conversation in Mandarin. However, learning Mandarin for credential purpose functionally served for meritocracy in Cady's learning trajectory. The time she spent on Mandarin writing assignments was comparatively intensive in college than summer program because the learning outputs related to her transcript. As she admitted:

The college courses helped writing more because there were a lot of writing assignments. In fact, they were almost the same. You wrote once a week. But here, it relates to grade. So I spent more time on it.

Her social language demonstrated her time investment and efforts on different Mandarin writing assignments. Although Cady recognized the similarity of instructions and lesson plans between college courses and summer program, she purposely pointed out her different learning determinations toward different writing assignments. Cady restated that academic success was her priority while she was under an institutional discourse. To reach this goal, Cady intentionally used academic writing skills that she learned from English and transferred to Mandarin, as she described:

How I learn in English is to clearly express points. Even using different language, I still use the same structure because that's how I learn. No matter what kind of paper, what language of writing, you must maintain your thesis of introduction so people got to know what you write about. There must have thesis. And it is always successful and helps me achieve good grade.

The second social language that Cady used was to demonstrate her role as an incoming fresh graduate. She advocated her knowledge of multiple languages and Korean identity; however, she would avoid Korean enterprise as her future employer. Cady argued that Korean working climate was too hierarchy to adapt, despite of the fact that she proudly claimed her Korean identity. As she said:

I want to work at American company or western company because Korean company is very different from western ones. You know, company culture is very important; personally, I don't like Korean company culture. I think if I work at Korean company, I will have a hard time changing myself and adapting to it.

The abovementioned social language from Cady reflected on a feature of CDS. CDS points out the heterogeneity of individuals affect their agencies and reactions to attractors when they occur. In addition, individuals have abilities to co-adapt complex dynamic situations for self organization. Cady's international experience and educational background complicated her external environments and influenced her agency. When Cady had opportunities to select her incoming work place, western cultural mode became her preferable working condition. As a fresh graduate, freedom was an important quality in her dream work place, as she said:

Something like freedom, American culture, so that's why I am going to American company, so...but it depends where I work. I may work in Taiwan, I may work in China, I may work in the US.

For job seeking, Cady concerned autonomy over mobility since she said "I want to work at a western economic management company but in the foreign place outside of the US and Korea". Her desire of exploring diversity and experiencing foreign cultures resulted from her educational trajectories and WL learning experience. In addition, she was explicitly about her worries of Korean work culture. As she confessed:

All I hear from my friends, you know a guy works at LG told me that a lot of American students have a hard time engaging in the company because they have no autonomy..., I properly spend more years in Korea and lots of Korean international students here, lots of them come since middle or high school. But I have more American friends. I am more adapting to American culture. So I don't want to go back to Korea immediately because they don't understand my struggle.

I argue that Cady had a Korean mind but a Western skill set in abovementioned analysis. Although Cady restated her faith in Korean industry, she meanwhile acknowledged her western pedagogical practice would cause cultural shocks in her employment. Her social language delivered a message of that she needed a democratic work environment to empower her knowledge and ground her expertise in the transition of her fresh graduate. Eventually, she would contribute her knowledge and skills to Korean enterprise. Her current fresh graduate status was in need of exploration and effort to prospectively improve the pitfalls that she recognized in Korean work culture. In sum,

Cady purposely expressed her plan for career path which related to her external circumstances and internal agency. Her Korean identity was still there but her fresh graduate status affected her consideration of job search. As she recognized:

The reason I don't want to work in Korea because I know that I can work something bigger. And then even eventually I go back to Korea, depends what opportunity, but I would love to work for Korean company in the end, and to contribute my experience. Because I have strong heart to Korea but I want to learn what developed countries are doing. Then I want to go back to Korea then help them develop too. So I am very love my culture and proud of my country. What I am doing right now the ultimate goal is to go back to Korea enhance Korean company to have better performance.

Reflexivity of Cady's Story. Cady was my first volunteering interviewee. She lived in a Christian house and was a faithful Christian. She told me that she would like to perform a Christian duty by helping me accomplish my dissertation. Christianity drove her intrinsic motivation to complete this interview. During the interviewing process, she tried her best to answer my questions because she fully understood the ecology of social science discipline.

Cady was sincere, outgoing, and friendly. Although she acknowledged that she did not get along with ABK, from my observation, her interactions with Deb were positive. Cady was realistic in many ways. She understood the advantage of learning Mandarin and the purpose of pursuit degree. Unlike Jane, Betty, and Abby, Cady was explicit about grades and she assumed that every student prioritized grade in the first place. Her learning trajectory was well-planned and probably would continually extend to

her career path. It is predictable that Cady will work as profession and be part of new middle class.

