COMMUNICATING EMOTIONS IN L2 CHINESE: A MIXED-METHODS MULTIPLE CASE STUDY OF AMERICAN LEARNERS OF CHINESE STUDYING ABROAD IN CHINA

A Dissertation in
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by
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ABSTRACT

The dissertation explored American sojourners’ Chinese language development and quality of experience when studying abroad in China. The linguistic focus—communication of emotion—is a key aspect of everyday interaction that has been little researched in L2 studies. With the aim to trace linguistic development along with reconstructing personal stories, the dissertation adopted a mixed-methods multiple case study design and the theoretical framework of Vygotskian sociocultural theory. By assessing 25 students’ abilities to recognize and express emotions in a video retell task across the semester and across housing types, the study quantitatively tested the effect of time and accommodation. Case studies of four students of diverse backgrounds qualitatively investigated the aspects of Chinese emotion expression the students developed by participating in contextualized practices with their Chinese interlocutors, the process of their linguistic development, the quality of their experience abroad as interpreted by all parties involved, and lastly the interplay of personal histories, perception of experience, and linguistic progress. Informed by Vygotskian sociocultural theory, the case studies followed the genetic method in tracing the history of the students’ Chinese emotional repertoire across the semester, thereby elucidating language developmental processes in situated oral interaction and in relation to their perception of the experience. The dissertation found that both group tendencies and individual cases supported the benefit of study abroad for emotion language development. However, the four cases presented variability and diversity regarding the aspects of emotion repertoire highlighted (e.g. fear-related emotion, body part emotion metaphors), contextualized practices involved (e.g. conversational narratives, language play), qualities of mediational means in situated interaction, and ultimately, developmental trajectories. Three aspects were identified as potential mediators of their sojourn experience, respectively the quality of interpersonal relationship with the Chinese roommates or host family, self- and other-positioning of racial and ethnic identities, and personal goals in the naturalistic context vis-à-vis classroom requirement.
Overall, the dissertation argues that sojourners’ linguistic learning and quality of experience is a complex interplay among personal goals, dispositions, individual histories, perceptions, participation in linguistic practices, and interpersonal dynamics among all parties concerned. The insights from the dissertation not only shed light on future research design (e.g. the merit of mixed-methods), but also bear significant implications for pedagogical practices and study abroad program design, including curriculum gaps involving language required in naturalistic context but not emphasized in classrooms (e.g. narrative, pragmatics of eating), pedagogical interventions that could facilitate students’ understanding (e.g. concept-based instruction), pedagogical interventions that connect in- and out-of-class learning, and training for Chinese roommates and host families to promote intercultural awareness.

**Key words:** study abroad, Chinese as a second language, emotion language, Vygotskian sociocultural theory, mixed-methods research, case study
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a steady increase in the number of U.S.-based students studying abroad. The Open Doors Report (Institute of International Education, 2016) showed that 313,415 American students studied abroad in the academic year of 2014-2015, representing a 2.9% growth over the previous year and reaching a historic high. Among all destinations, China stood out as the fifth ranking country that hosted 12,790 American students during the academic year, contrasting its status ten years ago when only 6,389 American students chose to study there. The growing popularity of China as a study abroad destination was not only attested in the United States, but has also been observed around the globe. According to Tian and Lowe (2014), the total number of foreign students in China had increased from 52,150 in 2001 to 292,61 in 2011, making it the fourth most popular study abroad destination in the world. The latest statistics released by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China (2017) reported that a total of 442,773 foreign students studied abroad in China in the year of 2016, marking a 11.35% increase from the previous year. While most of these students were from Asian countries (59.84%), 8.5% of them were from the Americas, totaling 38,077 people. Considering nationalities, United States ranked second and supplied 23,838 foreign students to China.

Study abroad in China has been promoted and supported by both the Chinese and the American governments. The Chinese government in 2010 announced its intention to increase the number of foreign students to half a million by 2020 (Tian & Lowe, 2014). In 2011, the Obama administration announced the “100,000 Strong Initiative” that aimed to send 100,000 American students to China within the next few years. In response, the Chinese government issued 20,000 scholarships in 2010 to 2012 to support American students (Jin, 2016). The then 100,000 Strong
Foundation and now US-China Strong Foundation is not only committed to “dramatically increasing the number...of young Americans learning Mandarin and gaining meaningful experience in US-China relations” (US China Strong, n.d.), but also the diversity of students. The Open Doors Report (Institute of International Education, 2016) also observed that in the last ten years, the proportion of American minority students who studied abroad has increased moderately.

Despite the increasing presence of American students, including minority students, learning Mandarin in China, their language learning experience remains largely unexplored. In the North American research literature, only in recent years may we observe the emergence of studies on learning Chinese as a L2 in study abroad contexts. Much is left to be explored in terms of what students’ are learning, how they are learning, and the quality of their experience (Jin, 2016; Kinginger, Wu, & Lee, forthcoming). It is against this backdrop that the present dissertation study was envisaged.

The present study

The dissertation explores American study abroad participants’ Chinese learning experience when studying abroad in China. I focus on students’ use and development of the second language (L2) by participating in everyday interaction with local Chinese, typically host families and Chinese roommates. Specifically, I examine a fundamental yet little researched aspect of interpersonal interaction in L2 research – verbal communication of emotion.

Following Kinginger (2008), the dissertation aims to reconstruct “detailed life stories of learners hand-in-hand with an interest in linguistic development over time” (Block, 2003, p. 138). The study is a mixed-methods multiple case study that includes the following aspects: assessment of 25 student participants’ ability to recognize and express emotions in a video retelling task...
across the semester, and case studies of four American students, who were of diverse personal histories, residing in a student dormitory or a homestay. Their linguistic developmental trajectories in emotion language and qualities of experience abroad were examined based on longitudinal recordings of interactions in the dormitory or homestay and interviews with all concerned parties, including the students, their Chinese roommates or host family, and Chinese instructors. To study language learning in social interaction, the core theoretical framework that directs the present study is Vygotskian sociocultural theory, which is a theory that “recognizes the central role that social relationships and culturally constructed artifacts play in organizing uniquely human forms of thinking” (Lantolf, 2004, p. 31-31, cited in Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 1).

Research questions that guide the present study are:

1. Did students improve in their abilities to communicate emotions in L2 Chinese over the semester abroad?
2. Did housing types affect their progress?
3. What aspects of Chinese emotion expressions did students develop by conversing with their Chinese roommates or host family?
4. How did students’ verbal emotion repertoires advance by regularly participating in contextualized practices with their Chinese roommates or host family?
   a. What semiotic mediational means were made available in the interaction?
   b. To what extent were the interactions attuned to the potential abilities of the students in learning how to feel and talk about their emotions in Chinese?
5. How did students, their Chinese roommates or host family, and Chinese instructors describe the quality of the living and sojourn experience?
6. How did their interpretations, personal histories, and students’ linguistic development inform and mediate each other?
Organization of the dissertation

To situate the present study, the dissertation opens with a critical review of research on language learning in study abroad (Chapter 2). The purpose is not to exhaustively review the vast body of literature, but to recognize important research gaps and propose solutions to these problems, thereby establishing the groundwork for the present study. I first review quantitative research on linguistic outcomes of study abroad with regard to approaches towards language and major variables that predict linguistic gains. I then selectively review qualitative studies that elucidated the process of language learning in study abroad. Included were narrative inquiries that reconstructed students’ experience, studies that closely examined interactional data as evidence of the qualities of study abroad, and Vygotskian sociocultural theory-inspired research. In light of recent empirical, methodological, and theoretical advancements, I propose the following directions in study abroad research: to take a more sophisticated approach to language, adopt a qualitative or mixed-methods research methodology, include multiple perspectives and interaction data, and to draw inspiration from Vygotskian sociocultural theory. In the chapter, I also specify the linguistic focus of the present study as appropriate verbal expression of emotion, a pragmatic domain of language that is pervasive in everyday interaction.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology that I used to conduct the dissertation study. The rationale for the mixed-methods multiple case studies design is first presented. The core theoretical framework Vygotskian sociocultural theory of the study is then discussed. Three key insights drawn from the theory are the notions that socioculturally organized artifacts, particularly language, mediate higher mental functions, that development is a revolutionary process, and that a historical or genetic method is appropriate for the study of higher mental functions. I then introduce the research setting, including the city, hosting university, as well as the study abroad center in terms of its placement test, curriculum, and housing options. Participants’ information is then provided. Also discussed were sampling and recruitment issues I encountered during data
collection. Data collection procedures are then discussed, including the Mandarin Awareness Interview, naturalistic interactions, interviews, and observation. Analysis of each form of data is also detailed. Lastly, I reflect on my role as the researcher in the field and how my presence interacted with the participants and setting.

Chapter 4 responds to the first two research questions by addressing group tendencies of development across time and housing types. Importantly, the chapter presents a case of mixed-methods study that integrates referential statistics, quantification, and qualitative analysis. The data in focus is the video description task, one of the tasks in the Mandarin Awareness Interview that elicited students’ retelling after watching a Chinese video. Three dimensions of the narrative retelling, respectively scenarios labeled, lexical diversity, and appropriateness, underwent quantitative and qualitative scrutiny on the individual level and as a whole group. Although statistical analysis on the individual level mostly presented insignificant results, quantification and qualitative analysis on the group level have demonstrated positive changes across time.

To follow, Chapters 5 through 7 respond to the six research questions with case studies of four American students who were accommodated in the student dormitory with Chinese roommates or a Chinese host family. In each chapter, a different aspect of emotion expression emerged from the data and was thus highlighted. Each chapter follows a similar organization. It starts with description of the personal histories of the participants, including their Chinese roommates and host family. Then it presents data related to focal cases’ developmental trajectories of emotion language, including score and performance in the video description task, and spontaneous interaction recorded in the dormitory rooms or homestay. Interpretation of the study abroad experience then follows with integration of perspectives from the focal student, his or her roommate or host family, and Chinese instructor. Lastly, each case study ends with a discussion and conclusion section.
Chapter 5 tells the story of Puppies and her Chinese roommate Kiki (pseudonyms). A practice that they often participated in was co-telling of conversational narratives, wherein their emotions were communicated. A prime emotional theme emerged from the data was that of fear, as signaled by fear-related emotion words in Chinese. Close examination of the dorm interaction found Puppies’ emergent ability to tell stories and express fear-related emotions with linguistic devices that index high affectivity and femininity. Development was driven by Puppies’ creative imitation of Kiki’s speech style and Kiki’s mediation in the forms of recast, modeling, and explanation. I contrasted Puppies’ use of fear-related expressions in the naturalistic interaction with that in her responses in the vocabulary section of the Mandarin Awareness Interview. Interestingly, Puppies’ response in the Mandarin Awareness Interview bore more resemblance to Kiki’s modeling of the emotional style than in the spontaneous interaction. This discrepancy points to how identity potentially mediated L2 speakers’ pragmatic and style choice. Their discussion of the experience in the dorm also brought to the fore some common sources of miscommunication between American students and Chinese roommates, including race. I discuss how Puppies’ African American identity impacted her language learning opportunities in China, thus representing a rarely documented group of sojourners in Chinese-speaking regions.

David and his roommate Shawn (pseudonyms) presented the best-case scenario of dormitory living abroad. David, a student of advanced high proficiency genuinely interested in Chinese language and culture, and Shawn, a master’s student in Classical Chinese Literature, developed a strong bond from the beginning. Their linguistic practices went beyond literal emotion language to figurative expressions that entailed co-construction of an emotion style through language play and in-depth discussion of metaphorical emotion expressions. I argue for the affordances of language play, wherein rich linguistic, pragmatic, and ideological mediational means were made available. I also show David’s development in the forms, concepts, and meanings of two Chinese emotional metaphors related to body parts and eating, primarily under
mediation by Shawn. Also important to David’s quality of experience was his Jewish identity in the sociohistorical context of Shanghai and China, where a historical connection with Jewish people was established during the Second World War.

The last case study describes the experience of two advanced learners of Chinese who stayed with the same host family during fall 2015. Unlike Puppies and David who more easily negotiated tellership with peer-aged Chinese roommates to express their own opinions and emotions, Audrey and Liz (pseudonyms) had a more complicated story to tell. Early in the semester, the Host Mother (HM) assumed a more authoritative role and thus a higher epistemic stance and more tellership, while Audrey and Liz only participated peripherally. When Audrey struggled to negotiate more tellership, Liz displayed her growing participatory role and expression of her true feelings. Meanwhile, HM relinquished her control over conversation with Liz and allowed for more conversational space. The contrast between Audrey and Liz may find its roots in their dynamics with HM, which was frequently associated with the issue of eating at the home. While Liz enjoyed HM’s home cooking, Audrey was less enthusiastic, at least in her display of attitudes towards the food, which fundamentally challenged HM’s sense of well being. The chapter looks at how the participants’ personal histories, dispositions, and goals interacted with their qualities of homestay and magnitude of language learning. Many important lessons on homestay communication were learned. Also I reflect on the different expectations of the classroom and homestay interaction.

The last chapter of the dissertation (Chapter 8) discusses major findings and concludes the entire dissertation. It answers the research questions proposed above by integrating findings from Chapters 4 to 7. Then, implications of the findings are discussed in terms of research, pedagogical practices, and study abroad programming. Limitations of the dissertation are also presented. Lastly, I conclude the dissertation by summarizing major contributions the dissertation makes to the current literature and pointing to future avenues of research.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

Chapter 2 surveys current literature on language learning in study abroad. There exists a large body of research on the topic from diverse traditions with varied research foci. I do not intend to provide an exhaustive review, but to identify important gaps in extant literature, propose solutions to these problems, and eventually lay the groundwork for the current dissertation study. By integrating recent directions in L2 research, I argue for the inclusion of the following advancement in my dissertation: to take a more sophisticated approach to language, to adopt a qualitative or mixed-methods research methodology, to include multiple perspectives and interactional data, and to draw inspiration from Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory (SCT).

Quantitative inquiries into linguistic outcomes of study abroad

This section critically examines major studies that quantitatively enquired into linguistic outcomes of study abroad. Three important questions guided the review: how language was perceived and measured, what outcomes-oriented research captured and missed, and how living in homestays and dormitories were respectively portrayed. Answers to these questions uncovered some key issues in extant quantitative research: the perspective and measurement of language do not capture the nature of language learning specific to study abroad; and outcome-focused approach do not elucidate counter-intuitive results, for example, linguistic gains are not consistently proven, there is high individual variance, and factors such as “time-on-task” and housing options (e.g. homestay) often do not correlate with learning results.
Approaches to language

Language as proficiency

From the 1960s to present, many studies defined “language” in study abroad as “proficiency,” a holistic construct that presumably represents global linguistic ability that is independent of context and curriculum (Kinginger, 2009). Linguistic gain in this sense was operationalized as score increase on proficiency tests, most prevalingly the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) and its automatized variant, the Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview developed by American Council for Teaching for Foreign Languages (ACTFL). These studies have thus far yielded mixed results. In a seminal research project, Freed (1990) administered OPI to 40 American learners of French in a six-week-sojourn in France, and only found little change over time for students at all levels and statistical change exclusive to beginning level students. Reflecting on the OPI’s “global holistic score for various aspects of language use” (p. 475), she argued that the measurement “is not sufficiently refined to capture growth in oral skills” in short-term sojourns, and called for “more fine-tuned analysis” on “students’ lexical breadth, syntactic complexity, stylistic sensitivity, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence, and cohesion and coherence in language use”. Despite Freed's (1990) and others’ critiques (e.g. Lantolf & Frawley, 1985; Young & He, 1998), the OPI and its associated ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (ACTFL, 2012) remained a primary measurement for study abroad research. In recent studies adopting the OPI and its holistic scale, two patterns have emerged: gain in rating level was statistically supported as a whole group; however, the level gain often did not hold true for individual students. Most studies (Baker-Smemoe, Dewey, Bown, & Martinsen, 2014; Davidson, 2010; Di Silvio, Diao, & Donovan, 2016; DiSilvio, Donovan, & Malone, 2014; Hernández, 2010; Magnan & Back, 2007) found both gainers and non-gainers (those who maintained the same level across
time). Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, and Paige (2009), for example, even showed that some sojourners decreased in their OPI ratings over time, although study abroad participants presented more proficiency gains than at-home control groups.

The studies above have partly empirically confirmed the linguistic benefits of study abroad while challenging the appropriacy of proficiency tests, such as the OPI, in study abroad research. Using these tests offers a vantage point for research replication and cross-study comparison. It is, however, imperative to consider whether or not the holistic scales are sensitive to students’ actual linguistic progress abroad, and if the notions of language, as represented in these tests, are true reflections of what students encounter during sojourns abroad. The levels in ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines could be “too blunt an assessment instrument” (Kinginger, 2009, p. 46), especially for shorter sojourns, smaller cohorts, and participants of higher proficiency (Freed, 1998; Kinginger, 2009; Llanes, 2011). While linguistic progress is documented, although not consistently, by these proficiency tests and rating scales, it remains unclear that these measures best capture the essence of language acquired in study abroad. In this light, many quantitative researchers have attempted to develop more fine-grained measures such as fluency and pragmatic competence.

Language as fluency

Fluency development has been one of most investigated and documented linguistic domains in the study abroad literature. Barbara Freed and her colleagues first initiated this research topic while introducing a research design comparing linguistic outcomes of learning contexts: study abroad, at-home classroom, and summer immersion programs. Curious about the popular belief about fluency gain in study abroad, Freed (1995) attempted to concretize the elusive concept (Kinginger, 2009) that is “deeply embedded in lay linguistic perceptions”
and “a relatively loose cover term…that var[ies] from context to context, speaker to speaker and listener to listener” (Freed, 1995, p. 127). Thirty American students of French, of whom half studied abroad and half stayed at home for one-semester, participated by recording their responses in the OPI. Native speakers of French were involved to judge the level of fluency. Linguistic analyses included amount of speech, rate of speech, unfilled pauses, frequency of filled pauses, length of fluent speech runs, repairs, and clusters of dysfluencies. Surprisingly, Freed (1995) found no statistical difference in native speakers’ fluency evaluation between the study abroad and at-home classroom groups. Of the factors of fluency, study abroad students only statistically outperformed those at home in terms of speech rate. In a subsequent study, Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey (2004) included summer immersion as the third learning context, and applied these fluency criteria to 28 learners of French pre- and post-program. Surprisingly, the summer immersion group made the most gain in several fluency factors, the study abroad group made some gain, while the at-home group made no progress. Again, the study abroad advantage was not observed with respect to fluency. Most recent fluency studies (Di Silvio et al., 2016; Du, 2013; Huensch & Tracy-Ventura, 2017) focused exclusively on study abroad students’ development, and included more languages, more participants, longer span of research, for example, six data collection points in Huensch & Tracy-Ventura (2017), and more refinement on the measure of fluency. Resonating with previous findings, most gains and retention were still observed in speech rate.

In addition to its elusiveness, fluency, operationalized as linguistic factors in a monologic performance test, has raised some validity issues. Kinginger (2009), citing McCarthy (2006), recognized that fluency research in study abroad to the date of her publication, and even till now, involved “judging a speaker on monologic performance, or based on an oral examination where assessors hold back from interacting like normal human beings” (p. 5). Recent insights on native speaker interaction drawn by, for example, Conversational Analysis, have also informed us of the
dysfluent and repetitive nature of discourse in these performance tests (Kinginger, 2009). Fluency in monologic speech does not reflect the daily interactional mode characteristic of study abroad participation. As elicited by a monologic oral test and evaluated by factors that do not include interactive elements of speech, fluency in this sense presents certain validity issues as an appropriate linguistic construct in study abroad. In addition to issues related to fluency, the validity of the comparative design also deserves some consideration. The longitudinal comparative research design, mirroring traditional scientific experimental methodology (Kinginger, 2009), has been a dominant model in quantitative study abroad research. Rees and Klapper (2008), in their critical review of quantitative research of study abroad, identified a common design weakness, that is the lack of meaningful and comparable control group, and hence called for careful matching of academic and affective profile of participants to best emulate scientific comparison of groups. The validity of comparative design is not indisputable: Coleman (2013), among others, raised his concern over whether it is even legitimate to consider that study abroad constitutes a homogeneous learning context for ready comparison.

**Language as pragmatic competence**

Another prolific line of quantitative research that lends itself to a better position to represent language learned in study abroad is that of pragmatic and sociolinguistic development. Characteristics of study abroad believed to facilitate progress in this linguistic domain, well summarized by Taguchi and Roever (forthcoming), were “recurrent opportunities to observe local norms of interaction; situated pragmatic practice and instant feedback (implicit or explicit) on the practice; real-life consequences of pragmatic behavior; and exposure to variation in styles and communicative situations”.
The extant literature is rich in studies on the production of various speech acts, but includes few studies on comprehension of implicatures (e.g. Taguchi, 2008) and sociolinguistic production (Regan, Howard, & Lemee, 2009), and even fewer investigations of perception on metalinguistic awareness of speech acts, routines, or sociolinguistic features (cf. Kinginger, 2008; Shardakova, 2005). The most frequently adopted elicitation tasks are written or oral Discourse Completion Tasks and role-plays. Native speakers are often involved to judge students’ appropriateness of performance. The current body of literature has painted a picture of much subtlety: while students’ comprehension of implicatures proliferated in study abroad (Taguchi & Roever, forthcoming), research in other areas—especially pragmatic and sociolinguistic production—mostly presented mixed results (Xiao, 2015). An important finding has been that L2 sojourners do not necessarily appropriate or orient towards native speaker norms. Kinginger (2009) attributed the varying degrees of resemblance between students’ and native speakers’ speech acts to “how much [students’] experience permits them to see things from the point of view of natives” (p. 85) or the opportunity to develop a similar perception of sociopragmatic knowledge; and “how much they choose to adopt these perspectives as their own”, echoed by van Compernolle and Williams’s (2012) notion of “sociolinguistic agency” (p. 235).

Here I present two studies that not only addressed students’ pragmatic and sociolinguistic production but also probed their perception of sociopragmatic concepts and metapragmatic awareness. Most importantly, the two studies (Kinginger, 2008; Shardakova, 2005) went beyond production of pragmatic forms and shed light on students’ concepts associated with pragmatics, which in turn explained their linguistic use. Shardakova (2005) investigated pragmatic competence of 131 American learners of Russian, focusing on the speech act of apology. In a 21-item Dialogue Completion Questionnaire, the researcher designed the communicative contexts of intimacy (communication with a friend), unfamiliarity (communication with a stranger), and unequal social status (communication with an authority figure). An important innovation was
inclusion of a sociopragmatic dimension, or comparison between how Russian native-speakers and American learners perceived the three situations in terms of severity of offense and obligation to apologize, as well as power and distance of the roles. Cross-cultural differences were found in all the concepts: native speakers assigned more severity of offense to power (i.e. with professor than with strangers or friends), whereas American learners rated situations involving strangers as the most severe, pointing to the factor of social distance; American learners saw relationships with friends as more distant than Russian native speakers by assigning a middle-distance to professors and friends. In terms of apology production, Russian native speakers used different strategies in the three communicative contexts, whereas American learners overgeneralized their apologies to friends into communication with strangers and professors. Shardakova's (2005) study also found that increase in proficiency and exposure to Russian culture, i.e. study abroad, contributed to students’ approximation with Russian apology norms, lending support to the positive effect of study abroad on pragmalinguistic development.

Kinginger (2008) investigated the learning outcome of 23 American sojourners in France, as part of a larger mixed-methods case study project. Inspired by Labov's (1984) sociolinguistic interview, the researcher designed an instrument, the Language Awareness Interview to delve into sojourners’ use as well as awareness of address form *tu* and *vous*, colloquial French, and the speech act of leave taking across the semester abroad (see also Kinginger & Farrell, 2004). Unlike studies reviewed so far, Kinginger's (2008) intention was to qualitatively explore sojourners’ knowledge in this domain; nevertheless, descriptive and referential statistics were also involved. Address form was explored in two ways: metapragmatic awareness was gleaned through students’ explanation of choices between *tu* and *vous* in eight situations; use of address form was elicited in role-plays in informal and formal scenarios. A significant shift towards correct address forms was found in the post-test. More awareness of colloquial French was also seen from comparing students’ pre- and post-recognition of and willingness to use some
colloquial words, as well as their understanding of some colloquial phrases’ meaning, appropriate speakers and contexts. Lastly, students matched formulae of leave taking with situations, which also indicated progress across time. Overall, the results suggested that the semester abroad had a positive effect on students’ pragmatic and sociolinguistic awareness and use.

So far, I have reviewed major constructions of language in the study abroad literature. From holistic proficiency rating in the OPI, fluency, to pragmatic production and metapragmatic awareness, the study abroad literature has gone a long way to refine its conceptualization of what language is and how language is measured. In this light, I propose a pragmatic dimension of language as the linguistic focus of the dissertation study, which is appropriate verbal expression of emotion. Ubiquitous in everyday interaction, verbal expression of emotion is also abundant in study abroad context and hence a proper linguistic focus.

**Linguistic and discursive approaches to emotion**

The dissertation draws inspiration from linguistic approaches to emotion. Fundamentally, emotion is construed as a linguistic enterprise (Pavlenko, 2013). In contrast to the theory that emotion and language are independent of each other (e.g. Ekman, 1992), language and culture are theorized to be integral to one’s emotional world (Pavlenko, 2014). In support of this relationship, a large number of studies have demonstrated the cross-cultural or cross-linguistic differences of emotion, ranging from linguistic anthropological studies that compared emotions across language and cultures (e.g. Lutz, 1988; Ochs, 1988), cognitive linguistics research that examined the semantics and metaphors of emotion expressions across cultures (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1999; Yu, 1995), psychological experimental studies that attested to the role of language in emotion perception (e.g. Barrett, Mesquita, & Gendron, 2011; Lindquist & Gendron, 2013), to autobiographical memoires of border crossers (e.g. Hoffman, 1989; Z. Ye, 2004). Three insights
are particularly relevant to the present study: All levels of language are indexical of emotion or affective stance; emotion expressions are metaphorically organized; and display of emotion needs to be understood in its discursive context.

Emotion is believed to penetrate language on all levels, such as phonology, morphosyntax, and discourse structures (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989; Wilce, 2009). Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) identified two pragmatic functions of linguistic affective markers: specifiers that point to a specific emotion or affective stance (e.g. emotion vocabulary), and intensifiers that modify degree of affect (e.g. adverb). Stance is a closely pertinent notion to linguistically constructed emotion, defined as “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (DuBois, 2007, p. 169). Importantly, Ochs (1993) prioritized affective and epistemic stance as the fundamental connection between language and construction of social identity in her theory of linguistic indexicality. In the dissertation study, I will use emotion, affect, emotional stance, and affective stance interchangeably to refer to the focal construct.

Among all linguistic means, the most explicit are emotion vocabulary and formulaic emotion expressions. Cognitive linguistics, in particular, has provided important insights into the cultural metaphors underlying these emotional idioms. Cognitive linguistics holds that language in essence reflects human cognition and bodily experience (Niedenthal & Maringer, 2009; Piquer-Piriz & Alejo, 2016). Emotion, among other abstract processes, is represented through the external and physical world (Tyler, 2012), with this connection captured through conceptual metaphors (Crawford, 2009). The embodied and metaphorical nature of Chinese and English emotion conventionalized expressions are richly documented. Among others, Yu (1995, 1998) compared metaphorical concepts and cultural underpinnings of “anger” and “happiness”. In the
case of Chinese, expressions of anger is based on the metaphor of FIRE and GAS, for example 发火 fahuo [lit: shoot fire] (lose temper) and 脾气 piqi [lit: spleen gas] (temper). In terms of happiness, both English and Chinese hold the metaphors of UP, LIGHT, and CONTAINER, for example 高兴 gaoxing [lit: high spirit] (happy) and 满心欢喜 manxin huanxi [lit: full heart joy] (full of joy). An important distinction the researcher pointed out was that Chinese uses more body parts, especially internal organs, in its emotional metaphors, which he attributed to beliefs rooted in Chinese traditional medicine.

Emotion is also discursively performed and constructed (Prior, 2016). Goodwin, Cekaite, and Goodwin (2012) perceived emotion display as “a situated practice entailed in a speaker’s performance of affective stance” (p. 16). Notably, a field that specifically examines emotion from a discursive perspective is discursive psychology, which addresses how people talk about emotions, how they use emotion categories, and how emotional discourse performs social actions. It is concerned with the “situated, occasioned, rhetorical uses of the rich common sense psychological lexicon or thesaurus: terms such as angry, jealous, know, believe, feel, want, and so on” (Edwards & Potter, 2005, p. 241), as well as the psychological implications of discourse without explicit emotion avowals. Edwards and Potter (2005) emphasized that the two foci cannot be understood independent of each other: “even the overt labeling of psychological states needs to be analyzed within the descriptive, narrative and turn-by-turn sequences where they occur, where inferences about intentions, thoughts, feelings, motives (and so on) are made available and countered in how events are told” (p. 244).

In this light, the focus of the dissertation not only included the most explicit linguistic means (i.e. emotion vocabulary) but also other linguistic indexicals (e.g. adverbs, structures, prosody) made available in contextualized practices in which study abroad students participated. Considering the multifacetedness of emotion in relation to language, it is important to note that
even learning an emotion word in a L2 is actually a complex activity including, but not limited to, the ability “to envisage (and perhaps to find oneself able to participate in) a complicated scene with actors, actions, interpersonal relationships in a particular state of repair, moral points of view, facial expressions, personal and social goals, and sequences of events” (Lutz, 1988, p. 10).

To date, there is a limited but growing number of L2 studies on emotion. Extant research has explored L2 speaker’s emotion identification, language choice and perception of emotionality, the acoustics, lexicon, and discourse of emotion, and metaphors of emotion expressions. Rintell (1984) was the first empirical study that examined emotion identification. Nineteen native and 127 non-native speakers of English listened to 11 audio-recorded conversations in which one of the interlocutors expressed his or her emotions (pleasure, depression, anxiety, guilt, and disgust) without direct labeling, and then identified which emotion it was and rated the intensity of the emotion. Results showed that non-linguistic factors of age and gender could not predict identification ability, but linguistic-related factors of English proficiency and first language could. Chinese native speakers scored the lowest, suggesting that Chinese language and culture may be more distant from American than Spanish or Arabic, in terms of the social and linguistic conventions of emotion expression. She also found that the positive emotional pleasure was the easiest to recognize, implying that negative emotions may be expressed in more implicit and complicated ways. Adopting an online survey, Lorette and Dewaele (2015) incorporated audiovisuals and elicited emotion recognition from 356 native speakers and 564 non-native speakers of English. The instrument features six recordings of a professional actress who acted out scenarios on the basic emotions of disgust, anger, happiness, fear, surprise and sadness. Contrary to Rintell (1984), there was no significant score difference between the two groups. Asian participants also scored lowest compared with other languages groups.
Approaching emotion from a bi/multilingual perspective, Dewaele and Pavlenko have conducted a series of studies addressing bi/multilingual’s language preference and emotional intensity in the languages they speak. As the first collaborative work, Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002) explored the use of emotion words by Dutch-French and Russian-English bilinguals, and found that language choice was influenced by proficiency, type of linguistic material, extraversion, and gender. They then examined the issue by collecting data from more than 1,500 multilinguals via an online Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). The researchers delved into multilinguals’ language choice and perception of emotional weight of swear and taboo words (Dewaele, 2004, 2016), the phrase ‘I love you’ (Dewaele, 2008), emotional inner speech and inner speech (Dewaele, 2015a), when expressing anger, swearing, addressing children, performing mental calculation and having inner speech (Dewaele, 2010, 2011), and when parents communicate with children (Pavlenko, 2004). Consistent findings were the first language (L1) carries more emotional intensity for multilinguals (including balanced bilinguals), speakers who learned the L2 in a naturalistic context tended to use the L2 more when for example swearing, and L2 speakers of higher proficiency tended to use the L2 more when expressing emotions.

Researchers have also addressed verbal performance of emotion on aspects of acoustics, lexicon, and discourse of narrative. In a study on the acoustics of Chinese emotion, Jian (2015) compared Mandarin native and non-native speakers’ performance of the sentence “我收到一封信，是老板寄来的” (I received a letter. It’s from the boss) with the emotions of joy, anger, sadness, fear and neutrality. Acoustic analysis showed that L2 speakers produced larger pitch variation and longer syllabic duration and tended to express fear with higher intensity than native speakers, and tones could mediate L2 speakers’ production of emotion in Chinese. Some researchers explored emotion in the context of narrative. Subsequent to comparison of emotion conceptualization of
English and Russian monolinguals (Pavlenko, 2002a), Pavlenko (2002b) examined 31 late Russian-English bilinguals’ discursive construction of emotions in narratives. The participants were shown a 3-minute film “The Letter” in an English or Russian version, and were asked to recall the story in English or Russian respectively. Both groups performed by the preferred pattern in each language, i.e. adjectives and states in English and verbs and activities in Russian. However, a closer analysis revealed L2 influence on the L1 with respect to lexical choice and conceptualization. The recall-in-English group invoked the western notion of ‘privacy’, and the recall-in-Russian group did not mention ‘privacy’ but also did not discuss the salient Russian script of ‘giving in to one’s feelings’ and ‘suffering things through’ but rather ‘to think things through’. The study suggested the socialization effect on adult L2 learners’ emotion repertoires and associated cultural scripts. Pavlenko and Driagina (2007), again using “The Letter,” elicited narratives from both monolingual English and Russian speakers, and advanced American learners of Russian. The preferred emotion lexical item patterns echoed with her previous studies (2002a, 2002b). Advanced American learners of Russian had shifted from the English to Russian pattern of emotion lexical items. Nevertheless, the data revealed learners’ difference from monolingual Russians: morphosyntactic transfer from L1, semantic transfer from L1, greater use of adverbial constructions, absence of language-specific verbs frequently used by native Russian speakers, violations of appropriateness of sociolinguistic register, and a significantly lower proportion of emotion word tokens. Pavlenko (2014b) summarizes what multilingual speakers need to restructure and rearrange in order to accomplish emotional intersubjectivity: lexicon, cognitive appraisal, emotion displays, morphosyntax, discourse (i.e. new affective repertoires and patterns of emotional expression), speech acts, narrative constructions (i.e. adjust the focus on emotion as a means of evaluation and elaboration) and physical level. Ho (2009) is the first research in applied linguistics that addressed written expression of emotion. Focusing on ‘anger’, 33 bilingual university students in Hong Kong wrote two personal narratives on anger in English and
Chinese, and they also provided written comments on their linguistic preference and emotional intensity of the two languages. L2 proficiency was also found to be the determining factor in how expressive one can be.

While Pavlenko and Ho addressed the direct labeling of emotion in narratives, some other researchers perceived emotions as primarily expressed without explicit naming, or the indexical function of language. Rintell (1989) qualitatively compared emotional narratives by L2 learners and native speakers of English. She qualitatively analyzed the narratives produced with reference to Labov’s (1972) narrative analysis framework. Rintell (1990) further found that L2 speakers’ stories were far less elaborate, lack direct and explicit statements of emotional response, and did not use figurative language, reported speech, epithets and depersonalization as in L1 speakers. Koven (2001, 2006) explored the discursive devices two French-Portuguese bilinguals’ use when narrating in the two languages, and their own comments on their affective styles in the two languages. She found that one of the participants sounded “angrier, more forceful and more aggressive in French” (Koven, 2006, p. 107) but less so in Portuguese, thereby constructing different selves in the two languages.

Most recently, Prior’s (2016) book-length study and Kasper and Prior's (2016) edited volume on L2 emotion in interaction represent the latest developments. Prior (2016) critically examined how emotionality was discursively co-constructed in his autobiographical interviews with seven refugee immigrants in North America. Methodologically, he developed a discursive constructionist approach that primarily integrated conversation analysis, discursive psychology, ethnographic methods, and narrative analysis. Prior (2016) importantly advanced our understanding of the reflexivity issue in qualitative interview research by shedding light on how emotionality was discursively carried out and managed by both the interviewees and the interviewer, making the interview process more transparent. Kasper and Prior's (2016) edited volume included contributions on L2 emotion in the contexts of everyday storytelling,
conversation participation, research interviews, healthcare settings, television shows, comedy performances, and computer-mediated interaction. The two recent books have advanced the current literature especially from the perspective of conversation analysis and other approaches of close discourse analysis.

A limited number of empirical studies have investigated L2 speakers’ learning and use of emotion metaphors. Hays and McCagg (1999, cited in Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) explored L1 Japanese’ speakers’ learning of L2 English idioms based on emotional and health-related metaphors (e.g. ‘My heart sank’). A pre- and post-test were conducted on students’ knowledge and use of the expressions. The control group was involved in discussion but did not make overt connections between embodiment and emotion metaphors, while the experimental group received an-hour long lecture on embodiment vis-à-vis emotion. The results showed that the two groups made progress across time, but only in terms of recognition and not production of the idiom. The experimental group performed slightly better than the control group. This research is one of the few longitudinal interventional studies that directly addressed teaching and learning of emotion metaphors. Several recent studies examined L2 speakers’ perception or use of emotion metaphors on a cross-sectional scale (Adams, 2017; Çakır, 2016; Chen, 2017). Chen (2017), for example, examined 70 Taiwanese EFL learners’ performance in a translation task that entailed emotion metaphors, and found that they tended to perform better on translating sentences whose conceptual metaphors exist in both languages than those whose conceptual metaphors are exclusive to English. This brief survey of L2 research emotion metaphor found that there is a need for more research on learners’ development of emotion metaphors across time.

I have discussed the development of how language is construed in study abroad literature and have also discussed the linguistic focus of the dissertation. The next section turns back to reviewing quantitative studies by highlighting one prominent feature of the extant literature, that
is the exploration of predictors of linguistic outcome, most notably time-on-task and accommodation.

**Predictors of linguistic outcome**

*Time-on-task*

The majority of the studies reviewed above also explored the relationship between linguistic outcomes and predicting factors. The most notable factor has been “time-on-task”, or average hours of target language use for a variety of activities with different interlocutors. It is usually elicited by students’ self-reports through the well-known Language Contact Profile (LCP) (Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, & Halter, 2004) and its variations.

Freed (1990) first construed time-on-task as out-of-class contact that was interactive (e.g. speaking with people) or non-interactive (e.g. watching TV). Her attempt to correlate proficiency gain in the OPI rating and out-of-class contact was, however, not successful: there was no effect of out-of-class contact on OPI scores for all levels, and types of out-of-class contact also did not have an effect on OPI scores. Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey (2004) refined the LCP into including instructional time, time speaking with native speakers of French, and reading and writing in French. Comparison of language contact hours across the contexts of study abroad, summer immersion, and at-home classroom yielded surprising results: the immersion group reported significantly more hours of contact with French than study abroad or at-home groups; the study abroad group, disappointingly, spent more time in English than in French in out-of-class contact. Since the summer immersion group made the most progress in fluency, the quantitative time-on-task was believed to strongly correlate with linguistic outcome. An important implication drawn from their findings was that it was not the context that determined how much learning, but
rather “the nature of the interactions, the quality of the experiences, and the efforts made to use the L2 that render one context superior to another with respect to language gain” (p. 298).

In more recent studies, the predicting power of time-on-task remains an issue of debate. While some studies found significant effect of time-on-task on linguistic gains (Du, 2013; Hernández, 2010; Martinsen, Baker, Dewey, Bown, & Johnson, 2010), others found it more potent on some linguistic aspects than others. For example, Taguchi’s (2008) study showed that the amount of speaking and reading outside class significantly related with gains in comprehension of speech but not with accuracy of comprehension. Some other recent studies tended to examine predicting power of combined variables. Dewey, Bown, and Eggett (2012), for example, in examining 204 American sojourners of Japanese, found that pre-departure proficiency level, dispersion of social networks, time spent in Japan, total time spent speaking Japanese, time spent speaking with native speaking friends, and time spent speaking English with native speakers of Japanese predicted 44.6% of variance in speaking proficiency gains. Similarly, Taguchi and her colleagues found that 37.7% of variance in linguistic gain was explained by language contact and intercultural competence (Taguchi, Xiao, & Li, 2016a) and 26% was explained by language contact and cross-cultural adaptability (Taguchi, Xiao, & Li, 2016b).

Given the limited explanatory power of time-on-task, some quantitative researchers have sought other variables like social networks, which addresses the quantity of one’s social circles and that quantifies the quality of one’s social relationships. Dewey and his colleagues conducted a series of studies (e.g. Dewey, Belnap, & Hillstrom, 2013; Dewey, Belnap, & Hillstrom, 2014; Dewey et al., 2012) that investigated American sojourners’ social network development in multiple destinations (i.e. Japan, Jordan, and Egypt). The Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire designed in these studies more holistically examined students’ social contact and their relationships with their interlocutors, encompassing size, dispersion, durability, intensity, and density. These studies also underscored the necessity to pursue investigation of “the nature of
these relationships, how they are developed, and how they influence language acquisition and use” (p. 100). Following time spent together, intensity was the second most important predictor of language gains, overriding the effect of social network size (see also Dewey et al., 2013). In summary, these studies revealed some explanatory potential of social network-related factors.

**Living arrangements**

Another factor expected to predict linguistic development is living arrangements. Study abroad students are most likely placed in institutional dormitories with either native or non-native speaking roommates, a host family, or independent housing (Kinginger, 2009). Most quantitative studies that looked into housing types were motivated by the presumed “homestay advantage” (Kinginger, 2009). However, thus far, the effect of accommodation has been notoriously difficult to prove quantitatively even in large-scale and statistically robust studies (Kinginger, Wu, Lee, & Tan, 2016).

Some studies found homestay to be a negative predictor of linguistic gains. Rivers (1998) examined 2,500 American study abroad participants in Russia. One of the research questions was to compare linguistic gains made by dormitory dwellers with non-native speaking roommates and those who lived with local host families. Surprisingly, homestays turned out to negatively predict gain in interactive skills of speaking and listening, and only positively predict reading gains. Puzzled by the results, Rivers (1998) referenced Frank (1997) and asserted that “the quality of interaction with the native Russian hosts was often restricted to quotidian dialogue and television-watching, that participants spent a substantial percentage of their time alone engaged in homework, and that participants and hosts both frequently expressed frustration at the inability of the participants to communicate in Russian” (Rivers, 1998, p. 496). Some other studies designed to measure time-on-task also reported that time spent with host families negatively correlated
with gains in length of the longest turn (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004) and use of gap filling strategies (Lafford, 2004).

Other research found that living arrangements had no effect on language gains. In Magnan and Back (2007), some students attributed their linguistic improvement to their French host families and time spent conversing with them in post-questionnaires. However, when comparing OPI level gains between students who lived with native speakers in the dormitory or homestay with students who lived with non-native speakers of French, no statistical distinction between the two groups was found. Similarly, in Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, and Paige (2009), a large scale study that involved 1,159 study abroad participants and 138 at-home controls, also reported no correlation between types of housing and SOPI level gains. They argued that what mattered was not living or not living with a host family, but rather whether students took advantage of the opportunity to engage with local families.

Two studies that examined student-host relationship found contrasting results. Martinsen (2010) showed no correlation between students’ evaluation of their relationship with the hosts and oral skill gain. However, DiSilvio, Donovan, and Malone (2014), examining sojourners and their host families’ perspectives in relation to students’ SOPI level gains, revealing that only statistical significance existed between language gain and students being glad to have lived with a host family. The researchers thus argued: “even if there is not an inherent homestay advantage, there is an advantage to be found in a happy homestay” (p. 180), pointing to the potential that a convivial relationship can have to enhance students’ linguistic gains.

The studies that characterized time-on-task and housing type as predictors of language gain have yielded mixed results, similar to the conclusion drawn from reviewing studies of linguistic outcome early in the chapter. A common finding emerged from these quantitative studies is high individual variance among sojourners: for example, some students enjoyed measurable linguistic gains while others did not, and some perceived their homestay experience
beneficial while others did not. Consequently, more qualitative studies came to the fore. In the next section, I examine qualitative endeavors to capture the process of language learning in study abroad.

Qualitative scrutiny of processes of language learning in study abroad

This section critically reviews major studies that qualitatively examined the process of language learning in study abroad. Three approaches to research are discussed: narrative inquiry of sojourners’ perspectives, studies that involved homestay or dormitory interaction, and research inspired by SCT. In the ensuing review, I identify issues in the extant literature and at the same time propose solutions by incorporating recent research trends in study abroad and SLA. In narrative research to date, students’ interpretation is overrepresented and other stakeholders’ (e.g. host family) voices are mostly neglected. To remedy this issue, recent studies included perspectives of other major stakeholders, such as host families and local roommates. Another line of study abroad research assuming the theoretical framework of language socialization has expanded the scope to naturally occurring interaction, thereby providing another means of triangulation in the effort to reconstruct study abroad experience. Further in line with the latest advancement in SLA, several recent study abroad projects have drawn inspiration from SCT.

Narrative inquiry of study abroad experience

Narrative accounts, as generated from journal entries, diaries and interviews, have constituted a large body of research in the current study abroad literature, in parallel with the narrative turn observed in broader humanities and social sciences (Barkhuizen, Benson, & Chik, 2014; Pavlenko, 2007). In study abroad research, narratives have provided “an insider’s
perspective on the qualities of the experience” (Kinginger, 2009, p. 115), although they are “partial representations and evocations of the world” (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 21) rather than “objective, omniscient accounts”. In what follows, I review study abroad research that appealed to participants’ narratives as interpretation of their own experience abroad.

A prime theme in this line of research has also been individual variation, especially in the homestay setting. In an ethnographic study, Wilkinson, (1998a) contrasted the experience of Molise and Ashley, two female American students who stayed with French host families, among a cohort of Americans on a summer sojourn program in France. Both border crossers, Molise was of Cambodian heritage, and Ashley had extensive international travel experience. In France, Molise considered herself to be treated “like a real member of the family” (p. 127) when she was invited to everyday activities of the family, such as playing games with her host sister and attending to her host parents’ garden. Ashley, however, was extremely frustrated when she was left alone at the train station the first day and when her host mother expressed indifference to Ashley’s request for permission to spend the night with friends. The homestays have thus presented distinct language access: For Molise, it was her host family that best offered her opportunities to use French with ample interaction and appropriate corrective feedback; For Ashley, the study abroad experience was not at all immersive with rare opportunities to converse with the host family. This experience has profoundly influenced their ontological pathways: at the end of the study Molise switched to French major, while Ashley was considering dropping her French minor.

Individual variability was also highlighted in two narrative studies of sojourners’ identity construction. In Pellegrino Aveni's (2005) case studies of American sojourners in Russia, some host families were gentle, positive and supportive, giving learners the sense of security that they required to purse L2 communicative goals, while others, at least in the sojourners’ interpretation, displayed behaviors that were alienating or even threatening in some extreme cases. In the same
vein, Jackson's (2008) case studies of four Hong Kong female students in the UK also presented a diverse picture with Elsa and Niki enjoying their homestays more than Ada or Cori. For example, early in her homestay, Elsa established that her host mother, a single mother with an adult-aged son, was genuinely interested in her as a person and her culture, and was empathetic toward her concerns. In her fifth week diary, Elsa described her relationship with her hosts as “superb” (p. 164) and her feeling like “one of the family members in the house”. This close relationship has allowed her to reduce anxiety speaking a second language, feeling comfortable and natural conversing and initiating topics. In contrast, neither Ada nor Cori enjoyed a reciprocally friendly relationship with their host families, or many opportunities to interact with them. Cori, for instance, considered herself a “passer-by” (p. 125) in the home. The host family showed little interest in her even though she had manifested great interest in British culture. Interestingly, all four focal cases in Jackson (2008) except Niki, at some point of their sojourn, interpreted their negative experience abroad through the lens of their racial identities as Chinese.

Indeed, the issue of race has been an important theme in the study abroad literature. Duff, Anderson, Ilnyckyj, VnGaya, Wang and Yates (2013) explored the narratives of their own Chinese learning histories, and sojourns or work in Mainland China and Taiwan. Similar to Japanese’s ideology of gaijin (foreigner) and nihonjinron (the discourse of Japanese) (Cook, 2006; Iino, 2006), the issue of race or ethnicity has been a highly pertinent issue given the salient appearance traits of Caucasians in Chinese-speaking regions. Being positioned as laowai (foreigner) was a major impediment for the sojourners’ endeavor to develop more meaningful relationships with native speakers. Whiteness, in particular, granted the participants special privileges, while at the same time marginalizing them. Echoing Conceision's (2004) argument that such privileged marginalization was “as likely to be in the form of being pushed to the front of the line as to the back [emphasis in original]” (p. 5), one of the authors and participants Roma
recorded her distress that she may be “forever laowai [emphasis in original]” (Duff et al., 2013, p. 129).

Furthermore, Talburt and Stewart (1999) and Anya (2017) explored specifically how African American students encountered race abroad. On a five-week program in Spain, Misheila, the only African American participant in Talburt and Stewart (1999), first anticipated no racist behaviors, but soon discovered with dismay that racism was “just something that you have to live with your whole life” (p. 169). Walking on the street, she felt singled out with Spanish men’s constant *piropos* (explicit sexual comments). In a class discussion, Misheila noted: “My experience is very negative…I notice that the African woman is a symbol of sexuality” (p. 169). Nelda, the instructor of the class, attempted to reframe her experience through gender, but was unsuccessfully received by Misheila. The African American student’s encounter with race, at least in her interpretation, negatively mediated her perception of Spanish people and learning of Spanish language. Most recently, Anya’s (2017) notable ethnographic research focused on four African American students who learned Portuguese in Brazil. Finding themselves in a predominantly black area of the country, the students renegotiated their categorization of being black, which opened up opportunities for them to learn Portuguese and develop awareness and sense of self. For example, Rose, a female student who was initially insecure about her L2 proficiency and was reticent in the classroom, actively participated in the local communities and found a sense of comfort and positive identification through interacting with Brazilians. In the last interview, she disclosed that race was “a genetic shield” that protected her from discomfort and harm (p. 180), making her feel being part of the city and “connections to Afro-Brazilian things” (p. 180).

The above qualitative case studies have convincingly showed the complexity of the study abroad context and the plethora of factors (e.g. dispositions of host family, race, gender) that come into play in sojourners’ linguistic progress, interpersonal relationship, and quality of
experience. Nevertheless, these studies presented two limitations. First, only students’ self-reports rendered the studies vulnerable to partial portrayal of reality. Students’ perspectives tended to be overrepresented while other stakeholders’ (e.g. host families) voices were largely dismissed. This is why Kinginger (2009, 2010) and Tan and Kinginger (2013) advocated for looking beyond the learners’ perspectives and involving host families, roommates, program directors, and other parties’ interpretations to more holistically reconstruct and represent the study abroad experience. Secondly, although these studies referenced the qualities of informal interaction, what these conversations actually looked like was still a mystery which generated another notable line of research on study abroad.

**Informal interaction in study abroad**

Kinginger (2009), in her comprehensive review of study abroad research, identified “qualities [emphasis in original] of informal contact” (p. 145) between sojourners and expert speakers as a key avenue for study abroad research. It was against this backdrop that study abroad researchers started to incorporate recorded interactions into their research agenda. Existing research has approached qualities of informal interaction through discourse patterns, language socialization of local practices, and linguistic indices of speech style, formality and gender.

Researchers examining discourse patterns within homestays found influence from prior socialization in classrooms pervasive (Pryde, 2014; Wilkinson, 1998b, 2002). Wilkinson (2002), in her study of American students homestay interactions in France, found that interactional patterns in these supposedly informal settings remarkably resembled the IRE structure (initiation, response, evaluation) typical in classroom discourse. Both French native speakers and American students oriented to pedagogical roles in their everyday interaction: Repair or corrections on form and meaning were explicit in the recorded interactions between Heather, Paige and their
host families; Amelia’s host father, in particular, has made it a mission to teach her the pronunciation of French /r/. Another significant finding of Wilkinson’s (2002) study was students’ reliance on the native speakers for topic initiation.

Study abroad researchers have also focused on various semiotic practices to explore language socialization process abroad. DuFon (2006) examined the socialization of taste during mealtime conversations at Indonesian homestays, which introduced students to local beliefs and values of food through the themes of orientation to food, food as pleasure, food as a social identity marker, food as gifts, food as a material good, and food and health. Cook (2006) revealed the socialization power of everyday storytelling between American students and Japanese hosts, who challenged and co-constructed folk beliefs and negotiated understanding of each other’s culture. By “folk beliefs”, Cook (2006) referred to assertions and generalizations concerning food, social customs, and language. Close discourse analysis revealed that it was normally the host families who initiated folk opinions, and it was the learners of Japanese who raised different voices and challenged the assertions through interactional struggles such as offering counterexamples or providing a different perspective from another culture. Iino (2006) examined the roles hosts and sojourners played in Japanese host families and the norms of interaction Japanese hosts took towards students. He identified two approaches on a continuum between cultural deficiency when the students were considered merely as care-receivers, *gaijin* (foreigner), or “family pets”, to two way enrichment when there were reciprocal flows of linguistic and cultural knowledge and students and hosts enjoyed equal status. Lee and Kinginger (2016) investigated a common practice in study abroad homestay – authentication, in particular moments when students’ linguistic and cultural performances are appraised by their hosts as “authentic” Chinese, reflecting ideologies associated with specific semiotic resources while also ascribing identities of insiders and outsiders.
Mixed results were found concerning sojourners’ access to and development of linguistic repertoires rich in social meanings, such as speech style, formality and gender. Cook (2008) attested to the key role homestay interaction played in the sojourner’s development of the plain and polite speech style in Japanese through implicit and explicit socialization. She directly connected use of masu form, an honorific that indexes social distance and respect, in their daily conversations to their self-reported identities and relations during homestay. During dinnertime conversations in the host families, the plain form was predominant, indicating participants’ intention to co-construct the uchi (in-group/insider) context. The picture was obscured when she examined hosts’ and students’ marked use of masu, which is normally only observed in formal situations such as interviews, indexing a soto (out-group/outsider) context. Two variables were hypothesized to explain the existence of marked masu: low sociopragmatic competence of learners, and perceived distant relations in the temporary family. Cook’s (2008) study lent support to the socializing effects of homestay and the significance of interactions with native speakers of indexical meanings of linguistic forms. As the unmarked masu form was not in the scope of Japanese textbooks or classrooms, the author argued that the fact that learners, especially advanced learners, were able to master some forms of masu use in family discourse indicated that its social or indexical meanings could be learned through participation in language-mediated activities.

Unlike the Japanese homestays described in Cook (2008), L. Brown (2013) found that only one honorific speech style (namely the half speech that is used between intimate age-rank equals or subordinates and children) was available for his participants, four advanced male learners of Korean sojourning abroad in Korea. Although all four participants possessed strong understanding of the pragmatics of the two speech styles, cantaymal (respect-speech) style was rarely used by most of the participants and their Korean interlocutors, even if they were merely acquaintances. L. Brown (2013) found that their foreigner identity was the key mediator. In the
case of the three non-heritage learners, native Korean acquaintances usually excluded them from
the hierarchical linguistic and social system and opted for the *panmal* (half-speech) from the
beginning. The heritage learner was also not treated as a native Korean and was sometimes
excused from *contaymal* (respect-speech). Female interlocutors in particular, as noticed by the
researcher, intentionally dropped *contaymal* (respect-speech) form to indicate a higher degree of
intimacy with the participants, or even a romantic one. In this study, linguistic resources that
index social distance and intimacy among Korean native speakers were often unavailable to
student sojourners.

Fernandez (2016) also found sojourners’ exposure to Spanish informal language rather
limited in their conversations with age-peer language partners. In one case, Analia, a local
Spanish teacher, relied heavily on formal features when meeting with Kaelyn the American
student, who also chose not to speak informal Spanish in order to sound “neutral” and prepare
herself to be a Spanish teacher.

Also investigating a linguistic feature common in everyday conversation but not
emphasized in classrooms, Diao (2016) highlighted Mandarin sentence-final particles that index
affect, gender and youth in peer interaction in a residence hall. The sojourner Ellen and her
Chinese roommate Helen used the particles to mark a “cute style” in their reported speech of
other girls at the dorm. Li, a male student from North China, frequently enjoined Tuzi, an
American who lived in Southern China for six months, not to use particles because they made
Tuzi sound “gay” or “like a girl”. Mac and Fang mostly communicated in English as the latter
thought that one should not expect too much from a “study abroad student” and therefore no such
socialization occurred. The study illustrates how peer interaction affords participation in gendered
linguistic practices and socialization into or out of the locally relevant linguistic repertoire.

Interactional data and discourse analysis have greatly enhanced our understanding of the
nature of informal interaction abroad. Among all learning contexts, study abroad has the unique
potential to facilitate language development outside the constraints of classroom discourse, and to present the complexity of authentic social interaction, including opportunities for classroom learners to face pragmatic consequences (Kinginger, 2009). The above qualitative studies have showed that study abroad does not promise effortless access to local practices, full participation in meaningful communication, or acquisition of local linguistic repertoires. The studies reviewed in this section were mostly framed within language socialization. Next I review study abroad studies inspired by SCT, another important advancement in SLA.

