MOTIVATION OF MANDARIN SPEAKERS LEARNING CANTONESE IN A
TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT: MULTILINGUALISM AND INVESTMENT

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Abstract

Globalization has intensified the cross-border mobility of people and languages, which contributes to the number of transnationals and the prevalence of multilingualism. Mandarin and Cantonese are two Chinese varieties and the competition between them has been transported from primarily Chinese-speaking regions to regions outside of Greater China, thereby creating an international issue among these transnational language users. In some overseas Chinese communities, Cantonese used to be the lingua franca but is currently declining and being replaced by Mandarin due to political, economic, cultural, and demographic factors. However, there is a new generation of Mandarin speakers interested in learning Cantonese in some English-dominant locations, such as Vancouver, Canada. In general, Mandarin is the sole official language in Mainland China and Cantonese is defined as a dialect, but this positioning is problematized in different contexts. This thesis will focus on one transnational context to explore the motivation of official-language (Mandarin) speakers to learn a value-declining regional language (Cantonese) in English-dominant Canada.

The construct of motivation has been carefully scrutinized in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) in the past decades, but I find there is a huge gap between the research on motivation to learn English and languages other than English (LOTEs). This thesis examines if the English monopoly on motivational theories can be generalized to explain Cantonese learning behaviors among a transnational group of students in a transnational context.

Through examining the Cantonese learning process of 61 Mandarin speakers in a Canadian university in both quantitative and qualitative ways, the study reveals that idealized multilingual identities play a significant role in motivating students to pick up Cantonese. Integrative motivation alone fails to capture the motivational features of the Cantonese learners.
in this study but instrumental motivation together with other intrinsic and extrinsic factors are still functional. Based on this study, instructors should recognize students’ transnational practices and global identities as resources to develop their multi-competence. Another prominent recommendation concerns the availability of formal language education in languages such as Cantonese, which supports the expansion of Cantonese language provision.
Lay Summary

Due to globalization, more and more people are choosing to learn many different languages to engage in global interactions and connectedness. Language learning motivation is ever changing according to learning environments, learning groups, and target languages. As the mainstream motivational theories in applied linguistics were developed mostly based on the learning of English, this thesis aims to examine if the established motivation models are adequate to explain the motivation to learn Languages Other Than English (LOTEs), such as Chinese. Mandarin and Cantonese are the two most commonly studied Chinese varieties outside of greater China. At one Canadian university, there is an increasing number of Mandarin speakers interested in learning Cantonese, which encouraged me to explore the motivation of the young generation whose mother tongue is an official language in their home country (e.g., Mandarin in Mainland China) to learn a regional language (e.g., Cantonese) in an English-dominant society (e.g., Canada).
Preface

This thesis is the original, unpublished, independent work of the author Shuang Li. The survey questionnaire and semi-structured interviews used in this thesis are approved by UBC Behavioral Research Ethics Board (certificate #: H17-02380).
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Dedication

To my family and friends.
Chapter 1: Introduction

The emergence of the new global economy has resulted in tremendous social transformations and changes: geographical expansion, the circulation of goods, the mobility of individuals, and the spread of new technology, which occupy an ever-growing place in economics, politics, and education (Duchêne & Heller, 2012). As the rising tide of globalization has rapidly penetrated people’s lives, varieties of geographically distributed languages are inextricably commercialized as commodities, which can freely interact across boundaries and be exchanged on the global market. This phenomenon brings multilingualism to the center because the globalized new economy favors multilingual communication influenced by technological advancement and mass mobility (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). On one hand, technology has narrowed the spatial and temporal limits in communication, and embraced the “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2006) of language, which creates new spaces for language learning, new needs of language learners, and new imagined discourse communities. On the other hand, affordable transportation and communicative technology allow people to maintain close connections between their original countries and multiple destinations, which increases the mobility in varying migration categories according to the timing, purpose, legitimacy. As these transnationals travel across borders along with various forms of capital, linguistically and culturally diverse communities have been expanding.

In the globalized world, an emphasis on multilingualism/plurilingualism has changed the environment of language learning, reshaping the learning relationships, and made the dispositions of language learners more complex, fluid, and multifaceted. In the field of second language acquisition (SLA), motivation research may find the phenomenon of multilingualism
appealing due to its complex and dynamic nature, which is to say, when the multilingual lifeworld changes, learners’ motivation to learn and use languages will adjust as well. This study will take a multilingual view to explore how the motivational issues in SLA have changed, with considerations of transnational identities, social, political, and cultural variants in today’s world. The multilingual lens requires investigations of learners who are learning and using multiple languages in different contexts: What are their motivations to learn certain languages (e.g. less commonly used languages) beyond global English? How can their language-related motivational identities influence and interact with each other?