The affordance and constraint in her schooling had been strategically adapted by Cady with her family's assistance. Her father's profession and network became her social capital when she travelled internationally. Meanwhile, her academic toolkit was cultivated constantly with her parents' mentorship. I tried to challenge her a couple times, but Cady seemed to never question her parents' perspectives both in interview and writing texts. Moreover, most of her ideas from her writing texts were influenced by her parents, including marriage and elderly issue. Cady had little problem with peers in different communities since she performed Christian duty well. She also made effective efforts on different writing tasks if the outcomes related to the transcripts. Cady might be a role model in academic discourse but sometimes I wonder if she had been an independent thinker.

Summary of Data Analysis

In this study, I use the five tools that Gee (2000) suggested to analyze the interviewees' Mandarin writing discourses. To align with research questions, I selected the data through its features of significance, theme, and change. The selected interview transcripts are organized as stanzas based on the three-dimensional approach that Clandinin and Connelly (2000) developed to understand WL writers' interactions, continuities and situations in their discourses. The following table lists the summary of data analysis for each story.

Table. 5.1 The Summary of Data Analyses

Five Tools of DA	Abby
Significant Event	Mr. Wang's enthusiasm significantly motivated Abby in learning Mandarin. When they both situated in different academic discourse, their interactions were changed. The changing relationship significantly affected Abby's Mandarin learning trajectory.
Identity Construction	Abby constructed a strong affinity identity in the past summer because her relationship with Mr. Wang mainly supported her Mandarin writing activities. The periodical teacher student interactions in the past summer strengthened her writing discourse. With the changing environment, their changing relationship shifted Abby's affinity identity to institution and nature identity. In particular, her conflicts with Mr. Wang pushed her reflecting her institution identity as a student and nature identity as a female and rethinking her misconduct in the Mandarin writing discourse.
Relationship	The teacher student relationship affected her Mandarin writing discourse. Their relationship changed because they shared community had been changed. Abby was not well-adapted across different attractors in her discourse so that she performed her agency to discontinue Mandarin learning.
Sign System and Knowledge Construction	Abby acknowledged that cultural repertoire has to been taught. She learned Chinese culture through relation building with Mr. Wang. She portrayed inappropriate cultural manner due to her lack of cultural knowledge.
Social Language	My positions as a woman, Mandarin speaker, and international student in the US allowed her to demonstrate social language regarding her doubt of Mr.Wnag's manhood, distance of teacher student relationship, and student's learning right.
Betty	
Significant Event	For Betty, a WL's functional meaning is greater than her interest. It was significant for Betty to recognize language status and writing in Mandarin academically. In her learning process, word recognition became a significant learning difficulty. A lack of Sinophone knowledge and disconnection of Chinese literacy raised her argument about Chinese pedagogy.
Identity Construction	Betty claimed her western identity integrated with nature identity, institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity. In her Mandarin writing discourse, she exercised western identity to argue the Chinese instruction and curriculum design. She compared her L2 (English) and L3(Mandarin) and argued that Mandarin as second language curriculum design should have referenced western pedagogy. Her western-oriented suggestions are critical in cultural perspective but they are practical in teaching Mandarin writing system.

Relationship	Betty remained delegation with her writing fellows who were Sinophone speakers. She neither individually interacted with writing fellows nor fully immersed in others' communities. Betty joined activates in relation to writing system comparison or reading behavior. Her relationship with writing fellows cultivated her knowledge of writing system.
Sign System and Knowledge Construction	Betty's initial understanding about Mandarin was its grammatical similarity with English. The heterogeneity of Betty's language experience and cultural knowledge resulted in her exclusion in her class. Her heterogeneity helped her review the differences among her WLs and develop her own study skills. Betty became a self-directed learner and effectively constructed her knowledge of Mandarin language.
Social Language	Mostly, Betty repeated her western identity and identified my identities as an international student, WL learner, and WL educator. She argued differently while facing different identities of me. She argued the insufficient educational resource in Turkish higher education compared with American's if she identified I was an international student studied in the US. She shared her learning difficulties and cultural immersion experience when I was recognized as a WL learner who also struggled in same issues. Betty exchanged her experimental learning strategy in Mandarin word recognition and specified her theoretical practice because she recognized my academic expertise was able to respond to her intellectual discussion.
Jane	
Significant Event	Three significant events occurred in Jane's Mandarin writing discourse and those events were correlated to affect Jane's identity. She emphasized her fail of academic performance in Korean, pursuit of freedom, and financial independency. Because of the listed events, Jane exercised her mobility to worked abroad and studied Mandarin.
Identity Construction	Jane consistently demonstrated different identities but institution identity. She advocated her nature identity for being a language lover, discourse identity for arguing Korean culture, and affinity identity for engaging Chinese Christianity. Jane strongly opposed higher education system and refused to be identified her institution identity. She took action to deny her institution identity by ignoring the instructor's feedback on her Mandarin writing.
Relationship	Betty's Mandarin writing assignments presented many perspectives on her relationship with her mother. Her perspectives on "ideal life", "fate", and "marriage", all related to her conflicts with her mother. Her relationship with her mother became writing resource in her discourse. The unpleasant relationship strengthen her viewpoints on the listed topics.
Sign System and Knowledge Construction	A lack of academic toolkit resulted in Jane's little effectiveness in knowledge construction. I argue that Jane's learning motivation could not master her Mandarin proficiency although she was strongly interested in Mandarin. Writing a WL includes word recognition, syntax usage, grammar application, and genre. Jane insisted to be a self-directed WL