**Vygotskian sociocultural theory-inspired studies**

Only a limited number of language learning projects of study abroad adopt the theoretical framework of SCT. In this section, I review major studies that have shaped the contours of the current study abroad literature within the SCT theoretical lens. Despite the small number of existing studies, they have shed important light on language and concept development in light of larger sociocultural processes, and in contextualized interaction in relation to one’s ontological development.

Kinginger (2008), a mixed-methods investigation, not only implemented and analyzed the Language Awareness Interview, as discussed in the quantitative section of the chapter, but also involved case studies of six American students by exploring their narrative accounts in interviews and journals. Assuming the framework of SCT, semiotic resources, in particular language, are conceived to mediate higher mental functioning, such as thinking and remembering. Wertsch (2002) further approached the semiotic resource of narratives as “cultural tools” (p. 71) that “play a central role in human consciousness, in general, and in collective memory, in particular”. The notion of collective memories, ideologies of historical events that societies construe and distribute, was particularly relevant to the interpretation of the focal participants’
experience in France, as their sojourn happened during US-France political conflicts over the invasion of Iraq. Political tension was a theme in every student’s account of study abroad. In facing French opposition, the students were frustrated by their struggles to formulate a political viewpoint and also to articulate it in L2 French. Their national identities as Americans were deeply challenged and hence heightened, which turned out to mediate their interaction and relationship with local people, including their host families. Another ideology that potentially played a role was that related to international education, or the dominant or alternative approaches to study abroad (Gore, 2005). The former discourse conceived study abroad as a leisure and cultural experience, whereas the latter perceived it as a learning opportunity.

In line with previous narrative inquiry of study abroad, Kinginger (2008) also presented cases of diverse individual trajectories given their dispositions and narrative templates they relied on to interpret life events. Beatrice, for example, was a motivated and invested learner and stayed with a host family who was willing to assist her in her language learning. She had developed good rapport with the host sister and spent considerable time interacting with the host family, until a critical incident that resulted in her alienation from them. A classmate of Beatrice politely asked a French professor for leave to visit Normandy with family, and all she received was harsh reprimand. When Beatrice retold this story to her host family, to her shock and dismay, they said it was a little rude for the classmate to ask that. In her journal, she wrote: “Something absolutely unbelievable happened today that as managed to alienate me from every single French person I know” (p. 71). As the researcher analyzed, Beatrice was offended by the hosts’ lack of respect for her ancestors and their contribution to France; however, she never entertained another interpretation, which was solely based on the rules associated with instructional setting and the inappropriateness of asking for leave. Beatrice’s defensive attitude in debates with the host family related to US-France relations and her positions in the “Normandy incident” suggested that she only interpreted such events in light of her collective memory and her national identity as a young
American, without ever attempting to achieve intersubjectivity with the hosts. Her disposition eventually impeded her from socializing with the host family, who were her primary social contact in France. Bill, one of the three participants who assumed an alternative discourse to study abroad (Gore, 2005) and who displayed the most linguistic progress, aspired to “[have] another perspective” (Kinginger, 2008, p. 87) that was contrastive to his American viewpoint.

A seminal study abroad research that drew inspiration from SCT, Kinginger (2008) well illustrated how semiotic resources, such as narrative templates in collective remembering and ideologies and discourses associated with study abroad, formulated through repeated use in history mediated the students’ perspectives, experience, and eventually language learning abroad. As a mixed-methods study, the research also fulfilled the endeavor to reconstruct “detailed life stories of learners hand-in-hand with an interest in linguistic development overtime” (Block, 2003, p. 138).

Several study abroad researchers also drew on narrative accounts, but interpreted them through activity theory rooted in SCT. In her case studies of American sojourners in a six-week program in France, Allen (2010, 2013) respectively explored their evolution of language learning-related motivation, and development of motivational self-regulatory strategies, a notion articulated by Dörnyei (2001). An activity-theoretic perspective to motivation was construed as inherently unstable rather than a personal trait, constrained by the historical material circumstances of the learning contexts and activities (Lantolf & Genung, 2002). Allen's (2010, 2013) studies manifested how the students adjusted their goals to resolve goal conflicts and to juggle demands and aspirations in the language classroom, homestay, and American peers.

Notably, two recent publications (L. Brown, 2016; Shively, 2016) incorporated what is characterized as the third generation of activity theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) by accounting for interconnectedness of the major activity systems (Engeström, 2001). Shively (2016) focused on a single case with the pseudonym of Jared who studied in Spain for 11 weeks. In addition to
narratives in the student’s journals and interviews, Shively also collected questionnaire responses, field notes, host family’s interview, and most importantly four recordings in the homestay and four recordings with his peer-aged friend Luis, two major activity systems within which Jared participated. In the homestay, Jared initially oriented to grammatical precision, but later shifted his focus to meaning making, flow of the conversation, and rapport building by, for example, disclosure of feeling, joke telling, and complimenting host mother’s cooking. A turn of events occurred when Jared’s family visited and host mother complimented his sister’s Spanish. Tension arose between Jared and host mother when the latter continued comparing his and his sister’s Spanish proficiency. Jared has thus re-focused his Spanish to grammatical accuracy in order to demonstrate his superior command of the language over that of his sister. His interaction with age peer Luis constituted another activity system he was part of when abroad. Because of their shared age and gender, they demonstrated common ground and intersubjectivity with each other. Although they started off as conversation partners, they later centered on common interests, teasing and joking. Interestingly, Jared was able to distinguish the Spanish he spoke to Luis, which was informal and sometimes vulgar, from that to his host mother, which was more formal and proper. Interaction with Luis brought Jared back to his comfort zone of trash talking with his Mexican co-workers back in the United States in a restaurant, or another activity system that was not immediate location-wise but had had a profound influence on Jared’s trajectory. Speaking Spanish with Luis in this sense was enjoyable and a means for Jared to express himself. Highlighted in the study were the changes in Jared’s orientation to L2 learning in social interaction, mediated by his relationship with the expert speakers. The study also argued for the theoretical value of activity theory to make connection between “micro-level interactions and macro-level social structures” (p. 51). In the other study, L. Brown (2016) also examined a single case Julie, a 50-year-old, lesbian, feminist, and non-traditional learner of Korean from the U.S. The study highlighted the learner’s agency, a central notion in SCT and activity theory (Lantolf &
Similar to Shively (2016), L. Brown (2016) also modeled three activity systems Julie was in after Engeström's (2001) diagram, respectively the language classroom, the dormitory, and the wider practice of her being a study abroad student. Furthermore, to follow the temporal dimension and emergence of contradiction or tension in the activity system, the researcher also incorporated the developmental stages of need state, double bind, motive formation, and transformation (Engeström, 1987). The author identified major contradictions that Julie faced: her reliance on her roommate and other acquaintances to fulfill everyday activities, her struggle to define who she is in relation to younger students in the class and dormitory, a series of conflicts related to Julie’s sexuality, and her relationship with a 65-year-old male classmate. As she struggled to find a resolution to her difficulty with the male classmate, she finally made a break, redefined her sense of self, and established self-regulation with the way she presented her sexuality, which in turn reshaped her learning trajectory. The author therefore argued that Julie took agency in changing her adverse learning situation into a facilitative one, and negotiated her sexuality with local Koreans. Both Shively (2016) and L. Brown (2016) have presented activity theory as an insightful theoretical framework to analyze and interpret study abroad students’ experiences and identities in relation to their language learning trajectories across time. Importantly, Shively’s (2016) study not only presented the focal student’s narrative accounts as data, but also included recorded interaction and host family’s perspective, which greatly strengthened her arguments. In what follows, I review four study abroad research articles within SCT that incorporated students’ interpretation through interview, interactional data of homestay mealtime talk, and interviews with host families and other relevant parties.

Kinginger, Lee, Wu, and Tan (2016) explored how homestay dinnertime talk afforded language learning opportunities for three American high school sojourners in China. The study was inspired by first language research on the socializing power of dinnertalk (e.g. Ochs &
Shohet, 2006), DuFon's (2006) study of American students’ socialization of taste in Indonesia, and Diao, Freed, and Smith's (2011) survey study indicating that students tended to spend the most time interacting with host families and that the dinner table was often the site where learning took place. Adopting a microgenetic approach, the study specifically explored the linguistic, pragmalinguistic, culinary, conceptual, and ideological mediational means made available to the students and their hosts, and the extent to which the interactions were attuned to the potential abilities, or Zones of Proximal Development (ZPD) of all participants in learning how to eat in China, and the values associated with food and eating in China and the US. Themes emerged related to food and taste resembled those in DuFon (2006), such as orientation to food, food as (dis)pleasure, and food and health. By participating in these contextualized practices in talking about food, the students were introduced to new mediational means (e.g. linguistic and ideological) to conceptualize food and renegotiate what it means to eat appropriately. Meanwhile, the host families were also introduced to new viewpoints on how to perceive American foodways. Interactional data showed how the host family members crafted their language to the ZPDs of the students to facilitate their linguistic development. Drawing on data from the same project, Kinginger, Wu, Lee and Tan (2016) subsequently examined how students and hosts described the homestay experience, what practices they were referencing as facilitative to language learning, and what kind of variation were documented in the research. In addition to microgenetic approach to interactional data, the study also investigated participants’ ontogenetic development, or how the homestay has impacted their lives in a longer run. David and Sam’s cases contrasted with that of Henry. David, although of modest initial proficiency, cultivated a family-like realtionship with his hosts, as demonstrated in his successful participation in teasing, a practice that the host family members often engaged in. In a similar vein, Sam, a student of advanced proficiency, was considered a family member. He took agentive moves in shifting back to Chinese whenever the hosts used English, thereby creating a learning environment appropriate for him. He also
challenged hosts’ folk beliefs (Cook, 2006) on American food. Henry, on the other hand, was not able to fully embrace the homestay experience despite the family’s efforts, and this resulted in limited proficiency gain at the end of the sojourn. The level of variation of individual student’s experience could depend on the dispositions of the host families and students and the compatibility between the two parties.

Last but not least, Lee (2017) and Lee, Wu, Di, and Kinginger (2017) are the two most recent studies in this strand. Lee (2017) traced a student John for over two years in his two occasions of study abroad homestay. Through mealtime interaction, the student gradually developed awareness of how to use Chinese compliments for various purposes, including expressing appreciation for food, maintaining hosts’ positive face, developing cordial relationships, and defusing potential conflicts between the host parents. John’s development was evidenced by his initial struggle to use the speech act grammatically to his later apt manipulation of it to regulate his own and others’ behaviors in situations of conflict. Importantly, the study was able to longitudinally document the student’s non-linear trajectory of internalizing the speech act of compliment. By showing John’s evolution in the use of compliment of simple grammatical composition to participate appropriately as a house guest and appreciate the nuance of interpersonal relationship, the author convincingly argued against the assertion that homestay interaction was “often restricted to quotidian dialogue” (Rivers, 1998, p. 496). Lee et al. (2017), compared the case of John and Kevin, in their trajectories to learn to eat politely at Chinese homestay dinner table. The study did not conceptualize the challenges and conflicts the students faced as troublesome, but rather opportunities for learning if host families and students were so disposed. For example, Kevin, who stayed with a Shanghainese family, appropriated the host mother’s speech style and negative emotionality associated with food wasting through host mother’s repeated directive and accusation, which were “simultaneously threatening and mediating” (p. 153). Not recoiling from the host family, Kevin transformed the face-threatening
acts of the host mother into his own communicative repertoire and conceptualization of polite eating. His resolution of the tensions or problems was an indicator of development (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

Thus far, I have reviewed major studies that constituted the landscape of qualitative inquiries of language learning in study abroad, including narrative studies of sojourners’ self-reports, interactional study in the framework of language socialization, and lastly research inspired by SCT. One of the limitations identified in the majority of extant research was that student self-report tended to generate ethnocentric perspectives (Kinginger, 2009). Therefore, a more balanced picture that includes all relevant parties’ perspectives can greatly facilitate our understanding of the quality of study abroad (Kinginger, 2009; Kinginger, Wu, et al., 2016). Despite the rich insights narrative studies provided, what actual interaction looked like remained largely unknown. In this light, studies that involved interactional data are also of value. Lastly, SCT-inspired research is at a vantage point to investigate language learning in a context as complex as study abroad and in a longitudinal manner. In the next chapter, I present the methodologies adopted in the dissertation study, with emphasis on the mixed-methods research and the theoretical framework of SCT.
Chapter 3

Methodology

To answer the research questions laid out in Chapter 1, this dissertation adopts a mixed-methods approach of assessment and case study. This section first explicates the rationale of the design and theoretical framework, introduces the setting and participants, enumerates the procedures of data collection, and lastly, reflects on my role as the researcher in the field.

Research rationale

Mixed-methods research with a case study component has been a recent methodological trend in study abroad literature (see e.g. Diao, 2013; Fernandez, 2013; Kinginger, 2008). In examining a context as complex and variable as study abroad, quantitative or qualitative methods used in isolation can compromise depth or scope. Inherent to the single-method research tradition is the long-standing qualitative-quantitative paradigmatic dichotomy. Raising doubts concerning the accuracy and necessity of this dichotomous view, some methodologists have reconceptualized research as a qualitative-quantitative continuum that allows for mixing of methods (J. Brown, 2004; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). A mixed-methods approach can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon in question and minimizes the vulnerabilities of a single method (Dörnyei, 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Riazi & Candlin, 2014). As Schrauf (2016) put it, mixed methods approaches “combine the best of both worlds” (p. 7):

The signal strength of quantitative studies is that they offer the possibility of modeling social and behavioral phenomena on the larger and perhaps more precise scale than do qualitative studies. The principle virtue of qualitative studies is that they provide a
window into the personal meanings and lived experience that is lost in the abstractions of quantitative research (p. 7).

Case study is appropriate when the phenomenon under investigation is complex, and when the researcher aims to comprehend the context and track change over time (Duff, 2008; van Lier, 2005). Case study’s emphasis on context also resonates with Vygotsky’s theory on cognition development and Coleman’s (2013) advocacy that study abroad research should not treat participants as mere assemblages of variables. A common critique of case study is that it does not lead to generalizable inferences, which has been addressed from various perspectives. van Lier (2005) argued that particularity is as crucial as generalizability as the former could lend significant insights into a wider group if contextual variables are taken into considerable. This kind of transferability of insights in qualitative research was construed as analogous to generalizability in quantitative research (J. Brown, 2004). Yin (2014) further distinguished analytical generalization from statistical generalization, and maintained that case studies can generate the former or “inferences or insights that can corroborate, modify, reject or advance theories, or new concepts that arose from the case study” (p. 41). Considering the methodological strengths of mixed-methods research and case study, the approach can provide a vantage point from which to scrutinize the intricacy and idiosyncrasy of language development in study abroad.

Methodologists have called into attention the importance of principled mixing (Dörnyei, 2007) or systematic integration (Riazi & Candlin, 2014). In the dissertation, the mixed-methods approach informs all phases of study design, including data collection, data analysis and inference drawing. The primary purpose of methods mixing is to triangulate and to complement analyses and in the end inferences from the multiple forms of data by “comparing, contrasting, building on, or embedding one type of conclusion with the other” (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007, p. 108).

In this light, the dissertation adopts a concurrent QUAL+quan design typology, indicating that qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously, and there is an emphasis on qualitative data and analysis. The quantitative data include repeated measures of a self-designed
instrument and small-scale quantifications of phenomena relevant to the case studies. Qualitative data were collected from audio recorded conversations, interviews, and on-site observation.

**Theoretical framework**

Because of the mixed-methods design of the dissertation study, the assessment portion (Chapter 4) assumes an experimental design and approach, while the cases studies (Chapter 5, 6, and 7) are informed by Vygotskian sociocultural theory (SCT) (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). A theory of human mental development, SCT has been successfully extended to include L2 development (Lantolf, 2012). Three key insights from this theoretical framework are most relevant to the dissertation study. The first is the notion that socioculturally organized artifacts, language being the most powerful and conspicuous, fundamentally mediate higher mental functions. The second is that development is a revolutionary process of internalization in relation to one’s Zone of Proximal Development. Finally, SCT proposes a historical or genetic method to the study of higher mental functions. These theoretical insights offer an appropriate rationale for longitudinal case studies that explore language learning in contextualized practices in homestays or dormitories in light of personal histories and interpretations of experience abroad.

**Mediation, symbolic tools, and communicative activity**

The central construct in SCT is mediation. As an effort to overcome the Cartesian dualistic view of brain and culture, the theory conceptualizes unique human mental activities, or higher mental functions, as dialectically building on biological endowments while being mediated by socioculturally organized tools (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014). In contrast to lower forms of mental activities (e.g. knee reflex) that involve a biologically direct stimulus to response process, higher mental functions (e.g. thinking, language acquisition) are mediated by culturally
constructed artifacts, concepts, and activities that are physical or symbolic (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; van Compernolle, 2015; Wertsch, 2007). The significance of deploying culturally organized tools is two-fold: it not only facilitates existing mental functions, but also transforms and “transfers the psychological operation to higher and qualitatively new forms” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 40; Wertsch, 1985). Among all cultural artifacts, language in all its forms, including communicative activity, is the most powerful and prevalent (Lantolf, Thorne, & Poehner, 2015). Unlike physical tools (e.g. hammers) that can only change the material condition of the external world, linguistic signs can be directed outwards and regulate others’ behaviors and mental activities, and meanwhile be directed inward to voluntarily control one’s own cognitive processes (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). This double function or reversibility of linguistic signs (Vygotsky, 1987) is what endows language with mediating power in human cognitive ability and development.

From this perspective, use of language, or concrete communicative activity, is the locus where mental functioning and cognition originate (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Participation in social interaction can vary from overt engagement through social speech to private speech that involves active imitation (Lantolf et al., 2015). As Lantolf and Thorne (2006) argued, while private speech whose self-directed regulating function is in clear evidence, social speech can be ambiguous as it can serve outward interpersonal and/or inward mediating purposes; nonetheless, even pragmatically or interpersonally oriented (e.g. to establish relationship between interlocutors), social speech can still have an impact on language acquisition “as a spinoff of its conversational function” (p. 170). On this matter, Wells (1999) assumed a more affirmative stance on the cognizing function of social speech and argued that the dual functions could occur simultaneously in dialogues, which lead to the development of dialogic inquiry as an educational and professional development approach that recognizes the importance and central role of dialogue in teaching and learning (see e.g. Haneda, 2014; Haneda, Teemant, & Sherman, 2017; Haneda & Wells, 2010). In educational and naturalistic contexts alike, during communicative
activities, mediational means (e.g. cultural artifacts and concepts) are made available and relevant to the current joint attentional activity (van Compernolle, 2015), giving rise to its contextualized and situated qualities. As a result, regular participation in these culturally organized activities and practices, even seemingly mundane and quotidian, has a profound and qualitative impact on one’s cognitive development and mental functioning (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995).

An important aspect of socioculturally constructed artifacts, or mediational means, is that they are “a nexus of both history and emergent activity” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 63). Simultaneously embedding a history in society as an economic, political, social, and cultural entity, and in individual’s habitus, mediational artifacts “inevitable embed the power and authority structures of society” (Scollon, 2001, p. 120). In particular, language as a semiotic tool carries with it historically negotiated forms, meanings, concepts, and associated values, stances, and ideologies (Bakhtin, 1981). In this sense, learning a new language, as Lantolf and Thorne (2006) insightfully stated, “is much more than acquiring new signifiers for already given signified…It is about acquiring new conceptual knowledge and/or modifying already existing knowledge as a way of re-mediating one’s interaction with the world and with one’s own psychological functioning” (p. 5). In addition, mediational means are also subject to “new and potentially more complex use” (p. 135), representing a spin-off function (Wertsch, 1985) or partialness of mediational means (Scollon, 2001). This function of cultural artifacts, according to Lantolf and Thorne (2006), is crucial because it allows humans to not “merely select ready-made tools, including prefabricated linguistic forms and meanings, from a cultural tool-kit”, but rather to “shape their artifacts online as needed” (p. 65).
Internalization and Zone of Proximal Development

Because of the mediated nature of human cognition, development in SCT is conceptualized as internalization, or the process of gaining greater voluntary control over mental functions by bringing externally and socioculturally formed mediating artifacts into cognitive activities (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Vygotsky (1981) proposed that every higher form of mental function appears twice, first on the social plane as an interpsychological category, and then on the intrapersonal plane as an intrapsychological category, hence the process of internalization. In this light, the social material world is always the source and origin of development, although the individual is the locus of change (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Internalization can take the forms of more proficiency in the use of mediational resources, less reliance on externally provided mediation, or shifts in mediational forms from object-regulation, other-regulation, and ultimately to self-regulation (Thorne & Tasker, 2011). Even though independence is gained through the process of internalization, people still rely on mediational means made available in concrete social circumstances (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Particularly, when navigating demanding activities, even expert users of the language may need to “reaccess earlier stages of development (i.e. other- or object-regulation)” to regain control (Lantolf et al., 2015, p. 159).

Considering that internalization is a process through which individuals gain control over mediational means as ways of thinking, L2 development is determined by not only changes in learners’ performance but also shifts in mediational forms (Lantolf, 2011). Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994), in exploration of the quality of corrective feedback in relation to language development, found that similar learner performance entailed divergent underlying psychological statuses and developmental levels. They hence construed learners’ reactive response to different types of corrective feedback (on the dimensions of graduation and contingency) as an important index of development, in addition to their actual linguistic performance.
In contrast to a transmission or fax model, internalization is conceptualized as a qualitative transformative process (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Unlike biological maturation, development of higher mental functions can move “in fits and spurts” (p. 157), take numerous routes and directions, and lead to various unanticipated outcomes. In another word, development is by no means linear or composed of “steady quantitative increments”, but rather qualitative, dialectical and “fundamentally ‘revolutionary’” (Wertsch, 1985, p. 19). This revolutionary nature of development (Lantolf, Lindsey, & Olesya, 2016) lies in the tenet that people are active agents who have the capacity to transform knowledge as they agentively participate in social practices (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Newman & Holzman, 1993). L2 learners thus have “a second chance to create new tools and new ways of meaning” (Dunn & Lantolf, 1998, p. 427). In this sense, non-nativeness, such as ungrammaticality and pragmatic inappropriacy, are not deficiencies or problems, but a process that projects great significance: it can be a necessary or even innovative step as individuals struggle to take control of new linguistic means (Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994); it might also be a way in which learners negotiate identities and gain self-regulation through new linguistic artifacts (Dunn & Lantolf, 1998).

The locus where this revolutionary transformation takes place is the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Newman & Holzman, 1993), defined as “the distance between the actual development as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). The ZPD is not only a model of cognitive development, but also a conceptual tool for educators (Lantolf et al., 2015). One the one hand, it explicates the developmental process: a child starts from his or her current mental function (i.e. the actual developmental level), and with adult assistance orients towards and approaches a new mental function (i.e. future mental functioning) (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). The focus is on “the ‘buds’ or ‘flowers’ rather than the ‘fruits’ of development” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). On the other hand, it presents an interventional model: as development is contingent upon the quantity and
quality of interaction that is “attuned to a learner’s potential ability” (Lantolf, 2012, p. 57), educators and expert L2 users can devise circumstances more conducive to learners’ and novices’ development.

Another mechanism that leads to internalization is imitation (Lantolf & Thorn, 2006), which was considered the source of all uniquely human cognition (Vygotsky, 1987) and “one of the basic paths of cultural development” (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 95). Rather than mindless or rote copying, imitation is “a complex and potentially transformative activity” (Newman & Holzman, 1993, p. 151) that entails “selective attention resulting in reduction, expansion, and repletion of social models” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 179). This is why Newman and Holzman (1993) argued that imitation is development because “something new is created out of saying or doing ‘the same thing’” (p. 151). Furthermore, learners can only imitate from communicative interaction what they can understand but cannot perform independently at the moment, or what is within their ZPDs (Vygotsky, 1987, 1997). Failure to imitate, as Chaiklin (2003) pointed out, is an indication that relevant maturing mental functions are not present, as children can only take advantage of the mediatonal means of which they can understand the significance.

**History of development: the genetic methods**

As internalization originates from the interpsychological plane, it is imperative to examine the genetic origins of mental processes rather than merely their external appearance (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Vygotsky (1978) therefore argued that to appropriately study higher mental functions, the process rather than the outcome of development has to be understood and explained (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In an effort to trace the history, genesis, or psychological processes “undergoing changes right before one’s eyes” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 61), Vygotsky (1978) advanced the genetic method. Most relevant to the current discussion are microgenesis and ontogenesis. The former is a “short-term formation of psychological process” (Wertsch, 1985, p.
over the course of interaction, while the latter examines “development over the life of an individual” (Wells, 1999, p. 5). Echoing the non-linearity of mental development, ontogenesis is also conceptualized as “a revolutionary rather than a smooth and gradual process, marked by upheavals, gaps, and discontinuities that can move in unexpected directions, including regression to earlier forms of thinking” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 52). Importantly, the microgenetic and ontogenetic domains are closely related. As Lantolf and Thorne (2006) stated, when studying the development of linguistic tools at the microgenetic level, it is crucial to recognize its consequence on the individual’s ontogenic development. In this dissertation study, microgenetic analysis of contextualized interaction traces the history of particular semiotic means in a short period of time, which in turn influences the ontogenesis of participants’ linguistic repertoire, disposition, and goals. Lastly, based on the genetic methods, Lantolf and Poehner (2007) established the criterion that evidence of development must “have a historical, or genetic, perspective”, and thus “single snapshots of learner performance do not constitute appropriate evidence” (p. 207). This is also the guiding principle the dissertation assumes when portraying developmental trajectories of the cases in chapter 5, 6, and 7.

The setting

I conducted field research in the fall semester of 2015. The research site was a U.S. study abroad center located in Shanghai named China Study Center (a pseudonym, hereafter CSC). It is a branch of a large non-profit organization dedicated to international education and exchange, with its headquarters in the United States. Only undergraduate students who were attending universities or colleges in the U.S. were admitted to CSC, with the exception of American gap year students. Students in the program can choose from among four tracks, respectively Accelerated Chinese Language (ACL), BLC (Business, Language and Culture), CGC (Culture in Global Context), and GAP (Gap Year). ACL students took intensive Chinese classes while the
others took non-intensive Chinese classes. The center also offers three accommodation options: Chinese homestay, dormitory with a Chinese roommate, or dormitory with a CSC roommate.

The study abroad center is located in Shanghai, one of the most popular study abroad destinations in Chinese-speaking areas. As the commercial and financial center of mainland China, Shanghai is particularly attractive to students of business-related topics. Since opening as a port in 1843, it has also developed a unique cultural identity 海派文化 (literally ocean style; often translated as Shanghai Style) that combines traditional Chinese culture with western influences. The integration of cultures has also attracted international residents and sojourners alike to Shanghai.

The study abroad center is housed at China University (pseudonym), a nationally renowned comprehensive university with a specialization in teaching and research of Chinese as an international language. The university boasts a large population of international students in addition to CSC or students of other international programs. China University provides CSC with facilities such as office space in a building designated to house foreign institutions, classrooms and dorms, community resources such as international student interest groups, and human resources, as the majority of full-time and part-time instructors at CSC are graduates or master’s students from the university.

CSC was selected as my dissertation research site for three reasons: CSC Shanghai is one of the most popular programs for students of Chinese in my university, it is one of the largest and most reputable in China, and I was able to negotiate access to the site. I made a five-day initial visit to CSC in the summer of 2014 before the semester-long field research trip took place in 2015.
The study abroad center

In the fall of 2015, the program had 12 instructional weeks and one weeklong travel study trip. Following students’ arrival was an orientation week during which students were given an introduction to the program, curriculum, expectations, and personal goals.

Placement test

The placement test during orientation week includes written and oral components. In the oral part, two teachers met individually with a student and took the following factors into consideration: heritage or non-heritage background, home university’s requirement on class level, oral test results, initial assessment of proficiency level, reference to textbook, and judgment on his or her motivation. The oral test is modeled after the ACTFL OPI, and defines proficiency levels by abilities and topics (Table 3-1). Although the ACTFL OPI proficiency level reflects students’ already-obtained abilities, the placement test’s objective is to project what the student will achieve, considering factors such as textbooks used in the past, university requirements, and students’ potential.

Table 3-1: Oral placement test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proficiency Level</th>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>Can briefly introduce family, university, major, hobbies and etc.</td>
<td>Name, family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University, major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese cuisine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hobbies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apartment or dorm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Can introduce and compare topics such as holidays, environment, traffic and education</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese learning, Chinese teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hometown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>An American holiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Can describe, analyze and comment on abstract topics, and can relatively express one’s opinions clearly</td>
<td>Favorite city, comparison of two cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Benefit of studying abroad in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Impact of internet on people’s lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Job hunting in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>American college education,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Curriculum

CSC provides a range of language and content courses, in-class and extracurricular activities. Language classes were scheduled in the morning, and elective content courses were offered in the afternoon. From Monday to Thursday, ACL and GAP students attended four hours of Chinese class while BLC and CGC students took two hours of Chinese. Communicative Chinese students, who were complete beginners, took two hours of Chinese two days of the week.

Chinese classes

The language curriculum was informed by the ACTFL Guidelines (ACTFL, 2012). An assumption that guides the curriculum is the reliance of topic on proficiency; for instance, the emergence of advanced proficiency is contingent on whether students are able to discuss advanced topics. A typical Chinese class starts with an introduction of key vocabulary or grammar points, and proceeds to explanation of the text, and lastly includes an activity that aims to train students to weave new vocabulary and structures into a discourse. The ability to move from talking in discrete sentences into logical and organized discourse is one of the major goals of the program. The program emphasis is also reflected in one-on-one classes in which students are expected to reiterate topics discussed in morning classes with the assistance of new vocabulary, phrase and grammatical structures.
During the semester of my fieldwork, four levels of Chinese classes were offered for accelerated Chinese, respectively Intermediate, Advanced, Advanced High, and Superior. For regular tracks, 11 levels of classes were offered: Communicative Chinese, Beginning I, Beginning II, Intermediate I, Intermediate II, Advanced I, Advanced II, Advanced High I (Heritage), Advanced High II, and Superior I (Heritage).

Each student was also assigned a language tutor, whom they typically met twice a week for an hour each time. Tutors are peer-aged undergraduate students who major in Teaching Chinese as an International Language at China University. Tutoring sessions were mainly on students’ questions on textbook materials, homework, and preparation for oral and written exams. ACL and GAP students also had one-on-one sessions for half an hour from Monday to Wednesday. The purpose of the one-on-one teaching was for the students to practice newly learned language from the morning. One-on-one teachers were typically first year master’s students who study Chinese pedagogy at China University.

Electives

Elective content courses included various disciplines, such as sociology, business, international relations, politics, intercultural communication, history, economics and literature. English was the medium of instruction in most content courses with the exception of two courses, respectively Classical Chinese and Contemporary Issues in Chinese Society, in which Chinese was the language of use.

Students typically attended two or three elective classes. The following electives were offered in the fall of 2015:

1) Contemporary issues in Chinese society (taught in Chinese)
2) Changing nature of business in China
3) China’s international relations
4) Business Chinese
5) Organizational internship
6) Chinese film and society
7) Political development in modern China
8) Classical Chinese (taught in Chinese)
9) Managing sustainability in transnational business
10) Intercultural communications and negotiation
11) China’s economic reforms
12) Business Chinese
13) Global issues in China
14) International business law: Policy, decision making and law
15) China’s macroeconomic impact
16) Modern Chinese history

Extra-curricular activities

CSC regularly offers field trips to, for example, the tea market and the Jewish Museum of Shanghai, and extra-curricular activities, such as visits to the marriage market at People’s Square and classes on Chinese calligraphy. There was also a CSC-organized weekend trip (Yangzhou, Suzhou, Hangzhou or Huangshan) and a weeklong study trip (Sichuan, Silk Road, Taiwan, or Hong Kong-Guangzhou-Macau).

Housing options

The study abroad center offers three accommodation options: homestay, dorm with a Chinese roommate, or dorm with a CSC roommate. Because of the language focus of ACL and GAP, they were guaranteed either a host family or a Chinese roommate. For students in other tracks, whether they could live with a Chinese depended on the availability of host family and
Chinese roommates. All host families lived within a 30-minute walking distance. The CSC dorm is one of the dorms for international students with one of the wings only accommodating CSC students.

The program usually evenly arranges students to live with a host family, a Chinese roommate and an American roommate (Interview with residential assistance, 2015/10/04). Table 3-2 shows the number of students who were assigned the three types of living options. Because of this semester’s high enrollment and limited dorm rooms available, 76 students lived with CSC roommates, 54 students with a Chinese roommate, and 22 with a Chinese host family.

Table 3-2: Students living arrangement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangement</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CSC Roommate</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Roommate</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Host Family</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Program staff background

Full-time language instructors at CSC are all master’s degree holders in teaching Chinese as a L2, who were in their twenties or thirties. Part-time language instructors were all master’s students at China University. CSC has a team of staff who are in charge of student and housing affairs. The instructors and staff members are diverse in their places of origin, including all parts of Mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S.

Participants

Three groups of participants were invited to join the research study: sojourners, Chinese interlocutors (host families, Chinese roommates, tutors), and study abroad center staff. As discussed in Chapter 2, the inclusion of multiple stakeholders was intended to reconstruct and
represent the study abroad experience more holistically than is usual in studies of this type. The section below introduces basic information on the participants, and discusses the sampling procedures and issues arising in this process. Informed consent was obtained from all participants.

**Participants information**

A total of 25 sojourners of diverse backgrounds joined and completed the research. Table 3-3 presents their demographic information, and table 3-4 summarizes their program-related information. Two host families, five Chinese roommates, two Chinese tutors, and 11 study program staff, including language programs director, the course coordinator, the housing coordinator, and language instructors, also participated in the study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audrey</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Asian and Caucasian American</td>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>Soka University of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African and Caucasian American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>University of Southern California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danielle</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Latin American</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Georgetown University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dashi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African and Caucasian American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>University of Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Bryant University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African and Caucasian American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>Soka University of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Oberlin College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haley</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chinese Vietnamese American</td>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Hamline College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>University of Denver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chinese Vietnamese American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>St. Lawrence University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>Princeton College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrena</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>Kentucky State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lila</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Latvian American</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Bryant University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaden</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chinese American</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilia</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hawaiian American</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>University of Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chinese American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>University of Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovey</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>Soka University of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mexican American</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>New York University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniele</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>California State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chinese American</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>University of Pennsylvania</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andy</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>上海豹子</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Uganda (World traveler)</td>
<td>University of Minnesota</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Sojourner background information.
Table 3-4: Sojourner program-related information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Placement</th>
<th>Housing type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audrey</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dashi</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric</td>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haley</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaden</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamena</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leah</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liz</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monica</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathanial</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puppies</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Chinese roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai Leopard man</td>
<td>Complete beginner</td>
<td>CSC roommate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanessa</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sampling**

**Principle**

Sampling of sojourners was at the core of the process, because only Chinese interlocutors and program staff directly engaged with participating sojourners were recruited. Only participants 18 years or older were recruited. All sojourn participants completed the first phase of data.
collection (i.e. pre- and post-interview and pre- and post-Mandarin Awareness Interview), and only focal cases, selected among the general participants, entered into a second phase (i.e. audio recording of naturalistic conversations with their Chinese interlocutors), which followed the nested sampling design (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007).

Guided by criterion sampling (Duff, 2008), participants were selected based on criteria of proficiency and accommodation: 1) representation of the whole spectrum of proficiency levels of the cohort; 2) preference for intermediate and advanced proficiency levels; 3) representation of the three accommodation types; and 4) preference for those who lived with a Chinese roommate or a Chinese host family.

The intended sample size of general sojourn participants was 30 in order to reach statistical significance. The number of focal cases was designed at three to five so as to increase the “representativeness of, or variation among, cases” (Duff, 2008, p. 36). The final total sample size was 25, and five of these became focal participants. There was no participant attrition.

**Procedure**

Recruitment strategies included in-class recruitment, snowballing, and personal contact. During the first week of instruction I went into Chinese language classes to introduce the project. Due to logistical constraints, I prioritized recruitment in intermediate and higher level of Chinese classes. Considering that not all students who signed up responded to my follow-up, I turned to snowballing. As my presence in the program increased, I also had personal contact with students who lived with Chinese roommates or host families, some of whom were successfully recruited into the project. The entire recruitment process lasted for a month.

Under the sampling criteria, I included all sojourners who volunteered during the first phase of recruitment. In the snowballing stage, I included one complete beginner to compensate
for the lack of lower level speakers but turned down another. In the last phase of recruitment, I included every sojourner who willingly participated.

The sampling of focal cases was subject to the willingness of sojourners and their Chinese roommates or host families to make regular audio recordings and to commit to a research study. The majority of sojourners brought to their regular Chinese interlocutor(s) a flyer and a proposal for them to meet with or contact me for further explanation. In the end, two Chinese roommates, two tutors, and two host families agreed to join the project. In this sampling process, I included every pair that was willing to participate in order to prevent attrition. The five focal cases represented diversity in gender, racial background, regional origin, Chinese proficiency and accommodation type. The host families were also distinctive in educational, economical and social statuses.

Because of the voluntary nature of participation, those who joined the study, especially focal cases, were inevitably self-selected. The sojourners were motivated learners of Chinese and active participants in the study abroad program. Evidence was that in both the CSC Chinese language contest and Chinese speech contest, the majority of contestants were participants in the study. When asked about their goals in the initial interview, Nathaniel was the only person who considered the trip “a break” from his stressful academic life at an elite university in the U.S. “Study abroad isn’t about study”, he said. Surprised that I did not show signs of support to the assertion, he turned to me, laughed, and asked “right”. For the other participants, although exploration was high on their agenda, they also articulated their intention to learn Chinese. Some participants perceived meetings with me as a Chinese learning and practice opportunity and insisted on speaking Chinese even when their limited language proficiency impeded communication.
The initial phase of participant recruitment presented considerable difficulty. Upon arrival in a new country, the sojourners were often disoriented. Tied up in classes, activities, social life, and the myriad stimuli in the new environment, participating in a research project was not on their priority list. Many of them were struggling with meeting the high academic demand, i.e. intensive language classes, establishing a basic functional life, such as buying a SIM card, learning how to use WeChat, the most popular messaging mobile phone application in China and the major means of communication between the sojourners and program staff, and finding a new way to communicate with family back home, and meanwhile juggling exciting events and new places they could explore. During the first meetings with participating students, I was often left alone at a scheduled time as students forgot the meeting, overslept, got sick, or incorrectly estimated the time required to return to campus. Recruitment of focal cases was particularly challenging. In my observation, this difficulty can be attributed to three interrelated reasons: the intrusiveness of audio recording in one’s private space, lack of time spent together by sojourners and their Chinese interlocutors, and ambivalence characteristic of some relationships with roommates or host families.

For the seven sojourners who lived with a Chinese roommate, five of them brought the project to their roommates, but only two pairs were successfully recruited. When Danielle discussed the research with her roommate in September, the roommate refused by the reason that the presence of a recorder would be a main stressor. In mid-October, when Danielle met with me again and shared that she and her roommate had become close friends, I invited her roommate for an interview and she gladly agreed. My speculation is that the uncertainty of their relationship was an underlying reason for non-participation at the beginning. Although he participated as a focal participant, Phillip only recorded casual conversations with his tutor and introduced me to a Chinese roommate living across the hallway. Later in the semester, he revealed that he and his
roommate were not in good terms and they barely talked to each other. Another factor that impeded successful recruitment of focal pairs was their busy schedules. When I first met Logan, he passionately talked about his roommate and the certainty that they would become close friends. However, he was never able to make a recording because of their hectic schedules outside of school: Logan’s roommate interned at a large company and was almost never in the dorm, and Logan had his own social network thanks to an ex-girlfriend who is a local Shanghainese.

For the eight sojourners who lived in homestays, all of them agreed to propose the idea to their host families, but only Liz and Audrey’s host and Kevin’s family were willing to participate. The recruitment process of host families was a valuable lesson for the students and me alike on Chinese refusals. Vanessa’s host parents in their 60s refused by the reason that they were too old for research; Olivia’s host mother was open to the idea of meeting with me but never set a time; Kamena’s host family said they would participate if I had CSC staff call them, but only refused when receiving the call; and Eric’s family said they would think about it but never got back to him. In their book on teaching Americans to communicate with Chinese, Gao and Ting-Toomey (1998) noted that “the word no is not only restrained but avoided at all costs” (p. 78) out of concern for face and harmonious interpersonal relationship. The preference for implicit communication by Chinese can be a source of miscommunication between the students and their host families.

Qualities of relationships with the host family also played an important role in the recruitment of host families. Monica’s initial assessment was that her host family would definitely be willing to help, but the proposal did not make its way to the family as their relations quickly became strained. The relationship between Eric and his host family, especially with the host mother, declined in quality and soon hit rock bottom in the later half of October. When he invited his host family to join the project in early October, he might not have anticipated this
emerging tension. Although Liz and Audrey’s host parents happily agreed to join, only Liz was in charge of making the recordings. In my last meeting with Audrey, she disclosed to me that she was not able to talk as much as Liz did in the family, the reasons for which will be discussed in chapter 7, and this could the primary reason for her to not take the recording role.

In addition to the three reasons discussed above, difficulty in obtaining access to host families could also be attributed to other reasons, such as lack of compensation, unfamiliarity with research in general, concerns over the trustworthiness of the researcher, and a strong preference for not being recorded for one’s opinions.

Despite the challenges in recruitment, no participants dropped out during the study. Compensation was provided after completing the two meetings, and focal participants’ compensation depended on the number of audio recordings made. Also, I established a relationship with the students during the semester, which will be discussed further in the last section of the chapter.

**Data Collection**

Data were gathered from a range of sources for the purpose of triangulation and complementation. Table 3-5 is a summary of the data. In this section, I include discussion of the design and procedure of each form of data.
Table 3-5: Summary of data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Quantitative | Mandarin Awareness Interview | • Personal narratives  
                          • Video description  
                          • Situation  
                          • Vocabulary |
| Qualitative | Naturalistic interaction    | • Audio recordings of regular conversation with Chinese roommate, tutor or Chinese host family  
                          (focal participants only) |
|           | Interview                   | • Initial background interview  
                          • Mid-semester interview (focal participants and some non-focal participants)  
                          • End of semester interview |
|           | Observation                  | • Field notes from classroom, field-trips, and activities  
                          • Contact with students, Chinese interlocutors and teachers |

**Mandarin Awareness Interview**

**Instrument**


The MAI is composed of four sections: personal narratives, video description, response to situations, and vocabulary. In addition to eliciting narratives of personal experience, the first
section also intends to put the interviewees at ease. Section II models Pavlenko and Driagina's (2007) design of video description of other people’s emotions. The video (Volkswagen, 2012) was chosen for two reasons: 1) it is a Chinese commercial, and therefore explores American sojourners’ recognition of emotions in Chinese culture; and 2) it presents several positive and negative emotions. Section III combines techniques from oral discourse completion tasks (DCT), role-play and metapragmatic knowledge elicitation (Shardakova, 2005). After describing the situation, I asked the participant to first recall if he or she had a similar experience, what he or she felt at that time, and what did he or she say under the situation, depending on the interlocutors (family, close friends, friends and acquaintances). Because in the pre-MAI participants rarely had an opportunity to experience an event in Chinese, I asked participants to think hypothetically what they would say to their Chinese interlocutors. In the post-MAI, however, participants had some experience in China in the medium of Chinese, so the hypothetical situation was often not necessary. Section IV was designed to examine participant’s receptive (part I) and productive (part II) knowledge of emotion vocabulary. Linguistic aspects were selected from a study abroad corpus available to me and from relevant studies (e.g. Ho, 2009; Jian, 2015; Yu, 1995). The words selected have some grammatical, conceptual, or metaphorical uniqueness.

Procedure

The MAI was administered twice during the semester: once at the beginning and once towards the end. The pre-MAI was carried out between September 16th and October 2nd, and the post-MAI fell between December 1st and December 13th. The range of time span between the pre- and post-MAI mostly ranged from 72 to 83 days.

To mitigate the repetition effects between the pre- and post-MAI, the sequence of sections and order of situations and vocabulary within sections were adjusted (see Appendix A). I
carried out the MAI on a PowerPoint on Mac. English was the language of instruction in order to minimize the impact of my language on interviewee’s response. Participants were expected to reply in Chinese. In the pre-MAI especially, some interviewees experienced difficulty in responding in Chinese, so they resorted to English, or elicited assistance from me. In the post-MAI, more students incorporated code switching in their responses, a common practice developed among the cohort. These behaviors that seemed to stray from the intended tasks could also be interpreted as follows: the students approached the tasks as different activities, and their use of English and elicitation of my help were actually part of their efforts to gain regulation of the task at hand (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

**Naturalistic conversations**

Focal cases were instructed to record one or more conversations per week with their regular Chinese interlocutors, i.e. host family member, Chinese roommate, or Chinese tutor. Audio recording allows me to examine language learning as it unfolded in contextualized interactions. Video recorded was excluded due to concerns about intrusion, although the lack of multi-modality data is a major limitation of the study. Focal sojourners were given explicit instructions on the nature of recording, namely natural and casual conversations rather than recording-oriented or instructional talk, and the types of activities suitable for recording, for example, mealtime conversation with host family, and before-bed chatting with roommate. Table 3-6 is a summary of the audio recordings collected during the semester. I was present in some recordings.

**Table 3-6: Summary of recordings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Placement</th>
<th>Recordings</th>
<th>Recording minutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Advanced High II</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Liz</td>
<td>Advanced High</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I emphasized to the participants that the purpose of the recording was to document rather than to evaluate, so they did not need to be concerned about the way they talk, the language they chose, the grammaticality or appropriateness of the Chinese, or silence. Some participants nevertheless oriented to the activity differently. Puppies, for instance, approached the task more cautiously by only turning the recorder on when she had stories to tell. Liz’s host mother was also concerned with whether she could bring up interesting and insightful topics on the dinner table to provide me with good data. The Observer’s paradox was more present in some recordings of some participants than others. In the case of David and his Chinese roommate, they were less concerned with the recorder.

**Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews generated participants’ opinions or interpretations of what they experienced. The initial background interview collected the students’ demographic information, language learning history, motivation and expectations of the semester abroad. In the mid-semester interviews, I solicited their reflection on language learning in the classroom and in the natural settings, their relationship with regular Chinese interlocutors, and their evaluation of the overall experience. In the last interview, I also explicitly raised the question of emotion communication in Chinese, and their experience in cultivating a relationship with their host families or Chinese roommates. Out of practicality constraint, I did not carry out stimulated recall with the focal participants, which was another limitation of the study. Interviews with host family members, Chinese roommates, and tutors focused on their background information, previous
experience hosting, living with or tutoring American students, and their reflection on the current hostee(s), roommate or tutee. For program staff, the topics of interview questions were tailored to their roles in the organization: general information of the program for language programs director, curriculum design and teaching philosophy for course coordinators, accommodating arrangements for housing coordinator, and individual student performance for language instructors. Appendix B respectively lists interview questions with learner participants, Chinese host families, roommates, or tutors, and CSC program staff.

All of the 25 learner participants were interviewed at the beginning and towards the end of the semester, and all but four were also interviewed mid-semester, yielding a total of 71 learner interviews. The working language was selected by the interviewees between English and Chinese, and often times both, especially in the later half of the semester. The majority of the interviews were conducted the public spaces offered at the CSC dorm – study rooms, public study and chat area, or kitchens. These were also the areas where one-on-one lesson and tutoring usually took place. A total of 16 interviews were collected from students’ regular Chinese interlocutors, respectively six from host families, eight from Chinese roommates, and two from Chinese tutors. Interviews with host families were carried out during my home visits. I also conducted 12 interviews with CSC program staff, the majority of which were conducted in shared offices of CSC.

Observation

Throughout the twelve weeks of my presence at the research site, I observed Chinese classes, elective classes, in-class field trips, and extracurricular activities afforded by the program with permission from the program directors, instructors, and relevant participants. I also visited the host families and dorms for multiple times, and maintained constant contact with the students,
host families, and Chinese roommates, tutors, and language instructors. Field notes and research journal were produced out of on-site observation.

Data analysis

Analysis of Mandarin Awareness Interview

For the purpose of the dissertation, section II (video description task) of the Mandarin Awareness Interview (MAI) was quantitatively analyzed; section I (personal narrative), III (situations) and IV (vocabulary) of the MAI were referred to only when relevant to analysis of the naturalistic interaction data. The video description task was chosen for quantitative analysis for two reasons: first, it adequately demonstrates students’ abilities to use emotion expression in the unit of a narrative, which is the dissertation’s focus of analysis; secondly, comparing with students’ responses in more dialogic tasks in the MAI, their retellings of the video were more complete and therefore suitable for raters to assign scores. Responses of video description task were rated before further analysis. I first laid out the rating procedures before detailing the analysis involved.

Rating

Data preparation

To prepare the data for analysis, I first transcribed the 25 students’ pre- and post-video description responses verbatim, yielding a total of 50 texts. I randomly assigned each text a number from one to 50 with Microsoft Excel’s random sort function. The audio recordings of the
responses were cut into independent audio files, named under the same numbers as the corresponding texts.

Proficiency grouping

A grouper, a senior Ph.D. student in Applied Linguistics and a Chinese instructor, grouped the 50 video description texts into proficiency groups of low, mid and high. The proficiency groups are only in relation to each other rather than standard-based. The purpose of grouping the responses into the three proficiency levels was to minimize the confounding effect of proficiency. Successive pile sort (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004) was adopted, in which sorters “perform several sorting on the objects according to the same or different criteria” (p. 1049). The sorting criteria was the group the texts into proficiency levels of low, mid and high. The ranker first sorted nine texts into three lows, three mids, and three highs, and repeated the sorting method with another nine texts, and repeated until he went through all 50 texts. Through this method, all 50 texts were sorted into three proficiency groups of low, mid, and high.

Raters

Three native speakers of Chinese were recruited as raters. Table 3-7 shows the raters’ demographic information. Selection of the raters was based on the criteria of gender balance and diversity in their places of origin. All of them were master’s students majoring in Applied Linguistics, and therefore have linguistic backgrounds.

Table 3-7: Rater’s information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>Other places lived</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rater 1 Male 27 Shanghai</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rater 2 Female 24 Sichuan</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rater 3 Female 24 Beijing</td>
<td>Macau, U.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rating criteria

Rating of the video description responses was based on two criteria: degree of appropriateness, and degree of grammaticality.

*Appropriateness*

Appropriateness is defined as to what degree the emotion expression is appropriate for the situation. Degree of appropriateness was rated on a Likert Scale (Riazi, 2016) from one (least appropriate) to five (most appropriate) (Table 3-8). No descriptor of each level was given. It was the raters’ task to calibrate among themselves what each level meant in the resolving conferences that ensued the ratings.

Table 3-8: Appropriateness rating scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness</td>
<td>Least appropriate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Most appropriate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Grammaticality*

Grammaticality is defined as to what degree the emotion expression is morphosyntactically correct. Degree of grammaticality was rated on a Likert Scale from one (least grammatical) to five (most grammatical) (Table 3-9).

Table 3-9: Grammaticality rating scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grammaticality</td>
<td>Least grammatical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Most grammatical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rating procedure

There were in total three rating sessions and each lasted for approximately two hours. All three raters participated in the sessions together.

Rating session I

In rating session I, the raters individually took the video description task, discussed the task, and then collectively identified the emotion expressions in the 50 student responses. Raters first took turns completing the video description task, and then shared their feelings of taking the task. The purpose was to familiarize them with the task format and to brainstorm what emotion expressions were acceptable in retelling the story. Their video description and discussion were audio recorded. The next step was for the raters to identify emotion expressions that they were going to rate in the next two sections. I prepared a copy of the 50 response texts for each rater. The raters together identified what they considered to be emotion expressions and highlighted them. This process was audio recorded, as it involved discussion and negotiation in order for them to reach consensus. Based on the identified emotion expressions, I prepared rating sheets with the expression and appropriateness and grammaticality Likert Scales, as exemplified in Appendix C.

Rating session II and III

Rating sessions II and III featured rating sessions and resolving their differences in conference. For the rating, I played the audio clips of the student’s responses to the video description task; the raters used rating sheets to mark the scores for each response. In the resolving conferences, raters compared their scores and reached consensus on the scores. The purpose of the resolving conference was twofold: to record raters’ justification and reasoning behind the scores, thereby soliciting their metapragmatic awareness of the emotion expressions; and to allow the raters to calibrate, or moderate among themselves.
Raters first independently rated four responses from the high group, and then discussed their differences, resolving them in conference. The same procedures were repeated for the mid group, and then the low group. Raters then started with rating of another high group, then mid group and lastly low group. During rater section II, raters in total scored 24 responses, and held six resolving conferences. The rating section lasted for two hours. Rating section III repeated the same procedures as in section II. During this section, raters in total scored 26 responses and held six resolving conferences. The rating section also lasted for two hours.

The reason of starting from the highest proficiency group to the lowest was to set raters’ expectations at the realistic level of learner proficiency in this group of participants. The reason of grading all three proficiency groups in each section was to remind raters of taking the different proficiency levels into consideration when rating.

**Analysis**

Analysis of the video description task focused on three dimensions: scenarios labeled, lexical diversity, and appropriateness. Both quantification and referential statistics, and qualitative characterization were involved in the analysis. Statistical tests were carried out on SPSS. Chapter 4 presents more details of the analysis process.

**Analysis of naturalistic interaction**

The focus of analysis was emotion language, most saliently emotion vocabulary. As I listened through the corpus of interactional data, all emotion words were identified. The interactional contexts (conversational narratives, or language play episodes) were subsequently transcribed into Chinese characters and English translation. Adapting the discourse transcription
convention from DuBois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, and Paolino (1993), features relevant to the current discussion were transcribed (Appendix D). Analysis of emotion language highlighted both language use and language development, two inseparable processes in SCT (van Compernolle, 2015). Analysis of use focused on linguistic features (grammatical and prosodic), and situational, and discoursal contexts in which emotion was embedded. Analysis of development scrutinized microgenesis and ontogenesis of students’ performances in light of qualities of mediation available in the joint attentional activities at the home or dormitory room. Individual case’s developmental trajectories of emotional repertoire were also investigated.

**Analysis of interview and observation**

Interview and observational data surrounding focal participants were thematically coded with the software ATLAS.ti. Themes that presented particular significance and relevance to the focal cases’ language learning, personal histories, and quality of the sojourn experience were highlighted and analyzed further.

**Reflexivity: Researcher’s role**

My identity as a PhD student in an American institution who is from China has significant implications in how I positioned myself and how I was perceived in the web of relationships at the site. My status in the CSC gradually evolved from an outside researcher, then to a one-on-one teacher of two students from week two, and finally to a part-time language instructor in the last three weeks. The change in status allowed me to move from the position of outsider and stranger to that of a legitimate peripheral participant in the organization, thus increasing my access. I was introduced to the site by a managerial member at the CSC
headquarter. Without previous acquaintance, I arrived at the site as a stranger and outsider. The language director and coordinator provided me with opportunities to participate by first arranging for me to be a one-on-one teacher of two Superior-level students, one of them being Eric. For the last three weeks of the program, I was asked to teach as an instructor for Beginning II Chinese, as some of the part-time instructors were recruited to teach abroad.

I emphasized to the program staff that this was a valuable learning experience and I had no intention to judge or impose. I positioned myself this way for two reasons: it is the culture in Chinese organizations that newcomers remain humble and respectful of the more senior members; my status as a doctoral student in the U.S. gave me high epistemic status, so I did not want to create more distance. As a researcher, I obtained permission from either the language director or the coordinator for all the research activities throughout the semester. After becoming more familiar with the language instructors and being considered more as a co-worker, I was able to negotiate more access with them. Interaction between staff members and I remained predominantly work-related until the last week. Some instructors asked me about my life in the U.S., and shared with me their aspiration to go there.

I grew more familiar with the sojourners throughout the semester. For some students, my status as a Chinese native speaker, my experience in the U.S. and knowledge of both cultures was a significant resource. Monica turned to me when she encountered frustration with her classes and conflicts with her host family, and I provided her with cultural background on the educational system and teaching practices in China, and a different perspective in interpreting her host mother’s words and actions. Monica also appreciated that I was a listener who could understand her. Liz, in our last meeting, gladly revealed that participating in this research was a good experience because she could talk about her feelings with a third-party. For some, I was one of their Chinese friends. They turned to me for their interview assignments of native speakers, and
some topics were beliefs on marriage, romantic relationship, Chinese films, my life story, and my perspective on Shanghai as a non-local. I occasionally had meals with some of the students.

