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**Text World Theory and stories of self:
A cognitive discursive approach
to identity**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a text-worlds-approach to the study of linguistic identity in discursive interaction. It focuses on how settled Chinese migrants in Sheffield, who migrated predominantly from Hong Kong and the New Territories, construct their identities linguistically. To this extent, linguistic interview data is analysed with the use of the conceptual framework Text World Theory (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999). As such, this thesis has three central aims: to extend the use of Text World Theory by applying it to spoken discourse; to examine the ways in which people linguistically represent themselves and talk about their life experiences; and to provide insight into the narratives of Chinese migrants and their families in Sheffield in particular.

The linguistic data used in this thesis has been collected through 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork at a Chinese complementary school in Sheffield, UK. Based on the outcome of the analytical investigations of linguistic interview data, I aim to offer several original contributions. Firstly, I hope to provide a better understanding of migrant lives, by investigating the narrated experiences of Chinese migrants and their families. Secondly, I offer Text World Theory as a suitable framework for the study of linguistic identity. I extend the framework to the relatively unexplored domain of spoken discourse, synthesising a discursive approach to identity (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2005) with a Text World Theory approach (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999). I demonstrate that Text World Theory can explain the complex and multi-layered nature of identity through the scope it provides for tracing linguistic self-representation across multiple worlds. Finally, I show that the framework is particularly adept at synthesising macro-level analysis of discursive interaction with detailed micro-level analysis of linguistic choices and their conceptual consequences.

for Jessica

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and parameters

This thesis aims to make a substantial and original contribution to knowledge by offering a text-worlds-approach to the study of linguistic identity in discursive interaction. It focuses on how settled Chinese migrants from predominantly Hong Kong and the New Territories construct their identities linguistically. To this end, linguistic interview data is analysed with the use of the conceptual framework Text World Theory (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999). As such, this thesis has three main aims: to extend the use of Text World Theory by applying it to spoken discourse; to examine the ways in which people linguistically represent themselves and talk about their life experiences; and to provide insight into the narratives of settled Chinese migrants and their families in Sheffield in particular.

The first stated aim of this thesis focuses on the methodological framework of Text World Theory. The text-world approach to discourse was first proposed and developed by the late Paul Werth. His (1999) *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse* provides an extensive explication of the main tenets of the theory. The theory has since been expanded and developed by multiple Text World Theory scholars, such as Browse (2013), Gavins (e.g. 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2012), Hidalgo Downing (e.g. 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2003a), Lahey (e.g. 2004, 2006, 2007), Lugea (2012, 2013) and Whiteley (2010, 2011).

Text World Theory has been adopted in this thesis because it is my belief that the framework is particularly well suited to the study of spoken discourse. Firstly, it is a context-sensitive framework, which means it provides an excellent platform for the analysis of how contextual factors play a role in the processing and production of discourse. It incorporates the effects of immediate physical surroundings and participants' background knowledge on discourse processing (Gavins 2007a), which allows for an investigation into how Chinese immigrants negotiate various conflicting social, political and cultural influences in their interaction. Secondly, Text World Theory offers a cognitive approach to discourse production and processing and, as such, ensures that its account of language accords with the latest research on human cognition. The combination of the context-sensitive and the cognitive nature of the framework makes Text World Theory an ideal approach to analyse the interplay between different factors

involved in the production and comprehension of discourse. The theory is specifically suited to oral discourse because it makes a distinction between different conceptual levels and recognises the important interactions which take place between the situation of a discourse and its resulting linguistic and conceptual structures. As explained in Section 2.1, the three main conceptual levels of Text World Theory are labelled the discourse-world, the text-world and the modal-world. In addition, the use of Text World Theory to examine spoken interaction offers scholars scope to develop the model further. There has been little exploration into the area of spoken discourse so far (but see Lugea 2012 for a contrastive application of Text World Theory to oral narratives). This thesis contributes to the refinement and development of Text World Theory by applying it to discursive interaction.

The second and third aims of this thesis relate to identity. My research investigates how settled Chinese migrants and their families in Sheffield linguistically represent themselves and talk about their life experiences. Such an investigation is particularly relevant at a time when the Chinese community in the UK is undergoing change. In Chapter 3, I discuss shifting migration patterns from Hong Kong and mainland China, and I show that, although immigration from Hong Kong to the UK has declined steadily since the 1990s, immigration from mainland China has grown exponentially, and is still growing. This is in contrast to some other groups, such as migrants from the Caribbean, and South-Asian immigrants, whose migration was largely completed in the 1980s (Luk 2008: 208-209; Peach 1997). The new influx of Chinese immigrants with different backgrounds, who have migrated from other areas of China from Hong Kong, affects the experiences of those longer-settled Chinese migrants, and thus is also likely to affect identity formation and representation. The identity of settled Chinese migrants and their families is furthermore also likely to be affected by a number of other linguistic, socio-economic, and historic circumstances, such as the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China in 1997 (the ‘handover’) and their migration to the UK. The purpose of examining linguistic identity construction in this thesis, then, is to gain further insight into narrated life-experiences of migrant families and British-born Chinese people in Sheffield. Although the focus of this thesis is on Sheffield’s community specifically, the changes in the community described are likely to be found in the

wider UK context, which makes this research all the more valid. Finally, gathering insight into the lived experiences of migrants and those of an ethnic minority may positively affect relevant policy-making processes of migration and settlement.

It is also worth noting that examining the ways in which people *linguistically* represent themselves and talk about their life experiences is important, because language is undoubtedly central to what it means to be human. Rather than existing as a tool for simply conveying ideas, language has increasingly been recognised as being at the centre of who we are, how we see ourselves, where and how we belong, and the ways in which we relate to other people (cf. Joseph 2010: 9). The study of identity is necessarily related to the study of language more broadly, and this thesis contributes to research on language and identity by examining linguistic self-representation of Chinese (predominantly Hong Kong) migrants and their families in Sheffield.

Although a major contribution of this thesis is in the field of discourse and identity studies, it is also intended as an original contribution to the field of stylistics, and cognitive stylistics in particular. The reason for this is that identity is performed in language through *stylistic* choices, and the conceptual framework of Text World Theory that has been adopted, examined and extended in this thesis, has been developed primarily within these fields to date. Finally, the interdisciplinary approach advocated in this thesis promotes a closer integration of sociolinguistic, narratological, and stylistic perspectives. In many ways, these research disciplines are interlinked already. They are highly interdisciplinary fields that have mostly grown out of the same historical roots, share certain philosophical values, and/or are concerned with the same thematic issues. It is hoped that integrating perspectives from these respective fields will generate further insight into the complexities of language and identity. It is also hoped that the interdisciplinary focus of the thesis on the construction of (migrant) identity and narrated life experiences will be of interest to those studying identity in other fields, including the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and psychology.

1.2 Structure of this thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. The current chapter has introduced the aims of the thesis and explained its interdisciplinary basis. Chapter 2 explicates the main theoretical foundations underpinning the present study. This chapter

provides a fully integrated theoretical account of key concepts and frameworks underlying the ethnography and analyses presented in Chapters 3 to 6. Chapter 2 provides a detailed overview of Text World Theory, its history, context and governing principles. It also presents an overview of the research contexts within which this thesis should be placed and a theoretical discussion of the view of identity adopted in the present study.

In Chapter 3, the community under examination is described from an ethnographic vantage point. I outline the everyday practices of the community, and discuss participants' relationships to Chinese culture and the Chinese community in Sheffield, to the wider Sheffield community, and to Britain. Section 3.1 provides an overview of migratory movements of people from Hong Kong and China to Britain over time. Section 3.2 concentrates on the background of the Chinese community in the northern English city of Sheffield. In Section 3.3, I focus on the various methods of data collection used. Sections 3.4 to 3.6 provide a portrayal of the school in which fieldwork was undertaken, the participants that form part of this study, and the themes that developed out of the data. Chapters 4 to 6 provide detailed insight into the data that emerged out of the ethnography. In these three linguistic analysis chapters, the focus is narrowed from the broader community to three case studies. In each chapter, I explore the migratory experiences and self-representations of participants by providing a fine-grained linguistic analysis of transcripts of interview discourse. I draw on Text World Theory and theoretical concepts from a range of disciplines to uncover and further examine the linguistic identity positions taken up by participants in greater detail. The three chapters that constitute the linguistic analysis conducted in this thesis highlight the different ways in which participants use linguistic resources as vehicles for identity representation in face-to-face discursive interaction.

Chapter 4 features Mr Ng, a member of the Chinese community in Sheffield who migrated from Hong Kong to Sheffield in the 1970s. In Section 4.1, I first discuss the process of data collection and the ethnographic context in which the interview should be understood. Using Text World Theory, I then explain the underlying structure of the discourse-worlds created during the time of the interview and during analysis. I draw upon this discussion to argue for a more nuanced account of accessibility in Text World Theory. Furthermore, I show how Mr Ng's narrative reflects on, structures, and shapes his experiences as

a migrant to the UK. I also demonstrate how Mr Ng's narrative allows for listener involvement and the creation of empathy in the interaction. I posit that by creating multiple text- and modal-worlds, we create different versions of ourselves that each align differently to the discourse-world and the text-worlds created, as well as to the discourse-world participants.

In Chapter 5, I analyse the interview of a young British-Chinese male named Tak-Cheung. The Text World Theory approach I employ in this chapter, in combination with sociolinguistic analysis, allows me to uncover the textual and conceptual structures that mark the complexity of Tak-Cheung's identity linguistically. In the analysis, I focus on the use of the story-telling devices, world-patterning, and the notion of a blended version of self. I provide an overview of the text-world patterns in the interaction which highlight the socially-constructed and interactional aspects of the discourse analysed. I also discuss Tak-Cheung's use of linguistic expressions of emotions, and argue that expressions of emotions in discourse should be treated as epistemic modal-worlds in Text World Theory. I suggest Larreya's (2009) model as a useful framework to explore this further. My analysis in this chapter also reveals how Tak-Cheung performs his identity using multiple layers of discourse, ranging from micro-level socio-cognitive stylistic constructions to identity positions unfolding over the course of several stretches of talk. I also consider the authentication strategies (Bauman 1992; Bucholtz and Hall 2005) Tak-Cheung draws on in order to legitimise his identity.

Chapter 6 is chiefly concerned with the narratives of a British-Chinese female participant called Yàn. I argue that similarly to Tak-Cheung, Yàn takes up various identity positions, but ultimately positions herself as Chinese through a complex process of world-creation. The pattern of worlds and enactor positionings I uncover in this narrative points to the multiplicity of identity, and allows for further exploration of research participants' more deeply embedded layers of self. In this chapter, I also discuss Yàn's use of discourse markers and the notion of agency in relation to identity construction.

Chapter 7 provides a concluding chapter in which the main aims of this thesis are revisited and re-examined in light of arguments made in preceding chapters. Section 7.1 focuses on the central arguments made in this thesis and combines all of the conclusions which have arisen from previous chapters in order to provide a cohesive summary. Section 7.2 outlines the original

contributions made by the thesis. In this section the potential impact of the present study within a number of wider academic fields, including discourse studies and cognitive stylistics, is also discussed. Section 7.3 sets out the limitations of the thesis, and Section 7.4 explores possible avenues for future research that have emerged out of the present work.

2. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

2.0 Preview

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical foundations that underpin this thesis. In order to develop an integrated socio-cognitive approach to the study of language and identity, this chapter is necessarily lengthy. This thesis is primarily informed by Text World Theory (for key overviews see Werth 1999; Gavins 2007a), the analytical framework that is used to examine the discursive interaction in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. In Section 2.1, I briefly introduce Text World Theory, and explain the research context of cognitive linguistics, the broader discipline within which Text World Theory is positioned. In Section 2.2, I provide a more detailed explication of the text-world framework by critically discussing its central tenets and their development from the conception of Text World Theory up to present-day research. In this section I also argue for the advantages of applying the theory to a greater number and range of discourse genres and situational contexts. I continue to discuss the most recent developments to Text World Theory and examine potential avenues for future work in Section 2.3, arguing for the suitability of the theory to the analysis of discursive interaction. In Section 2.4, I explain the approach to identity taken in the present study. I particularly focus on the notions of ‘identity construction’ and ‘identity representation’ in relation to Text World Theory and research undertaken in this thesis.

2.1 Outline and research context

Text World Theory is a cognitive discourse theory. It was developed to enable the study of language in context. The theory is based on the premise that discourse reflects cognition, and that all human beings construct mental representations in their minds to process all language (Werth 1999: 50; for similar ideas within the cognitive sciences, see Halford 1993; Johnson-Laird 1983, 2001, 2010; Kintsch and van Dijk 1978; Schaeken et al. 1996; Schank and Abelson 1977; Thorndyke 1977; Yaxley and Zwaan 2006; Zwaan et al. 2004). In Text World Theory, these mental representations are called ‘worlds’. Text-world theorists argue that language shapes the kind of conceptual world a reader or hearer creates, directly affecting the conceptual processes used in the comprehension of meaning. The

aim of Text World Theory, then, is to describe the production and structure of the conceptual worlds created during language production and reception. Text-world theorists distinguish between three different conceptual world-types: the discourse-world, the text-world, and modal-worlds (Gavins 2007; Werth 1999). These reside at different conceptual levels, but all have a similar structure and contain similar elements (Gavins 2007; Werth 1999: 336).

Text World Theory was devised by Professor Paul Werth in the late 1980s. As a cognitive discourse theory, it is grounded in the cognitive sciences, and has especially strong links with cognitive linguistics and cognitive psychology. It has been particularly widely used within the field of cognitive poetics as an approach to the analysis of literary discourse, as it provides a means of tracing the conceptual worlds constructed by readers of literary texts. The theory also allows the context surrounding literary worlds to be examined, enabling the exploration of differing reader interpretations for the same text (e.g. Al-Mansoob 2005; Bridgeman 2001; Cruickshank and Lahey 2010; Gavins 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014; Gavins and Stockwell 2012; Giovanelli 2013; Hidalgo Downing 2000a, 2000c, 2002; Hoover 2004; Lahey 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007; McIntyre 2004; Nahajec 2009; Stockwell 2002, 2005, 2009; Whiteley 2010, 2011). Text World Theory has also been applied beyond literary analysis, such as to political discourse and newspaper articles (Browse 2013; Chilton 2004), the analysis of film (Lugea 2013), advertisements (Gavins 2007a; Hidalgo Downing 2003b; Marley 2008), multimodal texts (Gibbons 2008, 2012), route directions (Mendes 2005), and it has been proffered as a helpful framework in secondary education (Giovanelli 2010). In order to provide a fully comprehensive account of Text World Theory, it is important to examine the context in which the theory was established. In the following section, I provide a brief overview of cognitive linguistics, in which I show how Text World Theory is related to and continues to draw upon this scientific discipline.

2.1.1 Cognitive linguistics

Text World Theory is grounded in cognitive linguistics, which is an umbrella term for a set of linguistic approaches that originated in the 1970s as the result of a rapid increase in the amount of knowledge available about the human mind and brain, and an accompanying growing dissatisfaction with generative linguistics.

Whereas formal linguistics views language as governed by logical, modular and innate rules (see for example Chomsky 1965, 1988: 161), most cognitive linguists argue that language is governed by non-modular cognitive principles instead (e.g. Evans and Green 2006: 28; Langacker 2008). And whilst the aim of generativist linguists is to establish rules and properties which can account for, and which allow the generation of, all (and only) the ‘well-formed’ sentences of a language (Chomsky 1957, 1986; Newmeyer 1996), cognitive linguists focus on performance as an indicator of cognitive processes. Under the formalist approach to language, linguists pay attention to its observable structure, which has resulted in their belief that language is an innate system based upon a universally shared grammar. According to the cognitive approach, however, the distinction between competence and performance is unhelpful, because the way the mind works is directly related to the fact that we are embodied and interact with our environment in this way. In other words, ‘conceptual organisation within the human mind is a function of the way our species-specific bodies interact with the environment we inhabit’ (Evans and Green 2006: 50). This means that the human mind – and therefore also language – cannot be researched in isolation from human embodiment, according to cognitive linguists.

Cognitive linguistics has roots in artificial intelligence and the cognitive sciences. It is not a homogeneous framework, but rather a set of associated but different approaches to language – which includes Text World Theory – that are all governed by two main commitments:

1. The Generalisation commitment (Lakoff 1990)
 - a. The Generalisation Commitment is a commitment to ‘characterizing the general principles governing all aspects of language’ (Lakoff 1990: 40). It represents the search for principles of language structure that hold across all aspects of language. Whereas formalist approaches argue that universals in language are demonstrative of an innate knowledge of grammar, cognitive linguists argue that these universals can be explained by the existence of general cognitive principles which are shared by all humans and are fundamentally similar to humans’ experiences of the world (Lakoff 1990).
2. The Cognitive commitment (Lakoff 1990).

- b. The ‘Cognitive Commitment’ represents the view that principles of linguistic structure should reflect what is known about human cognition from cognitive linguistics and other disciplines, in particular from the other cognitive sciences (Lakoff 1990: 40).

Some of the key cognitive linguistic theories and models that have emerged over the last thirty years and adhere to these two main commitments include Lakoff’s theory of Idealised Cognitive Models (e.g. Lakoff 1987), Image Schemata (e.g. Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987), Frame Semantics (e.g. Fillmore 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985; Fillmore and Atkins 1992) Cognitive Grammar (e.g. Langacker 1986, 1987, 1991, 1999, 2000, 2008), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999), Mental Spaces Theory (e.g. Fauconnier 1994), and Conceptual Integration Theory (e.g. Fauconnier and Turner 2002). Based on these, and a number of other frameworks, Ungerer and Schmid (2006: 3) distinguish between three main ‘views’ within cognitive linguistics: the ‘experimental view’, the ‘prominence view’ and the ‘attentional view’. Although I find the research that is represented by these different approaches overlapping in aims and methodology to a considerable extent, Ungerer and Schmid’s (2006) distinction does capture some of the key differences between the various frameworks that comprise cognitive linguistics, and is therefore also helpful in clarifying the distinctions between a variety of apparently very similar concepts and terminology within the discipline, such as ‘category’ (e.g. Rosch 1975, 1977, 1978), ‘schema’ (e.g. Anderson and Pichert 1978; Rumelhart 1975; Schank and Abelson 1977; Johnson 1987) ‘frame’ (e.g. Fillmore 1975, 1985), ‘script’ (e.g. Schank and Abelson 1977) and ‘text-world’ (e.g. Fauconnier 1994; Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Fillmore 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985; Fillmore and Atkins 1992; Gavins 2007a; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Langacker 1987; 1999; 2000; Werth 1999). Whereas all of these terms are related to the organisation of knowledge and knowledge structures, they are not synonyms of each other. These terms all aim to explain how humans conceptually organise experience and comprehend and produce language, but they have different histories of origin and development, and they therefore differ in their foci.

Ungerer and Schmid’s (2006) first category, the ‘experimental view’, includes research which promotes a more empirical method of cognitive linguistics, based on objective or subjective measures of speakers’ experience

(Ungerer and Schmid 2006: 1-2). The work of Eleanor Rosch (1975, 1977, 1978) on categorisation and Lakoff and Johnson's research on metaphor (1980) falls under this approach.

The 'prominence' approach (Ungerer and Schmid 2006), by contrast, explains information selection within clauses; how and why within clauses some linguistic elements are more prominent than others (Ungerer and Schmid 2006: 2-3). It is based on concepts of profiling and figure/ground segregation (Langacker 1987). Fillmore's notion of 'frames' (e.g. 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985), which he introduced as a new way of understanding cognitive semantics, fits under this heading. Although originally relating to linguistic propositions only (Fillmore 1975), frames were later developed as cognitive structures that are not necessarily connected to linguistic description, but can also be innate or developed through experience (Fillmore 1985: 232). Fillmore provides the example of having frame-knowledge of the features of a human face as an illustration of such innate knowledge. Frames, however, are also triggered by linguistic features if these are in some way associated with a frame. According to Ungerer and Schmid (2006), frames belong in the 'prominence' approach within cognitive linguistics, because 'depending on where we direct our attention, we can select and highlight different aspects of the frame, thus arriving at different linguistic expressions' (Schmid and Ungerer 2006: 5). Similarly, different linguistic expressions can evoke different aspects of a frame.

Text World Theory could, on the whole, be seen to fall into the third approach to language and cognition, the 'attentional view' (Ungerer and Schmid 2006), although individual components of the framework draw upon several theories and ideas from the other two views. Work within the 'attentional view' category provides an explanation for why certain stages of an event are expressed in language whilst other stages are not. It is based on the assumption that the language we use reflects what we draw our attention to in the real world (Ungerer and Schmid 2006: 2-3). This category also houses the term 'scripts' (Schank and Abelson 1977). Scripts are similar to frames, but they are knowledge structures that describe frequently recurring sequences of events in a particular context. They are predetermined, stereotyped sequences of actions, although also subject to modification, depending on an individual's experience and development (Schank and Abelson 1977). Like scripts, 'text-worlds' (Werth 1999) also provide

an explanation for the ways in which what we express reflects what we draw our attention to, and how what we draw our attention to reflects what we express.

The term 'text-world' originally stems from the field of text linguistics (de Beaugrande 1980: 24; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 94; also see de Beaugrande 1984; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983; Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1985; Kintsch 1993; Kintsch and van Dijk 1978) in which Werth was active (Semino 2000; Werth 1995a, 1995b). Text World Theory in general is very much influenced by this linguistic approach. Text linguistics can be summarised as 'the study of how S (speaker/writer) and H (hearer/reader) manage to communicate via texts' (Dirven and Verspoor 2004: 180). Many of the terms incorporated in the Werth's version of Text World Theory are, for example, strongly linked to text linguistics, such as the concepts of 'cohesion', 'coherence' and 'common ground' (see Werth 1999). Text World Theory is more firmly grounded in cognitive linguistics though, because text-worlds are *conceptual* scenarios. Like scripts and frames, they are text-driven (cf. Gavins 2007a: 61; Werth 1999: 48, 149), which means that for the hearer or reader, different linguistic expressions evoke different worlds. Depending on the linguistic expressions and associated knowledge structures of the participants involved, conceptual worlds have the potential to be developed on a range of specificity; they can vary from sketchy and undeveloped representations to very rich conceptual worlds (Werth 1999: 72; Whiteley 2011: 24). What makes Text World Theory so unique in the field of cognitive linguistics is that the theory was developed for the study of language use in context. Although other theories in the field of cognitive linguistics share these starting points, they nevertheless often use made-up examples (e.g. Fauconnier 1985: 42; also see Werth 1992b: 243-246), or offer theories that only provide methods for analysing sentence-level features of language in use, and are not equipped to manage discourse. To illustrate this further, it is worth considering another cognitive model similar to Text World Theory at this point, namely Mental Spaces Theory.

Mental Spaces Theory is a conceptual theory that explains how humans, when they think and talk, build up conceptual configurations in their minds (Fauconnier 1997: 11). These conceptual figurations are called 'mental spaces' in Mental Spaces Theory. Thus, like Text World Theory, Mental Spaces Theory aims to account for online language production and comprehension. Mental spaces are

similar to text-worlds, in that both text-worlds and mental spaces are conceptual representations of states-of-affairs, configured by knowledge-structures and by particular language features (Fauconnier 1994: 16). Language features that establish new spaces or refer back to spaces created earlier in the discourse are termed ‘space builders’ (Fauconnier 1994: 17). These are very similar to what Werth (1999: 165, 180) terms ‘world-building elements’ (see Section 2.2.3). In Mental Spaces Theory, they are expressions that may create a new space or refer back to one already established in the discourse (Fauconnier 1994: 17). Space-builders might be prepositional phrases that contain adverbials of time and place (*in the pub*), adverbs (*really, possibly*), connectives (*either, or*), or subject-verb combinations (*Paul knows*) (Fauconnier 1994: 17). Typically, they also specify how they relate to other mental spaces. This can be done syntactically (through specifying relations within a sentence) or can be pragmatically (through an inference process). Mental Spaces Theory has been used especially for the purpose of discovering ‘structure projection between mental spaces’ (Fauconnier 1997: 37), or, in other words, the connection between different mental spaces. Fauconnier uses mental spaces to trace anaphora and counterfactuals across these domains, in order to shed light on how cross-domain connections are key to ‘producing, transferring and processing meaning’ (Fauconnier 1997: 37). Mental spaces also typically play a role in a process called blending. This is a process whereby components of two or more mental spaces blend together to create a new, blended, space. This blended space accounts for the creation of new meaning that is different from the individual components in the input spaces it derived from. The process of blending is central to Conceptual Integration Theory (e.g. Fauconnier and Turner 2002), which aims to reveal the basic cognitive process for how we create new meaning (Wales 2011: 46). The process of blending has been adapted for Text World Theory by Gavins (2007a) and Browse (2013), and is used in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.1) and Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.6) in this thesis.

Although Mental Spaces Theory is a cognitive theory, it very much focuses on semantic and pragmatic rules and truth-conditions related more to formalist approaches to language. Werth finds Mental Spaces Theory unsatisfactory as a comprehensive discourse theory, because of a lack of underlying theoretical underpinnings, and because the theory limits itself to

sentence-level analysis, in which the sentences are made up for the purpose of explaining the theory (Werth 1999: 77). The latter point of criticism does not only apply to Mental Spaces Theory, but can be extended to Langacker's work on idealised cognitive models and figure/ground segregation as well (Werth 1999: 76-78). Text World Theory focuses more on longer stretches of discourse. In the following section, I present the theoretical framework in detail.

2.2 Preliminaries, tenets, and theoretical development

Text World Theory was originally developed by the late Paul Werth in the late 1980s and 1990s (see Werth 1986, 1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b, 1999). Werth's work in the period prior to his development of Text World Theory was already concerned with the study of language in context. Elements of earlier work, such as his work on determiners (Werth 1980), anaphora (Werth 1984), and tenses (Werth 1981), as well as later work on presuppositions (Werth 1986, 1993) and conditionals (Werth 1992a, 1997a), were eventually incremented into his conception of Text World Theory.

In Werth's work *Focus, Coherence, and Emphasis* (Werth 1984) for example, Werth argues for a discursive approach to language as opposed to the more commonly used sentence-based approach. He states that the wider context in which discourses and texts are produced and understood is vital to their analysis and the fact that this is challenging should not be seen as an excuse for dismissing context altogether in the study of text (Werth 1984: 6). This view underpins the principles of Text World Theory as well. Werth explicated the core tenets of Text World Theory in a series of published articles (Werth 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b) and was still in the process of editing the manuscript of a monograph explicating Text World Theory when he died. *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse* (Werth 1999), which was to become his most influential work, was published posthumously.

Werth's aim through his text-world approach to discourse analysis was to create a linguistic theory based on phenomena 'which actually occur' (1999: 1). He wished to develop a theory based on *actual* language use that was grounded in context, as opposed to a theory in which language was abstracted from context for the purpose of analysis. He emphasises the importance of context throughout *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse* (e.g. Werth 1999: 1-3, 17, 47).

He also acknowledges the difficulties associated with the study of context, but contends that it cannot be ignored in researching language, which is ‘intimately bound up with human experience’ (Werth 1999: 19). In his description of context, he furthermore emphasises the importance of ‘real context’ (Werth 1999: 2). This conceptualisation of context emphasises its physical reality, and includes discourse participants in some physical setting, as well as the ‘kinds of notions and objects which are not necessarily explained verbally’ (Werth 1999: 2).

With the resulting framework, Werth claimed to have devised a model capable of accounting for *all* cognitive processes behind the production and interpretation of all discourse types (see Werth 1999: 17, 85; and also Gavins 2007a: 7). On page 17 of his monograph, for example, (in a playful reference to Berkeley’s (1710) *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*) he claims that the subject matter of his book is ‘no less than “all the furniture of the earth and heavens”’ (Werth 1999: 17). Scholars have been eager to test the claims Werth made about his approach, and, since his death, his theory has been researched and augmented by a number of different scholars. The most comprehensive of these works is Gavins’ (2007a) introduction to Text World Theory, in which she explains the core tenets of the theory, applies it to a number of different texts, ranging from advertisements to instructional texts, to political discourse (see also Chilton 2004; Hidalgo Downing 2003b; Marley 2008) and prose fiction (Gavins 2007a). She makes various amendments to Werth’s original theory (see Section 2.2.5).

Overall, Text World Theory has been applied extensively to prose fiction (Al-Mansoob 2005; Bridgeman 2001; Gavins 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2010, 2012, 2013; Hidalgo Downing 2000a, 2000c; Hoover 2004; Whiteley 2010, 2011), poetry (Gavins 2007b, Gavins 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014; Gavins and Stockwell 2012; Giovanelli 2013; Hidalgo Downing 2002; Lahey 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007; Nahajec 2009; Stockwell 2005, 2009), and drama (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010, McIntyre 2004). The theory has furthermore been applied to political discourse and newspaper articles (Browse 2013; Chilton 2004), analysis of film (Lugea 2013), advertisements (Gavins 2007a; Hidalgo Downing 2000b, 2003; Marley 2008), multimodal texts (Gibbons 2008, 2012), route directions (Mendes 2005), and it has been proffered as a helpful framework in secondary education (Giovanelli 2010). The scholars cited above have revised different aspects of the

theory in a number of helpful ways. Interestingly, although the Text World Theory has been applied to a wide variety of different genres, it has not been applied extensively to face-to-face conversation, even though Werth takes face-to-face discourse to be the ‘prototypical discourse type’ (Werth 1999: 84-85). One of the key aims of this thesis is to address this area of relative neglect (see Chapter 1) and to establish the workability of the framework for this purpose. Text World Theory is a potentially attractive theory for the exploration of face-to-face interaction because it is in line with current approaches in the cognitive sciences on how we process and comprehend discourse, as explained in Section 2.1.1 of this thesis. In addition, the framework allows for fine-grained examination of the conceptual worlds that are produced through discourse, as will be explained later in this chapter. In the following section, I continue this review with an explanation of the core tenets of Text World Theory, starting with the three different types of conceptual worlds: the discourse-world, the text-world and the modal-world.

2.2.1 The discourse-world

The discourse-world is the immediate situation of production and interpretation of a given discourse (Werth 1995a: 51). In other words, it is the situational context surrounding a speech event in which participants are engaged (Werth 1999: 83, 207). Werth defines a situation as consisting of a location (l), time (t), and containing various entities – including at least one human being – and the interrelationships between these (Werth 1999: 80-83, 362). Situations cannot be just a configuration of these elements though; for Werth, a situation does not come into being unless conceived of by a ‘salient identity’ (Werth 1999: 362), either through direct perception, memory, or imagination (Werth 1999: 84). ‘[A]ll discourses take place in some kind of discourse-world’ according to Werth (1999: 85). In other words: all discourses construct a discourse situation; the discourse-world is a conceptual construct. It is based on ‘resources of direct perception’ (Whiteley 2010: 29; Werth 1995a: 51), and can be seen as being close to what we call ‘reality’ (Werth 1999: 17, 284). It is not simply a matter of just ‘sense-input’ though, since the discourse-world also contains what participants infer from their perceptions (Werth 1995a: 52).

The participants who inhabit the discourse-world are language users – both producers and recipients – engaged in discourse (Werth 1999: 189). Producers of discourse can be speakers or writers, recipients of discourse can be listeners or readers. The discourse-world contains at least two participants and the discourse itself (Werth 1999: 83). It can be shared or it can be split, the latter of which is typically the case with written texts. In such situations the writer and the reader are not in the same place and time, yet there exists interaction between them via the written text (Werth 1999: 211; Gavins 2007a: 26), as well as telephone conversations or recorded discourse (Gavins 2007a: 26). Depending on the type of discourse, participants rely either more or less on background knowledge and imagination. If the discourse-world is split for instance, the participants will rely more heavily on these knowledge resources rather than on perception, because in split discourse-worlds the participants do not occupy the same time-zone and/or place (Werth 1999: 17).

Discourse participants often do not need to refer to what is surrounding them, or can do so in very little words. In some cases, however, discourses can be about the discourse-world itself: for example, *'Isn't this weather beautiful?'*. Elements of the discourse-world can also impinge upon discourse: for example, *'I had an amazing time in Greece – tea, coffee?'* (cf. Werth 1999: 85). Gavins notes that in the case of split discourse-worlds, impingement of the discourse-world on the discourse becomes less likely, because in such cases elements in the discourse-world are not mutually perceivable by the participants (Gavins 2007a: 26). Werth agrees that 'in normal cases, for both spoken and written discourse, the discourse-world is less important than the text-world' (Werth 1999: 211). The discourse-world can, however, be of immense analytical importance. As Gavins explains, it offers a valuable way of exploring 'how a range of contextual factors have the potential to impact upon both the construction and comprehension of a given discourse' (Gavins 2007a: 10).

Although speakers are not responsible for the objects in discourse-world (Werth 1999: 192), the parameters of the discourse-world are more or less tacitly agreed on by all participants in a discourse and, as stated earlier, the discourse-world contains all elements perceivable by the discourse participants, plus their inferences (Werth 1995a: 52). In order to make these inferences, participants bring their own 'baggage' to the discourse, which, according to Werth (1995a), is made

up of memories, knowledge, beliefs, dreams, hopes, intentions, and imagination. Figure 2.1 below, taken from Werth (1995a: 52) is a schematic overview of the different components that make up the discourse-world (Werth 1995a: 52).

Werth (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b, 1999) devotes only little explanation to how the different kinds of ‘baggage’ affect the discourse-world, and on exactly what principles they do so. He only reviews the process of knowledge incrementation. His lack of further consideration of the other mental faculties that affect the discourse-world is observed by Whiteley (2010: 30). She states that, considering Werth’s claims with regards to the experiential and contextual aspects of discourse processing, she is surprised that he does not discuss the other mental faculties that he included in his diagram of the discourse-world.

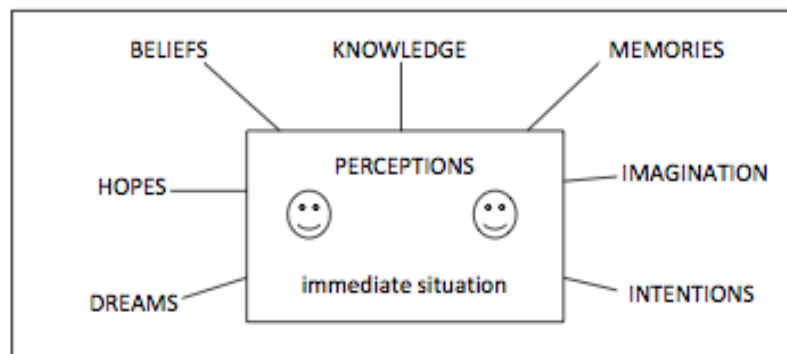


Figure 2.1 *The Discourse-World* (adapted from Werth 1995a: 52)

This could perhaps be partly explained by the abundance of research on knowledge and discourse within discourse studies. A great deal of research exists on how background knowledge affects discourse comprehension and production (e.g. Bransford and Johnson 1972, 1973; Cook et al. 2001; Kintsch 1993; Minsky 1975; O’Brien et al. 1998; Schank and Abelson 1977; Schneider and Körkel 1989; Schneider et al. 1989), but much less so on some of the other mental faculties Werth mentions. It is in fact not unreasonable to assume that some researchers use the concept of ‘knowledge’ as an overarching umbrella term to cover many different types of mental activity in the study of discourse comprehension and production. Several scholars tend to include some of Werth’s separate categories, such as, for example, memories and beliefs, in their conceptualisation of knowledge (see for example Collins and Quillian 1969; McKoon and Ratcliff 1992; Myers and O’Brien 1998). Likewise, many psychologists studying memories

tend to discuss knowledge as part of memory. Perhaps this is not surprising, as many of the mental faculties Werth mentions in fact are related or overlapping in the way they work in people's minds (cf. Mason and Just 2006: 792). This is also clear in research by Rapp and Gerrig (2002, 2006), who conducted experiments to measure readers' mental preferences towards story characters and events, in order to understand how these types of preferences interact with the background knowledge readers bring to the comprehension process. Werth's listed category of 'hopes' is addressed in this work, but is again understood in relation to or as part of knowledge.

Although these reasons go some way towards explaining Werth's limited account of how different resources affect the discourse-world, this is not to suggest that this is satisfactory. It is in fact remarkable that after the publication of Werth's work, research on Text World Theory (e.g. Gavins 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005a; Hidalgo Downing 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Stockwell 2002) continued for several years without significant attention being paid to this level of the framework (cf. Lahey 2005: 72; Whiteley 2010: 30). However, recently a number of Text World Theory scholars have started to focus their discussions more on the discourse-world. Lahey (2005), for example, researched the construction and functions of text-worlds in Canadian landscape poetry, and as such also investigated the relationship between text-world landscapes and national identity in English Canada, thus researching context at a local and a broader social and cultural level. In doing so, she focuses on the discourse-world level and on the contribution of knowledge and emotion in the discourse process. Also, Gavins (2007a), Stockwell (2009b, 2010) and Whiteley (2010, 2011) have gone on to examine Text World Theory and the role of emotion in discourse processing in more detail. Gavins (2007a) furthermore investigates the discourse-world level of Text World Theory in relation to beliefs, political views and personality.

In other more recent research, much of it completed after Werth's death, more detailed explanations of aspects that feed into the discourse-world, such as knowledge and memory, in particular, have been put forward. Werth's treatment of memory, for example, is very limited, whereas in other fields, such as in cognitive linguistics, psychology and neuroscience, memories are often seen as very complex conceptual structures. In psychology, memory is traditionally thought of as consisting of three separate categories that work in a serial fashion.

These are the 'sensory memory', the 'short-term memory' and the 'long-term memory' (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968). These categories form part of Atkinson's and Shiffrin's (1968) multi-store model. They serve different purposes and differ along at least two dimensions: span – which specifies how much information each category can hold, and duration – which indicates over how long a period of time a category can hold information (see Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968).

Since Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968), many researchers have worked with more than these three memory categories, however. They have included another category called 'working memory' in their research (e.g. Gathercole and Alloway 2006; Nadel and Hardt 2011; Unsworth and Engle 2007). The coinage of the term 'working memory' has been attributed to Miller et al. (1960; see Baddeley 2003), and was developed into a model by Baddeley and Hitch (1974). The working memory model is conceptually distinct from the multi-store model in that it views comprehension more as a parallel processing event, which means that stages of memory are used in a parallel fashion, as opposed to a serial fashion in the process of comprehension (Pastorina and Doyle-Portillo 2012: 223).

The distinction between the terms working memory and short-term memory is not always clear, however, and there has been considerable confusion in recent psychological research about this (cf. Cowan 2008: 323; Aben et al. 2012). Some researchers have replaced 'short term memory' for 'working memory' in their work (e.g. Randall 2007; Gray 2007), whilst others see working memory as part of short-term memory (e.g. Engle 2002; Nairne and Neath 2013) or vice-versa (Baddeley 1986, 2000; Cowan 2008). Cowan (2008) asserts this is mostly a matter of definition. The terms are conceptually different, however, to the extent that the model of 'working memory' views comprehension more as a parallel processing event.

Each separate element of memory is also seen to consist of several further sub-types by most psychologists. Long-term memory is, for example, traditionally divided into 'declarative' and 'procedural' memory, also called 'explicit memory' (referring to consciously available memories) and 'implicit memory' (referring to the use of objects or bodily movements, such as holding a pen or tying a shoelace). Most memory researchers then further subdivide declarative memory into 'episodic memory' and 'semantic memory'. Semantic memory consists of a person's knowledge independent of the time, place, or manner in which that

knowledge was acquired. Episodic memory, on the other hand, is context-dependent. Episodic memories are memories of specific (recent) experiences or events, placed in the context of a person's life (Snyder 2000: 75) Episodic memory is autobiographical memory, but sometimes autobiographical memory is seen as a separate classification as well, in which episodic memories are seen as the more generalised collection of our 'unique personal history' (Pastorino and Doyle-Portillo 2012: 218). Episodic memory might also turn into semantic memory over time, and these two types of memory often interact (Baars and Cage 2010: 327-329). Werth's more limited discussion on the mental faculty of 'memories' seems to be based on the notion of episodic memory, which comes closest to the layman's term of a memory as something remembered from the past. Werth nevertheless also includes other types of long-term memory in his discussion of knowledge. He describes what is understood as procedural memory largely in terms of functional knowledge and discusses semantic memory in terms of propositional knowledge (Werth 1999: 101-103).

It is important to discuss current views on memory fully in this thesis for two reasons: firstly, because the thesis examines discursive experiences of Chinese migrants and British-Chinese people in Sheffield. Autobiographical memory plays a key role in the narration of these experiences. In this respect, the thesis also aims to contribute to a more developed understanding of the different resources that affect the construction of the discourse-world and subsequent text-worlds (see Chapter 1). Secondly, it is important to mention the current most common treatment of memory in psychology, because if adapted in an explanation of the different resources that affect the discourse-world, it can augment Werth's (1999) treatment of the 'baggage' brought to bear on a language event by discourse-world participants. In the following section, I review Werth's conception of knowledge and the meta-principles he introduced to the framework in further detail in relation to discourse specifically.

2.2.2 Knowledge and meta-principles of discourse

According to Werth, three different types of knowledge bases are represented in a speaker's mind. These are the 'individual', the 'mutual', and the 'general' knowledge databases (Werth 1999: 94-95). A discourse participant 'goes into a discourse-event with a certain amount of knowledge' (Werth 1999: 47). During

the discourse-event, the specific knowledge that is needed to process the discourse at hand, is cued by the text (text-driven), and constructed in negotiation with other discourse participants. Because text (and language in general) is informative, knowledge gets transferred from one discourse participant's knowledge base into a shared knowledge base, as the discourse unfolds. This process is called incrementation. Werth has it represented in a rather basic diagram, displayed in Figure 2.2 below. Werth devotes an entire chapter to the description of knowledge, and the characterisation of the relationship between knowledge and discourse (Werth 1999: 94).

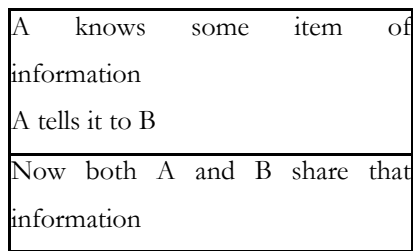
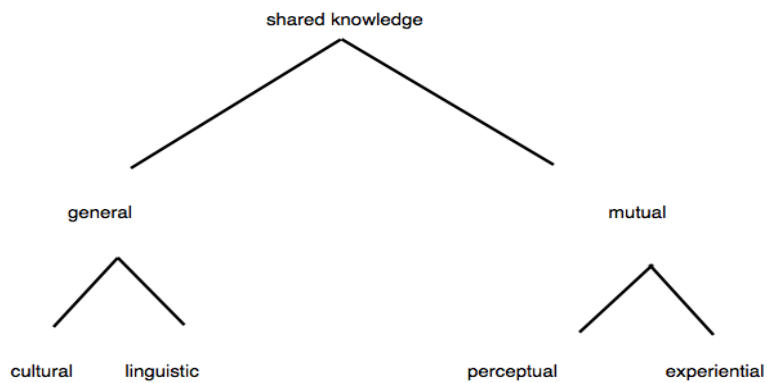


Figure 2.2 *Knowledge Incrementation* (adapted from Werth 1999: 95)

He sees these latter two categories as knowledge shared between participants in the discourse, and he further divides these categories into ‘cultural’, ‘linguistic’,



‘perceptual’ and ‘experiential’ knowledge. Figure 2.3 below provides a schematic overview.

Figure 2.3 *Categories of shared knowledge* (adapted from Werth 1999: 96)

As shown in the diagram, general knowledge consists of all the information which is in principle available to all individuals by virtue of their membership in various larger social groupings. This type of knowledge can be further subdivided into linguistic knowledge and cultural knowledge. Cultural

knowledge is all the non-linguistic knowledge available to individuals or groups in society. Linguistic knowledge is the knowledge underlying language use (Werth 1999: 98). Mutual knowledge is the result of knowledge incrementation in a given discourse, and is thus knowledge shared by participants engaged in that discourse (Werth 1999: 98). According to Werth, this knowledge is typically only shared by a small number of people, and based on assumptions rather than facts about each other's cognitive environments (Werth 1999: 95, 99). Mutual shared knowledge can also be further subdivided into two categories: namely perceptual knowledge and experiential knowledge (Werth 1999: 99). Perceptual knowledge consists of information retrieved from mutual perceptions of the immediate situation, which may potentially figure in the discourse (Werth 1999: 99). Experiential knowledge consists of shared experience between discourse participants (Werth 1999: 99). Werth furthermore distinguishes between different 'modes' of knowledge. The first of these is 'propositional knowledge', which tends to be 'consciously acquired and retrieved' (Werth 1999: 101). The second mode is 'functional knowledge', which is generally 'unconscious knowledge' (Werth 1999: 101) and related to knowing how to perform a certain task. An example of propositional cultural knowledge is: 'Belgium is a kingdom', whereas an example of functional cultural knowledge is knowing how to tie a shoelace (Werth 1999: 101-102).

Text World Theory employs the notion of 'frames' to explain larger patterns of knowledge (Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999). Frames, as used in Text World Theory, can be traced back to Minsky (1975), who defines a frame as a 'data-structure for representing a stereotyped situation' (Minsky 1975: 211). This notion, however, was developed further by Fillmore (e.g. Fillmore 1982, 1985) and is now more related to Lakoff's Idealised Cognitive Models (Lakoff 1987). Fillmore defines a frame as:

any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits (Fillmore 1982:111).

In Text World Theory, frames can be seen as 'situation-types, representing repeated world-configurations' (Werth 1999: 363). Werth thus connects frames to situations, but also states they differ because although a frame resembles a situation, it does not actually become one, because a situation does not exist irrespective of human intervention (Werth 1999: 108, 110). Situation-types are made up of situations which represent actual phenomena and are similar to each

other in the way that they can be seen as ‘recurrences of something previously experienced’ (Werth 1999: 111). Werth explains that when a situation is expressed in propositions and accompanied by relevant information from the participant’s knowledge store often enough, this creates a frame (Werth 1999: 112). However, each *individual* time a situation is expressed in propositions and accompanied by relevant information from the participant’s knowledge, this creates a text-world (Werth 1999: 112). Frames can be seen as generalisations, the more abstracted, generalised pattern of experience; they are the ‘distillation from a pattern of text-worlds’ (Werth 1999: 112).

Werth recognises the complexity of understanding how knowledge works in the mind, as well as the difficulty of establishing its relationship to discourse. He states, for example, that the links between cultural and linguistic knowledge are ‘multifarious and complex’, and that all cognitive systems are interlinked and may all provide input for each other (Werth 1999: 98). This is especially relevant in relation to discourse processing, which is a ‘complex high-level cognitive task in that many facets of cognition are involved’ (Mason and Just 2006: 792). The complex nature of knowledge and its relations to other aspects of the mind is clear from the discussion so far. The concepts used by Werth in his account of knowledge are strongly linked with those used more broadly in the psychological approach to memory, and are in some cases overlapping. I do not seek fault with Werth’s approach to knowledge as it stands, but would like to create awareness of the strong links between Werth’s approach and other psychological approaches to knowledge and memory (as for example explained in Baars and Cage 2010; Bernstein et al. 2012; Pastorino and Doyle-Portillo 2012), despite the differing terminology.

Werth also specifies how knowledge is used in discourse. He argues that discourse comprehension is text-driven. Participants construct text-worlds using all the information available to them, which is presented ‘first and foremost through the medium of the text’ (Werth 1999: 212), but is also based on inferences. This means that the language of the discourse determines which knowledge is to be retrieved and incremented by the participants in a discourse (Werth 1999: 47-48, 212). This is in accordance with the consensus of research on discourse processing and psycholinguistics, which views discourse comprehension as a combination of linguistic cues in the discourse, together with information

from readers' experience and background knowledge (Zwaan and Rapp 2006: 727; Barsalou 1999; Langacker 1986, 1987, 1991).

In explaining knowledge incrementation, Werth notes that discourse participants build up what he calls a 'common ground' through discourse (Werth 1993, 1999). The term 'common ground' is used in a number of different linguistic branches, such as for example pragmatics, discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics. Philosophers of language, like Stalnaker (e.g. 1974, 1978, 2002) and Grice (1989), use the term in their work on conversation. Brennan and Clark (1991) are well known for the development of a psycholinguistic theory about the common ground. Clark (1996) defines the common ground as shared information between participants in a conversation. His notion of the common ground has been used frequently in the theory of language, discourse processing, cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics and cognitive psychology (see for example Barr 2008; Clark 1985, 1992, 1996; Clark and Carlson 1982; Clark and Krych 2004; Clark and Marshall 1981; Clark and Schaefer 1989; Isaacs and Clark 1987; Horton and Keysar 1996; Karttunen and Peters 1975; Wilkes-Gibbs and Clark 1992).

Werth's use of the term seems, in principle, similar to Clark's, although Werth disagrees with some of the other terms Clark involves with the common ground. Clark, for example, incorporates presuppositions in the common ground (Clark et al. 1983). In an article that was published in 1993, Werth argues that the presupposition does not exist in a 'genuine discourse account of language' (Werth 1993: 91) and that instead, propositions should be seen as either in the common ground of the discourse, or absent from it (Werth 1993: 41). He divides the information in the common ground into foreground and background information. What is generally thought of as presupposition is background information, according to Werth (1993: 41). He defines the common ground as follows:

- (i) At any given point in the current discourse, all those propositions which have been expressed and tacitly accepted; together with:
- (ii) Any propositions evoked by (i) from general or mutual knowledge, though not necessarily expressed (Werth 1999: 49).

This 'agreed set of facts' (Werth 1999: 17) is the 'totality of information' which the discourse participants have together agreed to accept as relevant for their discourse through a process of negotiation (Werth 1999: 119). The common

ground is therefore constantly shifting as the discourse proceeds, because through the discourse new propositions are constantly added to it (Werth 1999: 120).

As Whiteley (2010: 42) points out, the concept of the common ground is problematic in Text World Theory. Whiteley argues that Werth never specifies the relationship between the common ground and the text-world (Whiteley 2010: 33). One way of better understanding the concept is to see the common ground as the accumulation of text-worlds in combination with the discourse-world of a given discourse. In this way, the common ground consists of background and foreground information, and is constantly shifting as the discourse proceeds (Werth 1999: 119-120). It is, however, difficult to establish exactly which information would be shared between individuals, and which information is individual. It is furthermore questionable what the value is of having a special term for this. Although I understand the common ground provides a helpful way of discussing the social dimension of discourse, it does not have as much explanatory value within Text World Theory. Gavins' (2007a) introduction to Text World Theory exemplifies that the concept of the common ground is not a necessary one in the framework, as she dispenses with the term completely in her account.

Another aspect specified by Werth which has only been adopted in later Text World Theory accounts partially, is that of the meta-principles of discourse (Werth 1999). In Werth's version of Text World Theory, discourses are always governed by a set of principles (Werth 1999: 49-50). The first meta-principle of discourse is that of *communicativeness*, which means that discourses should normally be assumed to be purposive and to be efficient in pursuing their purposes, unless there is evidence to the contrary (Werth 1999: 49). The second principle is *coherence*, which assumes that propositions are relevant, with the exception of pathological cases (Werth 1999: 50). The third principle is that of *co-operativeness*, which assumes that discourse participants are responsible, authoritative and reliable, and they tacitly agree to jointly negotiate a common ground as efficiently as possible (Werth 1999: 50). Werth is heavily influenced by Grice's (1975) four conversational maxims in his construction of the meta-principles of discourse. Although applied in a number of works on politeness theory and discourse analysis, these maxims have been criticised for being too general (Frederking 1996: not numbered), and for not being equally applicable across different

discourse genres and communicative situations (Watts 1981). Gavins (2001: 2010-2011) points out that the assumption that the relationship between a writer and a reader will be necessarily as co-operative as conversation participants is unrealistic, because some writers are not necessarily concerned with the efficiency of their communication. Failure to adhere to these principles, she argues, does not render their discourse uncommunicative. Grice's work is also steeped within the tradition of western rationalist philosophy and empirical science (cf. Watts 1981: 88), and therefore might be less applicable to cultures outside of this tradition.

Although Gavins in her introduction to *Text World Theory* still views communication as essentially rule-governed (Gavins 2007a: 11), she emphasises the wilfulness of discourse participants instead of employing the meta-principles proposed by Werth, and asserts that 'communication can be brought into being only through a conscious act of human will', and that 'understanding the volitional aspect of communication is key to understanding the discourse process as a whole' (Gavins 2007a: 19). An example that supports the notion of communication as generally volitional, is that participants in a discourse will automatically assume that their co-participants are cooperative and truthful (Gavins 2007a: 76; Grice 1975; Werth 1999: 49- 50). I agree with Gavins and Werth that human volition is necessary for successful communication, and can in principle be attributed to all discourse participants. Having discussed Werth's account of the discourse-world, knowledge and the meta-principles of discourse, as well as later modifications to the theory in this area, I will continue this review by examining the second world-level of *Text World Theory*, which is the text-world.

2.2.3 The text-world

The text-world is 'the situation depicted by the discourse' (Werth 1999: 87). It is the mental representation of the discourse in the minds of the participants (Werth 1999: 87). It is defined 'initially by the discourse itself and specifically by the deictic and referential elements in it' (Werth 1999: 7, 51, 180), although an important part of the richness of the text-world comes from the discourse participants through inferences and background knowledge. When people engage in discourse, they together build up a world in which its propositions are coherent and make sense (Werth 1999: 20, 74). In other words, a text-world is negotiated

by participants in a discourse ‘through the medium of the discourse, backed up by relevant knowledge and dependent on resources of memory and imagination’ (Werth 1999: 17). Werth explains that:

...given that in conversational discourse the function of the speaker typically alternates between the participants, we can see that the context in such a case is being jointly negotiated by the participants’ (Werth 1999: 48).

Werth argues that this is the case for all discourse, even monologue and written discourse, because these discourses also have to pass through the filter of a recipient’s knowledge, and are thus negotiated in the process of doing so (Werth 1999: 48). He sees face-to-face communication, in which participants can see each other and occupy the same discourse-world, as the prototypical language event (Werth 1995a: 51-52; 1999: 85). However, as Lahey (2005: 14) observes, in his monograph he limits himself mainly to realist literary narratives. As such, he is mainly engaged with split discourse-worlds, and many of the concerns in his monograph (Werth 1999) are about issues similar to those in narrative theory on literary texts.

As stated in Section 2.2.1, the discourse-world can be split. This is, for example, the case with the majority of literary narratives, when the reader and writer do not occupy the same time-zone and/or location, and communication occurs via the written text. In such cases, participants will construct a re-creation of a face-to-face communicative situation at the level of the text-world in order to counteract the split nature of the discourse-world (Gavins 2007a: 129). The narrator of the text becomes a substitute co-participant in the discourse in such cases (Gavins 2007a: 129). Whiteley further developed this approach by arguing that the split discourse-world results not only in the recreation of face-to-face communication at the text-world level, but that readers also project themselves into the implied reader enactor in order to engage in the discourse (Whiteley 2010: 120).

Text-worlds are built with the use of ‘world-building elements’ (Gavins 2007a: 36; Werth 1999: 165, 180). These are deictic and referential terms which provide the spatial and temporal boundaries of the text-world, and include spatial and temporal locatives and adverbs, verbs of motion, definite articles, noun phrases, personal pronouns, and variations in tense and aspect (Gavins 2007a: 35-52; Lahey 2006: 148; Werth 1999: 180-90; Whiteley 2010: 35). More specifically, these deictic and referential terms establish the ‘situational variables’ of the text-

world: time, location, entities (characters and objects) and entity properties and interrelationships (Lahey 2005: 45).

New input from the text is furthermore provided by function-advancing propositions (see Gavins 2007a: 56-72 and Werth 1999: 180, 335). Function-advancing propositions make up the ‘foreground’ (Werth 1999: 180) of a text, and comprise information that propels the discourse forward (Gavins 2007a: 56). Werth initially uses the notion ‘plot-advancing’, borrowed from Joos (1964), but since he finds this too restricted substitutes it for the broader term ‘function-advancing’ (Werth 1999: 190). He provides the following table to indicate the different function-advancing elements:

Table 2.1 *Function-advancing elements* (adapted from Werth 1999: 191)

Text type	Predicate type	Function	Speech Act
Narrative	Action, event	Plot-advancing	Report, recount
Descriptive: scene	State	Scene-advancing	Describe scene
Person	State, property	Person-advancing	Describe person
Routine	Habitual	Route-advancing	Describe routine
Discursive	Relational	Argument-advancing	Postulate, conclude...
Instructive	Imperative	Goal-advancing	Request, command...
etc.			

Function-advancing properties can be either path-expressions or modifications (Werth 1999: 196). A path is essentially an image-schema of a concrete or abstract motion in space. In Text World Theory, pathways represent propositions about changed states or some form of action. Modifications on the other hand represent properties and denote steady states, circumstances and metonymy (Werth 1999: 195-98).

Gavins (2007a) uses Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1985) to provide a more comprehensive description of function-advancers. For instance, she explains the different linguistic forms function-advancers can take using Systemic Functional Linguistics. Systemic Functional Linguistics recognises six experiential categories: Material, Behavioural, Mental, Verbal, Relational, and Existential processes (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170-171; also see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999). These categories are grammatical representations of our differing experience of the world (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170-171). Clauses containing different processes make distinctive contributions to the ‘construal of experience’ in texts (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 174). Gavins

(2007a) employs four of the grammatical categories recognised by Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2004): Material, Mental, Relational, and Existential processes. Relational processes stipulate the nature of some sort of relationship between two or more elements in a text-world with each other. They capture part of Werth's 'modifiers' in that they typically describe 'steady states' (Werth 1999: 99). Material processes describe any sort of action or event in a discourse and involve the inclusion of some kind of animate or inanimate actor (Gavins 2007a: 56). They are the same as Werth's concept of 'pathways'. Mental processes specify the process of perception, cognition or reaction in a discourse (Gavins 2007a: 62). Finally, existential processes describe the existence of an element in a text-world (Gavins 2007a: 62). Existential processes are often world-building elements, because they simply nominate an item as present in a text-world (Gavins 2007a: 62). Similarly to relational processes, they also capture part of Werth's 'modifiers', in that they typically describe 'existential properties' (Werth 1999: 90). Gavins' modification to function-advancing properties introduces Text World Theory to a more comprehensive understanding of function advancers, making the varying functional aspects of discourse clearer. What Text World Theory contributes, as Gavins notes, is the description of 'the experiential significance of these functions in the discourse as a whole' (2007a: 64).

Werth draws a strict distinction between world-builders and function-advancers, which has been subject to criticism by Gavins (2007a) and Lahey (2005, 2006). They note that function-advancing elements may be world-building as well. Lahey (2006) notes that:

On the one hand, [Werth] proposes a theory of discourse that is grounded in cognitive linguistics, context-sensitive and free of the objectivist reliance on rules and mathematical models for language that so characterised the generative tradition before him (Werth 1999: 18–19). On the other hand, his account of the world-building process is based on precisely these rules and models (Lahey 2006: 161).