	writer by watching TV, reading, and interacting with native speakers. However, her ignorance of the instructor's feedback would decrease her opportunity to build a solid academic toolkit and learn to write.
Social Language	Jane reflected on her fail experience in the past and recognized her adventurous personality. In her acknowledgment, she was learning by experiencing in both study and interpersonal skills. Reading Chinese proves and engaging the Chinese church made her reflected on her past experience and allowed her to construct her identity by writing in Mandarin. It is powerful that Jane emerged her literacy to life practice and deliberated through WL literacy.
Cady	
Significant Event	It was significant for Cady to have international experience in k-12 schooling. She cultivated the concept of diversity and identity through her educational process across Korea and the United States. Her rich social capital was inherited from her father who is an university professor and allowed she to situate in the most effective WL learning environment.
Identity Construction	Although Cady was experienced across multiple complex dynamic systems, she firmly performed her Korean identity in China, Korea, and the United States. In addition, Cady's strong academic toolkit facilitated her to co-adapt multiple attractors in different academic discourses and construct her institution identity as a college student.
Relationship	Cady's relationship developments related to her identity construction. She had demonstrated her discourse identity in different academic discourses across nations and remained diverse perspectives on interacting with international students. However, she was not fond of ABK students for their identity advocacy. She categorized ABK as a special group which desired but actually disowned shared memory with Korean. Cady cut off her relationship with ABK students to prove her Korean community of practice.
Sign System and Knowledge Construction	Cady had constructed a solid academic toolkit to transfer writing skills across languages and transform writing systems through her L1(Korean). Her knowledge and sign system building process was multi-directional. When Cady wrote in Mandarin, she applied her writing skills that she learned from English to organize essays, make arguments, and state conclusions. On the other hand, she used her knowledge of Korean culture and Sinophone to choose Chinese characters accurately.
Social Language	Cady revealed her social language when she pointed out her preferred work place. Her strong Korean identity could not convince her to work in Korean company. A closed loop attractor was occurred in her complex dynamic system which was also a transition in her fresh graduate year. She exercised agency as applying positions in American company instead of Korean's.

To sum up, the analytic data is correlated and respond to research questions in identity demonstration, affordance and constrain, and community of practice in their Mandarin discourses. The data analysis indicates WL writer's heterogeneity in their situated discourse and their motions of adaption /or not-adaption in the varying learning environments. Their social languages portray their immediate responses for some topics which depending on how my role was defined in the given discourses (an educator, a researcher, an Asian women, or a graduate student). The analyses of relationship building were in relation to writers' identity constructions. WL writers' identity constructions are somehow associated with their knowledge construction because it affected how they adapt and define the cultural and language knowledge. The significant events that take place in the interviewees' writing discourses impacted their agencies.

CHAPTER SIX

Research Findings

This chapter draws on the research findings and provides conclusions with respect to three research questions. It also describes the implications of these conclusions and describes direction for future studies.

With respect to the first research question, the research findings reveal that WL writers present identities differently when using different language as mediation. Among the five analytic tools that I used from Gee's Discourse analysis (2011), two tools are enormously helpful to identify the WL writers' presentations between L1 and Mandarin. The working with the identities building tool explicitly addresses the WL writers' identity constructions in their learning trajectories. The sign and knowledge building tool is a lens to examine WL writers' presentations. It examines how language affects their identities and knowledge building between different languages.

In relation to the second research question, relating to WL writer's affordances and constraints in their language learning processes, findings reveal some WL writers are able to transform their Mandarin learning whereas others are not. The relation building tool and the significant building tool offer clues as to why. These findings correspond to WL writers' identity constructions and explore their agency. Understanding the agency of the WL writers as a sense making process illuminates their affordances and constraints.

The last research question relates to how participants who belong to multiple language communities describe the effects of their participation in the study. Using the relation building tool, the identity building tool, and the social language tool, I analyzed

the WL writers' community of practices in different language communities. WL writers present social languages due to different discourses, which might result from different communities. The relation with the community members and the WL writers' identities interplay as factors and then influence their community of practices.

It is worth emphasizing that the analytic tools do not provide absolute conclusions. While their use in analysis illuminates the research questions to some extent, they do not provide absolute answers. Rather, they provide interpretative lenses to bridge questions and rationalize the stories, connecting the WL writers' learning trajectories in three dimensions: interaction, continuity, and situation. These dimensions reflect the story model that I adapted from Clandinn and Connelly (2000).

How Do WL Writers Shift Identities in Writing Processes?