For the Chinese roommate and tutor participants, some of them were aspiring to go to the U.S. or they were very interested in my experience abroad. I developed some friendship with Puppies and David’s roommate. In our first meeting, Puppies’ roommate confessed to me her dilemma between practicing her own English and helping Puppies learn Chinese. I offered her my experience in how to watch American TV shows effectively, and suggested that as a middle ground she could ask Puppies questions about American culture and English in Chinese, which was reflected in some of their recordings.

My relationship with the two host families took different paths. The daughter of Liz’s host family went to Australia 10 years ago as an international student and has lived there ever since. Out of compassion for a student, the family joined the research to help me and to share with me their rich hosting experience. For Kevin’s host family, there was more distance and less communication. The host brother struck me as disinterested during my first family visit, and he refused my invitations for meals by postponing them.

Researchers, including myself, are undeniably “part of the social world they study” (Hammersley & Paul, 2007, p. 14). Reflexivity is a term that captures the intricate relationships between the researcher and the researched, their reactions and subsequent actions to the perceived relationship, and essentially the researcher’s reflection and introspection on it (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). The key to reliability and validity in qualitative research is to be reflexive, explicit on purpose, and to be “constantly self-conscious about the role, interactions, and theoretical and empirical material as it accumulates” (Delamont, 1992, p. 8). Reflexivity is one of the principles that guided the analysis and writing of the dissertation.
Chapter 4

Emotion Recognition and Expression in the Video Description Task

This chapter investigates the 25 student participants’ abilities to appropriately recognize and express emotions in Chinese, as demonstrated in their performance on the video description task in the Mandarin Awareness Interview.

Study abroad is credited as the most advantageous environment for learning a L2, and it is therefore expected that students display dramatic linguistic gains after the sojourn. Emotion recognition and expression, as discussed in Chapter 2, can be a promising area of linguistic development. Students abroad are assumed to engage in conversations with native speakers, wherein the communication of emotion is a frequent and central topic. Furthermore, the linguistic benefit of study abroad is perceived to be especially noticeable for those who have regular contact with native speakers, for example those who live with a host family, as compared to those who do not have daily access to local people, for example those who live with students from the same program. To recapitulate, the study abroad program in focus offers three accommodation options: Chinese homestay, Chinese roommate or CSC roommate in the international dormitory on campus.

The chapter thus aims to explore the effects of time and accommodation on students’ performances in the pre- and post-video description task. The research questions are:

1. Did students improve in their abilities to communicate (recognition and expression) emotions over the semester abroad?

2. Did accommodation affect students’ development in emotion recognition and expression?

In this chapter, the ability to identify and express emotion is gleaned from the quantity and quality of (1) scenario labeled, (2) lexical diversity and (3) appropriateness in the video description task. Scenario labeled refers to the scenarios recognized and labeled with emotion
expressions. Lexical diversity focuses on the nature of emotion lexical items chosen to describe
the scenarios. The central notion of appropriateness examines to what degree the emotion
expression is considered appropriate for the scenario under description. The processes of
identification and expression of emotion were not separated, as both are required in order to label
domotions during the retell task.

The following predictions are tested. With regard to effect of time, it is predicted that
students would improve over time on scores of scenarios labeled (hypothesis 1), lexical diversity
(hypothesis 2) and appropriateness (hypothesis 3), as well as the quality of the three aspects. In
terms of effect of accommodation, it is predicted that students who lived with Chinese host
families, Chinese roommates and CSC roommates would exhibit developmental paths that were
quantitatively and qualitatively different. Hypotheses are the following: that homestay students
would score the highest in scenarios labeled and lexical diversity, followed by Chinese roommate
and CSC roommate students (hypothesis 4 and 5), while homestay and Chinese roommate groups
would perform similarly and still outperform the CSC roommate group in appropriateness
(hypothesis 6); predictions were that the three groups would also performed qualitatively different
on all three aspects. The six hypotheses are summarized as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Students would increase their scores of scenarios labeled in the post-test;
Hypothesis 2: Students would increase their scores of lexical diversity in the post-test;
Hypothesis 3: Students would increase their scores of appropriateness in the post-test;
Hypothesis 4: Homestay students would score the highest in scenarios labeled, followed
by Chinese roommate and CSC roommate students;
Hypothesis 5: Homestay students would score the highest in lexical diversity, followed
by Chinese roommate and CSC roommate students; and
Hypothesis 6: Homestay and Chinese roommate groups would score similarly and still
outperform the CSC roommate group on appropriateness.
The predictions above are based on the assumption that the homestay context exposes students to more interlocutors and activities, hence a wider variety of situations and linguistic resources than the dormitory setting. In the homestay, interlocutors can include host parents, host siblings and relatives who are of a wide range of age and background, and activities can include, but are not limited to, regular mealtime conversation and daily chores; in the dormitory with a Chinese roommate, on the other hand, the interlocutor is usually the Chinese roommate, and in some cases other Chinese roommates, who are of similar age to the sojourner, and the activities are usually restrained to chatting in the dorm room and occasional mealtime conversation.

Regarding appropriateness, because it is observed that both host families and Chinese roommates rarely offer explicit discussion on pragmatics, it is predicted that the two groups would not differ in how much they progress. As for the CSC roommate group, they did not have regular access to native-speaking roommates or host families, so their contact with daily situations and linguistic expressions can greatly vary case by case; it is therefore predicted that they would not progress as much as the other two groups in all three aspects.

This aspect of the research employs mixed-methods, prioritizing quantitative data and analysis and supplementing with qualitative data and analysis (i.e. QUAN+qual). Data include students’ video retellings in the pre- and post-test, appropriateness ratings and raters’ comments. Analysis integrates descriptive, inferential statistics, quantification, as well as qualitative coding and pattern finding. Table 4-1 summarizes the data and analysis in the chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Operation: Group Level Analysis</th>
<th>Statistics: DV</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Type: Data</th>
<th>Variables: DV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative analysis</td>
<td>Video Retelling</td>
<td>Appropriateness Scenarios, Labeled</td>
<td>Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test</td>
<td>Appropriateness Scenarios, Labeled</td>
<td>Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qualitative analysis</td>
<td>Shared and unique in the pre- and post-test</td>
<td>Appropriateness Scenarios</td>
<td>Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test</td>
<td>Appropriateness Scenarios, Labeled</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative analysis</td>
<td>Comparison of number in the pre- and post-test</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Appropriateness Scenarios, Labeled</td>
<td>Appropriateness Scenarios, Labeled</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Summary of data and analysis.
Results

Because of the small sample size and non-normal distributions of the data, parametric statistics, and therefore the repeated measures ANOVA, could not be performed. Instead, the non-parametric alternative to repeated-samples T-test, i.e. the Wilcoxon signed ranks test was first performed to test for effect of time on the measures of scenarios labeled, lexical diversity and appropriateness of the pooled data (n=25). Whereas repeated-measures ANOVA would allow for non-significant main effects but still allow for significant interactions, the lack of an equivalent non-parametric alternative requires that I conduct the one-way ANOVA non-parametric equivalent Kruskal-Wallis to test for group differences in gains scores without being able to test simultaneously for possible group differences. Therefore, I have adopted the alternate procedure of reporting the Kruskal-Wallis as the omnibus test of differences, but I have also run the Wilcoxon signed ranks test on each group independently. The very small sample sizes of the groups make the Wilcoxon signed ranks tests problematic, but I was interested nonetheless in possible pointers to real effects in the larger samples of future research.

Scenarios labeled

Coding of distinct scenarios labeled

As discussed earlier, scenario labeled refers to the scenarios that were identified and labeled with emotion expressions in the video retelling task. After identifying all the emotion lexical items in the corpus, I coded the scenarios they described: each emotion lexical entry was coded into a scenario based on the sentence it is in and the context in the video; and then the
initial codings of scenarios were integrated into final coding of scenarios considering all 25 students’ production. For example, Emma in her pre-test retold the story as follows:

1. so 一个先生 有 免费旅行票
   so a mister has free travel ticket
2. 所以他 给 他的父母 打电话
   so he gave his parents a call
3. 告诉你们 他们 先生和小姐不回家 过节日节日
   told you them mister and miss are not going home for festival festival
4. 可是父母很不高兴
   but parents are very not happy
5. 所以他们打算留学
   so they decide to study abroad
6. 可是 一边开车一边觉得他的 他的父母
   but as they drive they think his his parents
7. 所以他 decides 去去父母的家 所以他 和父母一起过节日节日
   so he decides to go go to parents’ place, so he and parents celebrate festival festival
together

The one emotion expression that Emma used was 高兴 (happy), as underlined in the transcript (line 4). It was the parents who hold that emotion (line 4), and the cause or antecedent being the man’s phone call (lines 2-3). As what shows in the video is during the Chinese New Year, the scenario was initially coded as “How the parents feel when the couple calls that they are not going home for Chinese New Year”. Some other students did not specify the action of making a phone call: for example, Kimberly in the post-test described the same scenario as “所以他告诉爸爸 他不会 回家 他的爸爸和妈妈很难过” (so he told dad he’s not going home, his dad and mom are very sad). The scenario was then finalized as “How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year”. A total of 22 distinct scenarios were coded from students’ retellings in the pre- and post-test, as shown in Table 4-2.
Table 4-2: Coding of distinct scenarios labeled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How the couple feels when they win a free trip to Australia</td>
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<td>2. How the parents feel when they are expecting the couple to come home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How the man feels when the parents told him to not to go to Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How the man feels after calling the parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. In the man’s dream, how he feels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. In the man’s dream, how the parents feel when celebrating Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How the man feels after the dream</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. How the man originally feels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How the man feels when he realizes that they cannot go travel</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. What the man thinks he would feel if he goes to Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. How the man feels after some debate with himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How the couple feels their parents would feel if they do not go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How the couple feels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How the parents feel when the couple come home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How the man feels when they go home and see their parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How everybody feels when celebrating Chinese New Year together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. How children should make parents feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. The relationship between parents’ and children’s emotional state</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. What the parents used to feel but haven’t felt for a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. How the parents feel towards the man – cause for another emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. How the man feels towards the parents – cause for another emotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Number of distinct scenarios labeled**

Hypothesis 1 predicts a higher number of scenarios labeled with emotion lexical entries in the post-test than in the pre-test, which was tested by Wilcoxon signed ranks test. Hypothesis 4 predicts that homestay students would score the highest in scenarios labeled, followed by Chinese roommate and CSC roommate students. Tested by Kruskal-Wallis test, the independent variable was the accommodation groups, and the dependent variable was the gain score between pre- and post-test. Each accommodation group was also tested independently with Wilcoxon signed ranks test.
According to the final coding of scenarios, I counted the number of distinct scenarios in each performance of each individual student. Again, to take Emma’s pre-test as an example, her retelling has one emotion lexical entry that describes one scenario, and therefore the number of distinct scenario in her pre-test was one. Some students used more than one emotion lexical entries to describe one scenario. Audrey, for example, in her post-test, described the same scenario with three emotion lexical entries, but the number of distinct scenarios was still one: “他们应该给他们的父母打电话，所以他们可以告诉他们他们在在春节的时候不可以或者不会不会回家，所以这是让他的爸爸妈妈很很悲伤，很难受，除了除了难受以外，他的他的父母也感到一些失望” (they should give their parents a call, so they could tell them, they can’t or won’t won’t go home during Spring Festival. This made made his his dad and mom very grieved, very sad. In addition to sad, his his parents also felt disappointed).

The pooled data (n=25) were first tested. The mean numbers of distinct scenarios labeled are 2.52 (sd=1.45) in the pre-test and 3.04 (sd=1.74) in the post-test, implying a slight increase over time. To test for statistical significance of the effect of time, the Wilcoxon signed rank test was adopted. Observation of the histograms (Figure 4-1) and statistical tests of kurtosis and skewness suggest a lack of normal distribution, and therefore the non-parametric test is appropriate. The Wilcoxon signed ranks test showed no statistical significance in the rankings of the numbers of scenarios labeled in the pre- and post-test (Z=-1.22, p=.22, effect size=0.28), thereby rejecting hypothesis 1. There is 95% certainty that time, i.e. semester abroad, does not have an impact on the number of distinct scenarios these students could label. I will now split out the data by group to test for group differences.
Table 4-3 presents the descriptive statistics and Wilcoxon signed ranks test Z score and p-value of scenarios labeled for each accommodation group. The accommodation group means are plotted on the graph in Figure 4-2. These results show that the CSC roommate group outperformed the other two groups in the pre-test; while the Chinese roommate group displayed the largest positive change in the post-test, the CSC roommate and Chinese homestay groups improved only slightly.

Table 4-3: Descriptive statistics of Scenarios labeled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Pre-test M</th>
<th>sd</th>
<th>Post-test M</th>
<th>sd</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homestay (n=8)</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Roommate (n=7)</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>-1.58</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSC Roommate (n=10)</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (n=25)</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>-1.12</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4-2: Accommodation group means on Scenarios Labeled over time.

To test for the statistical significance of the effect of accommodation group on sojourners’ gain or the lack thereof in the number of scenarios labeled, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test is used. The gain score was achieved by subtracting the pre-test score from the post-test score for each performance. The Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted on the gain scores. The Kruskal-Wallis test showed no statistical significance in the difference among the accommodation groups in the gains of number of distinct scenarios labeled ($X^2=1.60$, df=2, $p=.45$). Hypothesis 4 can therefore be rejected. There is 95% certainty that accommodation (Chinese homestay, Chinese roommate and CSC roommate) does not have an impact on the gains in numbers of distinct scenarios these students could label. Wilcoxon signed ranks test on each accommodation also yielded no statistically significant time difference within each group.
**Distinct scenarios labeled: Group level**

Although the effects of time and accommodation do not show statistical significance on the individual level, further analysis on the distinct scenarios labeled on the group level revealed quantitative as well as qualitative differences.

Table 4-4 summarizes the scenarios identified by all students (n=25) in the pre- and post-test. The column ‘Timeline’ outlines the major plots or events by time of appearance in the video; in the last row of ‘Timeline’ are scenarios that do not have a specific place in the timeline but descriptions of feelings that the characters generally hold. The column ‘Scenario’ is a complete list of all the distinct scenarios labeled with emotion lexical entries. The “×” mark indicates the existence of the scenario, and the blank means otherwise.

As gleaned from the table, students as a whole group identified more distinct scenarios in the post-test (n=20) than in the pre-test (n=11). Adopting the analysis by Schrauf and Sanchez (2004), the difference was further explored by counting the number of scenarios shared across time. It is shown that students in the post-test identified essentially different scenarios from the pre-test. Across time, the students produced nine shared distinct scenarios, meaning that there were two scenarios unique to the pre-test and nine unique to the post-test. Figure 4-3 exhibits these differences in pie charts: the proportions of shared scenarios between pre- and post-test are in blue and the proportions of scenarios unique to the pre- or post-test are in red. The increase in the number of unshared scenarios in the post-test can be seen by comparing red areas across time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timeline</th>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>How the couple feels when they win a free trip to Australia</th>
<th>How the couple feels when they come home for Chinese New Year</th>
<th>How the couple feels when they call the parents that they are not going home for Chinese New Year</th>
<th>How the man feels when he realizes that they cannot go travel</th>
<th>How the man feels when the parents told him to not go to Australia (not in the video)</th>
<th>How the man feels after some debate within himself</th>
<th>How the man feels when they call the parents</th>
<th>How the man feels when the parents told him to not go to Australia (not in the video)</th>
<th>How everybody feels when celebrating Chinese New Year together</th>
<th>How the couple feels when they come home for Chinese New Year</th>
<th>How the man feels when they go home and see their parents</th>
<th>How the parents feel when they go home and see their children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>How children should make parents feel</td>
<td>How the man feels towards the parents – cause for another emotion</td>
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<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>How children should make parents feel</td>
<td>The relationship between parents and children’s emotional state</td>
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<tr>
<td>The couple wins a free trip to Australia.</td>
<td>The couple goes home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>How the couple feels when they win a free trip to Australia</td>
<td>How the couple feels when they come home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>How the couple feels when the couple calls the parents that they are not going home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>How the man feels when he realizes that they cannot go travel</td>
<td>How the man feels when the parents told him to not go to Australia (not in the video)</td>
<td>How the man feels after some debate within himself</td>
<td>How the man feels when they call the parents</td>
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<td>How the man feels when they go home and see their parents</td>
<td>How the parents feel when they go home and see their children</td>
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<td>The couple is on their way to the airport.</td>
<td>The couple is on their way to the airport.</td>
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<td>The couple goes home for Chinese New Year.</td>
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<td>The man debates with himself.</td>
<td>The man debates with himself.</td>
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<td>The man is preparing for Chinese New Year.</td>
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</table>
The two scenarios unique in the pre-test were a made-up scenario of “How the man feels when the parents told him to not to go to Australia” and a scenario that appeared in the video but was dismissed by all but one student, that is “How the man feels after calling the parents”.

Unique in the post-test were a scenario in the video but was overlooked by all but one student, that is “How the parents feel when they are expecting the couple to come home for Chinese New Year”, more details on the man’s debate in the dream and/or with himself, and most interestingly, descriptions of emotions that do not have specific time points in the video. Close examination of the five new scenarios describing the man’s psychological debate – “How the man feels after the dream”, “How the man originally feels”, “how the man feels when he realizes that they cannot go travel”, “What the man thinks he would feel if he goes to Australia”, and “How the man feels after some debate with himself” – reveals that they are mostly not the original events in the video but students’ inferences or interpretations of the video. The emergence of students’ interpretation is most evident in four of the five scenarios that do not fit into a specific timeline. Two scenarios – “How children should make parents feel”, and “The relationship between parents’ and
children’s’ emotional states” – occurred early in students’ retellings, drew explicit moral implications on parent-child relationship and the liability of children’s conduct on parents’ emotional states. The moral indications resemble the patterns Jing-Schmidt (2012) found in Chinese mother-child interaction wherein mothers socialized their children into the notion that mothers’ emotional wellbeing is dependent on the children’s behaviors, thus making children liable and responsible. The two scenarios, although each only produced by one student, suggests a deepened understanding of the moral lesson behind the story in the video and inception of the Chinese mediated narrative template that focuses on moral teaching. Two scenarios - “How the parents feel towards the man”, and “How the man feels towards the parents” – are not explicitly indicated in the video, but are reasonable inferences that can be drawn from the story. Seven students in the post-test depicted these two scenarios to provide causes for other emotions: how the parents feel towards the couple explains why the parents would feel that way when the couple called, and how the couple feels towards the parents explains why the man eventually decides to go home. Comparison of the scenarios across time thus reveals that in the pre-test students tended to recount the events happened in the video, whereas in the post-test their focus is not only on the events but also on the moral themes and interpretation and justification for the emotions assigned to the characters.

Within each accommodation group, similar patterns were found. Table 4-5 summarizes the distinct scenarios labeled by accommodation group. As gleaned from table, in each accommodation group, students also produced a higher number of distinct scenarios in the post-test than in the pre-test. The homestay group (n=8) labeled five scenarios in the pre-test and nine in the post-test; four scenarios were shared across time, and two unique to the pre-test and five unique to the post-test. The Chinese roommate group (n=7) labeled seven scenarios in the pre-test and eleven in the post-test; five scenarios were shared across time, and two unique to the pre-test and six unique to the post-test. The CSC roommate group (n=10) labeled nine scenarios in the
pre-test and 16 in the post-test; eight scenarios were shared across time, and one unique to the pre-test and seven unique to the post-test. The quality of the scenarios in the post-test also reveals more interpretation and moral indication. Given the small number of participants in each accommodation group, quantitative and qualitative comparison across accommodation groups is not made.
Table 4: Distinct Scenarios by accommodation group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Timeline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The couple wins a free trip to Australia.</td>
<td>N/A (No specific timeline)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The couple calls the parents.</td>
<td>For Chinese New Year:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents are expecting the couple to come home.</td>
<td>How everybody feels when celebrating Chinese New Year together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The couple goes home for Chinese New Year.</td>
<td>How the couple feels when they go home and see their parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The couple goes home.</td>
<td>How the couple feels when their parents would feel if they do not go home for Chinese New Year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The man debates with himself.</td>
<td>How the man feels after calling the parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man's dream, how he feels.</td>
<td>How the man feels after the dream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man's dream, how the parents feel.</td>
<td>How the man feels when he realizes that they cannot go travel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents are expecting the couple for Chinese New Year.</td>
<td>How the parents feel when they are expecting the couple for Chinese New Year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents are expecting the couple to come home.</td>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The couple is on their way to the airport.</td>
<td>How the couple feels when their parents would feel if they do not go home for Chinese New Year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels towards the parents – cause for another emotion.</td>
<td>How the man feels towards the parents – cause for another emotion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationship between parents and children's emotional state</td>
<td>How children should make parents feel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Pre, Post: Pre, Post: Pre, Post: Pre, Post: Pre, Post: Pre, Post:
In this section, the hypotheses tested were that there was a higher number of scenarios labeled with emotion expressions in the post-test than in the pre-test, and that there is an effect of accommodation on the number of scenarios labeled. Statistical tests on the number of distinct scenarios recognized by each individual does not show statistical significance across time or across the three accommodation groups, thereby rejecting the hypotheses. However, further analysis on the quantity and nature of distinct scenarios identified at the group level found positive changes across time: students as a whole group were able to identify more distinct scenarios in the post-test than in the pre-test; unique in the post-test were explicit discussion of the moral theme of the story and students’ interpretation of the characters’ emotions; and within each accommodation group, an increase in number and qualitative change across time were also observed. On the other hand, the effect of accommodation was not demonstrated in the data.

**Lexical diversity**

**Idiosyncrasy score**

Hypothesis 2 predicts a higher lexical diversity when labeling the emotions in the post-test than in the pre-test, which is tested by Wilcoxon signed ranks test. Hypothesis 5, predicting that there is an effect of accommodation on students’ gain of lexical diversity, is tested by the Kruskal-Wallis test. The independent variable is the accommodation groups, and the dependent variable is the gain score in idiosyncrasy across time. Each accommodation group was also tested independently with Wilcoxon signed ranks test.

The Idiosyncrasy Score measures the degree of uniqueness of lexical entries as compared to the whole group (see Schrauf & Sanchez, 2004); the more idiosyncratic/unique an individual’s lexical choices are, the more likely the person has a more diverse lexical repertoire. Idiosyncrasy
score was computed with the following procedure: (1) separately in the pre-test and post-test, the total type frequency of each unique emotion lexical entry was calculated; (2) each word is assigned the value of the frequency; (3) the average of each individual’s frequency score was computed, yielding the raw idiosyncrasy score; and 4) the raw idiosyncrasy score was reversed, yielding the final idiosyncrasy score. With the raw idiosyncrasy score, the lower the score it is the more idiosyncratic or diverse the words are. The reversed idiosyncrasy score, or the final idiosyncrasy score, is thus more intuitive and follows the same progressive pattern as the other measures. We will take Nathaniel’s pre-test as an example to calculate his idiosyncrasy score. In the pre-test, the total type frequency of 高兴 (happy) is 20, meaning that 20 students mentioned the word; the total type frequency of 喜欢 (like) is one, meaning that only Nathaniel mentioned the word. After assigning 20 to his use of 高兴 (happy) and one to his use of 喜欢 (like), the average (raw idiosyncrasy score) is 10.5. From the computation of raw idiosyncrasy score we can tell that the lower the score, the more idiosyncratic the lexical entries the individual used were. To achieve a reversed raw idiosyncrasy score, the following procedure was conducted: the type frequency of the most frequent word in the group + 1 - Raw Idiosyncrasy Score. In both tests, 高兴 was the most frequently mentioned word: its frequency was 20 in the pre-test and 19 in the post-test. Nathaniel’s reversed or final idiosyncrasy score in the pre-test is therefore 10.5.

The pooled data (n=25) was first tested. The mean idiosyncrasy scores of the students are 7.6 (sd=6.78) in the pre-test and 10.87 (sd=5.25) in the post-test. The histograms of the pre- and post-idiosyncrasy scores are plotted on Figure 4-4. These showed that there is an increase in idiosyncrasy score in the post-test. A Wilcoxon signed rank test was used to test for the statistical significance of the effect of time. The histograms suggest that neither the pre-test nor the post-test is normally distributed, so the non-parametric test is appropriate. The Wilcoxon signed ranks test yielded the Z score of -1.80 with a p-value of 0.07 and an effect size of 0.38. With alpha set to
.05, this result (p=0.07) only approaches significance. However, I argue that an effect of time may exist and that hypothesis 2 should not be rejected for the following reasons. First, as noted previously, the $p$-value is close to 0.05, and second, although the medium effect size is not large enough to detect the actual difference, some researchers in applied linguistics have contended that the alpha level 0.10 is more appropriate for the field (e.g. Larson-Hall, 2010). The grouped data was then tested.

![Figure 4-4: Idiosyncrasy scores in the pre- and post-test.](image)

The descriptive statistics and Wilcoxon signed ranks test Z score and $p$-value of idiosyncrasy score in each accommodation group is displayed in Table 4-6. The means of idiosyncrasy score are plotted on Figure 4-5. These data show little difference between the groups in the pre-test the idiosyncrasy scores; however, in the post-test the Homestay and Chinese roommate groups increased more dramatically than the CSC Roommate group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Pre-test</th>
<th>Post-test</th>
<th>$Z$</th>
<th>$p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homestay ($n=8$)</td>
<td>7.13 7.15</td>
<td>12.02 5.41</td>
<td>-1.52</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chinese Roommate \((n=7)\) & 7.86 & 9.14 & 12.42 & 3.00 & -1.18 & .24 \\
CSC Roommate \((n=10)\) & 7.85 & 5.19 & 8.86 & 6.11 & -.51 & .61 \\
Total \((n=25)\) & 7.62 & 6.78 & 10.87 & 5.25 & -1.80 & .072

Figure 4-5: Accommodation group means on Idiosyncrasy Score over time.

The non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test is adopted to test for the statistical significance of effect of accommodation on students’ gains in idiosyncrasy score across time. Subtracting the pre-test score from the post-test score of each performance yielded the gain score. The Kruskal-Wallis test showed no statistical significance in the difference among the accommodation groups in the gains of number of distinct scenarios labeled \(X^2=1.14, \text{df}=2, p=0.57\). Hypothesis 5 can thus be rejected. There is 95% certainty that accommodation does not have an impact on the gains in students’ idiosyncrasy score. Wilcoxon signed ranks test on each accommodation also yielded no statistically significant time difference within each group.
Distinct emotion lexical entries

Some evidence of statistical significance of the effect of time has been found, but there is no such evidence for the effect of accommodation. Analysis of the distinct emotion lexical entries on the group level further disclosed quantitative and qualitative changes.

Compared to their performance in the pre-test, the students not only increased the number of emotion lexical entries but also the number of distinct emotion labels: in the pre-test, they in total produced 77 emotion words with only 16 distinct emotion labels; in the post-test, they produced 100 emotion words with 30 distinct emotion labels. The same pattern was also found within each accommodation group: the homestay group (n=8) in total produced 22 emotion words with 6 distinct emotion labels in the pre-test, and 30 emotion words with 14 distinct emotion labels in the post-test; the Chinese roommate group (n=7) in total produced 16 emotion words with 5 distinct emotion labels in the pre-test, and 30 emotion words with 15 distinct emotion labels in the post-test; the CSC Roommate group (n=10), on the other hand, remained similar in the number of emotion words produced but increased the number of distinct emotion labels: they produced 39 emotion words with 10 distinct emotion labels in the pre-test, and 40 emotion words with 15 distinct emotion labels in the post-test.

The difference was also supported by counting the number of labels shared across time, which suggest that students in the post-test used essentially different emotion lexical entries from the pre-test. Across time, the students produced 13 shared distinct emotion labels, meaning that there were three emotion labels unique to the pre-test and 17 emotion labels unique to the post-test. Table 4-7 displays the distinct emotion labels shared and unique across time. Figure 4-7 exhibits these differences in pie charts: the proportions of shared lexical entries between pre- and post-test are in blue and the proportions of lexical entries unique to the pre- or post-test are in red.
The increase in numbers of unshared or idiosyncratic terms in the post-test can be seen by comparing red areas across time.

Table 4-7: Distinct emotion labels shared and unique in the pre- and post-test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shared</th>
<th>Unique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>高兴 (happy), 难过 (sad), 失望 (disappointed), 开心 (happy), 兴奋 (excited), 担心 (worry), 寂寞 (lonely), 生气 (angry), 糟糕 (awful), 喜欢 (like), 惊喜 (pleasantly surprised), 感谢 (appreciate), 激动 (excited)</td>
<td>有意思 (interesting), 伤心 (heart broken), 哭 (cry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td>想 (miss), 孤独 (lonely), 希望 (hope), 想念 (miss), 不好的感觉 (not a good feeling), 在脑子天气不好 (in the brain the weather is not good), 安心 (settled), 舒服 (comfortable), 难受 (sad), 麻烦 (troublesome), 幸福 (happy), 悲痛 (grieved), 惊讶 (surprised), 放松 (relaxed), 残酷 (cruel), 没有感觉 (no feeling), 爱 (love)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4-6: Proportion of emotion labels shared and unique in pre-test and post-test.

As each accommodation group, Tables 4-8 shows the distinct emotion lexical entries in the pre- and post-test within each accommodation group, organized by what were shared and unique in each time. Figures 4-7 displays the proportion of emotion lexical entries shared and unique in the pre- and post-test within each accommodation group. The increase in numbers of
unshared or idiosyncratic lexical entries in the post-test in the Homestay, Chinese roommate group and CSC roommate group can be seen by comparing red areas across time.

Table 4-8: Distinct emotion labels shared and unique in the Homestay group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Shared</th>
<th>Unique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homestay</td>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>高兴 (happy), 失望 (disappointed), 开心 (happy), 激动 (excited)</td>
<td>兴奋 (excited), 担心 (worry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td></td>
<td>难过 (sad), 想 (miss), 感谢 (appreciate), 惊喜 (pleasantly surprised), 难受 (sad), 悲痛 (grieved), 麻烦 (troublesome), 孤独 (lonely), 寂寞 (lonely), 想念 (miss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Roommate</td>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>高兴 (happy), 生气 (angry), 寂寞 (lonely), 难过 (sad)</td>
<td>担心 (worry), 在脑子里天气不好 (in the brain the weather is not good), 没有感觉 (no feeling), 开心 (happy), 想 (miss), 想念 (miss), 爱 (love), 孤独 (lonely), 舒服 (comfortable), 惊讶 (surprised), 失望 (disappointed), 喜欢 (like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSC Roommate</td>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>高兴 (happy), 喜欢 (like), 糟糕 (awful), 兴奋 (excited), 担心 (worry), 难过 (sad)</td>
<td>感谢 (appreciate), 哭 (cry), 惊喜 (pleasantly surprised), 有意思 (interesting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td></td>
<td>失望 (disappointed), 开心 (happy), 不好的感觉 (not a good feeling), 安心 (settled), 想 (miss), 放松 (relaxed), 残酷 (cruel), 希望 (hope), 幸福 (happy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Homestay: Pre-test**
- Terms shared with post-test: 0.68
- Terms unique to pre-test: 0.33

**Homestay: Post-test**
- Terms shared with pre-test: 0.29
- Terms unique to post-test: 0.71
In addition to the finding that students as a whole group and within each accommodation group used different emotion lexical entries in the post-test, further analysis on the nature of the emotion lexical entries, specifically the valence of emotion words, also uncovers difference. It is predicted that students’ lexical diversity improved most evidently in negative emotion terms than positive ones, which is based on two assumptions. First, as discussed in Chapter 2, the classroom context is likely to present opportunities for communication of some emotions, for example,
positive ones, and prohibit others, for example, negative ones (Dewaele, 2010); the study abroad context, on the other hand, is believed to trespass “the confinements of classroom discourse and of institutional constraint” (Kinginger, 2009, p. 145), thereby offering students access to a higher variety of emotions and more linguistic resources to communicate those emotions. Secondly, Schrauf and Sanchez (2004) found negative emotion lexical entries more prominent in one’s working memory.

I coded all the distinct emotion terms into the valence of ‘positive’, ‘neutral’ or ‘negative’. Table 4-9 lists the valence coding of each distinct emotion lexical entry. Some students have used positive lexical entries to express negative emotions by negating the term, for example, 不高兴 (not happy); however, only the original term, in this case 高兴 (happy), was identified as a distinct emotion label and coded into its valence, that is ‘positive’. Some other expressions - 不好的感觉 (not a good feeling), 在脑子天气不好 (in the brain the weather is not good), 没有感觉 (no feeling) – are phrases that students creatively came up with to meet their communicative needs. To preserve the integrity of the creative phrases, they were all coded as ‘negative’.

Table 4-9: Valence of emotion lexical entries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valence</th>
<th>Emotion lexical entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>高兴 (happy), 开心 (happy), 兴奋 (excited), 喜欢 (like), 惊喜 (pleasantly surprised), 感激 (appreciate), 激动 (excited), 安心 (settled), 舒服 (comfortable), 幸福 (happy), 放松 (relaxed), 爱 (love), 有意思 (interesting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>想 (miss), 想念 (miss), 希望 (hope), 惊讶 (surprised)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>难过 (sad), 失望 (disappointed), 担心 (worry), 寂寞 (lonely), 生气 (angry), 糟糕 (awful), 伤心 (heart broken), 哭 (cry), 孤独 (lonely), 难受 (sad), 麻烦 (troublesome), 悲痛 (grieved), 残酷 (cruel), 不好的感觉 (not a good feeling), 在脑子天气不好 (in the brain the weather is not good), 没有感觉 (no feeling)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The composition of emotion lexical entries in terms of valence was investigated. Change in the proportion of negative emotion terms was first computed, and the proportion was compiled
for each performance. For example, in Puppies’ pre-test, the distinct emotion lexical entries she produced were 高兴 (happy), 难过 (sad) and 孤独 (lonely). The total number of distinct emotion lexical entries was three, in which two were negative. The proportion of distinct negative emotion terms in Puppies’ pre-test is thus 0.67. Observation of the pre- and post-test found that they are not normally distributed. The Wilcoxon signed ranks test result showed no statistical significance in the rankings of the proportion of negative emotion lexical entries in the pre- and post-test (Z=-1.77, p=0.76, effect size=0.42). However, because the p-value is close to 0.5, the result shows some evidence supporting the prediction that the proportion of negative emotion terms increased over time.

To further investigate the pattern of valence, the proportions of positive, neutral and positive on the group level are compared across time. Figure 4-8 displays the proportion of distinct emotion lexical entries of ‘positive’ (light orange), ‘neutral’ (light grey) and ‘negative’ (light blue) of the 25 students in the pre- and post-test. Two patterns emerged: the post-test adds neutral terms, which were absent in the pre-test; and in the pre-test, positive and negative terms were equal in proportion (0.50), but in the post-test negative terms have a higher proportion (0.47) than positive terms (0.40).
In summary, the section tests the hypotheses that students would possess higher lexical diversity in emotion terms in the post-test, and that accommodation group had an effect.

Statistical test on idiosyncrasy score shows some evidence supporting the first hypothesis, while the second hypothesis was rejected. Analysis of the number of distinct emotion lexical entries across time and the percentage of emotion terms shared and unique to the pre- and post-test reveals that students used a higher number of emotion terms and essentially different terms in the post-test. Examination of the valence of emotion lexical entries also found some evidence that students increased in the proportion of negative terms in the post-test. On the group level, there emerged neutral terms in the post-test that were absent in the pre-test, and negative terms presented a higher proportion in the post-test than positive ones.

**Appropriateness**

Hypothesis 3 predicts higher appropriateness score in the post-test than in the pre-test.

Hypothesis 6 predicts that there is an effect of accommodation on students’ gain in
appropriateness. The first hypothesis is tested via Wilcoxon signed ranks test. The second hypothesis is tested by Kruskal-Wallis test, with the independent variable being the accommodation groups and the dependent variable being the gain score in appropriateness over time.

As discussed in Chapter 3, three native-speaking raters scored all the tokens of emotion lexical entries of all retells. The Appropriateness Score in the pre- or post-test was computed as the average of all the words an individual produced in each performance.

First tested was the pooled data. For the student participants (n=25), the mean appropriateness scores are 4.38 (sd=1.39) in the pre-test and 4.54 (sd=1.01) in the post-test, which implies a slight increase across time. To test for statistical significance of the effect of time, the Wilcoxon signed rank test was adopted. Observation of the histograms (Figure 4-9) suggests that the data in the pre- and post-test are not normally distributed, and the non-parametric test is appropriate. The Wilcoxon signed ranks test showed no statistical significance in the rankings of the numbers of scenarios labeled in the pre- and post-test (Z=-0.21, p=0.84, effect size=0.05), thereby rejecting hypothesis 3. There is 95% certainty that time does not have an impact on appropriateness score these students could obtain. What was tested then was the grouped data.
Table 4-10 presents the descriptive statistics and Wilcoxon signed ranks test Z score and p-value of appropriateness for each accommodation group. The accommodation group means are plotted on the graph in Figure 4-10. Chinese Roommate is the only group who enjoyed evident increase; CSC Roommate group remained same; Chinese Homestay group, starting off the highest, decreased in their post-test appropriateness score.

Table 4-10: Descriptive statistics of appropriateness score.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Pre-test M</th>
<th>Pre-test sd</th>
<th>Post-test M</th>
<th>Post-test sd</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homestay (n=8)</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>-1.01</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Roommate (n=7)</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSC Roommate (n=10)</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (n=25)</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To test for the statistical significance of the effect of accommodation group on sojourners’ gain in appropriateness score, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test is used. The gain score was achieved by subtracting one’s pre-test from the post-test score. Kruskal-Wallis test showed no statistical significance in the difference among the accommodation groups in the gains of appropriateness score ($X^2=0.36$, df=2, $p=0.84$). Hypothesis 6 can therefore be rejected. There is 95% certainty that accommodation does not have an impact on the gains in appropriateness. Wilcoxon signed ranks test on each accommodation also showed no statistically significant time difference within each group.

Despite that the effects of time and accommodation do not exist in appropriateness score, qualitative analysis on appropriate and inappropriate usages reveals differences across time. Table 4-11 displays the scenarios in the video and the entire corpus of emotion lexical entries considered appropriate and inappropriate for each scenario. As shown in the table, the majority of inappropriateness occurred in scenarios 3), 4), 5), 6), 7), 8), 9) and 10), which elicit negative emotion expressions, and the rest of inappropriateness occurred in scenarios 15), 16) and 22)
which require positive emotion expressions. This finding suggests that students encountered more difficulties when ascribing and describing negative emotions than positive ones.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios</th>
<th>Appropriate</th>
<th>Inappropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How the couple feels when they win a free trip to Australia</td>
<td>(excited), (happy)</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How the parents feel when they are expecting the couple to come home</td>
<td>(happy)</td>
<td>(not happy), (disappointed), (happy), (hope), (sad), (heartbroken), (angry),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not</td>
<td>(not happy), (not</td>
<td>(disappointed), (sad), (heartbroken), (angry), (hard:feel), (cry), (grieved),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>going home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>(meaning)</td>
<td>(not worried)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How the man feels after calling the parents</td>
<td>(awful)</td>
<td>(no meaning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. In the man’s dream, how he feels</td>
<td>(not happy), (happy)</td>
<td>(a bad feeling), (troublesome), (in the brain the weather is not good)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. In the man’s dream, how the parents feel after celebrating Chinese New</td>
<td>(happy)</td>
<td>(not happy), (lonely), (miss), (lonely), (lonely), (lonely), (lonely),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year alone</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
<td>(not happy), (not happy), (not happy), (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. In the man’s dream, how the parents feel when celebrating Chinese New</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
<td>(not happy), (lonely), (miss), (lonely), (lonely), (lonely), (lonely),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year alone</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
<td>(not happy), (not happy), (not happy), (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How the man feels after the dream</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How the man originally feels</td>
<td>(cruel)</td>
<td>(no feeling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How the man feels when he realizes that they cannot go travel</td>
<td>(awful)</td>
<td>(no meaning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. When the man thinks he would feel if he goes to Australia</td>
<td>(hope)</td>
<td>(no meaning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How the man feels after some debate with himself</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
<td>(not happy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.11: Scenarios, Lexical Entries and Appropriateness**
11. How the parents feel when the couple come home

(happy), (pleasantly surprised), (excited), (happy), (surprised)

appreciate), (loved), (miss), (worried)

12. How the man feels when they go home and see their parents

(happy), (like), (comfortable)

13. How everybody feels when celebrating Chinese New Year

(happy), (liking), (and loved)

14. How the parents feel towards the man

(miss), (happy), (loved), (miss), (miss)

15. How the parents feel when the couple come home

(happy), (loved), (loved), (loved)

16. How the man feels when they go home and see their parents

(happy), (liking), (and loved)

17. How the man feels when they go home and see their parents

(happy), (liking), (and loved)

18. How everybody feels when celebrating Chinese New Year

(happy), (liking), (and loved)

19. The relationship between parents and children's emotional state

(happy), (liking), (and loved)

20. When the parents used to feel but haven't felt for a long time

(happy), (liking), (and loved)

21. How the parents feel towards the man – cause for another emotion

(miss), (happy), (loved), (miss), (miss)

22. How the man feels towards the parents – cause for another emotion

(miss), (happy), (loved), (miss), (miss)
To further explore the nature of inappropriate, raters’ comments in the resolving conferences were coded (see pp. 71-75 for the procedure of rating in Chapter 3) into categories of inappropriateness: (a) strong intensity, (b) lack of specificity, (c) wrong emotion, (d) lack of clarity, and (e) not suggested in the video. Table 4-12 presents an example from each category, the accompanying scenario in the video, the raters’ comments where the coding was derived, and lastly the coding of categories of inappropriateness.

Table 4-12: Coding of categories of inappropriateness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Raters’ comments</th>
<th>Coding of category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>他的爸爸妈妈很悲痛 (His dad and mom are very grieved)</td>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>有点悲伤，有点伤心，但是没有这么严重；悲痛像人死了，完全没有把握这个度 (a little sad, a little heart broken, but not this severe; grieved sounds like people died. didn’t manage the degree well)</td>
<td>Strong Intensity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>他们有一个梦想，很不好的感觉 (they had a dream, a very bad feeling)</td>
<td>How the man feels after the dream</td>
<td>“不好”太朦胧，不能清晰表达出来情感 (“not good” is too vague, can’t clearly express the emotion); 没有接下来对事情的描述 (no description to follow); 没有具体 (not specific); 太笼统 (too broad); 后面要再有描述的话就可以 (if it’s followed with more description then it’s okay)</td>
<td>Lack of Specificity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>男人睡觉的时候 like dream like 爸爸妈妈 like 他们 like 不高兴 or lonely (when the man sleeps like dream like dad and mom like they like not happy or lonely)</td>
<td>In the man’s dream, how the parents feel when celebrating Chinese New Year alone</td>
<td>不是不高兴，是失落、失望 (it’s not not happy, it’s disappointed)</td>
<td>Wrong Emotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To compare students’ performance across time, Table 4-13 presents the number of inappropriateness in each category. Counter-intuitively, there were more instances of inappropriateness in the post-test (n=17) than that in the pre-test (n=9). The only category that reduced in number was ‘not suggested in the video’. The category of ‘lack of clarity’ remained the same across time. What increased slightly in number were the categories of ‘strong intensity’ and ‘lack of specificity’. The category of ‘wrong emotion’ observed the most increase in number from four instances in the pre-test to 11 instances in the post-test. Students seemed to make more mistakes on appropriateness towards the end of their sojourn than at the beginning.

Table 4-13: Number of instances of inappropriateness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pre-test</th>
<th>Post-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Strong Intensity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Lack of Specificity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Wrong Emotion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Lack of Clarity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Not Suggested in the Video</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To further compare the nature of inappropriateness over time, table 4-14 shows the scenarios and lexical entries that were considered inappropriate in the pre- and post-test. A common cause for ‘wrong emotion’ in both times is the labeling of negative emotions in the video as 生气 (angry) or 不高兴 (not happy) in describing, for example, how the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year. As two basic emotion words, they were used by some students to account for all negative situations, rather than presenting the scenarios with more nuanced description. Other instances of ‘wrong emotion’ in the post-test often occur in scenarios that are unique in the post-test and/or with emotion lexical entries that are new to the post-test. As students adventure with new understanding of the video and/or linguistic resources, mistakes can happen, which can be signs of development, as discussed in Chapter 2. Also in the post-test were a direct translation from English “no feeling” (没有感觉) and a borrowing from English metaphor 在脑子天气很不好 cloudy (in the brain the weather is not good cloudy). These novel expressions suggest that the students’ Chinese emotion repertoire does not meet their needs to describe the subtle emotions present in the video, and what they possessed in the pre-test no longer suffice to meet that need either.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Inappropriate</th>
<th>Not Portable</th>
<th>Not Appropriate</th>
<th>Not Happy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the couple feels when they win a free trip to Australia</td>
<td>(a) CRUDE (cruel)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 悲伤 (sad)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when they are expecting the couple to come home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>(a) 哭泣 (cry)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 愤怒 (angry)</td>
<td>(d) 悲伤 (sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>(a) 哭泣 (cry)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 愤怒 (angry)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels when the parents told him to not go to Australia (not in the video)</td>
<td>(a) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels after calling the parents</td>
<td>(a) 哭泣 (cry)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 愤怒 (angry)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man's dream, how he feels in the brain, what the weather is</td>
<td>(a) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man's dream, how the parents feel when celebrating Chinese New Year alone</td>
<td>(a) 哭泣 (cry)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels after the dream</td>
<td>(a) 哭泣 (cry)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man originally feels</td>
<td>(a) 独自 (alone)</td>
<td>(b) 独自 (alone)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels when he realizes they cannot go to Australia</td>
<td>(a) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels when he realizes they do not go home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>(a) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(b) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(c) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
<td>(d) 不舒服 (not happy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14: Scenarios, lexical entries and inappropriateness across time.
How the couple feels

How the parents feel when the couple come home

(appreciate)

(relaxed)

(relieved)

How the man feels when they go home and see their parents

(happy)

(comfortable)

(not worried)

How everybody feels when celebrating Chinese New Year together

How children should make parents feel

The relationship between parents and children's emotional state

What the parents used to feel but haven't felt for a long time

The cause for another emotion

New Year
In sum, this section tests the hypotheses that students would achieve a higher appropriateness score in the post-test, and that accommodation would have an effect on the gains. Statistical testing of appropriateness scores did not show statistical significance across time or across accommodation groups, rejecting the two hypotheses. However, further analysis on the group level revealed patterns of (in)appropriateness and change over time. Inappropriateness mostly occurred in describing scenarios that elicited negative emotions, which suggests that negative emotions presented more challenge for students in both the pre- and post-test. Coding of inappropriateness from the raters’ comments found that there were more instances of inappropriateness in the post-test than in the pre-test; the category of ‘wrong emotion’ increased most evidently over time. Qualitative analysis on the instances of inappropriateness showed the following patterns: the instances of inappropriateness in the pre- and post-test both demonstrate students’ overuse of some basic emotion words; students made more mistakes on appropriateness in the post-test, as they entertained new interpretation of the video and/or new linguistic resources, which could actually be signs of development; lastly, also in the post-test some students exercised creativity as a response to their lexical repertoire not meeting their communicative needs. The effect of accommodation was not observed given the small number of students in each accommodation group.

**Discussion and Conclusion**

This chapter explored the effects of time and accommodation on students’ abilities to recognize and express emotions, which were operationalized as the quantity and quality of scenarios labeled, lexical diversity and appropriateness in the video description task. The effect of time was generally substantiated, whereas the effect of accommodation group was not.
The scenarios labeled in the end of the semester were qualitatively different from those at the beginning of the sojourn. Instead of merely focusing on events in the video, newly emerged at the end of the semester were explicit discussion of moral themes of the story, and interpretation of the characters’ emotions. These show influence from the Chinese classroom. In David’s post-interview (2015/12/13), he discussed the three layers of discourse that were implemented in his language classroom: description, analysis and opinions. What can be inferred was that students moved from only describing the events to incorporating more analysis and opinions of the video, including the moral lesson and justification of the characters’ emotion. Articulating the moral theme also implies the genesis of a Chinese mediated narrative template that is heavy on moral lesson, and which could be attributed to the texts that students were learning in the Chinese classroom. Students’ recognition that children are liable for their parents’ emotion indicates that they were developing an awareness of the Chinese parent-child relationship.

That lexical diversity improved across the semester supports previous findings that vocabulary would develop in study abroad (e.g. Dewey, 2008; Ife, Vives Boix, & Meara, 2000), and the prediction that emotion-specific vocabulary would proliferate in this context (Dewaele, 2010). Development in the variety of emotion vocabulary could be attributed to students’ daily interaction with native speakers, classroom learning, and peer socialization. Native speakers included Chinese host families, one’s own and other Chinese roommates, and other native speakers that they overheard on the street, according to student interviews. Classroom learning also introduced students to some emotion vocabulary in my observation of the Chinese textbooks and class observation. Lastly, peer socialization also played a part. I observed that some phrases that were closely relevant to the students’ lives were often disseminated among the cohort. For example, I observed a discussion between Kimberly and Cindy after they came back from the group travel to the Silk Road. Cindy wanted to describe what she saw in the dessert – a crying
and sad camel, but did not know how to say “sad”. Kimberly taught her that it should be 難過 nanguo [lit: hard pass] (sad). Their shared experience and shared emotion contributed to such peer socialization.

The finding that students used more negative terms than positive ones at the end of the semester is an indicator of development. The classroom context is likely to sanction positive emotions but prohibit negative ones (Dewaele, 2015b). In the study aboard context, on the other hand, students could engage in more authentic interaction wherein communicating negative emotions is an essential part. Negative emotion terms were also found to be more prominent in native speakers’ working memory (Schrauf and Sanchez, 2004). Students’ use of more negative terms in the post-test suggests that their emotional lexical repertoires were moving from what they learned in the classroom to what they picked up in informal interaction in study abroad.

Contrary to the prediction that student would enjoy significant gain in appropriateness of emotion expression, the quantitative results indicated otherwise. At both times, students overused basic emotion terms, such as 生气 (angry) and 不高兴 (not angry) in place of more nuanced negative vocabulary. In addition, there were more instances of inappropriateness, especially ‘wrong emotion’, at the end of the semester. However, inappropriateness mostly occurred when students came up with scenarios and/or emotion vocabulary unique to the post-test. It suggests that when they ventured into new interpretation of the video and tried out new lexical resources, they were at risk of making more mistakes. As some researchers (e.g. Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) have argued before, making mistakes could indicate development. In the post-test, students were no longer restrained to their limited Chinese emotion repertoire, but creatively came up with emotion expressions that suited their psychological and communicative needs. Such creativity is well illustrated in 在脑子天气很不好 cloudy (in brain weather is not good cloudy), a phrase that one of the students made up by borrowing the weather metaphor from English.
The effect of accommodation group was not found. While the findings support previous research that reported no quantitative difference in accommodation, it could also be the result of the small sample size of each accommodation group and the high individual variation. For each measure, there were students who made gains, remained the same or lost scores in the post-test. For each accommodation group, the same pattern holds. As argued by previous researchers (e.g. Huebner, 1995), language learning in study abroad demonstrates high individual differences, and the assumption that students would have the same exposure and progress the same way is simply unwarranted. It is in this light that we make transition into the next three chapters – longitudinal case studies of Puppies (Chapter 5) and David (Chapter 6), who lived with Chinese roommates in the dormitory, and Audrey and Liz (Chapter 7), who lived with a Chinese host family. The ensuing three chapters examine how the students developed a repertoire to express emotions with native-speaking interlocutors in everyday interaction, and illustrate the linguistic resources these accommodation options provided, thereby shedding more light on the effect of accommodation on students’ linguistic development.
Chapter 5

Living in the Dormitory: Puppies and Kiki

This chapter presents a case study of an American student, Puppies, and her Chinese roommate Kiki (both pseudonyms) in the dormitory. The participants’ background is first presented. An appraisal of Puppies’ emotion language development was gleaned from her performance in the video description task, interaction with Kiki in the dormitory, the vocabulary section of the Mandarin Awareness Interview (MAI), and self-description of her learning. Dormitory interaction is the major form of data in the study, as it reveals what semiotic resources Puppies and Kiki used for emotion communication, and how participation in this practice facilitated Puppies’ linguistic development. As additional assessment of her overall proficiency gain was drawn from evaluations by Puppies, Kiki, and her Chinese instructor. To shed light on her linguistic gains, including emotion language development, her dormitory and study abroad experience as interpreted by herself and Kiki were discussed.

The Participants

Puppies was among the 25 U.S.-based students who participated in the larger dissertation project. 20 years of age, she was a junior in International Relations at a private university on the East Coast at the time of the research. Growing up in suburban Philadelphia, she is the daughter of an African American father and a Jamaican mother.

Her family language is primarily English. Her mother and relatives also speak Patois or Jamaican Creole. Puppies described Patois as a strong-accented “dialect” with elements of English, French, Spanish and Portuguese (Interview 2015/10/08). Her Patois repertoire is limited
to her contact with the language in the household: understanding her mother’s Patois and some of her relatives’, how her mother addresses to her father when she is angry, and address terms, for example, *pickney*, an affectionate term for children and, in Puppies’ home a term used when she and her sisters did something wrong. Her experience with Patois, according to Puppies, has greatly facilitated her language learning: “I think having a parent speaking a dialect that’s so strong–if you’ve never heard it you wouldn’t think it’s English–and having relatives that speak that, I think that’s probably what helped me pick up language so easily” (Interview 2015/10/08).

Before learning Chinese, Puppies studied Spanish and became very fluent. However, she was deeply bored by Spanish and other European languages as they share the alphabetic system as English and hence were “not a challenge” (不是一个挑战) (Interview 2015/10/08). When Chinese was first offered in her high school, she made the shift with alacrity. It was a relatively easy transition mostly because the tonal system has not been as much of a problem for her as for many other learners of Chinese. She played clarinet in high school and her music teacher trained her ears; as a result, she said: “my ears are very sensitive, so when I learn Chinese, tones, I don’t think I have many problems” (我的耳朵很敏感 所以我学中文的时候 tones 我觉得我没有很多问题) (Interview 2015/10/08). Before the sojourn, she had studied Chinese for four years: two in high school and two in university. Another language that is in Puppies’ repertoire is Korean. Although she had not formally studied the language by the time of research, she is a fan of a Korean boy band named Bangtan Boys. From my conversation with her, she showed her familiarity with Korean pop culture and would occasionally speak a few Korean words that she picked up from watching Korean TV and music videos.

At the study abroad program, Puppies chose to live with a Chinese roommate in the international dormitory in China University. She was in the intensive Chinese program and was placed in Third Year Chinese (Advanced). She had a four-hour long morning Chinese class
Monday through Thursday, and took other electives courses. She also had a one-on-one instructor who met with her for 30 minutes from Monday to Wednesday to go over the class materials of that day, and a tutor whom she met once or twice a week to assist with her homework.

Puppies’ Chinese roommate Kiki is a 20-year-old junior in software design at China University. Originally from Taipei, her family had moved to Jiangsu province with her father’s company ten years prior to the study. Living with an American roommate the second time, Kiki was motivated by the opportunity to learn English and American culture, make American friends, and eventually “blend in” with Americans (隕進去) (Interview 2015/10/10).

Her desire to practice English and learn about American culture was strong, partly because she was interested in the U.S. and partly because it was a task emphasized by her mother. In my first interview with Kiki, she took the opportunity to ask me questions about American culture and seek advice from me: she was curious and at the same time puzzled by what was presented on American TV, for example, dating practice and romantic relationships; she was curious about my experience in the U.S., and asked me questions about how to learn English, and how to resolve her dilemma between practicing her English and helping Puppies learn Chinese. I advised her to ask English language questions and discuss American cultural issues in Chinese. As shown in the dormitory recordings, Kiki has adopted this advice so that the pair often discussed social and cultural topics in the U.S. through the Chinese language.

Although Kiki has lived in Mainland China for ten years, her Chinese retains some regional characteristics from her hometown. For example, Puppies noticed the sociolinguistic difference of Chinese for the first time when they talked about hamburgers. Puppies was telling Kiki about famous burger places in the U.S., and she used the word 汉堡包 hanbao bao [lit: Hamburg bread] (hamburger); Kiki found it very interesting because she would simply say 汉堡 hanbao [lit: Hamburg] (hamburger) (Puppies interview 2015/10/08). As I will discuss later in the
chapter, Kiki’s emotional style is also characteristic of her identity as a young female from Taiwan.