This is a fair criticism of Werth's work. Werth does at times give conflicting messages by situating Text World Theory in a context-sensitive, cognitive linguistic environment, whilst in places also proposing a rule-bound methodology that is related to the formalist approaches to language. Lahey provides examples from Canadian poetry demonstrating how noun-phrases and function-advancers can have world-building functions. In the verb-phrase 'land I ploughed' (Acorn 1983: 152) for example, the verb 'ploughed' can imply to the reader that the land

is farmland and contribute to the construction of a text-world (Lahey 2006: 159). Werth would have classified this as a function-advancing element only, while the phrase can function as both function-advancing and world-building for a reader.

2.2.4 Text-worlds exemplified

An example sentence taken from one of the interview in the database collected as part of the research described in this thesis can help to illustrate how world-building and function-advancing elements are used in Text World Theory. I will analyse the following short extract from an interview with one of the British-Chinese people in the community under study in terms of some of its world-building elements and function-advancing properties:

Monique: once I was speaking English to my mum when I was in a
 supermarket and they were they were just talking they were just
 like looked at me really weird like like I was someone different

This fragment comes from a group interview with four teenage girls aged between 12 and 14. In it, Monique reacts to my question of whether, when she goes to Hong Kong, she feels people there think of her differently. She answers by saying that people tell her ‘I always look really white’, and then offers this short narrative of another incident that happened to her in Hong Kong. This short extract contains world-building elements to situate the text-world in time and place, such as the adverb of time ‘once’, the specification of a location ‘in a supermarket’, and the establishment of actors: ‘I’, ‘my mum’ and ‘they’. The temporal adverb ‘once’, in combination with the use of past tense, sets the event described in unspecified date in the past. There are also function-advancing properties in the text that represent actions or define the relationships between the different elements in the text-world, such as that the narrating ‘I’, Monique, was speaking to her mother, and that ‘they’ looked at her ‘really weird’. The phrase ‘I was speaking English to my mum’ is a verbal process because the action of ‘speaking’ is described with Monique as the ‘sayer’ (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 173) in this case. However, the approach to speech and thought representation followed by most Text World Theory scholars (e.g. Cruickshank and Lahey 2010; Gavins 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Gavins and Stockwell 2012; Giovanelli 2013; Lahey 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006; Hidalgo Downing 2000a; Lugea 2013; Nahajec 2009; Werth 1999; Whiteley 2010, 2011) would classify this instance as ‘indirect speech’ (Leech and Short 2007), and therefore not world-

forming. The phrase does contain at least some world-building information because it provides the ‘orientation’ (cf. Labov 1972) against which the main action takes place. The phrases ‘they were just talking’ and ‘they...looked at me really weird’ contain function-advancing information that describes the actions of the unspecified ‘they’. Figure 2.4 illustrates this text-world structure using standard Text World Theory notation (Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999). Pathways are represented by vertical arrows in Text World Theory diagrams, whilst modifications are represented by horizontal arrows.

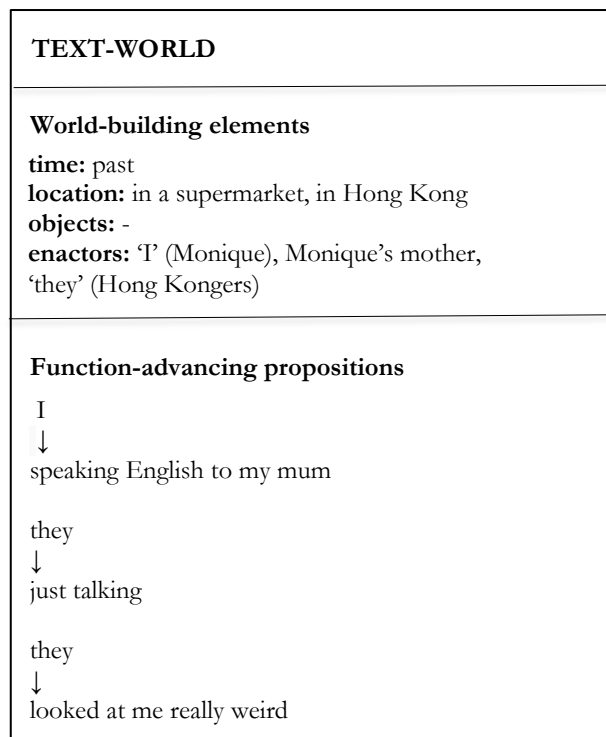


Figure 2.4 *Text-world exemplifying world-building elements and function advancing propositions*

Because any further information about who ‘they’ are is withheld, readers of this short excerpt of text will also have to use their background knowledge to make inferences about who ‘these referents’ are, and why they may have looked at Monique in a strange way. The text brings with it a lot of potential inferences that readers might make on the basis of the function-advancing information in the text. They might, for example, infer from the description that Monique was speaking English to her mum in a supermarket and that ‘they’ were looking at her in a strange way because ‘they’ are people not accustomed to hearing English in a

supermarket. It is clear ‘they’ does not refer to people in the UK or any other English dominant country, where speaking English in supermarkets is normal. Even for readers who know that ‘they’ refers to people in Hong Kong, the function-advancing information is still necessary to understand the basic relations between different actors in this world described.

2.2.5 Progression of text-worlds

In the discourse-world, sentient entities are referred to as participants (Werth 1999: 189). However, entities in the text-world have different names; they are ‘characters’ according to Werth (1999), and ‘enactors’ according to Gavins (2007a). Gavins borrows her term from Emmott (1997), who uses ‘enactors’ to distinguish between the multiple representations of a character across worlds (cf. Emmott 1997: 182). Emmott points out that context has an effect on the information represented within the mental representation of a textual entity (Emmott 1997). She notes that entities change in terms of how much they know, and in terms of psychological development over time, which the reader draws on in their interpretation of narrative and character (Emmott 1997: 180-181). Only a selection of all the information that we know about character is true at any one time in a narrative (Emmott 1997: 181), but the other information is still used to judge events and understand character. A character may, for example, not be rich in the present moment, but the fact that they were once would still be relevant to our interpretation of character (cf. Emmott 1997: 181). The term ‘enactor’, then, helps to distinguish between different representations of the character at different points in a narrative. As Emmott suggests on the basis of her observations:

...accessing information within the entity representation is more a matter of foregrounding one subset of information against another, rather than treating subsets as mutually exclusive. This foregrounding is complicated by the fact that in flashback a reader may have knowledge of what is to happen next, but must also judge events on the basis that the characters do not have this knowledge (Emmott 1997: 181).

In this thesis, the term ‘enactors’ is adopted following Gavins (2007a), because it is more suitable for representing the concept of multiple versions of the same entity across text-worlds, but also because entities populating the text-world are not necessarily characters. They can, for example, also be projections of the discourse participants (Gavins 2007a; Whiteley 2010: 35). This is also the case in my data, as will become evident in later analyses (see Chapters 4 to 6).

Werth notes that textual entities should be seen as similar to entities in the discourse-world, with ‘exactly the same kind of rational attributes as participants’ (Werth 1999: 189). In other words, textual entities are fully operational actors with goals, dreams, feelings, rationality and mental representations operating within the world of the text (Werth 1999: 55). These goals, dreams, beliefs, and intentions of textual entities are represented in a projection, which Werth calls the ‘sub-world’ (Werth 1999: 55) in his original version of the text-world framework. Werth’s notion of sub-worlds is that they are departures from a matrix text-world, and consist of situations which are hypothetical, unreal or unconfirmed at the ‘current stage of the discourse’ (Werth 1999: 186). From the viewpoint of the textual entities in the text-world, these situations are more or less unreal (Werth 1999: 185). Sub-worlds have much to do with modality. They operate on the level of modality, and use modal and epistemic elements such as modal verbs, probability markers, verbs of propositional attitude, non-factive verbs, and adverbials denoting imaginary, speculative or stipulative environments as world-builders (Werth 1999: 185-186). Werth also states that whenever the spatio-temporal boundaries of the initial text-world shift, a sub-world is created (Werth 1999: 216-257).

Although Gavins agrees with the world-forming influence of spatio-temporal changes and modality within a text, she finds it misleading to call the resulting worlds ‘sub’-worlds, because this suggests that they are somehow subordinate to the initial text-world, while they often are just as informative and extensive in discourse (Gavins 2001, 2005a). Her approach therefore differs slightly from Werth’s original framework. In her reformulation of Text World Theory, departures from a text-world are ‘simply new worlds’ (Gavins 2003: 131) that can be divided into two different categories: world-switches and modal-worlds. The term world-switches is derived again from Emmott, who coined the term ‘frame-switch’ in her monograph on Contextual Frame Theory (Emmott 1997: 147). Frame-switches mean that ‘the reader ceases to directly monitor one frame and starts monitoring another frame’ (Emmott 1997: 147). In Contextual Frame Theory, frame-switches can be triggered by spatio-temporal changes, but also by changes of focalisation (Emmott 1997: 147-150). In Text World Theory, world-switches occur whenever the spatio-temporal boundaries of a text-world shift (Gavins 2007a: 48, 54). According to Gavins, both direct speech and direct

thought also cause world-switches, because they both change the ‘basic time-signature of the text-world’ (Werth, 1999: 221; also see Gavins, 2000: 21-22, 2003: 131). Gavins’ modifications to Text World Theory can be seen schematically in Figure 2.5 below.

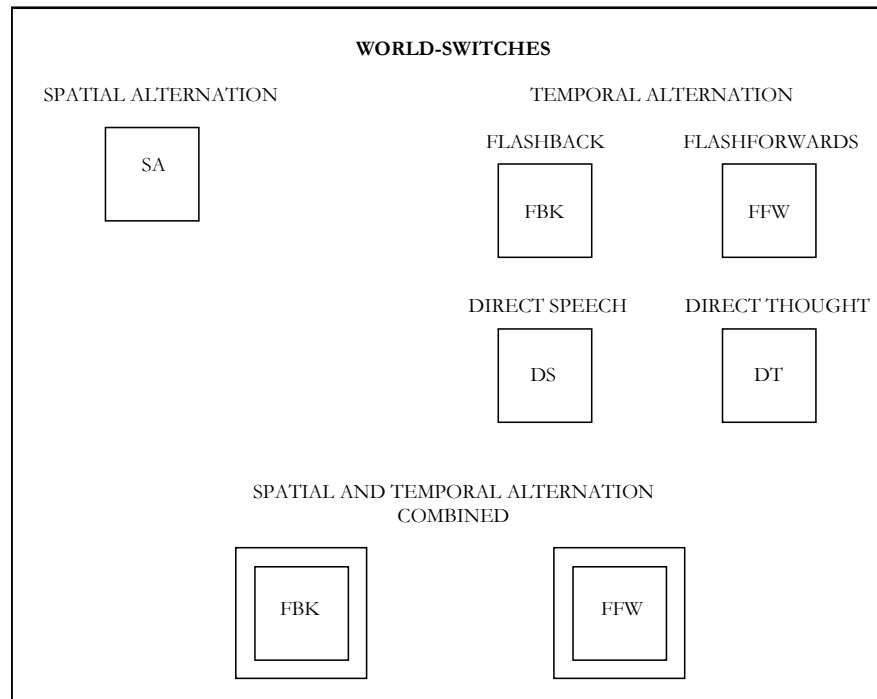


Figure 2.5 *Modifications to Text World Theory: World-switches, adapted from Gavins 2001 and Gavins 2005*

Gavins (2001) notes that world-switches can take place because of a change in location, represented as ‘spatial alternations’; ‘temporal alternations’, such as flashback and direct speech and thought; and ‘spatial and temporal alternation combined’. This is, for example, the case when a flashback occurs to an event in the past (temporal alternation), which is also set in a different location compared to the current text-world (spatial alternation).

The second category introduced by Gavins is the ‘modal-world’. Gavins (2001, 2003, 2005a) has revised Werth’s work on modality considerably and she points out that, although Werth acknowledges there are many possible propositional attitudes, he only looks at three of these (belief, purpose and desire). Furthermore, Werth only rarely refers to any other scholars when discussing modality. Other researchers (e.g. Coates 1983; Palmer 1986; Perkins 1983; Simpson 1993) have divided propositional attitude into three main categories: ‘deontic’, ‘boulomaic’, and ‘epistemic’ modality. Deontic modality is concerned

with a speaker's attitude to obligation regarding the performance of certain actions (permission, obligation, and requirement) (Simpson 1993: 48). Boulomaic modality is concerned with desire and is constructed primarily by modal lexical verbs indicating the wishes and desires of the speaker (Simpson 1993: 48), and epistemic modality is concerned with a speaker's level of certainty towards the truth of a proposition expressed (Simpson 1993: 48). Simpson, following Perkins (1983) also includes a subsystem of 'perception modality' (Simpson 1993: 43) within epistemic modality. This is a separate sub-classification because the degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition is often established through some reference to human perception, usually visual perception (Simpson 1993: 46).

Gavins (e.g. 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2012, 2013) employs Simpson's (1993) modal grammar of narrative fiction in her augmentation of Text World Theory, because this model provides a more systematic means of discussing modality than Werth offers. She proposes modification to Werth's categories of attitudinal sub-worlds and epistemic sub-worlds, and in doing so creates a more inclusive classification of modal-worlds (also see Figure 2.6 below). The modal-world in Gavins' conception is a non-hierarchical term which covers:

...all those conceptual spaces created by deontic, boulomaic and epistemic modality, conditionality, hypotheticals, the indirect representation of speech and thought and all instances of focalised narration (Gavins 2001: 246).

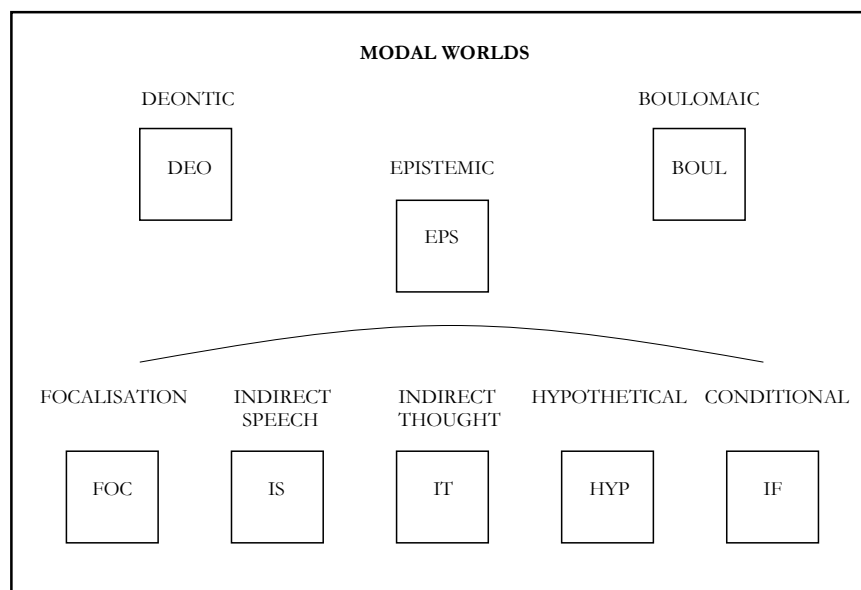


Figure 2.6 *Modifications to Text World Theory: Modal-worlds, adapted from Gavins 2005*

In Figure 2.6, the augmented version of modality in Text World Theory as proposed by Gavins (originally in 2001, 2005) is depicted. The categories of deontic, boulomaic and epistemic modal-world have been added to Werth's original framework. Gavins (2005: 92) notes that the category of epistemic modal-world can be seen to include a wide-ranging number of items especially. She adopts aspects of epistemic modality identified by Werth, such as indirect speech, conditionality, and hypotheticality, into classification of what falls under epistemic modality, but also proposes that features of fixed and variable focalisation fall into the framework of epistemic modality as well (Gavins 2001, 2005). Indirect speech and thought and free indirect discourse are furthermore also epistemic modal-world forming in narrative, because whilst direct speech seems to represent the actual words spoken, the indirect version normally shifts one tense 'backwards', which suggests a move in epistemic distance rather than temporal setting according to Gavins (2005: 84).

In *Text World Theory: An Introduction*, Gavins (2007a) adopts this modified version of Text World Theory and describes three kinds of modal-worlds: 'the boulomaic modal-world', 'the deontic modal-world' and 'the epistemic modal-world'. Boulomaic modal-worlds are worlds of wants, wishes and desires (Gavins 2007a: 94). Modal lexical verbs such as 'want', 'wish', and 'desire' can all be used to express a degree of boulomaic commitment to a particular proposition and therefore trigger a boulomaic modal-world. Modal adverbs (e.g. hopefully), and certain syntactic constructions can also trigger boulomaic modal-worlds (e.g. 'it is hoped that...') (Gavins 2007a: 94). Deontic worlds are worlds of obligation, and these are triggered by words or phrases expressing duty (Gavins 2007a: 99). Some examples are 'have to', 'may', 'must', and syntactic structures that follow the pattern BE...TO + infinitive, such as in the example 'it is forbidden to walk on the grass'. Epistemic modal-worlds are worlds of knowledge; they represent a speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition expressed or situation described. These worlds are triggered by verbs and adverbs such as 'suppose', 'believe', 'think', 'perhaps', 'possibly' 'certainly' and certain syntactical structures ('it's doubtful that...') (Gavins 2007a: 110). Hypotheticals, indirect thought and indirect speech also create epistemic worlds (Gavins 2007a: 110). Focalised narratives can furthermore also be regarded as epistemic modal-world forming in their totality, because in these narratives all world-builders and

function-advancing elements are filtered through the perspective of one or more enactors (Gavins 2003: 131-132). As Gavins (2005) points out, exploration of fixed-focalised narratives through Text World Theory helps to gain a better understanding of how conceptual distance is created by the use of epistemic modality in such narratives. Since the publication of *Text World Theory: An Introduction*, most subsequent work on Text World Theory has adopted Gavins' (2007a) model.

2.2.6 The logical structure of Text World Theory

Text World Theory has strong links with Possible Worlds Theory (Werth 1999: 68). Possible Worlds Theory is a form of propositional modal logic which categorises ontological domains in terms of actuality and possibility (Bell 2006: 49). The main premise of Possible Worlds Theory is that the actual world is only one of a number of possible worlds. A proposition asserting the *possibility* of a state of affairs is therefore true (existing) when it is verified in at least one of the worlds of the system; a proposition asserting the *necessity* of a proposition to be true must be *true in all the worlds* according to the theory; and a proposition asserting *impossibility* must be *false* (non-existent) *in all of possible worlds* (Ryan 2005).

Possible Worlds Theory can be traced back to Leibniz's philosophical essays on the problem of evil and the role of God (Leibniz 1710). In these essays, Leibniz argues there is evil in this world because God created an infinite number of possible worlds and chose the best of these worlds, 'all things considered', as the 'actual world' (Leibniz 1985: para. 67 [1710]). This actual world, then, is - depending on the degree of relativism attributed to it - our reality, or our representation of reality. It is the world in which *actual* states-of affairs take place. All the other worlds, e.g. the possible worlds, represent *alternative* possible states of affairs that did not occur in the actual world.

From Leibniz's concept, Possible Worlds Theory was further developed by philosophers engaged with problems in formal semantics (see Hintikka 1967, 1979, 1989; Kripke 1963, 1972, 1985; Lewis 1972, 1973, 1978, 1983, 1986; Plantinga 1974, 1979; Rescher 1975, 1979), and later taken on by a number of literary scholars for the analysis of the fictional 'worlds' of a particular text (e.g. Bell 2006, 2007, 2010; Doležel 1989, 1998; Eco 1984; Pavel 1986; Ronen 1994; Ryan 1991a, 1991b, 2005).

Whilst Text World Theory is influenced by the logical structure of Possible Worlds Theory, it is mainly the literary branch of the approach that has been of greatest influence on the development of the framework. This is logical in relation to Text World Theory's interest in how real readers/hearers make sense of language, and in particular regarding the theory's traditional focus on how readers process fiction. The influence of the literary branch of Possible Worlds Theory on Text World Theory is for example visible in the shared metaphorical use of TEXT AS WORLD (see Ryan 1998), which highlights the world-creating features of language (cf. Gavins 2007a: 11). Another aspect that originates from Possible Worlds Theory is the adoption of terminology of modal logic, such as the notion 'state of affairs' and 'accessibility', in Text World Theory. Werth discusses state of affairs in relation to text-worlds, seeing text worlds as 'complex states of affairs' (Werth 1999: 68). Gavins (2007a) also adopts the notion of 'state of affairs' in her introduction to Text World Theory, in order to refer to the situations described in text-worlds and modal-worlds (e.g. Gavins 2007a: 106, 121).

Possible Worlds Theory contributed especially significantly to Text World Theory in relation to Werth's (1999) treatment of modality and accessibility relations. Ronen (1994) notes that there are different approaches to accessibility in Possible Worlds Theory. Philosophers use possible worlds' concepts to describe the world as a 'complex modal structure, consisting of sub-systems of worlds of various degrees of possibility (accessibility)' (Ronen 1994: 25), relative to any possible state of affairs (not necessarily the Actual World) (Ronen 1994: 61). Literary possible-world scholars, however, use accessibility to examine 'the...relations between fictional worlds and reality' (Ronen 1994: 25), including the relations between the actual world of the fiction, the textual actual world, and reality, as well as the relations between various possible worlds of fiction and the textual actual world. This means that the notion of accessibility relations in literary applications of Possible Worlds Theory is used to explain the distance between the possible worlds of the fiction and between the real world and fiction, rather than the possibility or impossibility of a certain state of affairs in relation to any other possible state of affairs. It follows from this that the use of the notion of 'accessibility' in Text World Theory seems to be more closely related to the literary notion of 'accessibility' in Possible Worlds Theory.

In Text World Theory, Werth (1999) developed the concept of accessibility to characterise various types of textual worlds in relation to the discourse-world. Werth describes the discourse-world as being close to what we call 'reality' (Werth 1999: 284), which therefore makes it comparable to the 'actual world' in Possible Worlds Theory, and subsequently makes Werth's version of accessibility comparable to the version of accessibility of literary Possible World Theorists. He distinguishes between 'character-accessible sub-worlds' and 'participant-accessible sub-worlds' (Werth 1999: 214). Gavins has adopted this distinction, with the slight modification of replacing 'character-accessible' with 'enactor-accessible' and sub-world with text-world, modal-world or world-switch. The distinction between enactor-accessible worlds and participant-accessible worlds of any kind arises from the ontological differences between participants and entities in the text-world. Discourse participants are real people, and their claims can be tested for truth-value and reliability by other discourse participants; they are thus accessible in the sense used within modal logic (Bell 2006, 2007, 2010; Doležel 1989, 1998; Eco 1984; Pavel 1986; Ronen 1994; Ryan 1991a, 1991b, 2005). Participant-accessible worlds are worlds in which the 'basic text-world parameters remain set as they are', but from which the participants temporarily depart (Werth 1999: 214-215). Textual entities, on the other hand, occupy a different ontological level than the discourse participants. This means the discourse principles that pertain to discourse participants cannot be expected to apply to them in the same way. In enactor-accessible worlds, the text-world parameters are departed from by a text-world entity, rather than by a participant. Enactor-accessible worlds are defined by enactors, and they have their own world-building elements (Werth 1999: 216). Such worlds are therefore unpredictable and irrecoverable from the point of view of a participant (Werth 1999: 215), and can only be stored in a kind of 'conceptual suspended animation' until their accuracy is confirmed by some sort of participant-accessible information (Gavins 2007a: 79).

In a split discourse-world, since the participants communicate via a written or spoken text, the worlds they create are still participant-accessible, because they are created by the participants (Werth 1999: 212). However, as Gavins (2007a: 26) points out, in a written text the split nature of the discourse-world means that the reader has no direct access to the author. Texts have narrators, and the reader might make the assumption that the narrator of the novel he or she is reading is a

text-world projection of the author, but the narrator of a story is a textual construct (Gavins 2007a: 28-29). In the absence of any participant-accessible information, readers are dependent on the information the narrator provides in order to have access to the discourse (Gavins 2007a: 130-131). Gavins argues that for the reader, the narrator becomes a substitute co-participant in the discourse (Gavins 2007a: 129). The information given can in this way trick readers, because they might think they have constructed a participant-accessible text-world, when they actually have created an enactor-accessible modal-world which only reflects the narrators' thoughts and feelings, not those of the author (Gavins 2007a: 131).

Accessibility in Text World Theory cannot be completely equated with the notion of accessibility in Possible Worlds Theory however. Whereas literary possible-worlds theorists recognise different degrees and types of accessibility (see Ryan 1991a, 1991b), they specify accessibility relations differently to text-world theorists. Ryan (1991a, 1991b), for example, provides a typology of accessibility relations that she argues specify the degree and type of accessibility that exists between the actual world or textual actual world, and a possible world (Ryan 1991a: 32; 1991b: 558-559). Text World Theory does not provide such a typology, but instead makes a distinction between worlds that exist in relation to hearers and speakers of a certain discourse, and therefore have a high degree of accessibility (participant-accessible worlds), and worlds that contain the private world-view of specific enactors within that discourse (enactor-accessible worlds). Although literary possible-worlds theorists recognise that alongside the textual actual world, there can be other worlds that can exist in relation to the private world-view of specific characters only (cf. Hidalgo Downing 2000a: 107; Ryan 1991b), this notion is not incorporated into the framework systematically.

A final principle adopted in Text World Theory which originates from the literary branch of possible world accounts, is the 'principle of minimal departure' (Ryan 1991a). This principle also concerns the relationship between the actual world and fictional worlds. It stipulates that readers will always assume that the textual world holds the same properties as the actual world, until they are presented with information that specifies otherwise (Ryan 1991a: 51). Ryan (1991a) developed this principle of minimal departure in her monograph on a literary account of Possible Worlds Theory, and it is adopted in Text World Theory (e.g. Gavins 2007a: 12; Werth 1999).

Apart from the similarities between Text World Theory and Possible Worlds Theory, there are also a number of key differences between the two approaches. Firstly, Text World Theory advocates a functional approach to language. Werth describes in his book that his aim is to ‘create theory from phenomena which actually occur’ (Werth 1999: 70), which signifies his interest in language in use and in context. In contrast, Possible Worlds Theory is rooted in philosophy and logic, and does not have the same contextual interest in language in use. Secondly, with the differences in grounding of the two approaches, the ‘worlds’ of the two approaches also differ. Werth criticises possible worlds for being simultaneously ‘over-specific’ and ‘underspecified’, because they are tailor-made to single propositions, but do not contain more than that, so they are at the same time minimalistic (Werth 1999: 70). Text-worlds on the other hand, can be ‘fleeting and undeveloped representations, but also have the potential to be richly detailed’ (Whiteley 2011: 24; see also Werth 1999: 72). Thirdly, possible worlds are taxonomic constructions. This means that they classify different elements hierarchically, but that there is no analysis in relation to other concepts outside of the basic taxonomy, and no distinction between different conceptual levels. This means that time, place, speaker, audience, indicated object, previous discourse and an ‘infinite sequence of things’ (Lewis 1972: 175) are all listed together as elements that form possible worlds (Werth 1999: 70). Werth points out that time, place, and indicated objects for example belong to the possible world set up by the discourse, while speaker and audience belong to the world in which the discourse is taking place (Werth 1999: 70). Contrary to Possible Worlds Theory, Text World Theory *does* make a distinction between these different elements. In Text World Theory, different elements exist on different conceptual planes. This is important because this type of distinction between different elements and different conceptual levels allows for investigation into the different ontological aspects of communication, such as what resources speaker and audience bring to a discourse, and what effect this has on the world created by the discourse. Finally, as Bell (2007: 46) points out, the focus of Possible World Theory in literary studies is on ontological landscapes of fictional texts, while Text World Theory focuses on the ‘associated *cognitive* processes which build those domains in the minds of the readers’ (Bell 2007: 46, my emphasis). This is the most important difference between Possible Worlds Theory and Text World Theory. Text-worlds

are *conceptual* worlds that participants of discourse create during the production and reception of discourse. In contrast, possible worlds are strictly defined ontological domains.

2.3 Recent advances in Text World Theory

Text World Theory has been augmented greatly by the work of Gavins (e.g. 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014). Recently, a number of other scholars have also made significant contributions to the extension and development of the theory. Cruickshank and Lahey (2010), for example, provide the first application of Text World Theory to dramatic texts. They note that Text World Theory has been designed and developed mainly to address concerns relevant to the study of literary narratives, rather than non-narrative forms like poetry and drama (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010: 69). As part of their application of Text World Theory to a dramatic text, they introduce two new world types to the framework of Text World Theory, namely the ‘fictional world’ and the ‘staged world’ (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010). When readers read a play-text, they will both construct a fictional world which captures the existence of different characters, and a staged world which depicts real life actors performing on stage (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010: 76). Both these worlds are text-worlds, so they should not be seen as new distinct conceptual levels within Text World Theory (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010: 76).

Cruickshank and Lahey specifically focus on dialogue and its function within a dramatic text and within Text World Theory. Dialogue is a fundamental part of drama; it is the normative mode in drama, unlike direct speech in narrative. As such, Cruickshank and Lahey claim that in dramatic discourse direct speech does not trigger a world-switch, as Werth and Gavins indicate (Werth 1999: 216). They argue instead that, in dramatic texts, the deictic markers become aligned to the zero-point of the characters speaking (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010: 70). Another element that Cruickshank and Lahey discuss at length is the effect of stage directions. These are usually written in the present tense and third-person narration. Since the normative mode of dialogue is typically in the present tense as well, Cruickshank and Lahey argue that because there is no shift in tense, there is also no temporal shift from the normative character dialogue (first-person) to the stage directions (third-person) in a dramatic text. Instead, the contrast of a third-

person perspective with that of a first-person perspective generates a *perceptual* shift from the deictic of the third-person voice to the *origo* of the play's characters (Cruickshank and Lahey 2010: 70).

Another recent development to Text World Theory is made by Whiteley's (2010, 2011) study on readers' emotional experience of literary discourse. Whiteley analyses three novels by Kazuo Ishiguro with the use of the Text World Theory framework. In doing so, she demonstrates that Text World Theory is a particularly useful framework for the investigation of the emotional significance of readers' interaction with a text. Whiteley develops Text World Theory to include a more comprehensive understanding of the human faculty of emotion. Because this work on emotion is so relevant to the development of the discourse-world and social relations, it is especially valuable to this thesis. Whiteley observes that processes which are traditionally conceived of as 'cognitive' within cognitive stylistics also have emotional effects, but that this emotional element has not been fully acknowledged within the field of cognitive stylistics (cf. Whiteley 2010: 49). Since then the field has moved on significantly as a result of Whiteley's (2010, 2011) work, as well as that of many others (e.g. Abbott and Forceville 2011; Bednarek 2011; Burke 2011, 2013; Hogan 2003, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Nussbaum 2001; Pagán Cánovas and Jensen 2013; Pallarés-García 2012; Polvinen 2013; Troscianko 2013). Whiteley's (2010: 49) statement that processes which are traditionally conceived of as 'cognitive' within cognitive stylistics also have emotional effects is also illustrative of the overlapping qualities of cognition (also see Section 2.2.2). Although Werth refers to emotion in his explanation of Text World Theory, thereby indicating that he does see it as playing a role in discourse production and comprehension, he does not provide a definition of emotion and does not explain how it relates to Text World Theory or is incorporated into the framework (Whiteley 2010: 41). This has been pointed out by several scholars (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Lahey 2005; Stockwell 2005, 2009) some of whom have made attempts to include emotion more comprehensively in the Text World Theory framework (e.g. Gavins and Stockwell 2012; Lahey 2005). Lahey, for instance, proposes a mechanism which explains self-involvement and readers' emotional engagement with a text through counterpart construction (Lahey 2005: 285). Counterpart construction operates at two levels; on the level of the text-world, the reader can be emotionally engaged through enactment of a character-

role. On the discourse-world level, the ‘real-life attitudes, beliefs and feelings’ of the reader with regards to events and situations in the text-world can be concurrent with the point of view in the text-world, which can cause emotional engagement with a text (Lahey 2005: 285). In addition, Stockwell discusses how readers position themselves ethically in different places relative to the text-world enactors. He argues that the ethical position readers adopt is depended on the ‘degree of support, acquiescence or resistance in the reading’ (Stockwell 2009b: 160).

It should be noted, however, that these scholars have mostly focused on the ‘emotional implications of the projective relationship between a discourse-world participant and a *single* text-world enactor’ (Whiteley 2011: 38). Whiteley, by contrast, argues that readers are able to project psychologically into a *variety* of text-world roles, and that this ability is in fact not only crucial to the comprehension of narrative, but essential to the emotional experience of literary narrative in general (Whiteley 2010: 227). She suggests that future Text World Theory applications should dedicate more attention to the multiple and shifting projections performed by discourse participants during text-world construction, in order to improve Text World Theory’s account of participants’ emotional experience (Whiteley 2010: 227; 2011: 38). Furthermore, she argues that Text World Theory should focus more on the emotional impact of the relationships that are established and represented within text-worlds, as emotional experience also stems from a discourse participant’s understanding of the relationships between text-world entities (Whiteley 2010, 2011). Text-world investigations into emotion and literary reading should thus, she suggests, pay more attention to the scenes that readers create through the multiple projections they perform during text-world construction (Whiteley 2011: 38).

Whiteley also introduces a new type of world, which she calls a ‘participation-world’ (Whiteley 2010: 176). Such worlds consist of readers’ unrealised hopes and preferences regarding narrative events, and are modelled on Gerrig’s notion of ‘participatory responses’ (see Gerrig 1993). Gerrig proposed this notion as a mechanism to capture a variety of phenomena that explain readers’ reactions to narrative events and narrative outcomes. Participation-worlds are conceptual worlds, and are similar to text-worlds in that they are mental representations created by a reader during the reading process, with the use of

'linguistic cues in the discourse and the reader or hearer's background knowledge' (Whiteley 2010: 176). However, these worlds are not based on inferences and only indirectly text-driven, and they therefore are 'not jointly constructed by the discourse participants in the same way as the text-worlds of the discourse' (Whiteley 2010: 176). Whiteley argues that in quality they are more like modal-worlds, because they are mental representations of hypothetical situations, or of readers' unrealised hopes, desires, and fears regarding narrative events (Whiteley 2010: 176-177). She exemplifies the notion of participatory worlds with an analysis of an excerpt from *Never Let Me Go* (Ishiguro 2005; Whiteley 2010: 172-179). In the excerpt in question, the reader lacks knowledge about the enactors' responses to what is going to happen to them, and the text withholds this information as well. At the same time, the text also suggests that the reaction of the enactors will be upsetting or negative. For the reader, this triggers a sense of suspense, which is further endorsed by several stylistic features that contribute to this effect, such as for example the world-building adjectives 'obscure' and 'weird', and high frequency of epistemic modality which express uncertainty towards the mental state of one of the enactors in the passage (Whiteley 2010: 173-174). These effects may trigger the reader to generate a series of participatory-responses with regards to the enactors' fate, such as '*Maybe [enactor X] will commit suicide? Maybe he is going to cry?*' (Whiteley 2010: 174). Whiteley's use of participatory worlds is one way of incorporating emotion into Text World Theory. Another possibility suggested by Whiteley is to include Stockwell's mechanisms of resonance and attention (Stockwell 2009b) in order to expand the framework's ability to address emotional effect (Whiteley 2010: 215-225).

Whiteley has furthermore proposed important enhancements to the discourse-world. She incorporates de Beaugrande's (1980) notion of informativity and downgrading into Text World Theory. De Beaugrande defines informativity of a particular event as 'its relative probability (likelihood and predictability) as compared to other alternatives' (de Beaugrande 1980: 103). He distinguishes between three types of informativity: first-order informativity, second-order informativity and third-order informativity (1980). If a certain text-world situation is highly likely to occur and probable, it has first-order informativity and is easy to process by readers. If an event is less probable to occur, and thus in the 'middle or lower-middle degrees of probability' (Whiteley 2010: 199), it has second-order

informativity. This means the event's occurrence may be non-typical but still conceivable (de Beaugrande 1980: 103). Third-order informativity refers to occurrences that fall outside of options that are probable (de Beaugrande 1980: 105-7). Third-order informativity is most likely to cause schema disruption and refreshment (Cook 1994). If such an order of informativity occurs, readers are likely to try and find an explanation for the third-order information they have encountered, and they will aim to integrate these third-order informativity incidences in their existing knowledge frames somehow (de Beaugrande 1980: 107; Stockwell 2002: 80; Whiteley 2010: 199). De Beaugrande calls this process 'downgrading' (de Beaugrande 1980: 107). People can 'downgrade' in several ways; they can go back to earlier events in order to find an explanation, which de Beaugrande terms 'backward downgrading'; people can wait to see what is going to happen next, in which case they are doing 'forward downgrading'; or, if people go outside the current context in order to explain the particular incident, they are performing 'outward downgrading' (de Beaugrande 1980: 107).

Whiteley uses Ishiguro's novel *The Unconsoled* (1995) as a way of explaining the notions of informativity and downgrading. She notes that *The Unconsoled* is full of incidents 'which contradict the assumptions and inferences generated by readers' frame knowledge' (Whiteley 2010: 199). She provides an example of such a frame-disrupting incident by using the elevator frame. At one point in the novel, the main character of *The Unconsoled* is standing in the elevator and having a conversation with another character. This is a possible and probably a common event to take place in an elevator, and therefore readers are most likely to not find this surprising. However, the elevator journey seems to go on for an extremely long time, and halfway in the journey the main character suddenly becomes aware that there is a third character in the elevator. This, as Whiteley explains, is likely not in concurrence with readers' expectations of what normally happens in elevators. According to the elevator prototype, an elevator more closely resembles a 'small and enclosed space' in which it would be expected one would be aware of the other entities inside it, in the least when entering it (Whiteley 2010: 198). While reading the particular part in which the main character is in the elevator, readers of *The Unconsoled*, are likely to class the extremely long elevator conversation/journey as a second-order occurrence, and that of the sudden appearance of sudden third character in the elevator as more or less a third order

incident, for which they will try to find an explanation (Whiteley 2010: 200). Whiteley argues that with these processes of knowledge activation and retrieval which occur during discourse processing, emotion is also involved (Whiteley 2010: 201), that it is likely that when ‘textual information appears incongruous or incoherent, readers could experience this emotionally as it interferes with readerly goals’ (Whiteley 2010: 201), and it explains why readers become motivated to find an explanation for such third-order incidents (Whiteley 2010: 201).

Whiteley furthermore connects emotion to the cultural and experiential knowledge frames that are involved in the processing of discourse, and highlights the importance of prototypical and ethno-theoretical knowledge about emotion in both text-world creation and the emotional experience of discourse (Whiteley 2010: 207-208; also see Gavins 2007a: 21-3, 29; and Werth 1999: 94-115). She demonstrates how the construction of text-worlds and the comprehension of literary narrative are depended on cultural and experiential knowledge. For example, her interpretation of the long elevator journey might have been different for people with a different elevator frame, such as people who live in skyscrapers and therefore may be more accustomed to lengthy elevator rides (Whiteley 2010: 197). She argues that cultural and experiential knowledge cannot be separated from emotion, and therefore needs to be addressed in Text World Theory in terms of emotion as well (Whiteley 2010: 196-204). She points out that social science research views emotion as inseparable from the cultural systems of meaning within which emotions are ‘experienced, enacted, regulated, and represented’ (Parkinson et al. 2005: 52). It is recognised within social psychology, for example, that shared cultural knowledge about emotion is extremely important in our emotional expression, experience and in our interpretation of the emotions of others (Whiteley 2010: 54). She suggests that further research should be undertaken to establish the connection between emotion representation and emotional experience, the interactions between text-world enactors and between text-worlds enactors and discourse-world participants, and to gain a better understanding of how cultural and experiential differences in participants’ emotion knowledge affect their engagement with a particular narrative (Whiteley 2010: 233). As she demonstrates, emotion is closely linked with social relations, identity performance and social roles. Although Whiteley is concerned with literary narratives, many of her concerns are also applicable to spoken discourse.

2.3.1 Further avenues for text-worlds research

In her introduction to Text World Theory, Gavins (2007a) notes that the Werth's framework of discourse processing is still in the process of being tested (Gavins 2007a: 166). In the last chapter of her introduction to the framework, she lists a number of directions in which Text World Theory could be developed, such as researching transportation and immersion in a text-world, resistance to world-building and self-implication, performance and texture (Gavins 2007a). Some of these avenues have indeed been pursued, as summarised in the preceding section of this chapter. Elsewhere, Gavins (2001) also notes how Text World Theory could be a well-suited possible framework for critical discourse analysis, since it offers a framework which combines examination of the 'socio-political factors at work within all human communication' and is simultaneously detailed enough 'to account for the precise textual manifestations of those wider cultural relationships' (Gavins 2001: 256).

In her 2007 book, Gavins indeed provides a number of analyses in which she investigates socio-political factors, such as debates, speeches and newspaper articles (e.g. Gavins 2007a: 1-31, 110-123). The examination of how socio-political factors influence production and interpretation of discourse is certainly an interesting avenue to pursue with Text World Theory (also see Browse 2013). Text World Theory is the perfect framework to analyse the interplay between different factors that involve the production and comprehension of a discourse, specifically because it makes the distinction between the different conceptual levels of the discourse-world, the text-world and modal-worlds. In looking at how contextual factors such as gender, political stance and ethnicity play a role in the processing of discourse, more attention will necessarily have to be paid to the discourse-world. The discourse-world is an essential element of Text World Theory. It is because of the concept of the discourse-world that Text World Theory is, or at least attempts to be, a cognitive discourse framework accounting for text *as well as* context. The discourse-world level of the framework means that Text World Theory is committed to the analysis of the context in which discourse occurs, and well-suited to address the 'situational, social, historical, and psychological factors which play a crucial role in our cognition of language' (Gavins 2007a: 9). Text World Theory offers an excellent – yet relatively

unexplored – platform through which to analyse these many different aspects of communication.

However, I have also attempted to make clear that Werth's construction of the discourse-world is built with the use of a number of notions that are problematic. As I have argued at several points in this chapter, the mental faculties which feed into the discourse-world remain particularly ambiguous, despite recent attempts by various text-world theorists to pay greater attention to discourse-world factors, such as emotion. By examining the lived experiences of Chinese migrants and British-Chinese people living in Sheffield, expressed through face-to-face interaction, the research presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this thesis goes some way towards providing a more developed account of the discourse-world.

It has been noted that Werth's construction of the discourse-world in general is highly theoretical. In Section 2.2.2 of this chapter, I have demonstrated that the concept of the common ground and Werth's meta-principles were, for example, unhelpful. This has also already been noted by Whiteley (2010) and Gavins (2001), and both concepts were subsequently taken out of Gavins' (2007a) augmented version of the theory. However, the term 'common ground' within the framework of Text World Theory is still in use by some scholars (most recently by Stockwell 2009b, and Cruickshank and Lahey 2010). It is also striking that Werth states multiple times that the most prototypical kind of a language event is face-to-face communication (Werth 1995a: 51, 52; 1999: 85), and that he places 'such importance on its pragmatic structure as a prototype for all other discourse processing' (Gavins 2001: 70), while he never actually examines spoken face-to-face interaction. As stated before, Werth's analyses are restricted to relatively short narrative fiction. There remains plenty of scope for the further augmentation of Text World Theory through its application to more discourse genres, and by focusing more on the social-contextual circumstances surrounding language events. In this thesis, I attempt to contribute to the development of the theory by applying it to extended examples of face-to-face interview discourse for the first time. Furthermore, in the chapters which follow, I endeavour to provide insight into the social-contextual circumstances surrounding the discourses analysed. I do this so through providing an ethnography in Chapter 3, which details the wider socio-historic context in which the discourses analysed in Chapter 4, 5 and 6

should be placed. In Chapter 4, 5 and 6, I examine in detail the discourse-world of the participants at the time the language events took place. I discuss the discourse-worlds of the interviews particularly extensively in Section 4.2.

As demonstrated by Browse (2013), Text World Theory and the cognitive principles underlying Text World Theory form a valuable contribution to the field of (critical) discourse analysis, but the field seems to have incorporated cognitive principles only to a limited extent in their approaches up to this point. Many scholars (e.g. Charteris-Black 2006; Chilton 2005; van Dijk 2005; Hart 2011; Koller 2005; Zinken 2003) have attempted to link critical discourse analysis with cognitive linguistics though, and it is remarkable that these scholars have not adopted more of Werth's terminology. For instance, in the edited volume *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis: Theory, Methodology and Interdisciplinarity*, Chilton (2005) makes the point that while critical discourse analysis cannot seriously claim to make a contribution to discourse analysis without taking account of 'highly sophisticated models' such as Discourse Representation Theory (e.g. Kamp and Reyle 1993) and Werth's (1999) text-worlds approach, he nevertheless leaves Text World Theory for 'further exploration to another occasion' (Chilton 2005: 36). Instead, he draws on the notion of mental spaces (e.g. Fauconnier 1994, 1997) and Conceptual Integration Theory (e.g. Fauconnier and Turner 2002) to analyse critical discourse.

In the same edited volume, Teun van Dijk offers a new theory of contextual knowledge management. Van Dijk asserts that 'a theory of the way knowledge is managed in discourse and interaction is also relevant for critical discourse analysis' (van Dijk 2005: 72). Text World Theory does exactly this already. It is clear that Text World Theory, as a comprehensive theory to discourse in relation to cognition, would be a great advantage to discourse analysis and other non-literary domains, and that Text World Theory-scholars should be encouraged to apply the theory to domains outside of the literary.

As well as contributing to the on-going development of Text World Theory, the research presented in this thesis is also intended as a contribution to the study of identity and context, focussing on interviews from Chinese, mainly Hong Kong, migrants and British-born Chinese from the Chinese community in Sheffield. As explained in Chapter 1, the construction and representation of these people's identities is influenced by a number of significant linguistic, socio-

economic, and historic circumstances, which makes Hong Kong immigrants a good group to study in relation to linguistic representation of identity. Text World Theory is a highly appealing framework to adopt in such an endeavour, because it is a multi-layered, cognitively realistic approach which enables rigorous and detailed linguistic analysis (Stockwell 2009b: 8, 88; Whiteley 2010: 28). In the next section, I further explain the theoretical foundations of the notion of ‘identity’, ‘identity representation’ and ‘identity construction’ underpinning this thesis.

2.4 Identity and Text World Theory

Research on identity is multifarious as well as plentiful, and embedded in a range of different fields. The theoretical approach to identity taken in this thesis draws upon research in sociolinguistics, discourse studies, narrative studies, psychology and cognitive linguistics. In particular, the work of this thesis is grounded in a cognitive discursive approach to identity, in which identity is seen as both ‘constructed’ and ‘represented’ in discourse.

Discursive approaches to discourse and identity are part of the ‘discursive turn’ (Bucholtz 2011: 18) across the humanities and social sciences, which marks a shift away from ‘essentialist theories’ (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 9) to (social) constructionist theories. Whereas essentialist theories are characterised as seeing identity as fixed and stable, and a creation of ‘mind, cognition, the psyche, or socialisation practices’ (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 9), a discursive view of identity distinguishes itself from its predecessors by claiming that identity is relational (Hall 2004: 51), socially situated, fluid, fragmented and constructed in discourse.

In the discursive approach to identity, the notion of ‘discourse’ is interpreted in two distinct ways. Following theorisations by Althusser (1971), Gramsci (1971), and Foucault (1972), it is seen as a set of structures with regulatory power from which identities emerge as the result of dominant messages in society, linked to social arrangements and practices. Identity is understood as non-essential, constructed and fragmentary, incoherent and instable (Hall 1996: 597), as well as relational (Hall 2004: 51). It does not transgress the boundary of discourse, meaning that there is no identity *beyond* discourse following this approach. This discursive work challenges the Enlightenment ideal of ‘self’ as a rational, autonomous agent, and critiques essentialist notions of identity as fixed and unchanging (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 31-34).

The second way 'discourse' has been interpreted is more prevalent in later discursive work on identity, which critiques and builds on the first view (e.g. Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Butler 1997; Taylor 2009, 2010). Like the first view, this approach sees identity as relational (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), fluid and dynamic, 'capable of both reproducing and destabilising the discursive order' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 31-34). It differs from the first view in that it critiques work in that approach for the lack of agency it attributes to the individual (Butler 1997). Through fine-grained linguistic analysis, this research focuses more on *how* individuals construct identities within a particular interaction with specific other participant(s) (Pasupathi 2015: 171), rather than on *what* identity is. 'Discourse' is seen as the interaction and (immediate) context of data analysed. The broader notion of discourse as a 'set of structures' comes into play only in specific analytic approaches that focus on the interplay between the interaction, the local context of the interaction, and the historical, social and political contexts affecting identity construction (e.g. Bamberg and Andrews 2004; Davies and Harré 1990; Harré and van Langenhove 1991, 1999). The understanding of 'discourse' in the second approach is largely compatible with a text-world understanding of discourse, and is central to research in this thesis.

As the discursive view of identity has become more prominent in the humanities and social sciences in the past decades, awareness of its limitations have also increased. It is useful to examine some of these limitations and criticisms, as it paves the way for discussing how a specifically *cognitive* discursive understanding of identity underpins this thesis. Criticism of the discursive approach has mostly been levelled at the notion that identity is seen as not transgressing beyond discourse (e.g. Craib 2000; Crossley 2000; Day Sclater 2003; Durrheim and Dixon 2013; Frosh 1999; Hollway and Jefferson 2013; Parker 1992). Discursive analyses tend to focus on minute interactions that do not go beyond the single-level turn-by-turn interactions (Taylor 2007: 117), and thus do not take into account the continuity of the narrating 'I' beyond the discourse situation. Some analysts within the discursive tradition, like Bamberg et al. (2011), Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Hollway and Jefferson (2013), Parker (1992) and Taylor (2007, 2009, 2010) accept that there is an overlapping continuance of identity from 'situation to situation as well as across the lifespan' (Bamberg et al. 2011: 179), and combine their discursive approach with insights from, for example,

psychoanalysis (Hollway and Jefferson 2013) or narrative psychology (Bruner 2001; Craib 2000; Gergen and Gergen 1997; Mishler 1999) to widen the scope of their research accordingly. Taylor (2007: 117), furthermore, suggests that one way of remedying this restricted focus is by combining an analysis of talk with an ethnographic or documentary study. The research in this thesis contributes to widening the scope of discursive work by combining linguistic analysis with ethnography.

However, the confinement of identity to discourse should be understood in relation to a wider debate in the social sciences. Discursive approaches have emphasised the power that language has in shaping the self by shifting away from the traditional psychological notion of identity as ‘mental paraphernalia in each individual’s head’ (Parker 1998: 1), and the idea that identity is something ‘behind talk’ (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 40). This relates to the perspective underlying discursive approaches more generally, in which “‘the real world’ is not “‘real’ beyond the social practices that construct and maintain it as such’ (Stokoe and Benwell 2006: 12). In other words, many discursive approaches take the implicit social constructivist stance that there is nothing beyond discourse (cf. Nightingale 2013: 279; e.g. Billig 1987; Billig et al. 1988; Edwards and Potter 1992; Hayes and Oppenheim 1997; Potter and Edwards 2001; Potter and Wetherell 1987). Such approaches deny that language is a representation of, or provides insight into, internal mental states such as attitudes, beliefs, emotions and memories (e.g. Harré and Gillett 1994; Harré 1995). It is important to note that this does not *necessarily* mean that scholars in this tradition deny the existence of cognition or reality beyond discourse. Rather, they try not to ‘answer ontological questions about what sort of things exist’ (Potter 1996: 6), but instead focus on how people construct descriptions of reality, and how others undermine these. This belief is termed ‘relativism’, and states that since the external world is inaccessible to humans, it should not be postulated or considered (Edwards et al. 1995). The external world is seen as inaccessible to humans because any knowledge we have of it is mediated through our mind and senses. What we know of the external world or ‘truth’ is seen by relativists as always being relative to the observer (Gioia 2003), not independent ‘fact’. The external world thus cannot be accessed, or does not exist, beyond that which is created through individual and social constructions of reality. As a relativist understanding of discourse problematises reality *an sich*, it

also takes issue with the relation between language and thought. Language is seen either as separate from thought (which is formed of inaccessible internal states), or as a pre-condition for thought (rather than thought forming a pre-condition for language) (Burr 2003: 7-8). Thought is for this reason not discussed in a discursive approach, unless mentioned explicitly in discourse (Edwards 1997). The position adopted in this thesis is that the relationship between language and thought is extremely complex (Pederson and Nuyts 1997), but, that, following cognitive linguistic principles (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff and Turner 1989), language reflects patterns of thought.

The relativist position within discursive approaches to identity has been opposed by those advocating a realist approach (e.g. Nightingale and Cromby 1999, 2002), in what became known as the realism-relativism debate (Nightingale and Cromby 1999, 2002; Edwards et al. 1995; Parker 1999). Those advocating a realist approach to identity have criticised discursive approaches to identity for neglecting to take into account the fact that all humans are embodied, and that interaction emerges from forms of experience that have a crucial embodied component (cf. Goodwin 2003: 19; see Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Realism is the belief that an external reality exists independently of our representations of it, but that this external reality is ultimately inaccessible without mediation. External reality is seen as being reflected by our language to some (unknown) extent, but mediated through our own embodiment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Nightingale and Cromby 1999: 7-9, 2002: 706). In the way that embodied discourse reflects external reality to some degree, our embodiment (and its relation to reality) constrains our discourse as well. This means that we cannot construct the world we choose completely at random. As Nightingale and Cromby (1999: 9) point out, 'if we persistently attempt to do so [anyway] we are ultimately more likely to come to the attention of psychiatric services than to gain academic approval'. Similarly, Johnstone (2008: 153) notes that, although a discursive approach shows how aspects of identity are discursive practices rather than demographic truths that form a direct portal to people's motivation, people's choices in constructing their identities 'are not unlimited' (Johnstone 2008: 153).

The overall position adopted in this thesis in relation to discourse and identity can be summarised as follows: I take the 'experiential realist' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) approach to discourse and identity, maintaining that language

reflects cognition, and that an external reality exists but is construed through our embodiment (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). I combine this theoretical stance with a discursive approach to identity and language. I argue that a discursive approach is compatible with cognition, and examine how 'identity' is, on the one hand, created in discursive interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 587). On the other hand, I emphasise the continuity of identity beyond discourse, and across time and space. I have adopted Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) approach to identity because they offer a comprehensive model of five principles that highlight different aspects of discursive identity. With some modification of the first principle, these do not contradict the cognitive linguistic perspective adopted in this thesis. Rather, the broadened view of identity incorporated in Bucholtz and Hall (2005), in combination with the idea that language reflects cognition, comprises a coherent view of identity which is in unison with the tenets of Text World Theory. They stipulate that identity comprises of:

- (a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 592).

The methodological approach for researching identity in Bucholtz and Hall (2005) is outlined by the following five principles:

the emergence principle (1), which stipulates that

- identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585);

the positionality principle (2), which denotes that

- identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585);

the indexicality principle (3), which holds that

- identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585);

the relationality principle (4), which focuses on identities as

- intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 598);

and the partialness principle (5), which states that

identity may be part intentional, in part habitual and less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585).

Bucholtz and Hall's emergence principle needs some further clarification in order to be made compatible with cognitive research undertaken in this study. They are right in stating that identity is the product of linguistic and other semiotic practices, but there is also an embodied cognitive aspect to individuals which affects identity construction in discourse (cf. Cameron and Kulick 2005). Bucholtz and Hall (2004) find their sociocultural approach to be contrastive with a cognitive or psychic (Cameron and Kulick 2003) approach, but the stance that language reflects cognition, and thus that language is able to reflect an individual's (inner) *conceptualisations* of identity, does not mean that language is not also constructing and shaping such conceptualisations. These two approaches (cf. Cameron and Kulick 2005) are not incompatible. An understanding of identity as fluid and constructed in discourse is not incompatible with cognitive representations of identity, which can be equally transient. The main tenet underlying Text World Theory, namely that language shapes the kind of conceptual world a reader or hearer creates, directly affecting the conceptual processes used in the comprehension of meaning, is compatible with an idea of identity as discursively *constructed*, and conceptually *represented* in text-worlds. These text-worlds can be emergent, fleeting representations, or they can be fully detailed (cf. Whiteley 2011: 24; see also Werth 1999: 72; see also Gibbs 2005). Adapting Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is thus seen in this thesis as both discursively *constructed* and as *representing* dynamic conceptual structures.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of Text World Theory, the analytical framework at the heart of this thesis. In Section 2.1, I discussed the discipline of cognitive linguistics in which Text World Theory is situated. Section 2.2 critically discussed the main tenets and the development of the theory. In line with previous research, I established that Werth's attention to the discourse-world was lacking, and I argued for a more developed understanding of the different resources that affect the construction of the discourse-world and subsequent text-worlds. I emphasised the strong links between Werth's approach and other

psychological approaches to knowledge and memory in particular. I aligned Werth's terminology of the mental faculties of memories with current terminology in the field of psychology. In Section 2.3, I then discussed the most recent Text World Theory developments relevant to this thesis. I paid attention particularly to Whiteley's (2010, 2011) recent contributions to Text World Theory, which greatly improved the treatment of emotion in Text World Theory. In this section, I also discussed future avenues that would be interesting to explore with Text World Theory. I pointed out that although there is a need for further research in order to develop our understanding of the discourse-world, it is also because of the discourse-world that Text World Theory provides an excellent platform for the analysis of how contextual factors play a role in the processing of discourse. I asserted that there is a lot of scope for scholars to augment the theory by applying it to more discourse genres and by focusing more on the social-contextual circumstances surrounding language events. I concluded this section by arguing for the suitability of the Text World Theory for the analysis of discursive interaction, and further explored this possibility in Section 2.4, in which I explained the approach to socio-cognitive approach to identity taken in this thesis. It is in this vein that I now turn to my ethnography in Chapter 3, which details the wider socio-historic context in which the discourses analysed in Chapter 4, 5 and 6 should be placed. Through the ethnography, I not only aim to lay further groundwork for a Text World Theory account of interview data, but also wish to demonstrate the appropriateness and advantages of a socio-cognitive discourse approach to the investigation of identity, and how this approach might complement and extend existing research in the related fields of discourse studies, linguistics and cognitive poetics.

3. ETHNOGRAPHY

3.0 Preview

Ethnography is a useful way of exploring questions that concern highly personal matters or experiences. As this thesis will show, it enables exploration into what it means to be British-Chinese, or what it entails to be a migrant in Sheffield. Doing ethnography also helps to establish what the experiences were of those who moved from Hong Kong or mainland China to Sheffield in the 1970s and prior, and how this compares to the experiences of those who migrate today. It provides a better understanding of whether we can speak of a Chinese community in Sheffield, and what the make-up of such a community could be. These kind of questions are vital if we are to arrive at better understandings of how people see themselves, and how people represent themselves linguistically. As such, they form part of the research questions explored in this thesis (for a full overview of the aims of the thesis, see Chapter 1). Because most of these questions relate to matters that are deeply personal to individual speakers, they are difficult to capture quantitatively, requiring a well-established connection with participants and a profound understanding of the context in which these experiences were embedded. In this chapter, I provide an ethnographic overview of the nature of the community in which I undertook my fieldwork. In the ethnographic portrait below, I describe the everyday practices of the community and discuss participants' relationships to Chinese culture and the Chinese community in Sheffield, to the wider Sheffield community, and to Britain.