The research findings reveal that WL writers shift identities in WL writing processes under three following conditions: unsuccessful repertoire transformation, emotional talk, and re-positioning in the given discourses. Literacy is a collection of cultural, communicative, and symbolic practices. Beyond reading and writing, literacy is presented by multiple forms, including self-narration and social practice. Literacy serves to mediate between authors/readers/social practitioners and the world. Understanding WLs' identity shifts in WL writing processes not only provides pedagogical implications to educators but assists WL writers to present selves appropriately in the given discourses. In this section, I revisit the data analysis and address three features of identity shifts in WL writing discourses: repertoire, emotional discourse and repositioning.

Repertoire. While WL writers are capable of translating repertoire in different languages, they cannot fully transform it through WL writing practice. Since they perform some conventions in Mandarin, which results in the constantly shifting identity in their learning trajectories, different cultural repertoires affect WL learners' identities.

Abby's management of the teacher-student relationship in her Mandarin course reflects the impact of Mandarin conventions. Understanding repertoires in cross-cultural contexts proved confusing for her. She found herself struggling in both American and Chinese repertoires when she presented a gift to Mr. Wang, an action she took to ask for his forgiveness for the inappropriate intellectual manner she had taken in her Mandarin writing assignment. In this interaction, Abby literally and symbiotically performed a misplaced repertoire in different discourses. She had used her American repertoire to make fun, treating her instructor as a "friend." Then she shifted to her Chinese repertoire to apologize with a gift. Both repertoires were inappropriate from Mr. Wang's perspective. As she explained:

I want to apologize. He is like, 'Can I refuse being apologized to?' He kept cutting me off. I just wanted to express my apology. Give you a gift... And he looked bad. He refused the gift, like, twice...He was just like 'NO. I cannot accept the gift.'... I need to show that he is the superior one. And [that] I respect him in the Chinese way. But it totally backfired like this in Chinese culture. This is the American culture. I would like to give you this gesture to the Chinese culture. And he is like "this is not appropriate. I am teaching in America.

Abby found that Mr. Wang was not comfortable with her use of either American or Chinese conventions.

Cady's educational training allowed her to practice a stock of skills on academic writing in different languages. She performed academic writing genre as a language form to empower her Korean repertoire. She successfully incorporated English academic writing skills with Korean conventions and precisely performed in Mandarin writing. Cady has internalized and co-adapted cross-cultural repertoires and multi-lingual interference.

As for Betty and Jane, Betty strived to transfer the writing systems across languages and adapt Chinese teaching pedagogy, whereas Jane lacked an academic toolkit. Betty developed a self-directed learning approach to improve word recognition. She had not transformed the Chinese repertoire into daily practice because she needed more time to co-adapt Chinese writing system and Asian-centered instruction. As she said, "Learning Chinese, you have to recognize words. For the Easterners, repetitively writing characters work. Because they don't have to take extra time to understand the cultural context. But for me, being a Western, there is no explanation.... I circled the words and recognized then carefully saw the characters. Similar words even have the same pronunciations, but they mean different things. Because they have different radicals³³ so I always analyze the characters' structures then guess their meanings."

³³ A radical is a semantic indicator of a character, and it connects to the meaning of a word. Betty gives an example on lines 222 to 225.

On the other hand, writing in Mandarin as a cultural repertoire encouraged Jane's self-esteem transformation. It was a healing process that allowed Jane to re-construct her identity and align with her life courses:

My writing ideas come from my mind. No TV program or book told me this stuff. This is an idea original comes from my mind. I think a lot. I wrote "Human is a great existence, but nature embraces human." My teacher circles the second sentence, because in Chinese, people don't say like this. But, this is my idea and I feel in this way. I don't really care how to make my idea sounds right because it is my idea. I feel sorry to my teacher because I still keep creating my sentence. And actually my level only allows me to write like this.

Emotional Discourse. The WL writers in this study performed shifting literacy at some emotional moments. Emotional talk became the performance when they shifted identities to adapt to changes in their WL writing discourses. They could be explicit explanations for individuals' viewpoints, defenses for the current disadvantageous situations, or interpretations for their feelings. All of the participants engaged in emotional talk at times—Jane when she mentioned the pain she suffered while living in Korea, Betty when she described her struggles with the Mandarin writing system, Cady when she described her confusion when she had to restate her identity, and Abby when she revealed her mental baggage about different languages—and their emotions embedded in their complex dynamic systems, resulting from initial conditions, ultimately giving them agency.

Jane refused to be associated with institute identity. She was intrinsically motivated to learn Mandarin writing but she refused to be a stakeholder or to be advised by other stakeholders, such as her instructors. Her weak social capital suppressed her self-esteem and intelligence during her schooling. She documented her pain and longing through Mandarin writing activities. By contrast, Betty blamed Chinese pedagogy on its irresponsible stakeholders in the institutes where she studied in both China and Turkey. A lack of Mandarin resources in her college made her apply for scholarship funds for study abroad. Her instructors' failure to engage with the problems she faced as a western student forced her to be more self-directed in learning. Her helpless talk was inspiring but also exciting. At least, I was happy that Betty successfully transferred her academic toolkit and innovated to learn Mandarin.