In the following section, we will closely examine Puppies’ linguistic data. The following data are intended to complement and triangulate each other. The first is her response in the pre- and post-video description task. To recall, the previous chapter investigated the group tendencies in the measures of scenarios labeled, lexical diversity, and appropriateness. Here, analysis will focus on Puppies’ individual performance with regard to the three dimensions. The second linguistic data comes from audio recordings by Puppies and Kiki of their everyday interaction that took place in the dorm room. Relevant data from the vocabulary section of the MAI will also be considered. Lastly, I discuss other aspects of Puppies’ emotion language development, as indicated during her interviews.

Emotion Communication

Video description task

Table 5-1 presents Puppies’ scores in the pre- and post-video description task, and Table 5-2 displays scenarios and lexical terms in her responses. Transcripts and a translation of her retellings are shown in Appendix E.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scenarios labeled</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical diversity</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of scenarios labeled remained the same in both times: two scenarios reoccurred, and one was slightly different from that in the pre-test. This indicates that Puppies held a similar interpretation of the video or approached the task in a similar way each time.

As for lexical diversity, Puppies used the same emotion items in the two shared scenarios, which were 难过 (sad) and 高兴 (happy). In describing the parents’ feelings in the man’s dream or in the couple’s imagination, she changed from 寂寞 (lonely) to 孤独 (lonely), two synonymous terms. The switch could be a result of classroom instruction: Immediately after Puppies completed the post-video description task, she commented that they recently learned the word 孤独 (lonely) in class (Interview 2015/12/06). Her lexical diversity or level of idiosyncrasy, however, decreased. Her pre-test lexical diversity score was higher than the total mean (M=7.62) and the Chinese roommate group mean (M=7.86) (see Table 4-6 in Chapter 4); however, her post-test score was only slightly higher than the total mean (M=10.87) but lower than the Chinese roommate group mean (M=12.42) (see Table 4-6). This suggests that at the beginning of the semester, she presented a more diverse lexical repertoire than most of other participants, but did not progress as much as others over time. Another explanation is that the task runs the risk of not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios</th>
<th>Pre test</th>
<th>Post test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells them that they cannot go home for Spring Festival</td>
<td>难过 (sad)</td>
<td>难过 (sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man’s dream, how the parents feel when celebrating Chinese New Year alone</td>
<td>寂寞 (lonely)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the couple feels their parents would feel if they do not go home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>孤独 (lonely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How everybody feels when celebrating the Chinese New Year together</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
detecting students’ expanded emotion lexical repertoire because it only elicits certain emotions present in the video.

The appropriateness ratings she received both times were the full score. One the one hand, this implies that Puppies has had a good command of the mapping between emotion lexical items and appropriate scenarios. On the other hand, it suggests that she did not experiment with new interpretations of the video or newly learned lexical items. This lack of change in performance also points to a limitation of the task: performance alone does not tell the whole story. For one thing, metapragmatic awareness is also an essential component of one’s pragmatic knowledge (Henery, 2015; Kinginger, 2008; van Compernolle & Kinginger, 2013). Moreover, Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) pointed out that the same performance may underlie distinctive mental processes and developmental levels.

In summary, comparison of her pre- and post-video description task scores does not seem to indicate much change over the semester. In a sense, this finding is not surprising. For one thing, the task, only one way of examining her development in one linguistic aspect, can by no means capture all her changes. For another, quite frequently researchers cannot find quantitative improvement in study abroad, as discussed in Chapter 2. The result also came across as surprising, or at least puzzling, in the sense that it runs counter to my prediction that study abroad students would progress in pragmatics, especially emotion language, if not other linguistic areas, such as grammar. To resolve the mystery, the following section closely examines Puppies and Kiki’s dormitory interaction to see what linguistic resources they adopted to communicate emotions, and if Puppies experienced any development in this regard.
Interaction with Chinese roommate

This section first provides a synoptic overview of Puppies and Kiki’s dormitory interaction, and then examines a key emotional theme that emerged from the recorded dorm talk. I illustrate how Kiki assumed a style associated with the emotion theme and how Puppies was in the process of appropriating this style through participating in the dormitory talk.

Puppies and Kiki spent about an hour every day talking in the dorm room (Kiki interview 2015/10/10). They mostly chatted about their day and classes. Puppies reported that in the first month they have moved from “basic stuff” to “certain topics” (Puppies interview 2015/10/08). The topics were mostly U.S.-related. Some examples were events that happened in fall 2015, such as the Colorado Springs Planned Parenthood Mass Shooting and the then Presidential Candidate Donald Trump, perception of homosexuality in the U.S. and around the world, and cultural issues that confounded Kiki from watching American movies and series, such as dating culture and body shape perception. Puppies admitted that she learned more about her own culture through these discussions but had yet to ask Kiki questions about Taiwan (Interview 2015/10/30). Their inclination to talk about the U.S. was also due to Kiki’s interest. As discussed earlier, Kiki’s intention to learn English and know more about American culture has driven her to live with an American roommate. Another topic that they often brought up was pop culture, such as K-pop, American movies, and anime.

The language that they mostly used was Chinese. To cope with communicative difficulties, they developed strategies that were conducive to Puppies’ Chinese learning. When Puppies did not know how to describe something, she would give Kiki examples or paraphrase the word in Chinese. For example, when talking about vampire movies, neither of them knew how to say vampire in each other’s first language (L1). In this case, Puppies described vampire in Chinese: “this is a sometimes bad person. He cannot on the sun, under the sun” (これはある時
Kiki understood right away and taught Puppies the Chinese equivalent 吸血鬼 (vampire) (Puppies Interview 2015/10/08). This is how Puppies and Kiki managed to speak Chinese and not switch to English, despite their limited proficiency in each other’s language.

In terms of emotion language, a prime emotional theme emerged from the recorded dorm talk is that of fear, as signaled by emotion expressions of 害怕 haipa [lit: harm fear] (fear, afraid, scared), 可怕 kepa [lit: -able fear] (scary), 恐怖 kongbu [lit: fear intimidate] (horrifying) and 怕 pa [lit: fear] (fear, afraid, scared). The expression of such emotions was accompanied by conversational narratives (Ochs & Capps, 2001). Emotion is often constructed in narratives, and narratives are often driven by emotion (Kleres, 2010). Below, I examine Puppies and Kiki’s verbal repertoire of emotion in conversational narratives, and the genesis of Puppies’ competence in verbally communicating emotions in L2 Chinese.

Excerpt 5-1 was recorded on October 10th. Puppies explained to Kiki why she disliked a movie theatre at home, which laid the foundation for possible microgenesis of her acquisition of Chinese repertoire of fear-related expressions.

Excerpt 5-1 October 10th, 2015

1 Puppies: 我知道一 次
   I know one time
2 很多电影院有一个很大的问题因为
   many movie theatres have a very big problem because
3 unh 有的 news reporter
   because unh some news reporter
4 不知道怎么说
   don’t know how to say
   ((10 lines omitted))
5 所以这个人 uh
   so this person uh
6 这个人 <X 知道 X> 有的电影院有
   this person knows some movie theatres have
7 很旧很旧的玉米 什么
very old very old corn what
\((5 \text{ lines omitted})\)

8  Puppies:  所以他们常常放他们的旧爆米花
so they often put their old popcorn

9  Kiki:  [<>œœǐ<>ɬǢɉʙ˜]
在他们的新爆米花所以
in their new popcorn so

10 Puppies:  so they often put their old popcorn

11 Kiki:  yuk

12 Puppies:  所以他们可以 uh 花他们的食品
right so they can spend their food

13 Kiki:  yes

14 Puppies:  我觉得 <F 非=F> 常不好
I think (it’s) very not good

15 Kiki:  我也觉得非常不好
I also think (it’s) very not good

16 Puppies:  因为你的原因你不 uh 知道这个因为
because of your reason you don’t know this because

17 Kiki:  你看一个电影的时候
uh when you watch a movie

18 Puppies:  uh 有的 XX uh 知道你的味道
some XX know your taste

19 Kiki:  unh

20 Puppies:  不一样
not the same

21 Kiki:  哦
oh

22 Puppies:  我觉得很有意思
I think (it’s) very interesting

23 Kiki:  @ <=@ 好[好可]怕哦@>
so so scary

24 Puppies:  [所以]
so

Puppies set the affective key as negative with an emotion-laden word 问题 (problem)
(line 2). After seeking assistance from Kiki for two words (lines omitted), Puppies described the
condemnable behavior, although her utterance was grammatically inaccurate without the ba-
construction (lines 8-9). Kiki, at this point, displayed her understanding and emotional
intersubjectivity by uttering an elongated and louder interjection, indexing a strong emotion of disgust (line 10). Puppies subsequently confirmed that Kiki’s emotional reaction was appropriate (line 11). She then issued a general evaluation of the behavior with prosodic emphasis on the first syllable of adverb 非常 (very) (line 13), and Kiki showed her affiliation (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012) by repeating the exact wording (line 14). Puppies closed the story by showing her emotion with an epistemic phrase 我觉得 (I think), intensifier 很 (very), and emotion phrase 有意思 (interesting) (line 21). 有意思 (interesting) was the most frequently used emotional phrase by the CSC cohort. When asked about 有意思 (interesting) in the MAIs, Puppies considered it only appropriate when used positively and distinguished it from its rough equivalence in English “interesting”. In this excerpt, her use of the phrase in a negative scenario implies that her L1 was mediating her emotional concept (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006), and her metalinguistic knowledge had not transformed into performance. Kiki, when displaying her emotional reaction to the narrated event, responded with the highly affective intensifier 好 hao (so), emotion term 可怕 kepa [lit: -able fear] (scary), and sentence-final particle 哦 o (line 22), which modeled for Puppies a more affective and specific emotional response, namely fear, to the narrated scenario.

Intensifiers and sentence-final particles in Chinese are two productive linguistic devices to mark emotion. Lim and Hong (2012) found that 好 (so) displays overt emotional involvement in spoken register, specifically narrative discourse, 很 (very) is usually objective or neutral, 非常 (very) projects a stance of objective commentary, and 真 (truly) denotes deep emotionality. Sentence-final particles index high affectivity (Wu, 2004) and are associated with femininity, youth and a cute speech style (Diao, 2016). In particular, Chinese speakers from the region of Taiwan are observed to produce more sentence-final particles than mainlanders. It can thus be inferred that Kiki’s emotional response in line 22 indexed the speech style of a young female
from Taiwan. Puppies did not take up Kiki’s expression, but confirmed with 嗯 (unh) (line 24), implying that she could infer the negativity in the expression.

Excerpt 5-1 suggests that Puppies, despite some linguistic difficulties and ambiguity in meaning, was able to frame the story in negative emotionality. Meanwhile, her emotion expressions were not native like and lacked sophistication, with L1 influence of word choice and overly general evaluations. Kiki provided timely linguistic assistance, strong emotional response and affiliation, and modeling of a local emotion lexical item along with linguistic devices indexical of emotionality. Her use of the fear-related expression in the popcorn scenario that does not usually invoke fear could be her rhetorical means to show affiliation and intersubjectivity. The joint attentional storytelling thus afforded contextualized and locally relevant linguistic resources for developing a Chinese emotional repertoire.

Two days after Excerpt 5-1 was recorded, Puppies for the first time used the emotion term 可怕 kepa [lit: -able fear] (scary) to characterize a story she was going to tell. Immediately before the excerpt, Puppies and Kiki were discussing American politics and the resulting inequality between the rich and the poor.

Excerpt 5-2 October 12th

1   Puppies: 这个是一个真的 例子
    this is a real example

2   Puppies: 非常 <F 怕 F> 的例子
    very scary example

3   Kiki: 哦
    oh

4   Puppies: 我可以告诉你这个
    I can tell you

5   Puppies: 在美国 uh 最我们的百分之一
    the most our one percent

6   Puppies: 最 uh 有钱的人
    unh the most richest people

7   Puppies: 他们 uh 他们要全部的美国钱
    they uh they want all of American money
Puppies prefaced her narrative by emphasizing the truthfulness (line 1) and characterizing the emotional nature of the story as very scary (line 2). Unlike Kiki’s model in Excerpt 4 (so scary), Puppies used scared (scary) with an associative to transform it into an attributive adjective to modify 例子 (example). Her usage was an example of deferred imitation, an often-observed phenomenon that allows learners to analyze language “off-line” (Meltzoff and Gopnik, 1989, p. 38; cited in Lantolf and Thorne 2006, p. 107). The imitation was creative and operated within what she could analyze and understand (Chaiklin, 2003). After describing the story, Puppies displayed her emotion through a strategy she regularly used, i.e. repeated uttering of 为什么 (why) (line 15), an interjection 啊 (ah) and English just (line 16).

Excerpt 5-2 demonstrates Puppies’ creative imitation of the use of scared (scary) that transcended (Poehner, 2007) to a new story with a new scenario, implying her emerging control over this aspect of her linguistic repertoire (van Compernolle, 2010). Puppies’ use of scared (scary) to describe the income gap scenario that does not typically invoke fear could be attributed to her perception that Kiki often associated fear with news in the U.S. (Puppies interview 2015/12/06).
Towards the end of semester, Puppies and Kiki engaged in a horror and murder story marathon on November 29th. Kiki had been repeatedly displaying her feelings towards the stories with emotional words associated with fear, such as 可怕 (scary) and 恐怖 (horrifying). Excerpt 5-3 presents one of the stories that Puppies told, following Kiki’s telling of a tragedy involving a couple.

Excerpt 5-3 November 29th

1  Puppies: 我听说一个韩国的故事
    I heard a Korean story
2  Kiki: unh
3  Puppies: 也是一个男生男朋友女朋友
    also a guy boyfriend girlfriend
4  Kiki: unh
5  Puppies: 他们分- 分分开
    they pa-par-parted
6  Kiki: 嗯分开
    unh parted
7  Puppies: 他们分开的时候
    when they parted
8  音符 this guy (was) very very mad
9  然后他的女生女 uh 以前的女朋友去
    then his girl girl- uh previous girlfriend went to
    纽约留学我觉得
    New York to study abroad I think
10  然后她的同屋找找到她已经死死了
    then her roommate fou-found her already die-dead
11  他们不知道为什么
    they didn’t know why
12  uh no 不是这样
    oh no not like this
13  他们不知道她在 哪儿
    they didn’t know where she is
14  所以很多很多天我们的警察 uh 在找她
    so many many days our police uh was looking for her
15  然后他们找到一个
    then they found a
16  uh 我可以看一看
    I can take a look
17  ((4 lines omitted))
Puppies: uh 提箱
uh carry case
Kiki: 啊
what
Puppies: 提箱
carry case
提-提箱
carry-carry case
Kiki: 提箱
carry case
Puppies: 对 提箱
right carry case
(Kiki walks closer)
Kiki: 哦 提箱 提箱
oh suit case suit case
在手提箱里面
in (a) suit case?
Puppies: 在在土土土地里 土地下面
in in the soil soil soil ground under the soil ground
Kiki: 已经在土地下面啦
already under the soil ground
Puppies: 对 所以她的她的女女朋
right so her her her girl- girlfri-
以前的男朋友杀了她
previous boyfriend killed her
然后把她的身体放在一个提箱里面
then put her body inside a carry case
Kiki: 这样 XX
like this XX
Puppies: 不是他 just XX
not he just XX
Kiki: 全部吗
all (of her)
哦==
oh
Puppies: @@
Kiki: (H)
Puppies: @ <@真的 可怕@>
real scary
Kiki: 好可怕啊
so scary
Puppies: 哦 所以 oh my goodness
oh so oh my goodness
In this excerpt, Puppies demonstrated her competence in collaboratively narrating a coherent and tellable story. Her language was more accurate by using 听说 (hear say) (line 1) rather than 听到 (hear), and the ba-construction (line 30). She also adopted the Chinese narrative connective 然后 (then) (lines 9, 11, 16, 30) rather than 所以 (so). With respect to emotion expression, she emphasized the intensity of the murderer’s anger by repeating adverb 非常 (very) (line 8). In closing the story, Puppies described the story as 可怕 (scary) modified by adverb 真的 (really) to elevate the intensity of the emotion (line 37). Subsequently, Kiki echoed Puppies’ emotion but recast the intensifier into adverb 好 (so) (line 38). Similar to Excerpt 5-2, Puppies did not use 可怕 (scary) in the exact same way as Kiki often did, but rather creatively imitated Kiki by maintaining the emotion term and shifting the adverb into 真的 (really), although such collocation is ungrammatical.

To summarize, analysis of the naturally occurring interactions reveals the emotional repertoires Puppies and Kiki respectively possessed, and traces the genesis of Puppies’ linguistic repertoire associated with fear in Chinese. Puppies’ emotional repertoire included emotion-laden words, simple expressions such as 不好 (not good), prosodic emphasis on or repetition of intensifiers to signify higher emotionality, English-mediated emotion phrase 有意思 (interesting), repetition of why questions, and a newly acquired emotion lexical item 可怕 (scary). Kiki the expert speaker provided contingent linguistic assistance to Puppies, emotional responses of high affectivity, emotional affiliation with Puppies’ stance, and modeling of local emotion expression immediately after that of Puppies. By participating in the contextualized interaction with Kiki, Puppies gained “access to L2 repertoires that mediates L2 communication in situ [emphasis in original]” (van Compernolle, 2015, p. 84), which she could then creatively restructure to meet her communicative goals.
In the MAI, one of the tasks also addressed fear-related emotion, which asked students to compose a sentence using the emotion word 害怕 haipa [lit: harm fear] (fear, afraid, scary).

Puppies’ responses lent further support to her development in this realm with mediation from Kiki. Interestingly, Puppies was able to adhere to the linguistic resources that featured Kiki’s emotional style in the post-MAI. Excerpt 5-4 displays her response in the pre-MAI. Excerpt 5-5 and 5-5 respectively present her response in the post-MAI and explanation afterwards.

Excerpt 5-4 October 8th

1  Puppies: 哦
   oh
2  我听到在一个地方在中国里面
   I heard in a place inside China
3  他们有一个 glass 的 bridge
   they have a glass bridge
   (eight lines omitted)
4  他们有一个 <F 非= F> 常高的 bridge
   they have an very high bridge
5  它 uh 可是 the glass uh 坏
   it uh but the glass uh bad
6  Qian: unh
7  Puppies: uh like crack
8  所以很多人害怕因为如果
   so many people feared because if
9  他们 fall 怎么办
   they fall what to do
10 Qian: 哦
   oh
11 Puppies: 差-
   al-
12 我觉得他们 uh 死了
   I think they uh dead
13 所以这是一个不好的 thing
   so this is a bad thing

Excerpt 5-5 December 6th

1  Puppies: 所以我的我告诉我的
   so my I tell my
2  等一下
wait a second
unh 可以说告诉可以说
unh (I) can say tell can say
uh 我告诉我的同屋
I tell my roommate
我看到一个蛇在草里面
I see a snake inside the grass
她说 喜 好<>怕 害怕啊 @>
she says: “oh so sca-scared”
因为她的
because her
Qian: 真的
really
Puppies: 不是不是真的
not not real
只是一个句子
just a sentence
可是
but
Qian: @@
Puppies: 哦 她真的害怕 uh 蝴蝶还有
oh she is really afraid of butterflies
别的非常小的动物
also other very small animals
Qian: 哦
oh
Puppies: 她觉得他们很可-很漂亮
she thinks they’re very cu- very beautiful
可是我害怕它们碰我 <@ 所以 @>
but is afraid of them touching me so

Puppies’ post-test response showed qualitative progress from that of the pre-test. In the pre-MAI, she relied on code switching, described people’s emotions on the scene with only emotion word (line 8) and the cause (lines 8, 9, 12), and issued a general evaluation (line 13). Contrastively, in Excerpt 5-5, she narrated solely in Chinese, adopted reported speech, appropriately used 害怕 haipa (fear) in three syntactical structures (lines 6, 13, 17), modified the emotion word with adverb 好 (so) and sentence-final particle 啊 (line 6).

Puppies’ repair from 恐 pa (fear) to 害怕 haipa (fear) (line 6), synonyms that may differ in register and style (Liu 2007), responded to the task prompt and suggests that she had parsed the
components of 好怕啊 (so scared) rather than memorizing it as a chunk. While the incident in Excerpt 5-4 was a news event that Puppies read online, the hypothetical situation in Excerpt 5-5 came directly from her experience with Kiki. The distinction implied that Puppies became familiar with Kiki’s emotional style, and their daily interaction appears to have fostered Puppies development in the post-MAI.

Following her response in the post-MAI, Puppies provided elaboration on her report of Kiki’s emotional style, further substantiating the insights gleaned from Excerpt 5-5 and meanwhile adding some complexity to Puppies’ learning trajectory. She seemed to confuse the two words of similar pronunciation: 可怕 képà [lit: -able fear] (scary), and 恐怕 kǒngpà [lit: afraid fear] (afraid) that appeared in CSC supplementary material.

Excerpt 5-6 December 6th

1  Puppies:  恐 uh 可怕 害怕
          afr- uh scary are what she usually says
2  这个这个她常常说
       this this she often says
3  因为我常常告诉她美国的新闻[所以]
       because I often tell her American news
4  Qian:  [@@]
      然后她会怎么 说
      then what will she say
6  Puppies:  好可<F 怕 F>啊
          hǎo  kěpà  ā
          so scary
7  可<F 怕 F>啊
       scary
8  Qian:  她说可- 什么
          she says what
9  Puppies:  恐恐怕?
          afr-afraid
10 Qian:  恐怕 [uhn]
         afraid unh
11 Puppies:  [害]怕
          fear
As illustrated in the dormitory interaction, Puppies preferred to frame the emotion fear in syntactical structures that were different from Kiki’s usage. However, in the post-MAI, Puppies seemed to have developed the ability to narrate a story with higher affective local expressions, although with some ambiguity. I propose three explanations to the seemingly conflicting evidence from the two data sets. First, Puppies had not fully mastered the lexical item 可怕 (scary) and the indexical meanings of the intensifier 好 (so), and therefore was hesitant to use them. Secondly, as Kiki primarily modeled the use of 好可怕哦 (so scared) in a response position, or as a co-teller of Puppies’ narratives, Puppies, who was for the majority of the time the primary narrator, was sensitive to the role-reversion effect (Tomasello, 1998) and hence avoided using the expression. Finally, the identity associated with the emotion expression – feminine and cute – did not align with Puppies’ identity.

The first explanation is supported by Excerpt 5-1, as illustrated above, and a short conversation recorded on November 18th. When Puppies did her Chinese homework, one of the questions was to make up a sentence with 设施 [register: formal] (facility) and 昂贵 [register: formal] (expensive). Puppies entertained two options: 设施好昂贵 (The facility is so expensive) and 设施昂贵得不得了 (The facility is expensive to the point of impossibility). When Puppies directed the question to Kiki, Kiki presented a hypothetical scenario: “你跟你的朋友去星月湾，你看到一个东西, 好贵啊” (when you go to Star Moon Bay, you saw a thing, so expensive). In Kiki’s example, intensifier 好 (so) is associated with the monosyllabic version of expensive 贵 [register: informal] (expensive) and sentence-final particle. The short pedagogical conversation suggests that Puppies might understand the intensifier 好 (so) in terms of the degree of intensity but not the register and situation appropriateness. Kiki’s explanation did not provide any metalinguistic information, leaving Puppies to infer from the context.
The second explanation may not sustain, as there exist instances when Kiki told stories that would invoke fear and Puppies did not use the expression. For example, on November 29th, Kiki was telling horrifying news in Taiwan that involved disfiguring with sulfuric acid. Puppies actively participated in the story by supplying the emotional response “God, 糟糕, 已经糟糕了” (God, very bad, already very bad) when Kiki mentioned “chemical”, and actively guessing the exact substance that committed the crime. In displaying emotional response, Puppies opted for English God and 糟糕 (bad), an emotion-laden expression that appears in North American Mandarin textbooks rather than the local form that Kiki repeatedly demonstrated.

The third explanation is that frequent display of the emotion fear with highly affective devices, and hence a feminine and cute speech style, may not align with Puppies’ self-perceived identity. As argued by many, language acquisition is profoundly influenced by social factors such as identities associated with form rather than frequency (e.g. Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995). Linguistic failure, in this sense, cannot be simply understood as deficient learning, but “ways in which learners attempted to establish (new) identities and gain self-regulation through linguistic means” (Dunn and Lantolf, 1998, p. 427). Puppies’ use or non-use of certain emotional linguistic devices therefore can be a result of her “sociolinguistic agency” (van Compernolle & Williams, 2012) through which she decided which style and identity to assume and which linguistic forms to appropriate or not.

Learning of emotion language

In addition to interacting with Kiki, Puppies identified two other contexts where she learned Chinese emotion language. First was her language classroom: “lonely, this is not in our class, but it’s related to our class, so our teacher taught us how to use lonely…sad, happy, of
course I all, I ready know this kind of word because my teacher already taught us how to use them in high school” (个别 这个不是在我们的课里面 可是跟我们的课有关系 所以我们的老师教我们怎么用 孤独 难过 高兴 当然我所有 我已经认识这样的字 因为我在高中的时候 我的老师已经教我们怎么用) (Interview 2015/12/06). Secondly, she also received extra exposure to Chinese emotion language by overhearing people talking on the street and on campus. From Puppies’ account, we can infer that emotion language is also omnipresent in L2 speakers’ everyday lives, in her case in the dormitory and on the street. Emotion language, or specifically emotion words, is also part of L2 curriculum. In Puppies’ case, both naturalistic and instructed contexts contributed to her understanding of emotion language in Chinese.

Puppies also demonstrated her growing understanding of a key body part heart in Chinese emotion metaphor (Yu 2009). She reflected in the end-of-semester interview: “heart is in all the words…worry (担心), hurt feeling (伤心), in one’s heart (心里)...when I see heart I understand its meaning, and interesting (有意思), in the 心 and 思 they both have heart in it…heart is about a person’s feeling”. Awareness of the key emotional metaphor is an indicator of expanded emotional repertoire in Chinese.

In addition to recognizing emotion words and metaphors, she reported being able to identify how Chinese people feel by “inflection pattern”, or intonation: “If a person is happy, their voice is relatively higher; but if they’re sad, their voice is relatively lower”. She also observed a cross-linguistic difference between English and Chinese that bears consequence on emotion recognition. She had a epiphany with regard to Chinese fourth tone and sounding mad: “when Chinese people are talking, it sounds like people are yelling all the time… there’s a lot of fourth tone as emphasis when they’re speaking. And fourth tone the sound itself sounds so much like oh you can’t do that, like no, that tone sounds like people are telling you that you’re doing
something wrong in English” (Interview 2015/10/30). For Puppies, non-verbal cues, such as intonation and tones, play a critical role in her recognition of Chinese emotion. Although beyond the scope of the dissertation, future research can explore how L2 speakers acquire intonation to communicate emotion in another language (e.g. Jian, 2015).

In conclusion, although the video description task did not seem to capture Puppies’ development in emotion language, the dormitory interaction, vocabulary section in the MAI, and her reflection all demonstrated positive changes. The joint attentional storytelling in the dormitory afforded contextualized and locally relevant linguistic resources for Puppies to develop Chinese emotional repertoire, including but not limited to, fear-related emotion expressions, intensifier of high affectivity, sentence-final particles, the HEART metaphor, and intonation of emotionality. In what ensues, I discuss Puppies’ experience abroad as interpreted by herself, Kiki and her Chinese instructor. Two main themes are accounts of her Chinese proficiency gains and her experience in the dormitory.

**Interpretation of the Dormitory and Study Abroad Experience**

**Overall Chinese proficiency**

There were rich accounts of Puppies’ overall proficiency gains in my interviews with her, Kiki and her Chinese instructor. This section hence depicts her developmental trajectory across the span of the semester, which constituted a key part of her experience abroad.

When Puppies arrived in Shanghai early September, she had forgotten a lot of her Chinese because she did not take any Chinese classes in the summer. She reported being able understand her roommate, but not other Chinese native speakers, as they did not speak as slowly
and clearly as Kiki. After interacting with local people, Puppies had an important revelation that tones might not be as important as what her Chinese teachers in the U.S. told her: “when I was learning Chinese they really told us to focus on tones. But I’ve learned that when I’m speaking with people I don't they don't seem to put as much emphasis as on the tones as I thought. So I think I spent too much time picking up on the tones instead of just listening to the context” (Interview 2015/10/08).

By early October, Kiki noted that Puppies has made impressive gains over one month in terms of fluency and how much Chinese she could speak: “her Chinese is much better than September when she first came to China. At first, she would pause between each word, and then think how to say, or if cannot remember she would say English in the rest of the sentence. But now she can fluently complete a sentence…and speak Chinese all the time” (Interview 2015/10/10). Puppies also noticed that the range of topics that she and Kiki could talk about was much more wider: “in the first couple days we didn't really talk too much besides really basic stuff, you know, it's getting to the point when I know more words so we can talk more about certain topics and I’m happy” (Interview 2015/10/08).

In late October, Puppies considered her Chinese to be “a lot better”: “I’m talking with my roommate, so sometimes she speaks faster I’m able to keep up better. and there's always the whole oh how do you say 你可以告诉我怎么说 这个 在中文 (you can tell me how to say this in Chinese) but other than that, it's getting I think it's gotten a lot better” (Interview 2015/10/30). Meanwhile, she recognized her weakness in grammar: “because when I’m speaking or writing, I write it how I’m thinking of it. Not in the order someone speaking Chinese would say. You know.
It’s like the American grammar structure” (Interview 2015/10/30). In terms of speaking, Puppies made an interesting observation that she was a better speaker outside of the classroom than inside: “speaking in class I don't feel as comfortable speaking just because there are always new words. But with my roommate it's more fluid” (Interview 2015/10/30). We will discuss this point further later in this chapter.

For Puppies’ Chinese instructor, Puppies has made impressive gain from early September to mid November. Estimating from the ACTFL proficiency guidelines, she estimated that Puppies had progressed from Intermediate Mid to Advanced Low. According to the instructor, Puppies has made the most gain in linguistic complexity and discourse competence. Her discourse competence was displayed through her use of connectors, such as 对我来说 (as far as I’m concerned), 在我看来 (in my opinion), 其次 (secondly) and 主要的原因有哪些 (the major reasons are), and her ability to structure discourse, meaning that she could summarize, have an opinion and discuss an opinion. The instructor also commented that Puppies’ fluency and pronunciation were quite satisfactory.

The instructor contended that Puppies’ personality has facilitated her Chinese learning: “I think she has a relatively higher standard for herself, and she’s also very congenial. Because I think her personality is very good, because I feel that she can congenially express herself and congenially communicate with people… it’s very easy to communicate with her” (我觉得她既有既对自己有比较高的要求 她也很大方 因为我觉得她性格很好 因为我觉得就是能大方地陈述自己 也能大方地个人交流…你跟她交流是很轻松的) (Interview 2015/11/16). At the program, one of the requirements for students is to include new words and expressions in their speech as much as they can, especially when learning new words in class. The instructor noted that Puppies is the kind of student that made her job as a language teacher
rewarding. She said: “also she can use what you teach her in her own conversation. I think to see this interactive gain and improvement, I think it’s something very pleasant for a teacher to see” (而且她能够把你教给她的东西再用到自己的对话中去我觉得看到这样的一个互动的增长和进步我觉得是老师很欣喜的) (Interview 2015/11/16).

Towards the end of the semester, Puppies recognized her linguistic improvement with pleasure as “oh many. I can’t give you a, I know, it’s many” (Interview 2015/12/06). She was confident in her eloquence in Chinese in different topics: “so when I go back to the U.S., I think if my teacher asks me what, oh you can introduce this topic, I can tell her, oh this is about blah blah blah and then I can say many things. Of course I would forget how to say some words, but my content is, I can very clearly introduce her this topic’s content. So I’m very happy, because before I came to Shanghai I couldn’t, I really couldn’t” (所以我回美国的时候我觉得如果我老师问我什么你可以介绍一下一个话题我可以告诉她哦这个关于blah blah blah然后我可以说很多当然我会忘了怎么说有的字可是我的内容我可以很清楚地给他介绍一下这个话题的内容所以我很高兴因为我来上海以前不可以真的不可以) (Interview 2015/12/06). Another important gain was that she could use the context to more quickly recognize people’s meaning. She noted: “so then they say something, I need to wait, what did they say, oh this is what it means. Then I can say oh I think blah blah blah blah blah. but now I don’t need to spend a lot of time speaking to them. Do you know what I mean? don’t need to spend a lot of time to understand each word’s meaning. I can’t understand all the words, but I understand most of them” (所以然后他们说什么我需要等一下他们说什么哦这是什么意思然后我可以说哦我觉得blah blah blah blah blah可是现在我不需要花很多时间跟他们说话明白我的意思吗不需要花很多时间去明白每一个字的意思我不可以明白所有的字但是大部分的字我明白)
To compare her focus on each tone and character at the beginning of the semester, the ability to read meaning from the context is an important one.

Through examining Puppies’ developmental trajectories described from the different perspectives, I conclude that she has made important linguistic gains not limited to emotion language. From a speaker whose speech was characteristic of classroom learning, Puppies progressed to a competent Chinese speaker who could confidently and eloquently talk about a wide array of topics and could infer meanings from situated context. She was a good classroom learner, but she did not stop there. In the naturalistic context, she kept reflecting on her classroom practice and what was actually present in her interaction with local people. In this way, her learning in and outside the classroom mutually benefited each other and formed an organic whole. In what follows, we mainly focus on her experience in the dormitory, the most important site where her Chinese learning took place.

**Time in the dormitory**

Time in the dormitory played a key role in Puppies’ sojourn abroad. First and foremost, as illustrated above, the quality of interaction with Kiki afforded rich opportunities for contextualized language learning including, but not limited to, fear-related emotion language. Secondly, dormitory interaction was the site where Puppies and Kiki nurtured a relationship with each other, which in turn mediated the language learning opportunities available. This is why in this section I examine how Puppies and Kiki interpreted their experience in the dormitory, and specifically how they perceived their relationship. This will lend further insight into Puppies’ language development.
During the semester, Puppies and Kiki have nurtured a convivial relationship with each other. For Puppies, their relationship started out well and grew better as time went by. In the first interview, Puppies showed her intention to develop a relationship with Kiki beyond room sharing: “I want to be able to get to know her very well, won't just be ‘oh can I turn off the lights?’ ‘I’m okay’. Yeah ‘I’m waking up’. ‘Oh, I’m okay’. You know” (Interview 2015/10/08). In the end of the semester, when asked about whether there were any awkward moments with Kiki, Puppies replied: “We are not very awkward I think. We’re both very comfortable. So I’m very happy. I’ll miss my roommate. I’m going to cry, because she’s very useful and very friendly. She helps me. She has help” (我们不太尴尬我觉得我们都很舒服所以我很高兴我会想我的同屋我要哭了因为她非常非常有用也很友好她帮助我她有帮助) (Interview 2015/12/06). Three factors contributed to Puppies’ appreciation of her dormitory experience: Kiki always helped her learn Chinese; Kiki never asked questions that were inappropriate, meaning targeted at who she is as a person or at race; there was frequent food sharing, and they had shared interests.

That Kiki was helpful in Puppies’ Chinese learning has been a reoccurring theme in all of Puppies’ interviews. Kiki was familiar with Puppies’ linguistic repertoire and sensitive to her ZPD: Kiki would speak faster if Puppies knew the words, and otherwise slower. Also, Kiki helped her identify appropriate expressions from the entries Plecco provided, thereby enhancing Puppies’ understanding of the expressions from not-always-accurate English translations to locally relevant concept. Puppies reported: “she can teach me how to say very normal speech. just you often would hear, other people say this. so often use Plecco to write English. If I have many choices I would give my roommate a look, so she would tell me: ‘oh it’s the fourth one’ ‘It’s the third one’. If it’s not the first, it’s the third, I say: ‘oh why?’ so she would tell me, because the first one is about, the third one is about blah blah blah” (她可以教我怎么说 很普通的话 就是 你常常你会听 别的人说这个话 所以常常用 Plecco 写英文 如果我有很多选择我会给我同屋
Furthermore, Kiki assisted Puppies in the learning of pronunciation, especially tones. Puppies shared a fun anecdote in which she was confused by the similar sounds of several Chinese words. In the anecdote, Puppies tried to learn the pronunciation of “rain boots” in Chinese, which is 雨靴 (lit: rain boot) (rain boots); however, she sometimes pronounced it as 雨鞋 (lit: rain shoe) (rain shoes). In her interaction with Kiki, she complained that the only difference among 靴 (boot), 学 (study) and 雪 (snow) was tones, and that the pronunciations of 鞋 (shoe) and 靴 (rain boot) are too similar. Amusing for both Puppies and Kiki, this incident allowed the former to compare the pronunciation of several Chinese characters.

I don’t know how to say rain boots in Chinese. I asked her rain boots is 雨鞋 (rain shoes) right? so I told her, right, she said, right. I why there are so many 雨字 in Chinese? 雨字 in 雨靴 (study), 雨在 雨靴 (rain shoes). 雨在 雨靴 (snow), and also I forgot. oh they’re not the same. it’s a 雨靴 (snow), 雨靴 (rain boots), so I laughed a little bit. Because I said: ‘it’s so troublesome’… but in English 雨靴 (shoes) are shoes, 雨靴 (shoes) are boots. They don’t sound alike, but in Chinese shoe and boot sound very much alike (我不知道怎么说 雨靴 在中文 我问他 雨靴 是雨鞋 对不对 所以我告诉她 雨鞋 对不对她说 对的 我为什么中文有这么多 雨靴 学习的学 雨靴的鞋 下雪的雪 还有我忘了 哦 他们不是一样 是一个下雪 雨靴 所以我们笑一下 因为我说 好麻烦@@ 可是 在英文 鞋 雨靴 是雨靴 靴是 boots 他们听起来不像 可是在中文靴和靴听起来非常像)

(last but not least, their convivial relationship rendered the dormitory interaction with Kiki a space for Puppies to practice Chinese. Puppies shared that “she's my roommate I feel like she...
would help me more correct my grammar if I say something wrong. but if I’m trying to speak to like people on the street, it's more my language is a little more basic…yeah. and then if I get comfortable with that, then I can use that more often, but if I’m not sure how to use it with someone, I don't really try to use it in public before my roommate, cuz i don't wanna sound stupid” (Interview 2015/12/06). This quote well illustrates the importance of the quality of relationship in a student’s language learning abroad. Students and their host families or Chinese roommates are, after all, people, who cannot escape interpersonal relationships. It is thus not helpful to reduce sojourners to just “learners” or “variables”, and not consider the complexity of social relationship or identity.

For Puppies, another reason that she and Kiki were able to get along was that Kiki’s way of asking questions was always appropriate. Puppies contrasted her experience with that of her friend, who is also black and lived with a Chinese roommate. In her friend’s case, the Chinese roommate “keep[s] asking her questions that seem targeted at race a lot” (Interview 2015/10/30). The Chinese roommate raised many specific questions about the American student’s tight fitting clothes, short hair and body shape, for example “where do you get your clothes? I wanna wear tight clothes like you. I wanna be more sexy like you” and “how do you get your butt to be so big” (Puppies interview 2015/10/30). In comparison, Kiki never framed her questions as personal ones, but only out of curiosity of American culture. She would ask Puppies questions like “what x, y and z is perceived to be in the United States?” Puppies concluded: “with my roommate, I’ve never had her ask me like weird crazy questions. It might be because she's nervous too. But at the same time I don't think so because she was perfectly fine asking me about American’s view on big butts and stuff like that.” In my interviews with Kiki, she actually expressed some concerns over asking Puppies certain questions, for example, why Americans, from what she saw on TV, seemed to develop a sexual relationship so quickly, and how black people from more privileged
background like Puppies are perceived in the U.S. As can be seen from the dorm room recordings, Kiki managed to raise questions related to romantic and sexual relationship, but not those that were race-related. There were instances when Puppies talked to Kiki about her opinion on race issues in the U.S., for example, the obstacles that former president Barack Obama faced in implementing his policies because he is black. Kiki, in this case, was mostly a listener, and would express solidarity with Puppies. From here, implications can be drawn in terms of study abroad program design. When training Chinese roommates, awareness can be raised on how to ask questions that would invoke shared interests and that are appropriate. Also, if language classrooms abroad can provide a space for students to share their confusion and frustration with their host families or Chinese roommates, language teachers can provide cultural insights or an alternative interpretation. In the case of the Chinese roommate, she might simply want to show her interest in knowing her American roommate and develop a close friendship; she might be equally frustrated and confused when her good intention was not well received.

The issue of race was only suggested by Puppies, but never highlighted. When asked if she had any bad experiences, she thought that her identity as a foreigner might have limited her opportunities to speak Chinese, and suggested that the situation could be exacerbated by the fact that she is black.

so there was a little pancake place outside the side gate that I like to get breakfast. The first time I spoke Chinese I don't think they were expecting me to be able to speak Chinese. I know us as foreigners as a whole they're not expecting us to speak Chinese, but in my case they're probably expecting me not to speak any Chinese at all (Interview 2015/10/08)

What Puppies was suggesting in “in my case” was illustrated when she performed blackness in her ensuing comments: “I haven't had any bad experience, yeah there've been stares and people
have been trying to take pictures. But that I know that's to be expected cuz I don't look like anybody” (Interview 2015/10/08). Her intonation indexed performance of blackness.

In the dorm room recording, Puppies had more detailed accounts of how being a foreigner and black mediated her relationship with local people. In Excerpt 5-6, Puppies told a story of taking revenge on a person who tried to take a picture of her. Kiki showed her affiliation with Puppies, and explained the person’s behavior by the possibility that he rarely saw foreigners.

**Excerpt 5-6 October 10th**

1. **Puppies** a we went to Yu Garden Temple. (You) under-understand?
2. **Kiki**
   - oh
3. **Puppies** a person was taking a pic taking me and my friends’ picture
   - so I put my cell phone in my uh ((probably gesture))
4. **Kiki**
   - ah your face
5. **Puppies**
   - on my face
6. **Kiki**
   - in front of (your) face
7. **Puppies**
   - right in front of my face. his his facial expression seemed very mad, but
8. **Kiki**
   - what?
9. **Puppies**
   - I don’t know why
   - because you took my picture, so why can’t I take a picture of you?
10. **Kiki**
    - oh
11. **Puppies** I think it’s very in- very weird
12. **Kiki**
    - <HI>没有办法 没有办法 HI>
    - sigh, there’s nothing we can do, nothing we can do
13. **Puppies**
    - I think it’s very in- very weird
14. **Kiki**
    - sigh, there’s nothing we can do, nothing we can do
15. **Puppies**
16. **Puppies**
   - I think
Puppies complained about people who would point at her and discuss her right in front of her face, but appreciated those who would strike up a conversation and asked for permission to take a picture. For Puppies, the latter “don’t think I’m an animal, or I’m in a museum” (不觉得我是一个动物或者我在一个博物馆) (Recording 2015/10/10). She shared with Kiki a pleasant encounter with a Chinese couple in Excerpt 5-7.

**Excerpt 5-7 October 10th**

1. Puppies 嗯 我们 我们 看 豫园寺庙 看完 我们会地铁
   uh we we saw Yu Garden Temple, after that we would subway
2. 所以我们走路的时候 一个 两个老人 她额
   so when we walked, a two seniors she uh
3. 不是打 可是 like pat
   not hit, but like pat
4. Kiki 哦 拍
   oh pat
5. Puppies 她 她的 pat like qu qu qu 她的老公的胳膊
   she her pat like qu qu qu her hubby’s arms
6. 所以他可以 额 让他的胳膊看 这个 看我们
   so he can uh let his arms see this see us
7. 她说
   she said
8. Kiki 外国人
   foreigner
9. Puppies 对对对 你 看 黑人他们都很漂亮
   right right right. you see black people they’re all very pretty
10. *I was like* 谢谢你 @@@
    *I was like* thank you
11. 所以她 所以我的表情 我听到这个
    so her so my facial expression when I heard this
12. Kiki 你听到了
    you heard it
13. Puppies 我表情改变 所以她知道我可以听[懂]
    my facial expression changed, so she knew I could understand
14. Kiki [听懂]嗯
    [听懂]eh
    understand unh
15. Puppies 所以她的表情也改变 所以我觉得很 @@@
    so her facial expression also changed, so I think it’s very
16. Kiki 她她是这样
she she’s like this?

17 Puppies 嗯嗯 @
unh unh
18 Kiki @@@@@
19 Puppies 真的很好玩 @@@
it’s really fun
20 Kiki 哦 你听得懂
oh you could understand
21 Puppies 所以在 啊 你可以说中文吗
so in “ah can you speak Chinese?”
22 一点
“a little”
23 啊 好棒啊
“ah you’re good”
24 Kiki 对对对 会很惊讶
right right right (they) would be very surprised
25 Puppies @@@ 我觉得很可爱
I think it’s very cute
26 所以他们 我觉得他们没有问题
so them I think they had no problem
27 别的人 有的时候有问题可是
other people sometimes have problems but
28 我明白因为 我很在里我很我不普通 所以
I understand because I I’m in there I’m very I’m not ordinary, so
29 Kiki 嗯嗯
unh unh
30 Puppies 没关系
it’s okay

At the end of the excerpt, Puppies downplayed the issue and concluded that “I I’m very. In there I’m very not ordinary, so it’s okay” (我 我很 在里面我很 我不普通 所以没关系) (lines 28, 30), pointing to her difference appearance and racial identity.

In addition to Kiki being helpful in Puppies’ Chinese learning and sensitive to Puppies’ identity, the third reason why they cultivated a good relationship, according to Puppies, was their frequent food giving, and shared living habits and interests. “Food is always the baseline for creating relationships”, said Puppies (Interview 2015/10/30). Kiki often shared food with Puppies. Food sharing, a practice that Puppies was not familiar with at first, “is really really cool”
(Puppies Interview 2015/10/08). She further reflected: “We don’t normally do that too much in the States. We should. It’s fun” (Interview 2015/10/08). Food sharing is a common practice in Chinese culture; also accepting the food being offered is also critical to relationship building. From this case, we can see that food plays a crucial role in establishing a relationship not only in the homestay (see e.g. Kinginger, Lee, Wu, & Tan, 2016) but also in the student dormitory. It is thus helpful for all students abroad to grow awareness of food-related expressions and cultural differences. Besides food sharing, they also have similar living habits, for example, sleeping and waking up time and temperature preference. At the beginning, Puppies did not understand why Kiki would keep her lamp on during sleep, but later she had no problem with this at all. A useful suggestion that Puppies gave to future sojourners was that to treat the first few weeks as a test period, and wait until later to decide if this issue needs to be addressed or not. She explained: “it's just it's an adjustment phase, so I think for people who come here, just try and treat first few weeks as just like an adjustment phase. Keep tracks of what bothers you and what doesn't bother you, and then come in address it again next week to see if it's still as annoying” (Interview 2015/10/30). She pointed out that what bothered her at first was simply because she was not used to it, and later she found it to be perfectly normal.

After surveying Puppies’ interpretation of her sojourn, I now turn to Kiki’s perspective. For Kiki, her relationship with Puppies has been quite harmonious as well. However, she considered their relationship to be light (淡淡的) and not very intimate (没有很亲密), similar to that with her last American roommate (Interview 2015/10/10). For Kiki, intimacy with a female friend means “holding hands and hugging each other” (挽着手 捧在一起) (Interview 2015/10/10). She continued, “don’t ordinary girls hold each other’s hands when walking, and would act cute and tell jokes, stuff like that” (不是一般女生不都是走路的时候勾着手嘛 然后什么事就会撒娇 开玩笑之类的 那种嘛). From here, we can get a glimpse of what intimacy and
femininity indicate for Chinese urban youth like Kiki. The concept of intimacy between female friends can be drastically different in American culture. Their different way of achieving intimacy and perceiving femininity could partly explain why Kiki considered their relationship to be harmonious but not intimate.

Another reason that impeded their development of intimacy was the language barrier. Kiki disclosed to me that because her oral English is not good, she did not feel that she could blend in with Americans. Besides her limited English, Kiki was concerned that Puppies could not always understand her. Kiki said: “sometimes I think she might be able to understand what I said, but she didn’t respond. I don't know if she understood me or not” (有时候我觉得我说的那个她可能能听懂 可是她没有回我 我就不知道她到底听懂没听懂) (Interview 2015/11/11).

At the same time, Kiki later found more commonalities with Puppies after realizing that Puppies did not confirm her impression of an American student who did not care about studying and would go out late every night. In the second interview, Kiki affirmatively told me that: “I really think that my roommate is different from other Americans” (我真的觉得我的室友跟其他美国人不一样欸) (Interview 2010/11/11). In Kiki’s observation, Puppies would not go out if she had class the next day, did not care for drinking, and always studied hard. She recalled a conversation between Puppies and her American friend: “then she said, asked her friend saying: ‘oh what did you do yesterday?’ Her friend would say: ‘we had a good time yesterday. We drank a lot yesterday.’ stuff like that. Then Puppies would say: ‘oh then? drinking, and then?’”(然后她说 问她朋友说 哦你们昨天干嘛啦 她朋友会说 我们昨天很高兴 昨天喝了很多酒 之类的 然后 puppies 就会说 哦 然后呢 喝酒 然后呢) (Interview 2015/11/11).

Kiki also found Puppies and her previous roommate to be courteous and considerate, rejecting her previous perception formed through hearsay and the Chinese roommate training
session. In the training session for Chinese roommates, the housing coordinator told them that sometimes Americans do not care about others’ feeling as much as Chinese. Kiki recounted the anecdote that the housing coordinator shared with them. One time, an American and Chinese teacher led a team of students to an event. The Chinese teacher asked the American teacher if they could hurry up a little since she had another appointment right after. The American teacher replied, “It’s your own business” and refused to do so. However, unlike the Americans described in the anecdote, Kiki found both of her American roommates to be courteous, polite and considerate, and would always ask her for permission to do things that might affect her. Actually, Puppies also perceived Kiki to be as polite and courteous. It was their shared quality that made it possible to nurture a positive relationship and to counter stereotypical impression of each other.

Another point discussed in the Chinese roommate training session could lend further insight onto the different emotional styles that Chinese and American might take. The housing instructor encouraged the Chinese roommates to speak their true feelings: “if there’s anything, don’t hold it in your heart. Foreign students aren’t necessarily right, so you need to speak out” (有什么不要闷在心里 外国学生不一定是对的 所以你们要说出来) (Interview 2015/11/11).

An experienced Chinese roommate shared her story with Kiki and other new roommates:

One time her roommate asked her, can she bring a male classmate back. She first said oh okay it’s okay I don’t care. But after five minutes, the more she thought about it the more she felt that it was not a good idea. So she decided to tell her roommate, saying: “I’m sorry. It’s better that you don’t bring him back” and stuff like that. And her roommate hugged her, thanking her for saying that, because her teacher told her that Chinese people are afraid to speak out, and always hold their feelings in their heart, so I’m very happy that you can say it (她有一次 她的室友问她说 她能不能把男同学带回来 她一开始说 哦 好好 好没关系 我不介意 可是过了 5 分钟之后 她越想越觉得不好 然后干脆就跟)
This anecdote demonstrated the implicit emotional style that Chinese usually take when facing differences (Gao & Ting-Toomey, 1998). Such style was also assumed by the host mother in the present study. Audrey and Liz’s host mother in the interview commented that she preferred not to tell the students what they did wrong but would rather let them realize by themselves, because telling them directly is not meaningful any more. I will discuss this further in Chapter 7. What can be gleaned here is that the different emotional style of Chinese and American could pose some challenges in the homestay and the dormitory. The training sessions helped the Chinese host families and roommates recognized areas that are subject to intercultural miscommunication.

As discussed in this section, Puppies and Kiki have overall nurtured a convivial relationship with each other, which was conducive to Puppies’ Chinese learning and Kiki’s learning of English and American culture. For Puppies, Kiki was always helpful in her Chinese learning, never raised any inappropriate questions, and they frequently shared food, and had common living habits and interests. For Kiki, she found that their relationship was not yet intimate, which could be because of the different concept of intimacy in Chinese and American culture, and the perceived language barrier. Nevertheless, Kiki later found more commonalities with Puppies, and asserted that Puppies was different from other Americans. For one thing, she was not fond of drinking and going to nightclubs, but would rather spend the time in the dorm and study. For another, she was considerate and polite, contrary to the American depicted by others. The Chinese roommate training session also shed light on some common problems that Chinese and American students might have when living together.
To end the section, the following quote from Puppies well summarized her experience with Kiki in the student dormitory:

When I when I met my roommate I didn't have that issue so it never crossed my mind to think does anybody else wants stuff like this because I’ve never have to deal with that? … I’m very lucky. I’m counting my lucky stars everyday. cuz I could have come here. I could have some roommate that's terrible, but I got a really nice and very helpful roommate. She’s very understanding that sometimes my Chinese is indecipherable (LAUGHTER) so I got very lucky (Interview 2015/10/30).

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter describes the case of Puppies, an African American female student and an advanced learner of Chinese, who lived in a student residence hall with her Chinese roommate Kiki, a peer-aged university student originally from Taipei. Gracefully received by Kiki, Puppies enjoyed a highly productive learning experience in the dorm room.

Although the video description task did not capture Puppies’ progress in Chinese emotion recognition and expression, analysis of her spontaneous interaction with Kiki, the vocabulary section in the MAI, and her self-reflection painted a different picture. The key site of language learning was the dormitory room where Puppies and Kiki freely chatted with each other and exchanged ideas. A frequently documented everyday practice that Puppies and Kiki engaged in was conversational narrative to share stories and to achieve emotional intersubjectivity. Specifically, rich in data were narratives that entailed fear-related emotions and the use of linguistic devices that are indexical of strong emotionality and hence a feminine and cute speech style. Participation in the contextualized oral interaction provided abundant L2 resources for
Puppies to become a more competent narrator in Chinese and develop a L2 emotional repertoire. Through creative imitation and Kiki’s mediation (e.g. recast and modeling) within Puppies’ ZPD, she was in the process of internalizing fear-related emotion expressions and richer semiotic means. Importantly, although she demonstrated her ability to imitate Kiki’s speech style in the vocabulary task of the MAI, she only took what she perceived to be appropriate for her identity in dormitory interaction with Kiki. Puppies’ selective and creative use of the mediational means at her disposal supported the claims that learner errors bear more significance than meets the eye: It could be a way in which they negotiate identities, regain self-regulation (Dunn & Lantolf, 1998), and exert “sociolinguistic agency” (van Compernolle & Williams, 2012). Puppies’ self-report also revealed her growing awareness of key Chinese emotion metaphor HEART, and cross-cultural differences in perception of intonation, tones, and emotion.

Dormitory interaction was not only a rich site where productive language learning took place from an etic perspective, but was also assigned great significance by Puppies and Kiki in terms of language exchange and relationship building. Puppies was especially appreciative of Kiki’s patience in providing timely and appropriate help when she encountered Chinese language-related questions. Because of their cordial relationship, Puppies felt safe and comfortable to try out new linguistic expressions with Kiki before going out to the world. Kiki also took the opportunity to raise questions about American language and culture as a way to enhance her English. They essentially assumed a two-way enrichment approach (Iino, 2006) that reciprocally benefited each other’s linguistic growth and cultural understanding. This case also attests to the claim that quality of interpersonal relationship plays an important role in shaping sojourn students’ experience and language learning opportunities (see e.g. DiSilvio et al., 2014; Kinginger, 2008).
Another important aspect that impacted the quality of dormitory living was approaches and dispositions towards race-related issues. Puppies contrasted her pleasant experience residing with Kiki, who never raised inappropriate questions, with that of her African American friend, whose roommate often asked personal questions that targeted blackness. As opposed to the predominantly white Segovia, Spain (Talburt & Stewart, 1999) or primarily black Salvador, Brail (Anya, 2017), the context of contemporary China presents certain uniqueness in the issue of race, and in particular, how blackness is positioned (Lan, 2016). While Puppies’ African American friend was in the midst of such discourse, Puppies did not experience it with Kiki and had some mixed encounters with it outside the dormitory or classroom.

As one of the few studies that detailed students’ experience in the student dorm (cf. Diao, 2016), this chapter sheds light on the interaction between linguistic development, especially in emotion language, and quality of experience in the dormitory, classroom, and the broader study abroad context. The chapter also highlights the importance of the interpersonal relationship in constructing a context that was conducive to Puppies’ language learning. Lastly, the chapter also contributes to the scant literature on African American students’ studying abroad (Anya, 2017) and learning Chinese.
Chapter 6

Living in the Dormitory: David and Shawn

This section discusses the second case in the student dormitory - an American student David and his Chinese roommate Shawn (both pseudonyms). The participants’ personal histories are first presented. Linguistic data from David includes his performance in the pre- and post-video description task, and his interaction with Shawn across the semester. To shed light on David’s language use and development, interpretations of David’s dormitory and study abroad experience were presented by integrating perspectives from David, Shawn, and his Chinese instructor.