Recently, there has been a growth in the number of Mandarin native speakers who are interested in learning Cantonese at a particular Canadian university. This study focuses on this group’s transnational experience and learning motivations, while taking into account multilingual practices and contextual factors. Pedagogical implications in a multilingual classroom are also considered.

1.1 Theoretical Background

1.1.1 Transnationalism

Transnationalism is dynamic, flexible, and multidimensional. Vertovec (2004, 2009) defined transnationalism as “the crossing of cultural, ideological, linguistic, and geopolitical borders and boundaries” (as cited in Duff, 2015, p. 57). In the more globalized world, there is a diverse range of mobilities, which has led to an evolved understanding of what constitutes a transnational context. First, communication technology enables people to interact across a global arena without physical movement. Transnationals are therefore not only those who travel among multiple nation-states, but also those who have “virtual and psychological connectedness” (Duff,
Second, transnationals are not simply engaged in serial point-to-point, one-way migrations, but may frequently move back and forth across multiple destinations and residence in different locations (Duff, 2015). Third, transnational identities can be negotiated and passed down across generations, especially for those whose ancestral roots are culturally distinct from their nurturing environments (Duff, 2015). Finally, most transnationals likely accept the identity of “global citizens”. This transnational identity shares ideological foundations with multilingualism. Displaying multilingual competence such as the practices of deterritorialization, delocalization, and the embrace of worldliness can create the identity of holding “flexible citizenship” which refers to those who may have physical assets and social relationships in and move among “many countries either simultaneously or successively” (Duff, 2015, p. 71). These societal changes will inevitably increase the complexity of individuals’ identity construction and language learning motivation.

1.1.2 Multilingualism

The expanding influence of globalization, technologization, and mobility contributes to the existence of multilingual and multicultural communities, where people communicate with each other using multiple languages. Douglas Fir Group (DFG, 2016) pointed out that multilingualism, which has existed for millennia, has become a new world order of sorts; and multilingual identities have been inscribed in the speakers’ power relations and motivational systems (Pavlenko, 2006; Henry, 2017). In response to the multilingual turn in SLA, Henry (2017) critically reviewed the previous second language (L2) motivation research and found there was a monolingual and mono-cultural bias which “treated the motivational system of different languages separately instead of cognitively interconnected” (p. 548). The fragmented
perspective simplifies the interrelated “self system” (described below) when multiple languages are studied in a parallel manner, which cannot fully reflect the changing and complex nature of multilinguals. This also reminds us to re-examine and re-analyze the current motivational models through a multilingual and holistic lens.

Language learning motivation has been frequently discussed and theoretically examined because of its complex nature and significant role in SLA over the past decades, including three core historical phases: social-psychological, cognitive-situated, and contextual-dynamic stages (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Boo, Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Al-Hoorie, 2017). However, the motivation to learn English as a target language has been given predominant attention in comparison with Languages Other Than English (LOTEs) (Sugita McEown, Sawaki, & Harada, 2017; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Thompson, 2017; Macintyre & Sparling, 2017). Boo et al. (2015) conducted a survey of 416 academic studies in the field of L2 learning motivation which was published during the surge period from 2005 to 2014, and the findings reported that a significant majority (over 70%) of L2 motivational research focused exclusively on learning English as the target language, which showed the monolingual bias towards English, disregarding the definition of “additional languages, including second, foreign, indigenous, minority, or heritage languages” (DFG, 2016, p. 19).

The trend of globalization and marketization has shifted English language skills to a basic commodity in the global market, with attached economic benefits to individuals and societies. With more and more official authorities encouraging their citizens to improve English proficiency to engage in the international trade and global arena, English plays a significant role
in “socio-political, ideological, and educational agendas at local, national, and transnational levels, and these ideologies and agendas in turn have inescapable repercussions for language learning motivation at the individual level” (Ushioda, 2017, p. 471). The ubiquitous and global status of English has become a research concern, leading to the dramatic growth in L2 motivation research.