This chapter is divided into several sections. Because a key part in understanding the structure of contemporary immigrant communities lies in understanding the process through which they came into existence (cf. Luk 2008: 38), it is relevant to look at the history of Chinese migration to Britain first. Section 3.1 provides an overview of the migratory movements of people from Hong Kong and China to Britain over time. This section describes three different waves of migration. The categorisation is made on the basis of the histories, and the socio-economic and political backgrounds of groups of people that moved from mainland China and Hong Kong to the UK. The first wave captures those migratory movements between 1600 and 1950. The second wave represents Chinese migrants moving to the UK between 1950 and 1980. The third and

fourth waves are comprised of migrants from mainland China and Hong Kong from 1980 up to the present. When describing the fourth wave, I demonstrate how the migration patterns of immigrants from Hong Kong and mainland China are undergoing change. I show that although immigration from Hong Kong to the UK has steadily declined since the 1990s, immigration from mainland China has grown exponentially, and is still growing.

Having described the patterns of Chinese migration more generally in Section 3.1, Section 3.2 concentrates on the background and preliminaries of the Chinese community in the northern English city of Sheffield. In this section, I discuss the general migration patterns from China and Hong Kong to Sheffield, and Chinese language use in Sheffield (Section 3.2.1). This section forms the background to the ethnographic fieldwork, which is described in Section 3.3 and Section 3.4.

Before continuing, I should note that I view ethnography as both method and product. By this I mean that I see ethnography as a *process*, or *method* of data collection, on the one hand, and as an *outcome* of that process of data collection, on the other. This is because the process of ethnographic data collection is necessarily deeply intertwined with its outcomes. For example, the process through which I obtained access to the site of my fieldwork directly impacted on the participants I had access to, which in turn had a direct and profound impact on the outcomes of my interactions and written fieldnotes regarding these participants. My interpretation of the community under study is thus directly connected to the process by which I collected the data on which my interpretation is based in the first place. For this reason, separating the two notions of ‘ethnography’ seems artificial. This chapter contains information on the methods and processes of data collection, as well as the interpretations that derived from the data collection. In subsequent analysis chapters (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), I scrutinise the interviews that form part of my ethnography, paying close attention to the fine-grained linguistic details of the interaction. In this sense, this thesis as a whole could be described as an ethnography.

I begin the ethnography in Section 3.3, in which I briefly discuss the site at which I undertook my fieldwork. I then continue to describe the various methods of data collection I used in Sections 3.3.1-3.3.5: Section 3.3.1 describes the method of ethnographic fieldwork I employed; Section 3.3.2 details participant

observation; Section 3.3.3 contains information on the process of collecting fieldnotes; Section 3.3.4 describes the recorded interview data I collected; Section 3.3.5 describes method of transcription. I continue by providing background information on questionnaire data in Section 3.3.6, and talk about ethical awareness in Section 3.3.7. In Section 3.3.8, I discuss my own legitimacy in the Sheffield Chinese community under study.

The chapter continues with Section 3.4, in which I describe the school, the *Dancing Dragon* (pseudonym), in which I undertook my fieldwork in detail. In Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.5, I continue to describe the different groups of people I came to recognise within the school. My observations about the different networks of people that existed in the school are followed by a discussion of themes that emerged out of my fieldwork more generally, such as my participants' relationships with heritage and ethnicity (Section 3.5) and how the change in migration patterns affected the community of the *Dancing Dragon* (Section 3.6).

3.1 The Chinese in the UK: background and preliminaries

Ethnically, the Chinese minority in Britain share the same ancestry, irrespective of whether they have migrated to Britain after birth, were born in Britain, or are part of a larger Chinese diaspora who moved elsewhere before coming to Britain (Luk 2008: 6). However, considering the different histories, and the socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the Chinese minority in Britain, its population is very heterogeneous (see also Li 1998). One of the reasons for this heterogeneity lies in the existence of different waves of Chinese immigrant groups that came to Britain. Most scholars identify different Chinese immigration waves (Baker 1994; Benton and Gomez 2008; Luk 2008; Wang 1991), although they disagree about the number of waves and the exact time periods in history in which these Chinese immigrant waves occurred. In the paragraph below, I provide a summary of Chinese immigration to Britain, largely in line with Benton and Gomez's (2008) first comprehensive overview, and Luk's (2008) description of the history of migration.

The earliest arrivals of Chinese in Britain occurred between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, and consisted of only few people, mainly seafarers (Benton and Gomez 2008: 22-24). Most of these Chinese immigrants resided in London or Liverpool, and those cities came to house the earliest

Chinese communities in Britain. Between 1851 and 1921, the number of Chinese residents in British cities grew steadily, but due to government measures and economic changes, the Chinese population shrunk again considerably between 1921 and 1931 (Benton and Gomez 2008: 26). In the First World War (1914-1918), many Chinese were also recruited to dig trenches in France and Belgium. Most of these temporary workers returned to China after the war, but some also settled in Continental Europe. Chinese were also recruited in the Second World War (1940-1945), and the numbers of Chinese living in Britain varied in these periods (Benton and Gomez 2008).

Although spanning a number of centuries, most of the Chinese immigrants coming from around 1600 to 1950 were alike in that they had no intention of moving to Britain specifically. They eventually settled in Britain, but this was a matter of chance rather than intention. The migrants that came to Britain between around 1600 and approximately 1950, can thus be grouped under the first Chinese immigrant wave to Britain (Benton and Gomez 2008). This was, by all means, a minor wave, made even less substantial because it was spread out over several centuries.

The second major wave in Chinese immigration to the UK falls in the period from about 1950 until 1980. Chinese people who migrated in this time did so mainly as a result of economic considerations. Most of these immigrants came from rural Hong Kong territories and were Hakka or Cantonese speaking. Unlike earlier Chinese seafarers and war recruits, the majority of these migrants had planned to move and stay in Britain (Luk 2008: 48). The UK Chinese community in this period also retained close ties to the villages in China where these migrants came from, unlike the earlier Chinese migrants (Luk 2008: 48). Most of the Chinese migrants in this period were poorly educated (Benton and Gomez 2008: 31; Luk 2008; Watson 1975) and mostly found employment in the catering business (Watson 1975 1977; Liu 1992). Benton and Gomez (2008: 39), however, also recognise that between 1950 and 1960, political refugees fleeing from the Cultural Revolution on the Chinese Mainland came to Britain as well. Most of these migrants also found work in the catering business, like the poorly educated migrants from the greater territories around Hong Kong, even though these political refugees came from a variety of backgrounds and had a variety of skills.

The 1960s and 1970s also saw an influx of migrant wives and children, who came to join those male family members who were already in Britain.

The third wave of Chinese migration wave occurred in the 1980s, when a large number of Chinese immigrants arrived in the UK. Whereas Chinese migration in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s was mainly economically motivated, and whereas most of these immigrants came from rural Hong Kong territories and were Hakka or Cantonese speaking, the immigrant group of the late 1980s and 1990s migrated for very different reasons. On the whole, third wave migrants migrated from urban areas voluntarily due to political uncertainty. These were mainly intellectuals and highly skilled professionals from Hong Kong. They were Cantonese speaking but proficient in English as well (Luk 2008: 57).

According to Luk, this wave was only short-lived. He demonstrates that while there were 1,890 Hong Kong immigrants coming to the UK in 1991, in 2003 this number had decreased to only 175 new immigrants. Luk argues that the reason for this is a restored confidence in the future of Hong Kong and greater political stability. An alternative reason could also be that places closer to Hong Kong, such as Canada, North-America and Australia are preferred places of migration for Chinese people, rather than Europe (Skeldon 1994: 36).

Luk also notes that, while there is currently a decline in immigrants coming to the UK from Hong Kong and the greater territories, there is a growth in migrants from mainland China. This is illustrated in Table 3.1. This table shows the different numbers of migrants from China and Hong Kong from 1990 until 2012 that have been granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK. As is visible from the table, there are considerable differences over the years regarding the influx of migrants from these two geographical locations. While in the 1990s until 1996, there are more migrants coming in from Hong Kong, since 1997 there are more people receiving indefinite leave to remain from mainland China, with Chinese migrants far outsizing the numbers of Hong Kong settlers since 1998.

It should be noted that Table 3.1 is only representative of those who have received indefinite leave to remain. It does not include people who are residing in the UK on temporary visas, like students or temporary workers, and it does not include those who have received extension of their stay, gained British nationality, or are undocumented and have moved to the UK via non-official routes. This table also does not include permanent settlers from Taiwan.

Table 3.1 *Grants of settlement 1990-2012 by country of nationality (Home Office 2000: Table 6.5 and Home Office 2014: Table se_03)*

	Hong Kong	mainland China
1990	1,760	320
1991	1,890	390
1992	1,590	440
1993	1,520	640
1994	1,490	960
1995	1,310	1,130
1996	1,240	1,180
1997	900	1,230
1998	810	1,550
1999	490	1,520
2000	800	1,710
2001	605	1,515
2002	406	1,705
2003	175	2,575
2004	540	2,312
2005	805	3,983
2006	1062	3,111
2007	784	3,266
2008	1,042	6,630
2009	688	9,131
2010	586	14,616
2011	486	9,294
2012	316	6,298

Although Taiwan is mostly inhabited by people who are likely to self-select as Chinese in census data, and although Taiwanese migrants can therefore be incorporated under the term Chinese migrants in this respect, I have decided not to include Taiwan for two reasons; firstly, because the grants of settlement received for Taiwanese people between 2003 and 2012 always ranked very low, between 176 and 281 respectively, and did not vary greatly; and secondly, because the complex status and history of Taiwan makes it difficult to understand its relation to ‘China’ and the term ‘Chinese’. To make it clear how complex the status of Taiwan in relation to China is, Taiwan falls under jurisdiction of the Republic of China (ROC), together with several islands near Taiwan, such as, for example, the Pescadores. Although Taiwan has made attempts to establish itself as a sovereign Chinese state (the ROC), the People’s Republic of China (the PRC)

asserts itself to be the sole legal representation of China, and claims Taiwan as its 23rd province to be under its sovereignty. Over the past years, the PRC has strengthened its hold on Taiwan, and vowed that, if necessary, it would use military force to prevent its independence. Taiwan is not recognised as an independent state by the United Nations, and when it applied for membership in July 2007, the application was rejected. Furthermore, in reference to The General Assembly Resolution 275, the position of the United Nations is that the Government of China [the PRC rather than the ROC] is ‘the sole and legitimate Government and the position of the United Nations is that Taiwan is part of China’ (Ban Ki-Moon 2007). Taiwan is seen as a separate category in census data from the Office for National Statistics and the Home Office. It has been included in data on Chinese students, because there are significant numbers of Taiwanese students coming to the UK to study, and they are likely to self-select their ethnicity as Chinese.

As is visible in Table 3.2 below, the Chinese student population has also experienced huge growth in the last decade. In 2004, the total number of students likely to self-select as Chinese in census data was 39,690, but in 2010 this figure had more than doubled to 81,960. As a result of the growth of the Chinese student body in the UK, the study of Chinese students’ adjustments to Britain in terms of educational practices, as well as with regards to psychology and culture, is increasingly a topic of interest to scholars, especially in the fields of education and intercultural communication (e.g. Gao 2006; Leedham 2012; Monk 2012; Spencer-Oatey and Xiong 2006; Tian and Lowe 2012; Y. Turner 2006; Wang et al. 2012).

Table 3.2 *Passengers given leave to enter the United Kingdom in study categories by country of nationality, 2004-2012 (Home Office 2014: Table ad_03_s)*

	Hong Kong	mainland China	Taiwan	Total
2004	6,910	25,000	7,780	39,690
2005	5,490	21,700	7,040	34,230
2006	5,910	24,400	8,770	39,080
2007	4,640	27,400	6,610	38,650
2008	9,450	33,500	5,950	48,900
2009	7,070	41,400	6,960	55,430
2010	9,590	52,200	8,130	69,920
2011	9,230	60,500	8,720	78,450
2012	9,550	65,400	7,010	81,960

There are several reasons for the increased influx of Chinese students to Britain; firstly, the Chinese population has become wealthier overall, which means more families are able to send their children to study abroad; secondly, the political relations between China and the West are improved, and China now encourages its students to study abroad; thirdly, Britain is considered to have high educational standards, which attracts foreign students; and, finally, the increased mobility of the Chinese in general might have contributed to the increase in overseas Chinese students. Luk (2008: 640) reports that the rate of these students returning to China is low, although this is likely to have changed, considering the current more pessimistic economic outlook of Britain, and the ever tightening visa requirements since April 2011 (Home Office UK Border Agency 2014).

Apart from the increased influx of students from mainland China, there has also been an increase in other migrants from these countries to Britain in recent times. Referring back to Table 3.1, it is clear that since 1991 there has been an exponential increase of people receiving indefinite leave to remain from mainland China compared with Hong Kong. On average, the number of migrants from mainland China receiving indefinite leave to remain grew by 48.5% each year. The exponential growth of migrants from mainland China is related mostly with China's changed migration policy, rather than Britain's migration laws. China changed its policy first in 1978, when it opened up its economy to foreign influx to a greater degree; and then more extensively in 1985, with the adoption of the Emigration and Immigration Law. This allowed people who were previously restricted to leave the country and settle elsewhere. Few studies specify the Chinese populations' migration histories in reference to specific provinces of migration, but it is widely known that a large number of migrants from mainland China to the United Kingdom have migrated from the provinces Guangdong, Zhejiang and Fujian (Liang and Morooka 2004; Wu et al. 2010; Wu and Latham 2014: 311). There is also a sizeable population of people who migrated from Northern parts of China (Wu et al. 2010; Wu and Latham 2014: 311). Reasons for migration from these provinces are related to the economic-political climate in mainland China, the existence of a well-established tradition of migration in certain provinces, and the presence of a network of relatives and friends abroad (Pieke 2004: 47). Fujian province especially has a long history of migration. Emigration from this province dates back to the fifteenth century, with a

significant increase in the seventeenth century (Zhu 1991), the nineteenth century and the mid-1980s and 1990s. As Pieke (2004: 47) notes, once emigration begins from a certain location, it tends to be sustained by migration brokers. Fujianese communities as a whole also put pressure on individuals to migrate (Lo and Chen 2014).

Considering the differences between the high influx of skilled professionals who came to Britain from Hong Kong in the 1980s, and the more recent influx of immigrants from mainland China, this latter group of migrants can be seen as being part of a new wave of migrants, one that is still on-going. This change is also visible in the make-up of the Chinese community in Britain, and indeed the Chinese community in Sheffield. The four different waves of immigrants outlined above, together with the group of British born Chinese, account for the heterogeneity of the Chinese population in Britain today.

3.2 The Chinese in Sheffield

My research takes place in the Northern English City of Sheffield, in which all but one of my participants lived. Sheffield is one of the largest cities in England, and has two universities; factors that generally generate a more diverse ethnic population. Although the majority of the city's population is ethnically White (83.6%), Sheffield also has a sizeable Asian Pakistani or Asian British Pakistani population (4.0%), a Black or Black British population of 3.6%, and a mixed ethnic group of 2.4% (Office for National Statistics 2011 Census). As of the latest census date, 1.3% of the population in Sheffield classified itself as Chinese (Office for National Statistics 2011 Census). This figure shows an increase of the number of people with Chinese ethnicity living in Sheffield compared to the 2001 census. In 2001, 2,201 people listed themselves as belonging to the Chinese ethnic group. In 2011, 7,398 people listed themselves as of Chinese ethnicity (Office for National Statistics 2011 census). This indicates that between 2001 and 2011, the number of Chinese people living in Sheffield increased by 236.1%.

The growth of the Chinese ethnic minority goes hand in hand with an overall population increase in Sheffield. Reasons for the population growth in Sheffield in recent years are a rising number of births, as well as an increase in the level of international migration to the city. It is especially noteworthy to compare the number of migrants from China and Hong Kong living in Sheffield in 2001

and 2011. In 2001, the country of birth of 668 residents of Sheffield was China, and 593 inhabitants of Sheffield were born in Hong Kong. In 2011, 4,798 people living in Sheffield listed China as their country of birth, compared to 830 Sheffield inhabitants who had listed Hong Kong as their place of birth. This means that between 2001 and 2011, there has been an overwhelming growth of 618.3% of migrants from China living in Sheffield. Sheffield City Council (2014) notes that, more recently, the city has seen an increase in the number of overseas students. Undoubtedly, many of these overseas students have come from mainland China and Taiwan as, in recent years, there has been an almost explosive growth in overseas Chinese students entering the UK (also see Table 3.2 in Section 3.1.3).

Although the significant growth of Chinese students and the steady growth of migrants from mainland China are recent phenomena, Sheffield has had an influx of immigrants from Hong Kong and mainland China for decades. There is evidence of first wave migration in 1855 and 1910 in the local archives, for example (Sheffield Libraries Archives and Information 2011: 4). In 1945, Sheffield held its first 'China week', which indicates that there was already a notable Chinese population in Sheffield at the time (Sheffield Libraries Archives and Information 2011: 4). According to archival information, however, the Chinese population in Sheffield started to really expand in the 1960s (Sheffield Libraries Archives and Information 2011: 5). Today, the Chinese community in Sheffield is still growing and active, as can be seen from the recent census data (Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census), and from numerous Chinese organisations in Sheffield, which offer services for the Chinese community specifically.

3.2.1 Chinese language use in Sheffield

Because Sheffield has a sizeable population of Chinese migrants from different geographical areas, a variety of different Chinese languages are spoken in Sheffield. Before we can talk about Chinese languages in Sheffield, it should be noted that there are many different Chinese dialects spoken in China, and it is impossible to name all of them. Many linguists go with a classification of all dialects into seven groups (Chen 1999; Li 1994; Norman 1988). This classification

is made on the basis of phonological features, and to some extent on the basis of vocabulary and grammar:

1. Beifang (Mandarin) is spoken by around 70% of the Chinese population (Kane 2006: 96)
2. Yue is mainly spoken in the Guangdong and Guangxi provinces and overseas
3. Keija (Hakka) speakers originally came from small rural areas and are now scattered throughout south-east China
4. Min is spoken in the Fujian province, Taiwan and Hainan Islands
5. Wu is spoken in Changjiang
6. Xiang is spoken in the southern central region
7. Gan is spoken in the south eastern inland provinces

Note that Cantonese is not mentioned in the above classification. This is because Cantonese is a dialect of the Yue group; a relatively homogenous group of dialects which is mainly spoken in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces and overseas. The term Cantonese is sometimes used interchangeably with Yue but, in fact, it is only one of the dialects in the Yue group. Cantonese is the dialect of the city of Guanzhou and, as such, enjoys most prestige, which is why it is sometimes used interchangeably with Yue (Norman 1988: 214-15).

Since the Chinese population in Britain is so heterogeneous, this also means a wide variety of Chinese dialects are spoken in Britain, such as Cantonese, Mandarin, Hakka and Min. In 1985, the Home Affairs Committee published a report in which it was estimated that nearly 70% of the Chinese in Britain spoke Cantonese as their first language, 25% Hakka, and 5% some form of the Beifang dialect, to which varieties of Mandarin belong (HAC 1985). Recent census data (Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census) suggests that the number of people whose main language is Mandarin has grown vastly since 1985, but it is estimated that there are still more speakers in England whose main language, or, in other words, their first or preferred language, is Cantonese rather than Mandarin (43,022 versus 21,308 speakers). In Sheffield, however, there are slightly more speakers whose main language is Mandarin rather than Cantonese (609 versus 503 according to the Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census).

There is also a large number of speakers in England (135,048) and Sheffield (4,439) who opted for a Chinese language other than Mandarin or Cantonese. The Office for National Statistics categorised these people with varieties of Chinese other than Mandarin or Cantonese as 'All Other Chinese', but provides no further breakdown of the term. Drawing on the observations of the

report from the Home Affairs Committee in 1985, it can be assumed that a sizeable amount of these speakers have Hakka as their main language.

It is also important to mention that there is an increasing number of ethnic Chinese people with English as their main language. Of all the 381,302 people who were discussed in relation to main languages and self-selected as belonging to the Chinese ethnicity in England and Wales in the 2011 Census data (Office of National Statistics), 169,192 people listed English as their main language, compared to 197,592 people that listed an East Asian language as their main language. Unfortunately, no further breakdown according to main language and ethnicity is provided by the Office of National Statistics. Having discussed language use in the UK and Sheffield more specifically, I now turn to the ethnographic fieldwork that I conducted in Sheffield.

3.3 The ethnographic context

I undertook my ethnographic fieldwork in a language school in Sheffield. The main advantage of choosing a specific site for ethnographic research, such as a school, is that the people under study have already formed a smaller cohesive network of staff, parents and children themselves, rather than being part of a larger, more scattered population which the researcher has grouped together on the basis of a number of variables such as age, ethnicity and/or migratory experiences.

The school in which I undertook my fieldwork had been established in the 1970s, and formed a major part of one the Chinese organisations in Sheffield. Apart from running a language school called the *Dancing Dragon* (pseudonym), the Chinese organisation also organised activities for elderly Chinese people, such as mah-jong afternoons and weekly lunches, and had a women's group that met weekly for outdoor activities and regularly organised talks of interest to the group. There used to be a youth group as well, but this was no longer in existence at the time of my study. The organisation also provided a free advice and support service to any member of the Chinese community who should seek its assistance.

As I was looking for a potential group for my research, I came across the website of this overarching Chinese organisation, of which the *Dancing Dragon* was part. They advertised themselves and provided relevant contact details. Although their website seemed out of date, it did provide contact details, and it also featured

an announcement in both traditional Chinese characters and English, saying that they were looking for new volunteers to help out with their activities. Although, technically, I fulfilled all the listed requirements, such as having a clean driver's license, knowledge of basic computer software programmes, and being bilingual or multi-lingual (I speak fluent Dutch and English), I knew that they would be looking for someone with an ability to speak Chinese. Since I had taken a course in beginner's Mandarin, I decided to call the organisation and see if they still needed new volunteers and would accept me. The organisation was still looking for volunteers, but unfortunately required someone to speak fluent Chinese, as they worked mainly with elderly people who only spoke in Chinese dialects.

The organisation did not refer me to their other groups, such as the school, but I came across them a few days later. The website of the *Dancing Dragon* stated that the aims of the school were to provide educational opportunities and promote the Chinese culture, and the website also had sections on relevant news and the contact details of the head of the school, Mr Mark Kwan (pseudonym). Although my initial email inquiry to Mr Kwan did not yield a response, I was invited to the school for a chat after I made a phone call.

I met Mr Kwan in his office during school term time, in November 2011. He was extremely accommodating and, after having discussed my research with him, he kindly allowed me to come to the school every weekend, so that I could observe its practices and have the opportunity to engage with the parents of attending children. He also warned me of the difficulties of doing research which involved the parents of attending children, explaining that many parents did not speak English and did not come into the school, but preferred waiting in their car while their children attended class.

In the following sections, I describe the technicalities of my engagements with the school and the outcomes of it further. The next part of this chapter describes the fieldwork conducted (in Section 3.3.1), and then continues with a section on participant observation (in Section 3.3.2). Section 3.3.3 contains information on the process of collecting fieldnotes; finally, Section 3.3.4 and Section 3.3.5 describe the recorded data I collected and the methods of transcription I used.

3.3.1 Fieldwork

Ethnographic fieldwork is a valuable way of studying a community because it involves studying people in their natural environments. This allows for a more context-driven understanding of what is meaningful to the participants studied, and therefore provides the researcher with insight into the lives of research participants from the point of view of the participants themselves. An ethnographer generally conducts participant observations, listens to what people tell him or her, makes fieldnotes, and produces recordings, in order to ensure the data collected reflect people's lives from their own frames of reference as accurately as possible (Fetterman 2010: 34).

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork at the *Dancing Dragon* in Sheffield between November 2011 and 2013, after which I continued to volunteer for the school. At the time I started my fieldwork, the school was still supported by Sheffield City Council, but due to council budget cuts, funding was later discontinued. Throughout my fieldwork, the *Dancing Dragon* was run entirely by volunteers. It opened every weekend for Cantonese and Mandarin language classes, as well as for folk-dance, singing, and dragon/lion-dance activities. During my fieldwork, I spent approximately four hours in the school every week, and got to know the teachers and administrative staff, as well as the children and parents coming to the school.

Like Anderson-Levitt (2006: 292) and Fetterman (2010: 26), I learned ethnography by doing it. I became an ethnographer by observing, asking, taking notes, listening and recording weekly interactions in the *Dancing Dragon*. As I went along with the ethnographic process of coming to understand the community, I acted on my own senses (Eckert 2000: 76) in trying to understand what was salient and what was not, which made uncertainty a major part of my fieldwork (see also Riemer 2009: 204). In total, I conducted participant observation for approximately 400 hours, and recorded just over 6 hours of interview data with 23 participants, 9 male and 11 female. I also collected 23 questionnaires. Below I outline the variety of methods and techniques of data collection I used in more detail.

3.3.2 Observation

A primary method for the ethnographic researcher to get to know the community under study is to observe the daily practices and routines of its participants

(Bouchard 1976: 385). This allows for a more detailed understanding of the lives of the participants, and the social meaning of their everyday interactions and practices (Davis 1998; Davis et al. 2008: 235).

There are several types of observations a researcher can do, such as participant observation, undisclosed observation, structured observation and controlled observation. Like Eckert (1989, 2000), I conducted participant observation, where a researcher takes part in the daily activities, interactions and events of a group of people as a means of coming to understand the practices and culture of this group (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011: 1). Participant observation is a core method of cultural anthropology, and plays a major role in linguistic anthropology.

Participant observation has also been problematised for a number of reasons. It has, for example, been argued that it is highly subjective and dependent on the researcher's perceptions (cf. Merriam 2009: 118). It also has the potential to become problematic due to the ethical dilemmas it gives rise to at times (Sieber and Stanley 1988). Research participants and researchers might, for example, become emotionally involved with each other, or participants might forget the status of the researcher, and confess sensitive and even incriminatory information. Researchers might also face the dilemma of whether to participate in incriminating behaviour in order to gain membership of the community under study (see, for example, Bourgois 1996). It has furthermore been observed that participant observation is time-consuming and somewhat wasteful, in the sense that much more data may be gathered than can be analysed and technical quality of data may be poor (Mayr with Bastow 2008: 170), as well as that it is difficult for researchers using participant observation to define their research questions, because the environment of research is always changing (Li 1994: 70; Mayr with Bastow 2008: 170). Some further arguments are that it is difficult for participant observers to understand what is important and what is not (Li 1994: 70), and that participant observation does not produce work that is systematic and replicable (Li 1994: 71).

Whilst some of these critiques are indeed potential pitfalls of applying participant observation techniques, which researchers should be aware of prior to conducting participant observation, others are either demonstrative of different research perspectives, or are mistaken ideas about what participant observation

entails. For instance, the notion that participant observation is problematic, because it is not easily replicable, is not a problem of the research method used, but a consequence of the reality of how social life and human interaction works. Participant observation, and qualitative methods more generally, recognise this, and are therefore more suitable methods of data collection when researching people's personal lives and interactions.

Another point is that participant observation allows, rather than obstructs, understanding of what is important and what is trivial for the people under study, because intense engagement with a group of people over time allows insight to be gained into their meaning making practices. Other data collection methods, such as survey and questionnaire data collection, tend to be more limited in terms of personal contact between researcher and participants, and in the number of research questions asked, and therefore provide only limited insight into participants' personal experiences and ways of thinking.

In spite of its disadvantages, participant observation can also be highly advantageous. An example of the advantages of conducting participant observation from my own fieldwork is found in relation to the volunteers' feelings towards working at the *Dancing Dragon*. Through participant observation and interview data, it became apparent to me that most teachers were volunteering at the *Dancing Dragon* by obligation rather than by choice. Most of them wanted to resign, but there was no one to take their place, which made them feel obliged to continue their volunteering work. Although the feelings of the staff and teachers with regards to this issue came forward in some of the interviews, most staff members only made these feelings explicit once I had been conducting participant observation for months, and only when they were not recorded. Some information I only gathered because of my observations, such as the resignation of several members of staff. Because I was conducting participant observation for a period of almost two years, staff got to know me better over time, which made it easier for me to understand what was important to them and what was not. It also made them more willing to share information with me. The notion that long-term participant observations helps to get the confidence of members of the community is in fact a common experience of ethnographic fieldworkers (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011: 12; Murchison 2010: 112).

Although I conducted long-term participant observation, the extent of my own participation in the community under observation varied. In the beginning of my time at the school, I was very much a passive to moderately active participant observer. The school for example allowed me to observe lessons and, in the initial stages of fieldwork, I would regularly do so. I would always sit at the back of the classroom, behind all the other students, and observe the structure of the lessons and the interactions between participants in the capacity of a pure observer. Teachers and students would ignore me, and it was not my aim to interact with them.

Observing classrooms was the most structured type of observation I did in the school. This type of observation was slightly more systematic because I could observe as many year groups as I liked, and as many lessons as I liked, which helped me to structure my observations in the classroom. It also allowed for comparison of behaviour inside and outside of the classroom. One thing that struck me, for example, was the amount of English used both inside and outside the classroom: in the playground, English was used almost exclusively by pupils. This did not surprise me, but I had not expected that pupils would predominantly use English in the classroom as well. Students would often use English to talk with each other in class, or to provide commentary on the tasks they were doing. During one of my observations in a low level Cantonese class, where the average age of the pupils was six, pupils kept making comments such as 'I don't like this' (when set a task) or 'my pen doesn't work' (during a writing exercise). Generally, teachers would not encourage this kind of language use, but they would also not forbid it. Unlike research findings in other complementary Chinese schools in the UK (Li 2011; Li and Wu 2009; Li and Zhu 2010), the *Dancing Dragon* did not promote a monolingual policy that the pupils were not allowed to use English during school hours. During my observations, teachers would mostly ignore pupils' English. If they did respond to it, their reply would be in Cantonese. Inside the classroom, they would use Cantonese almost exclusively, though outside of the classroom they would also speak English at times. Teachers' use of English outside the classroom is likely to have been influenced by my presence though, as they generally would try to include me in their conversations.

Apart from this more structured and passive type of observation, I also conducted participant observation by walking around in the school and on the

playground at different times of the day, by sitting in the common room with parents, participating in celebratory events organised by the school, and by helping the staff with small administrative tasks. Some of these types of participant observation were markedly more active, such as taking part in celebratory events, but the extent of my active participation, even in celebratory events, would always be directly related to the school and almost exclusively be limited to regular school hours. I, for example, never paid a home visit to any of my participants. In this sense, the community under research in this thesis is a Chinese school community, which provides some invaluable insight into the wider Chinese community in Sheffield, but which is only in some respects reflective of it, and indeed of the wider Chinese community in the UK.

3.3.3 Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes are one helpful method to contextualise witnessed events, interactions between participants, and other everyday routines. They are extremely important to the ethnographic fieldworker as they serve as a basis for coming to understand what is observed, and in constructing an ethnographic text (Emerson et al. 2011: 16). During my time in the school, I regularly made notes of the routines of the school, trying to be as systematic as possible (Emerson et al. 2011: xv). Like participant observation, fieldnotes helped me to contextualise my research and shape my sense of the community I was researching.

Similar to participant observation, fieldnotes are perhaps more subjective than audio recordings. Fieldnotes do not offer access to the situation studied in the same way audio recordings do. They are also always personal in the sense that they represent in written form what the researcher has observed in the field and decided to write down. Not only are these observations personal, but the way they are represented by the researcher in fieldnotes, through stylistic choices of language, grammar and syntax, affects further interpretation when the researcher is later constructing an ethnographic text out of collected material. A counterargument to this drawback is that audio recordings also have to be interpreted, and the subjective view of the researcher is just as much part of the interpretation and construction of ethnographic text out of fieldnotes, as it is out of audio recordings.

Most of my fieldnotes were descriptions of witnessed events or overheard stories. It was not always possible to write extensive notes as I was involved in copying material for teachers and doing other manual tasks for the school. At home, I would work these fieldnotes into more extensive accounts. In total, I gathered over 90 pages of fieldnotes. To make myself more aware of the development of my understanding of the community and my own bias as a researcher, I made an effort to reflect critically on the material gathered every few months, and to write notes on my thoughts and perspectives at these times as well.

3.3.4 Recordings

After months of participant observation, getting to know everyone, and helping out in the school, I started to ask people whether they were willing to be interviewed about their experiences of moving to the UK, or, if they were born in the UK, about growing up in the UK. I was interested to hear about their experiences and feelings about the UK and their country of origin or heritage and in any other themes related to identity, and felt interviews would help me to gather this kind of data.

Interview techniques are useful because they focus heavily on responses from the interviewees, and highlight interviewees' perspectives on a select number of things that might have not been brought up in other types of data collection. They generally also facilitate longer responses from participants, allowing, in so far that this is possible, insight into the lives of participants from the perspectives of these participants themselves.

It should be noted that interview data has been criticised as a technique to access informants' general perspectives or attitudes (Hammersley 2006: 9; Hammersley and Gomm 2008). A large number of these criticisms are gathered under the label 'radical critique of interviews' (Murphy et al. 1998). It is worth discussing this critique at more length, because it has caused major methodological and theoretical dispute among researchers, and is largely informed by research that combines language and social science, such as linguistic anthropology (see Duranti 1997: 103), discursive psychology (e.g. Potter and Hepburn 2005) and conversation analysis (e.g. Heritage and Atkinson 1984). It is also important to discuss this here because the radical critique of interviews rejects

the principles underlying the work of many cognitive researchers, and the framework employed in further chapters in this thesis is a cognitive one.

According to the radical critique of interviews, interview data is flawed for a number of reasons. Critics (e.g. Atkinson and Coffey 2002; Bleich and Pekkanen 2013; Potter and Edwards 2001; Potter and Hepburn 2005), for example, point out that in much research involving interview data, the questions posed by the researcher have been deleted, which results in a failure to understand how participants' responses are formed by these questions, and which undervalues the interactional nature of interviews (Bleich and Pekkanen 2013: 89). They find the presence of a researcher, who has her or his own research agenda and subjective bias, highly problematic. Their recommendation is to analyse 'naturalistic data' (Potter and Hepburn 2005: 301) instead. This is data that would have occurred regardless of the researcher's involvement or the presence of the recording device. It is data that 'would have happened as it would have anyway' (Potter and Hepburn 2005: 301). It should be noted, however, that a recording device, even a small one, may still raise awareness that participants are being recorded and impact upon the interaction occurring. This means that the observer's paradox (Labov 1972) can never be fully resolved (Milroy 1987: 59).

The radical critique of interviews is more extreme, however, in that it ultimately finds interview data incapable of offering accurate 'representations of anything beyond the interview situation itself' (Hammersley and Gomm 2008: 90). This means that according to this critique, we cannot draw any conclusions about the perspectives and experiences of informants or their world beyond the interview. The most extreme version of this critique only recognises research as valid in which the 'performative' interaction between participants is studied, not the semantic content of the interview (e.g. Atkinson and Coffey 2002). This radical version rejects the idea that language reflects cognition, and thus that what people say or write in some way represents, or derives from, what goes on inside their heads (also see Section 2.4). Even if the link between language and cognition *is* acknowledged, it is still argued that we cannot know what goes on inside people's minds, and thus cannot research language using a cognitive framework (e.g. Potter and Edwards 2001: 88). This argument stems mostly from discursive psychology (e.g. Edwards 1997).

Although the radical critique of interviews has helped to raise awareness that caution should be exercised when interpreting interview data, it is unnecessarily reductionist. Interview data *can* tell us something about participants' general perspectives or attitudes. It is true that we cannot know what exactly is inside someone's head at any given moment in time, but this does not mean that we should therefore abandon approaching data from a cognitive perspective, or talk about people's lives beyond the performative interaction of the interview.

Cognitive linguists argue that language, as a uniquely human capacity, derives from cognition and reflects cognition (cf. Evans and Green 2006: 1). It should also be noted that given our general cognitive restrictions on accessing reality – namely, that we can only ever access reality through our own senses – we do not ever study reality, but rather our own conceptions of reality, and through ourselves, other people's conceptions of reality. Thus, when researchers analyse interview data, they *cognitively* construct an interpretation of what people are doing in the interaction studied. As the anthropologist Geertz observed:

what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to [...] Right down at the factual base, the hard rock, in so far as there is any, of the whole enterprise, we are already explicating; and worse, explicating explications (Geertz 1973: 9).

In summary, we always approach data through our own cognitive frames of reference. Acknowledging the cognitive nature through which we experience the world, including language, is a strength, then, rather than something which is to be avoided. To abandon interview data on the grounds that we cannot know the perspectives and experiences of informants or their world beyond the interview, and that the researcher's presence will impact data, means that, in fact, no data in any shape or form would ever be suitable for study. On the contrary, if sufficient attention is paid to the subjectivity of the researcher and the interactional nature of interview data, this *does* allow for interesting insight into how the participants represent themselves and their experiences discursively in interaction. Studied in combination with other methods of data collection, such as sustained participant observation and document collection, these representations can then be held up against other forms of data collection for further insight.

It should also be noted that there are, of course, conventions surrounding the speech event that will affect the development of the discourse, and that participants come to an interaction with their own unique personal histories and

agendas, but this is true for all discourse, including ‘naturalistic’ data. All participants, including researchers, bring their own unique personal histories to their research. This does not only implicate the data collected, but also determines how that data, whether discursively approached or not, is interpreted by the analyst (cf. Moore 2003: 259).

The effect of the researcher’s presence in these interview situations, in other words, the observer’s paradox (Labov 1972: 113), cannot be eliminated from the data (cf. Milroy 1987: 59). This is because participants will always react to the context of the situation, the researcher, the order of the questions, which also makes each interview unique. As Jones (2009: 42) points out, the sociocultural linguistic approach does not problematise this, but suggests that language has unique stylistic meaning within a community at any particular interactive moment. The interview exemplifies one kind of discursive event, in which participants discursively construct and represent their identities in interaction with the researcher.

The advantage of doing ethnography and gathering interview data in the ethnographic environment is that it acknowledges the subjectivity of data and interpretation, and is therefore a better method than research paradigms that fail to address adequately a researcher’s influence upon the research situation and the researcher’s conceptualisation of the research situation. The qualitative method employed in this thesis allows for careful study of the individual way in which a participant responds to me, to the questions asked and to the interview situation as a whole. Throughout the chapters which follow, I combine a fine-grained analysis of the linguistic structure of the interviews with a focus on the content of the discourse, as well as participant observation, document collection and fieldnotes, to construct a comprehensive view of the social world of participants within, as well as beyond, the interview situation. I hold the view that my data is representative of reality as well as ‘socially and epistemologically constructive’ (Johnstone 2001: 644-645). Section 2.4 in Chapter 2 provides a more detailed overview of the theoretical position regarding interview data taken in this thesis.

Because one of the main aims of this thesis is the investigation of the linguistic representation of identity, the recorded interview data was very important to me. I drafted a list of questions based on research that used

interview techniques when researching migration and identity, such as Du Bois (2010) and De Fina (2003a)'s works. These were as follows:

- Where were you born?
- When did you move to the UK?
- Did you immediately move to Sheffield?
 - Why did you come to Sheffield?
 - How did you experience moving to the UK?
- If you grew up in Sheffield: can you tell me something about your experiences?
- How would you describe yourself?
- Can you tell me something about your parents?
- What comes to mind when you think of Hong Kong?
- What comes to mind when you think of mainland China?
- What comes to your mind when you think of the United Kingdom?
- Tell me about your life in Hong Kong before you came here...
- What do you feel is your home?
- How do you experience going (home) to Hong Kong?
- How often do you go to Hong Kong? Tell me something about being there?
- How do you like life in Hong Kong?
- How are people there?
- Do you have dual citizenship?
- Do you plan to stay here or going to Hong Kong at some point?
- Do you celebrate traditional Chinese festivals here?
- Are you involved in any Chinese organisations in Sheffield? Since when? Tell me more about it...
- How do you feel people in the UK perceive you?
- Do you see any differences you see between (Hong Kong versus) mainland China/UK?
- Have you been to mainland China?
- Do your friends and family in Hong Kong perceive you differently now you have moved to the UK?
- Do you think friends and family in Hong Kong perceive you differently because you have been born in the UK?
- What languages do you speak?
 - In general; at home?
- Do you identify yourself with any group or community?
- Network/friends?
- What do you do in your free time?
- What event influenced your life and way of being the most?
- What are your objectives in life?
- What is your age, highest obtained level of education, and what occupation do you have?

Being particularly interested in the narrated life-experiences of migrant families and British-born Chinese people in Sheffield (see Section 1.1), my questions were mostly designed in such a way as to elicit narratives. They would feature open-

ended questions, and I would often prompt participants by asking them to ‘tell me more’ about a certain topic. The questions focused on participants’ experiences in the UK and in their country of birth or heritage, their feelings towards these countries and its people, and other questions related to identity. I asked everyone about the same issues, and I also explicitly asked questions about identity, because I wanted to be open about my research interests, and I hoped interviewees would, in turn, be open about their experiences with me. Asking about the same issues helped me to create a picture of the community under study, and an extra advantage was that it made people feel less apprehensive about being interviewed. For example, I overheard a teacher who had agreed to being interviewed, but initially felt shy about it, ask the head teacher about the interview. He affirmed it was okay, after which she seemed more relaxed.

My interview techniques consisted of semi-structured interviewing. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer generally prepares a list of questions or topics to be discussed in the interview, but maintains the flexibility to follow up new ideas or questions that develop during the interview with the participants as well. The order or particular phrasing of questions asked might also change in semi-structured interviews, as this also depends on how the interview is developing. Like Jones (2009), I made sure to cover all the themes in the interview, but the way in which topics were discussed and the order of the questions depended on the interaction between each participant and me.

Adults, such as parents, teachers, and managing staff, were interviewed separately, but younger people were mostly interviewed in pairs or small groups, because I found they felt more relaxed when they could engage in conversation when they were with their friends. I made an effort to help participants feel at ease and natural in the interview situation. To ensure an informal flow of conversation, I contributed to the conversation, by providing backchanneling comments such as ‘yeah’ and ‘hmm’, and by sometimes telling participants about my own experiences.

I waited to ask for interviews for several months after the start of my fieldwork, to have a clearer idea of the different practices and networks of people within the school, and in the hope that this would make people more comfortable with me and therefore with being recorded by me in an interview setting. This strategy seemed to pay off with most participants. Staff member, Yàn, for

instance, who was part of the management committee and whose interview has been analysed in detail in Chapter 6, grew accustomed to me after a few months and would tell me about what was going on in her daily life and with the Chinese school.

I also noticed that being asked for an interview became a sign of prestige for some participants, and that it was an indication for some people that they were able to provide invaluable information for my research. An example comes from Mr Tse, the head of the Chinese charity organisation. From the start of my presence in the school, Mr Tse was very interested in my research and eager to explain his role in the community to me. When I asked him whether he would like to be interviewed, he was very happy to comply, and told me I did not have to change his name, even though I told him I would anonymise all data, because he did not mind if anyone read about his name in my research. After I had interviewed Mr Tse, whom other members of the community held in high esteem, others seemed much keener to be interviewed as well, and followed in short succession.

3.3.5 Transcribing

I completed roughly 400 hours of participant observation, and recorded just over 6 hours of interview data with 23 participants, 9 male and 11 female. All data collected on the audio recorder was uploaded onto a computer, anonymised, and saved in a password-protected digital database. All interviews were transcribed with the use of the software programme *ELAN*, developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics and The Language Archive in Nijmegen, The Netherlands (Brugman and Russel 2004). *ELAN* is a free software programme that facilitates the time-alignment of sound, visuals (if desired), and written annotations or transcribed language. Considering the interactive data examined in this study, it was useful to be able to identify the moments of overlapping voices in the recording, and have these identified in the transcript easily. I transcribed all interviews orthographically before selecting data for analysis. Transcripts also include the occurrence of laughter, pauses longer than 1 second, and false starts. For transcription conventions, please see Appendix A of this thesis.

As Ochs (1979) notes, the act of transcribing speech is analytical in the sense that the transcriber chooses which features to include in their transcript.

Transcribing the data was analytical to me because of the choices I had to make regarding the written representation of the oral data, but also in that it forced me to listen to the data intensely. Whilst transcribing, I gained insight into the common themes that emerged out of the interviews, and made note of certain interactions that struck me as linguistically ‘rich’. These interactions were typically lengthier than those in other parts of the interview and other interviews. Once the data was transcribed, I carefully read through it time and time again, in order to gain further insight into the common topics discussed and the linguistic self-representation of interviewees in the data. This ethnography chapter emerged partly out of this analysis, together with my fieldnotes, observations, quantitative data and documents collected. The analysis of transcription and the process of re-reading the transcribed data also led to the selection of three case studies of people whose interview data seemed interesting to me, in that they were more lengthy and dealt with relevant topics in an elaborate manner. These interviews were selected intuitively, following standard practices of selecting qualitative data in stylistics (Short 1996; Simpson 2004: 75). These interviews, combined with the information gathered about the participants through other fieldwork methods seemed to allow for fully fledged fine-grained analysis. Detailed case studies of each interview are presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

3.3.6 Questionnaire data

Additional quantitative research was carried out at the *Dancing Dragon* in the first year of ethnographic fieldwork. A questionnaire on language, ethnicity and identity, which featured traditional Chinese characters, simplified Mandarin and English, was designed as an additional tool for collecting data. It was designed by me in English, and then translated by a volunteer at the *Dancing Dragon* and Jiawei Zhang, a Chinese postgraduate student and friend not otherwise involved in this research. The questionnaire asked people about their language use, their feeling of belonging to an ethnic group, their feelings towards the UK and their country of origin or heritage, and any experiences of discomfort they might have encountered in relation to ethnicity, culture, and so on. The questionnaire was aimed especially at a group of mothers at the *Dancing Dragon*, who had difficulty with English and for whom interviews with me were not a suitable method of data collection. The questionnaire was distributed to the mothers that were

waiting in the common room while their children were in class, as well as to the other groups in the school. These were *the dragon/lion team boys*, *the girls downstairs* and *the staff*. I discuss all four groups in detail in Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.5. There was a total of 23 respondents from these four groups. The data was collected anonymously and the respondents were reasonably heterogeneous in terms of background. From the 23 respondents, 7 had been born in China, 8 had been born in Hong Kong, and another 8 had been born in the UK. There were variations in age ranging from 13 to 65. All respondents self-selected to be of Chinese ethnicity. Perhaps surprisingly, all responses were fairly homogeneous.

For example, 17 out of 23 respondents indicated that they felt very strongly or strongly connected to an ethnic group, with the remaining 6 respondents indicating they felt averagely connected. 78.3% of respondents felt a very strong or strong feeling of belonging with the UK. Of the remaining 21.7%, the majority felt average about their connection to the UK, while only 1 person felt a weak sense of belonging to the UK. These results, as well as results to other questions on the questionnaire, were all very similar, and the findings from the questionnaire data can be summarised as follows:

- the majority of respondents spoke Chinese at home but also used English;
- the majority of respondents felt a strong or very strong connection to an ethnic group;
- the majority of respondents felt a strong or very strong connection to the UK;
- the majority of respondents felt a strong or very strong connection to their country of origin or heritage;
- just over half of respondents rarely or never felt out of place or uncomfortable because of their ethnicity, race, skin colour, language accent or religion, although a minority reported they sometimes felt out of place because of their ethnicity, race, skin colour, language accent or religion.

Given the small size of this sample, these results do not carry any statistical significance, cannot serve as representative data sample, and cannot be generalised to make any specific inferences about the people attending the *Dancing Dragon* or the wider Sheffield community. That said, the questionnaire data remains beneficial in that it functions to provide further background information in this chapter.

3.3.7 Ethical awareness

Considering ethics when conducting research is always necessary, but in research which involves human participants it is crucial that researchers take the responsibility to protect their research participants from harm and recognise their rights. My study was potentially sensitive in nature as it involved families – including children – being asked to tell me about their personal lives. There was also the possibility that participants’ stories touched upon sensitive topics such as ethnicity, race, racism and discrimination. Ethnography, by definition, can be experienced as intrusive in nature, as it generally involves a researcher prying into the life of others – if even by observation or the study of written material. However, participants’ experiences of intrusion can be limited by following ethical guidelines. Taking into account the University of Sheffield’s guidelines on ethics, I made sure I had permission from the school to do participant observation and to talk to parents and children and, when observing in a classroom, I would always ask the teacher first whether they agreed with being observed. When speaking to people I would also be honest about my identity as a researcher and postgraduate student from the University of Sheffield, and I would explain why I was at the Chinese school. I told people that I was researching language and identity within the Chinese community in Sheffield. Although this made it quite explicit that I was interested in language and identity, during the conversation, I emphasised my wish to learn more about Chinese culture and customs, rather than telling them explicitly about my interest in linguistic self-representation and narratives of immigration and identity.

My project was considered and approved by the School of English ethics committee, and I considered it my ethical duty to inform people about my project and provide them with the freedom to choose not to be involved from the beginning. I adopted the ethical guidelines set out by the University of Sheffield Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue (6th version, not dated) in my conduct with the people with whom I came into contact in the Chinese school. The guidelines advise that participants in research have a right to ‘consent to participate, withdraw from, or refuse to take part in research projects’ (6th version, date unknown: 2), should not be put at risk, remain anonymous, and that any data they provide should be kept safe and handled confidentially. Therefore, whenever someone verbally consented to being recorded I would provide them with a written information sheet and two written

consent forms to complete whenever they felt comfortable to do so, either at home or at the school (see Appendix B). If they were still willing to be recorded after having read it, I would go over their rights and my duties again to make sure we were in agreement over what it meant before we both signed the consent forms. We both signed two copies so that a participant could take one home with them as a reminder of their participation and their rights, and I retained the other one as my confirmation that they had given me their consent. All names in this study, including references to organisations, are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of individuals participating. I should note that if people introduced themselves to me by their title and surname, e.g. 'Mr X' or 'Mrs Y', and they were referred to by others in this manner, I have adopted the same form of address in the thesis too. If, on the other hand, members would introduce themselves using their first names, and would continue to do so throughout the fieldwork, I adopted a pseudonym for only their first names instead.

Despite my ethical awareness of the situation, I still experienced some 'ethically awkward moments' (Jones 2009: 49) during data collection. Although I had agreed with the head of the school that I would volunteer to thank the school for helping me with my research, I sometimes felt that I was more of a burden than a help, as I did not speak Cantonese, good Mandarin or Hakka, which meant that someone always had to translate for me what I had to do, and this greatly limited my ability to help out. My help was mostly limited to stapling, copying and folding letters. Of course these things needed to be done as well, but I sometimes felt the staff would hand over tasks just so that I could be involved, and not because they felt that it helped them out. The help they were giving me with my project seemed not in balance with the help I was giving them in return, which at times made me feel uneasy.

The staff were, however, extremely kind to me, and they did their best to make me feel comfortable. As the year progressed, everyone started to see me as a regular participant in the school. I was added to the yearly report as a 'voluntary assistant', given a name badge when I helped out with Chinese New Year, and it was assumed that I would come back the next year to help out. Especially after Chinese New Year, when I had been helping out the entire day, I felt more accepted by members in the community. I spoke to Mr Pak that day, who founded the school in the 1970s, and who was very friendly towards me. He told

me that he had seen me helping out in the school many times, which he really appreciated. This suggested that people recognised that I was part of the social structure of the school, because they had also seen me volunteering outside regular school hours.

Nevertheless, there was always my awareness, and perhaps also the awareness of the same members of the community, that I was an outsider. For example, Mr Kwan, sometimes used the term ‘Gweimui’ when calling me. This term is used to refer specifically to non-Chinese girls or white girls. This was not meant as a racial insult at all, but it does indicate my presence as non-Chinese in a Chinese school, and how I stood out from other members of the Chinese school in this respect. This ethnic difference between us brings up questions of legitimacy, addressed in the next section of this chapter.

3.3.8 Legitimacy in the Sheffield Chinese community

My legitimacy and membership within the *Dancing Dragon* community is best discussed in terms of the different networks of people I identified within the school, as each group reacted differently to me, and in certain groups I was more easily accepted than in others.

Firstly, I am Caucasian and, in a way, my Caucasian features caused me to be considered an outsider for every group. The first time I walked into the school, I felt people were looking at me with great surprise, and the following few weekends I also noticed people were looking at me. There have also been times when I wondered whether I was the subject of a discussion. I by no means went unnoticed and I think that, had I looked more Chinese, it might have been easier to blend in with all of the groups, which would have made it easier to approach certain members of the *Dancing Dragon*.

However, I did also feel that being non-British and non-Chinese was helpful to me in some way, as I felt people critical of the UK, China, or the Chinese community were less inclined to keep these comments to themselves for fear of offending me. Furthermore, I observed that different groups of people would react differently towards me. The people looking at me with a surprised or puzzled expression were most often a group I call *the attending mothers* (see Section 3.4.2). Some other groups, like *the dragon/lion team boys* (see Section 3.4.4), initially ignored me, whereas some members of staff would start a conversation with me

regularly. I also came to realise that the only people who ever came to the school were children (and a few adults) taking classes in Cantonese or Mandarin, parents of attending children, administrative staff, and teachers.

In the months that I attended the school, I saw people from outside these groups only three times. Once, it was a Chinese MA student from the University of Sheffield who wanted to gather data on language acquisition; the second time, it was a white girl of about ten years old, whose parents thought it would be good for her to come along with her neighbour for a day as they were considering enrolling her for Mandarin classes; and the third time, it was white middle-aged woman. The reason I am singling out these events is to show the small amount of exposure the *Dancing Dragon* had to outsiders, and the fact that the presence of Caucasian people was uncommon. Pupils were asked to fill out their ethnicity on the registration form when they enrolled for classes and, although there were also a few other ethnicities present, most children (or their parents) self-selected as Chinese. It is therefore not unreasonable that members of the school looked at me so much in the beginning, likely wondering what I was doing there. I explained to those who asked me, and to those with whom I engaged in conversation, that I was a student from the University of Sheffield, researching language and identity within the Chinese community in Sheffield.

Secondly, my limited language skills could have made me more of an ‘outsider’ than an in-member of the community. I spoke only very limited Mandarin, and no Cantonese, which made it difficult to talk to members of certain groups. I also came to realise that people within the school spoke different dialects. The group of mothers waiting for their children, whom I termed *the attending mothers*, could speak Cantonese and Mandarin, but were mainly speaking other varieties, such as Hakka, Min, Teochew and Leizhou. These varieties of Chinese are not always mutually intelligible. I did not speak any variety of Chinese fluently, and many of the mothers spoke only limited English. Hence, communication with this group was necessarily limited. For this group I therefore largely remained an outsider although, after a while, they did not seem to notice me as much anymore, and seemed to be used to my presence in the school every weekend.

Despite the age difference between some of the people frequenting the Chinese school and me, I was less concerned that my age would prevent me from

being seen as part of the group. At 23 to 25 years of age, I felt I was young enough to engage with the teenagers, but simultaneously old enough to understand and share certain practices with most of the older people. Ultimately, and similarly to Jones' (2009) experiences of legitimacy in her ethnography of the identity practices in a group of lesbian walkers, I found that what afforded legitimacy was my interest in the group's demographics and the reasons for their feelings of belonging. I could never obtain the same status as an in-member of the group. However, expressing an interest in Chinese culture and customs, and volunteering at the school, did provide me with some sort of legitimacy. I felt that by helping out and turning up every week, I had demonstrated my own reason for belonging to the Chinese school and that that was ultimately accepted by other members of the community. I felt this especially after the Chinese New Year celebration, when I had volunteered the entire day, helping out with organisational side of this important celebratory event.

3.4 The *Dancing Dragon*

The Chinese school could be seen as divided into two sections: a Mandarin section and a Cantonese section. Mandarin classes are held in the morning, Cantonese starts in the afternoon. Both classes have a break of twenty minutes in the middle of teaching. Although together the Mandarin and Cantonese sections formed the *Dancing Dragon*, they could be seen as entirely different strands from the same organisation. Officially the organisation lists one head teacher, Mr Kwan, but there are also two deputy heads. One of them, Mrs Chen, functions as the head of the Mandarin section of the *Dancing Dragon*. In effect, this means that, although Mr Kwan is the main supervisor of the school, he only attends the Cantonese sessions of the school.

Because my research focuses mostly upon Hong Kong immigrants and their families, and because I received permission for my research from Mr Kwan, I started to attend the Cantonese sessions of the *Dancing Dragon*. For the first year and a half of fieldwork, I came in every weekend around noon, and stayed until the school finished. This meant that I came during the break between the Mandarin and Cantonese school sessions. Usually I arrived simultaneously with staff members of the Cantonese classes, and just in time to say goodbye to the staff members of the Mandarin classes. In the second half of my stay at the

Dancing Dragon, when my fieldwork was finished, but I still attended the school to volunteer, I usually came in just in time for the Mandarin classes in the morning, and stayed for the rest of the day.

The *Dancing Dragon* is located in one of the buildings of the *Peak Valley School*, a comprehensive school in Sheffield. The particular building which the *Dancing Dragon* occupied consisted of 2 floors, and had approximately 15 rooms in total that functioned as classrooms or computer rooms. There was also a music room and a small office for the head teacher downstairs, but these were not used by the *Dancing Dragon*. There was also a staff room with an adjoining kitchen. On its own, the building seemed sufficiently equipped to function as a small primary or junior school. The classroom adjoining the staff room functioned as a common room and a practice room for cultural activities. Usually most of the tables and chairs were piled against the back of the classroom, and groups of people - mothers, teachers and children - would sit on some of the chairs in one of the corners during school lessons and in the breaks, chatting loudly. This room was always busy, and there were always people walking in and out. Lion/Dragon dance classes were also held here at noon.

The building of the *Peak Valley School* fitted the purpose of the *Dancing Dragon* well, as there was enough room for the scheduled Chinese classes. The location seemed ideal as well, as it was easy to reach for people within Sheffield and its vicinity, and provided ample parking space. As my fieldwork progressed, I came to understand that, similar to what has been observed in many high school ethnographies (e.g. Eckert 1989; Moore 2003: 36), space had meaning to members of the community. Different groups of people would distinguish themselves not only through their distinct practices within the school; they also marked themselves by the space they occupied. Each group had its own place, either inside or outside the school, where they usually resided during *Dragon Dance* school hours. This space was clearly defined in the sense that members from other groups hardly ever sat down in a location that was normally occupied by another group. I came to the school every week with the knowledge that there would be parents, children and staff and, although having knowledge of previous work conducted in Chinese complementary schools (Archer et al. 2010; Francis et al. 2009, Francis et al. 2010; Li 2011; Li and Wu 2009; Li and Zhu 2010; Thorpe 2011) and the Chinese community at large (Li 1994), I tried to suspend any kind

of pre-conceived ideas of categories, in order to avoid ‘dichotomies of social behaviour’ (Moore 2003: 50). Moore conducted ethnographic work in a high school, and in her explanation of dichotomies of social behaviour she refers to the work of Eckert (1989, 2000) and Willis (1977), which tends to focus on anti-/pro-school dichotomies. She explains that although extreme groups of people, or ‘communities of practice’ (Eckert 2000) help to define the range of different groups within a community, focusing on these extreme groups of people means less extreme communities of practice are neglected (Moore 2003: 49). Although I was aware that there would be distinctions between parents, staff and children, I aimed to avoid focusing on the extreme networks I expected to find, and instead explored the networks of people through my contact with individual members of the *Dancing Dragon*, and through participant observation. Over time I became more aware of the social structure of the *Dancing Dragon*; of sets of individuals that formed different social groups, and of the relationships between them. Below is an explanation of the different networks of people I came to recognise, and the place they took in the school.