The Participants

David, 22 years of age at the time of research, was a senior at a private university on the East Coast, majoring in Chinese and minoring in Business Administration. Growing up in New York State, he is the son of a Jewish father and a Christian mother. His girlfriend, Kimberly (pseudonym), a Southeast Asian American, was in the same study abroad program and also participated in the research.

Prior to learning Chinese, David had studied Spanish for six years and French for two. He started learning Chinese as a freshman at a public university in the state of New York, before he transferred. He had in total studied Chinese for four years by fall 2015, including a semester abroad in Beijing in 2012. David’s decision to major in Chinese was motivated by the booming economy in China, and the lack of understanding of Chinese by Americans. He stated: “Chinese economy is developing very fast. There’re many opportunities in China…Chinese care about
America, but Americans don’t care about China. I think this is not a good opinion. So we Americans should care about China, what the Chinese government is doing, and what Chinese are doing” (中国的发展 中国有很多机会……中国很关心美国 但是美国人不关心中国 我觉得是不好的看法 所以我们美国人应该关心中国 中国的政府在做什么 中国人在做什么) (Interview 2015/09/18). For the semester abroad, David showed a strong intention to greatly enhance his Chinese proficiency, namely to speak Chinese fluently, or even “to speak Chinese like a Chinese” (像中国人一样说中文) (Interview 2015/09/18).

At the study abroad program, David chose to live with a Chinese roommate in the international dormitory on campus. He was in the non-intensive Chinese program, with a focus on Business, Language and Culture. Since he had studied Chinese for more years than the majority of the cohort, he expected to be placed in Fifth Year Chinese (Superior) with heritage speakers, and was first very upset being placed in Fourth Year Chinese (Advanced High) instead (Shawn interview 2015/09/18; Chinese instructor interview 2015/11/17).

David’s Chinese roommate Shawn was a 25-year-old masters student in Classical Chinese Literature at China University at the time of research. He is from a southern province of China. Because he was in his last year of study, he was actively looking for jobs. His major motivation to live with a CSC roommate was out of a logistic reason. China University, like many universities in metropolitan areas in China, has a city and suburban location. Shawn’s dormitory was in the suburban location of the university, so he wanted to have a living space in the city so that he could go to interviews more easily.

He had experience studying abroad and living with an American. He was a visiting scholar at a Canadian university in spring 2015. In the summer, he lived with a CSC roommate for the first time, a Chinese American. Shawn’s first experience was highly positive. He sometimes even forgot that he lived with an American, except when they had some different ways
of thinking (Interview 2015/09/18). In contrast to some American study abroad students who frequented nightclubs and bars, his roommate was quiet and did not drink much. Shawn confessed that it was him who took the roommate to a bar, which was the first experience of the roommate who had just turned 21. Shawn recalled an incident to illustrate the cultural difference between them. One time, another Chinese roommate got into a quibble with the Chinese American student at a bar, because the former was uncomfortable seeing the latter hanging out with a female friend in an overly intimate manner. After hearing this, Shawn explained to his roommate the Chinese way of perceiving this, that is, intimacy is reserved for one’s girlfriend or boyfriend and all romantic relationships should in principle lead to marriage, but at the same time respected his roommate’s American perspective. As shown in this anecdote and also my observation, Shawn is an open-minded person who has his own values and opinions but also respects different viewpoints.

In the following section, we will closely examine David’s linguistic data. The first is his responses in the video description task conducted early and at the end of the semester. The second linguistic dataset comes from audio recordings by David and Shawn of their everyday interaction that took place mostly in the dorm room. The purpose is to discover what contextualized practices and semiotic mediational means they frequently resorted to when expressing emotions, and how participation in these practices facilitated David’s language learning. Data from other parts of the Mandarin Awareness Interview (MAI) was also drawn upon when relevant.
Emotion Communication

Video description task

Table 6-1 presents David’s scores in the pre- and post-video description task, and Table 6-2 shows scenarios and lexical items in his responses. Transcripts and a translation of his retellings are displayed in Appendix E.

Table 6-1: Score report of David: Video description task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scenarios labeled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical diversity</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>15.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the number of scenarios labeled, he increased from two in the pre-test, lower than the Homestay group medium (M=2.38) or the entire group medium (M=2.52), to four in the post-test, higher than the Homestay group medium (M=2.63) or the entire group medium (M=3.04) (see Table 4-3). The two scenarios that David labeled in the pre-test were limited to

Table 6-2: David’s performance in Video Description Task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Pre-test</th>
<th>Post-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells them</td>
<td>难过 (sad)</td>
<td>生气 (mad, nagry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they cannot go home for Spring Festival</td>
<td>伤心 (heart broken)</td>
<td>失望 (disappointed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man’s dream, how the parents feel when</td>
<td>难过 (sad)</td>
<td>孤独 (lonely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebrating Chinese New Year alone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple come home</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>惊讶 (surprised)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels when they go home and see their</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td></td>
<td>舒服 (comfortable)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
description of the parents’ feelings, whereas in the post-test he also attended to the man’s feeling. This suggests that his ability to recognize and label distinct scenarios at the beginning of the semester was limited, but has improved in such ability across time.

As for lexical diversity, on the other hand, David scored much higher than the Homestay group (M=7.13) or the entire group average (M=7.62) and was among the highest in the pre-test; in the post-test, although he remained advantageous over group mediums (M=12.02 for Homestay group and M=10.87 for the entire group), he actually scored lower (see Table 4-6). At the beginning of the semester, he adopted two lexical items that were rarely used by others, that were 难过 (sad) and 伤心 (heart broken), and hence achieved a high score. Towards the end of the semester, he resorted to seven distinct emotion lexical items, but received a lower lexical diversity score, as the words did not present the same degree of idiosyncrasy from others as in the pre-test. David’s decreased lexical diversity score implies on the one hand that he knew some lexical items that others did not in the beginning, and on the other that his choices in the post-test converged more with the other participants. The loss of idiosyncrasy over time may suggest that David did not progress as much in lexical diversity as some other participants, attending the same program and being in the same cohort might result in some shared lexical items among students, or unlike free-listing tasks, the retell task already limited the range of acceptable lexical items and hence its ability to detect lexical diversity.

David’s appropriateness scores also decreased from the full score in the pre-test, higher than the Homestay group average (M=4.95) or entire group average (M=4.54), to 4.65 over time, lower than the Homestay group medium (M=4.79) but higher than the entire group medium (M=4.54) (see Table 4-10). It observed the same decreasing trend as the Homestay group. In describing how the parents feel when hearing the news that the couple could not come home for Chinese New Year, David’s choice of 生气 (angry) was rated down to three out of five and was
considered a “wrong emotion”. His description of how the man feels when he sees his parents being happy as 舒服 shufu [lit: stretch obey] (comfortable) was considered “lack of clarity” because he did not specify whether it was physical or mental comfort (Raters comments). David’s decreased appropriateness score suggests the following. First, his understanding of the emotion terms and the scenarios could still be in the process of maturing. As we will discuss in details later, David’s shift from 难过 (sad) and 伤心 (heart broken) to 生气 (angry) and 失望 (disappointed) was because of his developing or reappropriated concept of the lexical items 难过 (sad) and 伤心 (heart broken). Secondly, David’s concept of the emotion terms or understanding of the scenarios were not complete or always accurate, and therefore requires pedagogical intervention. We will further discuss this point in Chapter 8.

In summary, David’s performances situated him on the high end of all participants. The newly labeled scenarios in the post-test suggested a better understanding and more attention to details. His decreased lexical diversity could be limited by the constraints of the task. The reduced appropriateness score suggested that he might be in the process of developing the concept of the emotion expressions, and that pedagogical intervention that mediates students to develop scientific concepts could greatly facilitate the learning process.

**Interaction with Chinese roommate**

This section first provides an overview of David and Shawn’s dormitory interaction, and then turns to investigate two primary contextualized practices that David and Shawn participated in to communicate their emotions – language play and explicit discussion of metaphoric emotion expressions. Specifically, I focus on what mediational means were made available to David and
Shawn, the quality of interaction in relation to David’s ZPD, and what linguistic resources were internalized as part of his emotion repertoire.

For David, time in the dormitory with his roommate Shawn was the highlight of his experience abroad (David interview 2015/10/30; interview 2015/12/13). Shawn reported that they would carry out extended conversations that added up to three to four hours per day (Interview 2015/09/18). In the later half of the semester, Shawn could not spend as much time in the dorm with David because he was busy hunting for jobs and preparing for the highly competitive national civil service exam. Nevertheless, when they were together in the dormitory, the major activities were free chatting and joke telling, issue discussion, and language problem solving (Shawn interview 2015/09/18). David shared with me that they would discuss a wide array of topics, no matter how private or sensitive they were. An example that David provided was when Shawn shared his rejection letter and let him read it out loud for the purpose of language learning (Interview 2015/10/30). In addition to the wide variety of topics, the primary language of communication was always Chinese: their conversation was conducted in Chinese 90% of the time (David interview 2015/12/13); when discussing topics of depth, for example, politics or culture, Shawn would use Chinese 70% of the time and David would use Chinese 60% of the time (Shawn interview 2015/09/18).

In the interaction recorded between David and Shawn, there was an abundance of language play and explicit discussion of Chinese emotion metaphors. These contextualized practices were most richly documented in the first half of the semester, because Shawn was not able to commit as much time hanging out with David in the dormitory or making as many recordings in November and December. Also, of course, audio recording was only a partial representation of their experience. That being said, we can still get a glimpse of the rich affordance of the talk between David and Shawn.
Co-constructing an emotional style through language play

David and Shawn’s interaction was characterized by frequent engagement in language play, or “manipulation of language that is done in a non-serious manner for either public or private enjoyment” (Bell & Pomerantz, 2016, p. 104). Language play discussed in this chapter was primarily intended for shared enjoyment, and displayed clear communicative purposes, although the cognitive function of this kind of interaction cannot be dismissed (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Through participating in language play, semiotic mediational means imbued with linguistic, pragmatic, cultural, and ideological meanings were made available, accessible, and relevant to the current joint attentional activity, thereby constituting “the source and driver of development” (van Compernolle, 2015, p. 34). In particular, language play may construct hypothetical situations that override constraints on the immediate context, thereby affording more and expanded opportunities for contextualized language use and learning.

By participating in language play, Shawn and David developed “a shared repertoire” (Bell & Pomerantz, 2016, p. 108), or a unique emotional style as part of their emotion repertoire. An anecdote (Excerpt 6-1) that Shawn brought up in his first interview (2015/09/18) exemplified such emotional style, which had started to take shape in the first two weeks of their acquaintance. When asked about how he foresaw his friendship with David, Shawn told me the following:

Excerpt 6-1 Interview 2015/09/18

1  Shawn  所以我觉得我跟 David so I think if David and I
2  按照这个发展下去的话 develop according to this
3  也一定会很好的 (our relationship) will definitely be very good
4  Qian 哦 是吧 oh isn’t it?
5  Shawn 对 right
In this anecdote, David’s girlfriend Kimberly set a playful frame (Goffman, 1974) by blatantly violating the agreed-upon in their relationship (lines 12-13). David followed along with the frame and acted according to what this kind of scenario usually calls for – the boyfriend
getting jealous and picking a fight with the intruder (line 15). David creatively used the idiom 放马过来 fangma guolai [lit: send horse over here] (bring it on; bring what you got) to serve his playful purpose at hand. Shawn, the “third wheel” did not defend himself, but negated part of the idiom 不过来 (don’t come over) (line 16) and admitted his cowardice immediately (line 17), thereby creating a humorous effect. Shawn’s outright confession of him being a wimp, with the derogatory emotion term 愚 son (scared, discouraged, wimp), widely used on the Internet and by youth, was self-directed mockery (Dynel, 2009). Shawn’s overt self-mocking exemplified the self-denigrating style often assumed by Chinese youth on the Internet. For example, young Internet users in China often identify themselves as losers, or 屌丝 diaosi [lit: male reproductive organ hair], as opposed to those people who are winners in their lives, for example, 白富美 bai fu mei [lit: white, rich, beautiful] and 高富帅 gao fu shuai [lit: tall, rich, handsome]. This anecdote was the first instance of language play documented, in which Kimberly, David, and Shawn jointly constructed a playful frame by expressing their emotions in a ludic way. The local emotion term 愚 son (scared, discouraged, wimp) and the self-deprecating speech style were made available to David in a contextualized and relevant manner. Furthermore, Shawn’s reported explanation (line 19) also assisted David’s understanding of the local term and its associated persona and style.

Recording of their dormitory conversation substantiated the richness of language play, through which David and Shawn co-constructed an emotional style that incorporated a variety of rhetoric and forms of humor. It includes, but is not limited to, change of address term, parody, hyperbole, mockery, joke telling, and folk humor. It is important to note that because the language play took place in spontaneous interaction, it is not always easy or helpful to categorize it into a pre-determined typology (Bell, 2009). Here I will present three excerpts from 2015/09/23 (Excerpt 6-2, 6-3 and 6-4), and one excerpt from 2015/10/17 (Excerpt 6-5) to demonstrate the
multiple aspects of the emotional style, and the pragmatic, conceptual, and ideological underpinning embedded in the style.

Excerpt 6-2, recorded on 2015/09/23, illustrates how David and Shawn co-constructed a series of language play that involved change in address term, parody, joke telling, and folk humor. In this excerpt, Shawn was playing *Waiting One Thousand Years to See you Once* (千年等一回), a well known theme song of a classic TV series *New Legend of Madam White Snake* (新白娘子传奇) based on the Chinese folk story *Legend of the White Snake* (白蛇传). David set a play frame from the beginning – a hypothetical situation that he was a singing superstar, and Shawn quickly joined the frame. When co-telling a joke afterwards, however, neither Shawn nor David immediately recognized each other’s joke rooted in cultural concepts.

**Excerpt 6-2 Recording 2015/09/23**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>David</th>
<th>Shawn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>千年等一回 (singing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waiting one thousand years to see you once</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[等一回啊 (singing)]</td>
<td>[我无悔啊 (singing)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wait once</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[我无悔啊 (singing)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I have no regret ah ah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>千年等一回 (singing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waiting one thousand years to see you once</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[我无悔啊 (singing)]</td>
<td>[我无悔啊 (singing)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I have no regret ah ah</td>
<td>I have no regret ah ah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 6 | [10 lines omitted: They discussed if they wanted to turn off the recorder] |<HI unh? HI> ((clips hands))
| 7 | ((clips hands)) |               |
| 8 | 谢谢 谢谢大家谢谢 |               |
|   | thank you thank you everyone |               |
| 9 | @@@@@           |               |
| 10| [10 lines omitted: They discussed if they wanted to turn off the recorder] |               |
| 11| 谢谢 谢谢大家 |               |
|   | thank you thank you everyone |               |
| 12| @@@@@           |               |
| 13| <HI 啊 不错不错 David 好喜欢你 HI> @@ |               |
|   | ah not bad not bad David I like you so much |               |
| 14| 我是 星明 @@ |               |
I’m a *star

Shawn  @@@@@

David  KTV 的星明

a KTV *star

Shawn  你是 KTV 的 superstar

You’re KTV’s superstar

David  嗯

enh

Shawn  还有 中国还有首歌叫 superstar

also China also has a song called superstar

David  但是风格 [style 完全跟这不一样]

but style style is completely differently from this

Shawn  [我我是中]国的声音

I’m China’s voice

Shawn  <CR 中国好 中国好声音 CR>

China good Voice of China

David  他们他们 uh 给 给我打电话 可是我

they they uh gave gave me a call but I

I 没 没接听

I didn’t didn’t pick it up

Shawn  <CR 真的吗 CR>

really?

David  <@ 不 [是 @]>

no

[我为什么]么觉得 <@ 肯定是 @>

why I feel it must be

David  <@ 假的 @>

not true

<@ X 我觉得也是 X @@@@@

I also think so

David  可是我我看了 uh 这个

but I I watched this uh this

中国好好声音 有 有外国人 对不对

Voice of China has has foreingers right

Shawn  啊 对

ah yes

David  uh 经常是 罗 俄罗斯的人

ah often are Ru Rusians

Shawn  有俄罗斯 对

there are Russians right

David  因为他们很近

because they’re very close

他们跟 uh 离 离中国很近

they’re very close from uh to to China
David’s singing (lines 1-2 and 4-5) was warmly received by Shawn (lines 6-7, and 10). Instead of thanking Shawn for the compliment, David changed the address term to “everyone” (大家) (lines 8 and 11), addressing a group of imagined audience. This change of address term created a humorous effect (Norrick, 2017), and was interpreted as such with Shawn’s laughter (lines 9 and 12). The second time around, Shawn also joined the language play and imitated the voice of female fans: he put up a squeaky and high-pitched voice to compliment David with semiotic resources that index high affectivity and femininity, including interjection 啊 (ah),
repeated evaluation 不错 (not bad), and direct expression of fondness with adverb 好 hao [lit: good] (so) (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of 好 as an adverb of strong emotionality) (line 13). David crystalized the hypothetical situation by identifying himself as a star (line 14), a KTV star (line 16), and even Voice of China (line 21). Shawn recognized what David intended to say, and repaired that he was the voice of China (line 22). *The Voice of China*, based on *The Voice* of the Netherlands, was a very popular singing competition show in China. The incongruity of David being a foreigner and the claim that he was *The Voice of China* contributed to humor.

David then revealed his story with the TV show (lines 24-25). Shawn was first surprised (line 26), but then realized that this was a joke (lines 28). David explained that his joke was based on reality that there were foreigners in the show, who mostly came from Russia, given its geological proximity to China (lines 31-32, 34, 36-37). Picking up on David’s point, Shawn shifted the frame back to a playful one and asserted that cheaper train tickets were the only reason why there were Russian contestants in the show (lines 38-39) and that train tickets from the US are more expensive (line 41). In both occasions, David did not recognize the playfulness of Shawn’s claims (lines 40 and 44-45). When Shawn further developed the joke that because there is no railway between US and China, there were no Americans in the show (lines 46-47), David finally indexed some comprehension (lines 48, 50, 52). Shawn concluded the joke with a popular stylized Internet language 也是醉了 (I too am drunk) (Zhang, 2017) (line 53), a form of folk humor that compares being drunk to the emotional state of being speechless and feeling absurd.

As can be seen in this excerpt, David was the person who created and insisted on the playful hypothetical situation – him being a superstar, and Shawn contributed to the play frame by the use of hyperbole and parody. Both Excerpt 6-1 and 6-2 involved hypothetical situations that derived but departed from reality, suggesting that it was an important part of the emotional style that David and Shawn were co-constructing. Such hypothetical situations in language play,
as mentioned earlier, overcame the constraint of the immediate context, i.e. chatting in the
dormitory, and afforded more opportunities for contextualized language use that might not
happen in reality, i.e. David and Shawn involved in a love triangle, and David is a superstar. As
for the joke that Shawn developed, it was not immediately recognizable by David because it was
mediated by a cultural specific concept. Trains have been the major means of transportation for
most people in China, and have thus become a cultural symbol. A frequent topic in the media and
everyday conversation, the cost of train fares in a sense organizes ordinary Chinese people’s lives
and potentially their ways of thinking. To the extremity and absurdity, as shown in Shawn’s joke,
train ticket price became the only determination of competition eligibility. In the excerpt, David
struggled to recognize and comprehend the joke or the symbolism of train-related artifacts in
Chinese culture. Shawn, however, did not provide further mediation to facilitate David’s
understanding, but concluded the sequence by laughing at the silliness of his own joke.

Excerpt 6-3 was recorded on the same day as Excerpt 6-2. In this excerpt, David engaged
in overstated self-directed mockery that resembled what Shawn did in the anecdote in Excerpt 6-
1. Reminding him of a speech style spoofed on the Internet, namely Huanzhu Style (还珠体),
Shawn comforted David with exaggeration and overblown affection. The conversation started
when a piece of soap fell on the floor.

Excerpt 6-3 Recording 2015/09/23

1 David 为你
   for you
2 <F 为 F> 你我会 unh 投投走肥皂
   for you I would unh *throw throw away soap
3 好吗 不是
   okay? no
4 投投入 那不是投入
   throw throw in that is not throwing in
5 是投掉
   is *throwing away
6 Shawn 偷掉 还是 steal
steal? or steal?

7    哦哦 哦 哦哦哦
    oh oh oh oh oh oh
8    扔掉 扔掉扔掉 [扔]
    throw away throw away throw away throw
9    David [扔]
    throw
10   Shawn 扛掉 [一]般]
    throw way we usually
11   David [扔和]投
    throw and throw
12   Shawn 投的话是个书面语
    throw is a written language
13   我们一般不说扔
    we usually don’t say throw
14   David 啊[＝]
    ah
15   Shawn [例如]说 除非[【除非】]
    for example, unless unless
16   David [【为什】么我在说
    why I’m saying (it)
17   Shawn uh uh 因为我们投的话
    uh uh because because if we say throw
18   一般除非它是词组
    usually unless it’s a phrase
19   David 啊
    ah
20   Shawn phrase
21   David 对
    right
22   Shawn 然后比如说投资 in-investment 是[投资]
    then for for example investment in-investment investment
23   David [<YWN 你说]的太对了 YWN>
    what you’re saying is so right
24   Shawn 嗯
    unh
25   David <X 你 X>有别人说的对
    you have other’s say right
26   Shawn 没<@有>@@
    no
27   David 我就是笨 笨人的
    I’m just stupid, a stupid person’s
28   Shawn 没有没有
    no no
29   Shawn <CRY @ 不要这样说 我好伤心 @ CRY>
David first exaggerated his affection towards Shawn by claiming what he would do with the soap for the sake of Shawn (lines 1-5). Because David confused the verbs 投 (throw) and 扔 reng (throw), Shawn gave a mini-lesson on the difference between the two (lines 10, 12-13, 15, 17-18, 20, 22). David demonstrated his comprehension by uttering an interjection 啊 (ah) (lines 14, 19), positive response 对 (right) (line 21), and an overstated acknowledge of Shawn being absolutely right (line 23). In contrast, David concluded that he instead was a stupid person (line 27), assuming an overstated self-denigrating style, similar to Shawn’s confession of his own cowardice in Excerpt 6-1. To comfort David, Shawn first rejected the claim (line 28), and externalized his feeling as 不要这样说 我好伤心 (Don’t say this. I’m so heart broken) with a crying and laughing voice (line 29). He then immediately mentioned a Chinese TV series and characterized its language style as “disgusting” 噁心 (line 39). Huanzhu Princess is a well-known TV series based on the novel by Chiung Yao. This author has presented a unique style in
writing conversational scripts, which is literary, complex, and overblown with affection. Chinese Internet users call this Huangzhu style (还珠体), which is often used for spoof (恶搞), especially when comforting people. The reason why Shawn mentioned Huangzhu Princess and its language style was most likely that his comforting of David (line 29) was a parody of the language style, which intended to be exaggerated and playful.

In this excerpt, David’s comments on his intellectual ability imitated the self-degradation and exaggeration style that Shawn assumed in the story told in Excerpt 6-1, which indicated David’s appropriation of the speech style and the genesis of a shared emotional style. When David intentionally overstated his affection, Shawn went along and associated his comforting to a similar Huanzhu Style. Shawn not only demonstrated such style in his own speech, but also explained the feature of the style to David. This allowed David to understand what semiotic resources were at work when displaying high affectivity, the cultural origin of the speech style, and the associated ideology or stance towards such a style.

Excerpt 6-4, the last excerpt recorded on 2015/09/23, presents a variety of language play at work, including Shawn’s self-designating mockery and hyperbole, and most interestingly, David’s parody of a foreigner, and Shawn’s rejection of David’s foreigner identity. David was working on his homework and seeking help from Shawn on the character 盯 ding (stare). To help David remember the character, Shawn drew on the six principles of Chinese character formation, which are 象形 (pictogram), 指事 (simple indicative), 会意 (compound indicative 形声 (phono-semantic compound), 转注 (derived) and 假借 (borrowed character), but could not remember the exact principles.

Excerpt 6-4 Recording 2015/09/23

1  Shawn 敛 我突然忘了 怎么办 @@@
    I suddenly forgot. What can I do?
2  David @@@
my my my Chinese sucks
(I’m) so heart broken, so heart broken
you forgot about the phono-semantic (method)
uh not uh right I forgot about the phono-semantic (method)
(I’m) so heart broken, so heart broken
you forgot about the phono-semantic (method)
semantic-strike, phono-strike
semantic-strike, phono-strike
太
too
oh this this this
它这个方法就叫形声 就是形声
this method is called phono-semantic phono-semantic compound
形声形声
phono-semantic compound, phono-semantic compound
形声 就是 形旁跟声旁
phono-semantic compound just semantic-strike and phono-strike
在一起
together
这个
ten many are pictograph
also some are more some are more
到 altogether
然后很...象形
then many are pictograph
象形
pictograph
象形
pictograph
不是 就是...有关系
no just like it has to do with animals
for example horse
just like a horse

horse head, horse butt, horse feet

right, four point feet

right right right right

right right right right

people is

((18 turns omitted: Shawn first gave another example of pictography
人 (people). David then came up with more characters that are based
on pictography, which are 女 (woman), 日 (sun), and 月 (moon)))

also also bow
right bow is also pictograph
also arrow

which arrow?

what's this arrow?

oh arrow is

arrow

arrow

it's arrow. it used to be

use bow
Shawn confessed that he forgot the six principles of character formation of Chinese (line 1). He expressed that he was at loss (line 1) as his Chinese proficiency was “烂” lan [lit: rotten] (suck) (line 3). Considering the fact that Shawn was a master’s student in Classical Chinese and David was a L2 learner of Chinese, Shawn’s evaluation of his Chinese was again self-designating. He externalized his prevailing negative emotionality with exaggerated 好伤心 so heart broken (so heart broken) (line 5). Throughout the recordings, the overstated 好伤心 so heart broken was often observed to be used by Shawn to express his negative emotion.

As Shawn explained pictography (lines 25-27, 29-30, 36-38), one of the principles of character formation, David demonstrated his quick mastery of the idea and came up with several more appropriate examples (lines 39, 40, 42, 36, 49, 51) and was complimented by Shawn (line 52). Contrasting a typical Chinese way of responding to compliment, which is to reject or redirect the conversation (Tang & Zhang, 2009), David laughed in a squeaky and high-pitched
voice, and replied “哪里哪里” nali nali [lit: where where] (it’s nothing it’s nothing) (line 53, 55). Shawn burst into laughter and clapped his hands (line 56). The compliment response 哪里哪里 (it’s nothing it’s nothing) is a widely adopted phrase in North American Chinese textbook. Student participants in the dissertation were often observed to use the phrase as response to compliments. However, this phrase is archaic and rarely used by native speakers of Chinese. David’s exaggerated intonation indexed a playful frame. Continuing in his squeaky voice, he stated that he was simply a pitiful foreigner (line 57). David’s parody of a foreigner speech style of Chinese, and identification of himself being a pitiful foreigner who has to learn all the exotic rules of Chinese actually intended to distance himself from the foreigner identity. Shawn laughed at David’s language play, raised a rhetorical question, and concluded that David is instead a Chinese (lines 58-60).

In this excerpt, Shawn again playfully directed the mockery to himself, and exaggerated his negative emotion as 好伤心 (so heart broken). David also started to engage in the practice of parody, similar to what Shawn did in Excerpt 6-2. David’s identification as a foreigner and exaggerated parody of a typical foreigner-only Chinese expression suggested his refusal of such identity – a foreigner with low proficiency in Chinese who complained about how difficult it is to learn Chinese. For David, language play, specifically parody, has become a semiotic resource to do identity work. Shawn’s categorization of David as a “Chinese” on the one hand contrasted David from other foreigners in China, and on the other demonstrated his familiarity and potentially intimacy with David.

Excerpt 6-5 was recorded on 2015/10/17, in which David read Shawn’s newly received rejection letter. This was the example that David brought up in the interview demonstrating that Shawn would discuss any topic with him. According to the recording, the rejection letter that they discussed went like this:
1. **Dear classmate, hello**
2. **First, thank you very much for applying for NetEase Gaming 2016 Campus Recruitment.**
3. **We closely read your resume.**
4. **We sincerely admire what you’ve achieved.**
5. **(we are) very happy to be able to attract talents like you.**
6. **However, through onsite interview and other rounds**
7. **we have to regretfully inform you**
8. **maybe this position at this moment is not your best choice.**

In response to the stressful and emotional event of receiving a rejection letter, language play was also used by David as a semiotic resource to show emotional support for Shawn and by Shawn to diffusese stress.

**Excerpt 6-5 Recording 2015/10/17**

10. **Shawn**
    - ah 我的 我的我的面试失败了
    - ah my my my interview failed

11. **David**
    - 哦 哦
    - oh oh

12. **Shawn**
    - 他们说 他们发短信 email 给我说不合适
    - they said, they texted, sent me an email saying that I’m not a good match

13. **David**
    - 今天的 面试吗
    - today’s interview?

15. **Shawn**
    - 对
    - right

16. **David**
    - 唉哟
    - sigh

17. **Shawn**
    - 唉哟 失败了
    - sigh, failed

18. **你看**
    - you see
David: uh is, dear student, hello

Shawn: 应聘

David: 应聘

Shawn: 应聘就是 apply

David: 应聘 uh 网 网易

Shawn: 网易是一个公司 网易游戏

David: 哦 网易游戏 uh 游戏 2016

Shawn: 校园[招聘]

David: [uh 校] 校园

Shawn: 校园招聘

David: 校园[招聘]

Shawn: [表] 示

David: 给我一个机会吧

Shawn: <CRY um 我也想 CRY>

David: <CRY 他们好多钱 他们工资好高 CRY>

Shawn: 你来看一下这个这个 email

David: you come and see the email

Shawn: 看你能不能看得懂

((Five turns omitted: They talked about Shawn’s porridge))

David: uh 是 亲爱的同学 您好

Shawn: first of all, thank you you very much for apply

David: apply for uh Net NetEase

Shawn: NetEase is a company, NetEase Gaming

David: 哦 NetEase uh Gaming 2016

Shawn: 校园 recruitment

David: uh cam- campus

Shawn: campus recruitment

David: 校园 recruitment

((34 turns omitted: Shawn translated campus recruitment and explained what it is in China. They then discussed the meaning of we closely read your resume, and for what you’ve achieved)))

David: so 并并对您所取得的成成就 uh

Shawn: 表示

David: give me a chance

Shawn: <CRY um 我也想 CRY>

David: <CRY 他们好多钱 他们工资好高 CRY>

Shawn: 他们有好多钱 他们工资好高
they simply don’t want me

oh

then I I read this this very pathetic uh

okay

electro
electro

电子邮件

electronic email

电子邮件

electronic email

电子邮件 uh 让 让你

electronic email uh makes makes you

it’s okay it’s okay

[难过]吗

sad?

还好 没有没有

it’s okay. no no

((27 turns omitted: Shawn talked about why this job was not a good fit for him. They discussed the meaning of 我们在这里表示由衷的赞赏 (we here express sincere admiration)))

很高兴能够吸 uh 吸引 到您这样的人才

very happy to be able to attr- uh attract talents like you

知道什么意思

you know what it means?

very happy to be able to

attractive

attract oh

attract attract

attract your type of talent @@@@@

<@ yes yeah yeah @>

oh= man

<F 然而 F> <@ oh= @>

@@@@

@@@@@

@@@@@

@@@@

((45 turns omitted: David and Shawn discussed the meaning of 经过现场面试等环节，与岗位需求进行匹配和权衡 (through onsite interview and other rounds, matching with position requirements and careful thinking)))
we have to regretfully inform you. we have to regretfully inform you.

this meaning, you know?

((10 turns omitted: Shawn explained 不得不遗憾地通知您 (have to regretfully inform you)))

may-maybe this this this

this position at this moment is not your best choice

how do you know?

you don’t know what my choice is

It’s like this. It’s okay it’s okay it’s okay

((23 turns omitted: Shawn told David what he learned today in the interview. Then Kimberly came. They talked about Shawn’s porridge and cane eating. Kimberly asked what they were doing.))

we are

he’s reading, he’s reading my heart broken letter
Shawn expressed his frustration at receiving a rejection letter with a crying vocal noise (line 4). David sighed with the Chinese interjection to show affiliation (line 7). Shawn asked David to read the letter for the purpose of language learning (lines 9-11). As David read the opening of the letter that filled with compliments, David paused and uttered “给我一个机会吧” (how about giving me a chance) (line 29). The parody of Shawn’s inner voice demonstrated David’s empathy towards Shawn with the shifted pronoun of “me” (我). Shifting the frame to a playful one, Shawn expressed his frustration through a crying but laughing voice (lines 30-32). David characterized this letter as 悲惨 beican [lit: sad pathetic] (tragic) and checked with Shawn if reading this out loud would make him feel 难过 nanguo [lit: hard pass] (sad) (lines 34, 40, 42). Shawn assured him that it was fine (line 43) and explained that this position was not a good fit for him anyway (line 44). David read on until he encountered the contrastive conjunction 然而 (however) (line 54). His preface “oh man” (line 53), increased volume of the conjunction (line 54), and repeated laughing “oh” (lines 54, 56, 58) signaled his understanding that what followed was the turn of event, or the actual rejection. Shawn laughed along (lines 55, 57). As David read on, he shouted out in a laughing quality “你怎么知道嘛” (how do you know) (line 75), and bursted into laughter with Shawn (lines 76-77). David continued and said: “你不知道我的选择是什么” (you don’t know what my choice is) (line 79). David’s playful frame was co-constructed by their bursts of laughter (lines 76, 77, 80), and vocal noise of slapping on the face from either David or Shawn (line 78). At this moment, David’s girlfriend Kimberly came. Shawn told her that they were reading “我伤心的 letter” (my heart broken letter) with laughter (line 84).

In this excerpt, language play was present in a situation that usually invoked a strong negative emotion, unlike the scenarios in Excerpts 6-1 to 6-4. Shawn’s generous sharing of the letter with David indexed a high level of intimacy between them. David’s exaggerated parody of
Shawn’s inner voice was used as a semiotic resource to show his empathy towards Shawn and diffuse the negative emotion that this letter could trigger. Shawn’s complaint with a crying and laughing voice, and his explicit categorization of the letter as “心 (heart broken) with laughter also co-constructed the playful frame. The letter, an authentic material and artifact highly relevant to the here and now, also served as a source for David to learn formal rejection and recognize the sometimes implicit emotion stances embedded in the letter.

As illustrated in Excerpt 6-3, 6-4 and 6-5, a feature of Shawn’s emotional style was use of the exaggerated and humorous expression 好心 hao shangxin (so heart broken) when communicating negative feelings. We now examine if David has appropriated such use as part of his repertoire. In the dormitory recording, David was documented to use the lexical item (heart broken) once (Recording 2015/09/24). He was originally very excited that Shawn was helping him look for Kikbo shuttlecock online, but could not find any on popular online shopping sites. David externalized his emotion as “我很心 wo hen shangxin [lit: I very hurt heart] (I’m heart broken). His use here was similar to that of Shawn’s, which was an overstatement of his actual emotion and intended for a humorous effect. However, he was not able to pick up the adverb (so) in this utterance (cf. Puppies’ case in Chapter 5).

However, there was also evidence indicating that he has distinguished the use of this expression as an emotional style and context-specific rhetoric, as opposed to the expressions’ meaning in the general sense. In the pre-video description task, David ascribed the emotion of 难过 nanguo [lit: hard pass] (sad) and 心 shangxin [lit: hurt heart] (heart broken) to the parents when they heard that the couple were not coming home for Chinese New Year. In the post-test, however, he switched to 生气 shengqi [lit: generate gas] (mad, angry) and 失望 shiwang [lit: lose hope] (disappointed) when describing the same scenario. David explained his understanding of
the lexical items in the post-test: “Sad is sad I feel sad is not very very sad, not because. I also learned heart broken, so heart broken is more serious than sad, but sad is there’s something bad happened, a relative a relative died maybe, you, or, maybe. If a relative died, you would feel, if it were your parents, very close, you would feel heart broken. But if it’s a pet, you may use that X that important, so you’ll feel sad” (难过是 sad 我觉得难过 不是非常非常 sad 不是因为 我们也学了伤心 所以伤心比难过 重一点 可是难过是有一个不好的事情发生了 一个亲亲人 一个亲人死亡了 可能你 或者 可能 如果一个亲戚人死亡了 你会感觉 如果是你的父母 很亲的 你会感觉很伤心 可是 如果是一个宠物 你可能那么用 X 那么重要 所以你会 感到难过) (2015/12/13). From here we can see that David perceived 心 (heart broken) to be a negative emotion that is of high intensity, and associated with death of close ones. Nevertheless, use the expression in language play has been appropriated as part of the shared emotional style between David and Shawn, and has contributed to David’s context-specific understanding of the expression.

The prominence of language play may find its roots in David’s family background and Jewish heritage. Humor is an important element of the Jewish tradition, having been employed for centuries as a form of psychological defense in the face of unrelenting persecution (Wisse, 2015). In addition, language and literacy play key roles both in Jewish secular culture and in religious observance. According to Oz and Oz-Salzberger (2012), “Jewish continuity has always hinged on uttered and written words, on an expanding maze of interpretations, debates, and disagreements” (p. 1). Conversation in general, and verbal play in particular, are particularly valued in many families of Jewish heritage. In David and Shawn’s conversation, David actually displayed his intention to be humorous in Chinese, suggesting that humor was a quality that he much valued in L1 and L2 alike. In Excerpt 6-6-1, David recognized his limited ability (lines 1, 3)
and knowledge (line 16) of Chinese humor, and declared his interest in making investment in understanding Chinese humor (line 20).

Excerpt 6-6-1 Recording 2015/09/24

1. David 我还在 我还在发展我的我的
   I’m still I’m still developing my my
2. Shawn 幽默
   humor
3. David 幽[默感] sense of humor
4. Shawn [其实] 其实其实对 对比很多西方人而言
   actually actually actually for contrasting many westerners
5. Shawn 中国人是缺少幽默的
   Chinese lack humor
6. Shawn 中国人 不懂那种幽默
   Chinese don’t understand that kind of humor
7. David 哦
   oh
8. Shawn 对 right
9. Shawn 不懂你们的幽默
   don’t understand your humor
10. David 哦
    oh
11. Shawn 你你们 其实 因为 humor 其实是 是从西方来[的嘛]
    you you actually because humor actually is is from the west
12. David [我我]我 我的幽默很 很笨
    my my my my humor is very stupid
13. Shawn 不 你你你的幽默很西方
    no, your your your your humor is very western
14. David 哦 是的
    oh yes
15. Shawn 对 对
    right right
16. David 不过我也不懂 uh uh 中 中国的
    but I also don’t understand uh uh Chi-Chinese
In response to David’s interest in being humorous in Chinese, Shawn brought a different viewpoint to the table, supported by comparison of how humor is perceived in American and Chinese culture (Excerpt 6-6-2).

Excerpt 6-6-2 Recording 2015/09/24

21 Shawn 没事儿没事儿
it’s okay it’s okay
22 这个我觉得很 easy 如果 对 很 easy
this I think it’s very easy, if, right, very easy
23 不需要刻意地学]
don’t need to learn it intentionally
24 David [真的吗]
really
25 Shawn 对 因为 因为有时候 幽默
right, because, because sometimes humor
26 中国人 中 uh 像西西方会觉得幽默很好嘛
Chinese Chi- uh like we-western world would think humor is very good right?
27 但是中国的话 中国比较喜欢的品质
but for China, a characteristics that China prefers
28 character characteristics
29 David 品质
characteristics
30 Shawn 品质 是严肃
characteristics is being serious
31 serious
32 David 哦==
oh
33 Shawn 中国人比较喜欢 serious
Chinese prefer being serious
34 而不是 humor humorous
rather than being humor humorous
35  David  哦 他们不喜欢幽默吗
   oh, they don’t like humors?
36  Shawn  他们喜欢幽默 他们也也也会喜欢幽默
   they like humor. They also also also like humors
37  但是对于 中国人而言
   but for Chinese
38  一个严肃的人是 reliable
   a serious person is reliable
39  才是可靠的人
   only (a serious person) is a reliable person
40  一个 喜欢 很幽默的人
   a a person who likes humor
41  他*看起来 看起来 可能不那么可靠
   he looks looks maybe not that reliable
42  在很多中国人看来
   for many Chinese
43  一个严肃的人会比较可靠
   a serious person would be more reliable
44  David  可靠
   reliable
45  Shawn  it’s reliable
46  David  可靠 最 可靠 为 为什么可靠
   reliable, the most reliable, wh- why reliable?
47  Shawn  因为他们=
   because they
48  David  可靠 for what
   reliable for what
49  Shawn  因为他们=不会
   because they won’t
50  这个 这样的 这样的人中国人觉得他们会犯更少错误
   this this kind this kind of person Chinese think they would make fewer mistakes
51  David  哦
   oh
52  Shawn  嗯 因为 因为 可靠 uh 可靠的人
   unh because because reliable uh reliable people
53  中国人觉得他的性格就像山一样 就像
Chinese think his personality is like a mountain

54  it's stable
55  stable
56  David  stable
57  Shawn  但是如果一个很很喜欢开玩笑的人
      but if a person who likes to tell jokes very very much
      中国人就会觉得他的性格像风一样
      Chinese would think his personality is like wind

58  不可靠
      not reliable
59  it's not stable
60  David  你说的
      what you're saying
61  你不在说的 XX
      you're not talking about
62  你在说的是真的生活里的人对不对
      you're talking about real people in li-li-life right?
63  Shawn  对对对对
      right right right right
64  David  你 你不喜欢逗人
      you don't like to tease people?
65  Shawn  uh 不是说
      uh not saying
66  就是说是 uh uh
      it means it means uh uh
67  通常而言 incommon incomemon
generally speaking incommon incomemon
68  一个人如果他经常开玩笑 经常开玩笑很多玩笑的话
      if a person often tells jokes, often tells jokes, tells many jokes
69  如果他不是 如果别人不是很了解你不是很了解你
      if others don't, if others don't know you very well, don't know you very well
70  可可能会觉得你不是很可靠
      (they) may think you're not very reliable
71  David  好 那可靠是最重要的对不对
      okay. Then being reliable is the most important, right?
72  Shawn  对于对于中国人而言
      for for Chinese
In Excerpt 6-6-2, Shawn explained to David the negative implication of being humorous in China in contrast to that in the US. Being humorous is interpreted as being not reliable, while reliability is a much-desired quality. Shawn’s comparison of a reliable personality to a mountain and a humorous personality to wind were also culturally specific, the discussion of which presented to David the different ideologies and stances taken towards humor.

To summarize, this section discussed how Shawn and David developed a shared emotional style through language play, and how this linguistic practice contributed to David’s learning of Chinese emotion language and beyond. Language play, such as parody, hyperbole, joke telling, and folk humor, enriched the context and afforded more opportunities for language learning. David, as shown in the excerpts, demonstrated strong agency in initiating the play frame. Shawn was also actively co-constructing the play frame by contributing local semiotic resources and meditation in the forms of, for example, demonstration and explanation. Through regular participation in the language play, David was in the process of internalizing the self-denigrating style, identity work through parody, and the exaggerated use of 伤心 (heart broken), among many
other things. He was also exposed to local cultural concepts, speech styles, and associated values and ideologies. Also through language play, David and Shawn nurtured affiliation and a close relationship, which in turn facilitated David’s language use and development. Considering David’s personal history, humor may be part of his upbringing and a desired character and personal quality. His metapragmatic discussion of humor with Shawn has exposed him to a contrastive viewpoint on humor, as well as to identities and ideologies related to humor.

In the ensuing section, we will turn our attention to the other contextualized practice wherein Shawn and David communicated their emotions, namely explicit discussion of metaphoric emotion expressions. I also examine the quality of the mediational means in relation to David’s linguistic and conceptual development of Chinese emotion.

**Metaphorical emotion expressions**

David, genuinely curious about Chinese language and culture, always looked for more explanations than the linguistic forms. Shawn, a master’s student in Classical Chinese Literature, was the ideal resource person for David. Their discussion of linguistic and cultural issues often went beyond superficial phenomena, and so did their discussion on Chinese emotion expressions. Of particular interest were their conversations on metaphorical emotion expressions: highly literary and metaphorical expressions in the Chinese song *Waiting One Thousand Years to See You Once* (千年等一回) (Excerpt 6-7), and a four-word idiom 津津有味 *jinjin youwei* [lit: saliva saliva have taste] (with relish; with keen interest) whose extended meaning derived from a metaphor (Excerpt 6-8).

The first excerpt (Excerpt 6-7) illustrates how David and Shawn engaged in explicit discussion of emotional metaphors in the Chinese song and how the interaction could facilitate
David’s development of Chinese emotional concepts. In addition, Excerpts 6-8, 6-9 and 6-10 demonstrate the nature of mediation Shawn provided for David in the discussion of the syntax, original and extended meaning, and the metaphor underlying the four-word idiom, while trace the trajectories that David assumed across time in internalizing the form and the meaning of the expression.

Excerpt 6-7 was recorded on 2015/09/23 (see also Excerpt 6-2). When Shawn played the Chinese song *Waiting one Thousand Years to See You Once* (千年等一回), both of them sang along. The lyrics are rich in literary and metaphorical emotion expressions, and show linguistic features of classical Chinese, making it difficult to understand for a L2 speaker. David hence oriented to interpreting the lyrics.

**Excerpt 6-7 2015/09/23**

1. David 千年等一回
   waiting a thousand years to see you once
2. 千年等一回
   waiting once
3. 千年等一回
   waiting a thousand years to see you once
4. 我无悔
   I have no regret
5. 这个悔 是什么意思
   what does this “regret” means?
6. Shawn 悔 re-regret
   regret re-regret
7. David regret
7. David I don’t have
   I don’t have
9. [悔]
   regret
10. Shawn [悔] 对 我无悔
   regret right I have no regret
11. 无是 无是 no
    “no” is “no” is no
12. David 是 谁在耳边说
    who’s talking by my ear
13. who’s talking by my ear
14 Shawn 对
direct
15 David 爱 我永不 不变
love love me never will change
16 Shawn 变
change
17 David I will love you
18 Shawn forever
19 David 爱 uh 爱 <F 我 F>
love uh love me
20 Shawn 对
direct
21 love <F me F> forever
22 David love me forever [okay]
23 Shawn [never] change
24 David uh 只 只为这一句
uh just for this sentence
25 Shawn just for this sentence
26 David uh 断
uh broken
27 Shawn 断肠[也无怨]
broken intestines also has no resentment
28 David [断肠也]无怨
broked intestines also has no resentment
29 Shawn 肠子是
intestines are
30 我知道什么东西吗
do you know what that is?
31 your stomach 面的那个
the thing inside your stomach
32 很[长的]
very long
33 David [intes]tines
34 Shawn 对对
direct
right right
35 David 很 非常的
very very long
36 Shawn 对对 那个
direct 那个
right right that
37 然后说 uh
then (the song) says uh
38 那个东西断掉了
that thing is broken
39 也也也 也也 no regret
also also also also also don't regret
David: this

Shawn: resentment is also with resentment is

David: the same as harm uh regret?

Shawn: unh= 忍恨

just like uh hate hate

David: oh

so your I I I won’t hate your guts? @[@@@]

Shawn: [@@]

<@ I don’t hate your guts @>

David: 真的吗 @

really?

Shawn: uh uh= unh=

no [no]

David: [you know what] I’m saying

Shawn: matter how how sad I am

David: oh

so

Shawn: 雨心碎

rain is heart broken

the the heart of the rain is broken

and the the rain is

David: crying

Shawn: crying

David: XXX XXXX

Shawn: then lingering in dreams

David: @[@@

Shawn: 缠绵怎幺解释呢 缠绵是

how to explain lingering lingering

uh two guys 就是缠绵

just two guys it’s lingering

David: <CR two guys? CR>

Shawn: uh boy and girl

David: oh

Shawn: 不是接吻就是

not kiss just

they very happy

David: 拥[拥]

hug hug

Shawn: [拥]抱或者一起去玩
hug or hang out together

然后很
and very

76 David 他们在一起
they’re together

77 Shawn 对对
right right

78 I love you you love me 就是缠绵
right I love you you love me is lingering

79 David 他们在
they’re

他们是对象
they’re romantic partners

81 Shawn 对对 然后情悠远 uh life long
right right then feeling lasts long uh life long

82 David <P life long P>

83 西湖 我去了西湖]
West Lake I went to West Lake

84 Shawn [西湖][的水]]
West Lake’s water

85 David [[西湖]]的水
West Lake’s water

86 Shawn [我的泪]
are my tears

87 David [我的泪]
are my tears

88 它们是一样吗
they’re the same?

89 Shawn 不 就是 uh uh
no just uh uh

90 David 她她在 比较
she she’s comparing

91 Shawn 比较 比较 就是说 西湖的水
compare compare meaning that West Lake’s water

92 我的泪就像西湖的水一样 这么多
my tears are as much as West Lake’s water

93 David oh 哇

94 Shawn 对
right

95 David uh 我情 情愿
I’d ra- rather

96 Shawn 我情愿
I’d rather

97 uh I would want to became a
David initiated the actions of reading the lyrics line by line (lines 1-4), identifying what he could not understand and asking Shawn for help (line 5). Interestingly, Shawn oriented to the activity as a translation task (e.g. lines 6, 11). While David first considered it a paraphrasing-into-Chinese task (line 8), he then conformed to Shawn’s orientation (line 13). Shawn’s direct reliance on English indicated his perceived difficulty of the activity at hand, or his evaluation that English translation would be most appropriate for David’s Zone of Proximal Development. However, he could be under-estimating David’s potential ability. First of all, David at the time of research was taking an elective class on Classical Chinese. Secondly, David demonstrated his ability to
paraphrase the lyrics into Chinese: for example, in line 8, he paraphrased the classical Chinese-style expression 我无 wo wu [lit: I no] in 我无悔 (I do not have regret) into modern Chinese 我没有 wo meiyou (I do not have).

It is also interesting to note that the role of lyrics reader and first interpreter shifted between the two: David was the one who initiated the practice in line 1, Shawn took over the role in line 57, David reclaimed it in line 82, and Shawn took it over again in line 96. David’s attempts to resume the initiative role in the activity demonstrated his strong intention to assume an agentive role in his language learning.

The discussion on the line 断肠也无怨 duanchang ye wu yuan [lit: break intestine also no complaint] (I would have no resentment no matter how sad I am) illustrated the embodied nature of emotion (Niedenthal & Maringer, 2009), and the challenge for David to see the body part metaphor. In line 26, David read the line of lyrics and paused before the body part 肠 chang (intestines). Shawn directed his attention to the meaning of 断肠 duanchang [lit: break intestine] (deep grief or sadness) by asking him if he knew what 肠 (intestine) is (lines 30-31) and described it in plain language with a combination of Chinese and English (lines 32-33). David came up with the right English word immediately (line 34), and also confirmed with Shawn (line 36). After establishing the meaning of 肠 chang (intestine), Shawn continued his explanation of 断肠 (deep grief or sadness) in simple Chinese (line 39), and then the meaning of the entire sentence (lines 39-40). Shawn here only articulated the literal meaning of 断肠 [lit: break intestine] (deep grief or sadness), but not the figurative meaning, which is deep sadness or grief (Yu, 2002, 2009). Then David drew Shawn’s attention to the emotion word 怨 (resentment) (line 41). Shawn translated it as “hate” (lines 44-45). Deriving from “breaking the intestine” and “no hatred”, David related it to the English expression “I won’t hate your guts” (line 47). In English,
the gut is metaphorically mapped to courage, intuition, and the fundamental (diPaolo Healey, 2016). The Chinese intestine 肠 clearly has a different figurative meaning in relation to emotion.

Shawn first confirmed David’s association of the metaphors in English and Chinese (line 48-49). David was surprised that English and Chinese shared such expressions (line 50). However, Shawn at this point hesitated and revised his translation into “no matter how sad I am” (lines 52, 54 ), which is the metaphorical meaning of 断肠 duanchang [lit: break intestine] (deep grief or sadness). David indicated his understanding with the change-of-state token “oh” (line 55). Without further discussion, Shawn moved forward to the next line (line 57). In this episode, although Shawn did not articulate the metaphorical meaning of 断肠 [lit: break intestine] (deep sadness or grief) at first, David started to draw connection between the organ metaphors in English and Chinese, although the comparison lacked precision in both the body parts and emotions referred to.

From line 83 to line 94, David and Shawn discussed the rhetoric of comparison. West Lake in Hangzhou was a significant site where the love legend took place, based on which the song was written. David asked if the water of the West Lake and the singer’s tears intended the same thing (line 88), and further presented his understanding that it was the rhetoric of comparison (line 90). Shawn agreed with David (line 91), but further explicated the point of comparison - the amount of her tears is like the amount of the water in the West Lake (line 92). David signaled that he understood, and expressed that he was impressed by the expression (line 93).

In summary, Excerpt 6-7 illustrated David and Shawn’s in-depth discussion of Chinese emotion expression in the song. David’s association of the embodied emotion “hatred” with “intestine” in Chinese and “guts” in English suggested that he started to draw connection between Chinese and English embodied emotion metaphors, with Shawn’s assistance. Although there is no
evidence demonstrating David’s use of these emotion expressions or concept, the fact that he was engaged in such extended and in-depth discussion on these metaphors and rhetoric demonstrated the rich affordance that this dorm room experience provided.

In addition to explicating the emotional metaphors in the lyrics as demonstrated above, Shawn and David, along with me, also engaged in lengthy discussions of the meaning and usage of a four-word idiom 津津有味 jinjin youwei [lit: saliva saliva have taste/flavor] (with relish; with keen interest). The idiom originally describes eating with relish, but also has the extended meaning of doing something with keen interest, and hence is categorized as an emotion expression in the dissertation. The metaphor of ACQUIRING IDEAS IS EATING (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) is shared in English and Chinese (Yu, 2003). Su (2002) specified the metaphor underlying 津津有味 as “attractiveness of THOUGHT is conceived as the taste of FOOD” (p. 608).

The next three excerpts show the trajectories David underwent in using and understanding the idiom. The first two excerpts were recorded on the same day (2015/10/11) when David, Shawn, Kimberly (David’s girlfriend), and I were having dinner together. The third excerpt was recorded six days later between David and Shawn in the dormitory (2015/10/17). The excerpts illustrate how Shawn mediated David’s use and concept of the idiom through contextualizing, explicating the connections between the original and the extended meaning, i.e. the metaphor, providing examples, and supplying explicit feedback in Excerpts 6-8 and 6-9, and how David consistently and creatively imitated the use of the idiom with what came up in the context, and how his conceptualization of the idiom was in the process of maturation.

On the day when Excerpt 6-8 and 6-9 were recorded, I invited David, Shawn and Kimberly to dinner at a shopping mall near China University. Excerpt 6-8 was recorded when we waited in line outside the restaurant for about an hour. Excerpt 6-9 was recorded during the
dinner. During the one-hour wait, David was reading the menu from top to bottom to learn Chinese dish names, when he encountered an intriguing 口水鸡 koushui ji [lit: saliva chicken] (spicy and cold chicken).

Excerpt 6-8 2015/10/11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>David</th>
<th>Shawn</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>口口水鸡</td>
<td>mouth saliva chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sa- saliva chicken</td>
<td>saliva chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>口水鸡 凉菜</td>
<td>saliva chicken, cold dish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>spicy cold chicken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>是水</td>
<td>is water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>口水</td>
<td>saliva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>口水 saliva</td>
<td>saliva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>oh saliva oh= saliva chicken mhm=</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>就是说 它好吃得让你流口水</td>
<td>that means it’s so tasty that it makes you drool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>哦 对</td>
<td>oh right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>哦 我们 XX 学 一个字</td>
<td>oh we XX learned a word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>一个新的字 是</td>
<td>a new word is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>((4 turns omitted: Shawn connected to Wi-Fi.))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>你 你 津津有味吃口水</td>
<td>you you are eating sa- saliva with keen pleasure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>口水[鸡] saliva chicken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>[口]水鸡 对 saliva chicken right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>津津有味 津是什么</td>
<td>with keen pleasure, what is “jin”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>“jin” is sa- saliva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>对 津就是口水</td>
<td>right “jin” is saliva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>吃得津津有味 eating with keen pleasure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>你可以可以用 这个这个语法吗 can can you use this this grammar?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shawn  XX
David 津津有味 津津口
*with keen pleasure *with keen
Shawn  津津有味
with keen pleasure
David  津津有味地 吃 这这盘菜
pleasantly eat this this plate of dish
还是 吃得津津有味
or eating with keen pleasure?
Shawn  都可以都可以 XX都可以
both are okay, both are okay, XX are both okay
吃得津津有味 津津有味地吃
eat with keen pleasure, pleasantly eat
而且还可以 除了 吃以外
it can also be, other than eating
它还可以表示 你对什么东西有兴趣
it can also express that you’re interested in something
interested in
interest something interest[ing]
David [oh]
Shawn  interested in
just, right
我听你 我听你说故事 听得津津有味
I hear you I hear you telling a story with keen pleasure
David [嗯/
 unh?
Qian [哦] [[对=?]]
oh right
Shawn [津津有味]地 听你  说故事
I pleasantly hear you telling stories
David 哈！XX
ha! XX
不一定 不一定 跟 吃吃饭有关系
not necessarily not necessarily has to do with eating with eating
Shawn  对
right
或者说 他在津津有味地说什么东西
or he’s pleasantly talking about something
David 哦 对
oh right
有的人 @ @ <@ 他们 @> 他们觉得他说的话
some people they they think what he says is
Shawn  很有意思
very interesting
David <@ 很有意思 @> |
very interesting

47  Shawn  [他觉得很有意思，但是＜Ｘ不一定＞别人觉得＜Ｘ＞]
he thinks is very interesting, but others may not think so

48  David  [@@]

49  Shawn  但是他一个人说得很津津有味
he’s talking with keen pleasure by himself

50  David  @@

51  Shawn  或者说津津有味地看电视
or pleasantly watching TV

52  而津津有味地看电影都可以
pleasently watching movies are all okay

53  David  XXXXXX

David did not know that 口水 koushui (saliva) means saliva until he looked it up in Plecco Chinese Dictionary, a mobile phone app used by all CSC students, and signaled his change of mental state with “oh” (line 8). He then repeated the English translation of the dish “saliva chicken”, and made an elongated yummy vocal noise “mhm” to be playful (line 8).