Cady was emotional when her ABK acquaintances stated their Korean identities. In her Mandarin writing, she argued that they did not seem to understand Korean perspectives on social issues such as elderly care. Emotionally, she argued that the ABK was ethnically Korean but not culturally:

Actually, I don't like ABK. They think they are Korean, but I think they are too American. But they think they are Korean. It's weird. I don't get along with ABK. For me, it is hard to connect with them. Value, a lot of things...and some ABK are more conservatives. Some ABK just look for ABK.

Abby cried a couple times during the interviews. She cried describing her stress and frustration with learning, and her dispute with her instructor. For example, she teared up when she said:

I have one year to improve myself as much as I can. Then I want to move back to China. That real world. So I am nervous. I am anxious with Mr. Wang. It's frustrating. My Chinese is never good enough.

In these moments of emotion, Abby shifted her identities to explain or defend her feelings. Although Abby wanted to overcome her troubles, the changes in her learning circumstances made her increasingly emotional. The unpleasant learning environment she experienced led her to discontinue learning Mandarin.

Re-Positioning. According to CDS, the initial condition of Abby's relationship with her professor affected her perspective on her intellectual interaction with her Mandarin instructor. When Abby realized her misconduct repertoire had endangered her position in her classroom, she repositioned her female identity and questioned Mr. Wang's profession. As she explained:

I have offended him on many, many levels. I disrespected him as a teacher. This is understandable. But I don't know if I offended him as far as his manhood?... I don't mean to in this way.... I need to show that he is the superior one. And I respect him in the Chinese way.

In contrast with Abby, Betty continually repositioned her western student identity in her Mandarin writing process. She reflected on the Sinophone-oriented instruction and the troubles of language interference in two writing systems:

If I were a teacher, and my students are Western, I would introduce the structure of Chinese characters. And maybe give a more historical overview...The evolution of the Chinese writing system would be introduced in my first class. It

should be explained how the Chinese writing system has been categorized... It would be easier for the Western students to understand.

Betty sought academic Mandarin resources that would support her L1 writing system. She repositioned herself in teaching perspective and advised how Mandarin should be taught for non-Sinophone learners.

Jane spent time in Singapore, Korea, and China, which led her to position herself as unique and free from social norms in a way that Abby and Betty did not. She attended a college Mandarin program, but the institutional regulations didn't affect her identity construction. In undertaking Mandarin writing activities, Jane joyfully repositioned herself as an autonomous WL writer who could reach a Mandarin-reading audience when she says: "I love learning languages. As long as something I am interested, I will go for it. I learned Chinese by myself."

Cady, unlike Jane, embraced her underrepresented identity. Through the ideas that she presented in her Mandarin assignments, she explicitly claimed a Korean middle class identity. Regardless of the types of genres the instructors required, Cady organized different writing formats in a masterly way, transferring her English academic writing skills to writing Mandarin. In her assignments, she presented a Korean new middle class perspective, addressing issues such as marriage and elderly care. Her cross-cultural experience allowed her to reflect those topics internationally, taking a Korean middle class stance on social problems in the United States. As she said,

I don't try to be an American... My dad wanted me to have strong Korean identity.

Even learning English is important.... Because I was trained to write academic

paper[s] in English since high school.... [E]ven using different languages, I still use the same structure because that's how I learn. No matter what kind of paper, what language of writing...it is always successful and helps me achieve good grade.

The evidence I have presented with respect to Abby, Betty, Cady, and Jane suggests that WL writers' identities are influential in their writing discourses when they confront unsuccessful repertoire, situate in emotional discourses, and reposition themselves in the given discourses.

WL writers' complex dynamic systems affect their affordances and constraints in writing practices and social languages.

The affordances and constraints are performed in WL writers' WL writing processes and demonstrated the relations between writers and the environmental objects, such as curriculum, instructions, and cultural artifacts. Both affordances and constraints actively emerged in their writing activities and life courses, which significantly related to WL writers' learning environments and learning trajectories. Based on CDS, heterogeneity of individuals, changes of writing discourses, and writers' agencies affect individuals' affordances and constraints.

The following sections will align with the research questions and correspond to the literature review. First, they will investigate individuals' affordances and constraints in writing discourses by using five tools that Gee (2011) suggested. Second, the sections will present three themes that correspond to the literature review and suggest future

studies. A discussion of WL writers' affordances and constraints in terms of identity construction, writing systems, and learning culture will conclude.

Language Status, Power, and Self Matters. Abby performed cross-cultural repertoires to communicate with Mr. Wang but could not endure his downgrading of her grade for her misconduct. She sought to extend the relation between the subjects and objects by buying gifts for him, making the gifts into a medium to connect her to him. Thus, she performed a Chinese cultural repertoire to present her understanding of her misconduct from Chinese cultural perspective.

Abby did not exercise power appropriately in her writing discourses. Her failure to co-adapt the multiple changes in her complex dynamic system resulted in continued conflicts with Mr. Wang that hampered her learning trajectory. In the teacher-student microsystem, Abby was willing to identify her mistakes and apologize in a Chinese manner. However, she took umbrage that he reduced her grade because of her misconduct. In the macrosystem of higher education, she knew that she had right to argue her grade and she argued that "I was not always being bad." Abby decided to discontinue learning Mandarin, because she feared the impact on her academic record. did not agree.