3.4.1 *The staff*

The managing staff and some of the teachers belonging to this group would mainly reside in the staff room. The managing staff would usually sit at the same desks of the staff room every weekend, working. The teachers would drift in and out before the classes started, as well as during the break, sometimes with papers for copying or with a cup of green tea. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I associated frequently with the managing staff. I would help them out with copying work and other manual tasks, and we would sit together and chat while working. The managing staff all spoke English, which made it easier for me to engage with them. Table 3.3 lists all the individuals who will be discussed in the subsequent discussion, what roles they fulfilled, the age-group they belonged to, and their gender. Please note this table is not an exhaustive list of all the volunteers at the Chinese organisation and the *Dancing Dragon*.

The managing staff had been working at the Chinese school in the same position for many years. Mr Ng, whose interview has been analysed in detail in Chapter 4, had been volunteering at the Chinese school for more than twenty years, while Mr Kwan had been the head of the school for more than ten years.

Table 3.3 List of individuals that formed part of the staff and were interviewed, in alphabetical order

Names (pseudonyms)	Roles	Gender	Age group
Emma	Teacher at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	Prefer not to say
Faith	Teacher at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i> , wife of Mr Kwan	Female	45-54
Mr Kwan	Head teacher of the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Male	55-64
Lai	Teacher at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i> , wife of Mr Ng	Female	45-54
Mr Ng	Management Committee member of the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Male	55-64
Mr Pak	The founder of the <i>Dancing Dragon</i> and Chinese organisation	Male	70+
Phoebe	Teacher at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	35-44
Mr Tse	Head of the Chinese organisation	Male	65-74
Yàn	Management Committee member of the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	45-54

The tasks of the managing staff consisted of writing funding applications, keeping up with administration and finances, updating the webpages, helping with visa requests and other problems, writing letters for parents, helping teachers with their lesson plans, and so on. There were only three members of the managing team (Mr Kwan, Mr Tse and Yàn) running the administrative side of school every week, and as a result they were always very busy. The deputy head of the school and chair of the Chinese organisation, Mr Tse, would come into the school every once in a while for formal occasions such as a graduation ceremony, or sometimes for a chat or to help out in an extra busy time. Around Christmas and before the New Year the founder of the *Dancing Dragon* and Chinese organisation, Mr Pak, would also appear occasionally.

The teachers and the managing staff formed a close group, and two of the managing staff members were married to teachers. Most managing staff and teachers had come to be associated with the school because of their children, who were attending the Chinese school, or who were now adults but had attended Chinese school when they were young. Most teachers had been volunteering at

the school for as long as the staff, some of the staff had been teaching at the Chinese school prior to becoming part of the managing committee, and some of the staff and teachers had attended the school themselves when they were young. This created a bond amongst staff and teachers alike, as well as with the Chinese school. In this sense, the staff and teachers seemed to be part of a tight-knit Cantonese community, linked because they moved to or grew up in Sheffield from Hong Kong, surrounding territories, or Guangdong. They all shared a feeling of responsibility towards the Chinese school and the importance of continuing Chinese education for their children.

During the months I spent in the school, it became apparent to me that most of the staff and some of the teachers were volunteering more by obligation than by choice. Most of them wanted to resign, but there was no one to take their place, and so they felt obliged to continue their volunteering work. Most of the staff would not discuss this much, except for on annual general meetings and yearly staff introductions, when they would invite others to join the staff committee. Only some people expressed this to me in their interview, such as Mr Tse. Mr Tse was a retired teacher and the head of the Chinese Association, which he has been for more than ten years. Before that, he was the head of the Chinese school, which he became because he felt pressured to save the school from closing, as he describes below:

- 1 Mr Tse so I say well erm I feel people act me on and I say go- you know do
 2 something so I did something erm because it was going to something like
 3 twenty I say well erm I feel people act me on and I say go- you know do
 4 something...so I did something erm because it was going to something
 5 like twenty twenty people in the whole school [...] and then erm I said
 6 erm you know I need to do this this and this and then the second year we
 7 got to seventy odd people
 8 Isabelle wow
 9 Mr Tse and after that I wanna leave 'no they say you can't leave you can do it one
 10 year and then leave us to do it again' I said 'the structure is there' @ so
 11 onto erm erm the second year and it went up to one hundred something
 12 and it went up to two hundred I think so

Extract 3.1 *Extract from interview transcript with Mr Tse, lines 1-12*

Here Mr Tse describes how he felt people expected him to save the school, and that he told himself that he needed to do something, and indeed made changes to how the school was run. When he wanted to leave after creating a positive change after a year, 'they' told him he could not leave and should stay for

another year, which he did. In fact, Mr Tse was still actively helping out at the time I conducted my fieldwork.

Mr Tse was held in high esteem by other members of the community for his role in managing the Chinese school and the Sheffield Chinese organisation under study. Over the years, he sacrificed enormous amounts of his time to help out in the community. Although he was retired, Mr Tse continued his voluntary work. It was clear from the active way in which he involved himself in activities in the Chinese community, as well as on the many occasions he talked to me about his work and achievements in the Chinese school and in his professional life, that he was very dedicated to the Chinese community, and really believed in educating young people. As a retired teacher, he also had a strong passion for education and pedagogy, which combined well with his work in the Chinese school. He seemed very proud of having worked as a teacher in a prestigious school, and with his achievements in the Chinese community.

His belief in education and his self-identification as a teacher also helped in managing hurtful comments because, as a teacher, he dealt with ‘all sorts of thing every time’ (line 14), as he explains in the following extract from my interview with him:

1 Mr Tse it is it is improving I think people's political erm viewpoint and
2 understanding what of racism is has changed a lot and also I suppose
3 media and everything brings that sort of things I- people didn't know I
4 suppose it is actually a crime in @ in being racist right and if you like
5 seeing the footballer @ get into trouble you know and now he's going
6 to court so people are more aware of it but in the old day people did
7 not know they call you names in the way that's erm they didn't know it
8 was racist or even student can do that, I mean younger student, I'm not
9 talking of university so erm education is part of it or hm I'll call a
10 student up and say do you know what you just said and and explain to
11 them, some of them didn't know they they think yeah ignorant they
12 think it is acceptable and to some people it's very hurtful [...] I see less
13 of it now erm I can deal with it because I'm a teacher I deal with @ all
14 sorts of thing every time I can deal with it yes right if you say less
15 painful now maybe it is less painful now because I know how to deal
16 with it

Extract 3.2 *Extract from interview transcript with Mr Tse, lines 1-16*

Mr Tse was not the only member that expressed a wish to leave the school. Other staff members also wanted to leave the school, but this was not spoken about much, except for on annual general meetings with the members of the association,

and yearly staff meetings with teachers. They did not speak to me about this in the interviews. Mr Ng, who had been volunteering at the school for nearly twenty years, left after the school year of 2011-2012. He still came to the staff meeting and some weekend sessions in 2012-2013 and 2013-2014. He explained that he decided to retire after more than twenty years, but that he still helped out with registration of students for the new school year and with teaching Yàn how to use the database. I had been notified that he would leave after the school year 2011-2012, as Yàn had one day whispered to me that the school might have to close soon, because Mr Ng was leaving and they had no-one to replace him.

Mr Ng fulfilled a pivotal function within the Chinese school. He was the person everyone went to when they had any problems. He helped with visa applications, translating, personal (family) problems, and administration. The reason he was seen as so important was because he had been working at the Chinese school for so long, but also because he was working as a council welfare worker. This job extended itself to outside his normal working hours. Yàn told me that the management committee wanted her to replace Mr Ng, but there was no way she could, and she did not want to take on so much extra voluntary work. She had already thought about giving up the position of treasurer, which she had been doing for around five years, but there was no one to replace her either. Still, the next school year (2012-2013) and the years after (2013-2014 and 2014-2015), she had taken on the duties of secretary on top of her duties as a treasurer.

When I had the chance to talk to her about this, she said she felt nervous about having all these extra responsibilities to do while she was still learning about being a treasurer, and that she found managing the database particularly hard because everything was in Chinese and her Chinese was not very good, jokingly adding that the Chinese of her children was better than hers. She also told me people were far too busy with their own lives, and not willing to sacrifice their time to run the Chinese school, but she felt that it was her duty to do so as she wanted her children to be able to learn Chinese.

Mr Kwan had the same problem of having no one to replace him. I had heard from Yàn he wanted to resign for some time, but nobody came forward who wanted to take over, so he felt obliged to continue his role as the head of the Chinese school. At the teacher-staff meeting of 2012-2013, Mr Kwan officially announced he would like to retire, like Mr Ng, and that if anyone wanted to step

in they should come to talk to him. Nobody looked at him while he was announcing this, and I got the feeling no one would step forward as potential head of the school. I also noticed at the staff meeting in 2012-2013, that most teachers had been replaced. These included the wife of Mr Ng, Lai, and a couple of other teachers who had been teaching at the school for years. Mr Kwan continued to be the head of the school for the following years, 2012/2013 and 2013/2014.

3.4.2 *The attending mothers*

The mothers attending the Chinese school were most easily distinguishable as a separate group. I recognised them as a collective early in my fieldwork, because they were almost always in a group, unlike the children and teachers who went to separate classrooms to attend lessons. *The attending mothers* would always sit in a corner of the common room. They were usually already there when I came in. Most mothers either had children that attended additional folkdance classes and Cantonese classes after that, or Mandarin and dance or dragon/lion dance classes afterwards. Some children attended both Mandarin and Cantonese classes, and their mothers would be in the school from early morning to late afternoon. There were also two grandmothers in the group, but I have grouped them with *the attending mothers*, as they clearly shared their practices. Although the group changed slightly every week, the core of this group was roughly always the same. The mothers in this group had different native languages. A few women, especially the older ones, were speakers of either Hakka or Cantonese. If they were native Hakka speakers they would also speak Cantonese, as Hakka is a dialect from a region close to Hong Kong. Most of those women came from regions in mainland China close to Hong Kong. The other women were native speakers of other dialects, and they all spoke standard Mandarin (Putonghua) as well. While their children were in class or attending dance or dragon/lion dance activities, the mothers would chat amongst themselves (often loudly), read Chinese magazines and newspapers, and occasionally share their homemade baking with each other. Similarly to Bell's (2011: 126) observations, the Chinese school was a unique opportunity for the women to meet other Chinese mothers.

The attending mothers were one of the first groups I came in contact with after my meeting with the management in November 2011, but they were also

one of the most exclusive groups. I would usually be around the common room before and during lessons, as this is where most activity was taking place, and I therefore had tried to make contact with this group initially. I had sat down next to one mother, asking her first if the chair was available, to which she had replied positively, and I subsequently asked her whether her children were going to Chinese school. She did not really reply, but looked somewhat shocked at me for asking something. I did not feel that my question was met with suspicion, but considered the woman to be shy or not used to talking with people she did not know very well, as well as there being a language barrier. I soon also came to realise the extent of this language barrier. Although Mr Kwan and Mr Ng had warned me that most parents did not speak English, I mistakenly expected them to be able to speak the language but to not be comfortable with it, but later I realised that perhaps some of *the attending mothers* really did not speak the language at all. I speak very limited Mandarin and no other Chinese dialects, and I felt this was a major factor in being unable to obtain access to core members of this group.

After having attended the school for some months without being able to make much contact with people, Mr Ng helped me one day and asked the mothers who spoke English whether they would like to participate in my research. There was one mother who came forward. Her daughter and son attended the Mandarin classes every weekend, and her daughter also participated in folkdance at the *Dancing Dragon*. I talked to her about living in Britain, being Chinese and her home country. This was not a recorded conversation as I had only just met her. She told me that she was an ethnic Chinese from Malaysia, and was unhappy that many people did not realise that many Chinese come from countries other than China or Hong Kong. Her native language was Mandarin. She told me she had quite a hard time fitting in with the other members of the group in the Chinese school, as they were quite exclusive. She told me they came from a specific part of mainland China – Fujian province – and although they knew Mandarin, they spoke a dialect amongst each other that she did not speak very well. She was trying hard to fit in, so she did not want to speak with me for too long, but she agreed to be interviewed later. I gave her all the interview information, but when I came back the week after, she told me she had decided she did not want to be interviewed because I asked for too many details.

Another peripheral member of the group was Lily. Lily dropped her daughter off at folkdance every weekend, and she sometimes stayed until her daughter finished with the Cantonese lessons afterwards. She was very friendly with some of the older people in the group, and sat with the group if she stayed in the school. Lily was a peripheral member of the group in the sense that she did not share all the practices of the main group. She did not come every week to chat with all of the other mothers, and usually restricted her interactions to the older members of the group, perhaps also because of the language difference between her and most other mothers. A further difference between Lily and the rest of the group was that she had been born in Sheffield, and had lived in the UK since she was nine. In this sense, her experiences of moving to and living in Britain were undoubtedly different from those of the other members of the group, most of whom had migrated later in life. Lily was also much more open to communication with me, and comfortable speaking English.

Although not representative of the other mothers attending the school, Lily represents a group of older generation British-born Chinese who were born in the UK but sent to Hong Kong to live with relatives (Bell 2011: 76-78; Benton and Gomez 2008: 211; also see Watson 1975). Lily was born in Sheffield, but was sent back as a baby to live with her grandmother in the new territories, because her parents were too busy with their work in the catering industry to care for her. In the nine years that she lived in the new territories, she only saw her parents once or twice. She was very close to her grandmother at the time.

Lily came to live in Sheffield with her parents when she was nine. She found it difficult settling in the UK, because she had felt very settled in her grandmother's village, and was doing well at school there. She had been taught very little English and struggled living in Sheffield because of this. Because of her English, she was first sent to a language centre to learn English before being sent to a mainstream school, but she still found it hard to integrate into the mainstream schooling system. Her English language abilities were not of the same level as those of her classmates, and as a result she struggled with a lot of subjects and was given study material at a lower level than the other children. Lily also felt she lacked certain cultural knowledge other children had been brought up with, as she explained using an example of a school project on newspaper writing:

- 1 Lily: I remember doing this project about erm wr- writing a newspaper article
2 about a crime scene and and you had to be a detective character and [...]

3 you had to choose your own detective character and because I'd you know
 4 I'd not grown up in the in in England I did not know what character to
 5 pick and I did not know what other people's character pick you know
 6 what they pick what they meant you know people calling themselves
 7 Sherlock Holmes and I did not know who Sherlock Holmes were and it
 8 was things like that you know made it a bit difficult but obviously you
 9 know I probably had to sort of adapt very quickly but it was just things
 10 like that I think made integration at that point quite quite difficult I think
 11 because of the hm of the erm of what I wasn't exposed to what you know
 12 other kids were exposed to at the same age.

Extract 3.3 *Extract from interview transcript with Lily, lines 1-12*

Lily's comment that she 'probably had to sort of adapt very quickly' (line 9) also expresses her need to integrate. Although she struggled at first, once she was further in her schooling and in university, she felt her home was in the UK.

3.4.3 *The attending fathers*

After attending the Chinese school for a few weeks I realised there was a sharp gender division in the school between the fathers and mothers who frequented it. Many fathers of children did also visit the school, but never came inside the building. They would remain out on the parking lot of the school, where they would socialise and enjoy leisure activities, such as playing with radio-controlled cars. Like the mothers, they seemed to use the *Dancing Dragon* as a meeting place to socialise with other Chinese people. Making contact with this group was very difficult for various reasons. The main barrier was a language barrier, but the sharp gender division also made it impossible to integrate with this group. They are therefore not a further part of this research (cf. Moore 2003: 41-43).

3.4.4 *The dragon/lion team boys*

The dragon/lion team boys would come in the school every weekend around noon for their dragon and lion dance practice, which took place in the common room. Table 3.4 provides a list of the members of this group who gave their consent to be part of this research and were interviewed.

Table 3.4 *List of the individuals that were part of the dragon/lion team boys and were interviewed, in alphabetic order*

Names (pseudonyms)	Roles	Gender	Age group
Edward	Member of the dragon/lion team	Male	15-19

James	Member of the dragon/lion team	Male	15-19
Kenneth	Member of the dragon/lion team and pupil at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Male	15-19
Michael	Member of the dragon/lion team and pupil at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Male	15-19
Philip	Member of the dragon/lion team	Male	15-19
Tak-Cheung	Teacher and member of the dragon/lion team	Male	19-25

Dragon and lion dances are forms of traditional Chinese performance arts. They are mostly performed at cultural celebrations, such as Chinese New Year. The dragon has a long history and powerful symbolic status in China. Outside of China it is often seen as a symbol of Chinese culture. The China dragon represents (imperial) power, dignity, strength and good fortune. Dragon dances are centuries old (Gunde 2002: 107).

A dragon is usually around 112 feet (34 metres) long, although it can be made both shorter and longer. It rests on long poles, which are held by people operating the dragon. Because of its size, a dragon is usually held by at least eight people. Dragon dances are performed by a team of dancers who need to have synchronised their performance with the other members of the team. Usually the dancers perform a series of moves to mimic the supposed movements of the dragon.

Lion dance is a difficult sport which incorporates aspects of martial arts – Kung Fu in particular – with acrobatics such as jumping, rolling, balancing on objects, and art performance, like imitating the natural movement of the Lion and mimicking its emotions. In recent years, acrobatic elements have become increasingly popular and, in competitions, lions often perform different jumping techniques on meter high poles. One lion is operated by two people whose upper bodies are inside the lion; their legs form the lion’s paws. A lion performance usually involves two or more lions and, for a performance to be a success, and speed is needed. Being able to work together and timing skills are also essential. Both dances are usually accompanied by drums and music.

A lion dance performance usually incorporates a number of standard elements (Thompson 1987; Vickery 2010: 151) A show, for example, usually starts and

finishes with a greeting to the owner/host and guests. An important element is when the lion gets hungry and starts looking for food (*choi cheng*), but a few other aspects of a show are: sniffing, the lion exploring the situation, expelling misfortune and bad spirits, and spreading happiness (Clovis 2006: 80). Usually the *suai si*, the sleeping lion, is also included. The rolling of the lion's head during *suai si* indicates that the lion is dreaming. Other elements of the lion dance are flea-biting and self-grooming (Thompson 1987: 43).

The lion-team of the *Dancing Dragon* practiced their different acrobatic moves and choreography with much dedication. When I first started participant observation in November, the lion team was preparing for the Chinese New Year performance in January. They would practice the same acrobatic stunts over and over, continuing until their moves were perfect. When I saw their very successful performance at the Chinese New Year celebration of the Chinese school in January, I was amazed at how effortlessly they seemed to do all kinds of stunts, and how well-structured the overall performance was, as I realised the effort that was involved in carrying out such a successful performance.

There is no consensus on the origin of dragon dance, although some legends list a connection to the Han dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.). There are also several stories about the origins of the lion dance. It has been linked to the Tang dynasty (AD 618-906), when the Chinese poet Bo Juyi (772-846) included a description of the lion dance in one of his poems (Feltham 2009: 110). Lions do not exist in China, but one legend has it that around 700 A.D., during the Tang Dynasty, the Emperor had a dream in which he was saved by a strange and mysterious creature. When he later recounted the dream to his advisors, he was told that the creature resembled the Western lion. He ordered them to create a model of it, and as a consequence, the lion became a symbol of good luck and prosperity throughout China. Another traditional story tells of lions being given to the emperor, and yet another legend recounts a lion terrorising a small village in China. Villagers came together and made as much noise as possible, beating pots and pans, to scare the lion. Some villagers even dressed up as a lion.

Most of the dragon and lion dancers had been practicing dragon and lion dance for years, and I expected them to know the history or some legends around the dragon and lion dance, but they were not very aware of the stories behind the

dragon and lion dances. An example with some of the central members of the group is given below:

- 1 Isabelle Okay, so can you tell me something about the lion dragon dance? Like
2 what it is about, or can you explain it to me? [...]
3 Edward [it's like a] tradition for celebrations I guess yeah
4 Philip erm I don't really know
5 Isabelle where does it come from, do you know?
6 Philip what's the story behind it no @@
7 [...]
8 Edward [I also don't know] the st- the story behind lion
9 James 'think lion dance was to ward off evil or something
10 [...]
11 Philip [something like that @]
12 [...]
13 Philip I think it's it is just some sort of tradition that they had it for a long time
14 just carry on
15 Isabelle hmhm yeah okay
16 James you know when you you you know the tradition but you don't know why
17 you're doing it
18 Edward @
19 Philip I heard that erm 'cause there's no lion in China erm the some like
20 travellers came back with a picture of a lion I don't don't know how it
21 start but it started because because they never saw I think it was
22 something to do that because like...I think it was the king during that time
23 never saw a lion before and the thing have to do it so they made a lion
24 costume started doing all dances it was something something stupid like
25 that @@ [@@]

Extract 3.4 *Extract from interview transcript with Philip, James and Edward, lines 1-25*

This extract of the interview indicates that, although the boys of *the dragon/lion team boys* followed the traditions, the reasoning behind it was unknown to them, which perhaps represents the generational difference between them and their parents, which also came up earlier in the interview:

- 1 Edward we care we actually care a lot about the rituals and cultures erm well
2 traditions that's actually the word it's like we have set dates so we have to
3 pray and stuff like that like offer lots of food do you ever do that do your
4 parents don't do that?
5 Edward no! my parents do it every single d- all the time
6 [...]
7 Philip yeah we do we do it here as well 'cause like it's part of the culture and like
8 every and we visit the graves and stuff like that
9 Isabelle hmhm
10 Edward yeah you do it y- they're quite like superstitious
11 James yeah we visit the graves
12 [...]

- 13 Isabelle so do you like you celebrate like all these festivals and the the traditions?
 14 Philip yeah
 15 Edward yeah
 16 [...]

17 Edward well ba- well my parents do it and they always tell me to join in so so
 18 basically I have to
 19 Isabelle @ 'kay so d-d in the future like when you are like
 20 Edward don't have much choi-choice
 21 Isabelle have your own family or or way do you think you would like erm continue
 22 you with those traditions or
 23 Philip erm
 24 Edward I probably wouldn't remember the dates or what night to do them so it's
 25 just so they have the older generation probably do it a lot back then so
 26 they probably erm quite set in the head that they have to do but nowadays
 27 erm it's kind of loosened up so probably I probably won't be able I
 28 wouldn't know when to do this stuff
 29 Isabelle yeah okay
 30 James hmm
 31 Philip well it depends I mean the the it well probably we remember like the more
 32 important ones like the new year and

Extract 3.5 *Extract from interview transcript with Philip, James and Edward, lines 1-32*

In the extract above, Edward starts to explain about other traditions, using the pronoun 'we', - 'we actually care a lot about the rituals and cultures erm well traditions that's actually the word' (lines 1-2), and then concludes by asking the others 'do your parents don't do that?' (lines 3-4), making it clear that by the 'we' in the preceding lines he means his family, including himself. At the same time, he differentiates himself from the traditions he has described when he says 'do you parents don't do that?', which indicates his parents are the ones who 'do that' [these traditions], leaving out his own role. When I ask for a clarification of this – 'so do you like you celebrate like all these festivals and the the traditions' (line 13), he explains that his parents do it and they always tell him to join in, 'so basically I have to' (lines 17-18) – which makes it clear that his parents value following the traditions, and oblige him to join in, but that he distances himself from these traditions. When asked whether he will continue the traditions when older, it is not surprising then that he says he probably would not know when to do them (lines 27-28). Philip remarks that the boys probably would celebrate the Chinese festivals (lines 31-32), but in the conversation that follows they have trouble naming the big Chinese festivals, although this might also be because they are not familiar with the names of the festivals in English.

Most members of the dragon and lion dance team were aged between 14 and 24, with the exception of one 6-year-old boy and one 37-year-old teacher. Some members of the dragon and lion dance team had therefore already completed all the classes at the *Dancing Dragon* and, after practice, they would reside in the left back corner of the common room, diagonally opposite *the attending mothers*, until school finished. Many of them had siblings or parents that were still in class, which was a reason for their staying, one also volunteered as part of a Duke of Edinburgh's award scheme. They all used the occasion to socialise together. This mainly meant they compared games on their phones or computers, played cards, chess, or Chinese board games. They told me in the interviews that, in their free time, they would usually play videogames, watch cartoons, and hang out with friends, but that they did not see each other outside of the Chinese school.

Although they all were native Cantonese speakers, the boys always spoke English with each other, unless one of their teachers joined in the conversation. This also happened during the dragon and lion dance practice: one of the teachers would always speak in Cantonese, and they would reply in Cantonese, but if they were giving instructions to one-another they would usually use English. Interestingly, they would give me long explanations of what Hong Kong meant to them, but when asked about the UK they would find it difficult to explain their thoughts. As James describes, it is so 'deeply ingrained in [...] in my surrounding now that I don't really think about it' (lines 9-10):

- 1 Isabelle erm yeah I was just thinking but erm so what do you think of what do you
2 think of when the UK then?
3 Isabelle @ or Sheffield
4 James erm
5 Edward it's err quite nice just the [weather]
6 Philip [@]
7 Isabelle @ 'kay
8 Philip the weather's okay like
9 James I think it's so like I think it's so deeply ingrained in my in my surrounding
10 now that I don't really think about it

Extract 3.6 *Extract from interview transcript with Philip, James and Edward, lines 1-10*

James, Edward and Philip were all in their last years of secondary education, in contrast with one of the teachers, Tak-Cheung, who had just finished his bachelor's degree. Tak-Cheung was very much engaged with his Chinese heritage

and seemed more aware of his feelings towards Hong Kong, mainland China and the UK, constantly comparing them. Below is an example:

1 Tak-Cheung it sounds quite bad but when I think of the United Kingdom it I don't
2 really get the same kind of warm kind of fuzzy feelings [I get when I think
3 about Hong Kong] it's more I guess you get conditioned to it you just [...] used to think like ohh it's just it's just home [...] and it's not really like
4 there's nothing that I feel that's particularly erm unique about UK like for
5 example if you went to Hong Kong and stuff you get all these different
6 foods you get all these different types of shops and erm different fashions
7 and stuff whereas UK is kind of quite mediocre in my eyes and that's
8 that's why I feel it is so-so-sounds quite bad because it is my home and I
9 don't want to disrespect it kind of but it just hasn't got the same kind of
10 erm. I don't get the same kind of warm nostalgic feeling
11

Extract 3.7 *Extract from interview transcript with Tak-Cheung, lines 1-11*

In Chapter 5 of this thesis, extracts of Tak-Cheung's interview are analysed in more detail, which reveal that Tak-Cheung toggles constantly between multiple versions of himself, but ultimately creates a mutually exclusive opposition between Chinese and English through which he can represent himself as Chinese rather than English.

3.4.5 *The girls downstairs*

The girls downstairs would always be downstairs, in one of the classrooms or the corridor. For this reason I got to know them reasonably late into my fieldwork. I interviewed four members of the group, these are displayed in table 3.5. They were more shy than the other participants I interviewed, perhaps because they had not seen me around as often – I was usually helping out in the staff room and common room, upstairs – or because of the age difference between me and them (as indicated in table 3.5, they were aged 10-14). In their free time, they enjoyed playing computer games, spending time with friends, and one of them particularly liked dancing. They did not go to the same mainstream schools, and met each other usually only for Chinese classes in the weekend. In the interview, they expressed more strongly than the other groups an orientation towards Britishness as opposed to Chineseness, answering that heritage was not that important (Olivia and Monique), or they did not care about it (Chantal), and they told me they felt more British than Chinese.

Table 3.5 List of the individuals that were part of the girls downstairs and were interviewed, in alphabetic order

Names (pseudonyms)	Roles	Gender	Age group
Chantal	Member of <i>the girls downstairs</i> and pupil at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	10-14
Jeanette	Member of <i>the girls downstairs</i> and pupil at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	10-14
Monique	Member of <i>the girls downstairs</i> and pupil at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	10-14
Olivia	Member of <i>the girls downstairs</i> and pupil at the <i>Dancing Dragon</i>	Female	10-14

3.5 Ethnic identity

In contrast with the responses about ‘Chineseness’ and ‘Britishness’ of *the girls downstairs*, a staff member, Phoebe, told me with great wonder and disbelief that some children said they were British while they looked Chinese, which she seemed not to understand. Her children would never do that, according to her. Although both her children, 12 and 14 at the time of my fieldwork, were born in Britain, Phoebe explained that they always said they were Chinese, not British, and that they would never say they were British because they were not, since they looked Chinese. It is clear from her explanation that Phoebe perceived a dichotomy between British and Chinese identity; she seemed puzzled with the notion that one could both be Chinese and British. *The girls downstairs* on the other hand, expressed Britishness and Chineseness as gradable concepts instead, meaning one can be more or less ‘British’ or ‘Chinese’.

Phoebe is not the only participant in my data that created such a dichotomy. As mentioned in Section 3.4.4 and analysed in Chapter 5, Tak-Cheung also creates a mutually exclusive opposition between Chinese and English when describing his own identity. Another example of how Chineseness is interpreted within the community comes from Yàn:

- 1 Isabelle and how would you, so how would you describe yourself?
- 2 Yàn erm what do you mean by whether I’m...(1.0) traditional Chinese or erm
- 3 Isabelle yeah [I don’t know whether]
- 4 Yàn [I I I] still consider as myself 100% Chinese
- 5 Isabelle hmm okay
- 6 Yàn yes I I could say that if I look at my passport then I could say that I’m not
- 7 actually erm really Chinese but I was b- err immigrant here I was born

8 here so I'm like a British citizen in erm Chinese face as you'd call it so I
9 would consider myself being Chinese

Extract 3.8 *Extract from interview transcript with Yàn, lines 1-9*

In the extract above, Yàn defines Chineseness in terms of owning a Chinese passport, so in terms of national identity 'I look at my passport then I could say that I'm not actually erm really Chinese' (as she has a British passport), as well as in terms of how she looks. Interestingly, Yàn uses modality in a remarkable way in the negotiation of her identity in this extract. Note that after stating that she considers herself as '100% Chinese' (line 4), she continues to discuss her identity, but in a rather different way. She considers that she is *not* Chinese, but represents this idea with the use of a conditional construction ('*if* I look at my passport *then*', line 6). The effect of this is that the notion that she is not Chinese is represented as a counterfactual or hypothetical notion, rather than a representation of reality. The further speculation that takes place in this hypothetical world is also framed in terms of hypothetical possibility. Through the use of the modal verb 'could', in 'I could say that', the phrase 'I'm not actually erm really Chinese' is constructed as one hypothetical possibility or possible state of affairs, which leaves open the possibility of alternative scenarios that represent things differently (e.g. that she *is* Chinese). The effect of all of this is that the possibility that she is not Chinese is represented by Yàn as remote and hypothetical, rather than something which could be true. In Section 6.4 of Chapter 6, I discuss the text-world pattern that Yàn creates with the utterance 'yes I I could say that if I look at my passport then I could say that I'm not actually erm really Chinese' in greater detail.

Yàn concludes the short fragment with 'I'm like a British citizen in erm Chinese face' (line 8), and expresses the opinion that she would consider herself as Chinese (line 9). These concluding lines are interesting again, because this time modality ('would') is used to locate a state-of-affairs (being Chinese) closer to reality. Yàn also allows for the possibility of being both British *and* Chinese in the construction 'I'm like a British citizen in erm Chinese face'. Because she has a British passport, Yàn could say she is British, and because she looks Chinese (has a Chinese face), she could say she is Chinese. This contrasts directly with Phoebe's stance that her children were not British since they looked Chinese. These different identity stances mark the diversity in the community under study. Some of the comments, for example those by *the girls downstairs* about the diminishing

importance heritage has for them, also reveal the diminishing role of the *Dancing Dragon* in their lives, which relates directly to the future of the school.

3.6 The future of the *Dancing Dragon*

Mr Tse and Mr Kwan both envisaged the school would not be there in the future:

1 Mr Tse It's a big question mark I think it will slowly...(1.5) it has lasted well
2 actually I thought it would be worse it's lasted well the second generation
3 is here now I mean m- my type of second generation and it seems to carry
4 on but I'm not too sure how long it will carry on because...we are all
5 getting I mean I mean I am retired so and I can't see anybody coming up
6 wanting to do things that we want to do or willing to sacrifice like like we
7 did

Extract 3.9 *Extract from interview transcript with Mr Tse, lines 1-7*

1 Isabelle okay so yeah so then I have two questions actually about the fu- one is
2 about the future [...] so do you think erm about the school in fifty years
3 do you do you think erm will have changed a lot?
4 Mr Kwan I can see myself if in terms of Chinese school-wise and erm there will be
5 change [...] they won't be exist anymore the reason being is the the aim
6 when we providing this service is different now and the at that time it's
7 not many Chinese in here they want to be grouped together to talk to
8 discuss and to share the information so that's why the organisation the
9 *Dancing Dragon* why they were here and now the children most of the
10 children grow up in here or even the next generation is so [...] most of the
11 the the children here [...] was born in here so they don't need the service
12 anymore [...] it's two thing one thing is m- quite a lot erm one thing is
13 erm quite a lot of the erm state school they all provide Chinese now [...]
14 so if they can learn it from the main- mainstream school so they don't
15 need to come to weekend school [...] and also the young children they
16 they they have a lot of err erm social life and err they don't want to be
17 spent to many time in the Chinese school so I can see and erm in I I don't
18 give don't give 50 years erm there will be the Chinese school don't they've
19 they've they will they will gradually lost their function [...] people don't
20 need to be going to organisation to to to find the information or find help
21 because in the you get help in everywhere now and the erm the
22 government do very well under that one they provide the service and like
23 translation and the [...] interpreter and that kind of thing or the literature
24 [...] so I can see there will be gradually there will be yeah we we don't be
25 but that's good thing that like I said the world's changing the place is
26 changing yeah so if the and most of the people can speak English now not
27 like before in the the oldest generation before us before my and they can't
28 speak much English but now most of them can speak so they don't need
29 the interpret service from ourselves now so

Extract 3.10 *Extract from interview transcript with Mr Kwan, lines 1-29*

Mr Kwan's observations show an awareness of the changing Chinese community in the UK, and the Chinese language services offered by mainstream schools and the UK government. He explains how he is unsure about the future of the *Dancing Dragon* and Chinese organisation, and thinks the school will no longer be in existence in 50 years. He explains that he cannot see anyone coming forward to take over his role as head teacher, and knows of no-one willing to sacrifice as much time. He also foresees that the school and organisation will lose their function. He notes that the new generation of people attending the school have been born in the UK (rather than Hong Kong or China), and that they do not feel the need to come together with other Chinese people and share information as much. He recognises that Mandarin is now provided as part of the curriculum by many mainstream schools as well, and that children have a much busier social life these days and no longer want to spend it at the Chinese school. Finally, he observes that people will no longer need information or help from the Chinese organisation or the school, because the UK government is now providing these kinds of services, including translation services and translated documents, and that the level of English of people is also much better.

My own fieldwork findings corroborate Mr Kwan's vision of the school and its possible future in some respects. As explained in Section 3.3.1, the school's local funding from the council was discontinued. This meant that the school was struggling to maintain financial stability, making the likelihood of closure loom dangerously close in the future. In the school year 2014-2015, sufficient alternative funding was not found. To maintain stability, school fees were raised. Because of its profile as a charity and community school and because many of the pupils did not come from affluent backgrounds, the school had initially resisted raising the fees, but sufficient funding became increasingly difficult to obtain and they had no other choice. Continuing to raise the school fees, however, does not seem a viable option to keep the school running, because it undermines the aims of the school (to provide *affordable* Chinese education and cultural activities).

As of the beginning of the school year 2014-2015, the annual lion and dragon dance team was yet to be established. This may have been due to lack of funding, or may have been because most of its members had finished their language education at the *Dancing Dragon*. In fact, the number of Cantonese

language learners registered, which had been decreasing steadily over the past few years, decreased further. Furthermore, no new voluntary management staff had been found yet at the beginning of the 2014-15 school year.

However, there are also still positive signs which suggest that the demand for the school's services might continue a while longer. This is related to the growing Mandarin section of the school. During my fieldwork, the number of pupils enrolled in Mandarin classes was increasing rapidly, and the school had to create extra classes to accommodate all the pupils. Currently, Mandarin classes are still very popular. The Chinese population in Sheffield which speaks Mandarin is now greater than that of Cantonese speakers, and immigration figures of people moving from mainland China to the UK are still increasing yearly. It is therefore likely that Mandarin classes will continue to be in high demand in the coming years, which creates a real likelihood for the school's *raison d'être* not being lost in the coming years either.

The recent increasing dominance of Mandarin in the *Dancing Dragon*, in Sheffield as a whole, and in the UK more widely (see also Section 3.2 of this chapter), was also observed by my research participants. Many of my participants commented at one point during my fieldwork that they heard Mandarin more often, now had to speak it at work, or told me about their wish to be able to speak it fluently. They were certainly aware that there were more Mandarin speakers in Sheffield, as exemplified in Philip's comment below, who was 19 at the time I recorded him:

- 1 Philip no -cause a lot of people when I first came a lot of people they speak
- 2 Cantonese and you you walk into a Chinese people and you expect them
- 3 to speak Cantonese but now you walk into a you upst- like you don't
- 4 know what they speak

Extract 3.11 *Extract from interview transcript with Philip, James and Edward, lines 1-4*

Observations like Philips' or Mr Kwan's vision of the future of the *Dancing Dragon* provide an invaluable source of data, because they show the human side of 'cold statistics'; they show that people are aware of the societal changes going on, and provide insight into how people experience these changes, how it affects their lives, and how they construct and negotiate the meaning of these changes.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an insight into the lives of a select number of people in the Chinese community in Sheffield through an ethnographic lens. I have described the everyday practices of the community and provided insight into a number of key participants' relationships to Chinese culture and the Chinese community in Sheffield, to the wider Sheffield community, and to Britain.

I started this chapter with an overview of the history of Chinese migration to Britain, describing the three different waves of migration, ranging from circa 1650 to the current day. Comparing census data, I demonstrated the changes in migration patterns over time, showing that, whilst Hong Kong formed the main location from which people migrated to the UK in the 1950s up to the 1980s, migration patterns from Hong Kong to the UK have fallen significantly since the 1990s. By contrast, migration from mainland China is steadily rising, now far outsizing migration from Hong Kong. I continued the chapter with background information on the northern English city of Sheffield, in which my ethnographic fieldwork took place. I provided an overview of the general migration patterns from China and Hong Kong to Sheffield, which were similar to those of the UK more broadly, and I described Chinese language use in Sheffield, showing there are now more people whose main language is Mandarin living in Sheffield than people whose main language is Cantonese.

In Section 3.3 and 3.4, and their subsections, I described the methods used in my ethnographic fieldwork. I described the various methods of data collection I used, namely participant observation, collecting fieldnotes, recording data, and transcription. In these sections, I provided a detailed explanation of the types of observation I conducted, the importance of fieldnotes, why I chose to use interview data for my study, and how I selected which interviews to study in greater depth. In Section 3.3.6, I also discussed some quantitative data collected, and in Sections 3.3.7 and 3.3.8, I discussed the importance of being ethical, and creating legitimacy within the community under study. I explained that, although I was seen as an outsider by many groups within the *Dancing Dragon*, this was advantageous to some extent. I also achieved the needed legitimacy by providing a reason for being in the school every week by helping the staff, and by being open in my research aims.

The latter part of this chapter consisted of observations about the different networks of people that existed in the school, the themes that emerged out of my fieldwork more generally, such as the backgrounds of various

participants, how the change in migration patterns affected the community of the *Dancing Dragon*, and participants' relationships to heritage and ethnicity. I sketched an ethnographic portrait of a 'changing' school community in Sheffield. The school is changing in the sense that Mandarin had been introduced to the school curriculum in recent years, and there are now more pupils studying Mandarin than Cantonese. The demand for Cantonese is also diminishing, and the school faces the possibility of no longer having a reason for its existence. The school is changing also because its budget has been cut severely, leaving its financial future unsecure. I showed the community under study was in ways also stagnant, rather than changing, because most of the staff and some of the teachers are volunteering by obligation rather than by choice. Most of the volunteers want to resign, but there is no one to take their place, and so they feel obliged to continue their volunteering work.

These ethnographic findings might seem to sketch a glum portrait, but there were certainly also bright sides to this community, which I have discussed in this chapter as well. The increasing demand for Mandarin has given the school a renewed sense of importance. Furthermore, change is seen as something positive. During my time in the school, the members I spoke to accepted the changes that were taking place in the community, and were willing to make space for a new generation, who might not be pursuing the same goals as they had. Even though they worked tirelessly to ensure the smooth running of the school every week, they understood that the community was bound to change, and that it perhaps might not even exist anymore in the near future, but that this is the way life works, given that the world is a changing place. Another positive aspect of the school was that teachers and the managing staff also formed a close-knit group, and their commitment to the school and its educational aims was clearly visible.

The findings that emerged out of this chapter have done so thanks to the qualitative approach adopted in this thesis. By providing insight into participants' understanding of migration, belonging and identity, this chapter goes some way to explaining some of the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter: it relates the experiences of Lily, who was born in Sheffield in the 1970s, lived in the New Territories until she was nine, and then came back to Sheffield. It provides an answer to what it means to be of Chinese ethnicity to some participants, such as Phoebe and *the girls downstairs*, what the community of the *Dancing Dragon* was like, and how the people within the community related to each other. It places the

experiences of these people in the context of Chinese migration patterns to Sheffield, and the wider Chinese community in the UK. It also provides more room for further exploration.

An advantage of taking a qualitative research approach is that each observation, each fieldnote, and each interview can be studied with greater care. The individual way in which a participant responds to the researcher, the questions asked and the interview situation as a whole, can be studied in great detail with each interview. The next three chapters of this thesis comprise individual case-studies. Three members of the community have been selected for case studies, because they emerged as important out of the ethnography, fulfilled diverse roles within the school as secretary, teacher and treasurer, and because of their rich linguistic interview data. Their interviews were extensive and dealt with relevant topics in an elaborate manner. These three participants also vary in terms of their ages, gender and life experiences, which allows for a more diverse insight into the community under study.

In each chapter, extracts from an interview with one particular member of the community are analysed in depth with the use of Text World Theory. The next chapter, Chapter 4, discusses the text-worlds of Mr Ng, a Hong Kong migrant who came to Sheffield in the 1970s. He forms part of the older generation of people represented in my data. The text-world analysis shows how Mr Ng reflects upon, structures, and shapes his experiences as a migrant to the UK. I focus particularly on the syntactic structure of some of Mr Ng's narration, because it demonstrates how Mr Ng's narrative allows for listener involvement and the creation of empathy in the interaction.

4. MR NG

4.0 Preview

The preceding chapters in this thesis have outlined the background to the case study analyses presented from this chapter onwards. In Chapter 2, I described the Text World Theory framework, its theoretical context, and reasons for choosing it as a framework for analysis. In Chapter 3, I fleshed out the ethnographic setting from which the data considered in the case studies emerged, describing the school, the *Dancing Dragon*, and the people that became part of my fieldwork. In the present chapter, I apply Text World Theory in the first analysis of extended face-to-face interaction, in order to examine the construction of linguistic identity in an interview with one of my participants. Specifically, I analyse the construction of identity through the use of spatial, temporal and social deixis in the narratives created by Mr Ng, a Hong Kong migrant who settled in Sheffield in the 1970s. I focus on how Mr Ng structures his narrative, how it is further shaped by the interaction between the participants in the discourse-world, as well as the participants' understanding of the narrative. My aims in this chapter are threefold: firstly, I aim to explore the migratory experiences and linguistic self-representations made by Mr Ng; secondly, I wish to demonstrate the suitability of Text World Theory for discourse studies, and specifically for discursive identity studies; thirdly, I wish to extend the application of Text World Theory into the relatively unexplored domain of spoken discourse, and further develop the theory in doing so. These aims reflect the overall objectives of this thesis that were established in Chapter 1.

In order to meet these aims, the chapter is divided into 7 main sections. In Section 4.1, I discuss the process of data collection and the ethnographic context in which the interview should be understood. In Section 4.2, I explain the separate discourse-worlds created during the time of the interview and during my analysis of it. Section 4.3 details the text-worlds that originate from the transcript of the interview and I specifically go on to discuss accessibility relations in Section 4.3.1. In Section 4.3.2, I examine Mr Ng's use of temporal juxtaposition. In Sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4, I provide an overview of the many negated text-worlds and deontic modal-worlds in Mr Ng's narrative, and argue that this constructs space as a negotiation of all things Chinese. The chapter then continues with an

examination of Mr Ng's pronoun use in Section 4.4, which I argue relates to listener involvement strategies and the creation of empathy. Section 4.5 asserts that Text World Theory is indeed a suitable approach for identity studies, because it shows how participants are capable of displaying multiple identities through the discourse in the form of multiple traceable enactors of themselves.

4.1 Data Collection and ethnographic context

Mr Ng was an established member of the Chinese community school at the time I started my fieldwork (see Chapter 3). When I first met him in November 2011, he had already been volunteering at the Chinese school for more than twenty years. As the social secretary of the organisation, he was part of the small management staff team who were responsible for keeping the administrative, management and financial aspects of the organisation in order. Of these various responsibilities, Mr Ng was mainly occupied with drafting funding applications, writing letters to parents, updating the webpages, and helping with visa requests. In the first year that I attended the school, he would spend most of his time in the staff room, working on these tasks, and occasionally come out to chat with parents - mostly during lesson break times. Sometimes this pattern would be reversed, and then he would spend most of the time in the classroom where the parents were seated.

Mr Ng was deeply embedded in the community, not only because of his long-term commitment to the organisation and the key role he played in keeping it running, but also by his family and friendship ties, which bound him to the school. Mr Ng's wife was a volunteer at the school as well, and Mr Ng's youngest son, who was an active member of the lion/dragon dance team, liked to spend time in school with his British-Chinese friends after dance practice, even though he had finished his language education at the school. In the past, the Ng family used to go on vacation with the Kwan family, who were also a very active family in the school (the father of the Kwan family was the head teacher, the mother the lion/dragon dance teacher, and the daughter a voluntary assistant). Furthermore, Mr Ng fulfilled a pivotal role for the members of the community school through his professional role as a support worker for Sheffield City Council. In this capacity, he was trained especially to provide support for the Chinese speaking migrant communities in Sheffield and its localities.

Mr Ng, like all the members of the management staff, was very accommodating to me, and because of his key role in the community and his

accessibility, I was eager to interview him. At the time the interview took place, Mr Ng was in his fifties. He had been living in Sheffield for more than 30 years, having migrated from Hong Kong to Sheffield in the late 1970s, just before his eighteenth birthday. I was very lucky to get to know Mr Ng during my first year of fieldwork, as the following school year, Mr Ng and his wife were no longer volunteering at the school. His resignation from the management board greatly affected the school, which lost an extremely active contributor to the running of the organisation. After his resignation, Mr Ng would still come in once in a while to have a chat with everyone, and was still on the management board of the charity associated with the school. When I asked him why he had left the *Dancing Dragon*, he said he felt he was getting too old, and that he had been volunteering at the school for long enough.

In my interview with Mr Ng, I used the same prepared interview questions with Mr Ng as with other participants (see Section 3.3.4). These questions were concerned with participants' experiences and feelings regarding moving to Sheffield, living in Sheffield, and their relationship with China, Hong Kong and the United Kingdom. Because I held semi-structured interviews, the structure of the interviews was not always the same, and, in the case of Mr Ng, we not only covered my prepared questions, but also talked about his work and his children (see Section 3.3.4). The parts of the interview analysed in this chapter are focused on the theme of moving to Sheffield, a topic which reflects the lived experiences of Mr Ng and helps me to contribute to a better understanding of migrant identity and migration to Sheffield. The analysis is based on consecutive interview extracts, in which Mr Ng describes his first experiences of living in the city. Through the Text World Theory analysis below, I show how Mr Ng's experiences are expressed in terms of space, place, and belonging. I further examine the role these features play in the discursive negotiation of Mr Ng's identity and trace the worlds Mr Ng constructs through his discourse, from the discourse-world to the text-worlds of the interview.

4.2 The discourse-world of Mr Ng's interview

The interview that I conducted with Mr Ng took place in the *Peak Valley School*, in the classroom that the *Dancing Dragon* used as a common room. During the interview, the face-to-face discourse situation of Mr Ng and I formed a discourse-world and, as participants in that world, we created text-worlds through our

language use as soon as the discourse commenced. This discourse-world included all things perceivable to Mr Ng and I in our immediate environment, as well as our memory, imagination and knowledge (cf. Werth 1995a: 49-50). Since Mr Ng and I were engaged in face-to-face communication, our discourse-world was shared at the time of the interview, in the sense that we both occupied the same spatio-temporal position. This means that we both had access to shared immediate surroundings, and could make accurate assumptions about one another's cognitive environments (cf. Gavins 2001: 73). The mutually perceivable elements in the discourse-world that Mr Ng and I shared consisted of the chairs and tables one can find in a typical classroom, as well as devices and materials for educational purposes, such as computer equipment, a whiteboard, and school books. Mr Ng and I sat on two chairs lined up against the wall, close to a door leading to the corridor. On the other side of room, close to the windows, was a group of mothers chatting. People kept walking in and out of the room. Usually, I would find a quiet classroom in order to conduct the interview without being interrupted, but Mr Ng preferred to hold the interview in the common room.

It is relevant to mention all of this, because the classroom Mr Ng and I were sat in during the interview was part of Mr Ng's and my own discourse-world at the time of our interaction (see Figure 4.1 below). Together with the memories, imagination and knowledge we brought with us to the language event, and with which we made inferences (Werth 1995a: 52), this impacted on the structure of the discourse. Furthermore, because Mr Ng chose to stay inside the common room for the interview, it is possible that he might not have said things he would have said in a more private setting. Figure 4.1 below displays a diagrammatic representation of the discourse-world of Mr Ng and I during the interview. As is visible from this figure, the discourse-world at the time of the interview included Mr Ng and I and our conceptual resources, as well as the discourse itself (represented in a speech balloon). Whilst engaged in the discourse, we each formed text-worlds, represented as square boxes in thought bubbles. It should be noted, however, that few conventions exist within Text World Theory to govern the diagramming of discourse-worlds. I believe that this is in great part due to the lack of attention paid to the analysis of the discourse-world by text-world theorists to date (see Section 2.2.1).

It should also be noted that the discourse-world of Mr Ng and I during the interview is one positioned in the past, because the communicative event

between us has now finished. The discourse-world is no longer accessible or existent other than in the form of a written transcript, which is only partially representative.

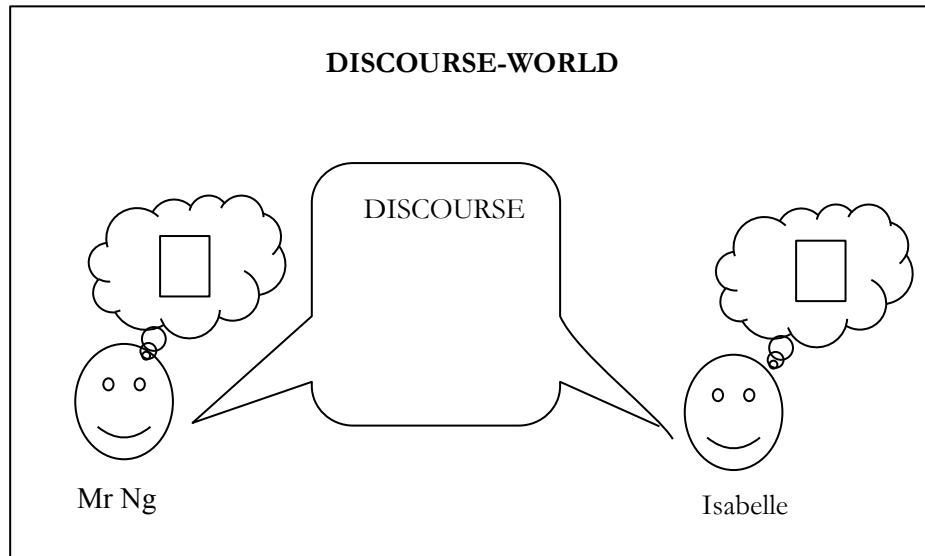


Figure 4.1 *Discourse-World 1 of the interview with Mr Ng, December 2011*

Although I was present as a discourse participant at the time of the interview, I no longer occupy that discourse-world (hereafter ‘Discourse-World 1’). I can analyse the discourse that occurred in Discourse-World 1 only in a modified form (as a written transcript or recording). Because I was originally a participant in all of the discourses I analyse in this thesis, I refer to myself in the discourse transcripts examined in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 as ‘Isabelle’. As I discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.5), I transcribed my recording of the interview for analysis after my interaction with Mr Ng took place. In Text World Theory, a new discourse-world is created each time a communicative event takes place. During my analysis, in which I engaged with the transcript of the interview, and which took place on a number of different occasions in time, a new discourse-world (hereafter ‘Discourse-World 2’) was formed. It should be noted that, strictly speaking, each different point in time at which I engaged with the transcript of the interview established a new discourse-world. However, we tend to conceptualise linguistic analysis as taking place in one and the same discourse-world, since the same analyst is present in each situation and is engaging with the discourse with a single and consistent analytical aim. Discourse-World 2, therefore, is a ‘compression’ of the different discourse-worlds of analysis (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2000, 2002; M. Turner 1996, 2003, 2004, 2006). According to

Fauconnier and Turner, compression is the process by which we change conceptual structures which have an unmanageably large scope in such a way that they become more fitting to human understanding (M. Turner 2006: 18). Conceptually, it makes sense to think of the moments I was analysing the transcript as a coherent whole; we tend to see the discourse-world as being the same over these different moments in time and place. So in a more human-scale understanding of when the analysis took place, divergent conceptual structures of time and place are condensed into the single structure of Discourse-World 2.

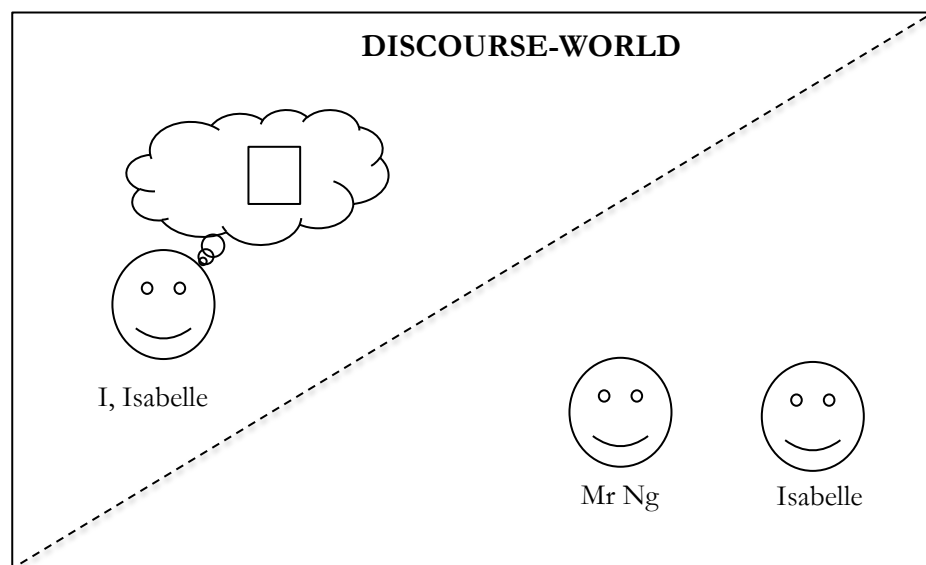


Figure 4.2 *Discourse-World 2 of the interview with Mr Ng and its analysis*

Discourse-World 2 was split (Gavins 2007a: 26), because the participants (myself, as the analyst in Discourse-World 2, and Mr Ng and Isabelle as co-participants in Discourse-World 1) occupied different time-zones and places during this language event (see Section 2.2.1 for a detailed description of the workings of the discourse-world). Figure 4.2 above provides an illustration of Discourse-World 2, with the dotted line indicating the separation in time and space.

It should be noted that although the original Discourse-World 1 no longer exists, the participants responsible for its creation and the text analysed in Discourse-World 2 are still Mr Ng and Isabelle. I therefore engaged in communication with Mr Ng and Isabelle, a former version of myself, during my analysis of the written transcript of the interview in Discourse-World 2. It could also be argued, however, that as the analyst of the interview, I was perhaps more

of an overhearer or eavesdropper in Discourse-World 2 than a participant in the communication (Goffman 1981; Werth 1999: 17-18).

It is important to make note of the different discourse-worlds in operation both during and after the interview in this way, as this highlights the inevitable inaccessibility of any original speech event analysed after it took place and underlines the necessary modification of data – such as transcribing oral language – this entails (this is also discussed in Section 3.3.5). We can only study face-to-face interaction by looking at transcripts (Silverstein 1992: 58) and this inevitably means that we no longer study the original speech event in its full complexity. The inaccessibility of the original language situation in any kind of analysis has important implications for how we approach context. Although I am interested in the broader socio-historical and cultural context surrounding the speech event in which Mr Ng and I were engaged in Discourse-World 1, and the ‘baggage’ of conceptual systems that Mr Ng, in particular, brought with him to the discourse in December 2011, I can no longer access the original discourse-world. I can only discuss the context surrounding the discourse through my own interpretation of it in a separate discourse-world, Discourse-World 2, in which I analysed the interview at a much later point.

All of this means that my interpretation of some of the factors that were at play for Mr Ng during the interview, and how his discourse relates to the broader socio-historical and cultural context in which it took place, is mediated in some way. My analysis necessarily stems from the linguistic information in the transcript, in combination with my *own* body of knowledge and experiences. This body of knowledge consists of information and experience gathered during ethnographic fieldwork and academic research, but also of memories and countless other conceptual aspects that come into play when engaging with a text, and which we use in its interpretation. It should be mentioned that, as an ethnographer who collected the data, a participant in the data, and an analyst of the data, I have a very different relationship with the transcript of the interview than any other external reader would be likely to have. It should furthermore be noted that I made it clear to all the participants in my study that I was conducting interviews for research and that this might have affected participants’ communicative utterances.

Mr Ng and Isabelle also feature in the text analysed in the form of various text-world enactors. The reason for this is that both Mr Ng and I tell stories about

ourselves in the transcript. This, in combination with our presence in Discourse-World 1, leads to the creation of multiple versions of self, residing at different ontological levels of the discourse. Text World Theory's grounding in ontology is crucial here, as it ensures that the theory is properly sensitive to the fact that it is never possible to access the original context in which a speech event took place. Furthermore, by analysing a particular piece of data, such as an interview or an extract of an interview, we take it out of its 'original' context and modify it. By presenting, selecting and analysing data we automatically construe a particular ontological domain in relation to the data and the participants in the data, as well as their social reality, but this is not always acknowledged in the disciplines of discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. Using Text World Theory is an improvement, in this respect, on preceding approaches to the analysis of face-to-face discourse.