The monopoly of English is powerfully positioned as the mainstream in language motivation research due to its status as the must-have global language. Under the shadow of global English, many researchers (e.g., Dörnyei, 2017; Duff, 2017) recently argued that there is a distinction in the dynamics of motivation to learn English and LOTEs (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017), and the marginalized, underfunded, and understudied field of SLA in LOTEs shows an important future research direction in L2 learning motivation. Therefore, the English-LOTE imbalance raises a question regarding the extent to which the current theoretical L2 motivational framework can be adequately applied to explain the motivation of learning LOTEs, such as Chinese. In order to better satisfy students’ multifaceted learning needs and interests in today’s multilingual world, the motivational framework of LOTEs should therefore be given more attention with a consideration of multilingualism, transnationalism and multiculturalism in light of these sociopolitical, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and ideological changes (Duff, 2015; Darvin & Norton, 2014; Li & Zhu, 2013; Zhu & Kramsch, 2016).

1.2 Research Question

This research explores an under-studied area of L2 motivation: the motivation of university students whose mother tongue is an official language in one country (e.g., Mandarin in Mainland China) to learn a regional language or dialect (e.g., Cantonese) in a transnational
context (e.g., Canada). In China, Mandarin is the sole official language for the whole country, while Cantonese is considered to be the most influential regional dialect in southern China. In history, Cantonese used to be regarded as the lingua franca in the Chinese diaspora, especially in North America and the UK (Chen, 1999; Valentini, 2014; Zhu & Li, 2014). These two Chinese varieties, Mandarin and Cantonese, continue to compete for legitimacy in different contexts and the dynamics have been transferred from a domestic concern in China (e.g., about the legitimacy, language status, and function of Cantonese) to a global issue within the growing immigrant population. In countries outside China, most academic programs only offer Mandarin as the target language for those wishing to learn Chinese. However, one west-coast Canadian university started to offer a for-credit pilot program of Cantonese for Mandarin speakers in 2015, and it immediately gained great popularity among Mandarin speakers. What motivated these Mandarin speakers to learn Cantonese? In this research, I aim to address this research question.

1.3 A Socio-historical Overview of Mandarin-Cantonese Dynamics

As noted above, Mandarin is the sole official language in Mainland China, which covers a large geographical area and speaking population of 908 million Mandarin speakers in the world (Simons & Charles, 2018). In contrast, Cantonese is spoken by over 70 million people in southern China, Hong Kong, Macau, and some Chinese overseas communities (Simons & Charles, 2018). Mandarin is strongly promoted by China’s central government, which works as a means to spread political power. Compared to the nationally dominant Mandarin, Cantonese is an extremely powerful language on the local level due to the region’s economic development. As stated by Valentini (2014), “Cantonese is the most widely known and influential variety of Chinese after Mandarin and is generally considered the only one which can match Mandarin in term of both geographical and social strength” (p. 10). Shifts in the new world order towards
global economic power have contributed to changes in the value of languages, consequently transforming language ideologies (Darvin & Norton, 2015), which is represented by the dynamic and complex power relations between Mandarin and Cantonese in different contexts.

1.3.1 Mainland China

In the 1950s, the central government of the People Republic of China (PRC) began to implement and promote its language policy through rigorous means. Mandarin was legitimized as the sole official language throughout the whole country. Other Chinese varieties, including Cantonese, were then defined as dialects, which were thought to be progressively replaced by the “standard language” in each domain of use. With the launch of the dominant Mandarin policy, some slogans indicating a linguistically discriminating language ideology could be seen everywhere, especially at educational institutions and in public spaces. For example, "Speak Mandarin, write standard Chinese (characters), use civilized language, be a civilized person (讲普通话，写规范字，说文明语，做文明人)" was one of the most popular slogans, which implied those who spoke dialects or spoke Mandarin with a strong dialect accent were not “civilized” enough. In other words, Mandarin was given political legitimacy, which empowered its speakers with the “right to speak”; and the standardized (northern) Mandarin accent became a symbol of higher educational and socioeconomic status (Valentini, 2014).

In the late 1970s, Mainland China started to implement its Reform and Opening-up policy. Guangdong, a southern coastal province, had geographical and historical advantages to become a pilot area for such economic reforms. Soon, Guangdong grew into China’s wealthiest region, which was seen as a gateway to connect Mainland China and the rest of the world. As a result, people in Guangdong had a strong sense of pride in Cantonese due to this region’s
economic success and power. Meanwhile, Guangdong’s economic privilege triggered a large scale of internal migration within China: a flood of migrant workers traveled from their hometowns, including Mandarin-speaking areas, to Guangdong to find employment. Speaking Cantonese gave workers access to employment and was therefore seen as a privileged label of local people being as enterprising and open to new ideas; Mandarin, on the other hand, was linked to preconceived notions of migrant workers’ behaviors being impolite or that they were unhygienic, engaged in illegal activities or worked as prostitutes (Valentini, 2014).