Just as it did for Abby, language status significantly affected Betty's WL learning affordance and constraints in her learning trajectory. I concluded four facts revealed Betty's perspectives to learn Mandarin:

1. Betty decided to learn Mandarin instead of Japanese because she believed that Mandarin is more influential
2. Betty believed people in Beijing speak standard Mandarin.

3. Betty advocated for western pedagogy in the Mandarin language classroom.
4. Betty had particular perspectives on the simplified and traditional writing system.

Betty described her decision to choose Mandarin as her WL because:

I was planning to learn Japanese. But I know if I learned Japanese. I would still need to recognize Chinese characters. Japanese and Korean are both rooted in Mandarin. So I decided to take Chinese.

Betty recognized that a larger population speaks Mandarin than Japanese, and that Japanese uses the Mandarin writing system, as does Korean.

Betty determined to study in Shanghai over Beijing because the former is more accessible. However, she strongly considered Beijing because “their Mandarin is more articulate. People in Shanghai speak sharp and brief.” In other words, she classified language into different levels based on its comprehensibility. Beijing’s accent is easier for her to understand and thus she deems its language status higher than Shanghai’s.

Betty’s repeated suggestion that Chinese instructors should have taken western pedagogical approaches to teach Mandarin also reflects a prioritization of her own experience. On one hand, her western-centered identity affects her agency to adapt the given learning environment; on the other hand, she developed her learning strategies to comprehend learning contents through her previous experience.

Betty’s taking learning simplified Chinese writing system for granted reflects her bias as well. The simplified writing system is more prevalent than the traditional one.

Knowledge of this encouraged Betty to undertake further efforts; she ranked the simplified writing system higher than the traditional one without understanding the history of the two systems.

In sum, Betty's identity influenced her learning behaviors, including WL selection, rank language status, and learning strategy development. Her identity cultivated her understanding of writing systems and shaped her meaning-making process in Mandarin learning.

Unlike Betty, for Jane, writing in Mandarin is a democratic and deliberate social practice. Jane empowered herself through her Mandarin writing assignments, especially in those written on "fate" and "enjoy life." In her writing, she ended up putting herself into social comparison with the Korean norm, referencing her identity freely. WL writing extended her affordances to challenge her mother, critique social issues, and be herself rather than a prototypical Korean woman. She did not write for grade or degree. Her writing practice has open additional space to reflect and review her history and adapt her changes in her life courses.

Cady had a decidedly different experience than Jane, although she also grappled with Korean identity. She had the opportunity to engage in cross-cultural learning environments, including Mandarin summer camp, but did not acknowledge ABK's Korean identity. When she described ABK as "too American," she rejected any connection to it. She believed ABK does not share collective memory with Korea. For example, of her ABK acquaintance Deb, she said "I won't really talk about Korean celebrities with Deb, she wouldn't know them.... She grows up in that way, you know her

parents always encourage her to eat Korean food. But still a lot of identity I can tell that she's very Americanized.”

The Writing System Affects WL Writers' Affordances. In this section, I draw on data from Betty and Abby's interviews to discuss how cross writing systems affect WL writers. Cady and Jane, whose L1, Korean, is based on the Sinophone system, did not mention difficulty in memorizing Mandarin characters. Repetitive writing was effective enough to provide them word recognition. However, Betty (whose L1 is Turkish) and Abby (whose L1 is English) were both overwhelmed by the using a meaning-based writing system, because they were used to sound-based writing systems. Their instructor recommended repetitive writing practice, which both participants resisted. The learning culture section will describe their objections; this section will address how their struggled affected their affordances.

Betty and Abby developed different affordances to justify their learning difficulties in Mandarin writing system. The former developed self-directed learning whereas the latter collaborated with instructors. Betty transformed her language learning skills and re-constructed new meanings for Chinese characters as her schema of the Mandarin writing system. As she said:

I can see the connections between the characters and the meanings. For me, it is like a game. You can see the pictures and link them to the meanings.... I need to understand 插 is a verb and 花 is a noun.³⁴ It would be more understandable if I

³⁴ 插(cha) is a verb, which means insert, and 花(hua) is a noun, which means flower. 插花(cha-hua) is a compound word referring to flowering.

comprehend the grammar and the radical. 插's radical is hand (扌) and 花 is a plant with radical grass (艹). I read this compound word together and understand why it is used in these two characters. This helps me memorize everything.

Abby extended her learning to other discourses; therefore, she had a chance to befriend Mr. Wang in the summer program. She created a collaborative environment, attending one on one sessions with Mr. Wang to improve her word recognition. She described this experience:

I used Mr. Wang a lot. Because he is extremely smart.... This is why Mr. Wang and I are friends.... Summer—like you have lots of things to do. You have mass things to translate or put in action. But I haven't developed a method to understand. So he helped me a lot.