Text World Theory recognises that ontologically, Mr Ng and Isabelle are no longer 'real people' in the extracts analysed, only textual entities. This means I could analyse this text solely from the viewpoint of myself as a reader of the transcript, and discuss the mental representations *I* create to process the text. However, I acknowledge the crucial social dimension there is to this data as well. Because Mr Ng is both a discourse participant, a narrator of his stories in that discourse, and a character within these stories, my understanding of him as co-participant in Discourse-World 2 is at least partially structured by the stories in which he features as a character. Similarly, my understanding of him in the text-worlds and modal-worlds in the text is influenced by my knowledge of Mr Ng as a participant in Discourse-World 1. This shows that it is inevitable that we treat textual entities in datasets as counterparts of real people.

It follows from all of this reasoning that, although the only access I have to the interview is through my written transcript of it and my memory of the speech event in Discourse-World 1, I treat the textual enactors in that transcript as fundamentally linked to the discourse-world participants of Isabelle and Mr Ng. I similarly treat the interview transcript as a type of text as well as a type of social practice. For identity studies especially, it is important to understand the logical argument presented above on the one hand, whilst simultaneously recognising how entities on different ontological levels are representations of each other. If we are to produce linguistic analyses of identity that are properly situated in their social context, it is important to treat textual entities in our data as if they are (or

at least correspond to) real people. For these reasons, I discuss the worlds constructed in the discourse as if they are the participants' text-worlds in Discourse-World 1 as well as mine in Discourse-World 2, despite the logical distinctions between these two worlds. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that, because I am the analyst of the transcript, my analysis ultimately presents *my* text-driven and subjective interpretation of the transcript. Since it would be impossible to offer an analysis of the text from a perspective other than my own, I have attempted to gain as much knowledge about participants, their points of view, and the local context as possible, through the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted. My participation in Discourse-World 1 allows me to say something about the local context at the time of the interview, and to obtain more data through participant observation. This approach has been adopted throughout the thesis. Having discussed the context in which the interviews took place, I now turn to an examination of the text-worlds Mr Ng creates through his discourse.

4.3 The text-worlds of Mr Ng's interview

Below is the entire transcript of the interview extract analysed in this chapter. Please refer to Appendix A for transcription conventions. Throughout the analysis which follows, smaller extracts will be reproduced for reasons of clarity.

- | | | |
|----|----------|--|
| 1 | Isabelle | and and when you came here like, can you tell me something about your |
| 2 | | experience? |
| 3 | Mr Ng | well to here just like well whe- when I first came here just like well at that |
| 4 | | time just like 1970-something it's just like well... (1.0) erm well the in |
| 5 | | England it's not sort of like not that sort of like that diversity see at that |
| 6 | | time like that now you see |
| 7 | Isabelle | <i>no</i> |
| 8 | Mr Ng | just like well and we have to live on with with minimum resources like at |
| 9 | | that time just like well it's much quiet it's not erm well not well all shop |
| 10 | | actually close at half past five at that time yeah |
| 11 | Isabelle | ohh @ <i>wow</i> |
| 12 | Mr Ng | yeah @ |
| 13 | Isabelle | ohh |
| 14 | Mr Ng | yeah so it was like well meadow- meadowhall most shop open |
| 15 | Isabelle | <i>okay</i> |
| 16 | Mr Ng | most shop open on Sunday and just like there is no Chinese produce just |
| 17 | | like you can buy you see |
| 18 | Isabelle | <i>yeah</i> |
| 19 | Mr Ng | all you need to buy is vegetables it's just like go to the erm not a lot of |
| 20 | | supermarkets so you go to shop there it's like to buy something like the |
| 21 | | English vegetable... (1.1) so well actually we manage to live, well you see, |
| 22 | Isabelle | <i>yeah</i> |

23 Mr Ng and all the all the sort of like it's the ingredients to do the Chinese take-
24 away it's just like we have to do it ourselves

25 Isabelle *yeah*

26 Mr Ng like beansprout you can go to shop to buy beansprout now you see at the
27 time just like we have to put all the beansprouts ourselves

28 Isabelle *okay wow*

29 Mr Ng yeah and we have to go to Manchester or Birmingham to buy some of the
30 <x> in the supermarket or maybe just like there's a small supermarket
31 here but it's like there not haven't got enough sort of like is erm erm well
32 just like put a well just like in the st store

33 Isabelle *yeah*

34 Mr Ng just like for us to get so local family just like we go out to...(1.6) to
35 Manchester every every week and at that time just like well the Cantonese
36 restaurant is not as good as the the one in Manchester or or Leeds or
37 Birmingham so we have to travel at that time we travel a lot to to to other
38 cities

39 Isabelle *yeah, yeah*

40 Mr Ng because Sheffield is relatively just like it's not Chinese centre right but
41 Birmingham and Manchester actually is more Chinese community so they
42 manage to have a sort of like it's a bit more erm like it's a facility

43 Isabelle *yeah*

44 Mr Ng provided for the Cantonese people so they have a nice restaurant and they
45 have a big supermarket we can buy more thing

46 Isabelle *hmm*

47 Mr Ng just like a week or two erm stock

48 Isabelle yeah I see yeah Manchester is still very big yeah

49 Mr Ng yeah still very big it's a comparative Chinese is bigger

50 Isabelle *yeah*

51 Mr Ng Chinese population there you see and also the small biggest town around
52 Manchester they've got Stockport

53 Isabelle *hmhm*

54 Mr Ng and well ci- Wigan or

55 Isabelle *yeah*

56 Mr Ng Oldham all these sort of things you see yeah so just like

57 Isabelle *okay*

58 Mr Ng well at that time it's just like well there isn't any Chinese TV channel so
59 erm we manage to get some Chinese tape that we exch- we get the VHS
60 tape with the Chinese series so that's another <x> decide well maybe
61 Hong Kong TV chan- TV channel they tend those things and there so we
62 got to hire it from Manchester and for one week and then a week later you
63 have to return them back so at that times only sort of sort of like it's a erm
64 it's a erm erm it's a sort of like it's erm entertainment it's just like well
65 people just like watch this sort of kind of Chinese series because to a lot
66 of older generation they don't they don't follow the English series

67 Isabelle *yeah yeah*

68 Mr Ng and also just like they might not understand the well the TV what's going
69 on the TV it's different sort of like it's a culture just like the the
70 programme is not really just like well to be honest I still not really follow
71 some of the the series

72 Isabelle *okay @*

73 Mr Ng even I can speak English and well <x> @

74 Isabelle *yeah*

- 75 Mr Ng yeah
 76 Isabelle sometimes but it's also I think the culture with because erm sometimes I
 77 don't because the cul- the humour
 78 Mr Ng yeah
 79 Isabelle the humour is a bit different so then
 80 Mr Ng yeah the humour <x>
 81 Isabelle everyone is laughing but I @ I don't think it's funny
 82 Mr Ng oh yeah you see because they laugh they something they talk and just like
 83 well they keep laughing to each other
 84 Isabelle *yeah*
 85 Mr Ng well I just don't know how why they laugh you see
 86 Isabelle *yeah*
 87 Mr Ng I I I can't get the get the sense
 88 Isabelle *yeah*

Extract 4.1 *Extract from interview transcript with Mr Ng, lines 1-88 (italics in all extracts of this chapter represent Isabelle's backchanneling when simultaneously with Mr Ng's turn)*

As soon as my interview with Mr Ng started, a discourse-world was created and text-worlds were formed by Mr Ng and Isabelle. The first text-world is created as soon as the discourse commences with Isabelle's question 'and when you came here, can you tell me something about your experience?' (lines 1-2). The use of past tense in the utterance 'and when you came here' creates a text-world in a past time-zone, which is switched for a text-world situated in a present time-zone, as Isabelle switches to the present tense in the question 'can you tell me something about your experience?' (lines 1-2). This question establishes the 'world of the interview', in which Isabelle refers directly to the situation of her interview with Mr Ng in the present time-zone. It underlies the entire discourse and includes Mr Ng and Isabelle as text-world enactors, nominated as present by the pronouns 'you' and 'me'. It should also be noted, however, that Isabelle's question, in combination with the modal verb 'can', creates a fleeting epistemic modal-world generated out of the underlying present time-zone text-world. In this epistemic modal-world, Mr Ng's ability as well as willingness to tell Isabelle something about his experience is represented. During the discourse, additional worlds are formed in which other time-zones are constructed, and other enactors appear and disappear again.

4.3.1 Accessibility relations

The text-worlds of Mr Ng's narrative are very interesting to investigate in terms of accessibility relations. As outlined in Section 2.2.6 of this thesis, Text World Theory makes an ontological distinction between enactors and discourse

participants: discourse participants are real people residing within the ontological level of the real world, whereas enactors are textual constructs who reside within the text-world. Although Text World Theory recognises the important interconnections between real-world entities and their textual counterparts, enactors nevertheless occupy a different ontological level from the discourse participants and are linguistic constructs only. This means that the logical principles pertaining to discourse participants cannot be expected to apply to enactors in the same way (cf. Werth 1999: 214). Enactors in text-worlds, for example, cannot be questioned by the discourse-world participants, and the truth of their propositions cannot be tested or verified using discourse-world information (see Gavins 2007a: 79; Werth 1999: 214-215; and Whiteley 2010: 39). Therefore, although participants as well as enactors can be responsible for changing the spatial and temporal parameters of a text, the worlds that are formed by these two different types of entities are not equally accessible. The enactor-accessible viewpoints created by textual enactors are unpredictable and irrecoverable from the point of view of the participants (Werth 1999: 215); participants only have access to worlds created by other discourse participants. Assuming that other discourse participants are wilful and truthful in their communication (Gavins 2007a: 76; Werth 1999: 49), the reliability of their text-worlds can be verified using discourse-world information, and are therefore participant-accessible (Gavins 2007a: 77). The distinction between participant-accessible worlds and enactor-accessible worlds allows Text World Theory to explain how ontological boundaries can be used to create certain effects in language (Whiteley 2010: 39). This applies not just to literary narrative (Gavins 2007a; Whiteley 2010), but also to non-fiction (Gavins 2007a: 73-80). All of this does not mean that we are unable to form mental representations of enactor-accessible worlds. We still process enactor-accessible worlds, but we store their content in 'conceptual suspended animation' (Gavins 2007a: 79), until we can assess their accuracy on the basis of participant-accessible information available.

When we look at Mr Ng's text-worlds, the accessibility relations are unusually complex. At the time of the communicative event between the discourse participants, Mr Ng and Isabelle, the text-worlds created were participant-accessible, because they were constructed by the participants in the discourse, and could be easily verified. The situation is significantly more complex if we look at the accessibility relations in the text-worlds of the transcript. As

explained in Section 4.2 of this chapter, Text World Theory recognises that ontologically, Mr Ng and Isabelle are no longer ‘real people’ in the extracts analysed, only text-world enactors constructed through the mediated language of the transcript. This should mean that the text-worlds formed by the transcript are enactor-accessible only. However, I also specified in Section 4.2 that I recognise that the textual entities in the transcripts are linked to discourse-world counterparts and can be seen as ‘text-world projections’ (Gavins 2007a: 129) of the discourse-world participants. This raises some challenging questions about the relationship between the text-worlds created in the transcript and their discourse-world ‘authors’, Mr Ng and Isabelle. To explore these questions more fully, it is helpful at this point to review Gavins’ (2007a) work on accessibility in non-fiction literature.

In her discussion on authorial expertise and accessibility, Gavins (2007a: 73-80) examines the ‘conceptual management of multiple mental representations’ (2007a: 73-74) by analysing an extract of text from a parenting manual, written by an author who enjoys an expert status in the field of child rearing in the real world. Specifically, she analyses the book *The Baby Whisperer Solves All Your Problems By Teaching You How To Ask The Right Questions*, by Tracy Hogg (2005), which was co-written with author Melinda Blau. The cover, the copyright pages, and the acknowledgements of the book show that Tracy Hogg and Melinda Blau both enjoy copyright status as authors. The cover, however, invites the reader to see Tracy Hogg as the ‘real’ or main author: Hogg’s name is printed in big, bold letters and she is mentioned twice. Melinda Blau, on the other hand, is mentioned, but in a much smaller font. The fact that the book’s authorship is presented in this way is intriguing, because this brings up questions about authenticity: whose words, and whose ideas, are we reading when engaging with this book? In the acknowledgements, Blau again positions herself as secondary to Hogg when she writes:

It has been a delight and a constant source of amazement to watch Tracy’s work, to analyse how to put it on paper, and to get to know her in the process. Thank you Tracy, for inviting me into your universe and for allowing me to be your voice (2005: vii).

Along with the cover and Hogg’s status as a child rearing expert, this excerpt makes clear that the reader is encouraged to see ‘the voice’ in the text as Hogg’s, and that Blau should be seen merely as a conduit. It is therefore likely that when engaging with the text, readers are likely to perceive themselves in communication

with Tracy Hogg. The manual is furthermore written in first-person narrative, which suggests that there is only one 'speaking I', and that this is Hogg.

In analysing part of the book, Gavins examines a quote presented in the text from a mother whose parenting experiences are narrated by Hogg. Gavins argues that the worlds Hogg creates with her narration are participant-accessible, whilst a direct quotation from a mother in the text generates enactor-accessible worlds instead. The reason for her distinction, according to Gavins, is that although both Hogg and the mother might occupy the actual world, Hogg, as the author of the text, exists with the reader in the discourse-world, whereas the mother does not. Gavins argues:

The information provided by Hogg, by contrast, is only one ontological step away from the real-world and contains enactors of discourse-world entities in a recreation of a face-to-face situation. It is thus easily accessible by the reader. Carson's mother's opinions can only be stored in a kind of conceptual suspended animation until some form of participant-accessible confirmation of their accuracy becomes available. Hogg's version of events, on the other hand, can be immediately incremented into our mental representations of the discourse and forms the basis of our understanding of Carson's parents' problems and their root causes (Gavins 2007a: 79).

The problem with this interpretation is that the narrator, implied author and the real author seem conflated in a vision of participant-accessibility. However, contrary to what Gavins suggests, Hogg as an implied author is a text-world construct *only*, and just *seems* to be a discourse-world entity. Although they might *feel* less remote, the notion that Hogg's text-worlds are more accessible than those of the mother is erroneous, because both the mother *and* Hogg are enactors in the text. The illusion is possible because the author Hogg, as an expert in the field of child rearing, holds a position of authority in the real world that is automatically transferred to the textual counterpart of Hogg as the narrator, and by extension to the further textual construct of Hogg as the implied author. As Gavins (2007a: 129) states, readers are likely to assume that the narrator is a text-world projection of aspects of the author, or, in other words, the implied author. When talking about parenting, therefore, Hogg the implied author seems more reliable than the mother whom Hogg quotes. The effect of this is that, for the reader, the text-worlds the mother creates are likely to be further removed from the discourse-world than those of Hogg. However, the text-worlds of both the mother and Hogg are, in fact, only enactor-accessible. Having said this, I recognise that there is a distinction of reliability to be made between Hogg's text-worlds and those of

the mother, as suggested by Gavins. I therefore propose a further distinction of accessibility relations to incorporate *degrees* of enactor accessibility. Rather than just having two opposing categories of participant-accessible and enactor-accessible worlds, as has been advocated by all preceding text-world analyses until now, I would argue that the perceived difference between Hogg's text-worlds and the worlds created by the mother should be understood in light of degrees of enactor accessibility, with Hogg's text-worlds having a greater degree of accessibility than those of the mother she quotes.

In light of this discussion, it makes sense to recognise that even though the enactor of Mr Ng in the interview transcript is linked to a discourse-world participant, ontologically he is only an enactor in the extracts analysed, and his text-worlds are therefore enactor-accessible only. However, in my analysis of the interview, Mr Ng exists as narrator and as a character in his own stories, which means that multiple versions of Mr Ng originate from the text. These different versions occupy different time-zones and text-worlds, some of which seem closer or further removed from the discourse-world I occupy during analysis. I therefore hold that all the worlds created in the transcript extracts I analyse here are enactor-accessible worlds, but that some worlds have a greater degree of accessibility than others. In the analysis in this chapter and subsequent chapters, I will indicate which text-worlds have a greater degree of accessibility. This is particularly relevant to the analysis in the next section, in which Mr Ng uses temporal juxtaposition in his storytelling to link a more remote world with a more accessible text-world, so that the former can be conceptualised as closer to the participants in the discourse-world

4.3.2 Temporal juxtaposition and storytelling

In the extract of the interview above, Mr Ng, primed by my question about his experiences upon coming to the UK, focuses heavily on place in the telling of his first experiences of living in Sheffield after his migration. In doing so, his narrative fits in the category of what comprises 'traditional' migrant narratives, since it is characteristic of migrant narratives to focus on time and space (cf. Baynham 2003; Gómez-Estern 2011; de Fina 2003a, 2003b). This is not surprising, as moving usually represents not only a radical shift of space for the migrants concerned, but also drastically changes the lives of those making the move. Moving represents the end of an old life and the start of a new one, the beginning of which is marked by the spatial move from one location to another. It is thus also not surprising that there is a strong focus on temporal and spatial elements in such stories. In Text

World Theory terms, lexical choices and syntactic structures indicating time and place are seen as world-building elements that construct a text- or modal-world. Some of the temporal and spatial elements in Mr Ng's discourse are analysed in more detail in this section. I focus particularly on the beginning of the interview extract:

- 1 Isabelle and and when you came here like, can you tell me something about your
 2 experience?
 3 Mr Ng well to here just like well whe- when I first came here just like well at that
 4 time just like 1970-something it's just like well...(1.0) erm well the in
 5 England it's not sort of like not that sort of like that diversity see at that
 6 time like that now you see
 7 Isabelle *no*
 8 Mr Ng just like well and we have to live on with with minimum resources like at
 9 that time just like well it's much quiet it's not erm well not well all shop
 10 actually close at half past five at that time yeah
 11 Isabelle ohh @ *wow*
 12 Mr Ng yeah @
 13 Isabelle ohh

Extract 4.2 *Interview with Mr Ng, lines 1-13*

In Extract 4.2, Mr Ng explains that when he came to England in the 1970s, it was different from how it is now: there was not the same diversity; he and others had to live on minimal resources; it was much quieter; and all shops closed at half past five. The extract above starts with a question from Isabelle ('and when you came here, can you tell me something about your experience?', line 1-2), which is aimed at eliciting a narrative from Mr Ng about his first experiences of living in Sheffield. As discussed in the beginning of Section 4.3, this firstly establishes a text-world in a past time-zone that is almost immediately switched for a text-world representing the world of the interview in the present time-zone. Isabelle uses the verb 'to tell', which is generally associated with the act of narrating. Her question, in combination with the modal 'can', creates a fleeting epistemic modal-world generated out of the underlying present time-zone text-world, in which Mr Ng's ability as well as his willingness to tell Isabelle something about his experience is represented. In response to Isabelle's question, Mr Ng constructs a narrative. This narrative is of course framed in relation to Isabelle's question, which makes it unlikely that Mr Ng would self-select a narrative about an event unrelated to the question, as this would flout pragmatic convention, such as Mr Ng's wilfulness of communication (Gavins 2007a).

Figure 4.3 below provides an overview of some of the text- and modal-worlds of Mr Ng's narrative. Mr Ng's past-tense turn ('well to...here just like well

when I first came', line 3) enriches Text-World 1, which has been established by Isabelle in the past-time zone, and this world can thus be seen as jointly constructed by Isabelle and Mr Ng (see also Werth 1999: 17, 51; Whiteley 2014). Mr Ng adds to this world with a number of world-building elements of time and place. The use of the adverb of time 'when' in combination with the past-tense creates a world in a remote time-zone, removed from the present-time situation in which the discourse takes place.

However, in contrast with the temporal adverbials that signal remoteness, the adverb of place 'here' denotes closeness through spatial proximity, and might therefore allow the world to be conceptualised as relatively close to the participants in the discourse-world despite the differing time-zone. The initial text-world, constructed in the past time-zone, is represented as 'Text-World 1' in the middle of Figure 4.3. It has been diagrammed in the middle, because this world is jointly constructed between Mr Ng and Isabelle over the course of multiple turns. The text-world in the present time-zone that represents the world of the interview is diagrammed as Text-World 2 in Figure 4.3. On the left, below Text-World 2, this figure also represents the epistemic modal-world generated out of the underlying present time-zone text-world.

In the next utterance, Mr Ng introduces the time he came to Sheffield ('1970-something', line 4) and then switches to the present tense ('well erm well the in England it's not sort of like not that sort of like diversity at that time like that now you see', lines 4-6). The change to the present-tense creates a world-switch to a third text-world (Text-World 3 in Figure 4.3). Most of the following narration about Mr Ng's experiences in Sheffield in the 1970s continues in the present tense, which is interesting, as it brings the third text-world created closer to the current situation at the moment of the interaction, by the use of the present tense. Most of the following narration about Mr Ng's experiences in Sheffield in the 1970s continues in the present tense, whilst he in fact is talking about a situation that took place in a past time-zone.

The use of the present tense instead of the past tense is also called the 'historical present' and can be interpreted in several ways (also see Section 5.2.6 of Chapter 5). Firstly, De Fina (2003a) points out that, in storytelling, linguistic devices such as a tense, reported speech, and pronoun switching are more likely to reveal a narrator's experiences and his or her point of view on events than in other kinds of talk. She argues this is because storytelling allows narrators to re-

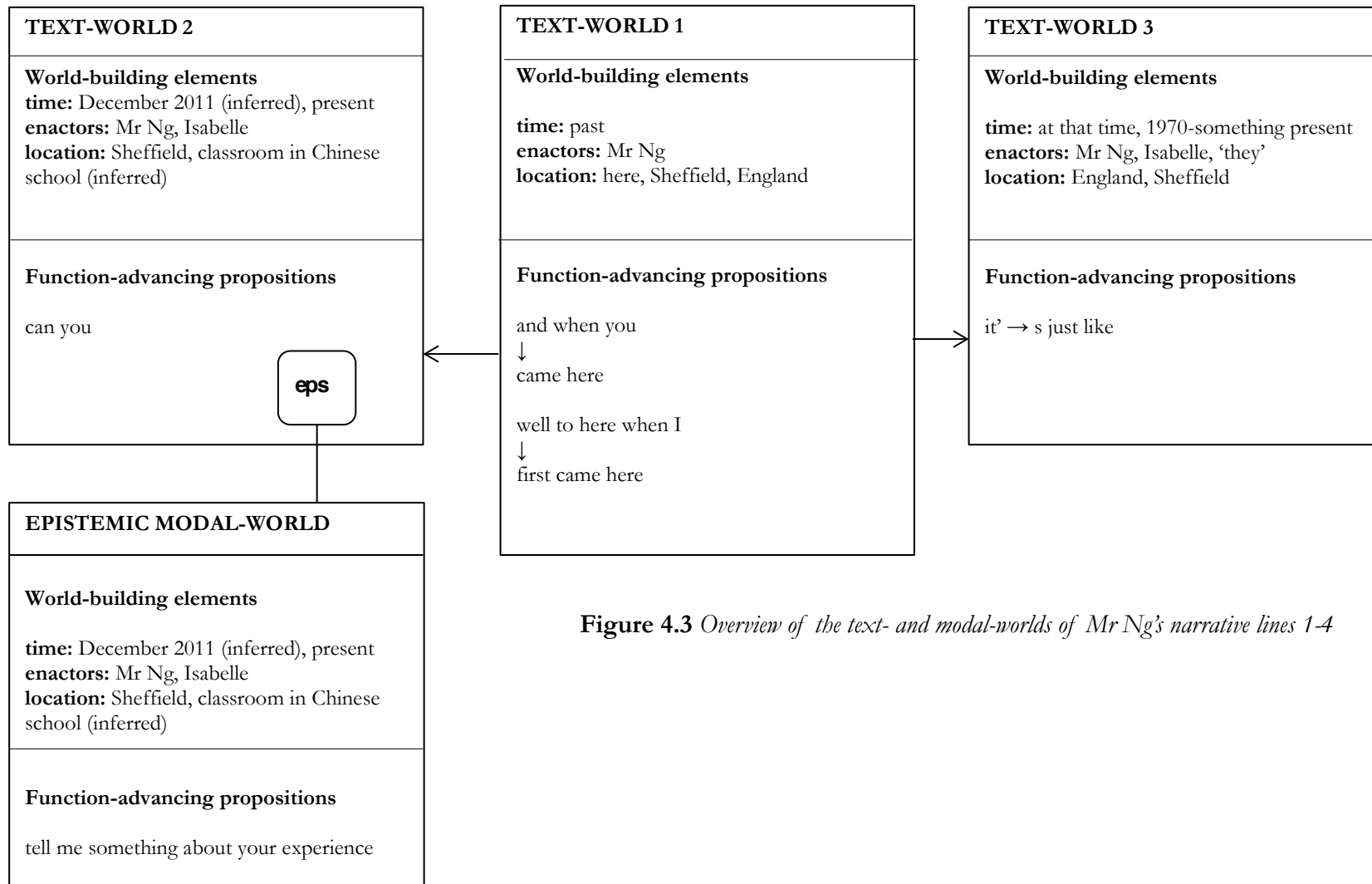


Figure 4.3 Overview of the text- and modal-worlds of Mr Ng's narrative lines 1-4

enact their experiences to other interactants as if these were taking place before their eyes (De Fina 2003a: 7). Following De Fina, Mr Ng's tense-switch can be seen to show how vivid Mr Ng's experiences in 1970s Sheffield are for him today. Alternatively, the tense-switch can also be seen as a performative device that functions to involve or engage the other interactants in the discourse (cf. Tannen 1984, 1989, 2008). As Tannen (2008) explains, repetition, constructed dialogue, and other linguistic strategies allow for the creation of involvement, or 'scenes in which people are engaged in culturally identifiable and personally meaningful interactions or activities' (Tannen 2008: 207). By switching to the present-tense, Mr Ng brings the text-world of Sheffield in the 1970s created closer to the current situation at the moment of Mr Ng's and Isabelle's interaction (also see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.6 for a similar observation). This can be seen as an involvement strategy on the part of Mr Ng to show awareness of Isabelle in the interaction, and to involve her more in the discourse. Thirdly, the tense-switch could be attributed to Mr Ng's use of English as a second language, as Chinese (L1) is known for its absence of overt past-tense markers (Sharwood-Smith and Truscott 2008: 82). The latter scenario is perhaps less likely, as Mr Ng uses past-tense markers extensively throughout his discourse in other places in the interview.

Interestingly, in the sentence of the tense-switch, England is described as not having that sort of diversity 'at that time' as there is 'now' (the current situation of the interview). This sets up a comparison in which one thing (England in 1970-something) is defined in contrast with another (England now). In terms of world-formation, Mr Ng toggles between Text-World 3 (Sheffield or England in the 1970's) and Text-World 2 (Sheffield now). This allows the more remote world (Sheffield or England in the 1970's) to be conceptualised as closer to the participants in the discourse-world by linking it with a current situation. By setting up this contrast, Mr Ng explains a situation unknown to me (England in the 1970s) in terms of a known situation (England now), the latter of which has a greater degree of enactor-accessibility. This temporal juxtaposition, in which two different time-zones are contrasted while place is kept stable, can therefore be seen to function as another interactional storytelling-device or involvement strategy which Mr Ng employs to engage Isabelle as a listener, and which he uses to explain to her how England was *then* on the basis of how it is *now*.

Note that in this entire extract, Mr Ng contrasts Sheffield in the 1970s and present-day Sheffield several times, toggling between Text-World 2 and Text-World 3 repeatedly. The Text World Theory diagram in Figure 4.4 below represents this constant toggling.

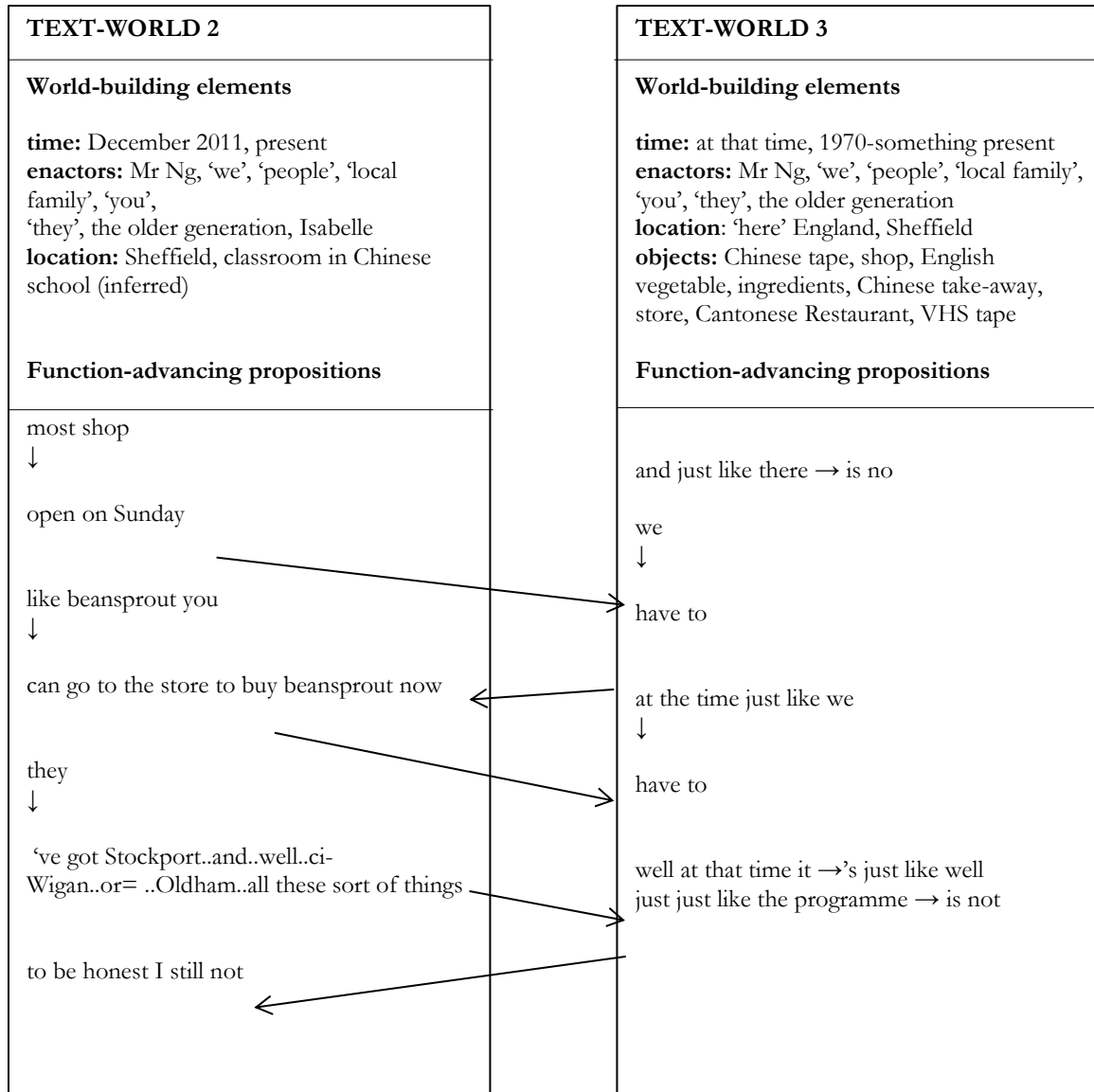


Figure 4.4 *Toggling between Text-World 2 and Text-World 3 in Mr Ng's narrative*

Mr Ng, for example, toggles from Text-World 3 to Text-World 2 when he starts talking about Meadowhall, which is a modern shopping mall in Sheffield which opened in the 1990s, and where shops are open until late (9pm on a weekday), and also open on Sundays. The juxtaposition of his earlier statement about 'all shop[s] [closing] at half past five' (line 9-10) in the 1970s, followed by the reference to Meadowhall in the context of the current discourse, further

develops the contrast between the two time-periods of England in the 1970s and England now. Mr Ng also toggles between these two worlds when he compares going shopping for Chinese food *then* and *now*. He explains that at present, most shops open on Sunday in Sheffield. This is represented in the Text-World 2 on the left in Figure 4.4. He then toggles to Text-World 3 (represented on the right in Figure 4.4.) of the 1970s with the statement that there is no Chinese produce. In Figure 4.4, the toggling is represented by the arrows linking Text-World 2 and Text-World 3. This toggling happens constantly in the narrative, and thus further solidifies the established links between Sheffield/England in the 1970s and Sheffield or England now. The toggling represented in the diagram is Mr Ng's explanation of how 'they', meaning members of the Chinese community, had to do much themselves in the 1970s, like growing beansprouts, while at present, they can go to a shop in Sheffield and buy beansprouts. In his explanation of how obtaining beansprout is different in the 1970s compared to the present, Mr Ng toggles twice; once from Text-World 3 (on the right) to Text-World 2 (on the left) and once from Text-World 2 to Text-World 3. It is also visible in Figure 4.4 that Mr Ng toggles between Text-World 2 and Text-World 3 when he discusses the TV channels and programmes available in the 1970s and at the moment. In this part of the narrative, he explains how the Chinese community in Manchester and surrounding towns is much bigger now, whereas at the time this was not the case. Again, he toggles between Text-World 2 and Text-World 3 here. He also explains that there were not many programmes on TV at the time that they could follow.

He then toggles back to Text-World 2 (represented by another arrow), when he states that he still does not understand British humour sometimes now, when watching television. Figure 4.4 illustrates Mr Ng toggles extensively between Text-World 2 and Text-World 3 in this narrative. It shows that his toggling has a discourse function of contrasting experience and emphasising the vividness of Mr Ng's memories.

4.3.3. Negated text-worlds and deontic modal-worlds

Interestingly, if we focus further on Text-World 3, the narrative starts with Mr Ng explaining that there was *not* 'that sort of diversity' in Sheffield in the 1970s. The negation here functions to delete something, but also introduces it at the same time (Werth 1999: 254). In Text World Theory, the use of negation in combination with world-building elements creates separate text-worlds that feed

into the matrix text-world from which they originate (Hidalgo Downing 2000; Gavins 2007a). These text-worlds are separate, because to process the negated state-of-affairs, listeners or readers first need to conceptualise the state-of-affairs as existing, before they can conceptualise its negated meaning and feed this back into the matrix text-world.

Psycholinguistic evidence supports the hypothesis that people first have to conceptualise a situation that is explicitly negated in the sentence before they can understand its negated meaning (e.g. Kaup 2001; Kaup and Zwaan 2003; Kaup et al. 2006; Kaup et al. 2007; MacDonald and Just 1989). These psycholinguistic studies show that response times are significantly longer for the understanding of negated situations compared to non-negated situations. Kaup et al. (2007) tested whether people mentally simulate a described situation even when this situation is explicitly negated. They described the negated state-of-affairs ‘the eagle was not in the sky’, and then timed participants’ response rates to pictures of the negated situation (an eagle with its wings spread) and of another situation (an eagle with closed wings). They found that response rates were significantly faster when the subsequent picture matched the shape of the eagle in the negated situation (with spread wings) than when it did not. As Kaup et al. (2007) explain:

It seems that comprehending a negative sentence requires comprehending what it is that is being negated, and this in turn requires a mental simulation of the negated situation (Kaup et al. 2007: 11)

On the basis of this evidence, Kaup et al. (2006), argue that the process of understanding a negative sentence (e.g. ‘the eagle was not in the sky’) takes longer than understanding an affirmative state of affairs, because negated situations require a two-step simulation process of comprehension. In a first step, people mentally simulate the counterfactual state of affairs (e.g. ‘the eagle was in the sky’). In a second step, they mentally simulate the actual state of affairs (e.g. ‘the eagle was not in the sky’). The separate text-world created when information is negated, is thus a text-world which represents the counterfactual state of affairs, and whose negated meaning is fed back into the matrix text-world. These negated text-worlds may then further affect interpretation of the matrix text-world, for example by removing assumptions about world-building elements or other events in the originating world.

In the case of the extract analysed, the matrix text-world that the negated text-world originates from is Text-World 3, in which England in the 1970s is conceptualised. The effect of negation is to bring the negated object into focus

for the recipient (cf. Gavins 2007a: 102; Stockwell 2002: 11). By focussing on elements present in current Sheffield, and by describing those as absent in the text-world of Sheffield in the 1970s, Mr Ng on the one hand foregrounds the diversity of Sheffield now, whilst simultaneously highlighting the fact that there was no diversity in Sheffield in the 1970s.

In the lines that follow, Mr Ng discusses the consequences of the lack of diversity in England in the 1970s, and what this implied for him both materially and psychologically. He does so whilst continuing the established contrast between the state of affairs *now* and in the *1970s*. Mr Ng goes on to explain how, in the 1970s, there was no Chinese produce to buy, and there were not a lot of supermarkets (so that if you went out to buy vegetables, they would be English vegetables). This description comprises negation of there *not* being that Chinese produce, and *not* a lot of supermarkets, which creates two negated text-worlds again that feed into the text-world of England or Sheffield in the 1970s.

Mr Ng also creates many deontic modal-worlds in the transcript analysed that affect the text-world of Sheffield in the 1970s. Deontic modal-worlds represent a speaker's attitude towards the performance of certain actions (See Section 2.2.5 in Chapter 2). In this case, Mr Ng talks about the obligations required of him and others in Sheffield in the 1970s. He describes that 'they', meaning members of the Chinese community, had to live with minimum resources (line 8), had to grow the vegetables for the Chinese takeaway themselves (line 24), had to, for example, grow beansprouts by themselves (lines 26-27). He also explains how they were obliged to travel to Manchester or Birmingham often to get Chinese products (lines 34-66), and that they, for example, had to hire tapes of Chinese TV series from Manchester (lines 60-61). All of these examples of deontic modality create deontic modal-worlds that originate from Text-World 3 and affect our understanding of this text-world.

If we focus more on the entire text-world of Sheffield in the 1970s, it becomes clear that the space Mr Ng moves into in the 1970s is characterised by a *lack* of Chinese services and objects. Although the contrast between Sheffield in the 1970s and present-day Sheffield serves to highlight Sheffield's current diversity, this also makes the absence of diversity in 1970s Sheffield all the more foregrounded. Through the recurrence of negation and the use of expressions of deontic commitment, Mr Ng creates a void. This has been characterised as a 'lacuna' (Stockwell 2009a, 2009b) in cognitive poetics. Stockwell (2009a) notes

that a lacuna is ‘a tangible gap, a sense that there is not simply a space but something missing that was previously occupying the space’ (Stockwell 2009a: 35). In the case of Mr Ng’s narrative, I would argue that a lacuna arises as the experiential outcome of a multitude of negated text-worlds. His creation of multiple negations in everyday face-to-face discourse results in the same resonating lacuna effect described by Stockwell in a literary context. The lacuna which Mr Ng constructs portrays the implications that a lack of diversity had for him: in his description, there is *no* diversity (as there is now) (lines 5-6); *no* Chinese produce (line 16); *not* a lot of supermarkets (lines 19-20); *not* as good Cantonese restaurants (lines 35-36); Sheffield is *not* a Chinese centre (line 40); there is *no* Chinese TV channel (line 58); the older generations do *not* speak English, and therefore there is *not* the kind of programmes on TV that they can follow (line 66). These are all examples from Extract 4.1 above (lines 5-71).

Hidalgo Downing (2000a) notes that the recurring use of negation renders non-states and non-events more salient than states or events (Hidalgo Downing 2000: 190), and this is also the case for Text-World 3. The multitude of negation in Text-World 3 can specifically be seen to create a lacuna or resonating void of Chinese cultural artefacts – prominent by their absence. Mr Ng moved from a Chinese centre (Hong Kong), rich in Chinese cultural artefacts, to a peripheral place characterised by things that are not there. He states that ‘Sheffield is relatively just like it’s not [a] Chinese centre right’ (line 40).

4.4 Pronoun use

Mr Ng uses pronouns in interesting ways in the transcript of the interview. Specifically, the change of viewpoint from singular pronoun ‘I’ to plural pronoun ‘we’ in line 8, ‘just like well and we have to live on with with minimum resources like at that time’ is particularly remarkable. This pronoun switch is interesting as the use of ‘we’ marks a shift in point of view from a singular to a plural perspective, suggesting Mr Ng’s experience of having to live with minimal resources is a collective or shared one. The plural pronoun evokes group membership: it suggests that Mr Ng sees himself as part of a group. This group presumably includes his family, as he describes in the beginning of the interview that his father wanted him to move to the UK, but this is not made linguistically explicit. The ‘we’ could, for example, also denote members of the Chinese

community more generally, or a more general group of people who moved from Hong Kong to the UK in the 1970s.

Alongside Mr Ng's use of 'we', there is a similarly remarkable use of the second person pronoun 'you' in the transcript as well. Extract 4.3 below illustrates this:

- 19 Mr Ng all you need to buy is vegetables it's just like go to the erm not a lot of
20 supermarkets so you go to shop there it's like to buy something like the
21 English vegetable...(1.1) so well actually we manage to live, well you see,
22 Isabelle *yeah*

Extract 4.3 *Interview with Mr Ng lines 19-22*

The use of the second person pronoun can have a powerful effect in text. Wales (1996: 74) points out that the ambiguity of 'you' in English can be advantageous, for example in advertising language. The English second person pronoun does not distinguish between informal (e.g. 'tu' in French) and formal ('vous' in French) forms of address, nor between singular and plural form of address. A commercial can therefore, for example, simultaneously refer to an individual as to a body of mass-consumers as a whole.

Narratologists (e.g. Fludernik 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Herman 1994, 2002; Margolin 1990) have provided comprehensive typologies of the various forms and effects of 'you' in second-person narrative. As both Margolin (1990) and Fludernik (1993, 1994a) note in their study of second-person fiction, 'you' always invokes some form of addressee. Fludernik (1995) suggests in her discussion of 'you' in literary narratives that 'you' evokes self-identification for the addressee which 'initially always seems to involve the actual reader' (Fludernik 1995: 106), even if the 'you' transpires to be referring to another entity, rather than the actual reader of a text. Ambiguity of reference and readers' self-identification with 'you' correlates with emotional depth (Fludernik 1994b) and allows for empathy (Fludernik 1993, 1994a, 2002: 173; Herman 1994; Margolin 1990; Phelan 1994). It can also represent a narrator's self-reflection and emotional distancing from events narrated (Fludernik 1994a), in particular if the narrative is interspersed with a narrator's interpretation and evaluation as well (Demjén 2011: 5). Although the studies described here focus mainly on typologies of 'you' in second-person fiction, the forms and effect of 'you' they describe also occur in non-fiction texts (e.g. Demjén 2011). The comprehensiveness of these studies

may also serve as a starting point for looking at the second person pronoun in Mr Ng's narrative.

Fludernik (1993) recognises different types of 'you' narration in real-life non-fiction discourse that may be used in second person fiction:

1. Register- and text- specific 'you' (instructional discourse)
2. Context-dependent 'you' (courthouse 'you')
3. Self-address 'you'
4. Generalised you (adapted from Fludernik 1993)

The first type of 'you' Fludernik recognises is prolific in instruction manuals and guidebooks, and denotes an actual addressee *doing* things in possibly applying the instructions (Fludernik 1993: 235). The second type of 'you', according to Fludernik's classification, is the context-dependent 'you'. This type of 'you' refers to interactants in the context of courthouse discourse, describing a defendant's or witness' actions and thoughts in a reconstructive narrative that is addressed to said defendant/witness (Fludernik 1993: 236). This type of 'you' is used to evoke confession ('and then you killed her') or to provide summary of earlier elicited information ('so you went to bed at 11pm, and did not wake until 7 in the morning'). The third type of 'you' is that of the self-addressed 'you' (Fludernik 1993, 2002). This occurs when an entity addresses themselves. An example of this would be internal monologue in which an actor is arguing with themselves (Fludernik 1993: 238).

The final category of Fludernik's (1993, 2002) typology of non-fiction 'you' is the 'generalised' or 'generic' 'you'. The generalised 'you' reflects generic, non-specific, situations comprising an impersonal 'you' that is equally non-specific. Fludernik notes that the generalising 'you' in narrative is particularly effective in terms of empathy when:

[it] transforme[s] into the addressee's fictional action and from there goes on to replace an experiential *I* which in turn can resurface as the first person narrator's *I*. [...] The actual reader *qua* implicit narratee is therefore inevitably drawn into the fiction, identifying with a generalised position that transforms itself into the specificity of an experiencing *I* (Fludernik 1993: 237).

The generic 'you' thus allows readers to feel self-implicated in the narrative and to identify with the characters initially in a second person fiction, even if the narrative then develops differently.

In a study of generic 'you' in interview discourse, Stirling and Manderson (2011) propose this type of 'you' can have different functions in spoken interaction, such as: displaying speaker authority and invoking a membership

category; engaging the listener in the telling and thereby allowing for empathy; and distancing the speaker from negative personal experience and objectifying the negative experience. They found that the generic ‘you’ in their data always evoked membership category that included the speaker, and similarly to Margolin’s (1990) and Fludernik’s (1993, 1994a) observations, they found it always engaged the addressee in a direct or implicit manner (Stirling and Manderson 2011: 1600).

The notion that the use of ‘you’ always seems to implicate some form of personal address, but may simultaneously have other effects, denotes the ambiguousness of the personal pronoun. Herman (1994, 2002) has incorporated this ambiguity in his typology of ‘you’ in relation to literary narrative with a separate category for ambiguous ‘you’. His classification can for this reason also be useful to investigating ‘you’ in Mr Ng’s non-fictional spoken narrative. Herman proposes five discourse functions of the personal pronoun ‘you’:

1. generalised *you*
2. fictional reference
3. fictionalized address
4. apostrophic address
5. doubly deictic *you* (Herman 1994: 345).

The first of these functions, the generalised ‘you’, presents a ‘you’ that is impersonalised and similar to the personal pronoun ‘one’. The second function of ‘you’ occurs when a reference to an entity in the narrative is made. The third function takes place when a fictional entity is addressed, and the fourth when ‘you’ is used to address the audience or readership beyond the ontological boundaries of fiction. The final, fifth form of ‘you’ then, according to Herman, is an ambiguous amalgam between different functions. It occurs when the pronoun ‘you’ can be seen to both address a fictional entity and readers of a text:

[doubly deictic you] ambiguates virtualized and actualized discourse referents or rather superimposes the deictic roles of nonparticipants and participants in the discourse, thus reweighting both terms in the text-context relation itself (Herman 1994: 345).

As Herman’s explains here, the form of ‘you’ in category 5 is a *doubly* deictic one because the second personal pronoun can be seen to address *two* types of entities at the same time: *virtual* (e.g. referring into the fictional world) and *actual* entities. Herman’s approach is particularly interesting because of this fifth possibility of a double-address.

Herman’s (1994) approach to the personal pronoun ‘you’ has been incorporated into Text World Theory already (Gavins 2013: 143-147; Gibbons

2008), as the text-world framework also recognises the existence of ontological boundaries between worlds, as well as the ability of writers and speakers to address or specify entities across those boundaries. In the case of Mr Ng's oral narrative, because the interview took place in a face-to-face discourse situation, it is likely that the potential for ambiguity around double situatedness would be lessened, since the discourse participants in that situation could have easily clarified indefinite uses of 'you' by reference to their immediate environment. Having said that, the ontological boundaries between different conceptual levels nevertheless allow for a double deixis, or multiple functioning of the personal pronoun 'you', which is open to multiple interpretations by the discourse participants.

In the extract above, Mr Ng uses 'you' four times: 'there is no Chinese produce just like you can buy' 'you see' (line 17), 'all you need to buy is vegetables' (line 19), and 'so you go to shop there' (line 20). In his use of 'you' in 'you see', the pronoun's relation to 'see' makes it slightly different from the other instances of 'you'. The pronoun 'you' together with the verb 'see' forms a discourse marker that is often employed in the case of explanations (Schiffrin 1987: 327). This is especially the case when the marker is used 'in connection with information which [is] presented as new', and establishes the point of view of one participant in the discourse-world (Erman 1987: 117). It is a common strategy at the beginning of a prolonged turn of conversation or narrative for speakers to set up or check with other discourse participants for common ground from which the discourse can further evolve. See, for example, the extract below from the British National Corpus:

D97PS000 <unclear> one, two.
 <pause> Now what was it, I mean <pause> or would you prefer anything else?
 Unknown speaker <unclear> some tea?
 D97PS000 Tea?
 I'll I'll go and check <unclear> .
 D97PS001 <unclear>
 D97PS005 One thing I <pause> struck me this week there's a new regulation as regard punctures on tyres because I had this completely flat tyre and a whole new set of tyres and I said to him well can't you mend it, can't you put an inner tube in like I I've done before cos there was a nail in it you see.
 D97PS004 Yeah.
 D97PS005 And I said just get the nail out and re-- repair the inner tube he said no it's the there's a new regulation <unclear> this

year that if the outer case of the you know the tyre has
 <unclear>
 D97PS000 <unclear> tea.
 D97PS005 they're not allowed to repair it because safety regulations
 because <pause> the whole expanse and then supposedly the
 actual puncture <unclear> comes off.
 And I said well what happens to these extra tyres? (BNC
 D97: 1270-1280).

In the above extract, speaker D97PS005 sets up common ground with speaker D97PS004 by using 'you see' in his or her narrative on tyres. In a similar manner, Mr Ng's use of 'you see' in his interview with Isabelle strengthens listener involvement by pointing into the shared discourse-world, and thus can be seen as a listener involvement strategy. Like speaker D97PS004 in the extract above, Isabelle uses backchanneling (*'yeah'*, line 25) after Mr Ng's use of 'you see' in her interview with him, which can be seen as signifying that she has indeed reacted to this interactional function of 'you'.

Moreover, Gavins (2007a) discusses how phrases of perception such as 'you see' are linked to our conceptualisation of information:

The information that other human beings present to us through spoken and written language exists outside of [our] deictic centre. We conceptualise this information as closer to or further away from us according to our evaluation of the reliability of both its origins and its content. For example, we often express our understanding of knowledge, and particularly our notions of what is true and what is not, through a conceptual metaphor of perception (Gavins 2007a: 82).

Following Gavins, when Mr Ng says 'you see', he can be seen to be seeking to address or confirm Isabelle's conceptualisation of the information he has given. This means that, by extension, he is also questioning his own clarity or reliability, since the use of this particular discourse marker opens up the floor for Isabelle to agree or disagree with the information Mr Ng has just shared. 'You see' has been variously interpreted as an interactive device (Sinclair and Renouf 1988: 151), as being used to organise information in discourse (Erman 1987), as a means of ending discourse (Erman 1987), but also as a means of positioning the speaker as the more powerful discourse participant, because it foregrounds the speaker as the sharer of new information to the listener (cf. Carter and McCarthy 1997). The asymmetry this potentially creates can be seen to be mitigated by the focus of attention of 'you see' on the listener's ability to learn or understand the information, rather than on the speaker's ability to inform (Lee-Smith 1993: 157).

'You see' can thus be seen as a metaphor with a discursual function, in that it positions the text-worlds Mr Ng creates close enough to be within

Isabelle's perceptive range as a listener, with the effect that these worlds might seem more reliable to her. When Isabelle says 'yeah' in response, she is accepting this positioning. Interestingly, a construction such as 'you see' points into the discourse-world but is also a type of modalisation, because it includes an 'expression of epistemic commitment' (Gavins 2007a: 115). This is because very often a speaker's confidence towards the truth of a proposition is expressed through some form of perception, usually visual perception (Simpson 1993: 46). Following Simpson's (1993) model, adapted in Text World Theory, this type of modality is termed 'perception modality' and is sub-category of epistemic modality. Similarly to the example Gavins (2007a: 115) discusses, Mr Ng's use of perception modality decreases the epistemic distance between the text- and modal-worlds he creates and the discourse-world in which he and Isabelle resided at the time of the interview. In summary, Mr Ng's use of 'you see' here can be seen as a way of creating listener involvement, establishing rapport with the listener, and seeking common ground or a similar point of reference from which to continue in the discourse.

In the other three instances of 'you' in the extract – 'there is no Chinese produce just like you can buy', 'all you need to buy is vegetables', and 'so you go to shop there' – 'you' can be seen to represent the experience of going shopping for Chinese produce in Sheffield in the 1970s and not finding any as a generalised experience. The 'you' in these cases can thus be said to be a 'generic you' (Fludernik 1995; Herman 1994; Stirling and Manderson 2011). By using 'you' in this way, Mr Ng depersonalises the experience of going shopping. The 'you' thus functions as a generalised pronoun, similar to the pronoun 'one', with the purpose of generalising the represented experience in these cases. It is also noteworthy to say that the activity Mr Ng describes marks membership category, and that this is reinforced through the use of 'you'. Mr Ng's description of going shopping for Chinese vegetables in the 1970s in Sheffield and not finding any, is presumably one shared by other members of the Chinese community in Sheffield at the time, and thus denotes group membership. Whereas the use of the first person would mark Mr Ng's membership categorisation less clearly, the ambiguity of the second person pronoun invites membership categorisation (Stirling and Manderson 2011). His depiction of a shared activity and disappointment at the lack of diversity in his new home city in the 1970s in combination with the use of 'you' therefore marks his inclusion in this specifically Chinese community activity. Note

that Mr Ng could also have used 'we' here, but this would have excluded the other discourse-world participant, Isabelle, from the events narrated.

Perhaps most importantly, 'you' in this extract, especially when considering its occurrence within a longer stretch of discourse, can be seen to be a discourse strategy to involve the listener more into the story. 'You', although not a *direct* form of address, still involves the listener or reader to a greater extent than the more impersonal and highly formal 'one' would do, even though it was clear to both Mr Ng and Isabelle, the other interactant in the interview, that she was not in Sheffield in the 1970s, and could not have gone out to buy vegetables at that time. In this way, 'you' involves Isabelle, in the story, and allows Mr Ng to make his experiences clear to her, and for Isabelle to empathise with Mr Ng more easily. I would argue, therefore, that Mr Ng's use of 'you' here is related to Isabelle as a discourse-world co-participant at the time of the interview and implicates some form of personal address.

Furthermore, I would also argue that Mr Ng's use of 'you' as represented in the transcript continues to function as an engagement strategy for the reader, even if that reader has no relation to the discourse-world interactants and was not present at the time of the interview. The second person pronoun can be seen to have two key functions in Mr Ng's narrative: 1. generalising the experience of going shopping for Chinese produce in Sheffield in the 1970s, while at the same time outlining Mr Ng's inclusion in this specifically Chinese community activity, and 2. involving the listener in an otherwise potentially exclusive narrative. Mr Ng's use of 'you' in this passage is doubly deictic because it points into the text-worlds or represented states of affairs in the discourse by referring to Mr Ng as a character in his story, whilst also referring into the actualised domain, or discourse-world by explicitly (e.g. 'you see') or implicitly (e.g. 'you') addressing Isabelle. 'You' thus refers both into the world of represented states of affairs and the actual world, as Herman (1994) established in his study of the doubly deictic function of 'you' in literary fiction. The 'you' which refers into the represented state of affairs in the discourse can be seen to be more firmly anchored in the text-worlds already created. 'You see' refers more clearly into the discourse-world of the interview, and establishes or structures the social relationships between Mr Ng and Isabelle. 'You see' can also be seen to refer into the discourse-world of the reader of the transcript at a later date. All of these instances are mentally represented by the discourse participants in the form of text-worlds, but the

worlds of ‘you see’ are more fleeting conceptual constructions, because in most cases, they are immediately switched for other text-worlds that capture the events described by Mr Ng in more detail.

It is interesting to examine the relationship between the kinds of listener involvement strategies identified in the preceding section of this chapter and the discourse participants’ experiences of empathy in the interview situation, as within literary-linguistic, cognitive-psychological, and cognitive-poetic traditions there has been an increased interest in the empathetic effects of discourse (e.g. Caracciolo 2013; Fludernik 1993, 1994a, 2002: 173; Gerrig and Rapp 2004; Harrison 2011; Herman 1994; Hogan 2011a, 2011b, 2014; Keen 2007; Kuiken et al. 2004a; Kuiken et al. 2004b; Margolin 1990; Nuttall 2015; Oatley and Gholamain 1997; Phelan 1994; Stockwell 2009b; Whiteley 2010). As empathy is key to human cognition (McQuiggan and Lester 2007) and social interaction (Hoffman 2000), researching empathy in face-to-face interaction helps to understand the functioning of human social intelligence and relationships.

Empathy is defined differently by different disciplines (cf. Batson 2009; Bernhardt and Singer 2012; Keen 2007), although it can be seen to involve the sharing or experiencing of another’s emotional response (e.g. Aaltola 2012; Decety and Jackson 2004; Hooker et al. 2008; Keen 2007: 4; Morelli and Lieberman 2013; Stueber 2006). What is also central to most views on empathy is that it is experienced in response to another person or character, and thus that it is a relational phenomenon. Hooker et al. (2008), for example, suggest that when people attribute an emotional response to others, they generate an internal affective representation of this emotional response themselves, and that this process is closely related to empathy. In narratology and stylistics, research on empathy focuses on the linguistic techniques which provide access to the inner lives of characters and may lead to readers’ emphatic relationship with these characters. Following much of the research outlined above, I see empathy as a relational phenomenon and an emotional response that is experienced as the result of a person’s engagement with the perceived consciousness of another. I do not mean to say that engagement with someone else’s mind will automatically generate empathy, but rather that engagement with another’s mental state may *allow* for the generation of empathy.

By showing the conceptual structure of Mr Ng’s narrative, Text World Theory allows for an understanding of listener involvement and the creation of

empathy in the interaction between Mr Ng and Isabelle. I have shown through Text World Theory that Mr Ng structures his narrative by creating different kinds of worlds, and that he moves the world of his experiences in the 1970s closer to the world of his current discourse situation. In making connections between the two, he seeks common ground, and allows Isabelle as a listener to understand something unknown to her (his experiences in Sheffield in the 1970s) in terms of something known (Sheffield now), thus helping her to conceptualise the new information he presents as closer to herself, involving her as a discourse co-participant. Mr Ng's use of the personal pronoun 'you' also creates greater listener involvement, as it implicates some form of personal address, which allows Isabelle to map a projection of herself as a discourse-world participant onto the text-world enactor 'you'. These involvement strategies, I argue, encourage empathy, because they make it easier for Isabelle to transition from a shared common ground into the perceived consciousness of Mr Ng, enabling her to more easily imagine Mr Ng's experiences of living in Sheffield in the 1970s and the emotional response he might have had to the situation.

To a lesser degree, the listener-involvement strategies and possibility for empathy extend to readers of the transcript, too, who are also likely to feel addressed by the 'you' in the text in some way because of the general function of the second person pronoun. 'You' invites self-identification for readers of the transcript as well as for Mr Ng's co-participant in his discourse-world, but the extent to which these readers are able to map themselves onto the enactor of 'you' might depend on the extent to which they feel they can identify with the 'you' in the transcript, and their willingness to adopt its positioning.

4.5 Multiple identities

The way Mr Ng uses the personal pronoun 'you', which allows Isabelle to make a connection between herself as a discourse-world participant and the text-world enactor of 'you', and which may allow a reader of the transcript of the interview to feel addressed as well, is also related to how participants are able to construct multiple identities in discourse. As a reader of the transcript of the interview, I identify with instances of the 'you' of Mr Ng's talk. Similarly, Mr Ng creates several enactors of himself in his construction of worlds. These enactors are positioned slightly differently towards each other and towards Mr Ng as a discourse-world participant, although they all represent Mr Ng. In everyday

interaction, we tend to see these enactors as counterparts of Mr Ng as a discourse-world participant (also see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1). For example, when Mr Ng tells Isabelle a story which starts with ‘when I first came here’, I see the text-world enactor he constructs of himself as equivalent to Mr Ng as a discourse-world participant telling me the story. However, with each change of world in the story, a different enactor of Mr Ng is created. In this way, the multiple enactors Mr Ng creates throughout his discourse allow for the construction of multiple identities of himself. A text-world perspective on the discourse is well-equipped to demonstrate this, whereas more traditional, sociolinguistic approaches lack the cognitive and ontological detail to capture this in linguistic analysis.