Over the past decades, Guangdong has gradually lost its traditional role as the only special economic zone in China. The Yangtze River Delta region – predominantly Mandarin speaking – has enjoyed recent economic prosperity. In the meantime, the firm push of Mandarin covers a more dominant role on the national level, and the shifts in the economic center has resulted in the decline of Cantonese in Guangdong. However, Cantonese is still considered second to Mandarin, and the powerful relations between the two are in constant flux.

1.3.2 Hong Kong

Hong Kong is a territory located on the southeast coast of mainland China and it borders the southern region of Guangdong province. Hong Kong was under Britain Crown rule for over a century after the Opium War in 1842 and was returned to the PRC in 1997 as a special administrative region. As a result, Hong Kong experienced a different linguistic pathway due to its political distance from the central Chinese government, and its connection to Britain, and thus institutional English. Consequently, Cantonese remained the regional lingua franca of Hong Kong while Guangdong, on the mainland, was heavily influenced by campaigns for Mandarin.
expansion in this region. The complex history shaped the territory’s language in use and made Hong Kong the headquarter of Cantonese (Valentini, 2014).

Cantonese gained great popularity and prestige among former Mandarin speakers through the success of Hong Kong movies, Cantonese pop music (known as Cantopop), and television programs. In the 1980s, many Mandarin speakers on the mainland learned to speak some Cantonese out of admiration for Cantonese pop culture. In the mid-1980s, this popularity did not last long. When the Chinese government began to strengthen its censorship of media and the Asian financial crisis hit the film industry hard, the pragmatism and commercial-oriented features of Hong Kong cinema started to target mainland audiences in order to survive in the global market (Valentini, 2014). Therefore, Mandarin was used in the Hong Kong movies, and the use of Cantonese was less dominant.

During the post-1997 handover years, the growing power of PRC resulted in an increased access to the media and an educational system which promoted the spread of Mandarin in Hong Kong. Additionally, Hong Kong’s economic dependence on Mainland China provided Hong Kong people with an increasing need to learn Mandarin, which became the symbolic capital for educational and employment opportunities. The never-ending dynamics of interchange between the use of Cantonese and Mandarin remains to be explored on the global level, such as Canada, the focus of this thesis.

1.3.3 Overseas Chinese Communities

Cantonese has traditionally been the lingua franca in many overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, North America, Australia and Europe due to the fact that many Cantonese speakers emigrated to these regions in the 20th century. Cultural ties and cohesive
communities abroad largely remain thanks to a well-established global network of Chinese heritage language schools, variably called Chinese community schools or complementary schools. These schools were specifically designed for teaching (only) Cantonese for overseas Chinese descendants (Li & Zhu, 2014).

However, in recent years, with China’s increasing economic and military power in the international arena, PRC aimed to alleviate its image as a “China threat”. In order to promote mutual understanding and potentially spread its soft (cultural) power, the Chinese government started to open Confucius Institutes globally, which received sizable investment for attracting foreigners to learn Mandarin. In addition, universities in many countries, quite independent of Confucius Institutes (at least initially), promoted Mandarin language education. Therefore, although Cantonese used to be the most widely taught and most commonly used Chinese variety in some Chinese diaspora communities, Mandarin has gained increasing dominance. It is thus replacing Cantonese in Chinatowns (Klassen, 2015; Yum, 2008) and in Chinese heritage education within community schools in British Columbia (Jiang, 2010) and elsewhere.

In other words, different varieties of Chinese have been privileged over time both in regions of Greater China (Mainland, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan) and in diaspora contexts. The different privileges fluctuate with the changing immigration patterns, economics, and politics, as well as different trends in mainstream foreign language education for non-Chinese-background learners.

In summary, many researchers have pointed out the current trend that Cantonese is gradually losing its power not only in traditional Chinese immigrant communities but also in formal educational settings (Kelleher, 2008, 2010; Li & Duff, 2018). According to Li and Duff
(2018), most postsecondary Chinese programs fail to provide “Cantonese or other dialects as a curricular option” (p. 10) due to the growing dominance of Mandarin in Chinese language education. However, when one particular Canadian university offered the first for-credit Cantonese program for Mandarin speakers in the September of 2015, a counter trend became apparent with a sizable population of Mandarin natives constituting the largest learning group in the newly-opened Cantonese program. The shift of language power is a result of long-lasting dynamics over time (pre-modernization and post-modernization, pre-colonization and post-colonization) and space (national and international), often attached to learners’ personal trajectories and identities as well as part of the new globalized world order. As transnational spaces are created by more flexible mobility, this thesis focuses on a unique context: a transnational English-dominant world in which the ethnically and culturally homogenous official-Mandarin speakers are learning the less “legitimate” (in the societies of both origin and settlement) Cantonese.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I aim to provide a review of motivation research in layers from more general to more specific: motivation to learn languages; motivation to learn LOTEs; motivation to learn Cantonese. This chapter first introduces the conception of motivation within Bourdieu’s framework, and then discusses research on language learning motivation, especially motivation to learn LOTEs, and specifically Cantonese learning in different contexts.