Realizing that David did not understand the connection between the dish and its name, Shawn explained that it is so tasty to the point that people would start drooling and hence the name (line 9). At this moment, David drew connection to a phrase that he recently learned in class 津津有味 jinjin youwei [lit: saliva saliva have taste/flavor] (with relish; with keen interest) and attempted to make up a sentence with the phrase and the newly learned dish name (line 14). To further support David’s association, Shawn asked David what 津 jin [lit: saliva] means (line 17), which David correctly answered with the newly learned word 口水 koushui (saliva) (line 18). By raising a question instead of directly telling David the answer, Shawn was sensitive to David’s ZPD.

David then attended to the form of the idiom and came up with two versions: 津津有味 as the adverbial before the verb connected by 地 di, and as the complement after the verb connected by 得 de (lines 25-26). Shawn first confirmed that both forms are acceptable, and then directed David’s attention to the meaning of the idiom - in addition to the meaning related to
eating (line 29), there is also the extended meaning of being interested in something, synonymous to 有兴趣 you xingqu [lit: have interest] (have interest) (lines 30-31), and provided the example of listening to stories (lines 35, 38). David expressed his surprise and change of state by the accented interjection 哈 (ha) (line 39) and confirmation with Shawn that the idiom can be more than description of eating (line 40). Shawn came up with a second example – people talking (line 42). David illustrated his understanding by trying to paraphrase the idiom in the example (line 44). Shawn completed his sentence with a synonym to 津津有味, that is 有意思 you yisi [lit: have meaning] (interesting) (line 45), repeated by David (line 46). Shawn then came up with more examples – watching TV and movies (lines 51-52).

In this excerpt, David associated a phrase he learned in class with a dish name on the menu, an artifact in the immediate context. Attentive to David’s ZPD, Shawn mediated him in the word composition and meaning of the idiom. David then focused on figuring out the syntax of the idiom, showing imprint from foreign language classroom learning wherein form precedes meaning. Shawn considered both forms acceptable and used them interchangeably when providing examples. His primary attention, however, was on the meaning of the idiom by expanding the use of the phrase beyond its eating-related origin to one’s emotion, i.e. to show keen interest, and providing discrete examples of listening to stories, talking, watching TV and movies.

As dinner started, the conversation moved on to other topics. Approximately one and a half hours later, David went back to the idiom and used it to describe his pleasure in eating a chicken dish on the dinner table (Excerpt 6-9). Excerpt 6-9 was separated into four sub-excerpts, each highlighting a different aspect of the discussion.

Excerpt 6-9-1 2015/10/11

1       David       怎么说 津津有味 津津有味地吃 这块鸡肉
how to say pleasantly pleasantly eat this this chicken?

Qian 吃得津津有味
eat with keen pleasure

Shawn 都可以
both are okay

Qian 津津有味地吃
pleasantly eat

Shawn 但一般都是用 吃得津津有味 一般做状语
but usually used is eating with keen pleasure, usually as adverbial

Qian 我觉得书面语的话 比如他津津有味地吃着什么什么的
I think if it’s written language, for example he’s pleasantly eating something

Shawn 对
right

Qian 但如果平时口语的话 吃得津津有味
but if it’s everyday oral language, eat with keen pleasure

Shawn 对对 [有一定]
right right, has certain

David [把 把]什么吃得津津有味
ba ba something eat with keen pleasure

Qian 不用把
don’t use ba

Shawn 他吃得津津有味 吃得津津有味
he eats with keen pleasure, eats with keen pleasure

Qian 因为是口语嘛 所以津津有味太长了
because it’s oral language, so with keen pleasure is too long

Qian 嗯
unh

Shawn 就放在后面
so put it in the back

Qian 放后面
put it in the back

Shawn 对 XX 长的就做状语
right XX long and functions as adverbial

David so 应该说 这块 这块鸡肉吃得太有味 对吗
so (I) should say this chicken eat with keen pleasure right?

Shawn 这是谁呀
who’s this

David 这 这块鸡肉
this this chicken

Shawn 这个这个 这个这个 吃得津津有味
this this this eat with keen pleasure

David [oh oh]

Shawn XXXXXX

David okay 好
David oriented to a dish in the context, and attempted to use the idiom 津津有味 to describe himself eating the chicken. He resorted to the construction of using 津津有味 as an adverbial before the verb and supplying the object 这块鸡肉 zhe kuai jirou [lit: this piece chicken] (this piece of chicken) (line 1). I recasted with the idiom as the complement after the verb 吃 chi (eat) (line 2), which triggered a discussion on how register, i.e. written or oral language, influences the choice of syntax. Shawn argued again that both constructions were acceptable (line 3) but my recast version is more common (line 5). I further noted that my version is more common in oral discourse (lines 6, 8), supported by Shawn (lines 7, 9). David misunderstood the focus of Shawn and my discussion and mistakenly thought that to clarify the object, i.e. this piece of chicken, one needs to add the ba-construction (line 10), which was rejected by me (line 11). Shawn continued the discussion of why my version is more acceptable and referred to the characteristics in oral discourse, that is the modifier before the verb cannot be too long, otherwise it needs to be moved after the verb (lines 12-13). David understood the preferred construction and that the object should not follow, so he moved the object 这块鸡肉 (this piece of chicken) to the subject position (line 18), provided revision assistance by Shawn (lines 19, 21) and recasted by me (line 26). David did not give up on the object being eaten and moved it back to the position where he originally proposed, i.e. after the verb (line 28). Shawn finished David’s turn with a
complete structure: 吃这块鸡肉吃得津津有味, following the structure form Chinese textbooks using 得 to modify the action (line 29). David signaled his change of state with token “oh” (line 30) and abstracted it into a familiar grammatical construction 吃什么吃得 [lit: eat something eat de] (eat something to the point of) (line 30). As demonstrated in this excerpt thus far, David’s orientation was still the syntax of 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest): he repeatedly tried to fit the object of eating into the syntax of the idiom, and was ready to associate it with grammatical structures he was familiar with and distilled it into a construction, reflecting his conceptualization and orientation. Shawn and I, on the other hand, focused our discussion on how register (oral vs. written discourse) influenced the structure. The conversation continued.

Excerpt 6-9-2 2015/10/11

31 Shawn  我们也不这么说
   we don’t say this either
32 Qian  这个也太复杂了
        this is too complicated
33 Shawn  就说 David 吃得津津有味
        simply say David is eating with keen pleasure
34 David  那[X]
        then X
35 Qian  [David]吃鸡肉吃得津津有味可以吗
        does David eats chicken with keen pleasure work?
36 Shawn  你不觉得很冗 颇冗长嘛
        don’t you think it’s very redund- redundant?
37 Qian  <X 真的不像平时大家会说的啊 X>
        right, not something that people would usually say
38 Shawn  我们这边这个地方一般津津有味的话 它会省略掉
        we here, this place, usually with keen interest, it would be omitted
39 Qian  嗯 [对]
        unh right
40 Shawn  [对不对]对
        right?
41 Shawn  就 他听得津津有味
        simply, he listens with keen pleasure
42 Qian  他或者说他听故事听得津津有味
        he, or he’s listening to a story with keen pleasure
43 Qian  哦 这个就直接David吃得津津有味
oh, this is directly David is eating with keen pleasure

oh

because everybody knows we’re talking about eating

or for example you need to ask one more question

他[吃什]然后你再回答说 鸡肉

“what is he eating?” then you would answer: “chicken”

oh

you can’t say David is eating chicken with keen pleasure either

in oral language these things can’t be too redundant

right right right right

you’re so lucky to have a roommate like this

learn, I’m learning Chinese, a major with which you can’t find jobs

right but Shawn said usually

people wouldn’t say that

right it’s

(in) oral language (it’s) too long

I think it makes sense because it seems

because with keen pleasure itself is already a little long XXX

don’t say that

interesting, unh

interesting, unh

with keen pleasure is used more with its extended meaning, that is interesting

一般吃的话 很少用津津有味
with keen pleasure is rarely used with eating in general

Qian  is吧 哈
right? ha

Shawn  就是说 你听什么东西听得津津有味
that’s to say, you listen to something with keen pleasure

Qian  你做什么事情做得津津有味
you do something with keen pleasure

right right right

 WaitFor XXXXX

Qian  津津有味
with keen pleasure

David  喝得津津有味
drink with keen pleasure

Qian  对对对
right

right right right

Shawn  好像有点怪
it sounds a little weird

Shawn  哼/
unh?

Shawn  好像有点怪
it sounds a little weird

David  喝得
drink to the extent which

Qian  [好像也很怪吼]
it seems weird, isn’t it?

Shawn  [喝东西可以津津有味吗]
can (people) drink stuff with keen pleasure?

Qian  好像也不行 怎么这么难呐 这个词
(this) doesn’t seem to work either, why this is so difficult this word?

Shawn  不是 津津有味 它毕竟是跟口水有关系的
no, with keen pleasure, it has something to do with saliva

Shawn  吃东西 XXX
eating stuff XXX

Although David aptly summarized the construction to be 吃什么吃得 [lit: eat something eat de] (eat something to the point of) (line 30), it was again rejected by Shawn (line 31) and me (line 32). Our arguments were that the structure David proposed was too complicated and redundant (lines 32, 36, 38) so the original simple sentence “David 喝得津津有味” (David is eating with keen pleasure) was more appropriate (line 43). Shawn then summarized that oral
discourse cannot be too redundant (line 50), whereas there is no such concern in written discourse (line 52), again addressing how register influenced syntax.

Subsequently, Shawn again emphasized that it is more common to use 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) in its extended meaning (line 64) rather than its original connection with eating (line 66). He provided two more examples of using 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) in its extended meaning (lines 68-69). David, who was drinking bubble tea at that time, came up with a new sentence, 喝得津津有味 he de jinjin youwei [lit: drink de saliva saliva have taste/flavor] (drink with keen pleasure) (line 73). This time, he experimented with a different situation from eating that was relevant in the immediate context, i.e. 喝 (drink), and placed 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) as complement after the verb, adhering to the preferred construction in oral discourse, as suggested by Shawn and me above. Shawn again showed some concern over David’s creative use (lines 75, 80), explicated the original and extended meaning of the idiom, and importantly pointed to the central role of saliva (line 82).

Excerpt 6-9-3 2015/10/11

84       ((Bubble tea fell on the floor))
85   Qian  <F  <|@ 哦= @> F>
       oh
86   Shawn  @@@@@
87   David  <|@ 我我喝得津津有味 @>
          I I drink with keen pleasure
88   Shawn  @@@@@
89   David  <|@ 对不对@> @
          right?
90       不好意思 我会买你牛 奶茶
          sorry I’ll buy you mi- bubble tea
91   Qian  @@@@@
         奶茶 冰淇淋 <|@ 新的鞋子@> 你要什么 @@
         bubble tea, ice cream, new shoes, what do you want?
92   Qian  @@@@@
         新的鞋子 好欸
         new shoes, not bad
93   David  @@@@@
94   Shawn Kimberly <|@ <X 看你看 X>得津津有味 @> @@@@@
            Kimberly is watching you with keen pleasure
As Shawn was contemplating the use of 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest), David accidentally pushed the bubble tea on the floor (line 84). I demonstrated surprise with extended interjection of “oh” (line 85), and Shawn burst into laughter (line 86). At this moment, David intentionally described himself as 我我喝得津津有味 [lit: I I drink de saliva saliva have taste/flavor] (I I was drinking with keen pleasure) (line 87), knowing that there is something wrong with this sentence. David’s use here intended to be humorous and playful, depicting the unexpectedness of the incident. David oriented to Kimberly and apologized for breaking the bubble tea, and promised to buy her new things (lines 90-91). He laughed at his own generosity because he had sometimes been teased as a 铁公鸡 tie gongji [lit: iron rooster] (stingy person). Shawn, also joined David’s intentional misuse of the idiom, and stated that “Kimberly 看你看得津津有味” (Kimberly is looking at you with keen pleasure) (line 94), and quickly confessed that he was misusing the idiom and joking (line 96). In this part of the excerpt, the accidental fall of the bubble tea created an opportunity space for creative language use, wherein David and Shawn intentionally misused the idiom 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest).

Excerpt 6-9-4 2015/10/11

97  David  津津有味 means with gusto
with keen pleasure means with guesto

98  所以 I drink with pleasure
so I drink with pleasure

99  you’re look at me with pleasure

100 Qian  @@@@@

101 David  she looked at she looked at the shoes

102  you buy things with keen pleasure, buy things with keen pleasure is okay?

103 Shawn  一般是 read read something read something
usually it’s read read something read something
David: or watch something 看电影
Shawn: or watch something watch a movie
david: gusto
Shawn: to 看书 听[故事]
right, read books, listen to stories
Qian: [是要] 品味的东西
is something that (you need to) taste
Shawn: 品味的东西
something that (you need to) taste
Qian: 才可以说津津有味
can only be described as with keen pleasure
Shawn: 就你 对 比如说你像吃饭一样
like you, right, for example like you eat
Qian: 你要 你要感受那个味道对不对
you need you need to feel the taste right
Shawn: 对
righ?
Qian: you feel the taste
Shawn: 对不对
right?
David: okay so has feelings
Shawn: 因为你要去感受它的味道
because you need to feel its taste
Qian: 才会跟你的口水发生关系
has to do with your saliva
David: you can’t drink
Shawn: 那个口水是 是用来喂味道的嘛
the saliva is used to taste the taste
David: 不会XXX
not XXX
Shawn: 所以你 喝得津津有味就感觉很奇怪
so you drink with keen pleasure feels a little weird
Qian: 哦
Shawn: 你看 如果你看什么 看什么 津津有味
you see if you look at something look at something with keen pleasure
Qian: 除非你是研究[这个鞋子]
unless you’re researching the shoes
Qian: [哦 那个鞋子是 一个XX]
oh the shoe is a XX
Jumping off from his promise to buy new things for Kimberly, David checked with Shawn if another scenario – going shopping – is commensurable with 趣津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) (line 102). Shawn rejected his proposal by providing examples that would work, which are reading (lines 103, 108), watching movies (line 106), and listening to stories (line 108). At this point, Shawn and I did not simply stop at providing discrete examples, but oriented David to think about the commonalities between eating and the appropriate scenarios to use 趣津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) in its extended meaning: a person needs to 品味 pinwei [lit: appreciate taste] (taste) and 感受味道 ganshou weidao [lit: feel taste] (feel the taste) (lines 109-113, 115, 118), and also to make connection with saliva (line 119). David had an important
revelation of the metaphor as related to emotions by uttering, “so has feelings” (line 117). Using the metaphorical interpretation, Shawn justified his rejection of drinking (lines 121-122, 124) or going shopping (lines 126-127, 130-133, 135-136). In this part of the excerpt, after David’s two inappropriate proposals — drinking and going shopping, Shawn distilled the essence in 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest), which is that the saliva allows for the tasting of food; in parallel, what can be used with 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) has to also involve the process of 品味 (tasting). Although Shawn was not able to come up with the metaphor of IDEAS ARE FOOD, and the attractiveness of THOUGHT is the flavor of FOOD, his explanation to David resembled what Vygotsky called “scientific knowledge” or conceptual knowledge, as opposed to “everyday knowledge” or folk beliefs.

To summarize, in Excerpts 6-8 and 6-9, David’s attention was mostly on the syntax of using the idiom, while Shawn and I drew his focus to how register influenced syntax, and most significantly, the meaning of the idiom. After shifting his attention to the meaning, David consistently tried out the verbs that are appropriate for the extended-meaning, for example, drinking and going shopping. Shawn, through providing examples, supplying explicit feedback on David’s proposals, and clarifying the connection between the original and the extended meaning, i.e. the metaphor, mediated David’s conceptual understanding of the idiom.

Here, Excerpt 6-10 is the last excerpt that we will discuss. Shawn and David recorded their conversation in their dorm room six days from the dinner (Excerpts 6-8 and 6-9). In this excerpt, David again attempted to use the idiom.

Excerpt 6-10 20151017

1 Shawn 吖 你还没有吃完
   ho you’re not done eating?
2 David 恩
   unh
3 我在= 津津
I’m saliva saliva
4 Shawn @@@@@@@@@
5 David <@ 怎 怎么说 @> @@
   how how to say
6 Shawn forget it
7 David 我忘了
   I forgot
8 Shawn 津津有味
   with keen pleasure
9 David 津津有味 吃
   pleasantly eat
10 Shawn Qian 听到这个 听到这个成语 她一定会笑的 @@
   when Qian hears this, hears this idiom, she’ll definitely laugh
11 <@ 津津有味 @> with keen pleasure
12 <@ 这已经变成一个 story 了 @> @@@@@
   this has become a story
13 David @@@@@
14 Shawn 变成了一个典故
   become an allusion
15 知道典故是什么意思吗 (you) know what allusion means?
16 David 典 like 电影的故事吗
   allu- like movie stories?
17 Shawn 不不不 不@典@是]
   no no no no allu is
18 David [哦] 典故
   oh allusion
19 Shawn 对
   right
20 David 哦 classic XXX
   oh classic XXX
21 Shawn 对 [因为这个]
   right because this
22 David [allusion]
23 Shawn 对 已经变成我们的典故了
   right has become our allusion
24 David 对
   right
25 Shawn @@@@@
26 <@ 只要你一说津津 我们就知道是有味 @> @@@@@
   the moment you say saliva saliva, we know it’s with keen pleasure
27 <@ funny @> @@@
28 David @ <@ 对 @> @@@@@
   right
Shawn was surprised that David had not finished eating (line 1). The immediate context reminded David of the idiom 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest), which could explain why he was eating so slowly (line 3). However, he only remembered the first two words 津津 [lit: saliva saliva]. Shawn laughed at David’s mentioning of the idiom (line 4). David sought help from Shawn (line 5, 7), so Shawn spelled out the whole idiom (line 8). With Shawn’s assistance, David uttered the sentence 津津有味地吃 [lit: saliva saliva have taste/flavor de eat], using the idiom as adverbial before the verb (line 9). Shawn then explained why he would laugh at David’s attempt to use this word – the idiom 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) has become an allusion or story among David, Shawn, Kimberly, and me (lines 10-12, 14). He then discussed with David what 典故 (allusion) means (lines 15-22). The conversation ended by Shawn’s characterization of the allusion as “funny” (line 27).

From this excerpt, we can see that learning is non-linear and sometimes can even take steps back (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). After the extended discussion of 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) in the previous two excerpts, David in this excerpt, however, did not remember the form of the idiom, but with assistance from Shawn, was able to complete the sentence to describe his eating. It is worth noting that David’s use of 津津有味 (with relish; with keen interest) in this excerpt retrieved back to his original structure, rather than the more orally appropriate 吃得津津有味 [lit: eat de saliva saliva have taste/flavor]. If we consider his construction of the sentence 我在 wo zai (I am) (line 3), he intended to describe his current ongoing state. Following 我在 (I am), 吃得津津有味 [lit: eat de saliva saliva have taste/flavor] is not as appropriate as 津津有味地吃 [lit: saliva saliva have taste/flavor de eat]. Even though David adhered to his older form, which was seemingly non-development, he actually was
creatively using the idiom and semiotic resources available to him to accommodate his immediate need. Also in this excerpt, David was still using the idiom in its original rather than extended meaning. This suggested that it is no easy task for L2 learners to reappropriate their concepts. Pedagogical intervention that highlights cognitive linguistics contribution can potentially facilitate this process.

In summary, these excerpts (Excerpt 6-8, 6-9, and 6-10) illustrate how Shawn mediated David’s use and concept of the idiom, and how David consistently and creatively imitated the use of the idiom with what came up in the context, and how his conceptualization was still in the process of development. The excerpts illustrate the rich affordances Shawn and David’s daily interaction presented in mediating David’s concept of the emotion expressions.

**Interpretation of the Dormitory and Study Abroad Experience**

In this section, I discuss how David, Shawn, and David’s Chinese instructor perceived his dormitory and study abroad experience. The multiple perspectives aimed to triangulate and to provide a richer account of the experience. David, when reflecting on his progress in Chinese and experience learning the language, attributed much of his development to Shawn and also to his instructor and classmates (Interviews 2015/10/30 and 2015/12/13). I will first discuss David and Shawn’s interpretation of their dormitory life, and then consider David and his Chinese instructor’s comments in terms of his learning in the language classroom. David’s learning in the two contexts cannot be interpreted in isolation from each other, as they were both integral parts of his experience.
Time in the dormitory

In my first meeting with David and Shawn, both of them were quite optimistic about their relationship. David affirmatively told me that by the end of the semester, they would become very good friends, and even “life long friends” (一辈子的朋友) (Interview 2015/09/18). When asked about his expectation of their relationship, Shawn replied: “I don’t think I need to expect (anything). It’ll definitely get better and better” (我觉得不需要期待 一定会越来越好) (Interview 2015/09/18). Their opinions of each other remained this positive throughout the rest of the semester. David praised that Shawn was “the best roommate” (真的 我有最好的室友) in the mid-semester interview (2015/10/30), and considered himself very lucky to have Shawn as his roommate in the end-of-semester interview (2015/12/13). In Shawn’s opinion also, he and David were a good match (比较搭) (Interview 2015/11/25).

In David’s account, there were several reasons why they had developed such a strong connection. Shawn has been willingly helping David with his Chinese learning throughout the semester. David expressed his gratitude to Shawn: “when he’s in the dorm, he’s very generous. No matter I have a question, or or a thousand questions, he helps me. So I’m I’m very very grateful that he he’s my roommate” (他宿舍的时候 他很 generous 他 他不管我有一个问题 或者或者有一千个问题 他他帮助我 所以我很很感谢他他是我的室友) (Interview 2015/12/13). Also, David considered Shawn to be “very smart” (Interview 2015/09/18), with a deeper understanding of Chinese culture than ordinary Chinese because he is a graduate student in Chinese Classical Literature (Interview 2015/12/13). Last but not least, Shawn is “very friendly” (很友好) and they always chat with each other (Interview 2015/10/30). The time spent chatting with Shawn was considered the best part of David’s experience abroad (Interview 2015/12/13).
For Shawn, they had some commonalities that allowed them to get along with each other. The first point that Shawn mentioned was their shared living habits, for example, being quiet and not drinking much. When asked about how he foresaw their relationship in the first interview, Shawn brought up the example that was discussed in Excerpt and 6-1, or the playful frame that was developed between them (Interview 2015/09/18). The practice of language play has nurtured their relationship, and at the same time indexed the intimacy developed between them. The last point that Shawn made was that they could always have a good conversation (聊得来) (Interview 2015/11/25). They have developed a shared repertoire and intersubjectivity, as Shawn recalled that: “He likes to say strange stuff, non stop. He often asks me: ‘can you understand?’ I said: ‘I can’ (他很喜欢说稀奇古怪各种 不停地说 他常常问我你听得懂吗 我说 我知道) (Shawn interview 2015/11/25). Shawn contrasted David from some other study abroad students: “I think I can only have a good conversation with David. If it’s another that kind of party animal, I don’t think we can have a conversation” (我觉得就是跟 David 能聊吧 如果是另外一个那种 party animal 就聊不到一起了) (Shawn interview 2015/11/25).

David being different from the cohort was one of the themes that reoccurred in Shawn’s, his Chinese instructor’s, and his own interviews. Shawn recalled his first day meeting David and him aspiring to get into the head of Chinese and learning the Chinese way of thinking (中国人脑子里想什么) (Shawn interview, 2015/09/18). Shawn commented that this expectation set him apart from the rest of the group (往这个方面 他应该会有点不一样吧) (Interview 2015/09/18). Shawn described David with a popular Internet term derived from political language, that is 三观正 (appropriate worldview, life philosophy, and ideology), and a person who considers that one should simply study hard and make money (Interview 2015/11/25). According to the instructor, David was a highly motivated student with an exceptional level of agency in his learning (他就是
Some students in our program, they they are not very interested in Chinese. Some of them don’t have any interest. But my my major is Chinese, (so) I’m very very interested in Chinese and Chinese culture and Chinese people, Chinese Chinese people, very interested in Chinese culture. So I want to understand even very small details, because I ultimately I want to I want to speak, I will speak Chinese very fluently, very, I don’t know, I won’t say, I wouldn’t say that my Chinese is perfect, but there’s no such thing. I’m not Chinese … I should speak Chinese almost perfect, the deepest, at least (I) should I should be able to express my meaning (有的学生在我们的项目里面 他们他们的对中国和中国文化和中国人的兴趣非常非常大 非常多 中国中国人 中国文化的兴趣很大 所以 连在很小的细节我想明白 因为我最最终我要我想说 我会说中文说得很流利 很 我不知道 我不会说 我不会那么说 我的中文是完美的 但是没有这样的事情 我不是中国人……我应该说中文的差不多完美 最深 最少的应该 我能够表示我的意思) (Interview 2015/12/13).

Because of David’s motivation and interest in learning, he rarely visited nightclubs or hanged out with the cohort, according to Shawn (Interview 2015/11/25). Instead, what David cared most was practicing his Chinese. Shawn said: “If you don’t know him, you’re just being blunt, saying anything he wants. If you know him you’ll know that he’s simply talking and practicing his oral language non-stop” (不认识的话 你就口无遮拦 乱讲嘛 然后认识他你就知道 他只是在不停地说 练他的口语) (Interview 2015/11/25).
Another aspect that contributed to David being different from the cohort is his Jewish identity. The self-picked pseudonym David Wang 王大卫 [lit: David king] (King David) well illustrates this. Being in Shanghai and in China also made his Jewish identity relevant or even desirable. During World War II, Shanghai hosted Jewish refugees, and since then has had a special connection with Jewish people. As part of the CSC curriculum, all classes went to visit the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum. David was quite emotional during the visit, and described himself as “feeling happy and heart broken at the same time” (一边感觉开心 一边感觉伤心) (Interview 2015/10/30). David also found many shared values between Jewish and Chinese culture, for example, caring about money and studying hard (Shawn Interview 2015/11/25). In addition, his Jewish identity in China also brought him social and cultural capital. David shared with me that once he and Shawn joined Kimberly’s class to visit the famous Matchmaking Corner at Renmin Park, where parents brought with them photos and qualifications of their single sons or daughters to find marriage candidates. David confessed that he made two mistakes when a parent approached him: the first was telling the parent that he is from the United States, and the second was mentioning that he is Jewish when asked about his opinion on religion, two highly desirable identities in China. A big crowd of parents gathered around him, making him very 得瑟 dese [Northeastern dialect] (show off), a popular phrase taught by Shawn, David recalled in a playful tone (Interview 2015/10/30).

**Chinese learning in the classroom**

Although David thought he should be placed in Fifth Year Chinese, he later found it rewarding to stay in the Fourth Year Chinese class (Instructor interview 2015/11/17). In the mid-semester interview, David summarized his progress in Chinese as in two aspects: the wider
variety of topics that he could discuss, and the fact that he started to understand some authentic materials, such as local newspapers. With the many new sentences he learned in class, he could discuss topics such as war, Chinese history, and problems of big cities. In his elective classes, the textbooks and test materials were oftentimes not written for L2 learners and hence “authentic” (真实); he found that he could sometimes understand what was written on a local newspaper. In the mean time, David identified his biggest problem as disfluency and cited his Chinese instructor’s comments: “You say it very completely. You words are used correctly, but you don’t speak very fast” (你说得很全 完整 你的单词都用得对 可是你说的不太快) (Interview 2015/10/30).

Another challenge that David recognized was his inability to fully express his own opinions. He said: “I think my in my mind, and in my brain, there is a sharp opinion, a a thought, a thinking, but I can’t say it.” (我 觉得我的 在我的心里 还有我的脑子里 有厉害的观点 一个一个 thought 一个思想 可是说不出) (Interview 2015/10/30).

In the end-of-semester interview, David recognized that he had made tremendous improvement in Chinese, but also expressed his frustration in not being able to describe some simple things in life. He first reiterated the proficiency hierarchy his instructor instantiated in class: “because description is the first layer. then analysis is the second layer. also the third layer should be your opinion, what is your viewpoint” (因为描述是第一层 然后分析是第二层 还有 第三层应该是你的看法 你的观点什么). However, he argued, “Because the pace of the Chinese class is very fast. You will learn many analytical words, also hold on to an opinion, and write articles. I also I know many conjunctions, therefore, in addition, these are very very formal words. I know them all. but when I speak I have problems, because I couldn’t express a very very simple meaning” (因为你得汉语课的节奏很快 你会写很多分析的字 还有就是坚持一个观点 和写文
David wished that he could have more review of the words that they learned, more opportunities to speak in class, and fewer assignments. He explained that after all the homework, he was too exhausted; rather, he would like to use the time to go out and talk to different Chinese people to experience Chinese culture, and communicate with Chinese (Interview 2015/12/13). He would spend the time going to tourist sites to meet with non-locals, so that he could see the diversity of people in China and different dialects or accents (David interview 2015/12/13).

The interview with David’s Chinese instructor shed light on his Chinese proficiency from a language instructor’s perspective. The instructor mentioned that in the placement, as discussed above, what David presented in the oral portion was truncated, dysfluent, and unnatural (他的语流是断断续续的 不是自然流畅的) (Interview 2015/11/17). Early in the semester, David would have to take time to react to a conversation, and he was not natural in the way his expressed his opinions. By the time of the interview (i.e. late November), the instructor commented that he was quick to respond to questions, but still required time to organize language in longer stretch of discourse.

The instructor recognized some room for improvement in David’s Chinese learning. He would use some advanced vocabulary to explain some of his thoughts; however, because he did not quite grasp the meaning or the use of the word, he could not accurately express his opinions, and his writing would become very dysfluent (不通顺) (Instructor interview 2015/11/17). Additionally, the instructor expected David to speak more naturally. An example of him being not natural was that he over prepared himself for oral exams, and was too hung up on remembering what he prepared rather than what he could say on the spot.
At the same time, the instructor recognized and praised several characteristics of David’s that were conducive to his learning. David likes to think (喜欢思考) and discuss issues, especially those with some depth, for example, are humans inherently good or bad, over everyday issues. He also demonstrated great agency and autonomy as a learner. He cares about application of language (重视运用) and is dedicated and persistent (执着), trying to use what is learned in real life whenever possible, which was also demonstrated in Excerpts 6-8 to 6-9 where he repeatedly tried out the idiom. Most of all, the instructor noticed that David is genuinely interested in Chinese culture: “He likes Chinese culture more and more. When talking about things, he shows the kind of interest, the kind of liking. You can sense it” (他越来越喜欢中国文化 在谈到什么的时候 就是表现出的那种兴趣 那种喜欢 你能体会到) (Instructor interview 2015/11/17). The example that the instructor gave was David’s reaction of an article about Zhongshu Qian, a famous Chinese author, and his life. Other students were either disinterested, or just read it for the sake of the class. David, on the other hand, enjoyed reading the story so much and found many shared qualities between himself and Zhongshu Qian. The instructor said: “just this attitude of integrating in this culture makes him love to learn this language. he doesn’t think it’s a mean thing to do. He thinks it’s very enjoyable.” (就是他这种融入这种文化的这种态度 让他很爱学这个语言 他并不认为这是很刻薄的事情 他认为是很享受的事情).

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter tells the story of David, an advanced speaker of Chinese of Jewish heritage, who resided in the international student dormitory with her Chinese roommate Shawn, a peer-aged master student of Classical Chinese Literature. David’s advanced proficiency, genuine
interest in Chinese language and culture, along with Shawn’s shared passion and in-depth understanding of Chinese, led to David’s significant learning in interaction with Shawn.

Similar to the findings in Chapter 5, the video description task presented mixed-results on David’s ability to linguistically recognize and express emotions. Nevertheless, David and Shawn’s spontaneous interaction yielded exciting findings. In addition to conversational narratives (see Chapter 5), David and Shawn regularly engaged in verbal humor or language play, in a variety of forms, such as parody, hyperbole, local humor, and joke telling. This contextualized practice transcended the restraints the immediate context presented, and provided abundant opportunities and semiotic resources for them to perform different speech styles and identities, entertain with ideologies related to these speech styles and humor, and eventually develop David’s conceptual knowledge and use of emotion-related language. Equally fascinating was David and Shawn’s in-depth discussion of Chinese emotion metaphors. In interpreting the lyrics of the Chinese song, David was familiarized with local concept of embodied emotion, intestine and sadness, in relation to English-based concepts of guts and hatred. By examining the discussion episodes on the four-word idiom 津津有味 jinjinyouwei [lit: saliva saliva have taste/flavor] (with relish; with keen interest) with regards to its syntax, register, original meaning, extended meaning, and underlying metaphor, I traced David’s genesis in using and understanding the concept behind the idiom under the various mediational means from mostly Shawn, me, and cultural artifacts on the spot, for example, the restaurant menu, the chicken dish, and the broken bubble tea. This contributed to the scant literature on longitudinal development of L2 emotion metaphor, as discussed in Chapter 2. The section also pointed out the challenge for David to internalize the form, meaning, and concept of the idiom. When he attempted to use the idiom six days after the mealtime discussion, he seemed to retrieve to previous developmental state and elicited Shawn’s help on remembering the idiom. As conceptualized in SCT, development is
never a smooth process that sometimes even involving taking steps back, which in turn can be signs of development. David’s developmental trajectory in terms of the idiom was such a case in point. Thus, I argue that more organized mediation or pedagogical intervention, such as concept-based instruction, can further enhance and accelerate this learning experience.

In addition to his exceptional language gains, David presented himself as a “different” Chinese learner or speaker from his CSC cohort. Because he majored in Chinese, wished to have a career in China, and has a genuine interest in Chinese, he not only aspired to speak Chinese like a Chinese, but also to understand how Chinese think. Therefore, he did not stop at learning the language form, and strove to understand every little details of Chinese language and culture, which was demonstrated in the interaction data. His strong intention drove him to practice Chinese and apply what he learned in class or in the dormitory with Shawn whenever he could. In addition, his ethnic identity as a Jewish also had a positive impact on his experience in China. David found himself identifying with Chinese because many aspects of his Jewish upbringing resonated with Chinese values and moralities. The historical context of Shanghai and the positive reputation of the Jewish in China rendered his identity relevant and prestigious. His Jewish-inherited love of verbal humor may have also given rise to the practice of language play between him and Shawn, which not only facilitated his language and culture learning but also promoted his friendship with Shawn.

David and Puppies’ cases presented some similarities. Living with a peer-aged Chinese roommate in the same residence hall, they both enjoyed a congenial relationship with their roommates and have progressed immensely from the experience. Also, both chapters contributed to the literature on racial or ethnic minority students’ experience abroad: African American in Puppies’ case, and Jewish in David’s case. Despite the similarities between the two chapters, because of their distinctive personal histories, dispositions, personal goals, proficiency levels,
each case was also fundamentally unique to each other in terms of the contextualized practices they participated in, the aspects of emotion repertoire they frequently involved, and the identities they constructed through the linguistic means and practices.
Chapter 7

Living with a Host Family: The Story of Audrey and Liz

This chapter presents the story of two pseudonymous American students Audrey and Liz, who lived in the same homestay during their semester abroad in Shanghai in the fall of 2015. Remarkably, despite the seemingly identical learning context, they were involved in distinctive activities and developmental trajectories. To shed light on the contrast, the chapter explores the linguistic, conceptual, and ideological mediational means that were made available in homestay interaction, and the extent to which the interactions were attuned to the potential abilities of the students in learning how to feel and how to talk about their emotions in Chinese. Beginning with Audrey, Liz and the host family’s personal histories, the chapter then turns to portraying Audrey and Liz’s development of emotion language: first, their responses in the video description task were analyzed; and then their use of emotion language along with the quality of mediational means available in audio-recorded homestay interaction were closely examined. To situate their development in emotion language, self-evaluation and instructor’s comments on their overall proficiency were also included. Lastly, to put their linguistic development in perspective, the homestay and study abroad experience were explored in light of viewpoints from the major stakeholders Audrey, Liz and the host family.
The Participants

Audrey

Audrey, 20 years of age at the time of research, is a Caucasian from New Jersey. She attended an elite private university in Northeastern U.S. She was a junior in International Relations, with a concentration on Asian Studies and a focus on Chinese language and politics.

At the age of nine, she was struck by the beauty of Chinese characters on the menu of a Chinese restaurant in her hometown. Motivated to learn how to write characters, she started taking one-on-one lessons from a tutor at a language school from the age of 10 and continued for four years. She switched to Spanish for a year before resuming Chinese learning in her sophomore year in high school and has studied Chinese ever since. In total, she has learned Chinese for nine years. The tutor taught her traditional Chinese, but her high school teacher taught her simplified Chinese, so she made a switch from traditional to simplified characters. Her exposure to Chinese remained primarily classroom-based until the summer of 2015 when she first came to China and worked as an English instructor at an international high school in Beijing. During her two months there, she had the opportunity to speak Chinese with her co-workers, and also the students because they all lived in the student dormitory.

Although the initial motivation to learn Chinese was the beauty of the language, Audrey now saw Chinese as very useful language that could open up more employment opportunities and enhance her competitiveness in the job market. Her career plan was to become an education consultant in Asia and specialize in international education analysis. Her summer work in the international school was part of her effort to achieve this career goal.

At the CSC, Audrey chose the intensive language program and was placed in Fourth Year Chinese (Advanced High). Like Puppies, Audrey took Chinese classes four hours each day from
Monday to Thursday, and also other electives. She also had a one-on-one instructor whom she met three days a week and a tutor whom she met one or two times per week. In terms of accommodation, her preference was actually to live with a Chinese roommate. Due to room unavailability, the housing coordinator eventually persuaded her to join Liz and live with the Chinese host family.

Liz

Liz, 21 years of age, is an Asian American from California. At the time of research, she attended a public university in Southwestern U.S. on scholarship. She was a senior majoring in Supply Chain Management, Data Analytics and International Business, and minoring in Chinese.

Her family heritage is mainly Filipino, with Spanish heritage two generations ago and Chinese heritage three generations ago. Her home language is primarily English, but she is able to speak some Filipino for everyday chores and from what she picked up from her parents. Her Filipino proficiency used to be high when she frequently stayed with her grandparents, but deteriorated after she stopped regularly visiting her grandparents. Also, growing up in a town in Northern California where she was the only Asian girl, she had limited exposure to other languages. English has hence been the major language in her linguistic repertoire.

Although learning Chinese has always been “on [her] bucket list”, an opportunity did not arise until she started college and heard about the Chinese Flagship program at her university. She was originally a participant in the program for two years, but was not able to accelerate as fast as the program required. Although she did not complete the five-year program, she considered herself as having benefitted a lot from it. In the summer of 2014, Liz attended a two-month intensive study abroad program in Beijing. The program implemented a strict Chinese-only
policy. Because the teachers were always present to enforce the policy, Liz disclosed that she “could not take it at first” (受不了) (Interview 2015/09/24), but eventually benefited greatly from the policy: she made dramatic progress and also gained confidence in speaking Chinese. In total, Liz had studied Chinese for about three years before the fall semester of 2015.

For Liz, the semester abroad in Shanghai not only fulfilled credit requirement for her minor in Chinese, but was also an opportunity to “get [her] Chinese to the next level”, and a necessary step to “immerse [herself] to Chinese” (Interview 2015/09/24). When asked about her expectations for the semester, Liz said: “to be able to converse naturally with Chinese people” (Interview 09/24/2015), and explained: “if I go out to eat with friends like that. I know I wouldn’t be able to hold a professional conversation. I don’t think I have the vocab to do that. I can get by buying things at the store, order food, ask directions very comfortably. Have a conversation with the taxi driver and with the waiter while waiting for food”. In Liz’s description of her goals, she oriented to communication with locals in the naturalistic context. As I will show later in the chapter, the different goals that Audrey and Liz assumed, respectively career- and communication-oriented, have had a profound influence on the approaches that the two took in the homestay and the classroom and eventually their developmental pathways.

At the CSC, Liz chose the intensive language program and was placed in Fourth Year Chinese (Advanced High), the same class as Audrey. She also had elective classes, a one-on-one instructor and a tutor. Liz opted to stay with a Chinese host family, in part because of her orientation to converse with local people discussed above.
The host family

The host family lives in an apartment in a residential complex that is conveniently located by the side gate of China University. Several CSC students home stayed in this residential complex. The apartment where Audrey and Liz lived in has two stories: the entrance of the home leads to the second floor, which is the living space of the host family and the public space (kitchen, living room and dining space); going down by the stairs to the first floor are two bedrooms and a bathroom. Audrey and Liz each occupied a bedroom and shared the bathroom on the first floor.

In the host family were a Host Mother (HM) and a Host Father (HF). HM was the primary participant as HF was visiting Australia the majority of the time of the research. It was the first time that HM hosted alone. The host parents were both in their late sixties and retired at the time of research. HM attended a secondary vocational school in nursing, and later became a doctor of ultrasonography. HF became a student at China University at the age of 40, and retired as a museum staff member. Their daughter has lived in Australia for 13 years, starting off as a study abroad student and now working as a doctor. Both of the host parents would regularly visit Australia. HM did not speak English. HF’s English proficiency was also limited.

HM described herself as a person who is enthusiastic towards guests, hospitable, thin-skinned and courteous (热情 好客 爱面子 客气) (Interview 2015/10/03). At the study abroad program, host family is called 友好家庭 [lit: friendly family] (host family). For HM, friendliness was the priority in her understanding of being a host family. Especially concerned with safety, health benefits and delicacy of food, HM tried to home cook everything for Audrey and Liz and provide a diversity of dishes. HF was especially concerned with the personal safety of students, advising them not to frequent nightclubs and constantly reminding them to “be careful with
personal safety” (注意安全) (Interview 2015/12/14). Because HF is knowledgeable in Chinese history, he often engaged students in discussion of Chinese and American history and politics. His orientation was to provide students with more insights into Chinese culture, and also to gain more knowledge himself, thus echoing the “two-way enrichment” approach noted by Iino (2006).

The host parents showed their empathy towards study abroad students by relating their own and their daughter’s experiences and putting themselves in the shoes of the students’ parents. During the Cultural Revolution, HM and HF, who were in their teenage years, were sent to a northern province of China to work in the countryside without their parents under The Movement of Educated Urban Youth Going to the Countryside. HM shared with Liz in one of the recordings that “we all have this feeling that leaving parents alone to a different place, we all want to get help from others” ( 都有这个体会 就是 一个人离开父母到外面去 很想得到人家的帮助) (Recording 2015/10/19). Because of their daughter’s study abroad experience, the host parents could relate to how the students’ parents feel. HF said: “our children are abroad, if others can take care of them, we would be really happy. just to put us in others’ shoes. my own brother’s child in Britain also lives in a local family. Care about them often, and let them feel warmth is okay” (自己小孩在国外如果别人照顾他们 我们很开心 将心比心 自己的弟弟的孩子在英国也住在当地家庭 多关心他们 让她们感到有些温暖就行了) (Interview 2015/12/14).

The family has provided homestay for CSC students for more than ten years, having accommodated 20 to 40 students. For HM, hosting CSC students prevented her from feeling that she “[had] nothing to do” (闲着没事干), and the financial benefits of hosting students was not part of her concern (Interview 2015/10/03). The host family, in each semester’s evaluation that students filled out, has consistently received the highest scores among all host families. Her
apartment has also been the model home when American universities came onsite to examine the living conditions offered at the study abroad program.

When asked about their hosting experience, the host parents expressed some mixed feelings. On the one hand, they got along well with some students and kept in touch with them. HM said: “occasionally some students are extremely good” (个别学生特别好) (Interview 2015/10/03). For example, when a student from Hawaii visited Shanghai after she completed the study abroad program, the host parents happily accommodated her again. HM said: “She still thought of me. I’m very happy to let her stay here” (她还想到我，我很开心她到这里来住) (Interview 2015/10/03).

On the other hand, several critical incidents, among many others, have reshaped HM’s hosting approach. The first two incidents involved gift giving from students’ family members. In the first story, a student’s family visited the home three times during a semester, and HM prepared a full table of dishes each time even thought during the third visit she just had surgery. The first visit was pleasant as the student’s father, a professor at an elite American university, showed his respect by wearing suits on a hot summer day and being very polite. The second visit of the students’ mother, however, did not go well. HM was at first very happy to see the student and her mother wearing the Chinese traditional costumes that HM gave them. The turn of events took place when HM saw the gift they gave her, some Chinese liquor cups with price tags of ¥0.7 to ¥1 each (equivalent to $0.10 to $0.15). HM shared her feeling: “It is okay not to give gifts. This gift is simply looking down on me from the bottom of their hearts” (没有礼物没关系 这个礼物就是骨子里看不起我) (Interview 10/03/2015). The second incident shook HM to the core: a student’s aunt and uncle came to visit, and the gift they gave HM was rotted fruit. HM recalled: “I was so upset. You simply look down upon us” (我很不高兴 你们就是看不起我们) (Interview
In the third incident, HM left for Australia a few days before the end of the semester, and the student who stayed in her home nicely gave her a bottle of wine before she left. When she tried to talk to the student on WeChat to see if she got home safely, the student replied: “I’m sorry that my Chinese is not very good. I don’t seem to know you” (对不起 我的汉语不太好 我好像不认识你). HM reminded her that she is the host mother of her Shanghai homestay, and only received no reply. Feeling disappointed and hurt, HM decided not to do what she used to do, that is to devote herself whole heartedly or to go above and beyond when hosting students.

In addition to the critical incidents, HM also shared some common issues that host families have with American students. The biggest issue, according to HM, was bedroom cleanliness. Another issue was excessive use of air conditioning. HM described American students as keeping the air conditioning on even if they are away. For Chinese, especially Shanghainese, a virtue that ordinary people live by is not to waste food or other resources (on the matter of wasting food, see e.g. Lee, Wu, Di, & Kinginger, 2017).

Despite the mixed feelings, HM did not consider addressing issues with host students necessary, because of the temporary nature of the stay, or meaningful, because of the implicit emotion style of Chinese. HM pointed out the limited level of intimacy that can be developed during homestay due to host students’ temporary membership in the home: “It’s all courteous. (I) can’t require them the same way as I require my own child” (都是客气 不能像要求我孩子那样要求) (Interview 2015/10/03). The lack of family identity was actually co-constructed by host students. Audrey and Liz addressed the host parents as 阿姨 (aunt) and 叔叔 (uncle), and Audrey only occasionally referred to the host parents as 寄宿妈妈 (host mother) and 寄宿爸爸 (host father) in her interview. HM also did not think providing suggestions to host students helpful or meaningful. She contended: “No any suggestions. These are all deep-rooted things. If it’s
suggested, it’s not that good. To see a person, I’ll see how you do things, and then I’ll know what kind of person you are. You ask the person to how to do, I think it’s not meaningful any more”

(没什么建议 这些东西都是根深蒂固的东西 要是建议出来的 就不那么好了 看一个人 我看你怎么做我知道你是什么样的人 你要求你怎么做 我觉得没意思) (Interview 2015/10/03).

This implicit emotional style assumed by Chinese, as briefly discussed in Chapter 5, can be a source of miscommunication with American students. As I will argue later in the chapter, HM’s unwillingness to address issues with eating directly with Audrey was a contributing factor to their conflict.

In what follows, I explore Audrey and Liz’s emotion language developmental trajectories. I first examine and compare their responses in the pre- and post-video description task before scrutinizing the homestay interaction. Quantitative characterization of Audrey and Liz’s participation and acquisition of local emotion terms are first presented. I then trace their linguistic development or the lack thereof on the microgenetic level as well as across the span of the semester.

**Emotion Communication**

**Video description task**

**Audrey’s video description task**

Table 7-1 displays Audrey’s scores in the pre- and post-video description task. Table 7-2 shows the scenarios and lexical terms in her responses. Transcripts and a translation of Audrey’s responses in the pre- and post-video description task are shown in Appendix E.
Table 7-1: Score report of Audrey: Video description task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios labeled</th>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical diversity</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>14.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of scenarios labeled decreased from three to two. Only one scenario was identified both times, i.e. “How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year”. Unique in the pre-test were a description of how the man feels when arriving home and how everybody feels when celebrating the new year together. Unique in the post-test was description of the parents’ reaction when seeing the couple unexpectedly come home. Audrey’s focus has shifted from all the characters in the video to only the parents.

As for lexical diversity, she only used one emotion term 高兴 gaoxing [lit: high exciting] (happy) to describe positive emotions and negative emotions through negation, which indicates her lack of lexical variety in the pre-test, substantiated by the low pre-score in lexical diversity. In the post-test, however, she adopted five distinct emotion words, which were also idiosyncratic, indicating an improvement on her lexical variety. To describe the negative emotion in the first scenario, instead of negating 高兴 (happy) as in the pre-test, Audrey used

Table 7-2: Audrey’s performance in Video description task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Pre test</th>
<th>Post test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
<td>悲痛 (grieved), 难受 (feel bad), 失望 (disappointed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the man feels when they go home and see their parents</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple come home</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How everybody feels when celebrating the Chinese New Year together</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
three negative emotion terms 悲痛 (grieved), 难受 (feel bad), 失望 (disappointed). For one thing, Audrey in the post-test demonstrated more subtlety in her interpretation of the characters’ emotions. For another, her increased lexical diversity in negative emotion terms is an important indicator of her expanded emotion repertoire, possibly from the naturalistic context.

In terms of appropriateness, she was rated a full score in the pre-test, but decreased to 4.00 in the post-test. The use of 悲痛 (grieved) was rated three out of five, considered by the raters too severe for the situation when the emotion term is mostly used when people pass away (Raters comments). The use of 感激 (appreciate) was rated two out of five, considered a wrong emotion because Chinese parents would not feel grateful when children come home for Spring Festival dinner (Raters comments). Apparently, she made more errors in the post-test than at the beginning of the semester. However, it is important to note that from the perspective of SCT, errors are not merely evidence of deficiency, but may be a necessary and significant process for some learners when they struggle to take control of new mediational means (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In Audrey’s case, she might be grappling with the form, meaning, concept, and pragmatics of the emotion terms, and at the same time processing the cultural meanings embedded in the video as well as the meeting demand of the task. In sum, although her appropriateness score decreased, examination of her responses actually shows possibilities of development on her part, which implies limitations on the appropriateness rating.
**Liz’s video description task**

Table 7-3 demonstrates Liz’s scores in the pre- and post-video description task. Table 7-4 shows the scenarios and lexical terms in her responses. Transcripts and a translation of Liz’s responses in the pre- and post-video description task are shown in Appendix E.

Table 7-3: Score report of Liz: Video description task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scenarios labeled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical diversity</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>10.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-4: Liz’s performance in Video description task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios</th>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple calls/tells that they are not going home for Chinese New Year</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>难过 (sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the man’s dream, how the parents feel when celebrating Chinese New Year alone</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>想 (miss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the parents feel when the couple come home</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How everybody feels when celebrating the Chinese New Year together</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>高兴 (happy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liz only explicitly labeled one scenario in the pre-test, but the number increased to four in the post-test. In the pre-test, the scenario recognized was description of the parents’ feeling when the couple unexpectedly showed up at their home. In the post-test, the scenarios expanded to also include the changes of the parents’ feelings as the story unfolded and how the couple felt in the end as well. The increased number and scope indicate Liz’s ability to identify and retell more details in the post-test. With regard to lexical diversity, she only produced the emotion term 高兴 (happy), suggesting her limited lexical variety. Both Liz and Audrey received the same low lexical diversity score in the pre-test. However, towards the end of the semester, Liz adopted
three distinct emotion terms, which indicated an improvement. The valences of the three lexical
terms were respectively positive, negative, and neutral. Her pattern corroborated the group
patterns found in Chapter 4: neutral terms only occurred in the post-test, and there was a higher
frequency of negative terms in the post-test. This increased diversity in valence suggested
positive change in Liz’s emotion lexical repertoire. Lastly, Liz received the full scores in
appropriateness both times.

Comparison of Audrey and Liz’s ability to recognize and express emotions as gleaned
from the video description task yields the following results. In the beginning of the semester,
Audrey was able to understand the video better by recognizing more scenarios than Liz. Their
levels of lexical diversity and appropriateness were identical, give that they both only used the
most common term 高兴 (happy). The difference was that Audrey used the term to describe both
positive and negative emotions, while Liz only used it once to describe a positive emotion. In this
sense, Audrey presented more competence in retelling the video and recognizing and expressing
emotions present in the video in the pre-test. Towards the end of the semester, while Audrey
decreased in the number of scenarios labeled into two, Liz increased to three, which implies Liz’s
enhanced understanding of the video. In terms of lexical diversity, Audrey again outperformed
Liz. Appropriateness scores, however, showed that Audrey made errors on the degree and type of
emotion, whereas Liz did not make any errors. Further analysis found that both of Liz’s full score
and Audrey’s decreased score were positive signs: Liz maintained the full score when she
experimented with new lexical terms and interpretations of the video, and Audrey, when trying
out newly developed terms, might be struggling with the complexity of the new form, meaning,
and concept of the terms in relation to the cultural message in the video. In this light, I now turn
to the homestay interaction to further discuss the developmental trajectories of Audrey and Liz.
Interaction in the homestay

This section first sketches the homestay interaction by integrating accounts from Audrey, Liz and HM, and my observation from the homestay recordings. I then provide an example of a typical interaction among the three that was recorded early October. Lastly, Audrey and Liz’s developmental trajectories in the home for the rest of the semester are discussed separately. The reason behind the separated discussion is that although they lived in the same home, their stories appeared to be strikingly different.

The home was characterized as a “very immersive experience” (很 immersive 的经验) by Audrey (Interview 2015/10/01). HM expected them to speak only Chinese with the host parents and also to each other in the home (Interview 2015/10/01; HM interview 2015/10/03). Audrey and Liz abided by this informal Chinese-only policy throughout the semester.

As for the length of time spent chatting with HM, Audrey reported that it was not very long during the weekdays since they had many assignments; during the weekends, they would eat breakfast together, rest and chat a little (Interview 2015/10/01). From October 12th, 2015, Liz recorded all dinnertime interactions that she had with the host family, each lasting typically 20 minutes. It was also during the mealtime that Liz, Audrey and the host family could have more extended conversations, supporting previous finding that homestay mealtime talk is “a site for learning” (Kinginger, Lee, Wu, & Tan, 2016, p. 737).

For Audrey and Liz, the topic orientation at the host family was mostly “ordinary things” (普通的事情) (Audrey interview 2015/10/01) and “relatively natural and not special topics” (比较自然的话题 不是特别的话题) (Liz interview 2015/11/19). As gleaned from their mealtime interaction, a prime topic was that of food (Kinginger, Lee, et al., 2016). Some other discussions
with HM were initiated by their Chinese assignments, for example, interviewing a Chinese native speaker about topics such as Chinese holidays and the “leftover men and women” phenomenon (剩男剩女现象) (Audrey interview 2015/10/01). For the host parents, HF’s extensive knowledge in Chinese and world history greatly enhanced the variety and depth of their homestay talk. Indeed, when HF was present in the recordings, he would share a wide array of Chinese-related knowledge with Audrey and Liz, from metaphor of 吃醋 [lit: eat vinegar] (jealous), gender roles in families of Shanghai and other parts of China across history, to Jewish history in Shanghai. Interestingly, HF did not always elicit Audrey and Liz’s knowledge in the subject matters and assumed that they did not know, although they had been to the Jewish museum. HF, and also HM, appeared to take up the roles of the experts or knowledge providers, and conversation initiators, which could be based on the following assumptions. The host parents would assume an epistemic stance as cultural insider and local as opposed to Audrey and Liz who were learners of Chinese and non-locals. Also, in Chinese culture, epistemic and authorial stance (Hunston & Thompson, 2001) and hence status in conversation come with age. In Shanghainese family, the wife or mother enjoys an equal or even more status to the husband or father in, for instance, decision making and conversational roles (Yung, 2013). The issue of tellership, as I will discuss in the next section, turned out to be critical in determining the quality of interaction among Audrey, Liz and HM.