If we look at the entire extract of interview (Extract 4.1) and the worlds created in the extracts analysed again, we see that in Text-World 3, Mr Ng positions himself as either part of his own family, or of the Sheffield Chinese community (using the pronoun ‘we’). In this representation of himself, Mr Ng emphasises the amount of responsibility he had to take on as a Chinese migrant to Sheffield in the 1970s, shown in particular by his construction of deontic modal-worlds. By contrast, in Text-World 2 he constructs a slightly different identity, through which he is able to outline how knowledgeable he is about Sheffield and Manchester. In this text-world, he also describes different cultural experiences and demonstrates that his humour differs from typical English culture and humour. In both examples, Mr Ng corroborates each separate identity with a representation of Isabelle as another text-world enactor through the use of ‘you’. Moreover, Mr Ng’s and Isabelle’s interaction in the discourse-world, the knowledge they bring to their interaction, and from which they make inferences during the discourse, also influences how they construct and conceptualise themselves and each other during their interaction.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out to analyse an interview with a member of the Chinese community in Sheffield, who migrated from Hong Kong to Sheffield in the 1970s. In the course of this analysis I have proposed and demonstrated a number of things. Firstly, I have argued for a more nuanced account of accessibility in Text World Theory. Specifically, I have argued that instead of only distinguishing between participant- and enactor-accessible worlds, Text World Theory should recognise degrees of enactor-accessibility, allowing for a discussion of the relative

distance or closeness of enactor-accessible worlds in relation to the discourse-world.

The Text World Theory analyses in this chapter have furthermore shown how Mr Ng's narrative reflects on, structures, and shapes his experiences as a migrant to the UK. I have shown how Mr Ng's narrative is structured through a toggling between contrasted text-worlds. In his narrative, Mr Ng toggles between the world of Sheffield in the 1970s on the one hand, and the world of Sheffield at the moment of interaction on the other. I have shown that the syntactic structure of Mr Ng's narrative, coupled with his pronominal choices, encourages listener involvement and the creation of empathy in the interaction. The temporal juxtaposition between present-day Sheffield and Sheffield in the 1970s serves further to involve Isabelle, as Mr Ng's discourse-world co-participant, in the text-worlds he creates. It does so by moving the world of Sheffield in the 1970s closer to the current situation at the moment of Mr Ng's and Isabelle's interaction. Mr Ng's uses of 'you' and 'you see' in his description serve to heighten listener involvement still further, establishing rapport with the listener, and seeking common ground or a similar point of reference from which to continue in the discourse.

My analysis had also provided an overview of the many negated text-worlds and deontic modal-worlds feeding into the world of Sheffield in the 1970s created by Mr Ng. Although these worlds characterise the diversity in contemporary Sheffield, I have also argued that they function to characterise Sheffield in the 1970s as a negation of all things Chinese. Finally, I have demonstrated that by creating multiple text- and modal-worlds, Mr Ng also creates different versions of himself in language that each align differently to the discourse-world and to the text-worlds created, as well as to the discourse-world participants themselves. I have argued that this is a common technique in spoken interaction, which allows participants to create multiple identities in discourse.

In Chapter 5, I analyse another interview with a member of the Chinese community in Sheffield with the use of Text World Theory. In this interview with a young British-Chinese male named Tak-Cheung, I focus on the use of the historical present as a storytelling device, and examine Tak-Cheung's creation of a blended representation of self. Tak-Cheung's interview represents another insight into the lives of those in the community under study, but is especially interesting because of the discursive patterning of the interview. I argue in Chapter 5 that

Tak-Cheung toggles constantly between multiple versions of self, ultimately creating a mutually exclusive opposition between Chinese and English identity.

5. TAK-CHEUNG

5.0 Preview

This chapter explores identity through linguistic self-representation and expressions of emotion and evaluation in the narrative of Tak-Cheung, a young British-born Chinese dragon and lion dance teacher at *The Dancing Dragon* in Sheffield. In the interview, Tak-Cheung tells me about his experiences of being a British-Chinese person from Sheffield. In the specific extracts of the interview analysed in this chapter, Tak-Cheung speaks about a life-changing experience and recalls a memory of when he was in primary school. The extracts analysed are part of a longer interview that I held with Tak-Cheung in February 2012, which focussed on his experiences of growing up in Sheffield and the feelings he had with regards to belonging, heritage and ethnicity.

In Section 5.1, I detail the data-collection methods I used and the ethnographic context in which the interview with Tak-Cheung took place. I then discuss the different discourse-worlds of Tak-Cheung's interview in Section 5.2. I continue with my Text World Theory analysis of Tak-Cheung's interview in Section 5.3 and Section 5.4. In the first of these sections, I provide a cognitive-linguistic perspective on the interaction by looking at the text-worlds created; in the second analysis section, I further explore the thematic concepts that emerged out of the text-world analysis.

The first part of my analysis (in Section 5.3) starts with an overview of the text-world patterns in the interaction. I reveal a pattern which consists of mainly epistemic modal-worlds. I argue that these worlds highlight the socially-constructed and interactional aspects of the discourse analysed. In Section 5.3.1, I then discuss Tak-Cheung's toggling between text-worlds. In Sections 5.3.2 to 5.3.4, I discuss Tak-Cheung's use of linguistic expressions of emotions, and how linguistic expressions of emotions have been covered in the literature on Text World Theory to date. In these sections, I argue that expressions of emotion in discourse should be treated as epistemic modal-worlds in Text World Theory, as they express the inner workings of an enactor's mind and highlight the subjective stance of a speaker towards a proposition expressed or situation described in the text. Section 5.3.5 explores the use of modality and modalisation in Tak-Cheung's interview, and Section 5.3.6 covers Tak-Cheung's use of the historical present. This part of my analysis also examines the roles of the enactors in the different

text-worlds created, and Tak-Cheung's relationship to them. In the second part of my analysis (in Section 5.4), I discuss the thematic concepts of authenticity, passing and agency, which emerge as relevant issues out of the preceding Text World Theory analysis. In Section 5.4.1, I discuss appropriation of origin and authenticity practices. I go on to discuss language and authenticity in Section 5.4.2. Section 5.4.3 discusses dichotomous identity constructions in discourse.

Overall, I argue that the Text World Theory approach I employ in this chapter, in combination with sociolinguistic analysis, allows me to uncover the textual and conceptual structures that mark the complexity of Tak-Cheung's identity linguistically. My analysis reveals how Tak-Cheung performs identity through multiple layers of discourse, ranging from micro-level socio-cognitive stylistic constructions to identity positions unfolding over the course of several stretches of talk. Moreover, I show that the attention Text World Theory gives to the conceptual patterns and micro-level textual aspects of the language, in combination with the more macro-level approach it offers, allows for an unprecedented analysis of linguistic identity that is able to combine the micro, macro, social and cognitive aspects of language under one unified framework.

5.1 Data collection and ethnographic context

Tak-Cheung worked as a dragon and lion dance teacher at the Chinese school. As explained in Section 3.4.4 of this thesis, dragon dance and lion dance are very intense dance forms, associated with Kung Fu. Successful mastery of the dances requires strength, flexibility, balance, speed, and teamwork. In each performance, the dancers combine intensive cardiovascular exercise with Kung Fu stances, jumps, kicks and weight training. Dragon dancers need to lift the dragon high into the air, jump over it, and coordinate their movements with others to achieve a smooth performance. Lion dancers carry either the head of the lion, or are hidden underneath its tail. For the head, the dancers must have strong arms and shoulders, especially because the lion head is often raised high above the dancer's head and requires quick, vigorous movements. The dancer underneath the lion's tail is bent over all the time, and must therefore have a strong back and legs. Because dragon and lion dance also involves music and coordinated footwork, dancers must have rhythmical talent as well.

In his early twenties, Tak-Cheung was highly skilled in all of these techniques, and spent his time during practice teaching others how to do

complicated jumps and elaborate footwork. It became clear during my observations of the Chinese school community that despite the obvious lead Tak-Cheung had over the other dancers, he was a tolerant teacher. He would patiently go over moves with individual dancers, always providing constructive criticism. After dragon and lion training, he would often spend time playing cards with the other young males, or watch Chinese martial arts films until the school closed. We regularly chatted for several hours straight, mainly about Chinese food, sports, customs and language, but also about work.

Tak-Cheung had obtained a university degree in economics a little over a year before I met him in November 2011, and had been looking for suitable employment in the UK ever since. In the interview I held with him in February 2012, he indicated that he would prefer to find employment in the UK over Hong Kong, describing Hong Kong as ‘one of the cities that doesn’t sleep’, and worrying he would always be working and have no time for leisure activities if employed there. However, he also tentatively stated that ‘with the way the economy here is over here [the UK] here I think there are possibly more opportunities in Hong Kong so [...] it is becoming a more likely possibility in the future...but...even even if I did work there in the future I don’t think I’d live there very long’. A little more than three months later, he had indeed decided to move to Hong Kong in the hope of finding employment there. Not long after his move he was employed by a Hong Kong consulting company, and continues to live in Hong Kong.

5.2 The different discourse-worlds of Tak-Cheung’s interview

I conducted my interview with Tak-Cheung outside the *Dancing Dragon*, on a weekday afternoon in February 2012, at a time convenient for both of us. The interview lasted for around 45 minutes, and took place in the cafeteria of a major warehouse in Sheffield. The location for the interview was chosen by Tak-Cheung. There was a counter where products were sold at one end of the room. We were seated directly opposite the counter, but on the other side of the room. Tak-Cheung was facing the wall while I was facing the cafeteria. It was not very busy, but there were a few other customers, mainly middle-aged women.

Similarly to Mr Ng’s interview analysed in Chapter 4, the discourse-world created at the time of the interview included discourse-world participants (Tak-Cheung and Isabelle in this case), their inferences, and the objects mutually

perceivable to them, such as the table, chairs and tape-recorder. As explained in detail in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2), this ‘interview’ discourse-world (Discourse-World 1) is no longer accessible or existent, because the communicative event between Tak-Cheung and Isabelle has finished. During my analysis, in which I engaged with the transcript of the interview, I occupied another discourse-world (Discourse-World 2). This discourse-world was split (Gavins 2007a: 26), because the participants (myself as analyst, and Tak-Cheung and Isabelle as co-participants) occupied different time-zones and places during this discourse event (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1 and Chapter 4, Section 4.2). The original discourse-world of the interview situation, partly retrieved through the transcript of the interview during analysis, is now text-world forming instead.

In the following section of this chapter, I discuss the interview with Tak-Cheung in Text World Theory terms, focusing on an extract in which Tak-Cheung talks about some life changing events that happened to him. In order to facilitate explanation at the micro-level of the interaction, I have reproduced the full extract below, while throughout the remainder of the chapter I provide smaller subdivided segments of the text, where relevant.

- 1 Isabelle yeah yeah no yeah that’s fine erm this is also a strange question I
2 don’t know why <x> here but do you say that there would be is
3 there an event that really influenced your life...(1.4) like or your
4 way of being like like you said at thirteen fourteen I’m leading you
5 into this a bit you you were actually changing you like started to
6 learn Cantonese like for real and you learnt Mandarin too is there a
7 reason like is it like did it gradually grow or or was it something
8 happened?
9 Tak-Cheung erm...(4.6) that actually that’s quite quite true I remember there
10 used to be a TV show called Martial Law with Sammo Hung in it
11 and erm there’s a scene and it’s always stuck in my head where he’s
12 talking to anothe- to erm a Chinese girl who’s erm I think she’s
13 actually brou- brought up in America
14 Isabelle *bmbm*
15 Tak-Cheung and they’re both talking and they say...(1.2) in America we’re too
16 Chinese to fit in and and in China we’re we’re too American to fit
17 in and for some reason that always like struck a chord with me and
18 I fou- found it quite interesting because I can relate to it and I find
19 it’s quite strange that in America they would deal with the same
20 problem that...(1.5) it’s kind of like an identity crisis where they
21 didn’t know where they fit in the most
22 Isabelle *yeah*
23 Tak-Cheung because...(1.4) erm this is going back quite f- quite a while but
24 when I was in primary school I remember erm everyone used to
25 colour themselves in as pink erm the skin colour and I remember I

- 26 was I was just drawing a picture of myself and I coloured myself
 27 pink erm I think it's my best friend at the time he stops stops me
 28 from colouring and goes 'you can't do that' I say 'what can't I do'
 29 he say 'you can't can't colour yourself pink' and I said asked asked
 30 him why and he says 'ohh because your skin colour is different
 31 from ours' and I remember at the time I didn't really think
 32 Isabelle *yeah*
 33 Tak-Cheung it was erm...(1.1) I guess I didn't think too much of it but I just
 34 thought it was kind of strange that at the end of the day they did
 35 see me as different
 36 Isabelle yeah
 37 Tak-Cheung and erm it did impact me I guess and then after that seeing that
 38 seeing that erm TV show Martial Law erm I guess that was when I
 39 started to take Chinese more a bit more seriously just because I
 40 guess I was just exploring my-myself and
 41 Isabelle *yeah*
 42 Tak-Cheung my identity

Extract 5.1 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 1-42 (italics in all extracts of this chapter represent Isabelle's backchanneling when simultaneously with Tak-Cheung's turn)*

5.3 Patterns of co-construction

At the beginning of this extract, Isabelle asks Tak-Cheung whether his life has been influenced by any significant events in particular. The extract begins with the following narrative-eliciting speech from Isabelle:

- 1 Isabelle yeah yeah no yeah that's fine erm this is also a strange question I
 2 don't know why <x> here but do you say that there would be is
 3 there an event that really influenced your life...(1.4) like or your
 4 way of being like like you said at thirteen fourteen I'm leading you
 5 into this a bit you you were actually changing you like started to
 6 learn Cantonese like for real and you learnt Mandarin too is there a
 7 reason like is it like did it gradually grow or or was it something
 8 happened?

Extract 5.2 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 1-8*

What can be gleaned from this fragment from the transcript is that the interview situation of the two participants Tak-Cheung and Isabelle, which formed a discourse-world at time of the interview, has now become text-world forming instead. The text-world of the interview situation of Isabelle and Tak-Cheung is situated in the present-time zone, which is clear through Isabelle's use of the present tense (e.g. 'that's fine...this is also...', line 1). It is occupied by the textual enactors Isabelle and Tak-Cheung, who are once again specified through the pronominal references 'you' and 'I' in Isabelle's talk (see also Werth 1999; Gavins 2007a). Note that Isabelle and Tak-Cheung are text-world enactors rather than

discourse-world participants, because ontologically they are no longer ‘real people’ in the extract analysed, only textual entities. This present-time zone underlies the entire discourse and creates an initial text-world as soon as the discourse starts (Text-World 1). Figure 5.1 shows a diagrammatic representation of this first text-world, which has a great degree of participant accessibility.

As is visible from Figure 5.1, Isabelle begins by using the present tense to refer to an earlier statement by Tak-Cheung. This is clear from Isabelle’s utterance ‘that’s fine’ (line 1), as well as her use of the distal demonstrative ‘that’, a marker to refer to a preceding utterance in the unfolding discourse (cf. Levinson 1983: 85).

TEXT-WORLD 1
<p>World-building elements</p> <p>t: present, February 2012</p> <p>l: cafeteria in Sheffield</p> <p>e: Tak-Cheung, Isabelle</p>
<p>Function-advancing propositions</p> <p>that → ‘s fine erm</p> <p>this → is also a strange question</p>

Figure 5.1 *Text-World 1*

Immediately following this remark in line 1, Isabelle switches to the proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ in ‘this is also a strange question’ (line 1), in order to refer to a forthcoming part of the discourse in which Isabelle asks Tak-Cheung whether there has been an event in his life that significantly changed his life or way of being. This comment also draws attention to the interview situation of the discourse, in which Isabelle has taken on the role of interviewer and mainly asks questions, and in which Tak-Cheung is the interviewee. The statement furthermore suggests that Isabelle is about to ask a ‘strange question’ (lines 1), and the use of ‘also’ (line 1), specifically suggests Isabelle has done or feels she has done this earlier in the interview as well. The statement can be seen as a mitigating strategy that softens the face-threatening act of Isabelle’s request for information (Brown and Levinson 1987) by introducing the specific upcoming request and acknowledging the absurdity of it.

Following this statement, Isabelle creates a negated epistemic modal-world in which she negates her own understanding ('I don't know why <x> here', lines 1-2), but this world is fleeting and switched for another epistemic modal-world, marked by the modal auxiliary verb 'would' which is also not completed ('but do you say that there would be', lines 2). As can be seen in Figure 5.2 below, these two epistemic modal-worlds originate from Text-World 1 and are separate from Text-World 1, but they nevertheless are likely to influence participants' conceptualisation of Text-World 1. The mitigating strategy employed in the statement 'this is also a strange question' (Isabelle, line 1), in combination with Isabelle's unfinished utterances and the negation of her own understanding, suggests she is hesitant in formulating her question. Isabelle continues by constructing an epistemic modal-world in which an event that really influenced Tak-Cheung's life is represented ('is there an event that really influenced your life', lines 2-3). This statement forms a third epistemic modal-world (see Figure 5.2), because with this statement Isabelle constructs a situation that is conceptually represented as a possibility. The effect of this is that the situation represented by the utterance is unrealised or unconfirmed at the level of the discourse and is therefore epistemic modal-world forming. Isabelle then presents another situation for Tak-Cheung in her next utterance, in which a possible event that influenced Tak-Cheung's 'way of being' is postulated ('or your way of being like like you said at thirteen fourteen', lines 3-4).

As visible in Figure 5.2, another modal-world is embedded within this modal-world because of Isabelle's use of indirect speech 'like you said' (Isabelle, line 4), in which she refers back to an earlier part of the interview, triggering a modal-world in which this indirect utterance is represented. Isabelle's referring back to an earlier segment of talk is demonstrative of the co-constructed nature of discourse (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008; Werth 1999). Isabelle outlines an event that possibly had a significant influence on Tak-Cheung's life, which means she is linguistically constructing his experiences and the meaning of these experiences for him, and encouraging Tak-Cheung to talk about the event she has constructed.

It is also clear that Isabelle is aware of her role as a co-constructor of the discourse in the interview, as she refers into the immediate situation of her and Tak-Cheung's face-to-face interaction and to their linguistic behaviour in the next utterance, 'I'm leading you into this a bit' (lines 4-5), where she signals her role as co-constructor explicitly to Tak-Cheung. In this utterance, Isabelle uses the

present tense as well as proximal deixis. The demonstrative ‘this’ in the utterance can be seen to refer to forthcoming discourse, as Isabelle then continues her construction of an event that possibly influenced Tak-Cheung’s life.

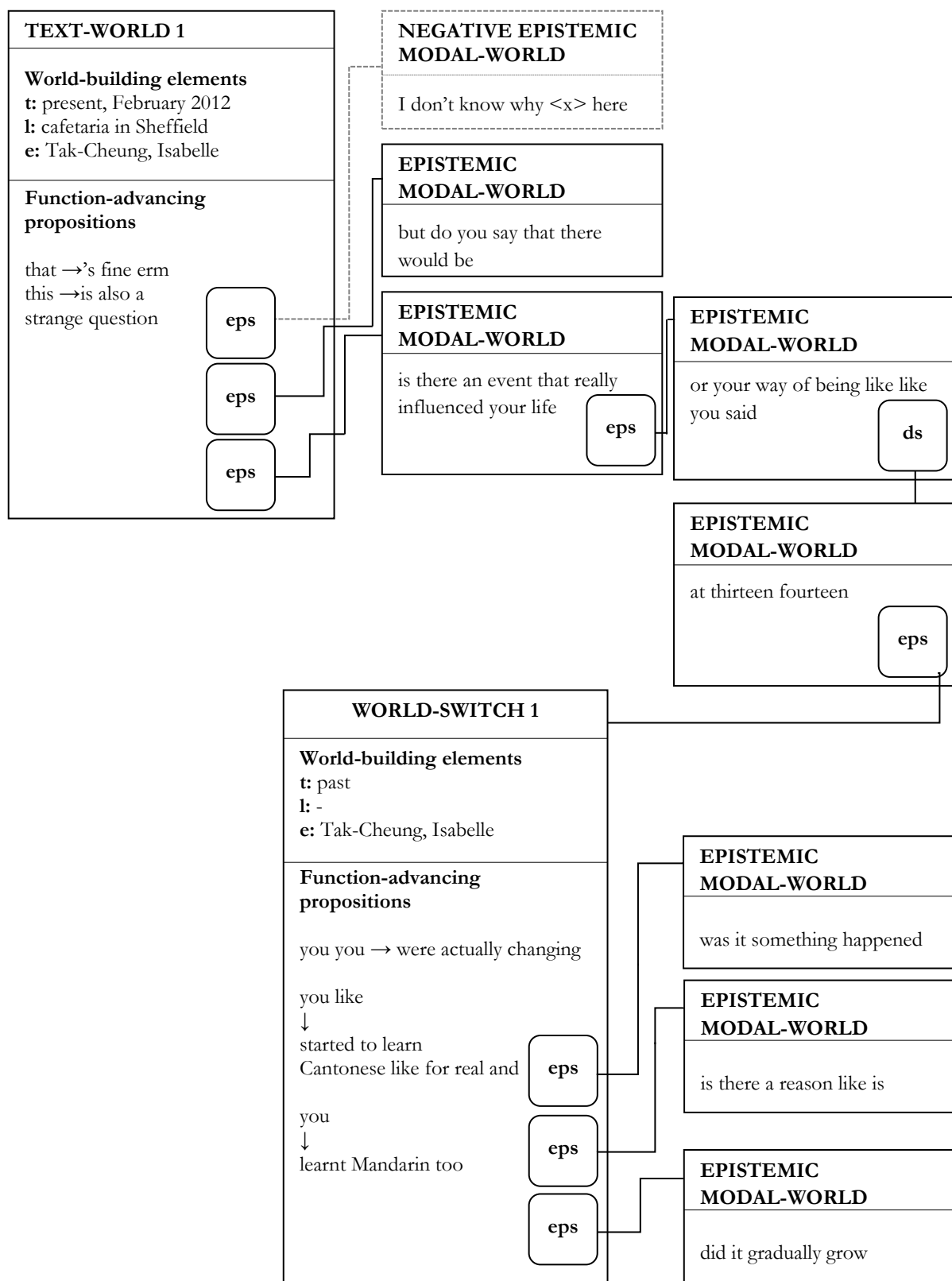


Figure 5.2 World pattern in the interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 1-8

In the succeeding declarative statement ‘you you were actually changing you like started to learn Cantonese like for real and...you learnt Mandarin too’ (lines 5-6), Isabelle refers back to an earlier part in the interview in which Tak-Cheung talked about you like started to learn Cantonese like for real and...you learnt Mandarin too’ (lines 5-6), Isabelle refers back to an earlier part in the interview in which Tak-Cheung talked about changing. In the part of conversation she is referring to here, Tak-Cheung told her that when he was about thirteen or fourteen, he starting taking learning Chinese seriously. Isabelle’s use of past tense creates a world-shift in this case (see World-Switch 1 in Figure 5.2), positioning the situation in a past-time zone. By saying ‘I’m leading you into this a bit’ (lines 4-5), Isabelle is drawing attention to the fact that the conceptualised situation of Tak-Cheung changing is constructed by her as an interviewer. This metalinguistic statement refers to the world of her and Tak-Cheung in the café, but entails Isabelle’s supposition that Tak-Cheung’s change is the result of an event that influenced his life. As such, it also affects our understanding of the world-switch to the past-tense situation. Isabelle then creates three separate epistemic modal-worlds (‘is there a reason like is it like did it gradually grow or or was it something happened?’, lines 6-8), which represent situations that also presuppose that Tak-Cheung’s report that he began to take Chinese more seriously when he was in his teens is an event that significantly changed his life or way of being. These modal-worlds offer different views on how this might have happened. They are unconfirmed at the level of the discourse, and marked as such by their formulation as questions, resulting in epistemic modal-worlds. The three modal-worlds are depicted in the bottom-right corner of Figure 5.2.

The text-world pattern above gives an insight into the emergent and co-constructed nature of narrative in the interview, in which Isabelle participates in constructing a narrative with Tak-Cheung. I have shown that the linguistic exchange discussed above creates mainly epistemic modal-worlds that highlight this co-constructed quality, as well as Isabelle’s role in the storytelling process, and the interactional positioning of the interviewee by Isabelle as the interviewer. The pattern of text-worlds and modal-worlds also shows how over the course of just a few exchanges, numerous complex text-worlds and modal-worlds are created. In these worlds Isabelle depicts a situation in which Tak-Cheung is around thirteen or fourteen years of age and experiences a life-changing event. Through the epistemic shading of her language in this part of the narrative, she also signals her

awareness of her discursive role as interviewer and co-constructor of the situations she describes.

5.3.1 Toggling between text-worlds

Tak-Cheung responds to Isabelle's speech in the following way:

- 9 Tak-Cheung erm...(4.6) that actually that's quite quite true I remember there
10 used to be a TV show called Martial Law with Sammo Hung in it
11 and erm there's a scene and it's always stuck in my head where he's
12 talking to anothe- to erm a Chinese girl who's erm I think she's
13 actually brou- brought up in America

Extract 5.3 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 9-13*

Tak-Cheung starts his reply to Isabelle by using the distal demonstrative 'that' (line 9), thus coming back to Isabelle's question about his earlier remark of taking 'Chinese' more seriously when he was around thirteen or fourteen years old and foregrounding their interaction in the immediate situation of the interview in doing so. He aligns himself with Isabelle's presupposition that he changed when he was around thirteen or fourteen years of age, and that this change is in fact the result of a significant event in his life. In so doing, he confirms what she said as correct ('that actually that's quite quite true', line 9), although it is unclear what part of Isabelle's prolonged turn he is confirming exactly. Also, rather than elaborating on how his life changed when he was about thirteen or fourteen, Tak-Cheung chooses to narrate a memory about a scene in a TV show in which two characters are discussing their identity. This can be seen as either a covert strategy to change alignment or as the establishment of an implicit link between his teenage experiences and the experiences of the characters in the TV show which forms the subject of his narrative. It makes sense to interpret it as the latter, as at the end of the entire extract (see Figure 5.1 and Extract 5.1: line 40), Tak-Cheung explicitly concludes that the characters in the TV show made him take 'Chinese' more seriously.

Tak-Cheung's use of the mental event process 'I remember' in 'I remember there used to be a TV show called Martial Law with Sammo Hung in it' (lines 9-11) creates an epistemic modal-world. He then switches back to the present interview situation by using the present tense again, this time to refer to a scene of the TV show he has in his head, which he represents as an on-going situation ('there's a scene and it's always stuck in my head', line 11). With the use

of ‘always’, Tak-Cheung emphasises the continuity of the situation, compressing (Fauconnier and Turner 1998) the time the scene was stuck in his head into a single continuous time-zone. This points to the significance of the scene for him. After this switch he toggles back to the embedded modal-world of the TV show, in which Sammo Hung is talking to a Chinese girl, and then switches back to the present discourse situation again by focusing attention back on himself in the discourse-world with the use of the reporting clause ‘I think’. This triggers an epistemic modal-world in which the Chinese girl is being conceptualised as being brought up in America.

Tak-Cheung’s repeated toggling between worlds, triggered by changes in tense and his use of phrases such as ‘I think’ and ‘I remember’, highlights the fact that his story is based on *his* construction of the TV show and *his* subjective positioning of the enactors within the show, and simultaneously emphasises the interactional element of the discourse and the ‘here-and-now’ of the interaction (Text-World 1). Tak-Cheung then continues his narration about the characters in the TV-show world, and keeps toggling between the discourse-world of the interview and the TV-show world:

- 15 Tak-Cheung and they’re both talking and they say ‘in America we’re too
 16 Chinese to fit in and and in China we’re we’re too American to fit
 17 in’ and for some reason that always like struck a chord with me
 18 and I fou- found it quite interesting because I can relate to it and I
 19 find it’s quite strange that in America they would deal with the
 20 same problem that it’s kind of like an identity crisis where they
 21 didn’t know where they fit in the most
 22 Isabelle *yeah*

Extract 5.4 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 15-22*

In the segment above, Tak-Cheung returns back to the world of the TV show with the two enactors Sammo Hung and the Chinese girl, who are now both talking, and further fleshes out this world by quoting them directly as saying ‘in America we’re too Chinese to fit in and and in China we’re we’re too American to fit in’ (lines 15-17). This fragment of direct speech triggers another world-switch, as the speech can be conceptualised from the origo of the enactors Sammo Hung and the Chinese girl directly, which means moving from a distal perspective to a more proximal one.

Reported or direct speech has been examined by many scholars (Bauman 1986; Hymes 1996; Leech and Short 1981; Wolfson 1978) who have come to a variety of different conclusions regarding the form and function of it in spoken and/or written language. Direct speech usually does not accurately reflect actual past speech occurrences (Johnstone 1990: 100), but is employed by storytellers as a strategy and performance device (Wolfson 1978; Hymes 1996; Bauman 1986). It also carries an evaluative function because narrators use their and others' voices to 'implicitly highlight certain elements of the narrative' (De Fina 2003a: 95). This also seems to be the case in Tak-Cheung's narrative.

The direct speech in this part of the narrative functions as a foregrounding device, which allows greater emphasis on the TV show world, and highlights what about that world and its characters is important to Tak-Cheung. Tak-Cheung first highlights this part of the narrative as important by quoting the characters directly (lines 15-17), and then explains the importance of these quoted words for him explicitly: 'and for some reason that always like struck a chord with me and I found it quite interesting because I can relate to it' (lines 17-18). Tak-Cheung is able to stress the significance the scene has for him with his use of 'always' and by switching from the present tense to the past tense, thereby returning to himself in the 'here and now' of the discourse situation. With the use of 'always', Tak-Cheung can be seen to compress (Fauconnier and Turner 1998) what is likely to be a specific number of times the words' of the characters had an effect on him, to a single continuous time-zone. This stresses the relation between the experiences of the characters in the TV show world and Tak-Cheung himself, and in doing so also carries an evaluative function. For example, when in Extract 5.3 (lines 10-13), Tak-Cheung toggles between the TV show world and the immediate situation in the interview by telling Isabelle that the scene of the TV show world 'always stuck in my head' (line 11), he highlights that the narrated events that he is going to talk about are important to him, and signals why Isabelle as the interviewer should keep listening.

Tak-Cheung's use of tense in his turn is also interesting. Tak-Cheung switches tense several times in the extract represented in Extract 5.4. He starts with the use of the present progressive ('and they're both talking', line 15) and switches to the simple present ('and they say', line 15) when describing the scene in the TV show world with the two characters speaking. He quotes the characters

directly in the simple present as well ('in America we're too Chinese to fit in', lines 15-17) but then switches to the simple past tense to describe his reaction to their words ('and for some reason that always like struck a chord with me and I found it quite interesting', lines 17-18). Halfway through this utterance, he again switches to the simple present ('because I can relate to it and I find it's quite strange that in America they would deal with the same problem that...it's kind of like an identity crisis, lines 18-20) and then once again to the simple past ('where they didn't know where they fit in the most', line 21).

Typically, different tenses create different text-worlds as they represent different time-zones. Viewed as such, Tak-Cheung can be seen to toggle between different text-worlds here as well. It is possible that readers or listeners are less aware of the creation of different text-worlds when processing spoken discourse, since spoken discourse tenses tend to be switched more frequently than in modern (since the 19th century) written discourse (Fleischman 1990: 193; Fludernik 1992), without it necessarily indicating a switch in time-zone to listeners or readers on a conscious level.

One other way in which the tense-switches in this paragraph can be interpreted, is that they are the result of Tak-Cheung's adoption of a dual perspective within his narration. Tak-Cheung describes the reaction a younger enactor of himself had when hearing the words of the characters in the TV show world in the past tense, but as this evaluation is still relevant to Tak-Cheung's older narrating enactor of himself at the moment of narration, he switches to the present tense when describing his reaction and only returns to the past tense at the end of the paragraph, when he is talking about the characters' experiences again and no longer about his own reaction to the characters' words. This interpretation is further evidenced by his use of 'always' in the past tense phrase 'and for some reason that always like struck a chord with me' (Tak-Cheung, lines 17-18), which is indicative that this continues to be Tak-Cheung's reaction to the characters' words in the present moment. As a consequence, I would argue that the distinct text-worlds created by the use of different tenses are more likely to be processed as one blended text-world within participants' minds instead.

Blended worlds were first introduced in Text World Theory by Gavins (2007), and later developed by Browse (2013). Blending is part of Conceptual Integration Theory (see Coulson and Oakley 2000; Fauconnier and Turner, 2002).

This theory offers an approach to metaphor and the creation of new meaning in discourse through a process called ‘conceptual blending’ which, it is claimed, underlies human cognition and a diverse range of human accomplishments (Fauconnier and Turner 2002).

Conceptual blending is a mental operation reliant on mental spaces. Mental spaces are conceptual ‘packages’ or domains, connected to frames (long-term schematic knowledge) and to specific situational knowledge (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 40). They are similar to text-worlds in that they are constructed in thought and discourse, and they develop and get adapted as discourse unfolds. Mental spaces are connected to each other by various kinds of mappings (Fauconnier 2007: 351) Conceptual blending is a process by which at least two different conceptual domains or mental spaces are mapped onto each other to create a third domain with a new, emergent structure of its own. A blend is emergent in the sense that it (i) can combine elements from the input spaces in such a way to provide relations that do not exist in the separate inputs; (ii) can create a unique blended space of individually collected frames and scenarios and (iii) can be elaborated through simulation (Turner 2007: 379). In short, the blended space carries autonomous meaning compared to its input spaces, and should be seen as distinct from them.

In both Conceptual Integration Theory and Text World Theory, blending has been used to explain how metaphors in discourse are processed conceptually. Gavins (2007a: 149-152), for example, explains how the blended world which represents the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A THEATRE, established in Sir Walter Raleigh’s poem ‘What is Our Life’, is created through the repeated mapping of individual aspects of life with a variety of different aspects of the theatre. This creates a rich and multifaceted blended world in which the meaning derived from the individual mappings is transcended and has resulted in new emergent meaning (Gavins 2007a: 149-152).

In the case of Tak-Cheung’s narrative, I would argue that it is likely that, for Discourse-World 1 participant Isabelle, elements of two distinct text-worlds merge into one blended-world through which an understanding of Tak-Cheung’s description of his experiences can be reached. The reason for this is that they are more likely to perceive Tak-Cheung’s younger self and older narrating self as one and the same person. This relates to the notion of ‘compression’ (Fauconnier and

Turner 1998, 2000, 2002; M. Turner 1996, 2003, 2004, 2006), which was also discussed in Section 4.2 of Chapter 4. Conceptually, it makes sense for humans to think of past and current forms of 'self' as a single unity (Hood 2012). To do this in this case, we conceptually 'compress' the different enactors of Tak-Cheung into one and the same mental representation. The tense-mixing and the blended text-world that develops out of this paragraph, then, show the complex nature of linguistic identity, in which Tak-Cheung describes his reaction to the TV show when he was younger, but blends this with his reaction to how he feels about it now.

So far in this chapter, I have analysed Tak-Cheung's narrative about a TV show that he used to watch and how this relates to a wider construction of identity. Using Text World Theory, I have shown how Tak-Cheung keeps toggling between the discourse-world of the interview at the time of interaction and the TV-show-world. I have also examined reported speech and evaluation, and argued that the constant toggling in this part of the interaction stresses the relation between the experiences of the characters in the TV show world and Tak-Cheung himself. I have demonstrated that by doing this, Tak-Cheung creates a compression of self, which performs an evaluative function. I now move on to consider Tak-Cheung's use of linguistic expressions of emotions.

5.3.2 Tak-Cheung's linguistic expressions of emotions

As I have stated earlier in this chapter, the utterance in Extract 5.4, lines 17-18 ('and for some reason that always like struck a chord with me') exemplifies an instance in which Tak-Cheung toggles back to himself in the immediate here-and-now situation of the discourse with his interpretative comments on the dialogue. This evaluative statement is also interesting because Tak-Cheung frames his evaluation in terms of an emotional response, using the phrase 'struck a chord with me' (lines 17-18). Similarly, the direct quote 'in America we're too Chinese to fit in and and in China we're we're too American to fit in' (lines 15-17), arguably functions as the expression of an emotional experience, or at least as the expression of emotion generated by certain experiences. Understanding what this means in Text World Theory, and whether and when this has an effect on the worlds of the discourse is important here, as expressions of emotions form a crucial part of narratives about personal experiences. Interviews – especially about

sensitive topics such as ethnicity, belonging and migration – can evoke strong emotions (Quinlan et al. 2013) which consequently allows for higher frequency of expressions of emotions in the interview situation (Miller and Miller 1993: 194).

Emotion is in fact a contentious topic in academic research (cf. Huebner et al. 2009: 1), and the cause of much debate and disagreement in the sciences and social sciences today (cf. Huebner et al. 2009: 1). It is recognised that emotion plays a central role in human life and in attributing meaning to life (e.g. Ebner and Fisher 2014; Westphal and Bonanno 2004: 1), and hence given great importance, whilst also being seen as incredibly complex. Schnoebelen (2012: 20) notes that linguists have tended to avoid the topic of emotion, although he points out that earlier linguistic theories (e.g. Firth 1957; Jakobson 1960; Jespersen 1923; Malinowski 1923; Sapir 1927) did place prominence on the emotive/expressive aspects of language. Schnoebelen's observation about linguists' avoidance of researching language in relation to emotion is not new: Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) comment that 'linguists have underestimated the extent to which grammatical and discourse structures serve affective ends' (1989: 7). They conclude that language provides a tool to express and assess affect 'at all levels of linguistic structure' (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989: 7). Since 1989, there have in fact been a number of important linguistic studies about emotion and expressions of emotion in the field of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, stylistics and cognitive linguistics (e.g. Jaffe 2000, 2003, 2009; Whiteley 2010; Oatley 1992, 1994, 2002; Eckert 2010). Since this thesis is concerned specifically with face-to-face interaction and there is limited space within which to explore the extensive topic of language and emotion in detail, in Section 5.3.3 I focus my discussion by firstly outlining the concept of 'stance', before I discuss the treatment of emotion in Text World Theory. Stance was developed in the fields of linguistic anthropology, pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and is relevant to the discussion here because it has typically focussed on linguistic expressions that relate to emotion ('affective stance') or to knowledge ('epistemic stance').

5.3.3 Stance and Text World Theory

In sociolinguistic research, the concept of stance (e.g. Biber and Finegan 1989; Coupland and Coupland 2009; Du Bois 2007; Englebretson 2007; Irvine 2009; Johnstone 2009; Ochs 1996) has been very influential in research on linguistic

expressions of emotion and expressions containing modal commitment. Stance defines a speaker's position in relation to his or her words and texts, interlocutors and audiences (this can be actual or imagined), and vis-à-vis a context which speakers respond to and simultaneously construct linguistically (Jaffe 2009: 4). A speaker can align with or take a stance in opposition to other speakers or other possible stances. As Coupland and Coupland (2009) point out, there is much research on stance, resulting in many different perspectives on stance and stance-taking, but it is generally agreed that stance has social meaning, and that stances relate to 'wider social discourses and ideologies, or are contextualized in important ways by them' (Coupland and Coupland 2009: 228).

Most studies on stance distinguish between different types of stance, such as 'affective stance' and 'epistemic stance' (e.g. Biber and Finegan 1989; Coupland and Coupland 2009; Irvine 2009; Jaffe 2009; Ochs 1996). Affective stance in these studies usually refers to linguistic structures that are seen to index mood, attitude and feelings, as well as degrees of emotional intensity (Ochs 1996: 140). For example, Coupland and Coupland (2009) distinguish between 'affective stance', 'epistemic stance' and 'motivational stance' in their investigation of stance in discourses of body shape and weight loss. They define affective stance as relating to themes of 'feeling' (2009: 240), epistemic stance as relating to knowledge (Coupland and Coupland 2009: 236, 240, 244), and motivational stance as relating to the theme of 'trying' (Coupland and Coupland 2009: 240). De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 14) note that the manner in which emotions are expressed has also been subject to study by researchers interested in evaluation. An example of this can be found in Jaffe (2009), who states that displays of affective stance can do the work of evaluation, self-presentation, and positioning' (Jaffe 2009: 7). There is no set of linguistic items that index stance specifically. Rather, stancetaking is seen as more subtle, relying on inference rather than on explicit linguistic markers (Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe 2009; Jaworski and Thurlow 2009).

Emotion has been treated differently in Text World Theory compared with most stance research. Werth (1999) talks about a speaker's emotional response in terms of attitudinal predicates, utterances in which a speaker expresses an emotional response to the proposition embedded within his utterance, as in the example 'I am sorry to have kept you waiting' (Werth 1999:

272). However, as Whiteley (2010) points out, Werth's approach to emotions is underdeveloped. She notes that although Werth regards emotions as part of discourse, he fails to integrate emotion into Text World Theory in any consistent or developed manner (Whiteley 2010: 41). Whiteley (2010) contributes significantly to the development of Text World Theory in relation to 'emotion', but focuses on emotion in terms of readers' 'felt experience of literature' (Whiteley 2010: 45), not on emotion as expressed through discourse by the speaker or writer. For the current research, it is important to focus specifically on emotion as expressed in discourse by the speaker or writer, as the participants in my research talk about significant life events that might have had an emotional impact on their lives.

What exactly emotion *means* is itself controversial (cf. Whiteley 2010: 44). Emotions can be seen as mental states, psychophysiological expressions, as well as biological reactions. Surprisingly, most stance research does not seem to provide a definition of emotion, and neither does Werth in his treatment of expressions of emotional responses. Whiteley (2010: 48) notes that many researchers today recognise that in most cases, emotion and cognition are complexly interrelated. In fact, although affect and cognition have long been treated as independent entities in scientific research (Ledoux 1996; Ledoux et al. 1989) and subsequently also in linguistics (Foolen 1997), current research suggests that affect and cognition are in fact highly interdependent (e.g. Storbeck and Clore 2007: 1212; Erickson and Schulkin 2003; Halgren 1992; Phelps 2004; Whiteley 2010).

If, following Whiteley's claims about the interrelated nature of emotion and cognition (2010), it makes sense to see emotion as expressed by the speaker, writer, or character in the discourse as similar to the representation of thoughts in terms of Text World Theory, emotions are – like thoughts – firstly internal states. This means that when the inner feelings of an enactor are expressed, this triggers an epistemic modal-world, as instances of (in)direct thought do. The modal-worlds originating from both these types of expressions may be different from their originating worlds in terms of world-building information, because both linguistic expressions of (in)direct thought and linguistic expressions of emotion allow for the construction of modal-worlds in which the situations that play out in the minds of the participants may remain unrealised in the text-worlds from which these modal-worlds originate (Gavins 2007a: 112). Indirect thought and

linguistic expressions of emotion might also be related to the degree of certainty expressed by the speaker, which would also trigger the construction of epistemic text-worlds. I would therefore argue that Text World Theory is already well equipped to handle expressions of emotion in discourse and that these can be seen to create either epistemic modal-worlds, or in the case of expressions of desire, boulomaic modal-worlds.

Following this line of argument, an augmented Text World Theory recognising the world-forming properties of affective expressions would not make a distinction between these types of expressions and epistemic or boulomaic modality. Note that this differs from most treatments of expressions of emotions and epistemic commitment in most stance-taking research (e.g. Coupland and Coupland 2009; Goodwin 2007; Irvine 2009; Jaffe 2009; Matoesian 2013; Melander 2012). I would argue that in addition to the highly interrelated nature of emotion and cognition, it also makes more sense not to make a distinction between the world-formation of epistemic and affective stances for a number of other reasons. Firstly, both a speaker's expressions of affect and a speaker's expressions of epistemic commitment highlight the subjective perspective of the speaker, as can be seen in the examples 'I feel uneasy with the idea that the moon is made of cheese' and 'I doubt that the moon is made of cheese'. Both these examples draw attention to the speaker as positioning him or herself in relation to a certain situation.

Secondly, no distinction should be made between linguistic affective and epistemic expressions in the framework, because they are often complexly interrelated and both levels might be in operation in an utterance. This can be illustrated in an example used by Irvine (2009) in her explanation of affective stance. She uses the example '[i]t's disgusting to think that the moon might be made of some nasty old bit of green cheese' (Irvine 2009: 53). In this example however, the speaker not only highlights their affective disposition towards the idea that the moon might be made of cheese as disgusting, but also constructs a thought process ('to think'), and furthermore uses epistemic modality to establish the moon as *possibly* being 'some nasty old bit of green cheese'. In this way, the situation of the moon is constructed as a possibility. Alternatively, the situation could have been constructed without epistemic modalisation as in the example 'it's disgusting that the moon *is* made of some nasty old bit of green cheese'. In

short, Irvine's (2005: 53) original example is displaying not only the speaker's *affective* disposition towards the proposition of the moon as a nasty old bit of green cheese, but also their *epistemic* positioning.

Thirdly, in relation to storytelling functions, both affective and epistemic expressions are often evaluative in nature. It is therefore sensible to reason that in the minds of participants these both trigger epistemic worlds. This can for example be seen in Tak-Cheung's earlier remark 'that really struck a chord with me' (lines 17-18) discussed above. Following this line of reasoning, Tak-Cheung also creates an epistemic-modal-world in line 18 of Extract 5.4, when he says 'I found it quite interesting' (line 18), after which he switches back to the present time-zone to indicate he feels he still can relate to this. According to a Labovian (1972) approach, these utterances function as external evaluation, because the narrator steps out of the story-world and explicitly comments on aspects of it that convey his point of view. In this case, Tak-Cheung conveys the feelings that the words of the characters in the TV show evoked for him.

Tak-Cheung continues to convey evaluative comments in his next utterance, but creates a spatial world-switch when he switches to America in the utterance '...I find it's quite strange that in America they would deal with the same problem' (lines 19-20). The use of the modal auxiliary verb 'would' here is notable. On a purely syntactic level, this triggers a modal-world switch, because it represents a hypothetical scenario unconfirmed at the level of discourse. The reason for the switch in this case might be because Tak-Cheung wants to indicate his distance from America and that he can only presume about what they do there, and therefore he creates a world that is further removed from his origo. In the next evaluative utterance however, 'it's kind of like an identity crisis' (line 20), he switches back to the present tense, which makes it difficult to discern which world he is referring to exactly. It is likely that he is referring to 'the same problem' (line 20) that Sammo Hung and the Chinese girl experienced in the world of the TV show and in America, which Tak-Cheung 'can relate to' (line 18). Such an interpretation is supported by Tak-Cheung's use of the present tense in 'it's kind of like an identity crisis' (line 20), through which he generalises the experiences of the enactors in the TV show (of not fitting in completely) as well as his own experiences. He has already been describing his own feelings in the present tense, capturing what it means to not fit in in general. With the switch to

the past tense at the end of the sentence, however, ‘where they didn’t know where they fit in the most’ (line 21), he again represents the experiences of the characters in the TV show world.

In the discussion so far I have argued that it makes sense to see emotion as expressed by the speaker, writer, or character in a discourse as similar to the representation of thoughts in terms of Text World Theory, and therefore these types of expressions should be seen to trigger boulogenic modal-worlds in the case of an expression of desire, but an epistemic modal-world in all other cases, similarly to how instances of (in)direct thought form epistemic modal-worlds. In the next section, I further explore the use of epistemic modality in the text-worlds of Tak-Cheung’s interview. Although I focus on Text World Theory in my argument here, I think the distinction between affective stance and epistemic stance is equally fuzzy (cf. Kiesling 2011: 4) and argue for the incorporation of affective stance into epistemic stance.

5.3.4 Modality and modalisation

The text-world structure analysed in Sections 5.3 and 5.3.1 reveals a high level of epistemic modality. Epistemic modality has already been discussed in the methodology chapter of this thesis (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.10), as well as briefly in the section on linguistic expressions of emotions in discourse above. It is worth looking at the overall pattern of epistemic modal-worlds in Tak-Cheung’s interview in more detail, because it can be revealing in terms of storytelling analysis.

Wortham (2001) explains that, in storytelling, epistemic ‘modalizers’ (Wortham 2001: 74), defined as epistemically shaded expressions, describe the kinds of access narrators have towards the events and characters narrated. Modality reveals the perspective the narrator develops within the text; narrators can adopt a relatively confident narrating position and represent narrated events in terms of mostly non-modalised propositions or ‘facts’, or they can commit to mainly modalised propositions (also see Simpson 1993). Much like stance, modalisation may strengthen or weaken the commitment to propositions speakers make; reveal the kind of access to narrated events speakers have; show whether they are more or less confident that the version of reality they create is the ‘truth’; and emphasise a speaker’s role in and positions with regards to the narrated

events. Furthermore, as explained in Chapter 2, epistemic modal-worlds are different from their originating worlds as the situations they represent may remain unrealised in their matrix text-worlds. Modalisation of utterances affects the message the listener receives, and the perspective from which the narrator develops the text can be revealing in terms of identity formation and representation.

Larreya (2009) has developed a typology of modality in language to distinguish between different types of root modality (a type of modality often related to deontic and dynamic modality, also see Coates 1983; Talmy 1988; Simpson 1993; Sweetser 1990), and between different types of epistemic modality. Larreya defines modality as a conceptual system based on the concepts of possibility and necessity (Larreya 2009: 9). Although this definition of modality is narrower than that used in Text World Theory, Larreya’s study of how modality is used in utterances (‘modalisation’), nonetheless offers a helpful terminology with which to further explore epistemic shading. I therefore see his approach as an addition to, rather than replacement of, the current terminology of modality adopted in Text World Theory, on the basis that only parts of Larreya’s typology are selected for incorporation into the text-world approach here, rather than the framework in its entirety. Larreya represents the different types of modalisation he distinguishes in a table, reproduced in Table 5.1 below.

Larreya firstly distinguishes between *a priori* and *a posteriori* modalisation. *A priori* modalisation represents expressions in which the speaker does not know, or seems not to know, the truth of the proposition expressed. In *a posteriori* modalisation on the other hand, the speaker does know, or professes to know, the truth-value of the proposition expressed or situation described.

Table 5.1 Larreya’s types of modalisation, adapted from Larreya 2009: 24

	<i>A priori</i> modalisation		<i>A posteriori</i> modalisation		
	Simple Modalisation	Qualified Modalisation	Constative Modalisation	Evaluative Modalisation	Counterfactual Modalisation
modalisation of root modality:	<i>You can ask John.</i>	<i>You could ask John.</i>	<i>He must leave cigarette butts everywhere!</i>	<i>It’s a good thing he should have some rest.</i>	<i>He should have told them.</i>
modalisation of epistemic modality:	<i>He must be here by now.</i>	<i>He should be here by now.</i>	<i>He’ll sit there for hours.</i>	<i>It’s not surprising he should have left.</i>	<i>He should be here by now [and he’s not].</i>

In the case of *a priori* modalisation, a distinction is then made between ‘simple modalisation’ and ‘qualified modalisation’. According to Larreya, qualified modalisation is categorised by the use of the past tense, which adds a presupposition of doubt to the modal judgment (Larreya 2009: 25). Under the umbrella term *a posteriori* modalisation, there is a subdivision between ‘constative modalisation’, ‘evaluative modalisation’ and ‘counterfactual modalisation’. Constative modalisation establishes the existence of a modalised situation, whilst evaluative modalisation expresses the speaker’s opinion of an already existing situation. Modalisation is counterfactual when it deals with counterfactual situations. By using modality to describe a counterfactual situation, a speaker expresses judgment about how a factual situation *should be*, rather than how it is. In ‘you should have told him’, for instance, the situation established is that ‘you did not tell him’. The modal verb ‘should’ in combination with the past tense, expresses the speaker’s wish for the situation to be that ‘you did tell him’ (Larreya 2009: 26).

If we look at the types of epistemic modalisation represented in the epistemic modal-worlds of Tak-Cheung, there are two types that come to the forefront. The first is the use of constative modalisation (Larreya 2009: 24), which, as briefly mentioned, asserts or informs a hearer of the existence of a situation and establishes a close link between the modal form and the modalised situation (Larreya 2009: 24). This type of modalisation is frequently used by Tak-Cheung to indicate he is not completely sure of truth of the situation described, which is, for example, indicated by his use of the modal lexical verb, ‘to guess’, in ‘I guess I didn’t think too much of it...’ (Extract 5.1: line 33). Tak-Cheung’s commitment to the truth of his propositions (e.g. Extract 5.1: ‘I think’, line 27; ‘I guess’, line 33) is not very strong, and his comments are mainly explicitly subjective, emphasising that he is expressing his own opinions and experiences. The high frequency of verbs indicating mental processes (Halliday 1985) such as Tak-Cheung’s repetition of ‘I remember’ to indicate that he is remembering the situation, and this mitigation of an entailment with the use of ‘I think’, show that he is expressing his own experiences and point of view. This is logical in the context of the research interview, in which Isabelle asks Tak-Cheung about his experiences of growing up in Sheffield and his relation to Hong Kong, and even more so because she just asked him about a life changing event.

The second type of modality expressed is evaluative modalisation (Larreya 2009: 24). This means that the speaker expresses his or her judgement of a situation. An example of this can be found in line 18, ‘I found it quite interesting’, in which Tak-Cheung evaluates the narrated situation externally and explicitly conveys his point of view through a superordinate clause. In terms of orientation, this type of evaluation also scores high in subjective explicitness in Tak-Cheung’s narrative, as in the use of the verb ‘to find’ in ‘I found it quite interesting’ (Extract 5.1: line 18); Tak-Cheung overtly establishes that this is *his* experience he is describing and evaluating. Again, in the context of the research interview, this type of epistemic modalisation is not surprising. However, Tak-Cheung could have portrayed himself more assertively with regards to the reasons his younger self changed and took Chinese more seriously, rather than explicitly highlight his own mental processes. Whereas the blend of different tenses highlights a perceived continuity of self, it also shows his older self is not sure of his younger self’s thought processes. The older self is not fully committed to the reasons for the change in his younger self, and creates a disjunction between Tak-Cheung *now* and Tak-Cheung *then*. Compared with the narrative of Mr Ng, analysed in Chapter 4, Tak-Cheung’s self-representation is less confident and more self-reflexive. Overall, examining modality patterns show that Tak-Cheung portrays himself as highly self-referential in looking back on events that happened in his past, and in interpreting and evaluating them as his older self. This also demonstrates how examining different types of modality (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Larreya 2009; Simpson 1993) in interview data can prove a valuable tool in research into linguistic identity construction and representation.

5.3.5 The historical present

Interestingly, following the story about the characters in the TV show world, Tak-Cheung then starts to relay another experience of being seen as different in primary school, when he was told not to use the colour pink when colouring his self-portrait because his skin-colour was seen to be different from the other children.

23 Tak-Cheung because erm this is going back quite f- quite a while but when I
 24 was in primary school I remember erm everyone used to colour
 25 themselves in as pink erm the skin colour and I remember I was I

- 26 was just drawing a picture of myself and I coloured myself pink
 27 erm I think it's my best friend at the time he stops stops me from
 28 colouring and goes 'you can't do that' I say 'what can't I do' he
 29 says 'you can't can't colour yourself pink' and I said asked asked
 30 him why and he says 'ohh because your skin colour is different
 31 from ours' and I remember at the time I didn't really think
 32 Isabelle *yeah*
 33 Tak-Cheung it was erm I guess I didn't think too much of it but I just thought it
 34 was kind of strange that at the end of the day they did see me as
 35 different
 36 Isabelle *yeah*

Extract 5.5 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 23-36*

I would argue that it is significant that Tak-Cheung's chooses to narrate this colouring story immediately following his story about the TV show world, because the 'colouring' story functions as an analogy in which one situation is compared with another. Tak-Cheung compares the incident that occurred in primary school with the experiences of Sammo Hung and the Chinese girl of being too American to fit in and too Chinese to fit in, because he feels the experience he had in primary school and the feeling that it generated is similar to the experiences described by Sammo Hung and the Chinese girl.

Tak-Cheung narrates the incident that happened to him in primary school by switching to a past-tense zone, which is epistemic modal-world forming because it is explicitly focalised through the eyes of Tak-Cheung as an enactor by his repeated use of 'I remember'. During the complicating action of the narrative (Labov 1972) however, which occurs in the middle of Tak-Cheung's turn, he switches from the past tense to the 'historical present' when he says 'it's my best friend at the time...he stops stops me from colouring and goes' (lines 27-28). It is interesting for analytical purposes to explore why Tak-Cheung switches tense at this point in the narrative.

The historical present is the use of the present tense to relay a past-tense experience, and is a common characteristic of oral storytelling (also see Section 4.3.3 of Chapter 4). Schiffrin (1981) discusses the use of the historical present and aims to determine its function, considering two possibilities. The first possibility is that the historical present is 'a mere stylistic device' (Schiffrin 1981: 61), used in narrative to recount past events that are vivid and exciting (cf. Curme 1931; Diver 1963; Joos 1964; Leech 1971), and to increase the dramatic impact of the story through the re-enactment of the experiences in front of audience's eyes as they

actually happened, making the audience feel as if they had been present at the time (Schiffrin 1981: 46). The second function of the historical present Schiffrin considers is that of structuring the experience from the point of view of the speaker (Wolfson 1979: 216). Following a quantitative analysis, Schiffrin concludes that the use of the historical tense is not just a stylistic device that enhances listener-involvement, but also functions as a grammatical resource which speakers use to represent their experiences in narrative (Schiffrin 1981: 61). In contrast with Schiffrin's conclusion (1981), narratologist Fludernik focuses on the historical present as a structuring device for listeners, by arguing that the historical present functions to signal 'tellable events [...], marking the 'point' of the story' for the listeners (Fludernik 1991: 392), and that it merely works as a differential value in relation to the past tense (Fludernik 1991: 392).

I would argue that the use of the historical present in Tak-Cheung's narrative is indicative of the broader-ranging listener-involvement strategies employed by Tak-Cheung at various important points in the story as a whole. By using the present tense to describe a past situation, Tak-Cheung moves the represented worlds closer to the immediate situations of the participant in the face-to-face discourse situation of the interview, which results in an increase in the dramatic impact of the story, as Schiffrin (1981: 46) suggests in the first part of her paper (also see Simpson 2014: 6). A similar effect is created by the use of direct speech by the friend enactor in the 'colouring' story. This moves the represented worlds closer to the immediate situations of the participant in face-to-face discourse because the speaker 'performs' the speech, as if it were occurring at the present moment (Schiffrin 1981: 58, 1987: 124; cf. Wolfson 1978). This 'zooming in' effect is also observed by Gavins (2007a: 50) and Werth (1999: 211). Werth notes that the use of tense-switching from the past tense to direct speech 'takes us directly into a character's discourse-world' (Werth 1999: 211). Simultaneously, the use of the historical present here also indicates that the situation to which it refers is foregrounded to Tak-Cheung in some way, either because these instances function to characterise the vividness with which he experienced his narrated events, or because they mark important 'points' in the story (Fludernik 1991). In this way, the historical present functions to signal these moments as open to listeners' evaluation.