2.1 Key Concepts in Bourdieuan Framework

2.1.1 Capital, Habitus, and Field

Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus, capital, and field* provide a theoretical framework for understanding motivation as a social construct. Moreover, Bourdieu’s work lays the theoretical foundation of some key elements in second language education, such as *investment* (Bourdieu, 1984; Darvin & Norton, 2015). Motivation is interrelated to the notion of individual and group identity/self-concept, which constructs the way that people view, recognize, and interact with the world. This, according to Bourdieu (1984), is *habitus* or a “system of dispositions” and a cognitive construction which generates perceptions, appreciations, and action (p. 6). A certain habitus is generated in a particular social space called a *field*, which creates legitimate positions of power and a set of rules. Habitus may be defined as a resource or form of *cultural capital* within a given social space. Cultural capital refers to knowledge and skills that constitute resources or power in that they are mutually recognized by virtue of socialization and education in one’s family or community. More powerful social classes usually distinguish themselves from other classes’ appearance and behavior (i.e., forms of habitus). Lower classes need to “buy” membership in order to enter higher social classes by using cultural capital. In
such cases, cultural capital converts to social capital, indicating that all forms of capital can be exchanged with each other and transformed into symbolic capital.

### 2.1.2 Investment

According to Bourdieu (1984), the acquisition of cultural competence is closely related to unconscious acquisition of a sense for sound cultural investment. Investment is borrowed from the language of economics, and Bourdieu described it as the following:

The investment sense, being the product of adjustment to the objective chances of turning competence to good account, facilitates forward adjustment to these chances, and is itself a dimension of a relation to culture which is the internalized form of the objective relationship between the site of acquisition and the center of cultural values (p. 85).

The sense of investment invites the considerations of where, when and with whom a cultural product was acquired, not simply the cultural values of the product itself. When we compared the cultural product as a language, inspired by Bourdieu, Darvin and Norton (2015) argued a learner who is investing to learn a specific language is investing in certain identities. “If learners invest in a language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wide range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power” (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). Compared to the psychological nature of motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009), “investment”, as a social complement, can better capture the social complexity to evaluate the “socially and historically constructed relationship between learners’ identities and learning commitment” (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). In this thesis, the notion of motivation is a broader concept, which incorporates both psychological and social constructs, targeting those who not only have the desire but also make efforts to learn the target language in a well-defined context.
2.2 Motivation as Concept in SLA

2.2.1 The Three Historical Phases of Research on Language Learning Motivation

Al-Hoorie (2017) and, Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) classified three historical stages of motivational theories. Initiated by Gardner and associates in Canada, the initial phase was largely based on the socio-psychological perspective, and its influence extended until the early 1990s. The majority of Gardner’s (1979, 1985) empirical research focused on integrativeness, which means that L2 language learners “must be willing to identify with members of another ethnolinguistic group and take on very subtle aspects of their behavior” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 135). However, a considerable debate on the integrative concept has been prompted by the rise of the notion of imagined community, where learners do not necessarily have direct connections to the members or the community of target language users.

Starting from the 1990s, the doubt regarding integrativeness as the main driver of SLA was highlighted by Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), which shifts the focus from social psychological origins to the second phase in the historical development of motivation research, the cognitive-situated stage. L2MSS theorized that the motivational process might be better explained as “an internal identification within the person’s self concept, rather than identification with an external reference group” (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 3). Dörnyei’s (2005) new conceptualization of motivation includes three central components:

1) **ideal L2 self**: the imagined self that the L2 learners would ideally like to become in the future;

2) **ought-to L2 self**: the external representation of the possible self that the L2 users are supposed to achieve according to the expectations of others and the society;
3) **L2 learning experience**: a range of contextual factors that influence students’ motivation in the immediate learning environment.

It is hypothesized by Dörnyei (2005) that motivation is triggered when there is a discrepancy between the actual self and the desired self (ideal vs. ought-to selves).