Her interpersonal skill afforded Abby the opportunity to integrate resources and interact with instructor. Abby learned she was more effective when Mandarin writing system is told as stories. Mr. Wang's tutoring session contextualized learning content, including the Mandarin writing system, which helped Abby master word recognition.

Cultural Immersion. Cultural immersion affects WL writers' affordances in WL writing practices and social language. Abby submitted a paper with inappropriate content which provoked Mr. Wang's displeasure. A lack of cultural knowledge consequence led her to misplace her positions in the given context. She acknowledged this: "I definitely had the wrong perspective. And I probably overstepped the boundary between what is acceptable as friends. And what is acceptable as teacher. This is ok for me to hand in because our relationship." In general, the teacher–student relationship remains different

in western and eastern culture (Li, 2001, 2003). As she recognized, Abby interacted with Mr. Wang in an American manner. She did not take Chinese culture into account in her writing practice; later, she reflected that “culture should be taught.” Neither Mr. Wang nor Abby were knowledgeable enough to understand the discourse of culture immersion.

Betty’s observation of Chinese college students was “they just learn and they don’t know why they keep studying.” In other words, she felt Chinese students lacked independence in learning. Betty’s observation contrasts with Li’s (2003) study, which claimed Chinese students are more responsible for their learning outcomes than Americans’. However, I argue that Betty’s observation was less representative because she was studying in a summer language program.

Betty believed that Chinese writing is unclear in comparison to English. She gave an example from her textbook.

English writing is clearer...the story talks about three brothers who work together and fight for their family fortune. The elder one does this, the second oldest one does that, and the youngest does that, and then nobody gets the money. It is not clear... It could be rewritten like this: the elder brother does this but fails because blah...and it shows his blat. That helps me understand the perspective of this story.

Betty suggested that because the story does not give the reasons for the characters’ actions, it is not “clear.” Here her intertextuality demonstrates her affordances to immerse multiple languages’ genres in one story. This is a social practice; WL writers engage in multiple language communities.

Jane and Cady behaved differently when they confronted cultural immersion. They have different attitudes toward Korean culture. Jane abandoned Korean culture whereas Cady was attached to it. Their WL writing practice reflected their experience of cultural immersion. Jane advocated for her opinions about social justice in Korea. She used Mandarin writing to describe her experience and explain why she does not fit into Korean culture. By contrast, Cady transferred her English writing skills and transformed her Korean cultural knowledge to her Mandarin writing practice to restate her Korean identity.

In sum, individuals' complex dynamic systems and identity construction affect their affordances in terms of writing systems performances and cultural immersion. In addition, individuals' identities affect their perspectives on language status and power demonstration.

Engagement in Language Community: Becoming, Belonging, and Being

In this study, WL writers participated in particular communities for different purposes. Abby adopted a Chinese manner to ask her instructor's forgiveness. Her purpose was to bridge effective communication with the instructor who is situated in a Mandarin language community. Betty studied with classmates whose L1 are Sinophone to assist her recognizing Chinese characters. Jane read Chinese prose to reflect her past experience and attended Chinese church to engage in her prospective environment. Cady engaged in multiple language communities and most of her travels were for academic purposes.

My investigation does not support the notion that WL writers function intentionally the community of Chinese Mandarin speakers. However, they adopted writing practices to become or belong to particular discourses. Abby claimed that “culture needs to be taught” which corresponded to her experience of Mandarin writing practice. Abby was not positioned in her role correctly in the academic discourse and stepped over the teacher–student boundary as the Chinese community identifies it. She responded in a Chinese manner in her attempt to rectify the mistake and become an active community member.

Betty and Jane both studied Mandarin in China and lived in the same language community but behaved differently. Betty situated herself as an outsider and observer in China. She engaged in the Chinese community primarily for academic purposes. Jane, in contrast, actively engaged in the Mandarin language community, reading Mandarin books and participating in local Christianity activities. She sought to belong in China because she didn’t feel she belongs in Korea. Betty and Jane’s complex dynamic system affected their identities and affordances in WL writing practices. Moreover, it influenced their community practices.

Cady had a strong academic toolkit to facilitate her participation in multiple language communities. Her international experience and travel history strengthened her skills of adapting environment demands. She was capable of becoming and belonging to the given communities and adapted well. She not only received new ideas and emerged in the given communities, but advocated for her identity as Korean. Her Mandarin writing demonstrated her social practice as Korean and her ambition to engage in the WL communities. Instead of being marginalized in the given Mandarin community, Cady

expressed that “I feel like the author of textbook [who] writes for Americans.... I think the author brings out this topic and let[s] American[s] know about Asian’s culture.”

Writing in Mandarin was a social practice for Cady to advocate her identity and engage in multiple communities.

In sum, individuals’ community of practices is associated with their cultural knowledge, identities, and complex dynamic systems. The findings of this study suggest individuals’ community engagements related to their actions of becoming and belonging but not necessarily being.