Tak-Cheung's use of the historical present can also be seen to signify that he has come to the more important part of his narrative, as the use of the historical tense here details the complicating action (Labov 1972) leading up to the climax of the story, where it is revealed why Tak-Cheung cannot colour himself pink. Isabelle, as a listener in the interview, does not express any evaluative remarks following this moment in the interaction, but Tak-Cheung himself continues his narrative with external evaluative comments to indicate that, although he did not think much of the incident in primary school at the time, he did find it strange, and it did impact upon him:

33 Tak-Cheung it was erm I guess I didn't think too much of it but I just thought it
34 was kind of strange that at the end of the day they did see me as
35 different

Extract 5.6 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 33-35*

In this part of the story, Tak-Cheung fulfils the role of an evaluator looking back at the story, and highlights his own presence in the discourse-world of the interview explicitly by emphasising his mental processes in the creation of the worlds 'I think' and 'I remember', which are epistemic modal-world forming. The situations represented in the epistemic modal-worlds also feature Tak-Cheung's emotional response to the story.

With Tak-Cheung's comments in Extract 5.1 ('and erm it did impact me I guess and then after that seeing that seeing that erm TV show Martial Law erm I guess that was when I started to take Chinese more a bit more seriously just because I guess I was just exploring my-myself and my identity', Extract 5.1: lines 37-40), Tak-Cheung creates a connection between the story of what occurred in primary school and the story of the characters in the TV show. He links this in with the current situation of the interview by referring back to Isabelle's construction at the beginning of the interview (lines 3-7), when she asked him about the event in his life that caused him to take Chinese more seriously around the age of thirteen or fourteen.

The importance Tak-Cheung attributes to Chinese can also be found in other extracts of the interview. In Extract 5.1, Tak-Cheung highlights the importance of Chinese in his construction of his own identity by providing a story in which he himself is explicitly distanced from a Caucasian identity by others, and one in which characters in a TV show find themselves rejected from the identity

categories that might be relevant to them. In Extract 5.7 below, which also occurred in the same speech event, Tak-Cheung expresses his link with Hong Kong, and the need to affiliate with people from Hong Kong and to be seen as ‘one of them’ (line 34). The numbering in this extract starts from 1, because although it is an extract from Tak-Cheung’s interview, it is not directly connected to the other extracts displayed in this chapter.

- 1 Isabelle okay, erm and erm so you grew up in Sheffield erm could you tell
 2 me something about your experiences, did you like growing up
 3 here?
 4 Tak-Cheung yeah erm well Sheffield’s erm I feel it’s quite a bit city with lots of
 5 different communities living together so erm but where I went to
 6 school was actually in <x> which is quite a erm I guess it’s a bit
 7 kind of affluent area of Sheffield so all the people who live there
 8 were erm Caucasian people
 9 Isabelle *ahh okay*
 10 Tak-Cheung sort of like then so I guess growing up I always thought I saw
 11 myself I actually really felt myself as almost Caucasian if you if you
 12 if you see what I’m saying
 13 Isabelle yeah
 14 Tak-Cheung and erm it was it was only later on which I started to erm mix
 15 more with people
 16 with my same heritage and erm but I think growing up was was
 17 quite quite pleasant there wasn’t anything really erm that I
 18 struggled with
 19 Isabelle okay
 20 Tak-Cheung ‘cause yeah I I generally live in a good area and I went to a good
 21 school so
 22 Isabelle yeah yeah that’s good so erm is there a reason you think that you I
 23 mean that you did erm come in contact later with more people
 24 from your heritage?
 25 Tak-Cheung erm I think as you grow older you grow more curious about where
 26 you come from and...(1.7) it’s quite quite funny actually ‘cause
 27 when I used to go to Hong Kong for holidays and see my own
 28 family erm I always felt that people could tell when they looked at
 29 me that I I was from overseas and...(1.8) it it always made me feel
 30 kind of erm
 31 Isabelle hmm
 32 Tak-Cheung I thought thought it’s kind of a shame that I came from here my
 33 parents are from here but...(1.4) people could see that that I
 34 wasn’t one of them in a sense so it’s actually after I was
 35 about...(1.8) thirteen fourteen years old from then onwards I really
 36 started to actually find myself and learnt more Cantonese and erm
 37 Mandarin as well

Extract 5.7 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 1-37*

Here, Tak-Cheung describes how when he grew up he felt himself to be ‘almost Caucasian’ (line 11) and that he felt more curious about his heritage as he grew up.

He also narrates how he felt Hong Kongers could see he was from overseas, and how he felt it was a shame that people could tell he ‘wasn’t one of them’ (line 34). He also states that at thirteen/fourteen years old he started to ‘find himself’ (line 36), and learnt Cantonese and Mandarin (lines 36-37). The way in which Tak-Cheung talks about taking Chinese more seriously in Extract 5.1 and Extract 5.7 above, as well as in other places in the interview, mark his transition from seeing himself as ‘almost Caucasian’ to an active engagement with Chinese as a gradual transition or ‘turning point’ (Mishler 1999, 2006) in his life history, leading to his new identity.

So far, I have discussed the text-worlds created in the construction and representation of identity in the interview with Tak-Cheung. I have shown how the world-structure underpinning the text features mainly epistemic modal-worlds, and have demonstrated the emergent and co-constructed nature of the narratives in the interview, and the self/other-positioning created by both participants in the interaction. I have also argued that expressions of emotions in discourse should be regarded as modal-world forming in Text World Theory, as they highlight the subjective stance of a speaker towards a proposition expressed or situation described in the text. I have furthermore argued that the complex tense-switching and the blended text-world that developed out of Tak-Cheung’s discourse when he was describing his reaction to the dialogue in the TV show displays the complex nature of linguistic identity. My analysis has additionally revealed that Tak-Cheung constructed himself in these extracts as moving from an ‘almost Caucasian’ identity to a more ‘Chinese’ identity. I now turn to a more in-depth analysis of other relevant extracts of the interview to elucidate the discursive practices by which Tak-Cheung authenticates this newer more ‘Chinese’ identity.

5.4 Authenticity practices

In this section I look at the processes by which Tak-Cheung ‘authenticates’ his identity. I base my approach on a principle in Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) article in which they stipulate a methodological five-principle approach for researching identity (see Section 2.4). These are the emergence principle (1), which stipulates that

identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than

primarily internal psychological phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585);

the positionality principle (2), which denotes that

identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585);

the indexicality principle (3), which holds that

identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585);

the relationality principle (4), which focuses on identity as a relational phenomenon; and the partialness principle (5), which states that

identity may be part intentional, in part habitual and less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585).

As outlined in Section 2.4 of this thesis, I have adopted these five principles because they highlight different aspects of discursive identity, and are in unison with the tenets of Text World Theory.

Under the fourth principle proposed by Bucholtz and Hall, 'the relationality principle' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 599), the authors list several sets of relations connected with this principle and one of these is the pair 'authentication and denaturalization' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Authentication is the process whereby speakers 'discursively verify authenticity' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 601). The second process is denaturalisation, whereby 'assumptions regarding the seamlessness of identity can be disrupted' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 601). The focus here is not on authentication and denaturalisation as essentialist notions, but rather on authentication as a social process, whereby speakers feel the need to verify or contest the 'realness' of (their) identity discursively. People authenticate their identities in relation to self, others, and larger ideological processes and structures (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585).

When examining Tak-Cheung's narrative above and in the interview in general, several strategies can be found by which Tak-Cheung authenticates a 'more Chinese' identity. This section will focus on the practices Tak-Cheung adopts to index an authentic Chinese identity. I also examine how these practices

contribute to an understanding of authenticity and the identity most valued by Tak-Cheung.

In the entire extract analysed in this chapter (see Extract 5.1), the speech of Sammo Hung and the Chinese girl in the TV show world can be seen to demonstrate an authentication ‘problem’ (Extract 5.1: line 20) for these characters, where the claim to either an authentic American or an authentic Chinese identity is undermined by the other, non-American and/or non-Chinese, aspect of their identities. Tak-Cheung evaluates this situation as an ‘identity crisis’ (Extract 5.1: line 20), where the characters ‘didn’t know where they fit in the most’ (Extract 5.1: lines 20-21), which construes the characters as being caught in a situation of dichotomous choice, and shows Tak-Cheung’s own alignment with respect to the two identity categories (Chinese vs. American).

As outlined above, Tak-Cheung’s interpretation of this situation can be seen to epitomise his own dichotomous struggle of finding out where he fits in the most, especially if read in conjunction with the ‘colouring’ story directly following it. The ‘colouring’ story is about Tak-Cheung being rejected from having an authentic Caucasian identity by his best friend in primary school. The identity crisis of the characters in the TV show world is linguistically constructed as a prompt for Tak-Cheung to turn to a Chinese identity instead. He also states this at the end of his story, in Extract 5.1, lines 37-42:

- 37 Tak-Cheung and erm it did impact me I guess and then after that seeing that
38 seeing that erm TV show Martial Law erm I guess that was when I
39 started to take Chinese more a bit more seriously just because I
40 guess I was just exploring my-myself and
41 Isabelle *yeab*
42 Tak-Cheung my identity

Extract 5.8 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 37-42*

As already noted earlier in this chapter, Tak-Cheung’s use of the verb ‘to guess’, in ‘I guess that was when I started to take Chinese more a bit more seriously just because I guess I was just exploring my-myself and [...] my identity’ (lines 38-42) may indicate that he is not fully committed to the truth of the propositions expressed. As a result, he is cautious to claim fully that he started to take Chinese more seriously after seeing that TV show and because he was exploring himself and his identity.

Although not fully committed to the causes for the change, once the transition process to a more Chinese identity had started, Tak-Cheung states that

he ‘really started to actually find [him]self’ (Extract 5.7: line 35-37), in doing so. This constructs the Chinese aspect of his identity as more authentic, as it suggests his Caucasian identity did not represent his ‘real’ self. Tak-Cheung authenticates this ‘Chinese identity’ with the use of several linguistic constructions outlined below.

5.4.1 Appropriation of origin and authenticity

Part of Extract 5.7, provided again below, shows Tak-Cheung’s orientation towards his past holidays in Hong Kong; how he evaluates them in terms of how others there perceived him, and how this made him feel.

- 25 Tak-Cheung erm I think as you grow older you grow more curious about where
26 you come from and...(1.7) it’s quite quite funny actually ‘cause
27 when I used to go to Hong Kong for holidays and see my own
28 family erm I always felt that people could tell when they looked at
29 me that I I was from overseas and...(1.8) it it always made me feel
30 kind of erm
31 Isabelle hmm
32 Tak-Cheung I thought thought it’s kind of a shame that I came from here my
33 parents are from here but...(1.4) people could see that that I wasn’t
34 one of them in a sense so it’s actually after I was about...(1.8)
35 thirteen fourteen years old from then onwards I really started to
36 actually find myself and learnt more Cantonese and erm Mandarin
37 as well

Extract 5.9 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, about going to Hong Kong for holidays. Lines 25-37*

In the first four lines of this extract, Tak-Cheung states that he always felt people could tell he was from overseas, which he sees as ‘kind of a shame’ (line 32). By critically evaluating others’ perceptions of himself, he articulates his wish to be seen as a Hong Konger, and then counters these perceptions from others by asserting that he came from Hong Kong and that his parents are from Hong Kong. This is a way of authenticating his identity as more Chinese. By mentioning his origins, Tak-Cheung’s authentication strategy draws on the process of ‘traditionalization’ (Bauman 1992), a temporal authentication process whereby a claim is made legitimate by referring to its origin. Interestingly, although Tak-Cheung refers to himself as coming from Hong Kong, he states earlier in the interaction that he was born in the UK. In light of this, he might feel that his appropriation of Hong Kong as a place of origin at this point in the interaction may be necessary for the construction of an authentic Chinese identity.

5.4.2 Language and authenticity

Tak-Cheung also appropriates language as indicative of his Chinese identity, stating that when he started to care more about his Chinese identity, he learnt Mandarin and Cantonese. This reveals a dominant language ideology that links linguistic features or repertoires with certain social groups or characters (Irvine and Gal 2000). In this case, the operative dominant language ideology links a Chinese identity to the linguistic repertoires of Cantonese and Mandarin.

As analytical concepts, authenticity and language ideology go hand in hand, because successful ownership and management of linguistic repertoires often indexes the authenticity of a certain claimed identity, or more likely, failure to obtain a certain linguistic repertoire might mean rejection of one's claim to a certain identity (Jacquemet 2009). Performing identity successfully in the eyes of others – and often according to one's own perspective as well – in certain contexts or spaces may require the successful acquisition of a set of linguistic features not previously owned. In this case, Tak-Cheung expresses the need to learn Cantonese and Mandarin when turning to a more Chinese identity. Elsewhere in the interview he stresses the importance of these languages for him:

- 1 Tak-Cheung: erm...(1.9) it's actually something I'm quite quite proud of erm when I was
2 picking up my languages I actually worked really really hard to get rid of my
3 any accents accents sorry I had in my Chinese so I've been told that my
4 accent is actually quite authentic Hong Kong accent so erm I don't really
5 feel people seem can tell as much that I'm as- I'm from overseas
6 Isabelle hmhm

Extract 5.10 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, about having an authentic Hong Kong accent, lines 1-6*

In this extract, Tak-Cheung narrates how he worked 'really really hard' to get rid of any accents he had in his Chinese, and that he is proud of having an 'authentic Hong Kong accent' (line 4). It is not important here whether Tak-Cheung actually has an 'authentic Hong Kong accent'. What is of interest to me is his linguistic construction of self and the role language plays in this for him. Tak-Cheung's pride in having an 'authentic Hong Kong accent' reflects the perceived value of this for him. An authentic Hong Kong accent affiliates Tak-Cheung with Hong Kong and can be seen to index a more authentic Chinese identity from his perspective. In this case, an association is also drawn between speaking the

language with an authentic accent and passing for a Hong Konger in the eyes of others occupying the same space, that is, other Hong Kongers.

Hong Kong and the UK can be seen to function as relevant spaces in which Tak-Cheung linguistically constructs and represents his identity throughout the discourse. Moving between such physical spaces means changing audience, which means that the criteria of what a successful identity entails are also likely to change. Although Tak-Cheung's Chinese identity might be contested less in the UK because he is excluded from a *Caucasian* identity in the UK, in Hong Kong it might be more difficult for Tak-Cheung to claim an authentic Chinese identity for himself. In this space Tak-Cheung cannot make the same identity claims as most other Hong Kong people who claim similar identities for themselves are able to. Many Hong Kong residents would, for example, be able to claim authenticity of Chinese identity on the grounds of having lived in Hong Kong all their lives, or having Cantonese as a first language. Tak-Cheung does not have the same access to these resources. The extract below follows on from the extract above and highlights Tak-Cheung's wish to pass as 'one of them' and his anxiety about this:

- 7 Tak-Cheung but people I think if I talked more they might find that my vocabulary is
8 quite limited
9 Isabelle *hmm*
10 Tak-Cheung and then they will notice
11 Tak-Cheung erm
12 Isabelle yeah okay
13 Tak-Cheung but there's always the erm...(2.0) I I I think I do feel sometimes a bit
14 uncomfortable when erm everyone's speaking...(1.3) Can- Cantonese in
15 particular and they're speaking are quite high level and then I might not
16 always pick it up what they're saying
17 Isabelle hmhm
18 Tak-Cheung or and then and then they'll really will be able to tell that I'm not like one
19 of them

Extract 5.11 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, about having an authentic Hong Kong accent, lines 7-19*

The notion of passing (Hall 1995; Piller 2002), whereby someone moves from one identity category to another, is relevant here. In this case, Tak-Cheung wishes to *pass* as a native speaker of Cantonese from Hong Kong, rather than a non-native speaker from overseas. Tak-Cheung's description of his identity also matches with the notion of 'crossing' (e.g. Rampton 1995a, 1995b, 2001; Bucholtz 1999a) because it can be seen to involve 'a sense of movement across quite

sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, [which] generally runs into questions about its legitimacy' (Rampton 2001: 49). I refer to passing instead of crossing however, because 'crossing' typically suggests a speaker makes brief, unsuccessful journeys into social or ethnic categories other than their own (Rampton 2001: 49). Crossing is mainly used to describe people's partial adoption of speech varieties to which they do not belong. The legitimacy of the adoption of such vernaculars is questioned in research on people crossing (see for example Bucholtz 1999a). However, Tak-Cheung does not have a clear identity category to which he belongs. He moves between a Caucasian identity and a Chinese identity, feeling that his identity is questioned in either identity category.

In terms of passing, Tak-Cheung expresses a wish to not be seen as 'from overseas' (Extract 5.7: line 29, Extract 5.10: line 5), and to be like 'one of them' (Extract 5.7: line 34). In other words, he expresses a wish to pass as a (native) speaker from Hong Kong. Piller (2002: 191) notes that in traditional second language learning research, passing for a native speaker is seen as a 'quality of being', but that in popular ideas about passing for a native speaker, *passing* has negative connotations such as being deceitful, a spy or an imposter (Piller 2002: 198). The assumption that passing 'conceals or obscures a true [...] identity' (Kawash 1996: 59) and that it is a form of self- and other deception (Ginsberg 1996: 8; Inness 1997), has also long pervaded other academic literature on passing, although there is an increasing awareness of passing as a way of challenging categories and boundaries of race, gender and ethnicity and establishing new identities (Ginsberg 1996: 16).

Piller seeks to move away from the negative associations of passing by arguing for passing as an act of performance, *not* as an act of identity (2002: 201), because passing as performance is temporary and therefore not deceitful. This however seems to imply a number of things: it firstly suggests that identities are stable categories – something that someone is, not does – rather than constructed and performed in discourse; secondly, it suggests that any performance which would be *more* than temporary or would *not* reveal that speakers moved from one linguistic space into another and passed as having been in the second linguistic space all along, as deceitful. Piller therefore inadvertently contributes to the existing view of identity as fixed categories and *passing* as deceitful rather than as a

way of undermining traditional labels and categories and crafting a new identity for oneself.

Whereas Piller separates the notion of performance from a view of identity, it is helpful to instead see identity in terms of performance (e.g. Butler 1990; Cameron 1997; Johnstone 2008; Livia and Hall 1997; Mishler 1999; Riessman 2002). This highlights the emergent (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) aspect of identity, and portrays identity as a dynamic discursive and social practice. Identity should be seen as a 'product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 588). This latter view highlights people's own agency in approaching identity as constructed and enacted differently in different situations, as well as the extent to which such a performance is negotiated and co-constructed with others. Initially, Tak-Cheung discursively constructs his passing for a Hong Konger as successfully achieved by referring to his authentic Hong Kong accent, but he then continues by expressing the same anxiety referred to by Piller (2002) about the dichotomous nature of passing as deceitful on the one hand, and passing as a genuine construction of self on the other. In line 7 of Extract 5.4, he says that if he talked more 'they' might find his vocabulary is quite limited, which for him means that 'then they will notice' (Extract 5.11: line 9), 'and then they really will be able to tell that I'm not like one of them' (Extract 5.11: lines 18-19), which highlights his anxiety of being exposed as not being 'one of them'. This renders him virtually mute, because speaking more would mean disclosure of his real identity and rejection of a claim to belonging in the same identity category as he perceives the others to belong to.

Note that Tak-Cheung always only describes other Hong Kong people by using the third person plural pronoun 'they'. The referents for 'they' are never named or identified in any other way, which makes it easier to conceptualise 'them' as representative of Hong Kong people in general. Similarly to Piller's participants (2002: 186, 191), Tak-Cheung expresses a strong interest in and concern about passing for an authentic speaker and aims to match the default linguistic style as closely as possible. As in the case of Piller's speakers (2002: 200), *passing* is only a temporary achievement in these cases, but one Tak-Cheung seems to be interested in maintaining.

5.4.3 Dichotomous identity constructions in discourse

In the preceding section, I argued that Tak-Cheung can be seen to authenticate his Chinese identity by referring to his origins and by adopting a dominant language ideology which sees certain linguistic varieties as indexical of certain identities. In this case, it can be seen that Cantonese and Mandarin index a Chinese identity; Tak-Cheung is proud of having achieved an ‘authentic Hong Kong accent’ (Extract 5.10: line 4). I have also described the anxiety Tak-Cheung displays in describing passing as a Hong Konger and native speaker of Chinese. Arguably, the discursive dichotomy he displays between being from Hong Kong and having an authentic Hong Kong accent on the one hand and his fear of being exposed on the other can be seen as a conflict between identity as achieved by oneself and identity as ascribed by others. Tak-Cheung constructs a Chinese identity for himself in his discourse but is afraid others will fail to ascribe this identity to him. For him, non-fluency in Cantonese equals not having an authentic Chinese identity. Who he thinks he is and the way he wants to represent himself is at odds with perceptions and expectations he thinks others might have.

Tak-Cheung’s anxiety about being exposed as not being from Hong Kong by other Hong Kongers is perhaps best understood in relation to the ‘colouring’ story. In this story, Tak-Cheung is denied a Caucasian identity. It follows from this that if Tak-Cheung would also be denied a Chinese identity by others, this could create an identity crisis for him, as throughout the interview he talks about a Chinese/Hong Kong and Caucasian/English identity as if these are two mutually exclusive binary categories. He positions himself as trying to understand to which category he belongs. This can be seen explicitly in his characterisation of the experiences of the characters in the TV show to which he relates as ‘an identity crisis where they didn’t know where they fit in the most’ (Extract 5.1: lines 20-21), in his telling of the rejection of a Caucasian identity, and in his explanation of turning to a Chinese identity instead.

However, at the same time that he narrates stories about this choice between two categories, on another level he discursively constructs himself as closest to other British-born Chinese people, although he does not linguistically acknowledge this as a third, legitimate category or identity space. This can be seen in the extract below, which is numbered from 1 onwards, as it appears elsewhere in the interview than the other extract cited in this chapter:

1 Tak-Cheung erm a lot of my friends are they call themselves BBCs which is
2 British Born Chinese and...(2.1) I've I've actually noticed that a
3 lot of them have the similar kind of personality traits as me
4 they're quite...(2.2) they all they all understand you know
5 pressures that parents Chinese parents put on their kids when
6 they're going through school and erm...(1.9) they also understand
7 the struggle of finding out of finding out whether you're actually
8 English or Chinese it's hard so I I I actually genuinely feel
9 that...(1.7) compared to erm Caucasian kids brought up in the
10 UK and compared to people Chinese people born in Hong Kong
11 or China...(1.2) that BBCs are people who I get on with the most
12 like easiest and...(1.2) it's just like it it seems like whenever I meet
13 them it's much easier to click with them than the other two that
14 are listed

Extract 5.12 *Interview with Tak-Cheung, lines 1-14*

Here, Tak-Cheung describes how he is most similar to a lot of his friends who call themselves BBCs (British Born Chinese) and has similar personality traits and experiences, and that they 'also understand the struggle of finding out of finding out whether you're actually English or Chinese' (Extract 5.12: lines 6-8). However, he never actually identifies himself as part of this group, although he states that 'it seems like whenever I meet them it's much easier to click with them than the other two - e.g. Chinese/Hong Kong and Caucasian/English - that are listed' (Extract 5.12: lines 12-14). This further shows the complexity of Tak-Cheung's perception of his own identity. My analysis reveals how Tak-Cheung performs identity on multiple layers of discourse: Tak-Cheung explicitly positions himself as Caucasian, Chinese, and British-born Chinese on the one hand; whilst on the other hand, the identity position unfolding over the course of several stretches of talk sees Tak-Cheung move from a Caucasian to a Chinese identity, with the category 'British-born Chinese' playing no role. More generally, my analysis shows how the micro-level temporary and interactionally specific positioning of Tak-Cheung in the interview is connected to broader macro-level demographic categories residing in the discourse-world, such as 'Chinese', 'Caucasian' and 'British-born Chinese'. These categories, evoked in the interview by Tak-Cheung, point to macro-level social structures and common ideologies in society, but the specific meaning of such categories is determined and negotiated by Tak-Cheung on a more local level of identity construction, through the text-worlds he creates in his discursive talk.

5.5 Conclusion

Recent research on narrative (see, among others, Bucholtz 1999b; De Fina 2006; Georgakopoulou 2007; Kiesling 2006; Maryns and Blommaert 2001) has emphasized the importance of a close analysis of the ways in which storytelling resources are deployed in narrative, arguing that such a detailed study of talk allows for a deeper understanding of the subtleties and complexities of identity work. This chapter has conducted close analysis of the narratives of Tak-Cheung with the use of Text World Theory in combination with sociolinguistic analysis. The examination of Tak-Cheung's interview has provided insight into how Tak-Cheung linguistically represents himself and has shown how the application of Text World Theory can be extended to oral narratives of identity.

The Text World Theory approach has uncovered the discursive patterns in the interview, such as the high number of epistemic modal-worlds, the toggling between worlds and linguistic expressions of emotions used during evaluation. The close attention paid to these linguistic devices and their resulting conceptual structures, alongside other aspects of storytelling, revealed that Tak-Cheung demonstrates a move from an almost Caucasian identity to a more Chinese identity, appropriating authenticity practices he feels represent him as Chinese, and creating a binary opposition between Chinese and English that is mutually exclusive. In interesting opposition to this is that, simultaneously, Tak-Cheung describes himself as most similar to a British-born Chinese Person. However, he does not represent this as a valid identity category with which he wishes to identify (cf. Cameron and Kulick 2003, 2005: 114)

Overall, the Text World Theory approach I have employed in this chapter in combination with sociolinguistic analysis has allowed me to uncover the textual and conceptual structures that mark the complexity of Tak-Cheung's identity linguistically. My analysis reveals how Tak-Cheung performs identity on multiple layers of discourse, ranging from micro-level socio-cognitive stylistic constructions to identity positions unfolding over the course of several stretches of talk, all of which relate to macro-level structures and common societal ideologies captured in Tak-Cheung's discourse-world. Text World Theory is the ideal model to handle these kinds of connections between micro-level linguistic structures and broader macro-level demographic categories and ideologies, because it is able to capture the negotiation and connection between the different

levels of identity construction through its recognition of the interconnectedness of the text-world and the discourse-world.

In this chapter I have also made a suggestion with regards to meaning-management in Text World Theory. I have recognised that the framework is not always flexible enough to deal with the range of potential meanings a linguistic expression might index, as Text World Theory tends to focus on referential meaning. Following Jaffe (2009), I have argued it is important to recognise that expressions which convey emotion and/or a speaker's degrees of modal commitment towards a proposition are also 'socially grounded and consequential' (Jaffe 2009: 7), and I have discussed Text World Theory in light of the social meaning of linguistic expressions of emotions, which I argue are modal-world forming. I have furthermore taken the position that it makes sense to see emotion as expressed by the speaker, writer, or character in the discourse as similar to the representation of thoughts in terms of Text World Theory, and as similar to how thought representation triggers epistemic modal-worlds. I have also suggested Larreya's (2009) framework as a useful framework to further explore epistemic shading.

In the next chapter, I extend my Text World Theory approach to face-to-face discourse with an analysis of the interview of British-Chinese female participant, Yàn. I argue that, similarly to Tak-Cheung, Yàn takes up various identity positions, but ultimately positions herself as Chinese through a complex process of world-creation.

6. YÀN

6.0 Preview

Following the analysis of Mr Ng and Tak-Cheung's interviews in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the present chapter continues with another analysis of an interview I held with a research participant from *The Dancing Dragon* (see Chapter 3). The studies in Chapter 4 and 5 highlighted the different ways in which participants used linguistic resources as vehicles for identity representation in face-to-face discourse interaction. In Chapter 4, I showed how Mr Ng uses syntactic structure and pronominal choice, in order to describe the negation of all things Chinese in Sheffield in the 1970s in contrast to the diversity of Sheffield now. I also showed how Mr Ng positioned himself within these experiences and acted to involve the listener in his story. In Chapter 5, my analysis demonstrated how Tak-Cheung moved towards a Chinese identity, appropriating authenticity practices he felt represented him as Chinese, and creating a binary opposition between Chinese and English that was mutually exclusive. I used Text World Theory to explore the representations of identity in these chapters, as it uncovers text-world patterns that allow for an understanding of how different levels of discourse are interrelated and the effect this has on identity representation. On a discourse level, I traced the development of text-worlds and enactors in both the interviews. I then linked the multiple enactors created in the interaction to the research participants' linguistic identity representations unfolding over the course of several stretches of talk. Finally, I showed how these discursive identity representations are in turn strongly linked to common societal ideologies. I discussed, for example, the dominant language ideology that is appropriated by Tak-Cheung, and which links linguistic features or repertoires with certain social groups (see Section 5.4.2).

In the present chapter, I extend my Text World Theory approach to face-to-face discourse with an analysis of an interview with a third, female participant, called Yàn. Similarly to previous chapters, the present chapter is informed by my ethnography in Chapter 3, and aims to contribute to the overall objectives of the thesis through the exploration of narratives of migratory experience, and through the continued application of Text World Theory to interview data. As such, this chapter examines the lived experiences of Yàn, a middle-aged British-Chinese

woman, through Text World Theory analysis. I show how Text World Theory helps to uncover a pattern of multiple identity positions taken by Yàn in the interview. Specifically, I argue that Yàn ultimately positions herself as Chinese through a complex process of world-creation. I begin the analysis by tracing Yàn's discourse through her first text-world, in which she describes her childhood experiences. I then examine the second text-world in which Yàn's positioning is within the 'here-and-now' level of interaction. Much of the analysis revolves around the text-world effects of Yàn's use of the discourse markers 'you know', 'like' and 'really'. Finally, I show how, through the creation of a third text-world, Yàn is able to merge elements from the two former worlds in order to create a projection of self in which her identity is successfully achieved as 'being Chinese'.

The chapter is divided into four sections. In Section 6.1, I first provide an overview of the data collection and ethnographic context in which I came to know Yàn (also see Chapter 3). I then move on to a brief description of the discourse-worlds of Yàn's interview in Section 6.2, followed by a text-world analysis of the interview talk in Section 6.3. For reasons of clarity, Section 6.3 is divided into six sub-sections: Section 6.3.1 discusses Yàn's use of the discourse marker 'you know', whilst Section 6.3.2 discusses the meaning of the discourse marker 'like' in the transcript of the interview analysed. These sections examine Yàn's positioning in the 'here-and-now' level of interaction. Section 6.3.3 examines switches in point of view, and section 6.3.4 examines another discourse marker occurring in the transcript analysed, namely the linguistic feature 'really'. The analysis of the text-world structure of Yàn's narrative concludes with a section on the use of direct speech in her interview in Section 6.3.5, and her creation of a blended self in Section 6.3.6. This latter section discusses in more detail how Yàn takes up various identity positions in the interview, but how she ultimately positions herself as Chinese. I discuss the findings that emerge from the application of Text World Theory to the interview data in Section 6.4. In this section, I discuss how Yàn creates an ultimately powerful discursive construction. Rather than letting herself be positioned by her own narrated experiences, such as growing up in England or being less exposed to Chinese culture, she concludes her turn by *actively* defining who she is according to her own reasoning and decision-making. I discuss the strongly agentive discursive position Yàn constructs in relation to the context of the interview in this chapter, but also in

relation to the wider ethnographic setting in which I undertook my fieldwork to place as a whole (see Chapter 3).

6.1 Data collection and ethnographic context

At the time of my fieldwork, Yàn was in her late thirties and part of the voluntary staff at the *Dancing Dragon*. She was born in Sheffield to immigrants from Hong Kong, but was sent to Hong Kong upon birth, where she lived until she was around 3 years old. Before the start of primary school, she moved back to Sheffield, and consequently received almost all of her education in England. In college she studied fashion and design, but when she graduated from college in her early twenties, she was unable to find a job in Sheffield. For this reason, she moved to Hong Kong, where she established a family and built up a career as a fashion merchandiser. After fifteen years, she decided to give up her career in Hong Kong and return to Sheffield with her two children. Yàn described the main reason for her move back to Sheffield as family-related, explaining that she had done all of her travelling and career, and that it was ‘family time now’.

Upon her return to Sheffield in 2007, Yàn took up part-time employment in a retail company, as well as voluntary work at the *Dancing Dragon*. She first worked in an assistant position in the *Dancing Dragon*, but when the person Yàn was assisting resigned, no replacement could be found, so Yàn took on all the responsibilities associated with her previous supervisor’s role.

One reason why Yàn volunteered at the *Dancing Dragon*, was because she wanted to improve her chances on the job market. On one occasion, she explained to me that she found it worthwhile to be active in the Chinese community, as it strengthened her network. On a separate occasion, she told me that she found her volunteer position a valuable way to improve her skills, which would enhance success on the job market as a consequence. Similarly, although she was fluent in English and spoken Cantonese, she commented in the interview and on several separate occasions, that she would like to be more fluent in Mandarin, and that Mandarin was ‘going to be one of the main dialects’. Furthermore, although Yàn was most fluent and most confident in English, she was also enrolled in evening classes at a local college, because she wanted to improve her English and maths skills.

Over the course of the time I spent at *The Dancing Dragon*, Yàn told me of several job applications she made. Although she was very diligent and rarely absent, Yàn also regularly expressed to me that she saw her work as a volunteer at *The Dancing Dragon* more like an obligation than a voluntary choice, and that she found it very difficult. She stated several times, for example, that she was only doing her voluntary work because there was no-one else to do it, and that she felt unsure whether she had the necessary skills for it. She furthermore told me on several occasions that her Chinese was not very good, and that she preferred English. Despite Yàn's insecurities regarding her own capabilities and her reluctance towards her role in the school, she came to *The Dancing Dragon* every week and also was involved in the organisation of special events, such as the Chinese New Year celebration.

6.2 The discourse-world of Yàn's interview

The interview with Yàn took place in February 2012, and focused on her experiences of growing up, moving between Hong Kong and Sheffield, and her relationship to Hong Kong, Sheffield, the UK and China. As explained at length in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, the interview situation created a discourse-world at the time of the interview, but because the communicative event has finished, this discourse-world is no longer existent or accessible. The transcript of the opening of the interview with Yàn below (Extract 6.1) does, however, allow for discussion of the discourse-worlds and text-worlds specific to Yàn's interview at the time of the interaction and analysis. Similarly to Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I refer to my own co-participant in the discourse as 'Isabelle' for reasons of clarity.

Isabelle	now it should now it should now it's working right
Yàn	always <x> isn't it @@
Isabelle	yeah
Yàn	yeah
Isabelle	but I also had once that the battery @@ during the interview
Yàn	oh okay
Isabelle	but I just have put new batteries so it should not
Yàn	oh okay cause it runs out yeah it should last

Extract 6.1 *First lines of the interview with Yàn*

As is clear from this extract, Yàn and Isabelle initially speak in the present-tense in this part of the interview. This is logical, for the reason that they occupy an

interview situation. The interview takes place in a present time-zone, and the present-tense discourse creates an initial text-world that is situated in this present-time zone and is occupied by textual enactors of Isabelle and Yàn. As the entire text consists of interview, this present-time zone underlies the entire discourse and creates an initial text-world, hereafter referred to as Text-World 1. Text-World 1 thus also underlies extracts from the discourse analyses in the next section.

6.3 The text-world patterns of Yàn's interview

In the present section, I focus on the text-world patterns in one particular extract from Yàn's interview, in which she describes how she experienced growing up, and how she felt about herself in relation to her ethnicity at the time and at the moment of the interaction. The text-world patterns uncovered in the analysis may be helpful in understanding Yàn's linguistic representation of identity. Below is the transcript of the extract of the interview analysed in this chapter.

- | | | |
|----|----------|--|
| 1 | Isabelle | okay erm so erm how did you experience growing up in Sheffield, or did |
| 2 | | you not grow up in |
| 3 | Yàn | erm I think for me it was a little bit easier because I I didn't know you |
| 4 | | know the culture in |
| 5 | Isabelle | <i>yeah</i> |
| 6 | Yàn | China or Hong Kong at the time so it was like being born here but then I |
| 7 | | was taken back to Hong Kong at a very very early age |
| 8 | Isabelle | <i>oh you were oh</i> |
| 9 | Yàn | so I did study I did study for a while in Hong Kong but i-it was mainly like |
| 10 | | erm nursery school |
| 11 | Isabelle | yeah |
| 12 | Yàn | and then it was a- a bit of travelling back and forth and my mum and dad |
| 13 | | had to go back and come back and you know so it there wa- there was a |
| 14 | | lot of <x> back and forth, so I did get a bit of the culture the Chinese |
| 15 | | culture but not a great deal because I was too young at the time |
| 16 | Isabelle | hmhm |
| 17 | Yàn | erm so a- it was mainly the Chin- the English culture that I knew growing |
| 18 | | up but being very traditional both my parents had to make sure that the |
| 19 | | children knew that we had to speak the language, know the culture erm |
| 20 | | erm |
| 21 | Isabelle | <i>yeah</i> |
| 22 | Yàn | basically being quite traditional Chinese really err which was a bit you |
| 23 | | know at that age you think oh do I know myself as English or do I know |
| 24 | | myself as Chinese but you look at yourself and you say that yes I am |
| 25 | | Chinese but just being brought up in a different country really so |

Extract 6.2 *The interview transcript with Yàn, lines 1-25*

Yàn explains in this extract that she had a traditional Chinese upbringing and that, even though she was mainly exposed to English culture whilst growing up, her parents felt it important that their children knew the Chinese language and culture. This made Yàn question her identity at a certain age, but she resolved this by seeing herself as Chinese, ‘but being brought up in a different country really so’ (line 25).

In terms of Text World Theory, a past-tense text-world (Text-World 2) is cued in this particular fragment by Isabelle’s use of the past tense in ‘okay erm so erm how did you experience growing up in Sheffield?’ (line 1). This world contains Isabelle and Yàn as enactors. Yàn’s presence is indicated by the personal pronoun ‘you’, which most listeners will interpret as directly referring to Yàn. Text-World 2 is diagrammatically represented in Figure 6.1, on the left side of the figure.

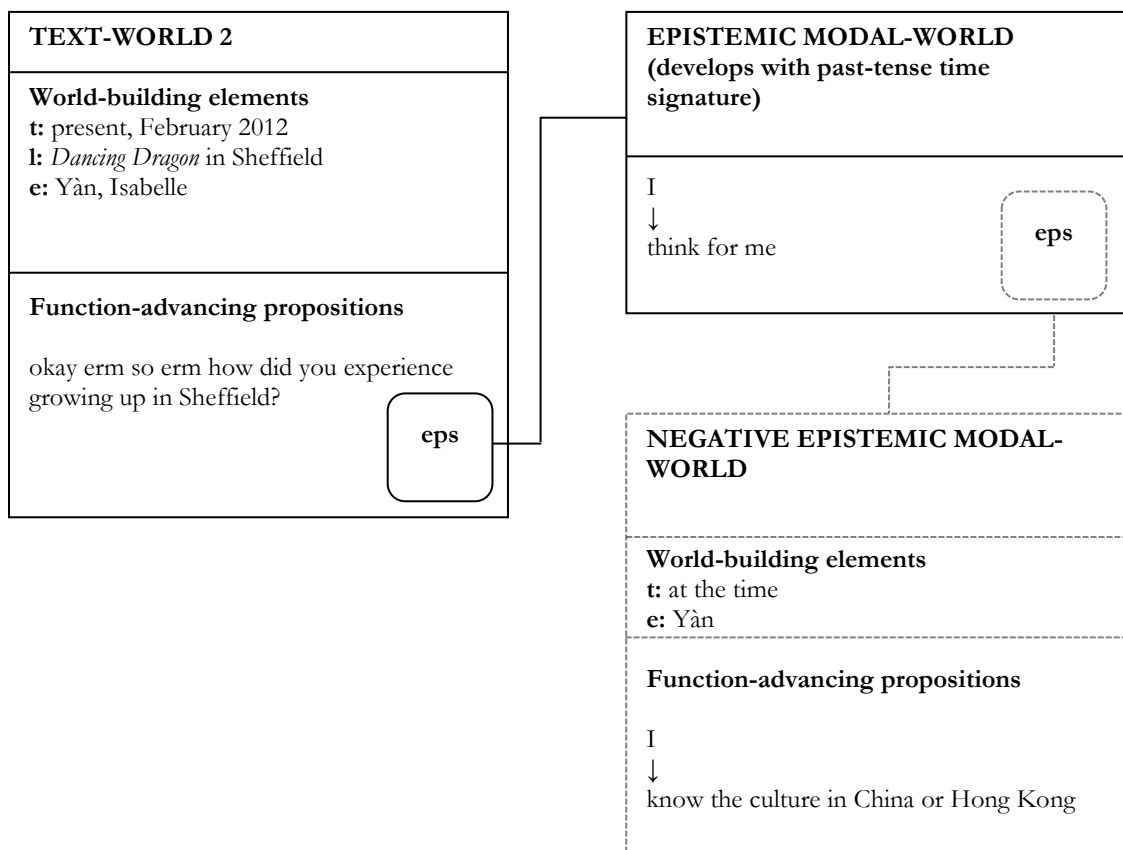


Figure 6.1 *The worlds of the interview in which Yàn describes her childhood experiences, lines 1-6*

The reason this is an epistemic modal-world is because with these words she indicates that she is emphasising her own thought processes. The world develops with a past-tense time signature, as she continues to describe what she thinks of a past situation. This epistemic modal-world is pictured in the top-right corner of Figure 6.1.

Following the statement ‘it was a little bit easier’ in line 3 of Extract 6.2, Yàn uses negation in ‘I didn’t know’ (line 3). This creates a shift from the epistemic modal-world to a negated epistemic modal-world, in which Yàn’s knowledge of the culture in China or Hong Kong at the time is conceptualised and then negated (‘erm I think for me it was a little bit easier because I I didn’t know you know the culture in China or Hong Kong at the time’, lines 3-6). Here, Yàn is talking about her childhood experiences of growing up. The negated meaning of the utterance feeds back into the epistemic modal-world of Yàn’s experiences, and contributes to the characterisation of Yàn during her early childhood. The negated modal-world is epistemically shaded, and represented diagrammatically in the bottom left-hand corner of Figure 6.1.

6.3.1 The discourse marker ‘you know’

It is worth noting that the negated utterance in lines 3 to 6 of Extract 6.2 (‘I I didn’t know you know the culture in China or Hong Kong at the time’) is interspersed with the discourse marker ‘you know’. The functions and effects of this discourse marker in the interview with Yàn are important, because they are likely to affect the text-worlds that stem from the discourse. ‘You know’ has been discussed extensively in academic research over the past few decades (e.g. Holmes 1986, 1995; Lakoff 1973; Müller 2005; Schiffrin 1987). Although traditionally, ‘you know’ was considered a filler (cf. Müller 2005), more recently the term has been recognised as having a variety of different textual and interpersonal functions (Müller 2005: 147; Schiffrin 2001: 139). Schiffrin mainly defines ‘you know’ as a marker of meta-knowledge, concerned with shared knowledge (1987: 278-279), and this is also how most others have approached it (e.g. Crystal and Davy 1975; Holmes 1986; Quirk et al. 1985; Schiffrin 1987; Schourup 1985). Some scholars have also focussed on the interpersonal addressee-oriented function of the marker in relation to shared knowledge (e.g. Stubbe and Holmes 1995), such as the use of

'you know' to 'emphasise solidarity and implicit shared understanding' (Stubbe and Holmes 1995: 85).

Interestingly, it has also been suggested that there is no evidence that 'you' and 'know' retain their basic meaning and function, and that they thus should not be analysed in terms of knowledge sharing at all (Macaulay 2002). This result contrasts with many previous studies (e.g. Crystal and Davy 1975; Holmes 1986; Quirk et al. 1985; Schiffrin 1987; Schourup 1985). In a later study by Cheshire (2007), it was also found that in the dataset of British English she used, forms of 'you know' that occurred were used in parallel ways to Macaulay's (2002) findings. As Cheshire (2007: 159), following Macaulay (2002: 749) notes, it is difficult to identify exact reasons for different findings in studies on discourse markers, as often the datasets used in such studies have been collected under very different circumstances. From a text-world perspective, 'you know' addresses an interactant's knowledge, and creates a fleeting epistemic modal-world in which the utterance is conceptualised. However, based on the scholarship on discourse markers from within sociolinguistics and pragmatics (e.g. Müller 2005: 147; Schiffrin 2001: 139; Stubbe and Holmes 1995), it is reasonable to assume that 'you know' fulfils either more, or, different functions in Yàn's interview (lines 3-4, 13 and 22-23). They might, for example, interpret 'you know' as a filler, a marker of meta-knowledge, or they might feel addressed by the term.

In an interesting article on the development of discourse markers, Fitzmaurice (2004) describes how the meaning of the discourse markers 'you know', 'you see' and 'you say' changed from 1650 to the present. She traces the semantic-pragmatic shifts from speaker subjectivity (speaker self-expression), to intersubjectivity, to interactiveness. She defines intersubjectivity as 'the speaker's projection of subjectivity to the addressee' (Fitzmaurice 2004: 427), and interactiveness as 'the association of an expression with the dynamics of the interactive process itself' (Fitzmaurice 2004: 427). She concludes that, in some of her examples, 'the phrases [you know/you see/you say] function perhaps solely [interactively], to keep the interaction between interlocutors [going]' (Fitzmaurice 2004: 431), but remarks in the conclusion that the discourse markers studied may also have multiple semantic-pragmatic functions (Fitzmaurice 2004: 445).

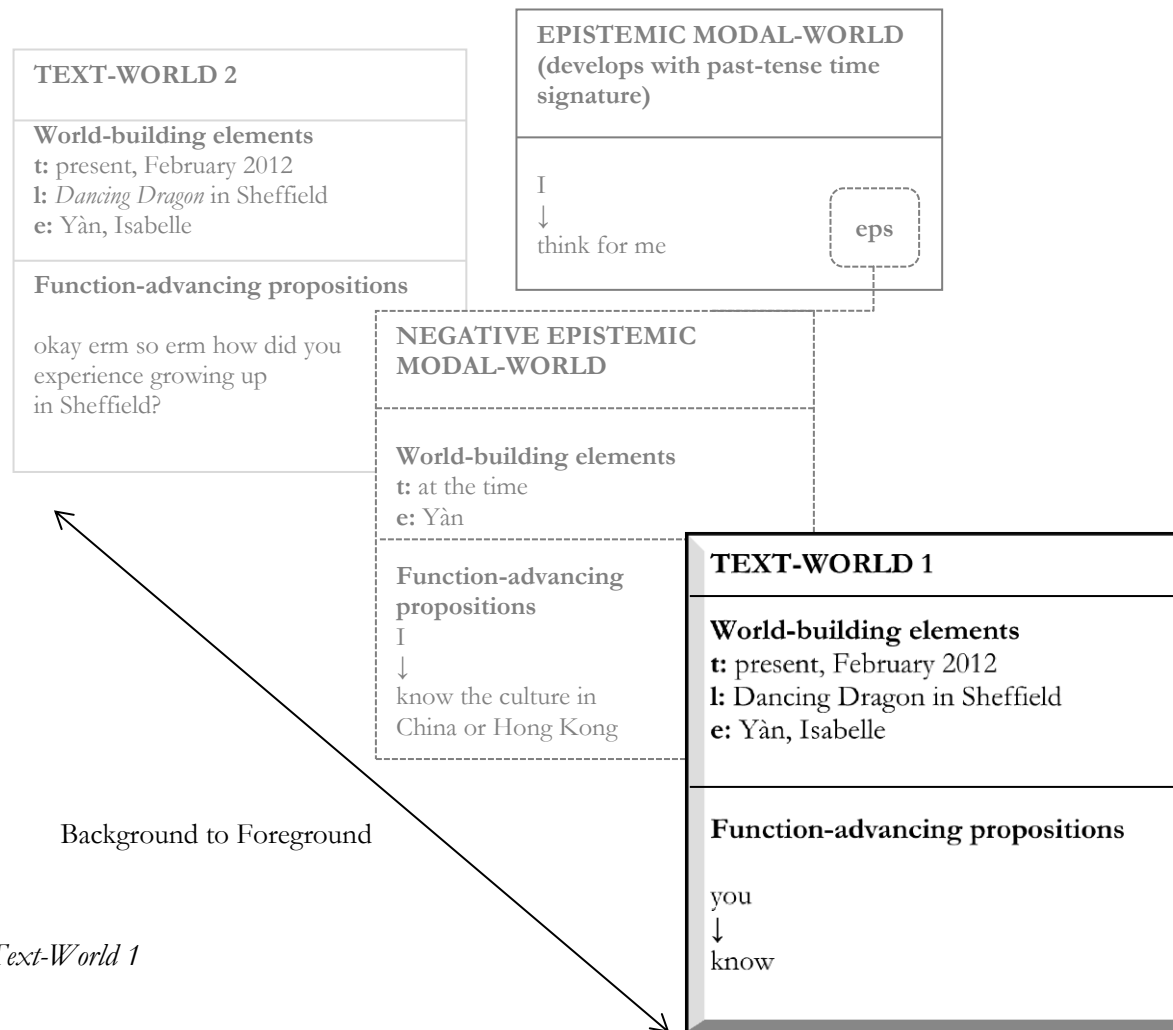


Figure 6.2 *Primed Text-World 1*

As Macaulay (2002: 761) concludes, it may be best also to study how individuals rather than groups use certain discourse features.

Looking at Yàn's use of the discourse marker 'you know' in the interview transcript analysed in this chapter, it can be seen to have an interactive as well as an interpersonal function. This is visible in Extract 6.3 below:

- 3 Yàn erm I think for me it was a little bit easier because I I didn't know
4 you know the culture in
5 Isabelle *yeah*
6 Yàn China or Hong Kong at the time

Extract 6.3 *The interview transcript with Yàn, lines 3-6*

The interactive function of 'you know' can be seen in line 4 here, in which Yàn seems to use the discourse marker as a filler or pause to keep the conversation going. The interpersonal function of the same marker is also visible, namely in the effect 'you know' appears to have on Isabelle. Isabelle regularly provides some form of back-channelling, such as 'yeah' and 'hmm' just after Yàn's use of 'you know' in the interview, as well as in other interviews discussed in this thesis (see Chapter 3, 4 and 5). From the perspective of Isabelle therefore, the discourse marker may play a more intersubjective role. However, it is worth noting that it is ambiguous whether Isabelle's back-channelling can be directly related to Yàn's use of 'you know'. Isabelle, for example, might also be responding to the slight pause following Yàn's remark in line 4 of Extract 6.3, rather than to the discourse marker specifically. Yàn may have also used 'you know' to signal her awareness of Isabelle in the discourse, rather than as a linguistic feature to keep the conversation going.

Whether 'you know' in the extract analysed here functions as a filler to keep conversation going, or has a more intersubjective purpose, it is clear that this discourse feature points into the interactive level of the discourse, or in other words, into the 'here and now' present-tense time zone of the interview. I would therefore argue that these linguistic cues 'prime' (Emmott 1997) Text-World 1, the present-tense text-world underlying the interview. Priming is a key notion in Contextual Frame Theory, and happens when one contextual frame becomes the main focus of attention for the reader or listener (Emmott 1997: 123). In Contextual Frame Theory, priming happens when the action shifts from one frame to another, but in the way I use priming here, it can also occur with other

features of the narration that point to other worlds than those in which action develops. The primed world is represented diagrammatically in Figure 6.2 in relation to some of the other worlds Yàn has created. The three connected worlds on the left in Figure 6.2 represent the worlds constructed by Yàn in which the main action takes places (also see Figure 6.1). Primed Text-World 1, which has a great degree of accessibility, is represented in the bottom right corner of the figure and is foregrounded through a bevelled edge. Text-World 2 and two modal-worlds are depicted in the left of the figure and are greyed out to represent the figure's background.

6.3.2 The discourse marker 'like'

Following her use of the discourse marker 'you know' and the negation 'I I *didn't know* you know the culture in China or Hong Kong at the time' (lines 3-6), Yàn then returns back to the main embedded epistemic modal-world with the words 'so it was like being born here born here but then I was taken back to Hong Kong at a very very early age' (line 7). This utterance contains another interesting discursive feature, namely the word 'like'. It is interesting to pay more attention to this linguistic feature in the interview transcript, because the function of 'like' is not always clear-cut.

Linguists have studied the different functions of 'like' for several decades (e.g. Andersen 1997, 2001; Miller and Weinert 1995; Romaine and Lange 1991; Schourup 1985; Tagliamonte 2004; Underhill, 1988). Although 'like' has a great array of possible pragmatic and non-pragmatic meanings, including its potential to fulfil a number of different pragmatic functions at the same time (D'Arcy 2005: 16), the literature has mostly focussed on three functions of 'like'. Firstly, the use of 'like' as a quotative, which has been widely investigated (e.g. Romaine and Lange 1991; Tagliamonte 2004, 2005, 2012). This is when 'like' is used to introduce reported speech and thought. Secondly, 'like' has been recognised as a focuser, or, in other words, as a marker of new information or focus (e.g. Andersen 2001; D'Arcy 2005; Miller and Weinert 1995; Underhill 1988). Thirdly, 'like' has been described as a feature denoting of 'approximation' or 'non-equivalence' (e.g. Schourup 1985; Andersen 2001; Jucker and Smith 1998). In this latter case, 'like' is used to indicate the disjunction between what is said and what is thought, thereby marking psychological distance towards the linguistic

expression that follows (cf. Andersen 2001: 219). An utterance in which this interpretation is available according to Andersen, would be in the example '[t]hey were such a load of dicks when you first met them, I mean and they're just like trying to impress all the time' (Andersen 2001: 245). According to Andersen, by using 'like' in this utterance, the speaker is indicating that there may be more suitable alternative expressions after 'like' than the one chosen, e.g. 'trying to impress all the time' (Andersen 2001: 245). This therefore marks psychological distance according to Andersen (2001: 245), by which the speaker makes clear his or her subjective stance towards the utterance.

Miller and Weinert analyse clause-initial and clause-final 'like' in Scottish English, and find that whilst 'like' may focus on given or new information, clause-initial 'like' tends to be associated with clarifying previous discourse, whereas clause-final 'like' seems to be used mainly when countering objections and assumptions (Miller and Weinert 1995: 392). Romaine and Lange, on the other hand, focus mainly on quotative 'like' in their renowned paper on American English, but one of the other functions of 'like' they describe is of 'like' as a focuser or organiser of discourse structure (Romaine and Lange 1991: 245). Whereas 'like' as a focuser emphasises the textual function of the word, it has also been attributed a more interpersonal function by some linguists, from which perspective it is seen as a stance strategy used by speakers to mark the significance of the upcoming information to the listeners (e.g. Helt and Foster-Cohen 1996: 316). Similarly to the linguistic feature 'you know', it is interesting to examine the possible function(s) of 'like' in Yàn's utterance, as it allows further exploration of how pragmatic meaning is incorporated into the Text World Theory model.

It is possible to interpret Yàn's 'like' in 'so it was like being born here born here but then I was taken back to Hong Kong at a very very early age' (lines 6-7) as an indication of approximation, e.g. as indicating that growing up can partly be equated with being born in Sheffield but then being taken back to Hong Kong at an early age. This interpretation however, even if taken non-literally, only seems to capture a few years of Yàn's childhood rather than her entire upbringing. Readers or hearers are likely to understand this interpretation does not comprise the full extent of Yàn's experiences of growing up, and that there may be alternative, more fitting interpretations. It is also possible that Yàn's utterance 'it was like' will be interpreted by listeners as a marker that new information is to follow;

information that further exemplifies Yàn's experiences of childhood. It is worth mentioning that Yàn narrates these experiences following the discourse marker 'like' in the passive voice, which suggests she had no control over being taken back to Hong Kong.

In summary, the use of 'like' in lines 6-7 of Extract 6.2 can be interpreted as having a textual function (marking new information), but it can also be deemed as serving an interpersonal function (marking the significance of the new information to the listener, or signalling to the listener that the expression captures growing up only loosely). Because Text World Theory is flexible enough to account for the complexities of human syntax as well as the nuances of language in context (Werth 1999: 31), it is able to incorporate all the possible readers' or listeners' interpretations of 'like' into its framework. If 'like' is interpreted as signalling the loose approximation between growing up and 'being born here but then taken back to Hong Kong' (lines 6-7), readers might use this linguistic information to enrich the text-world of Yàn's childhood, Text-World 2. They will also enrich Text-World 2 with their imaginations of what else growing up was like for Yàn. If 'like' is interpreted by readers as marking the importance of the information following, this would foreground the experience of being born in Sheffield but being taken back to Hong-Kong in the Text-World 2. Simultaneously, this would prime Text-World 1 for readers/hearers, because they could interpret the use of this discourse feature as especially emphasising the importance of the information following 'like' to both the interviewee Isabelle and to themselves as readers of the transcript.

6.3.3 Point of view

Following the use of 'like' and the passive voice in the past-tense utterance 'growing up in Sheffield was like being born here but then I was taken back to Hong Kong at a very very early age', Yàn switches back to the active voice in the simple past, with 'I did study for a while in Hong Kong but i-it was mainly like erm nursery school and then it was a- a bit of travelling back and forth and my mum and dad had to go back and come back and you know' (line 9-13). Here, it is clear that 'like' is used to denote an approximation, and therefore does not prime Text-World 1, but is instead a resource to further enrich Text-World 2. This world is depicted in the left of Figure 6.3. The verb 'had' in 'my mum and dad had

to go back and come back' (lines 12-13) triggers a deontic modal-world that also feeds back into Text-World 2. Interestingly, the deixis in this deontic modal-world continues to contribute to the construction of Yàn's positioning in relation to Hong Kong, as by saying 'my mum and dad had to go back and come back', she denotes both Hong Kong and England as places of origin rather than destinations. This deontic modal-world is represented as 'Deontic Modal-World 1' in Figure 6.3. Yàn continues to narrate in the past tense until she switches to the present tense with the use of the discourse marker 'you know'. As already explained in section 6.3.1, this does briefly prime Text-World 1.