The current third phase of motivational research is more multifaceted, including the perspectives of dynamic motivation, affect and emotions, unconscious motivation, long-term motivation, technology and motivation, and LOTEs (Al-Hoorie, 2017). In response to the huge gap between motivation to learn English versus LOTEs in a modern globalized multilingual world, research principally focuses now on distinct motives for learning LOTEs and thus shifts the attention away from an English-centered monolingual bias to an extended global context where multiple languages are learned in a parallel manner.

In summary, the motivational research in these three historical stages depicts the evolution of abandoning a somewhat rigid view and developing a more dynamic and multilingual perspective. That is to say, more investigations are needed to explore different language-specific learning motivation in diverse contexts through considering the interactions of all acquired languages. For Mandarin speakers who are learning another Chinese variety in an English-speaking context, the focus of this thesis, far from the mainstream Cantonese-speaking community in Mainland China (Guangdong) and Hong Kong, the concepts of “integrating” or “becoming similar” should be examined: Are they still applicable in this case? In the case of learning Cantonese in a transnational context, the learning environment requires more attention. Compared to learning English as a survival skill in Canada, there is much more complexity involved when Mandarin speakers choose to learn Cantonese in an English-dominant Canadian
post-secondary educational institution. As Cantonese is neither a national nor a required language either in the home society (China) or the host society (Canada), the social milieu plays a prominent role in Cantonese learners’ motivation with reference to their cultural heritage, immigration, city history, Cantonese community, language policy, learning opportunities, and the interrelationship of language in use. Therefore, to analyze self concepts on a psychological level, contextual factors should also be carefully scrutinized when explaining Cantonese learners’ distinct learning behavior in one western Canadian city compared to other parts of the world.

2.2.2 Motivation of Learning LOTEs.

Ushioda and Dörnyei (2017) devoted a special issue of *The Modern Language Journal* to focus on the topic of *Beyond Global English: Motivation to Learn Languages in a Multilingual World*. It was an exploration of motivation for learning LOTEs, examining the applicable possibilities of dominant theories of English learning motivation to LOTEs in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts across European, North American, and Asian contexts. This LOTE research is particularly relevant in this thesis, in which the motivation of L1 speakers of Mandarin who also know L2 English have chosen to learn L3 Cantonese for various reasons. Here, I summarized some of the ways in which multilingual approaches to motivation to learn LOTEs is now being conceptualized.

Taking greater account of the complex realities of communication in today’s globalized yet multilingual world, Dörnyei’s (2005) fundamental L2MSS framework was critically re-theorized in the LOTE context from both individual-psychological and macro-sociological perspectives. Authors in the special issue observed that in the globalized multilingual world
where multiple languages are learned in a parallel manner, the dynamic, contingent, social and multilingual conceptions and ecologies of language learning motivation might be incompatible with notions of relatively static binaries, simplex views and monolingual bias, e.g., ideal self and ought-to self (Duff, 2017; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017). Whether bilinguals are learning an additional language or monolinguals learning two additional languages, each language will be attached to an ideal self. What makes the learning even more complex is that “in a LOTE context, students could have two distinct ideal selves: one with a focus on interpersonal communication and the other with a focus on more general goals” (Thompson, 2017, p. 498). Accordingly, these ideal selves do not simply operate separately for a specific language, but instead function as an interrelated, dynamic, holistic system across languages and skills as well as goals (Duff, 2017; Ushioda, 2017; Henry, 2017). Instead of focusing on individual language self-systems in isolation, the concept “linguistic multi-competence” is emphasized to show the total system for all languages in relation to a learner’s whole linguistic and cultural repertoire (Cook, 2016).

The consideration of multilingualism is also reflected in the conceptual work of Henry (2017). He proposed that the motivational system of learners learning different languages needed to be conceptualized as a higher-level multilingual motivational system that depicted a novel and coherent system on top of the interactions among different language-specific self-guides rather than the sum of discrete L2 identities. L2 motivation research often takes a monolingual approach in that the motivational system of different learners is investigated language by language rather than assuming that motivation can be cognitively interconnected. In response to the monolingual (English-L2) bias, a system approach was used in Henry’s (2017) multilingual motivational model to provide a distinct and identifiable wholeness. Specifically, it indicated that
the emergence of an ideal multilingual self was derived from interactions between particular language identities, and also had impacts on the motivation to learn specific languages. Henry (2017) introduced the notion of “ideal multilingual identity” as a powerful identity which eliminated the constraints posed by one dominant language. He went on to point out that “multilingual self can have an important role to play in generating motivation to learn languages other than English” (p. 559).