Now I present a typical interaction among Audrey, Liz and HM (Excerpt 7-1): Liz more actively participated in the conversation than Audrey while HM dominated the interaction. It shows how Audrey, Liz and HM communicated their emotions by participating in conversational narratives, and how HM mediated Audrey and Liz’s emotion through the telling of the stories early in the semester (Recording 2015/10/12). The three of them were having dinner together when HM raised a question about their classes. Prompting or questioning (Ochs & Capps, 2001)
is a communicative practice frequently used by HM to initiate a topic. To respond to the prompt, Liz expressed her opinion by describing their physical state as “very tired” (很累), the level of difficulty of their class as “not very hard” (上课内容不太难), the disposition of the instructors as “very patient” (老师他们很耐心), and lastly her feeling towards the classmates (line 1).

Excerpt 7-1 Oct 12, 2017

1 Liz 我很喜欢我的同学们
   I like my classmates very much
2 HM 嗯
3 Audrey 我们显得一个家 一个家庭
   we appear a fa- a family
4 HM 哦
5 oh
6 A & L@@@@@@@@
7 HM 大家相处得好 很开心
   people get along (then they’re) very happy
   就怕到一个地方 我不喜欢你 你也不喜欢我
   (I’m) afraid arriving at a place, I don’t like you and you don’t like me
   这个气氛就不太好
   the atmosphere is not so good
8 A & L 嗯
9 unh
10 HM 中国人现在讲氛围
   Chinese now speak of atmosphere
11 就是家庭有家庭的氛围 工作单位有工作单位的氛围
   family has family’s atmosphere, workplace has workplace’s atmosphere
12 if people get along with each other, (they are) very happy
13 if not getting along, (they will) feel, oh no, I don’t want to go
14 Liz 哦
15 HM 是吧
16 Liz 是的是的
   right right
   ((6 minutes omitted))
17 Audrey 很有意思
   interesting
18 Liz 很有意思
Liz explicitly described her emotion towards her classmates as 很喜欢 (like very much) (line 1), supported by Audrey’s comparison of classmate relationship to that of a family (line 3). Intriguingly, neither of them explained the emotion by providing, for example, a narrative, but surrendered their turn by laughing together (line 5). HM also did not probe further, but developed the topic by sharing a eight-minute long story of her daughter (omitted due to its length).

Contrasting the emotional consequences of positive and negative interpersonal relationship (lines 6 and 7, and lines 11 and 12), HM used direct naming, for example, 开心 kaixin [lit: open heart] (happy) and 怕 pa (afraid; worried), interjection 哎哟 aiyo that indexed negative emotionality, hypotheticals, and quoted speech as major semiotic resources to discursively construct her emotions. In the middle of her telling (mostly omitted in the excerpt), Audrey and Liz participated by supplying back channels, such as, 嗯 en (unh) and change-of-state token 哦 (oh).
(Heritage, 1998). Liz also supplied other affiliative responses, such as 右右右右 (right right right right), general evaluation *不好的 (not good), interjection 哎呀 aiya (a sigh, or tch), a negatively charged exclamation in response to small matters (Wong, 2014), and “wow” that indexed surprise. Into six minutes of the telling, Audrey quietly supplied an emotional response 很有意思 (very have meaning; roughly interesting) (line 17), repeated by Liz (line 18). HM continued her story for another two minutes, before Liz briefly chimed in with a second story (line 20), not being able to narrate the details (line 23). HM quickly took over and presented a moral lesson on how to appropriately behave arriving at a new workplace (lines 24-27).

Excerpt 7-1 illustrates a typical interaction that took place early in the semester: HM was undoubtedly the primary teller who guided the storyline, and meanwhile regulated the emotional stances; Audrey and Liz were mostly listeners who affiliated with HM, and Liz demonstrated more capability to participate by attempting to tell a second story. As the expert, HM nominated the topic by directing a question at Audrey and Liz, which created a space for the novices to participate in the communicative activity. Through contextualized storytelling, HM not only showed what emotions were validated and moralistic, but also modeled the use of various semiotic resources for emotion communication, thereby socializing them into what to feel and how to feel. That being said, there were two missed opportunities. When neither Audrey nor Liz was able to develop a narrative after explicating their emotions (lines 1 and 3, lines 21 and 23), HM did not further prompt the students, or provide timely and adequate assistance within their Zones of Proximal Development.

It is in this light that I turn to the next section, where I follow Audrey and Liz’s individual pathways in the homestay. It was their contrastive developmental trajectories that motivate me to analyze them separately.
**Audrey in the homestay**

As demonstrated in Excerpt 7-1, early in the semester Audrey assumed a supportive role, and was not able to articulate her own emotions in her own narratives. Despite her being an advanced L2 learner of Chinese, she remained a relatively peripheral participant in homestay interaction in the rest of the semester. Furthermore, she did not demonstrate internalization of local emotion expressions that were available in the situated homestay interaction.

I now explore Audrey’s quality of participation and use of emotion expressions in homestay interaction. The reason behind the inquiry of quality of participation is as follows. Ubiquitous in informal conversations are emotionally-driven narratives and narratively-constructed emotions (Kleres, 2010), through which people make sense of everyday experience, and establish shared ways of “acting, thinking and feeling” (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 8). The quality of participation in conversational narratives thus determines whether, what and how emotions, central to psychological well-being and interpersonal relationships, are communicated (Fussell, 2002). To determine Audrey and Liz’s quality of participation, I first carried out quantitative analysis by coding their participatory roles or interlocutor actions into “initiate” (initiate the narrative), “question” (initiate the narrative by asking a question to another interlocutor), “respond” (respond to initiation question), “support” (add more materials without changing the topic), “evaluate” (provide emotional response), and “develop” (develop from the original topic into a related topic).

Audrey, for the most part, was a peripheral participant in the home: she was rarely the primary storyteller; in occasions of her initiating stories, she usually did not get to fully develop them; almost half of the time she participated through providing emotional responses to others’ narratives. Table 7-5 displays Audrey’s participatory roles in the narratives. The total frequency of her assuming a role in conversational narratives in all recordings was low (n=42). Also, 45%
of the time she participated through providing emotional responses to others’ stories, a major linguistic means through which she expressed her emotion in the homestay.

Table 7-5: Audrey’s roles in conversational narrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiate</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respond</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluate</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiate and evaluate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respond and evaluate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support and evaluate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To further examine the pattern of the two major roles she assumed (i.e. initiator and evaluator) across time, Figure 7-1 demonstrates the change. The instances of her initiating narratives fluctuated between zero to two in each recording across the semester. The instances of her being the emotional response provider were slightly higher. However, due to her overall low participation and large fluctuation, not much can be gleaned from quantitative analysis.
In line with her low participation, Audrey’s use of emotion expressions was also of relative low frequency, with a total of 40 tokens, and low diversity, with only 16 distinct emotion expressions (see Appendix F for a full list), among which 有意思 you yi $i$ [lit: have meaning] (interesting) (n=14) accounted for 35% of her total production.

Comparison of her and HM’s emotion repertoires suggests that Audrey did not internalize much mediation from homestay interaction. Among all the distinct emotion expressions they produced, they only shared six expressions, respectively 奇怪 (weird, odd), 有意思 (have meaning; interesting), 舒服 (comfortable), 担心 (worried), 麻烦 (troublesome), and 着急 (anxious, rushed). Ten expressions were unique to Audrey, and 28 expressions were unique to HM. Figure 7-2 displays the percentage of what were shared between HM and Audrey, and what were unique in HM and Audrey’s repertoire respectively.

![Pie chart showing the percentage of shared and unique emotion expressions]

Figure 7-2: Audrey and HM’s emotion expression repertoire.
Discourse analysis of her interaction in the home offers more insight. Excerpt 7-2
illustrates a rare occasion when Audrey was the story initiator, primary teller, and evaluator.

Excerpt 7-2 2015/11/10

1  Audrey  我刚才找到一个小视频
            I just found a video
2  Liz     uuhh
3  Audrey  我的朋友她上个学期来CSC的项目
            my friend she came to the CSC program last semester
4  Liz     哦
            oh
5  Audrey  的的上海的项目
            the Shanghai program
6  Liz     嗯
            unh
7  Audrey  对对所以我找到她的中文课最后的大考试
            right right, so I found her Chinese Chinese class’s last final exam
8  Liz     哦
            oh
9  Audrey  的的视频所以他们做一个音乐的音乐的小电影
            the video, so they made a music music small film
10 Liz    哦
            oh
11 Audrey  对，所以就那个视频叫淘金东路到了
            right, so, (it’s) called, the the video is called Here is Taojin East Road (Subway Station)
12 L & A   @@@@@@@@@
13 Audrey  所以他们坐地铁的时候他们拍了一个视频
            so when they took the subway they filmed a a video
14 Liz     那个很聪明应该是很可爱的
            that is very smart, (it) should be very cute
15 HM      哦，淘金东路到了
            oh Here is Taojin East Road
16 Audrey  对是很好玩儿所以他们rap okay
            right, (it)’s very fun, so they rap okay
17 Audrey  用中文对是很
            use Chinese, right, is very
18 Liz     嗯，很聪明
            unh very smart
19 Audrey  对对是一个很有意思的 <X 作品 X>
            right right (it)’s a very interesting (work)
20 Liz     应该做这样在地铁是这样的视频
            (we) should do this, on the subway, is this, video
21 Audrey  对你应该看一看
Audrey nominated a topic by sharing a video that she watched (line 1). Liz assumed a supportive role by providing backchannels (e.g. line 6) and positive emotional responses (e.g. line 14).

Interestingly, HM only participated minimally in Audrey’s narrative (line 15). In the entire corpus, it was not uncommon when Audrey was the primary teller that HM would assume lesser of a role in the conversation; in this case, Liz would be the person who Audrey mainly talked to.

From this excerpt, I infer that Audrey’s overall low participation and lack of signs of including local emotion terms in her repertoire were not indicators of her inability to narrate a coherent story or that local vocabulary was beyond her ZPD, but rather it was her dynamics with HM that limited her opportunities to articulate her feelings, share her stories, and negotiate appropriate mediation from HM. Now the questions are: Why could such an advanced speaker not display or develop her linguistic repertoire in the homestay, and why did living and having conversations together not mean assimilation of emotion? I will delve into this issue in the section that explores her experience in the home. Before that, I now turn to Liz’s emotion language development as documented in homestay recordings.

**Liz in the homestay**

In Excerpt 7-1, Liz demonstrated that she was able to co-construct a narrative by providing a second story and by supplying a variety of emotional responses; however, her participation only operated within HM’s storyline and emotional frame. In the rest of the semester, Liz started to assume more primary tellership, and became more apt at initiating and maintaining narratives, although not without struggles. At the same time, she appropriated some
local emotion expressions contextualized in her conversation with HM, and affiliated emotionally more with HM through daily storytelling.

I now examine Liz’s quality of participation and use of emotion expressions in the homestay. In contrast to Audrey whose major participation was providing emotional responses to others’ stories, Liz participated mostly through initiating stories and meanwhile being the primary teller, followed by providing emotional response to others’ stories. Following the same coding scheme (see p. 249), Table 7-6 displays Liz’s conversational roles in the narratives. The total frequency of her assuming a role in the conversational narratives was 117 in the semester, which was almost two times higher than that of Audrey’s. There were 68 instances of initiation (58%) and 17 instances of evaluation (15%).

Table 7-6: Liz’s roles in conversational narrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiate</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respond</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluate</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiate and evaluate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respond and evaluate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support and evaluate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To further examine the pattern of the two major roles Liz assumed (i.e. initiator and evaluator) across time, Figure 7-3 demonstrates the change. Throughout the semester, the frequency of Liz as the evaluator varied mostly from zero to two. The frequency of her being the story initiator demonstrates an overall increasing trend from early October to mid November.
In line with her high level of participation, Liz’s use of emotion expressions was of higher frequency than Audrey. There were a total of 115 tokens and 28 distinct emotion expressions (see Appendix F for a full list).

Comparison of her and HM’s emotion repertoires suggests that Liz has internalized some of HM’s expressions. Among all the distinct emotion expressions they produced, they shared 13 expressions, respectively 开心 (happy), 奇怪 (weird, odd), 有意思 (interesting), 高兴 (happy), 舒服 (comfortable), 想 (miss), 抱怨 (complain), 情绪 (mood), 担心 (worry), 宝贝 (treasure, spoil), 放心 (settled), 麻烦 (troublesome) and 害怕 (afraid, fear). Sixteen expressions were unique to Liz, and 21 expressions were unique to HM. Figure 7-4 displays the percentage of what are shared between HM and Liz, and what were unique in HM and Liz’s use respectively.

Figure 7-3: Frequency of Liz’s major conversational roles across time.
By quantitatively glancing over Liz’s participation and use of emotion expressions, we can see that Liz assumed more central tellership in homestay storytelling, and expanded her emotion repertoire by appropriating local expressions used by HM. Now I will illustrate Liz’s developmental trajectory with discourse analysis of interactive data.

To recall, Excerpt 7-1 (recorded on 2015/10/12) illustrated that Liz assumed a secondary role in her conversation with HM, but was able to come up with a second story although she did not get to detail it. Also, Liz only demonstrated affiliation with HM’s emotional stances. In the next excerpt (Excerpt 7-3), HM, Liz and Audrey were discussing their personal opinions on traveling. Liz has appropriated the practice of prompting or questioning to nominate a topic and was able to elaborate her second story (cf. Excerpt 7-1). However, when HM showed her negativity towards travel, which actually went against Liz and Audrey’s opinions, Liz did not voice her difference but again chose to affiliate with HM.

Excerpt 7-3 2015/10/21

1  Liz  你今天做什么
   what did you do today?
2  HM  我今天到一趟比较远的地方去
I today went to a relatively far place
跟朋友一起玩了一下
hung out with friends a little

Liz & Audrey 哦
oh

HM 没什么意思
not much fun

Liz 哦？@@
oh

Audrey 恩？
unh?

Liz 为什么没什么意思
why not much fun？

HM 她们叫我一起去
they asked me to go along

Liz 其实我不太喜欢玩
actually I don’t really like to go out

HM 我不喜欢旅游
I don’t like traveling

Liz 旅游我觉得很累
I feel tired when traveling

A & L 哦
oh

HM 因为现在网络很发达
because now the internet is very developed

A & L 那个有旅游的那个纪录片
there are documentaries of traveling

HM 拍出来的都比你亲眼看到的还要漂亮
what was shot is even more beautiful than what you see with your eyes

A & L 你自己亲身去经历 很累
you experience it yourself is very tiring

HM 中国人有一句话叫 劳命伤财
Chinese has a saying called harassing life and hurting money

A & L 劳命伤财
harassing life and hurting money

HM 是什么意思捏
what does it mean

A & L 我又很累 又花了很多钱
I’m tired and spend a lot of money

HM 看完以后 哦 只不过这样
after seeing “oh it’s just like this”

A & L 恩
unh

HM 我就有这个感觉
I have this feeling
and now I say there’s another like an idiom called all crows in the world is as black have you heard of it? crow is a kind of bird crow is a kind of not very auspicious bird some people say: “oh this morning I heard Eurasian magpie chirping” that’s good. my whole day will be very good but crows. hearing crows cawing doesn’t seem like a good symbol and then I also went traveling many places, China and foreign countries the conclusion I got was simply all crows in the world is as black (they) simply ask for money ((3 minutes omitted: HM shared a recent news event that a mainland tourist was beaten to death when forced to shop in Hong Kong, the high cost of scenic spots in China and in the U.S., and the cultural and age difference in people’s preference to traveling.))
ah the ho-holiday is National Holiday right right that kind of week that kind of break after the traveling I was too tired

but if you’re a person who likes traveling it’s okay to be tired

feeling that I saw a lot of things
Liz successfully initiated the conversation by asking HM a question (line 1), and further elicited a narrative from HM (line 7) when hearing “not much fun” (没什么意思) (line 4). Here, Liz has assumed a more agentive role in the interaction. HM described traveling with two affectively charged Chinese idioms, respectively 劳命伤财 laoming shangcai [lit: harass life hurt money] (sheer waste of energy and money) (line 13) and 天下乌鸦一般黑 tianxia wuya yiban hei [lit: world crows the same black] (evil people are the same everywhere in the world) (line 18). To assist Audrey and Liz’s comprehension of the idioms and her emotional stance towards traveling, HM provided paraphrase (line 15) and explanation of the crow metaphor in Chinese culture (line 20). At time of recording, the students recently had made their way back from personal travels over the National Holiday. Following the topic, Liz attempted to share her travel experience by
highlighting her exhaustion over travel (line 40), which suggests that HM’s mediation (i.e. paraphrase) on the first idiom was appropriate to Liz’s ZPD, and she again opted to affiliate with HM’s argument. Echoing Excerpt 7-1, after Liz’s overt expression of emotion (line 40), HM resumed the turn to develop her argument (lines 42-44). However, Liz, instead of giving up on her story, returned to her narrative that she intended to share earlier (lines 54, 56-58).

Importantly, even though external regulation was again absent, Liz managed to develop voluntary control over her story telling and emotion communication.

This excerpt, along with Excerpt 7-1, trace the history, or genesis, of Liz’s ability to initiate and probe topics through prompting or questioning. HM, again, controlled the emotional stance towards the topic at hand, by semiotic means such as explicit naming and negatively charged idioms (including the crow metaphor). A pleasant qualitative change was Liz’s self-regulation to resume her story even if there was not only lack of assistance but also interruption from HM. However, similar to Excerpt 7-1, Liz was not able to break away from HM’s emotional stance. Interestingly, in Liz’s end-of-semester interview, she considered her travels the highlight of her sojourn, especially her trip during the National Holiday week:

This semester I went to many places. Japan, the Silk Road, Hangzhou and Nanjing these places are all very interesting. I like traveling very much. I can compare the cultures and people and different roads of different places. I think small things are the most interesting. Every place has its own characteristics, but some places’ finer details, small description, small details; you can know the place better. Some places you can see the crowds of people in all those. The best was during the National Holiday week. Sichuan and Kunming those cities people have different life paces.

(我这个学期去了好多地方 日本丝绸之路杭州南京 这些地方都很有意思 我很喜欢旅游 我可以比较不同地方的文化人和不同和一样的路 我觉得小事情是很有意思的
Clearly, Liz was not showing her true emotional stance towards traveling in Excerpt 7-3. Her mid-semester interview revealed how she perceived HM and why she chose to affiliate with HM: She has some strong opinions on some topics, for example, education style. I agree with her on that, but not others. But she has that kind of attitude: if you don’t agree with her, she would start blah blah blah. This is my opinion, because I haven’t started disagreeing with her. I need to understand her opinions. I also need to understand others’ opinions. Because my vocabulary is not enough. If I want to discuss some topics in-depth, my vocabulary is not enough. then I would simply say “okay”. (她对有些话题有强烈的 opinion 比如说教育方式 我对她这个同意 但是我对其他的一些不太同意 但是她有那样的态度 如果你不同意她的观点 她会开始 blah blah blah 这是我的观点 因为 我还没开始反对她 我要了解她的观点 我也要了解其他人的观点 因为我的生词不够多 要深入聊有些话题 我的生词不够多 然后我就说 好) (2015/11/19)

Her current linguistic ability had restrained her capacity or agency to have a different opinion, including emotions, from HM. Her affiliative moves, in this sense, served interpersonal and interactional functions to avoid conflict of opinion and temporarily get through the conversation. For Liz, the desire to express her true feelings and opinions and her limited language resources at disposal constituted a major contradiction (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

In the following excerpt (Excerpt 7-4), Liz and HM had an extended conversation on the issue of parental education. Although Liz declared her agreement with HM on education issues in the interview quoted above, Excerpt 7-4 painted a much more complex picture: with struggles,
Liz showed emerging competence to shift the direction of the conversation and express her true emotions through insisting on telling her stories, while still affiliating with HM on a related matter to serve interpersonal purpose (i.e. to diffuse potential tension her insistence brought). By participating in the situated talk, Liz was also in the process of internalizing local emotion expressions. In the recording, Audrey was not present because she did not come home for dinner on that day. Kitty was the name of HM’s dog.

Excerpt 7-4 2015/11/09

1 Liz 你觉得叔叔想阿咪吗
Do you think HF misses Kitty?
2 HM 哦,叔叔非常宝贝它
oh HF spoils it very much
3 Liz 真的吗? 我以为(@ 你也非常宝贝它 @)
Really? I thought you also spoils it very much
4 HM 我还好,你看它不好我还会打它.叔叔不会打它
I’m okay. You see if it’s not behaving, I’ll hit it, HF won’t hit it
5 Liz @@@@@
6 HM 宝贝得不得了
spoils it so much
7 Liz @(哎呀 @)
ouch/opps
8 HM 我今天跟他电话我说阿咪没有咧,他急死了,他说 XXXXX
I called him today I said, Kitty went missing, he’s so anxious, he said
9 Liz <CR 哦 CR>@@@@@
oh
10 HM 这个东西不能养,养了就哎呀,就像家里的人一样的哦
(you) can’t raise this thing, if you do it’s like a family
11 Liz unh
12 HM 而且它也很怪,你要打它,它过一会儿还是跟你好得不得了
and it’s also weird, if you hit it, it’s still close with you after a little bit
13 Liz 哦
oh
14 HM 不记仇
does not hold grudge
15 Liz 哦 对
oh right
16 HM 就像中国的小孩子
just like Chinese kids
many parents, (when) we were little if you don’t behave

make mistakes (parents) will also hit (you)

right, I think, then today today kids today

because I at the shopping mall saw almost almost five years old kids

they hit their moms

so I think

education nowadays is not good

so I think

right, I agree

and and then (when) we were little there were four or five kids

(parents) would hit whichever kid that didn’t behave, right

but this is for sure

even if you hit the kid, he’ll be close with his own dad and mom

drag it it till it barks

after a while (it)’ll still be close with me

I said it’s just like my own kid

I think kids nowadays they

there is, you told (us) a five-year-old child hit his/her mom

there’re also kids he/she wants wants something

parents don’t satisfy him/her, (he/she) drags dad and mom’s hair

right, I agree

right, I think, then today kids today

because I at the shopping mall saw almost five years old kids
yes, I think, yes

如果我和其他的美国朋友在这儿的学生
if I was with other American friends, students here

看
saw

对 我以为他们 有一点 怎么说
yes, I thought they are a little, how to say

我以为是他们的爸爸妈妈很宝贝他们
I thought it was their dads and moms spoil them

但是因为他们也是在项目有比较多钱的人
but because they are also in the program there’re quite a few rich people

所以我觉得他们他们是这样子 他们跟那个小孩一样
so I thought they they were also like that, they were the same as that child

但是他们看这样的小孩 他们也说 如果我在
but they saw this kind of kid, they were also saying, if I was

我在小孩的时候做这样
I did this when I was a kid

我的爸爸妈妈会打我 会吵 很很吵 对
my dad and mom would hit me, would be very loud, ve-very loud, yeah

我的爸爸妈妈一样的
my dad and mom were the same

因为我和在小时候
because, I with, when (I was) little

如果我是不好的小孩 如果我妈妈做饭的时候
if I was a bad kid, if when my mom cooked

她会用她的勺子 打我
she would use her spoon to hit me

那个那个<@ 事情让我很害怕 @@
that that thing makes me very scared

大部分的时候
most of the time

在外国不能打孩子 是哇
abroad (people) can’t hit children, right?

nah 我觉得是
I think so

有的人觉得他们不应该
some people think they shouldn’t

但是我觉得 是一个好的办法
but I think (this) is a good idea

唉 我也觉得
exactly, I also think so

该教育的时候就得教育
when (children) should be educated (they) should be educated

有的小孩已经不像样了
some children are already over the top

63  Liz  对 我同意
directly, I agree

64  大部分时候我的爸妈
most of the time my dad and mom

65  他们用他们的在家内鞋子不是家外
they use their at home shoes not outside of home

66  因为他们说 <F 你什么 F> @@@@
because they say: “what are you saying?”

67  所以现在都是比较好的
so now it’s all better

68  对 我觉得这是很好的教育方式
right, I think it’s a very good education style

69  这是有的时候 不是所有时候
this is sometimes, not all the time

70  HM  对对对对
right right right right

71  Liz  有的时候
sometimes

72  Liz  对 你我觉得小孩跟阿咪一样
right, you I think kids are like Kitty

73  如果你挂它 打它以后 打它们以后
if you *hit it, after hitting it, after hitting them

74  孩子*挂 @@@ 挂父母
kids *wouldn’t hold a grudge with their parents

75  HM  它还是 那是跟父母很好
it’s still very close with parents

76  咪咪 对吧
Kitty right?

77  ((Shanghainese))

78  咱们是一家人对吧
we’re a family right?

Similar to Excerpt 7-3, Liz initiated the topic and narrative by raising a question on HF’s affection towards Kitty, with the emotion term 想 (miss) (line 1). Based on the question, HM labeled HF’s emotion towards Kitty as 宝贝 (treasure, spoil) in 非常宝贝 (spoil very much) (line 2) and 宝贝得不得了 (spoil to extremity) (line 6). In Mandarin, 宝贝 is a noun, meaning baby; in Shanghainese it can also be used as a verb, meaning to treasure or spoil. HM’s use was clearly
Shanghainese-influenced. Liz quickly picked up and recycled the new emotion term to further develop the conversation (line 3).

Building on Kitty the dog as a family member (line 10), HM compared her relationship with Kitty to Chinese parent-child relationship, highlighting a particular aspect: when parents hit their child, their child would not hold a grudge (lines 12, 14, 16-18). Liz provided backchannels (lines 11, 13, 15) and a confirmative token (line 15). Here again Liz assumed an affiliative position towards HM’s argument.

HM’s “parents hit child” story reminded Liz of what she witnessed earlier that day – a “child hits parents” story. Liz, at this moment, took over the floor and started sharing her story (line 19). Liz was about to express her opinions with a preface 我觉得 (I think) (line 22), when HM took over and drew a conclusion of Liz’s narrative, attributing the problem to parental education style: 把孩子太宝贝了 (spoil kids too much) (line 24). Here, HM modeled for Liz that 宝贝 (treasure, spoil) could also be used to depict parent-child relationship. At this point, HM went back to her “parents hit child” story, and related it to her relationship with Kitty (lines 26-31, 33). Liz did not give up. She directly went back to her “child hits parents” story, and tried to express her opinion on the matter, again with the preface of 我觉得 (I think) (line 34). HM again interrupted her and came up with a second story (lines 35-37). Liz for the third time prefaced her argument with 我觉得 (I think) (line 38) and finally managed to express her disapproval of the behavior through the voice of her American friends (lines 39, 41-45) and by comparison to her childhood experience, that is not behaving and ending up being hit by her mom (lines 46-52). In telling the two stories, Liz recycled HM’s use of 宝贝 (spoil) to describe parent-child relationship (line 42), thereby demonstrating that she was in the process of internalizing the emotion instantiated in the word as well as the linguistic form.
HM picked up on the parents hitting child aspect of Liz’s story, and discussed the legitimacy of hitting children as an educational style across cultures, a continuation of her “parents hit child” story (line 55). Liz provided a second story to affiliate with HM’s stance (lines 57-59). HM further confirmed her agreement with Liz (lines 60-62). In closing the series of narratives, Liz went back to HM’s “parents hit child” story and showed her affiliation with HM’s comparison of Kitty as a child (lines 73-74). Liz attempted to recycle the emotion expression that HM used earlier 不记仇 (do not hold a grudge) but only failed to reproduce it (line 73-74). This indicates that Liz could not yet parse out the phrase that was not within her current ZPD.

Excerpt 7-4 illustrates a conversation “tug of war” between Liz and HM. Figure 7-5 visualizes the direction of conversation and change of primary tellers. Green area represents the topic of “parents hit child”. Orange area presents the topic of “child hits parents”. HM is color-coded as blue. Liz is color-coded as green. The label “HM” and “Liz” indicate an extended turn by the interlocutor. The arrows indicate who took over the turn: green arrow means that Liz took over the turn, and blue arrow means that HM took over the turn. It was Liz who cut into HM’s story in the first place, suggesting that she has developed the local or family-specific rules of interaction. As can be gleaned from the corpus of interaction, it was a common practice for HM to interrupt other interlocutors and shift topics. Both HM and Liz went back to their own story lines for several rounds: a typical move before they shifted back was to comment briefly on each other’s story. Liz in this excerpt demonstrated a strong emotional urge to retell what she saw and express her opinions. She was able to maintain her storyline despite the constant digression, and at the same time, attend to HM’s storyline, especially at the closing of the excerpt. Through the extended and contextualized interaction, Liz also internalized the local emotion expression 宝贝 (to spoil) to describe human-pet and parent-child relationships. Most importantly, this excerpt
evidenced inception of Liz’s ability to communicate her true emotions in the middle of intense opinion and emotion sharing, and the genesis of her resolution to the contradiction.

Excerpt 7-1, 7-3, and 7-4 showed the history of Liz’s emergent agency to initiate topics, develop her narratives, and maintain her tellership, while also attended to HM’s face. Meanwhile, mediational means HM provided also observed qualitative changes: She seemed to allow for more space for Liz to share her stories and feeling by yielding her dominance in interaction. It was against this backdrop when Excerpt 7-5 was recorded (2015/11/23). In this excerpt, HF was also present because he just came back from Australia. Audrey was, however, again absent.

Excerpt 7-5 2015/11/23

1  HF 有不少留学生在上海
   a lot of sojourn students in Shanghai
they think they want to stay longer

many (people) also

also many people arranged travel after CSC ends

right right right, I know some classmates who have arranged their travel

but I think ah you don't want to go home

because because uh American Christmas, they’re Chinese

New Year, right, similar, should be with family reunion dinner

but they don’t seem to be that traditional

because I know my family, we have very big very big

many people

have to get in a line

right, so, ah I want to go home and see them

so I’m very excited because I

how to say my dad’s my dad’s sister is my cou-

aunt

aunt, right, she
Approaching the end of the program, HF and HM told Liz that some CSC students would not go home immediately (lines 1-4, 6), demonstrating their familiarity with the program. Liz displayed her knowledge of the situation by relating to what some of her classmates planned to do (line 7).
Importantly, HM uttered an elongated change-of-state token 哦 o (oh) (line 8) before Liz took up the next turn. Unlike what was shown in the previous excerpts, HM here did not assume a higher epistemic stance than Liz, and did not take up the next turn. With the connector 但是 (but), Liz shifted the focus of discussion into justifying her going home during Christmas (lines 9-15):

Christmas is like Chinese New Year, and she has a big family. After Liz developed the conversation into the new direction, HM and HF complied with the storyline and only provided linguistic assistance and collaboratively completed her sentences (lines 11, 12, 14). After Liz teased how big her family was (line 18), HF laughed at her joke (line 19). Liz then started sharing with the host parents a more specific reason for her to go home during Christmas. Liz was the primary teller of the narrative, through which she expressed a variety of emotions (lines 21-22, 26, 28-30, 32, 33). Going with Liz’s story, the host parents participated by providing linguistic assistance (line 23) and backchannels (lines 27, 31, 33), actively guessing (lines 34, 36, 38), and laughing together with Liz (lines 43-43).

In this excerpt, Liz assumed primary tellership in the telling of a series of narratives. The host parents, especially HM, yielded their higher epistemic stance to Liz and allow her the conversational space to tell her stories thereby expressing her emotions. The host parents played within the storyline and emotional frame Liz constructed, and participated by supplying words that Liz was looking for, laughing at her joke, and actively imaging what Liz was describing. This excerpt demonstrated that Liz has emerged as an interlocutor at the home who could fully develop her stories and maintain her voice on her emotions. Of equal importance was HM’s relinquishing of her intense control of the conversation. Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) argued that this yielding of control was essential for novices’ development: “he expert must relinquish control (itself dialogically negotiated) to the novice at the appropriate time. There can be no real development otherwise” (p. 480).
Taken together, Excerpt 7-1, 7-3, 7-4 and 7-5 demonstrated Liz’s developmental trajectory in homestay interaction. The contradiction between expressing her opinions and not being able to do so was, on the one hand, the source of struggle, and on the other, opportunities and driving force of her development (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). While Liz developed more voluntary control in participating in conversational narratives and expressing her true emotions, HM also modified her mediational means to better attune to Liz’s developmental needs.

To summarize, I integrate findings from the video description task and homestay interaction to portray Audrey and Liz’s emotion language development. In the video description task, Audrey appeared to be more competent in recognizing and expressing emotions in the task at first, but Liz possessed a similar level of competence as Audrey, if not more, in the post-test. Quantitative and qualitative discourse analyses of their homestay interaction suggest that Audrey remained a peripheral participant while Liz developed her participatory roles, the ability to speak with her own voice and emotion, and appropriateness in the use of local emotion terms. In other words, Audrey performed better in the video description task, an elicited monologic task, than in homestay interaction, an authentic everyday practice that involved three speakers and that held pragmatic consequences (Kinginger, 2009). The discrepancy suggests that her improved linguistic ability did not transfer over to homestay interaction, hence revealing one of the limitations of the task. Although the task elicited a function that prevails in study abroad (i.e. emotion in narrative), it does not reflect the interactional and complexity of actual everyday talk. In the case of Liz, the two forms of data corroborated each other, documenting her gain in both monologic and dialogic modes. To situate their gains or lack thereof in emotion language, I examine Audrey and Liz’s overall Chinese proficiency, as gleaned from their own accounts and their Chinese instructor’s comments.
Chinese proficiency

Audrey was considered to have made more progress than Liz in their self-evaluations and Chinese instructor’s comments. Audrey, in the end-of-semester interview, gladly told me that her Chinese proficiency had progressed “by leaps and bounds” and “has reached a very high level” (达到很高的水平) (Interview 2015/12/10). She highlighted her improved fluency and confidence in speaking, better memorization of words, and lengthened writing, which were mostly relevant to classroom learning:

Speaking, I think I can very talk very fast, my teacher told me my fluency has improved. When having classes with Fifth year heritage students, they told me: “you are like Chinese”, so this made me very confident, so I think I can speak Chinese better and better. I can also memorize more words; before this I think I couldn’t remember these many words. Now I can write very long very long essays. I think I’ve improved my Chinese in many aspects, especially speaking and writing (说话 我觉得我可以很快地说话 我的老师告诉我我的流利提高了 五年级华裔班的学生一起上课的时候告诉我 你好像中国人 所以这是让我很自信 所以我觉得我说中文越来越好了 我也可以记忆记更多的词 在这以前我觉得我不能记得这么多词 现在我可以写很长很长的文章 我觉得在很多方面我的中文水平是提高了 特别是在说话和写字) (Interview 2015/12/06)

Audrey’s positive self-evaluation was corroborated by her Chinese instructor. Recognizing her gain in accuracy and estimating her progress form Advanced Low to Advanced High, the instructor characterized Audrey as a student who was goal-oriented, agentive, diligent, and hardworking:

Audrey is the kind of person who takes initiative to speak. She has a clear (goal), I just want to improve my speaking, she’ll actively speak… in class, I ask a question, she’ll
actively speak, and so this is what helps her learn Chinese well. Her problem is she makes even more mistakes. At first, there were all kinds of wrong characters, words, word order and grammar, but she’s very has her own opinions, so her fluency is fine. At the beginning (her) accuracy is not good… Audrey’s accuracy now is slowly going up. She likes to speak, making progress fast. Because she likes to speak, she’s also very into learning; mainly (because) that she’s the very diligent kind. (Audrey 就是那种主动要说的人 她就是很明确 我要提高我的口语 她就会主动说…上课我抛出一个问题 她就会积极地说 所以这个是帮助她学中文很好的 她的问题是 她的错误更多 一开始是非常多的 各种字写错 词 各种语序语法都会用错 但是她也是很有自己的观点 所以 她的流利度是没有问题的 开始就是准确度不高… Audrey 现在准确度也慢慢上来了 她爱说 进步很快 因为她爱说 她自己也好学啦 主要是学习很认真的那种)

(Interview 2015/11/25)

Audrey self-description and the instructor’s comments portrayed a seemingly different person: in the homestay, she only participated minimally and was mostly quiet, but in the classroom, she was an active participant who was not afraid to make mistakes. The contrast was also evident in her linguistic gains in the two realms: in the homestay, she did not gain more tellership or become more apt at expressing her emotions; in the classroom, however, she impressed her heritage classmates with her native-like Chinese, and the instructor with her fluency and accuracy in speech. The question then is why such a successful classroom learner did not thrive in the homestay? I will answer this question in the next section of the chapter.

In contrast, Liz showed her concern over whether she made adequate progress in Chinese or not (Interview 2015/12/08). She referenced her instructor’s comments—the same instructor as
Audrey’s when evaluating her Chinese proficiency. For her, it turned out to be a dilemma to live up to the instructor’s expectation and to that of her own:

I think I have made some progress. This is also my question/problem. I’m very cautious using, because teacher told me that my speaking quality is not very good, because I use relatively simple words, so she said if you want to you’re Fourth Year (Chinese student), you need to try to use more words. I want to but it’s just not natural. I was like why can’t I just use the new words. It was just complete garble (我觉得我有进步，也是有我的问题，我很注意用，因为老师告诉我我的说话质量不太好，因为我用比较简单的字，所以她说如果你要你四年级，你需要尝试用更多的词，但是我不想。我就像是为什么我不能只是用新的词。太不自然了）

(Interview 2015/12/08)

As discussed earlier, the goal that Liz set for herself was “to converse naturally with Chinese people” (Interview 09/24/2015). However, in the Chinese classroom, the expectation was to use new words whenever possible, especially for advanced learners like Liz and Audrey, so that they could learn more sophisticated vocabulary and structures. Liz’s personal goal clearly strayed from that of the curriculum, which explained her active engagement in the homestay but unsatisfactory performance in the classroom.

Liz’s Chinese instructor’s comments also supported Liz’s self-evaluation. The instructor estimated her beginning proficiency as Intermediate High and later as Advanced Low. From the instructor’s perspective, Audrey was of higher proficiency than Liz at the beginning and also at the end of the semester. She praised Liz’s listening and fluency, but pointed out remaining issues of complexity and accuracy. To characterize Liz as a language learner, the instructor highlighted her Asian background and her personality as contributing factors to her feeling of language,
listening ability and fluency, but expressed concerns over her complexity and accuracy because she was not as diligent and did not try as hard as others in class:

Liz has the characteristics of Chinese heritage learners, she has the feeling of language, and she has very good feeling of Chinese, usually Asian students all have this kind of Chinese feeling. She also likes to speak, but she has a problem, she first of all, she’s also quite fluent, but there’re two problems: one is low accuracy, and her accuracy is also not enough … you’re Fourth Year level then you must use the words I teach you, but she wouldn’t do that. Some students are very dutiful, they would use it intentionally, no matter what they would use these words for these topics. She would also use them, but because she uses this many, it will restrict her thinking … the feeling that she gives me is, she also likes to study, her performance in class is also very good, just not very steadfast, just would not learn Chinese by taking one step at a time (Liz 有那种华裔的特征，她也有那种语感，就是中文语感非常好，一般亚洲的学生都会有这种中文的语感，她也是比较爱说的，但是她有一个问题就是，她第一个是她也挺流利的，但是两个问题，一个是准确度很低，复杂度也不够… 你是四年级水平你必须用我教你的这些词，但是她不会去，有的学生很听话，他们就刻意去用，拼死了要用上这些话题这些词，她也会用，但是因为她用这么多，会限制她这种想的… 她给我感觉就是，也爱学习，课堂表现也很好，就是不是很踏实，就是不会一步一个脚印就这样 学习中文) (Interview 2015/11/25)

Feeling of language (语感), the notion that the instructor referenced, was developed in learning Chinese as a L1. Ye (1980) described it an acute feeling or sensibility of language, gained through real experience rather than from dictionaries. Lű (1985) defined it as an umbrella term, including feeling of semantics (sensitivity to meaning and affectivity of words), feeling of
grammar (sensitivity to grammaticality and difference between structures), and feeling of phonology. Feeling of language has been an influential notion in L1 and L2 teaching in China (see e.g. Wang, 2006). The Chinese instructor found Liz to have a good feeling of language, typical of heritage and most Asian learners. Liz’s “feeling of language” was possibly the result of her previous study abroad that lent her access to everyday Chinese rather than merely textbook Chinese, and her multilingual upbringing. Also highlighted in the instructor’s comment were fluency, accuracy, and complexity, three dimensions that defined what proficiency is at the program. To achieve expected complexity, a dimension where Liz fell short, students were expected to use words that were taught. Unlike other students, intentionally using the new words would restrain Liz’s thinking, supporting her own evaluation. Lastly, the qualities of 踏实 [lit: step fast] (steadfast) and to learn 一步一个脚印 [lit: one step one foot print] (step-by-step), metaphors taken from walking, are much appreciated and morally praised in Chinese culture.

The question is why a competent interlocutor in homestay interaction did not seem to progress as much in the classroom? The ideology that instantiated in the curriculum, and implemented in the instructor’s perception, did not align with that of Liz. For Liz, proficiency was not fluency, accuracy, and complexity, but the ability to “converse naturally with Chinese people” (Interview 2015/09/24). Liz’s perception of what constituted learning was also different from that of the program. Instead of intentionally using new words for the sake of using them, Liz was more concerned with learning in situated interaction with local people (e.g. host family) and expressing her opinions with words and grammar that served her purpose. Towards the end of the semester, she discussed her viewpoint that words and structures should not override opinions:

We learned how to copy copy copy author’s text copy her viewpoints. Because if I want to express my own opinions, we haven’t learned the words, haven’t learned these opinions... If I have the same opinion as the author, I can say more. For example,
yesterday we learned human cloning. The title of the text is I oppose human cloning. so what do you do if you agree with human cloning? If I have similar opinions as the author, I can better understand her grammar, the grammar I use. If I want to express the same opinion, I can use her words and grammar (我们学了怎么复制 复制作者的课文 复制 她的看法因为如果我要表达自己的看法 我们没学了这些字 没学了这些看法……如果我的看法和作者比较一致 我可以说比较多 比如说 昨天学的克隆人 课文的 title 是我反对克隆人 所以如果你同意克隆人怎么办...如果我跟作者观点比较像 我可以 更了解她的语法 我用的语法 如果要表达一样的观点 我可以用她的生词和语法)

(Interview 2015/12/08)

So far I have presented the cases of Audrey and Liz, who stayed with the same host family but experienced contrastive developmental trajectories in the homestay as well as in their Chinese classroom. It is curious why Audrey and Liz, two advanced speakers, underwent such contrasting trajectories, especially in the homestay. It is the question that the next section aims to answer.

**Interpretation of Homestay and Study Abroad Experience**

For Audrey and Liz, the homestay played an important role in shaping their experience abroad. To portray their homestay experience, I present perspectives of Audrey, Liz and HM, complemented by evidence in homestay interaction. What were highlighted or assigned significance were issues related to eating, participation or the lack thereof, and sense of self. The rhetoric of comparison was prevalent in both their interviews and host family discourse. Their racial backgrounds were often used to explain for their differences in, for example, eating.
Eating in the homestay

As mentioned above, it was only during mealtimes when Audrey and Liz could have more extended conversations with the host family. Mealtime was found to play a crucial role in language socialization and development in L1 and L2 alike (e.g. Kinginger, Lee, et al., 2016; Ochs & Shohet, 2006). During mealtimes, not surprisingly, food was a conspicuous and frequently visited topic (Kinginger, Lee, et al., 2016). In Audrey and Liz’s case, dinners were not only “opportunity spaces” (p. 31) for socialization (Ochs & Taylor, 1992), but also fundamentally mediated their quality of relationship, and in turn Audrey and Liz’s language development opportunities and trajectories.

As the host, HM was most concerned with the quality of food, including safety, diversity, and health benefits, she provided for the students. She described herself as 尽心 jinxin [exhaust heart] (make full efforts) and 用心 yongxin [use heart] (earnest) when preparing food (Interview 2015/11/04). Because of food safety risks, she tried to home cook everything. Seeing that Liz and Audrey would buy bubble tea everyday, HM advised them to drink without bubbles, an ingredient that caused some safety concerns (Recording 2015/11/08). HM would also diversify the dishes she made by including Chinese and international cuisines in the meals, for example, noodle, Chinese pancake, bubble tea, pizza, cake, and curry. In the homestay interaction, a salient theme throughout HM’s talk was healthiness of food (see also Kinginger, Lee, et al., 2016). For example, Excerpt 7-6 is a case in point. HM was seeking feedback from Audrey and Liz on her homemade bubble tea. Audrey commented that it was a little too sweet for her, when Liz declared her love for sugar. HM, in a playful tone, sharply pointed out the fattening consequence of eating sugar (line 2). All of them laughed hard at the clear violation of politeness (line 3).

Excerpt 7-6 2015/10/28
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Text (Chinese)</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Liz</td>
<td>我爱糖</td>
<td>I love sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>吃多糖,吃多糖</td>
<td>eat more sugar, eat more sugar, fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Audrey, Liz &amp; HM</td>
<td>@@@@@</td>
<td>@@@@@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>对不对啊</td>
<td>isn’t it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Audrey</td>
<td>对 @@@@@</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Liz</td>
<td>可是我不在乎</td>
<td>but I don’t care</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liz, in her mid-semester interview, brought up HM’s concern for healthy food and her tendency to give advice on eating, which, Liz noticed, is a Chinese propensity (Interview 2015/11/19). The example Liz gave was exactly what I presented in Excerpt 7-6. She interpreted this kind of advice giving as evidence that HM had strong opinions.

For Liz, despite her different opinion on healthiness of certain food, she enjoyed HM’s cooking very much. She always finished her plate, and sometimes even Audrey’s portion. Occasionally she would refuse food (e.g. Recording 2015/10/14), but what she did most frequently was complimenting HM’s cooking. On October 27th, for example, she asked HM for the name of the dish on the dinner table 薏米红豆 (adlay millet and red bean soup) and told HM that “My grandmother she made. Also I’m very happy because that uh the soup is very familiar, making me remember my my family” (我的奶奶她做 还有我很高兴因为 那个 嗯 那个汤很熟悉 让我记得我我家人) (Recording 2015/10/27). Another example was that Liz compared food outside and HM’s home cooked meals. Liz said to HM: “I’m very happy to live here, because now feel I I don’t really like the restaurants on Taojin East Road. Because we’ve been to all. Then right, I think they all taste the same, but your dishes are better” (我非常高兴我住在这儿 因为现在觉得我我不太喜欢那个淘金东的饭馆 因为我们去过@@ 所有的 然后 对然然后我觉得那个味道都一样 但是 你的菜比较好). She then concluded that HM’s dish has “the taste of home”
Considering HM’s emphasis on home-made food and cooking, Liz’s frequent compliments served HM’s positive face, thereby creating and maintaining a relatively congenial relationship (Lee, 2017).

Audrey also liked HM’s food and Chinese cuisine in general, but did not seem to enjoy it as much as Liz. In the first interview, Audrey mentioned that “we like her food very much” (我们很喜欢她做饭) (Interview 2015/10/01). In the homestay interaction, however, often recorded were Audrey’s refusal to eat more and explanation of her losing appetite over air pollution, and HM’s urging of her to eat more and surprised reaction that she ate so little and finished eating already. Excerpt 7-7 presents an example that happened relatively early in the semester.

Excerpt 7-7 2015/10/14

1 HM 来
come
2 Audrey 你把那个碗拿掉
you take off the bowl
3 Audrey 哦 那个不要
oh that (I) don’t want
4 HM 你来一条
you have one
5 Audrey 你不喜欢
you don’t like it?
6 Audrey 我喜欢
I do like it
7 可是我现在 X 舒服
but I now X comfortable
8 HM 哦 你胃好点没有
oh is your stomach feeling better?
9 Audrey 哦 我忘了
oh I forgot
10 不是味道 appetite
not taste appetite
11 我失去了我的味 味道
I lost my ta-taste
12 Liz 哦 啊 哦 她吃得少的
oh ah oh she eats little
13 因为她现在不要吃很多 但是
because now she doesn’t want to eat much, but  
her stomach may not be feeling very well still  
Audrey  
right  
Liz  
right stomach  
HM  
oh  
Audrey  
stomach

HM offered Audrey food (lines 1-2), a common practice in Chinese culture that shows care and hospitality. Audrey directly refused the offer (line 3). After offering the same food to Liz (line 4), HM turned back to Audrey and asked if she did not like the food (line 5). Audrey clarified that she liked HM’s cooking (line 6), but it was her physical condition that ruined her appetite (lines 7, 9-11). Not being able to explain it clearly, she turned to Liz for help. Liz started explaining (lines 12-13) until HM came up with the word 胃 (stomach) that they were looking for (line 14).

Despite Audrey’s explanation, around mid-October HM has formed the opinion that Audrey did not like her food. Rejection of food is interpreted as not liking the food offered in Chinese culture. In addition to Audrey’s refusal of food as discussed above, she also spent less time eating in the home. On October 19th, Liz was having dinner with HM while Audrey was not home. HM recounted what she told the housing coordinator earlier that day when she visited the home. HM compared Liz and Audrey: “I said Liz is more used to the food than Audrey. I said because Liz’s family food is closer to Asian food, right…She’s a little worse” (我说 Liz 比 Audrey 吃得惯 我说因为 Liz 可能家里的食物接近亚洲的 对吧……她比你稍微差一点), but still recognizing Audrey’s open-mindedness and willingness compared to some other students “She’s actually okay. Some students couldn’t even eat one Chinese meal and wanted American meals everyday…some people who lived in Chinese host families did not eat host family’s food.
They ordered pizza and hamburger everyday to deliver to their home” (她还算好的 有的学生一顿中国菜都吃不了 天天要吃美国菜……有的人住在友好家庭 但是不吃友好家庭的饭 天天叫 pizza 汉堡 送到家里嘛) (Recording 2015/10/19). In HM’s comments, she explained Audrey’s dispreference for the food by her non-Asian family background. The discourse of food and race was crystallized when HM compared Audrey with Liz in front of them in late October.

Excerpt 7-8 2015/10/28

1  HM  今天早上的奶茶好喝吗
   Is the milk tea in the morning tasty?

2  Liz  恩
   yes

3  A & L  好喝
   tasty

4  HM  真的啊
   really?

5  Audrey  好喝死了
   It’s tasty (too death)

6  Liz  @@@@@

7  Audrey  我也喜欢
   I also like it

8  HM  我不担心 Liz 我担心 Audrey
   I’m not worried about Little Liz. I’m worried about Audrey

9  Liz  <@ 啊! @>
   oh

10 HM  吃东西不像 Liz
   (Aubrey) eats not like Liz

11  实近我们亚洲人 对吧
   (she is) very similar to we Asians, right?

12 Audrey  对 我喜欢 可是 有的时候
   Right, I like (your food), but sometimes

13 HM  喜欢啊 那个奶茶可以啊
   (you) like it right? the milk tea is okay

14 Audrey  呀 可以有一点儿甜
   (it’s) okay, (it’s) a little sweet

Knowing that Audrey and Liz enjoyed bubble tea very much, HM prepared milk tea for breakfast.

At dinnertime, she inquired about her milk tea (line 1). After receiving glowing compliments
from both Audrey and Liz (lines 2-7), HM explained the motive behind the question: her feeling of 担心 danxin [lit: carry heart] (worried) for Audrey and the opposite for Liz (line 8). HM further contrasted Audrey’s eating habits to that of Liz’s (line 10) and brought the issue of race to the fore (line 11). The pronoun 我们 (we) and racial category of 亚洲人 (Asians) (line 11) identified Liz as an insider, while distancing Audrey as an outsider. Audrey acknowledged HM’s comparison, but clarified that she liked HM’s food and signaled an explanation to follow with the contrastive connective 可是 (but) (line 12). However, HM interrupted her and returned to her earlier comment on the milk tea (line 13). Not seeing the meta-message of seeking compliment (Lee, 2017), Audrey confirmed but filed a small complaint about the taste (line 14), a move that could be interpreted as impolite and unappreciative.

During the rest of the semester, Audrey spent more time dining out, and when she was home she usually spent less than ten minutes eating. Towards the end of November, HM complained more about Audrey’s eating whether she was present or absent. For example, on Nov 25th, HM said to Audrey: “You finished eating again. The fish is very tasty” (你又不吃啦 那个鱼很好吃啊) (Recording 2015/11/25). On November 26th, when Audrey was not home for dinner, HM and HF discussed her eating issue (Excerpt 7-9).

Excerpt 7-9 2015/11/26

1. HF 她习惯吃美国西餐
   she’s used to American western food
2. LF 不喜欢吃中餐
   doesn’t like Chinese food
3. LF 对
   right
4. HM 她毕竟跟她还不一样
   she’s after all different from her
5. LF 她有的时候就家里吃的东西 跟我们有点接近
   sometimes what she eats at home is kind of similar to us
6. LF 也是
   right also
I think Audrey originally liked eating Chinese food but now she ate many Chinese food. She misses American salad and chicken nuggets. Liz, you don’t need to worry about her. I think she doesn’t eat as well. Liz can eat this. You can’t eat this. So I’m not as good as...
her. If you don’t have the thick skin, you’ll feel disappointed. You’ll feel grieved everyday, so you’ll adopt a negative attitude (有的时候 不是有的时候 差不多每个晚饭的时期 我都是每个晚饭的时候我的阿姨会问我 哦 你为什么 吃得很少 你不喜欢我菜 这样每个晚上 有的时候她会说 哦 如果你碰到了 小事 可是我觉得这样得事情会让人会 get under the skin 可以影响你的态度……她每天对比我们 Liz 可以吃这个 你不可以吃这个 所以我 我不如她的 如果你没有那个 thick skin 你会感到很失望 你会每天会感到悲痛 所以你会开始采取一个消极的态度) (Interview 2015/12/10).

Now I reflect on HM and Audrey’s tension on the issue of eating. In Audrey’s interview, she emphasized frustration when faced with day-to-day directives to eat more, complaints about her not eating much, and comparison to Liz’s eating well. As also can be gleaned from Excerpt 7-7, 7-8, and 7-9, directive, complaint, and comparison were three major mediational means through which HM attempted to exert control over Audrey’s eating. The speech acts were authority exerting and negatively framed. This reflects Jing-Schmidt’s (2012) findings on the affective preponderance of Chinese and American mothers: the former provided more negative input, while the latter preferred positive feedback. The rhetoric of comparison is a morally permeated practice that Chinese parents often use to push their children forward in China. In this sense, HM’s mediational means, formulated through repeated use in history and organized culturally, were not appropriate for Audrey. Also, if we consider HM’s attempted mediation on Audrey, none of them explicated HM’s unpleasantness as a host when her guest did not comply with house rules or did not appreciate her hard work. As discussed earlier, it was under the influence of the implicit emotional style when facing tension or conflict that HM preferred not to talk about it. If HM had talked to Audrey more openly about the inconvenience and impoliteness her not eating at the homestay brought, Audrey might have been in a better position to understand
the situation, rather than simply lamenting over the HM’s criticism of her behavior. When encountering this problem, Audrey opted to participate less in the home by avoiding dinner with HM. Had she been able to speak more openly about her perspective on the issue, or engage in “negotiation of difference” (Kinginger, 2010) and see this as a languaculture “rich point” (Agar, 1994), it is likely that she would have had a better experience in the home.

(Non-)participation

In the section of emotion language, I explored Audrey and Liz’s quality of participation and found that the former only participated peripherally whereas the latter grew participation as time went by. HM’s interview comments further substantiated the observation: “Liz talks a lot. Audrey has been quiet all along” (Liz 话多 Audrey 一直话不多) (Interview 2015/11/04). Audrey, in her end-of-semester interview, revealed three major reasons why she did not seem to participate as actively and as much as Liz.