After the use of the discourse marker 'you know', Yàn returns to Text-World 2 with the use of past-tense discourse. She describes how she was exposed to a bit of the Chinese culture but not to very much of it because she was too young at the time, and mainly grew up with the English culture instead. This triggers a negative modal-world, which is depicted in the middle of Figure 6.3. Interestingly, Yàn first shifts the perspective within the narrative from herself to her parents, and then back to herself in this part of the narrative. During the main part of the extract analysed, Yàn narrates from her own point of view, which is clear from the use of the first person pronoun *I*. However, in line 17 (Extract 6.2), she switches from her perspective to that of a double perspective, which comprises her perspective and that of her parents. This is evident in her shift from 'I' in 'it was mainly the Chin- the English culture that *I* knew growing up' (line 17) to that of her parents, in 'but being very traditional both my parents *had to* make sure that *the children* knew' (lines 18-19). The shift in perspective here is partly cued by the use of deontic modality in 'had to', which triggers a deontic modal world. This is represented as 'deontic modal world 2' in Figure 6.3. This modal-world shows how Yàn's parents saw things at the time, and the kinds of pressures they felt in relation to child rearing. The change in perspective is also evidenced by Yàn's use of '*the children*'. Since Yàn is one of the children of her parents, the noun phrase would be 'we' instead of 'the children' if narrated from her own perspective. However, there is still evidence that Yàn's own point of view is retained in this extract, for example in the noun phrase 'both my parents' (lines 18, Extract 6.2). Interestingly, immediately following this utterance, Yàn changes point of view by using 'we', in 'that *we* had to speak the language know the culture,

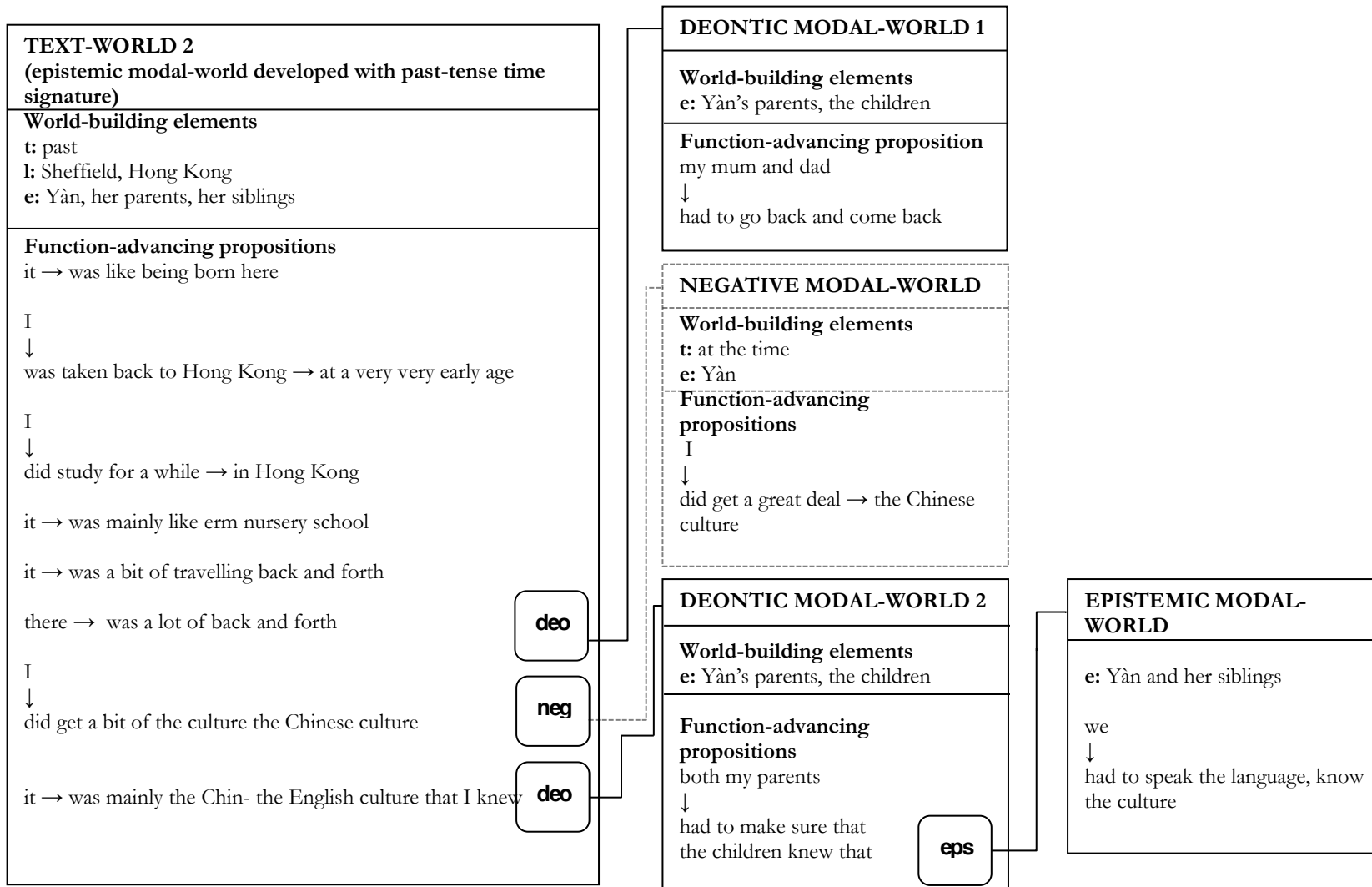


Figure 6.3 World pattern interview with Yàn, lines 6-22

basically being quite traditional Chinese really' (lines 22). Yàn thus changes alignment here again, switching out of Deontic Modal-World 2 which represents her parents' point of view back into an epistemic modal-world which contains the point of view of Yàn and her siblings (the children). This latter world is depicted in the right bottom corner in Figure 6.3. Text-World 2, depicted in the left of Figure 6.3, at this point is slightly altered by the change of enactors and the change of perspective this creates. The sudden change in focus from Yàn to her parents and then to the children could also be seen as a trigger for the creation of two fleeting modal-worlds, in which the distinct points of view from the parents and the children are represented. Deontic Modal-World 2 represents the parents' point of view, and is therefore also epistemically shaded. The point of view of the children is represented in another fleeting epistemic modal-world. This is depicted in Figure 6.3. Text-World 2 is depicted on the left of the figure.

6.3.4 The discourse marker 'really'

After the construction of this series of embedded modal-worlds, Yàn summarises her upbringing as 'basically being quite traditional Chinese really' (line 22). The use of 'basically' in this case indicates that the statement following it, namely, 'being quite traditional Chinese really', summarises Yàn's childhood. Note Yàn's use of the discourse marker 'really' in this utterance. 'Really' has syntactic flexibility, but is more common in medial-position than in utterance-final position as it is found here (Gray 2012: 153). Surprisingly, only limited research has been conducted into the function of 'really' in final position, but it has been argued that it functions as an afterthought (Paradis 2003: 205). Biber et al. describe the adverb 'really' as a stance marker rather than a discourse marker (Biber et al. 2002: 385), because it overtly marks a speaker's attitude to a clause. They see the use of 'really' in clause-final position as bearing the 'epistemic stance meaning of "in reality" or "in truth"' (Biber et al. 2002: 385). This discourse feature additionally can be seen to function as a mitigating strategy that lessens the force of the preceding statement. More specifically, the use of 'really' can be seen to indicate approximation or 'looseness', which places emphasis on the speaker's presence in the interaction, and speaker subjectivity. An example of this use of really is also visible in the exchange below, which has been extracted from the British national corpus with the use of the BNCweb interface:

Albert: What you watching?

June: Nothing really (BNC KB1: 2657-2658).

In this example, June's use of the discourse marker 'really' indicates that her preceding statement 'nothing', should not be taken literally, but is rather a loose approximation of what she was doing, i.e., nothing worth mentioning. In the case of Yàn, the effect of her use of 'really' emphasises her own presence in the interactional exchange, and therefore highlights that the truth-value of the utterance preceding the discourse marker is an approximation of her upbringing, and represents her own beliefs or point of view, rather than an unmitigated assertion.

So far, I have discussed the text-world patterns Yàn creates when talking about her childhood experiences and identity. I have described the epistemic modal-worlds of her childhood experiences, in which she explains how she was exposed to a bit of the Chinese culture but not to very much of it because she only lived in Hong Kong for a short period of time. I have shown how these worlds contribute to the characterisation of Yàn during her early childhood. I have also focussed on Yàn's positioning within the 'here-and-now' level of interaction. Through an analysis of the discourse markers 'you know', 'like' and 'really', I have provided insight into how Yàn constantly primes the text-world of the interview. I would argue that this creates listener involvement and shows the negotiated nature of the reality Yàn represents to Isabelle in the interview. Having examined Yàn's characterisation of her childhood self and her current self, I now focus my Text World Theory analysis on how Yàn brings together these versions in a subsequent extract of the interview.

6.3.5 Direct speech in Text World Theory

After the description of her upbringing, Yàn switches to the past tense again, in line 22, which creates another world-switch. However, this world is only fleeting and switched for primed Text-World 1, caused by the discourse marker 'you know'. The discourse marker in this case can be seen to function here mainly as a conversation filler, because Yàn uses 'you know' in this case as a transition to end one clause ('which was a bit'; Extract 6.2: line 22) and begin a new one ('at that age you think [...] but you look at yourself and say; Extract 6.2: lines 23-24).

The switch in tense in ‘you think’ in this utterance causes a world-switch from a text-world with a past-tense time signature to a text-world with a present-tense time signature. Additionally, the ‘you’ in the example ‘you think’ is generalised, and also the specific age Yàn is referring to is unclear. This posits a generalised world in which a generalised enactor at a generalised age thinks, looks at him or herself and says something. However, listeners or readers are in fact likely to interpret the ‘you’ in this fragment as including Yàn, especially as the direct thoughts and speech described are much more specific, and only directly applicable to Yàn in the context of the interview. Listeners might furthermore feel included in the ‘you’ pronoun, because they might experience Yàn’s words here as a form of personal address (see Section 4.4 of Chapter 4 on the diverse possible functions of the pronoun ‘you’). In summary, the ‘you’ represents a generalised experience in the text-world, but simultaneously indexes Yàn, and might also imply some form of address to listeners at the same time. The doubly deictic (Herman 1994) effect of this is that a ‘multiple version’ of the enactor ‘you’ is created, in which all the different functions of ‘you’ are brought together (see also Section 4.4).

Yàn’s generalising of this experience can be seen to indicate that she views it as a typical one for people of a certain age to go through and that Yàn does not consider her experience to be unique. Alternatively, it could indicate to the listener that they might share experiences with the speaker and thus involve the speaker in this way. The latter is not as likely as Isabelle, Yàn’s co-participant in the discourse-world, is a white female with no Chinese or English background. The fact that she is also an immigrant into the UK could be the point of commonality that Yàn is pointing to, as Yàn was aware of Isabelle’s background. The use of the pronoun ‘you’ can also be seen as a listener-involvement strategy to signal the speaker’s awareness of the listener and allow him or her to map him or herself on the enactor ‘you’ (cf. Tannen 1983).

The content of the specific thoughts and words that the enactor ‘you’ thinks and says function as direct thought (‘do I know myself as English or do I know myself as Chinese’, line 24-25) and direct speech representation (‘that yes I am Chinese but just being brought up in a different country really so’, lines 24-25) in this extract. They are represented in worlds embedded within the generalised present-tense text-world. The direct thought triggers an epistemic modal-world.

The element of direct speech creates a switch to another (embedded) world as well, but there are different interpretations in Text World Theory about the kind of world this creates.

In a recent (2013) article, Lugea argues that the treatment of direct speech in the Text World Theory framework does not satisfactorily account for instances of direct speech in all genres and discourses. She points out that direct speech has been treated mainly in terms of narrative prose by text-world theorists to date. Werth (1999) treats direct speech as triggering a temporal world-shift, on the basis of examples from past-tense prose narratives, where the direct speech causes a tense-shift from past-tense discourse to present-tense discourse. Gavins (2007a) sees the tense-switch as a shift in *origo*: whenever an enactor speaks, ‘a world-switch transports readers of the text directly to that enactor’s *origo* for as long as the speech is ongoing’ (2007a: 50). Cruikshank and Lahey (2010) also interpret dramatic dialogue as ‘a *perceptual* shift from the *origo* of the play-text’s controlling voice to the deictic centre of the play’s characters’ (2010: 70, emphasis in original).

Lugea argues that these treatments of direct speech go against the principle that the text-world is ‘*co*-created by all discourse participants and that individual contributions (spoken, cognitive, or otherwise) come together to create a *jointly* negotiated text-world’ (Lugea 2013: 140, emphasis in original). She returns to a central tenet of Text World Theory which states that conceptually, the discourse-world, text-world and modal-world are similar conceptual constructs, consisting of the same world-building elements and function-advancing propositions (Werth, 1999: 353). According to the logic that the ‘enactor’s discourse must therefore also be subject to the same rules as the participants’ discourse’, Lugea introduces the ‘character text-world’. This world is embedded within the text-world and represents all ‘directly represented discourse’ (Lugea 2013: 134). It thus includes both direct speech and direct thought.

I am not adopting this terminology in my thesis because, although I agree that, logically, the identical structure of the text-world compared to other world-levels suggests that when enactors engage in conversation, they create text-worlds for themselves to process that discourse, I would also argue that the content of these enactor-created text-worlds remains inaccessible to the participants in the discourse-world. As ontologically distinct discourse-level participants, we cannot know the kind of text-worlds enactors or characters create. To me the term

‘character text-world’ suggests that this *is* possible, though. I prefer to use the term ‘epistemic modal-world’ for direct speech and thought representation instead. I find this term more suitable for a number of reasons. Firstly, the use of the term ‘epistemic modal-world’ is more reader/listener-centred, because it makes more explicit the direct link between a participant (e.g. the reader or listener) in the discourse-world and the discourse he or she is engaged in and processing – which might include the perspectives of enactors. The reason the term makes the link more explicit is because it emphasises that when a discourse participant has to rely on textual constructs when engaging in discourse – for example, because the other discourse participant occupies a different spatial location and time-zone – the worlds created during this discourse will conceptually be further removed from the discourse participant, and will only be enactor-accessible. This includes the perspectives of all enactors, including narrators. In Text World Theory, as it currently stands, such distant worlds are epistemic in nature. Direct speech should be seen as equally distant, because in aligning the deictic markers to the deictic centre of the enactor, it captures the unverifiable perspective of the enactor speaking. Almost all worlds constructed during a form of communication other than direct face-to-face conversation are in fact epistemic modal-worlds, because the discourse participants processing these other discourses almost always have to rely on some form of mitigation, for example in the form of a textual construct – such as narrator – to process these discourses. However, discourse participants might treat these modal-worlds *as if* they are (enactor- or participant-accessible) text-worlds instead. Another reason for viewing direct speech and direct thought as epistemic modal-world forming is that direct thought has been treated by text-world theorists up until Lugea (2013) as representing the inner, private thoughts of enactors, which are seen as inaccessible to readers. Rather than changing this, it might therefore be better to extend the linguistic cues that are epistemic modal-world forming to include direct speech representation.

To return to the situation of Yàn, the extract below contains the final part of the extract analysed in this chapter:

- | | | |
|----|----------|--|
| 21 | Isabelle | <i>yeah</i> |
| 22 | Yàn | basically being quite traditional Chinese really err which was a bit you |
| 23 | | know at that age you think oh do I know myself as English or do I know |

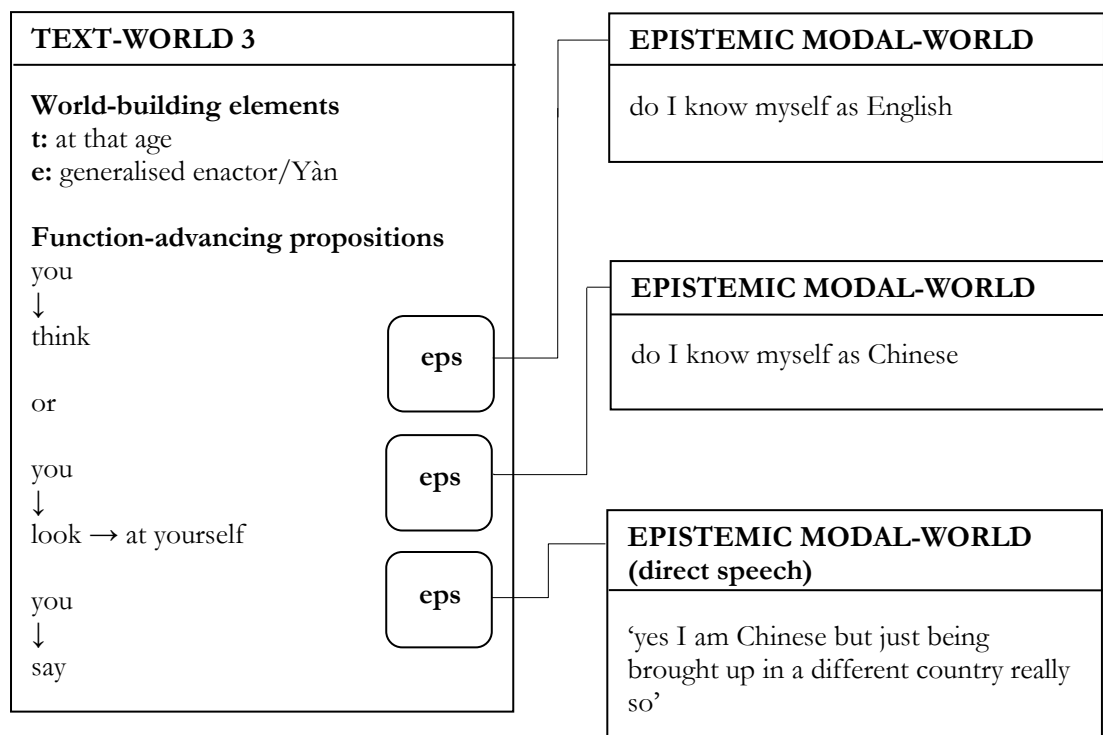
24
25

myself as Chinese but you look at yourself and you say that yes I am Chinese but just being brought up in a different country really so

Extract 6.4 *The interview transcript with Yàn, lines 21-25*

The content of the specific thoughts and words that the enactor ‘you’ thinks and says function as direct thought (‘do I know myself as English or do I know myself as Chinese’) and direct speech (‘that yes I am Chinese but just being brought up in a different country really so’) in this extract. Following the approach to direct speech and thought representation that I have outlined above, both the direct thought and the direct speech in the extract trigger epistemic modal-worlds, which are embedded in Text-World 3. In total three epistemic modal-worlds are created, but the content in two of these worlds is conceptualised as mutually exclusive. Figure 6.4 represents this diagrammatically.

Figure 6.4 *Overview of the text-worlds of lines 23-25*



On the left of the figure, Text-World 3 is depicted, containing three epistemic modal-worlds. These epistemic modal-worlds are represented on the right in Figure 6.4. The epistemic modal-world in the top-right corner represents Yàn as possibly knowing herself as English. The epistemic modal-world in the right-middle of the figure represents an alternative of Yàn as possibly knowing herself

as Chinese. The epistemic modal-world in the bottom-right corner of Figure 6.4 depicts the epistemic modal-world established by Yàn's quote 'yes I am Chinese but just being brought up in a different country really so'. In summary, Yàn portrays herself as *either* possibly knowing herself as English, *or* as possibly knowing herself as Chinese. Her identity is a strict exclusive separation of English and Chinese, without the possibility of both being taken into consideration. The outcome of these two possibilities is conceptualised in the third epistemic modal-world, which is triggered by direct-speech representation in which she states that she is Chinese.

6.3.6 Blended selves

Surprisingly, if the entire extract analysed in this chapter is taken into consideration again, it is striking that although Isabelle asks Yàn about her experiences of growing up in Sheffield, Yàn's reply consists of descriptions of the different cultures she grew up in, rather than stories in which she relates her experiences of growing up in Sheffield. Yàn frames her experiences of growing up in Sheffield through a contrast of the English and Chinese cultures. She describes growing up in Sheffield as easier for her because she only lived in Hong Kong for a short while, therefore had less exposure to Chinese culture, and was most familiar with the English culture growing up. This description positions the Chinese culture and English culture as clearly demarcated binaries, and as exclusive, or conflicting spaces, because Yàn's answer implies that if she had been exposed more to Chinese culture it would have been harder for her to grow up in Sheffield.

Her reason for positioning these two cultures as opposing categories can be understood more clearly if related to the preceding part of the interview, in which she describes the journey of her family migrating to Sheffield. In this narration, which immediately precedes Isabelle's question about growing up in Sheffield, Yàn tells of her father's journey from Hong Kong to Sheffield to build a new life, how hard this was for him, and how he got his family to the UK once he had managed to 'build up a lot' in Sheffield. As Yàn explains, she had not yet been born at the time. With this context in mind, her response 'I think for me it was a little bit easier I I didn't know you know the culture in China or Hong Kong

at the time' can be more clearly interpreted as referring to her family's struggle to build a new life in Sheffield.

However, although the denotation of Yàn's narration can be seen to point to a discursively constructed identity that is predominantly English, Yàn ultimately linguistically represents herself as Chinese rather than English (also see Extract 6.4). The discussion above on the mutually exclusive categories of 'Chinese' and 'English' that are constructed in the interview, shows how important it is for a comprehensive understanding of identity construction to take into account the micro-level discursive constructions of enactors *as well as* the broader (interview) context in which a particular utterance was made (see Section 4.2 for a comprehensive overview of context).

The micro-level positioning in Extract 6.4 above is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, the use of reported speech and the switch in tense from the simple past tense to the simple present tense to describe events in the past (i.e. the Historical Present) point to the evaluative aspect of this part of Yàn's narrative (Tannen 1986; Wolfson 1982). The dialogue that Yàn constructs featuring her own younger self also causes the narrative pace to slow down (Genette 1980). In the earlier segment (line 3-22), Yàn summarises several years of her life in a short space of narration, from being born in Sheffield to being taken back to Hong Kong, nursery school, her parents travelling between Hong Kong and the UK, and her parents' approach to their children's upbringing. In the latter part of the extract (lines 22-25) and thus in Text-World 3, dialogue causes the narrative time (cf. Genette 1980: 87) to move significantly slower compared to the rest of the extract. The coming together of a range of linguistic techniques such as slowing down the narrative, switching the tenses, and the use of reported speech, may make this latter part of the extract more salient to the listener.

In this evaluative part of the narrative (cf. Labov 1972), Yàn reflects explicitly on the identity of her younger self in the form of reported thought and reported speech. Yàn's portrayal of her younger self as knowing herself as *either* English *or* Chinese represents a conflict which she resolves by the affirmative statement that she *is* Chinese. As this part of the narrative is in the present tense, the statement becomes timeless and still valid for the older Yàn in the present time of the interview.

If we look at this from a Text World Theory perspective, we can trace Yàn's identity back to three different textual enactors: the enactor of Yàn in Text-World 1, the enactor of Yàn in Text-World 2, and the enactor of Yàn in Text-World 3. The enactor of Yàn in Text-World 1 represents the 'current Yàn' or 'the Yàn in the now', i.e. the Yàn at the time of the interview. The enactor of Yàn in Text-World 2 comprises Yàn's younger childhood self. This enactor develops throughout the enrichment of Text-World 2. Yàn as enactor 2 starts at her birth in Sheffield, and grows older through her narrative (being born here, taken back to Hong Kong at an early age, nursery school, growing up). These references to age are 'building bullet points' of characterisation and story-time (Genette 1980). They allow for an understanding of Yàn in particular stages of her life and how she positions herself with regards to her environment in the story. They also indicate how much time has passed in this text-world of the narration.

The enactor that Yàn creates of herself in the third text-world represents an interesting coming together of Yàn's younger self and her current self. Although Yàn in this text-world is talking about her younger self, (which is clear in the distal deixis in her reference to 'that age'), the description of what she was thinking and saying to herself is narrated in the present tense, which separates the mental processes of Yàn's younger self from her other description of her childhood self in Text-World 2. The present-tense discourse also makes her conclusive statement in the final lines of the extract (about her identity as Chinese) relevant to the enactor in Text-World 1. The enactor of Yàn in this third text-world contains elements of enactor 1 (Yàn's current self) and enactor 2 (Yàn's younger self), and can therefore be characterised as a blend of enactor 1 and 2.

Interestingly, this links to the earlier observations made about Tak-Cheung's identity in Chapter 5, where a combination of present-tense and past-tense discourse presented a blended self-image of Tak-Cheung in which a younger Tak-Cheung and an older Tak-Cheung were combined into a single enactor too. Both Tak-Cheung's and Yàn's examples point to the continuity of identity on the one hand and the constructed fluidity of identity on the other hand. More specifically, the third space that Yàn and Tak-Cheung create, in which their younger selves are connected to their discursive self-representations in the 'here-and-now' of the discourse, accounts for the creation of a sense of continuity of

identity. However, the discursive negotiation of these older selves simultaneously points to a *discursively* constructed notion of identity that is fluid and bound to the moment of interaction. In the case of Yàn, the use of the second-person pronoun, rather than first-person reference, further adds to a sense of timelessness and continuity, because it generalises the represented experience considerably, thereby giving it a more universal impression.

When negotiating her own identity, Yàn discursively creates an ultimately powerful construction of self. Rather than letting herself be positioned by her own narrated experiences, such as growing up in England or being less exposed to Chinese culture, she concludes her turn by *actively* defining who she is according to her own reasoning and decision-making. The enactor in the third text-world represents this more powerful identity in the continuing universal space of Text-World 3 that she has created.

In summary, the use of Text World Theory here as an analytical framework has allowed for an understanding of how migrants frame their lived experiences and position themselves on several conceptual layers and in their own discursive worlds. The pattern of worlds and enactor positionings uncovered in this narrative through the application of Text World Theory points to the multiplicity of identity, and allows further exploration of participants' deeply embedded layers of self. In the next section, what 'being Chinese' means to Yàn is further explored.

6.4 On being Chinese

When Yàn is probed about her answers about growing up in Sheffield in the extract which follows, she reiterates earlier statements including her positioning as Chinese:

- 26 Isabelle but so you didn't actually live for a very long time in Hong Kong
27 Yàn not very long at all I was very young like I say only at kindergarten
28 at the <x> and I think it was like two three years out there and
29 then I come back to so I really actually studied all my life in is in
30 England yeah
31 Isabelle yeah all you education was there hmm yeah okay
32 Yàn hmm
33 Isabelle and how would you, so how would you describe yourself?
34 Yàn erm what do you mean by whether I'm...(1.0) traditional Chinese
35 or erm
36 Isabelle yeah I don't know whether

37 Yàn I I I still consider as myself 100% Chinese yes I I could say that if I
 38 look at my passport then I could say that I'm not actually erm
 39 really Chinese but I was b- immigrant here I was born here so I'm
 40 like a British citizen in erm Chinese face as you'd call it so I would
 41 consider myself being Chinese

Extract 6.5 *The interview transcript with Yàn, lines 26-41*

Yàn further explains here that she did not live in Hong Kong for a long time and that she was very young at the time of living there. She also again refers to herself as Chinese. The manner in which she does this is very interesting. Perhaps in relation to the direct question preceding Yàn's turn in line 33, she starts with direct reference to herself, using the first person pronoun 'I' in line 34. She then she refers to her own mental processes and judgement ('consider myself') again in relation to her Chinese identity. She goes on to consider the possibility that she is not Chinese, but the actual proposition representing this possibility is four times removed from the actual situation of the discourse by conditional phrases: 'yes I I could say that if I look at my passport then I could say that I'm not actually erm really Chinese'. Firstly, Yàn's utterance 'I could say that' marks possibility, and therefore creates an epistemic modal-world. The protasis of the conditional phrase 'If I look at my passport' creates another epistemic modal-world which represents the unrealised state-of-affairs of Yàn looking at the passport, and she then creates another modal-world with 'I could say that', before arriving at the actual proposition 'I am not really Chinese'. This negated world has thus been embedded in several other worlds, which creates a distancing effect. Figure 6.5 below is a diagrammed representation of how Yàn positions the conceptualisation that she is not Chinese at an increasing distance. The text-world on the far left of Figure 6.5 depicts the interview situation in which Yàn's statement 'I I could say that if I look at my passport then I could say that I'm not actually erm really Chinese' is made. This world contains the enactors Isabelle and Yàn, but is immediately switched for an epistemic modal-world triggered by the use of the modal verb 'could'. This world is the second world on the left in Figure 6.5. The epistemic modal-world next to it represents the protasis of the conditional construction 'if I look at my passport then I could say'. The fourth epistemic-modal world represents the apodosis component of the conditional.

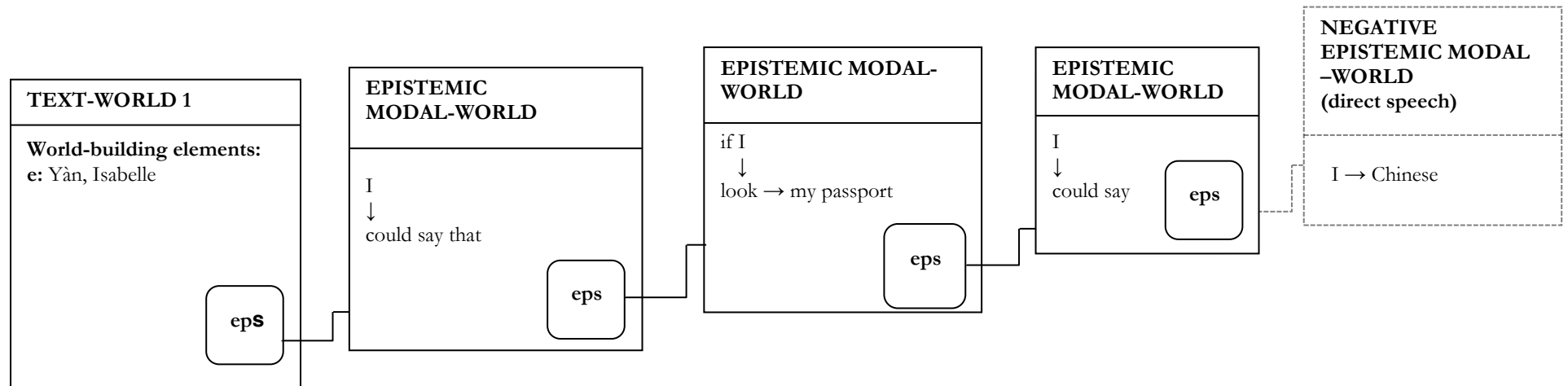


Figure 6.5 *The embedded worlds of 'I could say that if I look at my passport then I could say that I'm not actually erm really Chinese'*

It is represented in a separate epistemic-modal world, triggered by the modal verb ‘could’. Finally, Yàn’s use of direct speech triggers the negative epistemic modal-world depicted on the right in Figure 6.5.

Note that the possibility that Yàn is ‘not Chinese’ is mitigated by her use of ‘really’, which indicates here that the truth of this proposition is in fact open for discussion. In subsequent lines (lines 39-41) not represented in Figure 6.5, Yàn provides counterarguments for the proposition that she is ‘not really Chinese’, by saying that she is an immigrant (albeit born in the UK), and phenotypically Chinese (‘Chinese face’):

39 Yàn but I was b- immigrant here I was born here so I’m like a British
40 citizen in erm Chinese face as you’d call it so I would consider
41 myself being Chinese

Extract 6.6 *The interview transcript with Yàn, lines 39-41*

In this extract, Yàn’s physical appearance and her status as migrant with British citizenship serve as authenticating practices (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). She also authenticates her identity discursively by stating she ‘would consider herself Chinese’, similar to her linguistic construction of Chinese identity in Extract 6.4. In doing so, Yàn again displays a great amount of agency. In the remainder of the interview, Yàn repeatedly reiterates that she is Chinese, and furthermore repeats the phrase ‘100% Chinese’ twice; once to describe what she could call herself if she spoke all the Chinese dialects fluently, and once to describe how British-Born Chinese might look. She also stresses the importance of learning Chinese languages and teaching her children Chinese language and values.

The strongly agentic discursive position Yàn constructs in the interview is not only very interesting in the context of the interview, but also in the wider ethnographic setting in which I undertook my fieldwork (see Chapter 3) and came to know Yàn. Yàn was the only person from the management staff who had mostly grown up in the UK and consequently the only member with a Yorkshire accent. I usually exchanged friendly chit-chat about health, the job-market, or the weather with her, more so than other management members at the time of the interview. As a consequence, I had indexed Yàn according to these ‘linguistic resources’ and ‘discursive performances’ as British-born Chinese, and had come to see her as such. As a result, I was surprised by her strong differentiation between English and Chinese identity, and her positioning as Chinese in the

context of the interview. One possible reason for this positioning could be that, although Yàn looks Chinese, other factors, such as her country of birth, do not point to a Chinese identity. For this reason, she might have wanted to claim this identity for herself in a more powerful manner.

The inconsistency of identity I perceived in Yàn's case shows how discourses and symbolic resources might impact interviewers and interviewees differently, and also how it is impossible to divorce the wider social context from local socially-situated practice. My understanding of how Yàn positioned herself in the interview and my constricting expectations of how she would position herself were based on the previous discourses, ideologies and resources – some of which acquired were during my fieldwork – with which I negotiate and socially construct my own reality. Similarly, Yàn will have been influenced by *her* ideologies and frames of reference, her relationship to me, and her expectations of the interview. I might have been influenced to a much greater extent than I thought by symbolic resources that indexed another identity for me than the one Yàn discursively constructed for herself in her interview. Similarly, Yàn might have wanted create a discursive image of herself as Chinese because she does not readily appear to have this identity. Interestingly, Yàn's positioning of herself as Chinese through language is similar to that of Tak-Cheung. In the conclusion of this thesis (Chapter 7), I discuss the reasons why not only Yàn, but a variety of interview participants in my research constructed themselves discursively as Chinese, rather than British or British-Chinese, in more detail.

6.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter is a continuation of previous chapters in which I have examined identity construction in face-to-face discourse with the use of Text World Theory. I have argued here that Yàn ultimately positions herself as Chinese through a complex process of world-creation. I firstly traced Yàn's discourse through the text-world in which she describes her childhood experiences; secondly, I examined the text-world in which Yàn's positioning is in the 'here-and-now' level of interaction; and finally, I showed how through the creation of a third text-world, Yàn is able to merge elements from the former two worlds and enactors, in order to create a projection of self in which her identity is successfully achieved as 'being Chinese'. In doing so I have demonstrated a number of things.

First and foremost, I have demonstrated how Text World Theory is a useful framework for uncovering the multiple identities people create on multiple layers of the discourse. By discussing the resources that affect the development of the discourse-world and the construction of text-worlds, and by examining identity representation in these text- and modal-worlds, I have shown that the text-world framework is capable of examining how social factors influence the production and interpretation of discourse. I have also shown that, when negotiating her own identity, Yàn creates an ultimately powerful construction through her linguistic choices. Rather than letting herself be positioned by her own narrated experiences such as growing up in England or being less exposed to Chinese culture, she concludes her turn by *actively* defining who she is according to her own reasoning and decision-making.

In summary, Text World Theory has here been demonstrated to be a framework that allows for a full understanding of how migrants frame their lived experiences and position themselves on several conceptual layers in face-to-face discourse. I have further shown how the discursive self-representations of both Yàn and Tak-Cheung reveal identity to be a continuous construction on the one hand, but also fluid and bound to the moment of interaction on the other hand. In the next chapter, I review how the objectives that were stipulated in Chapter 1 of this thesis have been addressed, and I discuss this project in terms of its limitations and wider implications.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Preview

This chapter provides a reflection on the research developed in this thesis, considering its main findings, limitations, and directions for further research. In Section 7.1, I offer a summary of the main issues covered in the thesis, and reconsider the central findings generated by the research in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. I discuss the original contributions made by the present study in Section 7.2. In Section 7.3, I consider the limitations of the present study and conclude the thesis in Section 7.4 by outlining the avenues for future research suggested by over the course of the preceding chapters.

7.1 Thesis Summary

In this section, I provide a summary of the main topics covered in each chapter of the thesis, and discuss the original contributions to existing research I have aimed to make in Chapters 3 to 6. In the first chapter of this thesis, I gave an overview of the main aims and structure of the thesis. I explained how the focus of the present study is on linguistic identity construction and representation of Chinese migrants from predominantly Hong Kong and the New Territories. I argued that the conceptual framework of Text World Theory is a suitable method for the analysis of linguistic interview data. I also presented the three main aims of the research undertaken in this thesis. These were to extend the use of Text World Theory by applying it to spoken discourse; to examine the ways in which people linguistically represent themselves and talk about their life experiences; and to provide insight into the life-narratives of settled Chinese migrants and their families in Sheffield in particular.

In Chapter 2, I outlined the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis and presented the methodological framework of Text World Theory in full detail. In Section 2.1 and 2.2, I provided a comprehensive overview of Text World Theory (see Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999), its history, context and governing principles. In these sections, I also presented an overview of the research contexts in which this thesis should be placed. In Section 2.3, I turned to a discussion of the recent advances in Text World Theory. I noted that there are a number of directions in which Text World Theory could further expand. Following Gavins (2007a),

Whiteley (2010) and Browse (2013), I argued that the examination of how socio-political factors influence production and interpretation of discourse is an interesting avenue to pursue with Text World Theory. I argued the reason for this is that the discourse model of Text World Theory allows for the analysis of the interplay between the different factors involved in the production and comprehension of a discourse. The framework was deemed especially helpful because of the distinction it makes between the different conceptual levels of the discourse-world, the text-world and modal-worlds. I also pointed out that the further application of Text World Theory to different genres of discourse would help its continuing development. In the final section of Chapter 2, I focused on the approach to identity adopted in the thesis. I argued for a cognitive discursive approach to identity, in which identity is seen as both ‘representative’ and ‘constructive’ in discourse. In particular, I argued that the main tenet underlying Text World Theory, which stipulates that language shapes the kind of conceptual world a reader or hearer creates, directly affects the conceptual processes used in the comprehension of meaning, and is compatible with an idea of identity as discursively *constructed*, and conceptually *represented* in text-worlds. This means that I have taken an ‘experiential realist’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) approach to discourse and identity throughout this thesis, which stipulates that language reflects cognition, and that external reality exists but is construed through our embodiment (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980). I have combined this theoretical stance with a discursive approach to identity and language. I concentrated on Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) socio-cultural linguistic approach to identity, because it offers a comprehensive model of five principles, which highlights different aspects of a discursive identity.

The purpose of Chapter 3 was to present an ethnographic overview of the Chinese school community in which I undertook my fieldwork. This chapter served as basis for the analyses in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In Section 3.1, I gave an overview of the migratory movements of people from Hong Kong and China to Britain over time. Section 3.2 concentrated on the background and preliminaries of the Chinese in northern English city of Sheffield specifically. In Sections 3.3 to 3.6, I then described the ethnographic methods of data collection and the community in which I undertook my fieldwork. Section 3.3 made it clear that I view ethnography as both a method and outcome of the data collection process. I

also discussed undertaking fieldwork (Section 3.3.1), observation methods used (Section 3.3.2), fieldnotes (Section 3.3.3), recordings (Section 3.3.4), transcribing (Section 3.3.5), questionnaire data (Section 3.3.6), ethical awareness (Section 3.3.7) and legitimacy in the Sheffield Chinese community (Section 3.3.8). In Section 3.4, I described the people I came to know as part of my fieldwork at a Chinese school community in Sheffield. Although people were linked to each other through family relations and shared practices, I distinguished five different groups of people within the school the *Dancing Dragon*. These groups emerged out of my ethnographic observations as distinct, because of their different practices *within* the school, rather than because of family relations or their practices outside of the school. The different groups I gave an account of were the staff, mothers attending the school, fathers attending the school, the dragon/lion dance team, and a group of girls that usually hung out together on the ground floor of the *Dancing Dragon*. In Section 3.5, I described participants' observations about their ethnic identity, and in Section 3.6 I discussed the future of the *Dancing Dragon*. The ethnographic account I gave of the school community as a whole in this section was that of a 'changing' community. I noted that although Cantonese was originally the only Chinese language taught, Mandarin had been introduced to the school curriculum in recent years, and Cantonese class sizes diminished further each year. I also showed the community under study was in ways in ways stagnant rather than changing, because many of the same staff members in the school had been volunteering for decades, and nobody would take their place. I noted that these kinds of changes, together with funding cuts, meant that the school's future was insecure.

The ethnography presented in Chapter 3 led to the three individual case-studies presented in Chapters 4 to 6. In these chapters, three members of the community were selected for case studies, because they emerged out of the ethnography as important figures in the school community, and because they provided particularly rich linguistic interview data. The three participants featured in the case studies in Chapter 4, 5 and 6 furthermore also varied in terms of their age, gender and life experiences, which allowed for a more diverse insight into the community under study. The main aims of these chapters were threefold: firstly, I aimed to explore the migratory experiences and linguistic self-representations made by all the participants; secondly, I wished to demonstrate the suitability of

Text World Theory for discourse studies, and specifically for discursive identity studies; thirdly, I wished to extend the application of Text World Theory into the relatively unexplored domain of spoken discourse, and further develop the theory in doing so. These aims reflected the overall objectives of the thesis.

In Chapter 4, I analysed the discourse of Mr Ng, a Hong Kong migrant in his fifties, who moved to Sheffield in the 1970s. In Section 4.1, I discussed the process of data collection and the ethnographic context in which the interview should be understood. I explained Mr Ng's role in the school and position in the community, and discussed the interview techniques I adopted in my interview with him. In Section 4.2, I explained the separate discourse-worlds created during the time of the interview and during my analysis of it. I nominated the mutually perceivable elements to us at the time, and discussed how the context in which the interview took place affected the structure of the discourse-world at the time of the interview, as well as the text-worlds created during the interaction. I chose to refer to former versions of myself as 'Isabelle', for reasons of clarity. I pointed out that Text World Theory demonstrates that ontologically, examining interview discourse is incredibly complex. This is the case not only because of the different discourse worlds created during the original interaction and later analysis of the transcript of the interaction, but also because interview discourse is typically created by people who also feature as characters in their own interaction. I showed how this, in combination with people's presence in the discourse-world, leads to multiple versions of self that reside in different ontological levels of the discourse. Text World Theory allowed me to examine this aspect of the ontological richness of the interview data. It also helped me to point out that ultimately, the text-worlds represented in this thesis necessarily stem from my own interpretation of the linguistic information in the transcript, in combination with my own body of knowledge and experiences. I thus demonstrated how the text-worlds created during my analysis of the transcript are my own, and highlighted the inevitable subjectivity of the researcher during any analysis and interpretation of data. I also pointed out that the ontological complexity of analysing transcribed data and its ethical and conceptual consequences has not always been adequately recognised in preceding sociolinguistic studies of linguistic identity.

Section 4.3 concentrated on the text-worlds that originate from the transcript of the interview. In this section, I first went on to discuss accessibility relations (Section 4.3.1). Following a review of accessibility relations (see Gavins 2007a) in Text World Theory, I proposed that instead of only distinguishing between participant- and enactor-accessible worlds, we should also recognise degrees of enactor-accessibility. This, I argued, allows for discussion of the relative distance or closeness of enactor-accessible worlds in relation to the discourse-world. In Section 4.3.2, I examined Mr Ng's use of temporal juxtaposition. I showed that in the narrative analysed, Mr Ng toggles between the world of England and Sheffield in the 1970s on the one hand, and the world of Sheffield at the moment of interaction on the other. I showed how Mr Ng's narrative was structured through a toggling between contrasted text-worlds, which allowed him to position the world of his experiences in the 1970s closer to the world of the current discourse situation. This, coupled with his pronominal choices, encouraged listener involvement and the creation of empathy in the interaction.

In Sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4, I provided an overview of the many negated text-worlds and deontic modal-worlds in Mr Ng's narrative, and argued that although these worlds characterise the diversity in contemporary Sheffield, they also function to characterise Sheffield in the 1970s as a negation of all things Chinese. In Section 4.4, I examined Mr Ng's use of pronouns. I argued that Mr Ng's pronominal choices fulfil a variety of functions in the interaction, but that ultimately they create listener involvement, in a similar way to Mr Ng's structuring of his narrative. I argued in these sections that Mr Ng's involvement strategies allowed for Isabelle in discourse-world 1 to be empathetic towards Mr Ng. Finally, in Section 4.5 I showed that by creating multiple text-worlds and modal-worlds, Mr Ng creates different versions of himself in language that each align differently to the discourse-world and to the text-worlds created, as well as to the discourse-world participants themselves. I argued that this is a common technique in spoken interaction, which allows participants to create multiple identities in discourse. Based on my analysis, I concluded that Text World Theory is indeed a suitable approach for identity studies, because it shows how participants are capable of displaying multiple identities through the discourse, in the form of multiple traceable enactors of themselves.

In Chapter 5, I examined the linguistic self-representation and expressions of emotion and evaluation in the narrative of Tak-Cheung, a young British-Chinese dragon and lion dance teacher. In Section 5.1, I described how I came to know Tak-Cheung and which data collection methods I used. In Section 5.2, I discussed the different discourse-worlds of Tak-Cheung's interview. In Section 5.3, I provided a cognitive-linguistic perspective on the interaction by looking at the text-worlds created. I specifically analysed patterns of co-construction, Tak-Cheung's toggling between text-worlds (Section 5.3.1), Tak-Cheung's use of linguistic expressions of emotions (Section 5.3.2), the relationship between stance and Text World Theory (Section 5.3.3), modality and modalisation (Section 5.3.5) and Tak-Cheung's use of the historical present (Section 5.3.6). I showed that the world-patterning uncovered by the text featured mainly epistemic modal-worlds. I argued that these highlight the socially-constructed and interactional aspects of the discourse analysed. I also argued that expressions of emotions in discourse should be regarded as creating epistemic modal-worlds in Text World Theory, as they express the inner workings of an enactor's mind and highlight the subjective stance of a speaker towards a proposition expressed or situation described in the text. I employed Larreya's (2009) approach to modality and modalisation for greater understanding of how Tak-Cheung uses epistemic modality. I argued this approach is compatible with Text World Theory and Simpson's (1993) framework of modality, and can be partially adopted. I furthermore found that the frequent tense switching and the blended text-world that developed out of Tak-Cheung's discourse displayed the complex nature of linguistic identity. My analysis revealed that Tak-Cheung constructed himself in extracts of the interview as moving from an 'almost Caucasian' identity to a more 'Chinese' identity.

In Section 5.4, I further explored the thematic concepts of authenticity, passing and agency, which emerged as relevant out of the preceding Text World Theory analysis. I examined how Tak-Cheung authenticates a 'Chinese identity' with the use of several linguistic constructions, such as his appropriation of Hong Kong as place of origin, and the adoption of a dominant language ideology, which sees certain linguistic varieties as indexical of certain identities (see Section 5.4.1 and Section 5.4.2). In Section 5.4.2, I also noted that Tak-Cheung seeks to 'pass' as a Hong Konger, and that initially, he constructs his passing as successfully achieved by referring to his authentic Hong Kong accent. I then showed Tak-

Cheung's anxiety about the dichotomous nature of passing as deceitful on the one hand, and passing as a genuine construction of self on the other. In Section 5.4.3, I further discussed dichotomous identity constructions in discourse. I examined Tak-Cheung's anxiety about constructing a legitimate identity for himself, and noted that although elsewhere in the interview, he describes himself as most similar to a British-born Chinese person, he never actually identifies himself as part of this identity category explicitly. In conclusion, I argued that my analysis revealed the complexity of Tak-Cheung's linguistic identity. My analysis showed how Tak-Cheung performs identity on multiple layers of discourse, ranging from micro-level socio-cognitive stylistic constructions to identity positions unfolding over the course of several stretches of talk, all of which relate to macro-level structures and common societal ideologies captured in Tak-Cheung's discourse-world. Through Text World Theory's recognition of the interconnectedness of the text-world and the discourse-world, my analysis demonstrated the negotiation and connection between the different levels of identity construction.

In Chapter 6, I focussed on the discourse of Yàn, who, I argued, ultimately positioned herself as Chinese through a complex process of world-creation. In Section 6.1, I provided an overview of the data collection and ethnographic context in which I came to know Yàn. I then discussed the discourse-worlds of Yàn's interview in Section 6.2. In Section 6.3, I established the text-world patterns Yàn created when talking about her childhood experiences and identity. I described the epistemic modal-worlds of her childhood, in which she explained she was exposed to a bit of the Chinese culture but not to very much of it. I showed how these worlds contribute to the characterisation of Yàn during her early childhood. I also focussed on Yàn's positioning in the 'here-and-now' level of interaction. I argued that Yàn's use of the discourse markers 'you know', 'like' and 'really' prime (Emmott 1997) the text-world of the interview. I argued this creates listener-involvement and shows the negotiated nature of the identity. In Section 6.3.5, I suggested direct speech should be seen as epistemic modal-world forming. I argued that this would be more logical because it makes more explicit the direct link between a participant (e.g. the reader or listener) in the discourse-world, and in the discourse he or she is engaged in and processing. I also found this term more suitable because it better captures that direct speech represents the unverifiable perspective of the enactor speaking. In Section 6.3.6, I

showed how through the creation of a third text-world enactor, Yàn is able to merge elements from the former two worlds and enactors, in order to create a projection of self in which her identity is successfully achieved as 'being Chinese'.

On the basis of my analysis of Yàn interview in Chapter 6, I argued that Text World Theory is a useful framework for uncovering the multiple identities people create on multiple layers of the discourse. By discussing the resources that affect the development of the discourse-world and the construction of text-worlds, and by examining identity representation in these text-worlds and modal-worlds, I furthermore demonstrated how Text World Theory is capable of examining how social factors influence the production and interpretation of discourse. This in turn demonstrates, I argued, that Text World Theory is well-suited for discourse studies and identity studies.

7.2 Contributions to existing research

The main original contribution I have attempted to make in this thesis is to the development of Text World Theory. By extending the framework to the relatively unexplored domain of spoken discourse, I hope to have provided further insights into the workings of the theory and its suitability for discourse studies. I have aimed to synthesise a discursive approach to identity (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2005) with a Text World Theory approach (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999). In doing so, I hope to have shown that Text World Theory can explain the complexity and multi-layeredness of linguistic identity. It does so through the scope it creates for tracing the represented enactors of people across worlds, beyond the conceptual level of the discourse-world into text- and modal-worlds. I have also aimed to contribute to Text World Theory by showing how the framework is able to connect broader macro-level with detailed micro-level linguistic analysis of spoken interaction. It is furthermore hoped that the ontological richness of Text World Theory has underlined a reminder of the complexity of analysing linguistic data.

Apart from attempting to demonstrate the suitability of the model, I have also made three main suggestions for its further development. Firstly, I have proposed that instead of only distinguishing between participant- and enactor-accessible worlds, we should also recognise degrees of enactor-accessibility. Secondly, I have attempted to make clear that we should treat expressions of emotions as predominantly epistemic modal-world forming. Finally, I have

suggested that direct speech should be seen as epistemic modal-world forming in Text World Theory.

By providing further insight into the narrated experiences of settled Chinese migrants and their families, I also hope to have contributed towards a better understanding of the life-stories of these migrants and their families. Although a qualitative dataset is not generalisable to a wider population, the narrated experiences of the people in my study are compelling in their own right, and have the potential to affect positively relevant policy-making around migration and settlement.

The final area to which I hoped to have made a new contribution is discourse- and identity studies. Linguistic identity construction and representation is a matter of stylistic choices. By synthesising Text World Theory (e.g. Gavins 2007a; Werth 1999) and discursive approaches to identity, I hope to have shown the world-patterns stylistic choices can produce. I also hope to have demonstrated how Text World Theory is a useful framework for researching identity, as it is able to show the negotiation and connection between the different levels of identity construction. I have aimed primarily for my thesis to serve as a useful contribution to the further development of the fields of cognitive stylistics, discourse- and identity studies, but it is also hoped that the present work has shown the value of Text World Theory more broadly to the advancement of these fields.

7.3 Limitations of the study

It is important to note the limitations of this study, as the research developed in the thesis has presented a number of challenges. Some of these are a result of the research methods used, and have also been discussed in the Ethnography (Chapter 3). For instance, my identity as a Dutch Caucasian female with no fluency in any Chinese languages has undoubtedly affected the research process, and my presence as a participant in the data will have impacted the interaction and subsequent analysis of the data (see Section 3.3.8). As I pointed out in Section 3.3.4, the researcher's presence in the research process can never be fully eliminated, but the qualitative research methods I used were properly sensitive to this, and therefore better suited than some alternative approaches. It should also be pointed out, however, that as a result of the qualitative methodology

undertaken in this thesis, the research findings of this thesis cannot be generalised to a larger population. The non-generalisability of qualitative findings forms one of the limitations of this study (see Creswell 1998; Hammersley 1990: 108). Having said this, the focus of qualitative research is first and foremost on context-specific analysis, and generalisability should not be its goal (cf. Creswell 2005: 48; Cronbach 1975; Denzin 1983: 133; Hammersley 1990; Myers 2000). Despite this limitation, it is furthermore likely that the changes in the community described and the life the experiences people talked about are reflective of wider patterns of migration, settlement and belonging. It would be interesting to investigate this further, and I discuss this in more detail in Section 7.3.

Another limitation is that I was only able to observe the participants in my study in a limited setting (the school) for a limited amount of time. My ethnography would undoubtedly have been richer had I been able to prolong the fieldwork and extend it into other areas of participants' lives, but the logistical constraints of my studies meant this was not possible. As a result, I have only been able to study narratives of experience, rather than full experiences themselves. Despite these limitations, my data provided some rich insights into the narrated life experiences of a number of Chinese migrants and their families.

Furthermore, the use of a semi-structured interview model for generating longer narratives was problematic in some instances. This is evident in several places in interview transcripts, where I posed a question which did not prompt a long reply, or which resulted in a short explanation, rather than a narrative. I at times also posed a new question, or told a story myself, whilst the participants might have told more had I let them have more time, or had I prompted them more. Such cases reveal my own inexperience in data collection, and show how my assumptions and background knowledge impacted on the data. Were the interviews to be conducted again, I would aim to use more prompts and be a less active participant in the conversation. The data nevertheless provided plenty of rich and useful narratives to analyse.

My analytical framework for the examination of the interviews also has its limitations. I used Text World Theory, and justified the use of this model by pointing out the appeal of its socio-cognitive nature, its sensitivity to language in context, its attention to detail, and its ability to look at longer stretches of discourse. The model however also has its drawbacks. As discussed in Chapter 5,

one of its limitations is that the framework is not always flexible enough to deal with the range of potential meanings a linguistic expression might index, as it tends to focus on referential meaning. I have addressed this limitation within the theory by arguing that it is important to recognise that expressions which convey emotion and/or a speaker's degrees of modal commitment towards a proposition are also 'socially grounded and consequential' (Jaffe 2009: 7). In my own practical use of the framework in Chapter 5, I attempted to do just this by discussing Text World Theory in the light of the social meaning of linguistic expressions of emotion.

Another limitation is that, although it allows for the analysis of longer stretches of discourse, a precise Text World Theory analysis, much like any other rigorous form of linguistic analysis, will only cover very little text before becoming lengthy. Within the parameters of this thesis, I have only been able to analyse extracts of three interviews in total. This means that the data I analysed in Chapters 4 to 6 is not representative of all the data I collected. This is one of the reasons it is difficult to make more generalised claims about the linguistic choices of participants in the interviews I studied, and I have thus refrained from attempting to do so. Another reason why it is problematic to make claims which relate participants to certain linguistic patterns more broadly, is that there are too many variables in my dataset to derive such conclusions. Highlighting the individual choices of participants was an alternative, preferred strategy in this case, and one which Text World Theory was well-suited to.

7.4 Future research

The central purpose of this thesis has been to develop Text World Theory and to advance our understanding of the life-narratives of settled Chinese migrants and their families in Sheffield, UK. Based on the findings of this study, I now outline a number of directions for future research.

I have attempted to integrate Text World Theory with discursive approaches to identity. Due to logistical constraints, I have analysed only a limited number of extracts of interview discourse for analysis. There is still plenty of scope for further research into other extracts of my data, as well as the area of spoken discourse and Text World Theory. Repeated application of Text World Theory to spoken discourse will help to further establish its suitability to spoken

data, build on previous analyses, and develop the theory in hitherto unforeseen directions.

In the current study, the focus on the discourse-world level was evident in my attention to issues of migration and identity. In Chapter 2 of this thesis, I noted that some of Werth's (1995a, 1999) notions with regards to the discourse-world were problematic, and I attempted to make clear that other interesting socio-political factors are still left to explore. I found Werth's account of the mental faculties which feed into the discourse-world particularly ambiguous. My exploration of the narrated experiences of migrants and their families goes some way towards addressing the indistinct nature of how cognitive resources feed into the discourse-world and affect the construction of text-worlds. I, for instance, focused on people's memories of moving and growing up, and discussed expressions of emotion. Ideally, an investigation into how different mental faculties feed into the discourse-world and affect the construction of text-worlds would also be subject to psycholinguistic and neuroscientific testing.

Another area in which this thesis can serve as a starting point for future research, is with regards to the research into the lives of Chinese migrants and their families. As I have noted in Chapter 3, there is relatively surprisingly little research into the lives of Chinese migrants to the UK. Although the data in my study was not representative of all (Chinese) migrants in Sheffield, or indeed the wider Chinese population in the UK, it provides further insight into the narrated life-experiences of settled Chinese migrants and their families. As such, it can function as a departure point for further research into Chinese migration to the UK. There is also scope to integrate further this research with findings in the social sciences – particularly anthropology and sociology. Pairing the outcomes of this work with other research into Chinese migration to the UK will undoubtedly help to establish a more coherent research overview, which in turn could lead to more holistic understandings of person-place relationship, and the overarching influence of language and cognition in negotiations of place, belonging and identity.

APPENDIX A

Transcription conventions

<i>Italics</i>	Backchannelling
[]	Overlap
<x>	Inaudible
?	Rising intonation
,	Continuing intonation
-	Truncated utterance
@	Laughter
...(1.)	Pauses of 1 second or longer
‘ ’	Quotation
[...]	Omission of interview data

APPENDIX B

Participant information sheet:

Research Project Title:

Language and Identity in the Chinese Community in Britain

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. You can discuss it with others if you want to. If there is anything that is not clear ask the researcher. Make sure you take the time to decide whether or not you wish to take part in this research project! Thank you for reading this.

What is the project's purpose?

The project's purpose is to learn something about Chinese/Hong Kong immigrants' experiences when moving to Britain and when living in Britain.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to take part in this research because you are a Chinese immigrant, or one or both of your parents are.

Do I have to take part?

It's up to you whether or not you want to take part in this research. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form). You can still withdraw at any time without any problem. You do not have to give a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part in this research project, you will be asked to participate in interviews with the researcher. These interviews will contain questions that require long in-depth answers and questions that require short answers such as "yes" or "no". The interviews will take place in an informal interview setting, for example in the community centre, at school, or in your home. You will be asked questions about your experiences about living in Britain, your feelings about the United Kingdom and China or Hong Kong, your heritage, language and your ethnicity. If you emigrated from Hong Kong or mainland China, you will be asked about this as well.

It is important for the research that you answer these questions truthfully.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be made anonymous and kept strictly confidential.

Please turn the page over

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The recorded material from the research project are confidential. They will be stored digitally. It will be anonymised and password-protected. Only the researcher will have access to the raw material. The results of this research project will be published in academic journals and anthologies. This includes part of the recorded material, which will be used in academic presentations. Recorded material will also be transcribed and used in written form in academic journals and anthologies. You will not be recognisable from this. A copy of any published material can be obtained directly from the researcher by contacting her at i.vanderbom@sheffield.ac.uk. The results of this study are likely to be published within a year's time, or in the years following the research. Data collected during the course of the project might also be used for additional or subsequent research.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is funded by the University of Sheffield.

Who has reviewed the project?

This project has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee.

Contact for further information

For further information you should contact Isabelle van der Bom at i.vanderbom@sheffield.ac.uk or 07513808378.

You can keep this copy of the Participant Information Sheet as well as a signed Participant Consent Form!

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION



Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project: **Language and Identity in the Chinese Community in Britain**

Name of Researcher: **Isabelle van der Bom - i.vanderbom@sheffield.ac.uk**

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please tick box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 27-09-2011 explaining the above research project. and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. *Contact Isabelle van der Bom i.vanderbom@sheffield.ac.uk*
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research
5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant (or legal representative) Date Signature

Lead Researcher Date Signature
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

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