Following Henry’s (2017) development of the construct of “ideal multilingual self” (p. 554), which refers to the desire to be multi/bilingual, Ushioda (2017) claimed that the emphasis on “multi-competence” abandoned the goal of achieving linguistic progression toward nativism (i.e., to become native-speaker-like) in a particular language. Rather, it incorporates students’ entire language capabilities and cultural knowledge as a linguistic whole within an intercultural framework. In other words, the native speaker model fails to provide a meaningful motivational frame in a linguistically and culturally diverse context, and the current conceptualization of multilingualism is not a matter of the collection of distinct and separate competencies to communicate, but a holistic language ability and whole linguistic repertoire to show the translingual and transcultural competence of multiple language users. In this way, language learners will be empowered by asserting their multilingual identity instead of the role as a specific language learner who is inferior to native speakers. Cantonese learners’ motivation to learn a language declining in value can be said to be linked to expanding their linguistic repertoires in order to counter-balance their identity as global citizens. This multilingual identity is closely related to the return obtained from gaining global capital and symbolic resources as well as regional capital.
The special issue (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2017) in which the aforementioned work appears includes six empirical studies, new conceptual developments, new analysis of recent motivational research, encompassing diverse geographical settings, learning contexts, and target languages. The first three focus on Anglophone settings (U.S., U.K., Canada), such as the context in which this thesis was conducted, and the remaining three focus on non-Anglophone settings (Spain, Japan, Europe). In what follows, I highlight some of the main insights from the work in these different countries or regions and then consider their relevance for my study.

The United States

Under a modified framework of L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2005), Thompson (2017) investigated the relationships of motivation to language choice and multilingualism in the U.S. context by examining 195 university-level LOTE learners. In this research, Thompson (2017) highlighted the significant motivational status of Spanish as the target language and introduced the concept “anti-ought-to L2 self” to analyze the rebellious behavior of students who are strongly motivated by striving to do the opposite of external expectations. Students who choose to study less commonly languages have relatively higher anti-ought-to selves than those who choose a popular (widely used) language, such as Spanish. As a consequence, the motivation to learn LOTEs is enhanced by rebellion against the imposed status of dominant English, and the motivation of learning LOTEs other than Spanish, such as Arabic and Chinese, is promoted by that of a dominant LOTE (Spanish). Thus, this study revealed that sometimes students’ motivation to learn another language is driven by their desire to not simply follow what others do or expect.
MacIntyre, Baker, and Sparling (2017) conducted qualitative research to explore the roles that music/dance plays in motivating learners to learn Gaelic as a heritage language in Nova Scotia, Canada. Ten traditional musicians and dancers were interviewed about their motivation in Gaelic learning and its connections to culture and the local community from both psychological and ethnomusicological perspectives. After considering Dörnyei’s L2 self-system and Gardner’s notion of integrative motivation under the framework of Ushioda’s (2009) person-in-context relational model, the heritage-oriented “rooted L2 self” was put forward by MacIntyre et al. This notion refers to strong connections to a group of speakers, and more generally to a defined community, enhanced by the factors of shared experience, history, cultural practice, etc. (MacIntyre et al., 2017).

In addition, the qualitative data shows some insights into how accessibility and formal learning influence learners’ motivation. One participant mentioned he/she did not start to learn Gaelic until high school because it was not offered in elementary school. However, a number of interviewees felt anxious to learn Gaelic, even in an informal learning situation, because they thought they needed to be “correct” when speaking that language. Therefore, even when exploring their roots and identities through such cultural activities, some students were constrained by high expectations regarding accuracy that they imposed on themselves.

The United Kingdom

Lanvers (2017) highlighted the social division in the UK affecting students’ motivation to learn LOTEs. Namely, students from disadvantaged backgrounds and with fewer opportunities to travel had more negative attitudes toward languages and envisioned few opportunities to use
language skills in later life than those from advantaged backgrounds. The emergence of increasing elitism links L2 motivation to socioeconomic division or stratification in terms of language provision. To be more specific, private schools provided more additional language learning programs than state schools, which affects students’ motivation and the enrollment rate in LOTE courses. Bourdieu (1986) provides a good model to conceptualize the social division in language learning: students who value languages as cultural capital rather than instrumental skills are more motivated. This study raises the question about what kind of capital learners of Cantonese might perceive it as offering in my own study.