First of all, it was difficult for Audrey to understand the host parents’ accents. She therefore oriented to the activity differently, that is, using this opportunity to practice listening:

I’m usually very tired in the evening, so Liz would say more. but in the evening after I’m done eating, I would listen to them talking. I think my listening will improve in the evening. But I don’t like to talk too much. I couldn’t really understand what they’re saying, because they have Shanghainese accent, but I try to listen to them talking, so I use this time to improve my listening. My HF has Shandong accent, so he it’s too difficult to understand what he says. My HF has Shanghainese accent, so it’s relatively difficult to understand. But I try to listen to Chinese speaking. I think this can make my Chinese ability stronger
Another challenge that Audrey faced was the fast pace of the homestay interaction and the host parents’ eagerness to push the conversation forward by completing her sentences. She was not able to catch up, finish what she actually wanted to say, or return to her original thoughts as the conversation quickly rolled on, unlike Liz (see e.g. Excerpt 7-4):

They would also end my sentence. Just that if I attempt to or try to say a sentence, they’ll quickly stop what I say… I think this is a little frustrating, because I’m attempting to express my opinions, my own sentences, and then they quickly do this… I today when I I stutter, if I say I went to dadada, “oh where where did you go?” they didn’t give me a lot of time to answer. During dinner, if I would say like today I went to do this or I went to go study or I went to I don’t really know how to explain that. they would just cut me off and started to say what they wanted to say… it’s usually on the same topic, so they would finish my sentences. use their own words. because sometimes they wouldn’t completely understand what I’m trying to say, but every time I would try to explain what I’m trying to say they would just like not listen, and just say what they thought I wanted to say, and it’s usually not right. so it’s a little frustrating… I couldn’t say, because they quickly change the topic. This is the Shanghai tempo… Liz can follow the tempo. She’s very good (他们也会结束结束我的句子 就是那个如果我尝试或者试图说一个句子 他们快快停我说的话… 我觉得这是有一点儿 frustrating 因为我尝试
This quotation offers significant insight into the case of Audrey and Liz. As shown in the previous section, Liz also encountered the same problem in homestay interaction; however, she was able to gradually negotiate tellership and gain voluntary control over her interaction. Audrey, on the other hand, was not able to do so. Although both students were placed in the same Chinese class, this by no means indicates that their proficiency, interactional and linguistic competence were the same (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Rather, they required different quantities and qualities of mediation; thereby I infer that they were at different developmental stages. Also considering their different personal histories, dispositions, and goals, their developmental trajectories would not be the same.

Lastly and very importantly, Audrey disclosed her perception on how racial backgrounds and personalities had potentially influenced these students’ status in the home and host parents’ opinions of them, including her eating issue:
I think this may be because, this gonna sound so bad, this is because her family is also
Asian. I’m not Asian. I think they prefer to talk to her. This is from what I see, this is my
own opinion, this doesn’t have any problem, I still love her, not a big problem. Just I
think because Liz very passionately talks to them, she has very open-minded attitude, she
talks to my host parents everyday, and then they would, she also likes their food, but I’m
not too used to Chinese food, but I also couldn’t eat much, because this is my background.
So she has other background, almost Asian, because she’s Philipino, so I think my
Chinese parents favor her, not favor me. I think this is almost a competition. We all know
this is not a completion, but I think in their eyes, they like her and don’t like me…
sometimes I’m a little tired, but Liz she’s very very energetic, so it’s not the same. We
have similar opinions, but we have very different personalities. So my Chinese parents
think I don’t really like them because in the home I’m kind of quiet (我觉得可能是因为
this gonna sound so bad 这是因为她的家庭也是亚洲人 我不是亚洲人 我觉得他们倾
向于跟她说话 这是在我看 这是我自己的观点 没有什么样的问题 我还爱她 不是一
个很大的问题 只是我觉得因为 Liz 很热情跟他们说话 她有很开放的态度 她每天跟
我的中国爸爸妈妈说话 然后他们会 她也很喜欢他们菜 可是我不太习惯中国菜 可
是我也不可以吃很多 因为这是我的背景 所以她有别的背景差不多亚洲人 因为她是
菲律宾人 所以我觉得我的中国父母比较 favor 她 不会 favor 我 我觉得差不多是一个
比赛 我们都知道不是一个比赛 可是我觉得在他们眼中 他们喜欢她不喜欢我……有
的时候我有一点儿累 所以我回家的时候我只要休息 Liz 很很她有很多活力 所以太
不一样 我们有相似的观点 可是我们有太多不同的性格 所以我的中国父母觉得我不
太喜欢他们 因为在家庭我比较安静) (12/05/2015 Interview).
As can be seen from Audrey’s comments here and the section on the eating issue, the rhetoric of comparison has impeded her participation and attitude in the homestay. Comparison of Audrey and Liz on eating behaviors and level of participation oriented to their different racial and family background. The theme pervaded not only HM’s homestay talk and interviews, but also those of Liz and Audrey. Liz’s Asian heritage greatly facilitated her accommodation to HM’s food and living habits, while Audrey’s non-Asian background did not allow her to be as comfortable in the home as Liz.

**Sense of self**

For Audrey and Liz, living in the homestay challenged some aspects of their sense of self. For Audrey, it was her identity as an independent adult. For Liz, it was her ability and right to express her own opinions. Of equal importance were the challenges that HM faced in negotiating her sense of self.

Audrey, who had been independent since high school, was not used to the parental style of HM. Strikingly resembling the opinions of the 116 American college-aged students surveyed in Juveland (2011), Audrey stated in the end-of-semester interview:

[Homestay] doesn’t have freedom, because everyday very small things. I feel there seems to be a curfew everyday. Or it’s because I have I’m a very independent person. So when I came to China, my experience would be more independence, myself, because I’m 20 years old, so I feel this kind of thing should be like this. But sometimes I can’t choose my own dish; I can’t loud, music, play music very loudly. This is because I graduated from a boarding high school, so from 14 years old I don’t go to school in my family high school. I don’t know. I don’t live in my family. When I was in high school, I have almost six
years not with parents, or authority figures, so I feel that living in a Chinese family takes away my freedom, or my independence ([Homestay]很没有自由 因为每天很小的事情我每天感到似乎有一个 like curfew 或是因为我有 我是一个很 独立的人 所以我来中国的时候 我的经历会是更独立的 自己的 因为我是 20 岁 所以我觉得这样的事情应该是 这样的 但是有的时候我不可以选择我自己的菜 我不可以大声 音乐 play music very loudly 这是因为我毕业于一个寄宿寄宿的高中 所以我 14 岁的时候在 不在我的家庭高中上课 不知道 我不住在我的家庭 我在高中的时候 我有差不多有 6 年 不在 不跟父母 或者 authority figures 所以我觉得住在中国家庭拿去了我的自由 或者 我的独立性) (Interview 2015/12/10).

Audrey’s perception of the self was deeply challenged by the host parents. Liz, in the end-of-semester interview, provided an example that illustrates this well. Liz recalled “and then just like having a mom basically, like Audrey was sick like checking on her. I would appreciate it. Audrey was just like ah I just want to sleep. It’s like a little here and there.” (Interview 2015/12/08) When Audrey was frustrated at her loss of independence, HM could be as baffled. In her perception, study abroad students were still kids that would appreciate care from the host parents and their parents would also appreciate it. HM’s perception was exemplified in a conversation between HM and Liz. HM shared with Liz what previous guests thought of her in Excerpt 7-10.

Excerpt 7-10 2015/10/19

1  HM  今天张老师说的 恩 两个人对你评价都很高
   Today Housing Teacher said: “unh, the two people all spoke very highly of you”
2  Liz  高个子说你 比自己爸爸妈妈对她还关心
       The taller (girl) said you care more about her than her own dad and mom
3  Liz  恩? @@@
       unh?
4  HM  我说 这个捏 是这样的
I said: about this, it’s like this
5 比如说我的孩子在人家家里
For example, if my child is in other’s home
6 我也希望人家对她关心 对不对
I also hope that others would care about her, right?
7 Liz 对
right
8 HM 因为你们才 20 岁 很小 是小孩
Because you’re only 20 years old, very little, (you) are kids

HM quoted the housing coordinator who shared a previous student’s evaluation of HM: “you care more about her than her own dad and mom” (你 比自己爸爸妈妈对她还关心) (line 2). HM explained her motive by relating to her daughter’s experience as a study abroad student and her as a parent hoping that others would also take care of her (lines 5-6). HM then concluded that the age of 20 was very “little” (很小) and that they were still “kids” (小孩) (line 8). This excerpt partly explained the approach HM had taken as a host.

For Liz, her sense of self was threatened when she could not express her own opinions. In the mid-semester interview, she was especially upset with her inability to do so with HM. She considered HM as “strong willed” and a “tiger mom”, and found not much in common with her. As discussed previously, Liz struggled to express her true feelings and her own opinions at first. Her strong desire to express herself held through to the end of the semester. While she successfully negotiated tellership and opinion expression with HM, she was not able to achieve the same in her Chinese class (see pp. 47-48). This partly explains Liz’s impressive progress in the homestay, and her unsatisfactory gain in the classroom, as discussed previously.
Overall experience

Audrey’s experience at the homestay was mostly challenging. She struggled to eat appropriately, participate fully, and maintain her sense of independence at home. She therefore re-oriented herself and shifted her focus to the Chinese classroom. In this light, the most rewarding experience for Audrey was her language learning in the classroom and the relationships she developed with her classmates. She stated: “our class is hard working, so it’s positive for learning Chinese and improving our Chinese… we’re like a family. I think we solve problems collaboratively, so we can help each other and ourselves. we can all improve, all speak Chinese” (我们的班比较努力，所以对学中文和提高中文水平比较积极……我们好像一个家庭，我觉得我们一起合作来解决这些问题，所以我们可以互相帮助我们自己，我们都可以提高，都说得中文) (Interview 2015/12/10). When asked about what facilitated her Chinese learning, she attributed her linguistic gain to her learning and speaking Chinese every day, the Chinese instructor’s encouragement and positive attitude, the Chinese-only environment in the homestay, and the strict Chinese-only policy of the intensive language program. Audrey showed her special gratitude to the instructor: “if some day I felt relatively disappointed, right disappointed, because I didn’t know, I think she would give us many many help. If some day I feel that kind of emotion, she would encourage me. so this has greatly influenced us. Her existence is to provide help for us” (如果哪一天我感觉比较失望 对 失望 因为我 不知道 我觉得她会给我们很多很多帮助。如果哪一天我感觉是那样的感情，她会鼓励我，所以这样对我们有巨大的影响，她的存在是给我们提供帮助) (Interview 2015/12/10). This may partially explain Audrey’s classroom gain and the lack thereof in the homestay.

Liz experienced a series of changes in her attitudes in the homestay and sojourn abroad. At the beginning, she was excited to try Chinese food, meet new friends, and study hard
In the middle of the semester, however, she experienced a slump in energy and mental strength: “I know what my goal is, but I don’t have elbow grease, don’t have the energy to make efforts. Because I miss the U.S. very much. I feel I feel I seem to need a mental break, a brain break” (我知道我的目的是什么 但是我没有 elbow grease 没有努力的活力 因为我很想美国 我觉得我觉得我好像需要一个心内的休息 脑子的休息) (Interview 2015/11/19). Her struggle with HM in the first half of the semester probably contributed to her change of attitude. Liz commented on her relationship with HM that “if we are of the same age, I think we should be friends, but not forever not good friends… if values, perspectives and living habits are similar, your relationship should be the best friends” (如果我们是一样的年龄 我觉得我们应该是朋友 但是不是永远的不是好的朋友 ……如果观念 看法 生活习惯是比较像的 你们的关系应该是最好的朋友) (Interview 2015/11/19). Towards the end of the semester, Liz managed to break away from the negative thinking and was able to reflect on the experience in a more positive light. She considered her experience in the home as “neutral” and “a good place to be”, without “anything like life shattering revelation” or “anything crazily amazing” (Interview 2015/12/08). She advised future sojourners to “push [themselves] out of the comfort zone” although living with a host family “is definitely awkward”: “they have their own lives. They don’t want to bother you. You don’t want to bother them” (他们有自己的生活 他们不要麻烦你 你不要麻烦他们). She regretted that she did not make more efforts to engage more with HM, although knowing that HM would definitely support them. She lastly quoted HM and showed appreciation of HM’s constant reminding: “to experience Chinese culture in-depth, you have to use this opportunity” (深入体验中国的文化，你需要趁这个机会) (Interview 2015/12/08). Her interpretations of the homestay experience and her developmental trajectory interacted with each other.
Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter presents the story of Audrey, an advanced and highly motivated learner of Chinese of European American background, and Liz, an advanced learner of Chinese of Asian heritage, who resided in the same homestay during their sojourn in fall 2015. Their stories were distinctive from that of Puppies (Chapter 5) or David (Chapter 6).

Analysis of the homestay interaction found that it had the potential to expose the students to abundant and myriad linguistic, conceptual, and ideological mediational means, and to greatly enrich their Chinese emotion repertoire as well as the norms and values associated with what to feel and how to feel in Chinese. However, the case presented a convincing counterexample to the belief that living in homestay necessarily grants effortless access, opportunities, and dramatic learning (see also Kinginger, 2009), or the assumption that students living in the same housing type would enjoy the same, or to say the least, similar linguistic exposure and progress. On the contrary, despite the seemingly identical learning context, Audrey and Liz were involved in distinct activities and developmental trajectories.

HM, as the major expert speaker in the case, at first assumed a higher authorial and epistemic stance and dominated the conversation with Audrey and Liz, not always attuning to the students’ communicative needs. Liz gradually gained self-regulation in homestay talk through negotiating tellership with HM, and finally resolved her contradiction between the desire to express her opinions and the constraints her linguistic ability and HM’s intense conversational style posed. Audrey, however, remained a peripheral character in the homestay play, often choosing to recoil from the homestay interaction. Consequently, Liz was able to appropriate local emotion terms rich in the homestay talk, while Audrey did not show such signs.

The different activities and developmental pathways were a complex interplay of their personal histories, goals, and dispositions, as well as their social relationship with HM, among
which the key was related to their racial identity positioned by all parties on the matter of eating habits and food preference. When providing home-cooked meals was central to HM’s sense of being a responsible and caring host mother, Liz showed her appreciation by finishing up the plate and frequently complimenting the food while Audrey did not seem to enjoy it as much, as displayed in her eating little and rejection of food. This contrast gave rise to tensions between HM and Audrey. When recounting this issue, all of them explained Audrey and Liz’s different food preference to what came as salient, or their racial heritages as Asian American and European American. The racial resemblance between Liz and HM generated the degree of connection they were able to nurture, similar to the students described in Anya (2017). Audrey’s whiteness seemed to be at odd with the expectations of a good house guest in a Chinese family.

To conclude, the chapter challenges previous research that lumped together students who studied in the same learning context, for example, study abroad, or at-home classroom. As shown, even students who took the same Chinese class and interacted with the same host family in the same study abroad program at the same time ended up in different activities and hence experienced different trajectories.
Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusion

The dissertation explored American sojourners’ Chinese language development and quality of experience when studying abroad in China. The linguistic focus was an omnipresent aspect of everyday interaction, namely verbal communication of emotion. The theoretical framework was Vygotskian sociocultural theory. I first examined group tendencies of the 25 participants’ performances in the pre- and post-video description task in Chapter 4. I then provided detailed case studies of four participants, respectively Puppies and David in the student residence hall (Chapters 5 and 6), and Audrey and Liz in a local homestay (Chapter 7). Their linguistic developmental trajectories were examined hand in hand with their personal histories and perceptions of the experience. In addition to the students’ perspectives, I also discussed others’ viewpoints, including their Chinese roommates, host family, and language instructors, to provide a more balanced account of their experience and learning.

I now turn to summary and discussion of major findings from the study by responding to the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Subsequently, I discuss the implications these findings have on study abroad research, L2 curriculum and instruction, and study abroad program administration. I then reflect on the limitations of the study. To conclude the study, I summarize major contributions this dissertation makes to the extant literature, and propose future directions of research.
Major findings

The first research question examined if students had made progress in their abilities to recognize and express emotions over the semester abroad. The answer is positive with regards to both group tendencies and individual cases. Chapter 4 found that as a group the 25 study abroad participants made quantitative and, most notably, qualitative progress in their retellings of the video on the dimensions of scenarios labeled (a higher number of distinct scenarios, and new scenarios that indicated understanding of moral themes), lexical diversity (a higher number of distinct lexical items, and more emotion terms of negative valence than positive ones), and appropriateness (a higher number of instances of inappropriateness, but signs of development and creativity). In terms of the four focal cases, they all demonstrated development in emotion communication in at least one of the data sets: scores in the video description task, interaction with roommate or host family, the vocabulary section in the Mandarin Awareness Interview, and self-report of emotion language learning. The different data sets, interestingly, sometimes painted different, if not contradicting, pictures of the students’ linguistic profile. I will further discuss this later in the chapter.

Research question two aims to examine if housing types affected students’ linguistic development. The answer to this question is not as straightforward. Results from Chapter 4 corroborated previous quantitative studies that found no effect of accommodation (Magnan & Back, 2007; Vande Berg et al., 2009). The case studies, however, presented a more nuanced picture. On the one hand, residing with locals such as Chinese roommates or a host family definitely provided rich learning contexts that might not be readily available for those who lived with members of their program cohort. On the other, if we compare the efficacies of dormitory living and homestays, this may not be the right question to ask. I will return to this point after reviewing the focal students’ development.
The third research question investigated what aspects of Chinese emotion expressions students developed by participating in regular conversations with their roommates or host family. A common contextualized practice in which the focal students and their local interlocutors often engaged to communicate emotions was conversational narrative, or story telling in interaction. Unique to David and his roommate Shawn were the practices of language play and explicit discussion of Chinese emotion metaphors. Through participating in these contextualized practices, local forms of emotion expression were made available and relevant. Through co-telling stories with Kiki, Puppies expanded her emotion repertoire and included fear-related local emotions expressions, linguistic devices of high affectivity (adverb, and sentence-final particle), and a feminine and cute speech style, along with her ability to narrate stories. For David, through agentive engagement with language play, he co-constructed an emotional style with Shawn, which featured rhetoric such as parody, hyperbole, joke telling, and folk humor to perform identity and relational work. Through this verbal play, David was also exposed to humor-related ideologies. Furthermore, David and Shawn’s discussion of metaphors in the Chinese song and the four-word idiom 舌津有味 jinjin youwei [lit: saliva saliva have taste/flavor] (with relish; with keen interest) further allowed David to develop conceptual knowledge of Chinese body parts and emotion, and the metaphor related to eating and thinking. For the case of Audrey and Liz, the two presented contrastive developmental pathways. Audrey remained a peripheral participant in conversational narratives in the homestay throughout the semester, and hence was not able to appropriate local emotion expressions rich in the homestay setting. Liz, in contrast, also struggled to participate, but managed to negotiate more a central participatory role and the ability to voice her true feelings with the Host Mother (HM) as time went by. From here we can draw the following conclusions. To start with, not all participants enjoyed full tellership: this prohibited Audrey’s ability to communicate her emotions and tell her stories. Secondly, all of the focal cases
developed different aspects of Chinese emotion language. Thirdly, while all of them often communicated emotions through conversational narratives, David presented a unique case where he and Shawn also engaged in verbal play and metaphor discussion.

The next research question aimed at scrutinizing how the focal cases developed their verbal emotion repertoire in their interactions with the locals. Specific attention was given to the quality of the mediational means made available with regards to the richness in cultural meanings and attunement to the students’ Zones of Proximal Development (ZPD). In the case of Puppies, mediational means went beyond linguistic forms, such as adverb and sentence-final particle, but entailed messages of indexical meanings, such as speech style, gender and regional identity, and register, and affective stances towards, for example, US-related news. Furthermore, Kiki most of the time was sensitive to Puppies’ potential abilities and communicative needs. When Puppies told stories, Kiki not only provided timely linguistic assistance but also modeled locally relevant semiotic resources and recast Puppies’ overly general and less local-like expressions. In this process, Puppies also creatively imitated Kiki’s use of emotion expression to meet her own communicative and identity-related purposes. In the case of David, the mediational means made available were extremely rich, including, but not limited to, various speech styles, ideologies associated with certain speech styles and identities, concept-mediated jokes, ideologies related to humor, embodied nature of emotion, comparison of metaphors and emotions across cultures, syntax and register, form, meaning, and concepts underlying the four-word idiom. Similar to Kiki, Shawn was also highly responsive to David’s ZPD for the most part, and if not, David would negotiate with Shawn to better suit his own needs. As for the case of Audrey and Liz, when conversing with HM in the home, they were also exposed to a wide array of mediational means rooted in culturally specific concepts. HM, who initially assumed a higher epistemic stance and an intense approach to conversation, importantly, relinquished her control over Liz later in the
semester to allow for more conversational space, thereby facilitating Liz’s development. However, her attempt to exert control over Audrey on the issues of eating through directive, complaint, and comparison, were not appropriate or effective. The chapter shows that HM was in the process of learning to provide more contingent and appropriate mediational means, as a result of everyday negotiation with Liz and Audrey. To conclude, echoing Lee (2017), what seem to be quotidian linguistic practices, for example, telling stories and expressing emotions, actually afford rich semiotic sources that bear significant developmental consequences.

To shed light on linguistic development, research questions five and six also addressed the quality of experience and personal histories. I will answer the two questions in relation to each other. Important aspects that mediated the focal students’ experience abroad and language learning were their interpersonal relationships with the roommates or host family, racial and ethnic identities, and personal goals in relation to expectation in the naturalistic context and classroom.

First, as can be seen in the stories of all cases, the dynamics between the student and their regular Chinese interlocutor was one of the themes in their understanding of the sojourn experience, which explained in part the enriched or restrained access students had to local semiotic resources. In the case of Puppies and David, their time in the dormitory and the friendship developed with their Chinese roommates were the highlight of their experience. This in turn greatly facilitated their linguistic development. For example, Puppies considered her interaction with Kiki a safe space, where she could experiment with new linguistic expressions before using them in public. Also, the familiarity and intersubjectivity enabled the two to quickly understand each other and immediately identify appropriate help. Also for David and Shawn, their shared interests and strong bonds also made the language play and lengthy discussion of Chinese metaphors possible. Audrey and Liz’s case best elucidates this point. While Liz
developed a congenial relationship with HM, Audrey’s tension with HM inhibited her from participating in the homestay interaction or taking up opportunities to develop local emotion language.

Racial and ethnic identities also played a mediating role in the students’ sojourn experience. One of the reasons that Puppies and Kiki got along was the latter’s sensitive and appropriate ways of asking U.S.-related questions. In contrast, Puppies’ friend, who was also an African American female, had less pleasant encounters with her Chinese roommate. The roommate would raise questions that seemed to target race, specifically blackness. For David, his Jewish identity is an important part of who he is. In the sociohistorical contexts of Shanghai and China, this identity was particularly relevant and desirable. Shanghai’s historical connection and Chinese people’s positive perception gave David social and cultural capital as a person of Jewish heritage. He was also greatly motivated by some shared values he found between Jewish and Chinese culture. Most importantly, his Jewish heritage possibly also gave rise to his preference for verbal play, which, as I argued above, was a rich site for his language learning. As for Audrey and Liz, their racial identities seemed to be the core of the tension in the home. HM, Liz, and Audrey all explained their difference in terms of race: Liz’s Asian background and shared eating habits and family culture facilitated accommodation with the host family, while Audrey’s whiteness and European American family culture might have impeded her adjustment to the new home. From here, we can see that the students’ learning opportunities were enriched or restrained by how the students perceived their racial and ethnic identities and dispositions taken towards these identities by the locals.

In addition to quality of social relationship and race and ethnicity-related identities, the students’ personal goals vis-à-vis classroom requirements also mediated their experience and language development. Puppies presented a case in which learning in the naturalistic context and
the classroom were mutually beneficial: She constantly reflected on what she learned in the
classroom and what she observed from the naturalistic context, which promoted her awareness.

David, Audrey, and Liz, however, presented scenarios where learning in naturalistic contexts (i.e.
dormitory or homestay) was different from that in the classroom. As shown previously, David
and Liz aspired to speak Chinese like a native or to speak it naturally, and both thrived in their
interaction with Chinese roommate or host family. However, they were not as successful in the
language classroom. For Liz, her personal goal to speak Chinese naturally did not align with the
expectations set up by the curriculum and instructor. Audrey, on the other hand, struggled
immensely in the homestay, but enjoyed the most progress in the language class.

Now I return to research question two and consi
Now I return to research question two and consider the efficacy of dormitory living
versus that of homestay. From what was discussed so far, the four focal cases, Puppies, David,
Audrey, and Liz all displayed individual uniqueness, supporting previous findings that study
abroad is an highly variable experience (e.g. Kinginger, Wu, Lee, & Tan, 2016; Wilkinson, 1998). Puppies and David, although both lived with a Chinese roommate, participated in different
practices and enjoyed different aspects of linguistic development. Even in the case of Audrey and
Liz who lived in the same homestay and took the same Chinese class during the same semester,
they engaged in different activities in the home which resulted in different learning pathways. In
this light, it was not the housing type, namely dormitory or homestay, that necessarily determined
the kind and quality of interaction students would participate in; rather, it was a result of a
complex interplay among goals, dispositions, personal histories, interpretation of experience,
participation in linguistic practices, and interpersonal dynamics among all parties concerned
(Kinginger, Wu, et al., 2016). That being said, it is undeniable that certain housing types tend to
expose students to certain aspects of language and kinds of experience. Dormitory living with
peer-aged roommates, as shown in Chapters 5 and 6, is likely to be rich in youth- and gender-
related topics and identity performance (see also Diao, 2016). Living in the home often involves the matter of food and taste, as shown in Chapter 7 and discussed in previously research (DuFon, 2006; Kinginger, Lee, et al., 2016; Lee et al., 2017).

**Implications**

Considering the findings discussed above, the dissertation study has important implications for study abroad research, L2 language instruction, and study abroad program administration. Two implications can be drawn for research design. First, Chapter 4 presented analysis of group tendencies of linguistic progress over time. Unlike previous quantitative studies that mostly focused exclusively on statistical significance of individual performance or scores (e.g. Freed, 1995), this dissertation makes an argument for mixed-methods analysis on the group level. This approach to analysis uncovered otherwise disguised quantitative and qualitative changes. Secondly, the dissertation presented multiple datasets of emotion language, including pre- and post-video description task, spontaneous interaction, the vocabulary section in the Mandarin Awareness Interview, and self-report. These different data sets not only presented a fuller picture of students’ linguistic profiles, but also revealed discrepancies and potential points worthy of discussion. For instance, Puppies’ different performances in the spontaneous talk and in the vocabulary section of the Mandarin Awareness Interview deepened our understanding and gave rise to observations related to her ambiguity in the knowledge of genre, the mirror effect of imitation, and identity-related linguistic choices.

By detailing the students’ linguistic development and interaction with native speakers of Chinese, the present study sheds light on current L2 pedagogical practices and study abroad program design. Considering the omnipresence of emotion communication in everyday
interaction through practices like conversational narrative and language play and the fact that in L2 education emotion-related language is much neglected (Maynard, 2005), L2 curricula can incorporate elements of emotion. Language educators can also raise metapragmatic awareness of the different emotional modes American and Chinese may engage in to prevent stigma on the sojourner or local hosts as documented in cross-cultural research (Pavlenko, 2014). Innovation is also required for language pedagogy to teach emotion-related language. Classroom instruction that usually only involves translation and sentence making of emotion language may not be enough to achieve the level of sophistication required to appropriately communicate one’s emotions in the L2 abroad. Also, some cognitive-linguistic dimensions of emotion description in Chinese may require explicit instruction to promote awareness and use. Recent pedagogical innovation informed by cognitive linguistics, in particular concept-based instruction (Lantolf, 2011), has the potential to greatly enhance students’ L2 use and awareness. In addition to emotion-related language, through the four cases, we also see that food and eating were a common topic in the homestay and dormitory, and that the lack of mutual understanding concerning polite and virtuous eating in Chinese and American cultures was a major source of miscommunication in the case of Audrey. It is hence imperative that language educators prepare students at home and abroad to grow awareness of the pragmatics, values, and ideologies of eating.

In addition, I argue that study abroad programs can implement pedagogical interventions to connect in- and out-of-class learning in order to facilitate students’ interaction outside the classroom. One of the findings from the present study is that what was required to successfully participate in homestay or dormitory living was essentially different from expectations set up by the language classroom. The former, for example, requires apt participation in everyday interaction and appropriateness in emotion communication, while the latter emphasizes correct
forms and sophistication of prose. The gap between the two might pose great challenges to students. On the one hand, proficiency gained in the classroom might not fully prepare students to engage in meaningful interaction with native speakers in the naturalistic context, thereby leaving them unable to navigate the complexity of intercultural communication. On the other, because learning in the classroom and in the homestay rarely interact with each other, juggling the two might drain students’ energy, leaving them in a dilemma, and thereby undermining their development. Furthermore, as shown in the dissertation, not all students and their Chinese interlocutors knew how to navigate the complexity of intercultural communication. As a result, misunderstanding often arose. In face of tensions, neither party was equipped with the cross-cultural awareness to resolve the problems. These are the two reasons why I propose program intervention. Study abroad classrooms can design activities that engage students in reflection on their interaction with locals by, for example, integrating audio recordings of daily conversation and analysis. Through close examination of their everyday conversation, students can share their confusion and frustration, and at the same time reflect on their own language use and dispositions towards the locals. Language teachers can provide cultural insights or alternative interpretations to help students understand the situations differently and possibly resolve tensions with host families or roommates. A similar proposal is to employ cultural mentors who are well versed in both cultures to help students understand their experience and enhance their sojourn experience (see also DiSilvio, Donovan, & Malone, 2014).

In addition to preparing students for the sojourn experience, study abroad programs can include or enhance their training on host families and local roommates. The Chinese roommate training as described to Kiki was an important opportunity for her to prepare and later reflect on her encounters with Puppies. Although Di Silvio, Donovan and Malone (2015), an intervention study that tested the effect of host family training on students’ proficiency gain, found that
students whose families received training on extending conversation did not outperform students whose families were not trained, I argue that this result cannot be used to deny the potential benefits such training can provide for two reasons. In addition to host family training, other factors, such as other students’ disposition towards language learning, might cloud the results. Also, the measure Stimulated Oral Proficiency Interview, as critiqued in Chapter 2, does not represent activities, in particular extended conversation, that students and hosts engaged in from day to day. Future training on local roommates and host families can draw on insights gleaned from qualitative studies and include close examination of recorded interaction.

Limitations

The study presents the following limitations. To reduce intrusion into the participants’ private sphere of life, the data presents only the audio modality, which prevents investigation into the non-verbal aspects that are crucial for emotion communication. This lack of multi-modal data is a major limitation of the study. The small sample size also limited the robustness of the statistical tests and the generalizability of the study. In particular, the case study design can make no generalizable claims. However, despite the many limitations, case study offers a vantage point to explore complex phenomenon and trace change over time (Duff, 2008; van Lier, 2005), and to generate analytical generalization or insights that advance theories and new avenues for research (Yin, 2014). As L2 emotion research is still in its infancy, case study can be an appropriate methodology for the purpose of theory advancement and for tracing future avenues of inquiry.

Now I reflect on the limitations presented by the design and rating of the video description task. First, the task was relatively difficult for learners, requiring them recall the details in the video, use a L2 to retell the story, and at the same time interpret and express the
emotions of the characters. The process of recognition and expression of emotion were not separated, which did not allow for distinction between the two processes. Future research can include English retelling to examine participants’ understanding of emotions in the video, before testing their ability to do so in Chinese. Also, although the task elicited a function that prevails in study abroad (i.e. emotion in narrative), it did not reflect the interactional complexity of actual homestay or dormitory talk. More fundamentally, although other parts of the Mandarin Awareness Interview elicited students’ metapragmatic awareness of using emotion-related language, the task did not. Performance alone does not tell the whole story. For one thing, metapragmatic awareness is also an essential component of one’s pragmatic knowledge (Henery, 2015; Kinginger, 2008; van Compernolle & Kinginger, 2013). Moreover, Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) pointed out that the same performance may disguise distinctive mental processes and developmental levels. Future research can include students’ reflection, or stimulated-recall, of their linguistic choice and understanding of the scenarios, in order to tap into their pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and conceptual knowledge. In terms of rating of the task, the present study did not provide native speaker comparative data, and therefore cannot establish a baseline of the measures. Also, the fact that only native speakers’ judgment was involved presented a problematic native speaker bias. The ultimate goal for a L2 learner to speak like a monolingual native speaker dismisses the fundamental difference between bilinguals and monolinguals; and native speakers have different judgments on appropriateness (e.g. Ortega, 2014). The multilingual background of the three raters in the study, and the design of the resolving conference among the three mitigated such bias. Last but not least, from an activity theory perspective, the task might not be approached as the same activity as I planned, across participants, or even “within the same subject at different times” (Coughlan & Duff, 1994, p. 174). Similar to JDB in Coughlan and
Duff (1994), the participants in my study, during the task and also other parts of the Mandarin Awareness Interview, engaged me by, for example, asking questions and eliciting confirmation.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, the present dissertation study has contributed to the current literature in the following ways. It investigated a fundamental aspect of everyday interaction that is little discussed in L2 research – emotion language and communication, and revealed the complexity involved in developing a L2 emotion repertoire. The study combined mixed-methods and multiple case designs, which allowed for more comprehensive examination of sojourners’ L2 learning and global study abroad experience. By adopting Vygotskian sociocultural theory, the dissertation reflects recent developments in second language acquisition, contributes to the growing but scant body of study abroad research in this theoretical tradition, and illustrates the depth of analysis this framework enables. Inclusion of interactional data and perspectives from all parties concerned allowed for an extensive and thorough account of the students’ linguistic development trajectories and quality of experience. Comparison of quantitative and qualitative data also greatly strengthened the findings of the study. Lastly, the dissertation also contributed to our understanding on minority students studying abroad and learning Chinese.

To look ahead, I propose three avenues of research. First, future research can trace individual learners ontogenesis, including L2 development, in a longer time frame across the contexts of at-home classroom and study abroad (see e.g. Lee, 2017). Secondly, instead of merely examining linguistic performance, future research projects can explore how concepts (e.g. metaphor) and metapragmatic awareness develop over time. Last but not least, researchers can conduct interventional studies with the aim to promote language and cultural awareness.
development in study abroad contexts: for example, classroom activities or projects that bridge the gap between in- and out-of-class learning, and training intervention to local roommates and host families.
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Appendix A

Mandarin Awareness Interview

Overview
- Approximately 30-40 minutes
- Audio recorded
- Format:
  - Open-ended questions
  - Video description
  - Situations
  - Vocabulary

Are you ready?
- If you are ready, we can start the questionnaire.
- Recording starts.
- Could you please state your full name in English and Chinese, if available?

1. Open-ended questions
- The interviewer, Qian, will ask you two questions about your experience. Say as much as you can.
- Please relax.

2. Video description
You will watch a 2-minute video. Please describe the story in Chinese. Describe in as many details as you can, especially people’s feelings. I will play the video twice.
3. Situations
I will give you 4 situations and ask you a few questions.

Situation 1
- You got accepted to a school that you really like.
- Variation: You are offered a job that you really want.

Situation 2
- You just lost your wallet/ purse.

Situation 3
- There is a project deadline tomorrow, and you still have a lot to finish.

Situation 4
- Your favorite sport team, e.g. college football team/professional soccer team/department team, just lost its game today.

4. Vocabulary
Part 1:
Do you know what the expressions mean? Can you tell me when can you use it?
Overview

- 30 minutes
- Answer in Chinese (Section 2 may also require English)
- Format:
  - Open-ended questions
  - Situations
  - Video description
  - Vocabulary

1. Open-ended questions

- I will ask you two questions about your experience. Say as much as you can.

2. Situation

- I will give you 4 situations, and ask you to do the following:
  - Please recall if you have the same experience; briefly tell me what happened and how you felt.
  - Did you tell anybody? What did you say?

1. There is an assignment deadline tomorrow, and you still have a lot to finish.

- Please recall if you have the same experience; briefly tell me what happened and how you felt.
- Did you tell anybody? What did you say?

2. You just lost your wallet/purse.

- Please recall if you have the same experience; briefly tell me what happened and how you felt.
- Did you tell anybody? What did you say?
3. Your favorite sport team, e.g. college football team/professional soccer team/department team, just lost its game today.
   - Please recall if you have the same experience; briefly tell me what happened and how you felt.
   - Did you tell anybody? What did you say?

4. You got accepted to a school that you really like.
Variation: You are offered a job that you really want.
   - Please recall if you have the same experience; briefly tell me what happened and how you felt.
   - Did you tell anybody? What did you say?

3. Video description
You will watch a 2-minute video. Please describe the story in Chinese in as many details as you can, especially people’s feelings. I will play the video once.

4. Vocabulary
Part 1:
Do you know what the expressions mean? Can you tell me when can you use it?

• 担心 dānxīn
• 讨厌 tǎoyàn
• 发脾气 fā píqì
• 有兴趣 yǒu xìngqù
• 烦 fán
• 着急 zháojí
• 有意思 yǒu yìsī
• 难过 nánɡuò
Part 2:
Please come up with a sentence with each of the following words.

- 好玩儿 hào wánr
- 生气 shēngqì
- 害怕 hàipà
- 兴奋 xìngfèn
- 伤心 shāng xīn

谢谢！
Appendix B

Interview Protocol

Sojourner participants

1. Initial Background Interview:
   a. Demographic information:
      o Name
      o Contact information
      o Gender
      o Age
      o Major/year into university
   b. Background information: Can you talk more about your background? Where did you receive your previous education? What’s the dominant language in the instructional settings and everyday life? What’s the primary language at home with your parents?
   c. Have you had any study abroad experience before? Where?
   d. What are the best and worst aspects of your previous experience?
   e. How does the travel experience influence your language learning experience?
   f. What are the languages that you are able to speak or have learned so far?
   g. Why do you choose to study Chinese?
   h. Why did you decide to go to China this semester?
   i. What are your expectations about China and the study-abroad program?
   j. What kind of relationship do you wish to build with local people, especially your tutor, roommate or host family members?
2. Mid-semester Interview:
   a. How is your sojourn so far?
   b. What is the best and worst aspect of your study abroad so far? What about your
dorm living, or host family living?
   c. Do you observe any difference before you come here and after spending some
time here?
   d. How would you characterize your relationship with local people, especially your
tutor, roommate or host family members?
   e. Stimulated recall of some excerpts in audio recordings

3. End-of-semester Interview:
   a. What did you find most rewarding in your living with a Chinese roommate or a host
family?
   b. Are there some awkward moments or incidents that occurred during your dorm
life/homestay?
   c. Are there some amusing incidents that you would like to share with me?
   d. What is the best and worst experience studying abroad in China?
   e. What have you learned personally from living in a Chinese home?
   f. How would you characterize your relationship with local people, especially your
tutor, roommate or host family members?
   g. How did travelling in China help you understand the Chinese culture in general?
   h. How did your travels in China help you gain knowledge of yourself?
   i. What kinds of linguistic and cultural experiences did you have that would be difficult
to acquire in a classroom?
j. Do you have some suggestions for future students who will study abroad in China?

Chinese Host Family

1. Initial Background Interview
   a. Demographic information
      o Name
      o Contact information
      o Gender
      o Age
      o Occupation
      o Education level
   b. Why did you decide to live with an American student this semester?
   c. Have you ever hosted an American student? What was your experience?
   d. What is your expectation about living with an American student?
   e. How much time and what kind of activities do you plan to spend and do with your hostee? What do you think will most benefit the student?
   f. What kind of relationship do you wish to develop with your hostee (e.g. friends, tenant, parent/sibling)?

2. Mid-semester Interview
   a. How is the living going so far?
   b. How much time has you spent together each day?
   c. What do you usually do together? What do you usually talk about?
   d. What do you enjoy best so far?
   e. Is there anything that you do not understand?
f. What have you noticed about the progress the students have made?

g. How would you characterize your relationship with your hostee?

3. End-of-semester Interview

a. How do you think the semester goes? How much time has you spent together each
day?

b. What was the highlight of the semester?

c. Was there any embarrassing moments? Any funny moments?

d. What linguistic aspects have your hostee make or not make progress in?

e. Do you have some suggestions for future students who are studying abroad and
students who live with a Chinese host family?

f. How did living with an American student help you understand Chinese language and
American culture?

g. How would you characterize your relationship with your roommate? Do you observe
any changes throughout the semester?

Chinese Roommate

1. Initial Background Interview

a. Demographic information

   o Name

   o Contact information

   o Gender

   o Age

   o Major/year into university

   o Why did you decide to live with an American student this semester?
o Have you ever lived with an American student? What was your experience?

o What is your expectation about living with an American student?

o How much time and what kind of activities do you plan to spend and do with your roommate? What do you think will most benefit the student?

o What kind of relationship do you wish to develop with your roommate (e.g. friends, sharing a room)?

2. Mid-semester Interview

   a. How is the living going so far?
   b. How much time has you spent together each day?
   c. What do you usually do together? What do you usually talk about?
   d. What do you enjoy best so far?
   e. Is there anything that you do not understand?
   f. What have you noticed about the progress your roommate have made?
   g. How would you characterize your relationship with your roommate?

3. End-of-semester Interview

   a. How do you think the semester goes? How much time has you spent together each day?
   b. What was the highlight of the semester?
   c. Was there any embarrassing moments? Any funny moments?
   d. What linguistic aspects have your roommate make or not make progress in?
   e. Do you have some suggestions for future students who are studying abroad and students who live with a Chinese roommate?
   f. How did living with an American student help you understand Chinese language and American culture?
g. How would you characterize your relationship with your roommate? Do you observe any changes throughout the semester?

Chinese Tutor

1. Initial Background Interview
   a. Demographic information
      - Name
      - Contact information
      - Gender
      - Age
      - Major/year into university
   b. Why did you decide to tutor an American student this semester?
   c. What is your Chinese teaching and tutoring experience?
   d. What is your expectation about tutoring an American student?
   e. What do you plan to discuss with the student for each tutoring session? What do you think will most benefit the student?
   f. What kind of relationship do you wish to develop with the student (e.g. friends, tutor-tutee)?

2. Mid-semester Interview
   a. How is the tutoring session going so far?
   b. Could you please describe a routine tutoring session, e.g. time spent together, activity, content of discussion?
   c. Do you have casual chatting time for each tutoring session? If yes, what do you usually chat about? in English or Chinese?
d. What have you noticed about the progress the students have made?

e. Do you and your tutee have contact outside of tutoring sessions?

f. How would you characterize your relationship with the student?

3. End-of-semester Interview

a. How do you think the semester goes? How much time have you spent together each week?

b. What linguistic aspects have your tutee make or not make progress in?

c. Do you have some suggestions for future students who are studying abroad and students who attend tutoring sessions?

d. What are the best and worst aspects of your experience?

e. How did tutoring an American student help you understand Chinese language and American culture?

f. How would you characterize your relationship with the student?

Program staff

1. What is the general philosophy of the program?

2. What are the general demographics of students in this program?

3. Is there any change in study abroad programs in recent years, e.g. number of students, major orientation?

4. Study abroad is usually considered the most effective way of learning. What is your opinion on this? Or what language aspects do you think would enjoy the most progress?

5. What is the linguistic focus of this program?

6. What do you think the challenge is for students studying abroad in China?

7. What is the teaching philosophy of this program?
8. What do you think are the most challenges in terms of living in China for students? How do you help them overcome this difficulty?

9. What are some suggestions that you would give future study abroad students before they come to China?

10. How students are arranged in terms of housing?

11. Which housing option do you think benefit the students most?

12. What are some regular extracurricular activities students enjoy here?

13. What benefit do you think these activities have on students’ understanding of China and Chinese language?

14. What are some suggestions that you have for language teachers in the US in order for them to better prepare students?

15. What is the best and worst part of teaching American students who study abroad here?
Appendix C

Rating Sheet Sample

Instruction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness</td>
<td>Least appropriate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Most appropriate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammaticality</td>
<td>Least grammatical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Most grammatical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Student # 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion expression</th>
<th>Appropriateness</th>
<th>Grammaticality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>可爱</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>难过</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>压力</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>寂寞</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>高兴</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix D

### Transcription convention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-</th>
<th>truncated word</th>
<th>&lt;F F&gt;</th>
<th>loudness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>speech overlap</td>
<td>&lt;P P&gt;</td>
<td>softness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>appeal</td>
<td>&lt;@ @&gt;</td>
<td>laugh quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>elongation</td>
<td>&lt;X X&gt;</td>
<td>uncertain hearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H)</td>
<td>inhalation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>indecipherable syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@</td>
<td>laughter</td>
<td>&lt;HI HI&gt;</td>
<td>high pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>rise</td>
<td>&lt;CRY CRY&gt;</td>
<td>crying voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!</td>
<td>booster, higher pitch</td>
<td>&lt;CR CR&gt;</td>
<td>growing louder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(())</td>
<td>researcher’s comment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Puppies Pre

所以 我觉得 这个男人和他的女朋友我觉得 他们 打算去一个旅游行 旅游行是 travel

(Qian: 嗯) 对 所以他告诉他们的父母 这个节日我不会 我不回家 所以他们的父母 我觉得他们感觉很难过 因为 他们不看他们的孩子 所以他们开车 到国际机场的时候 这个男人看起来很 有很多压力 因为 他们他有很多不好的梦 梦是什么 他的 他们的父母看起来很 寂寞 寂寞 yeah 寂寞 所以他 感觉 我是一个不好的小孩子 我得回家 所以他们回家吃饭 他们都很

兴 yeah (183 words)
Puppies Post

所以 这个 这两个人他们有一个去旅行的机会 可是他他们当然要去 可是 所以 我等一下
他告诉他们的父母 哦 我不可以回家 所以他们的父母看起来很难过 然后他们开车到飞机机场 不知道 感觉很 我不知道怎么说 guilty 可是觉得他感觉很 可以说责任 因为他可以去旅行 可是他的父母会感觉非常 孤独 所以 他们回家 跟他们的父母 吃晚饭 然后 所有人很高兴 就是这个 (150 words)
David Pre

这个是关于一个一个人他他他赢了一个比赛可能他收收到了免费的飞机票他所以他的打算他的新年的打算去澳大利亚可是他去去澳大利亚以前给给父母打电话说他不会回家为了过年他不会回家过过节过节所以可是他的爸爸很很难过有点儿伤心所以他说你对他妈妈说你妈妈说可是这个这个男人受不了所以他在可是他还还打算去澳大利亚可是他开开车的时候哦我忘了他在睡觉觉的时候有一个不好的梦梦想不好梦这梦里面他去澳大利亚玩儿一下可是他的父母在在一起没有家家人家庭我知道在中国家庭最重要所以他他知道他的父母很很难过所以他开车到飞机场的时候他变了他的想法他决定去回家看看他的父母过节过节所以一到他的家的时候他发现他的父父亲和母亲的微笑是最重要的东西最重要的事情还有他只他的意思是家庭还有孝敬孝敬是最重要的这是他的差不多的描述得我的最最最好的办法 (359 words)
David Post

这个这个故事讲的两个两个可能他们是 丈夫和太太 或者男女朋友 他们他他们在 他们在 一个饭馆或者一个活动的时候 他们赢了一个比赛 得到到 得 获 怎么说 得得到吗 得到了两两张照片 可能是一个免费的 应该是免费的一个奖 一项奖 他们 所以他们 然后他们告诉他的父母 我们 春节的时候他们会不会跟跟父母过春节 他们会去澳大利亚 所以他们他们 会去澳大利亚澳大利亚旅行 可是他们他跟他的爸爸打电话 他给爸爸打电话 可是爸爸 当然 想每一个爸爸不想给告诉告诉他的太太这么不好的信息信息 所以他说 他对孩子说 你你告诉你的妈妈 我我听不懂妈妈说了什么可是 好像她很她很生气 或者很很失望 所以她下一天 天他们或者那那天晚上 他们在睡觉的时候 他有不好的 怎么说 可以说坏坏梦 做坏梦 所以他 他的在他做梦的时候 他在澳大利亚旅行 在酒吧玩儿一下 跳舞什么的 可是他的他的父母 都在可能是北京 或者是一个很冷的地方 他们 他们很 冷很 孤独 所以所以可能这这个梦 想对他有大的影响 所以他们 可是他们仍然在准备去澳大利亚 他们在开 开车时候 开车到 飞飞机场 他他靠近靠近飞机场 然后他转车 还有这个小动物 这个这个宠物它 它 可以说 他让它消失 不知道怎么说 rip off 所以他他这个这个 镜头的的意思是他决定 去去北京或者 别的 他他的父母的家 家庭 房房子 过过春节 然后 可是 他 可能他 没没告诉他的父母 所以他们 到了 父母的家 的时候 妈妈很很惊讶 那时候 他这个男男男的人物说 他他不管 他他发现 了 最好最漂亮的风风景不是沙漠 不是 不是澳大利亚 是他的他的爸爸妈妈的笑话 所以他的意思 是 看看父母很高兴 1 是让他他感觉很舒服 很很高兴 2 所以 这这个 这个故事 表示 写的是 中国人对 中国人那么重视 家庭 他们他们的家庭观念 是 可能是在人人生中最重要的

(674 words)
Audrey Pre

所以 这个故事有一个丈夫和他的太太 所以他们要在春节的时候 他们要去澳大利亚去旅游 什么的 出去玩 可是 所以他们赢了那个飞机票 我不知道 所以那个丈夫给他他自己的父母 打电话 所以他可以告诉他们 哦 我们我们不回家 过春节 所以 他们的父母很不高兴 所以 可是那个丈夫 有一个不好的梦想 所以他起床 和他很丢三落四的 所以他 他然后决定他 和太太应该应该过节日 过那个春节跟他们 他的他的爸爸妈妈 所以他们 去 做 他们开车去 那个飞机场 然后他们回 我觉得是中国的的时候 看到他们 他的父母 他很高兴 他们看那个 很很漂亮的照片 和看那个孩子放鞭炮 然后他们 坐一起来吃团圆饭 还有他们 他们都很高兴 因为 我觉得那个丈夫说 那个 跟你的家人一起 住一起 是世界上最美丽的美丽的事情 (297 words)
Audrey Post

所以是 所以 这件视频描述了一个丈夫和他的妻子的故事 所以他们他们赢了这样的 旅行的券 券 那个是一个差不多是一个比赛 所以他们获得去一个地方 我觉得是澳大利亚 旅行的得机会 所以他们要抓住这样的 这样的机会 然后 他们应该 给他们的父母打电话 所以他们 可以告诉他们 他们在在春节的时候不可以 或者不会 不会回家 所以 这是让 让他的他的 爸爸妈妈很很 悲痛 很很 难受 除了除了 难受以外 他的他的父母也感到一些 失望 但是我觉得 丈夫他妻子现出飞机场以以以前 他们他们才明白了那个那个父母的爱情 父母的亲情 会是是 世界上 最美丽的风景 所以他们 他们马上决定回家 所以他们可以跟跟他们的父母和和家人吃吃 团圆 饭等等 所以他的他的父母偶然 不是 是 他们他们回家的时候他的父母很很很高兴 很很 感谢他们来吃吃 吃 那个 春节 xie 夜饭 年夜饭 对 对 所以他们 他们都很 他们 那个那个主人公 先明白了那个那个家人的爱情 (356 words)
Liz Pretest

因为我知道那个开始的时候 他的好像是他女朋友或者太太 他 怎么说 win 对 他 对 他 成功
对 他成 可能成功一个 比赛 或者其他的事情 但是他 成功了一个票 去 去 好像 好像是 很 漂
亮的地方 有一个 海 海滩 还有 有很多晚会的机会 就这个 这个地方 很漂亮 但是 但是 在小
电影 小电影里 过年 过年 快到了 所以 那个 男性的 父母给他打电话 他问我他 他打算回来
但是他他以前说 啊 我不回 然后 他有一个梦想 是不好的梦想 因为他发现了 他应该回家 所
以 他和女朋友一起 他们一起去 他的父母家 这个让他们很 高兴 那个男性 他发现了 他父母
如果他回家 这让他父母有 最 高兴的感觉 (236 words)
Liz Posttest

所以在视频上 在视频上 那个年轻人他们 他们收到了一个一个 旅游机会 免费的旅游机会去澳大利亚 我的我的阿姨现在在澳大利亚 所以现在知道怎么去澳大利亚 所以他们他们收到了一个旅游 免费的旅游(去澳大利亚) 然后他们本来要去 然后他们 给 给 给他的家人 他的父母一个电话 告诉他们 他们会 他们不会回家 过新年好像 这是新年 春春节 春节 然后他可以听起来爸爸的难过呢 也听起来 可以听见妈妈的难过 他们都非常难过 也 because 是因为 是因为他的儿子不回 不回家过 过春节 然后呢 那个 那个儿子 他有一个梦 他有一个 梦 他 在 在他的梦 梦上 他 他发现了 他的 他的父母 他的父母 很想很想他们 所以他 可能好久没回家 所以这是 这是一个非常好的机会回家 所以他们 他们改变 那个旅行行 那个 旅行计划 旅行的安排 然后回 他回家 surprise 他的父母 他们非常非常高兴 1啊 他在那个事情 他也 他也看在 在墙贴贴上 贴着 贴上我们今天刚才学了 这个 这个语法 贴在墙上 是 他的 小年的照片 他的成就 他 他写的 写的信 然后他他知道了 他的父母 他为他的父母 他感感到嗯 好 something proud 感到很 proud 所以他们 然后他们 在最后面 他 他们一起吃团圆圆饭 都看起来非常明显啊 (442 words)
Appendix F

List of Audrey and Liz’s emotion expressions

Audrey’s emotion expressions in the corpus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion expression</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>有意思</td>
<td>you yisi</td>
<td>have meaning</td>
<td>interesting</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奇怪</td>
<td>qiguai</td>
<td>weird, odd</td>
<td>weird, odd</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>麻烦</td>
<td>mafan</td>
<td>troublesome</td>
<td>troublesome</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小心</td>
<td>xiaoxin</td>
<td>small heart</td>
<td>careful</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>舒服</td>
<td>shufu</td>
<td>comfortable</td>
<td>comfortable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>担心</td>
<td>danxin</td>
<td>bear heart</td>
<td>worried</td>
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<tr>
<td>兴奋</td>
<td>xingfen</td>
<td>happy happy</td>
<td>excited</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尴尬</td>
<td>ganga</td>
<td>embarrassed</td>
<td>awkward;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有兴趣</td>
<td>you xingqu</td>
<td>have interest</td>
<td>have interest in</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伤心</td>
<td>shangxin</td>
<td>hurt heart</td>
<td>heartbroken</td>
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<tr>
<td>爱</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>love</td>
<td>love</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>可爱</td>
<td>ke’ai</td>
<td>worthy of love</td>
<td>cute</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>心情</td>
<td>xinqing</td>
<td>heart situation</td>
<td>mood</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>满意</td>
<td>man yi</td>
<td>full meaning</td>
<td>satisfied</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>着急</td>
<td>zhaoji</td>
<td>anxious</td>
<td>anxious, rushed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>嫉妒</td>
<td>xianmu</td>
<td>envy</td>
<td>jealous</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

Liz’s emotion expressions in the corpus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>有意思</td>
<td>you yisi</td>
<td>interesting</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>高兴</td>
<td>gaoxing</td>
<td>happy</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
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<td>兴奋</td>
<td>xingfen</td>
<td>excited</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>想</td>
<td>xiang</td>
<td>miss</td>
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<td>麻烦</td>
<td>mafan</td>
<td>troublesome</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>奇怪</td>
<td>qiguai</td>
<td>odd, weird</td>
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<td>haipa</td>
<td>afraid</td>
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<td>ke’ai</td>
<td>cute</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>好玩</td>
<td>haowan</td>
<td>fun</td>
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<tr>
<td>宝贝</td>
<td>baobei</td>
<td>treasure</td>
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<tr>
<td>享受</td>
<td>xiangshou</td>
<td>enjoy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>难过</td>
<td>nanguo</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ai</td>
<td>love</td>
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<td>kaixin</td>
<td>happy</td>
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<td>舒服</td>
<td>shufu</td>
<td>comfortable</td>
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<tr>
<td>抱怨</td>
<td>baoyuan</td>
<td>complain</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>情绪</td>
<td>qingxu</td>
<td>mood</td>
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<tr>
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<td>fangxin</td>
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<td>naixin</td>
<td>patient</td>
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<td>无聊</td>
<td>wuliao</td>
<td>boring</td>
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<td>好奇</td>
<td>haoqi</td>
<td>curious</td>
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<td>活力</td>
<td>huoli</td>
<td>energy</td>
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<tr>
<td>尴尬</td>
<td>ganga</td>
<td>embarrassing, award</td>
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<td>fangsong</td>
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<td>shengqi</td>
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<td>gua</td>
<td>*revenges</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Curriculum Vita

Qian Wu

Education

Pennsylvania State University (University Park, PA) 2012/08-2018/05
Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics

University of Wisconsin – Madison (Madison, WI) 2010/09-2012/08
M.A. in Applied English Linguistics

Sun Yat-sen University (Guangzhou, China) 2006/09-2010/06
B.A. in English (Translation)

Publications