Implication

The research findings offer three implications to support future research. This study evidently suggests that Chinese pedagogy is in need of transformation. The transdisciplinary framework of this study is able to examine the 5 Cs, standards that the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) developed for WL classrooms. The last, the research findings, offer various perspectives on individuals’ identity shifts, affordances in WL writing process, and community participations, which benefits future research on self-directed learning in WL writing.

Betty and Abby both faced learning difficulties in terms of the Chinese writing system and Chinese learning culture. Betty suggested that the background of the writing system should be included in lesson plans and instruction should adopt a western pedagogical approach. According to Abby, it is problematic if culture is not taught in Mandarin class. Her difficulty communicating with her Chinese instructor resulted in her

discontinuation of learning Mandarin. It requires transformation of Chinese pedagogy in terms of writing system and culture knowledge.

ACTFL encourages foreign language teachers to achieve the 5 Cs in WL classrooms. To examine the standards of communication, connections, cultures, comparisons, and communities, the transdisciplinary framework of this study is beneficial for WL teachers to investigate their teaching process and lesson plans. I merge Larsen-Freeman's (2008) complex dynamic systems theory and Gee's (2000) identity theory to provide an inclusive framework for WL teachers to consider students' heterogeneities, students' agencies, environmental changes, and students' identity shifts in order to examine if the 5 Cs are successfully input in the curriculum and instruction.

Due to booming technology, self-directed learning is becoming increasingly prevalent in education. Learning resources are comparatively accessible and technology skills are highly emphasized across k-12 to higher education. As a result, students' learning effectiveness is more related to their learning autonomies. WL writers are not only capable of inquiring about writing resources through technology, but also making writing decisions and conducting self evaluation through new media. This study contributes five tools for future researchers to examine self-directed WL writers' identity constructions, relationships, social languages, significant events, and cultural knowledge. Self-directed learning is a significant aspect of trends in education for future researchers analyzing WL writing.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Interview Protocol

Understanding World Language Writing Practice

Thank you for your participating in this study. This protocol is a part of research to fulfill my doctorate program requirement in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction. This research is conducted to explore the relationship between writing in world language and identity formation to highlight their connection with the nature of learning.

In this protocol, I am interested in your views about learning writing in Chinese and writing identity in Chinese. The information I collect will not be use in any way that would reflect on you personally. What you say will be held in confidence, and I will not use your real name in any reporting of data. If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me: itu@wisc.edu.

This protocol is divided into four parts: General Information, learning L2 writing and writing identity in L2. There are total of 15 questions in 5 pages. The last part will be conducted you are selected as the interviewees of this study.

PART A: General Information

(Note: Your personal information will be kept confidential)

Name(Print): _____

Email(Optional): _____

1. How many months have you learned Chinese?

_____ months

2. What is your First Language?

3. What other languages do you speak? (Please write N/A if you do NOT learn other languages)

4. What is the highest degree you have earned?

☐ High school Diploma

☐ Bachelor degree

☐ Masters

☐ Doctorate degree

☐ Others: _____

5. What was your major field of study for the bachelor's degree?

PART B: Learning Writing in Chinese

1. How much time do you spend on writing in Chinese every week?

☐ 1-3 hours

☐ 3-5 hours

☐ 5-8 hours

☐ More than 8 hours

☐ Less than 1 hour

2. How would you describe your Chinese writing skills?

☐ I am barely writing a sentence.

☐ I am able to write a few sentences but do not feel confident.

☐ I am able to write an essay which still needs to be edited.

☐ I am confident to write in Chinese

☐ Others: _____

3. What strategies did you apply while you are writing in Chinese? (Multiple Choice)

☐ I write an outline and fill in content.

☐ I write in my first language then translate into Chinese

☐ I just write and re organize the structure after writing

☐ No strategy that I utilize

☐ Others: _____

4. What do you find the most difficult aspect in writing Chinese?

☐ Vocabulary

☐ Grammar

☐ Structure

☐ All

☐ Others: _____

5. In general, how long for you to type a less than twenty sentences essay?

☐ Less than 10 minutes

☐ Less than 30 minutes but more than 10 minutes

☐ 30 minutes to 1 hour

 More than one hour

PART C: Writing identity in Chinese

For the statements below, indicating your agreement or disagreement by checking choices that best express what you think about the statement.

The Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somehow disagree	Somehow Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
My Chinese performances always represent my authentic ideas						
I always struggle in presenting my voice in writing Chinese						
I'd rather present my Chinese writing performance which fulfills language format than my authentic ideas						
Writing In different language affects how I present my identity						
I believe writing identity in						

Chinese not only help me rethink my identity but also improve my writing skill.						
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PART D: Semi-Structured Interview

What topic do you write for this week's assignment?

How do you think about this topic?

How will you draft this essay?

Why do you write in this way?

What is your reflection about teacher's feedback?

How are your classmates' performances?

Are there particular incidences in the class?

How do you evaluate your WL writing assignment?

What are your learning difficulties in writing?

How will you solve your learning difficulty?

How do you feel about your learning community?