**Japan**

Sugita McEown, Sawaki, and Haradaun (2017) aimed to explore to what degree the current motivational models can explain the motivational processes in a Japanese LOTE context. A total of 250 undergraduate students at a Tokyo private university were recruited to investigate their self- and identity-relevant dimensions in L2 learning motivation. The students were simultaneously involved in learning a LOTE as well as English. The study provided an Asian context to test the mainstream motivational models and presented a quantitative analysis of multiple modeling of complex interrelationships. It indicated that parental engagement played an influential role in shaping students’ ideal LOTE self, which was common to Asian-background families. In this case, family members’ hopes or values were included in Japanese learners’ learning motivation (for French, Chinese, Spanish, German, Korean, Russian and other languages).
Spain

Spain is a multilingual country where Spanish is the sole official language and several regional languages share co-official status in their respective autonomous communities. At the same time, English is evidently significant because of its role as lingua franca promoted by education stakeholders. With increased migration, the linguistic complexity and multilingual situation remained unexplored. By analyzing students’ motivation to learn Spanish (nationally official language), minority languages (Basque, Catalan, or Galician, which are co-officially regional language) and English (the predominant foreign language) among different speaking groups (local students and immigrant students) in a multilingual context, Lasagabaster (2017) presented the process of how students’ cosmopolitan identities were constructed. Echoing Darvin and Norton’s (2015) theories on identity and investment, the author described a cosmopolitan attitude that is embraced by young people who feel uncomfortable with the nationalist political rhetoric and the traditional lingering binary oppositions, while they see learning a regional language as a resource for the construction of their cosmopolitan selves. The cosmopolitan identity plays a role in promoting social solidarity, democracy and normalization processes. In my own study, Mandarin learners of Cantonese might therefore be aiming to achieve a similarly cosmopolitan identity by means of learning a regional language such as Cantonese.

Bulgaria, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain

Busse (2017) explored perceptions of the self and affective dispositions for learning English and LOTEs among young Europeans in Bulgaria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain. The research data was collected from 2255 quantitative responses from students in secondary schools. The data revealed students’ self-perceived level of difficulty in learning languages to be
one of the motivational factors that influenced their attitudes towards different languages. For example, 26% of the Dutch students mentioned language characteristics and language-intrinsic challenges, stating that “they perceived learning English is easier than other foreign languages, with many references to the difficulty of German grammar and French spelling and pronunciation” (Busse, 2017, p. 574). As a result, the negative attitudes to German and French diminished students’ motivation to learn those languages in the Netherlands. Is it the case for Mandarin learners of Cantonese in my own study that they perceive it to be easier to learn than another LOTE, thus increasing their motivation to learn that language?

**Summary**

This special issue, as was pointed out by Duff (2017), primarily focused on European languages, which are most commonly studied in those regions. The current tendency provides researchers with insights and opportunities to enlarge the linguistic and geographical regions by introducing a diverse range of combination of other target languages, such as a Chinese context in which Mandarin-L1 learners study Cantonese. This unusual and seldom researched language combination in a foreign context should take into account of the sociocultural, geopolitical, ideological levels, with the considerations of transnationalism, multilingualism, and globalization. Even with the multilingual turn and potential research directions on LOTEs, English is typically one of the languages involved especially in non-Anglophone contexts. What independent features will the motives to learn LOTEs present if the learners are already proficient in English?

The interplay between the national official language, regional official languages and global English provides us with deeper insights into the sociopolitical issues through the
emergence of globalization. The relationship between Mandarin and Cantonese also has an inbuilt relationship (if not a linguistic familial one) which is similar to Spanish and minority languages in Spain. Instead of politically authorized power, Cantonese is culturally, economically and socially dominant in a specific community within Mainland China. Due to the special political status of Hong Kong (one of the historical bases for Cantonese), these two Chinese varieties never stop competing for legitimacy in various contexts. With the impact of English, the linguistic complexity and multilingual situations should be examined in a globalized context, which have a significant impact on students’ learning motivation and outcome.

In the new global context of learning LOTEs, the constructs of ideal multilingual self (Henry, 2017), rooted L2 self (MacIntyre et al., 2017) and anti-ought-to self (Thompson, 2017) were developed to compensate for what was missing in the L2MSS model. Cantonese learning might also be incorporated into learners’ whole linguistic repertoires to achieve their general goal of being multilingual and cosmopolitan (Henry, 2017; Lasagabaster, 2017). MacIntyre et al. (2017) introduced the “rooted L2 self” to represent the complex and highly personal constructions of identity with deep emotional and affective connections to social and historical elements of individual’s linguistic and ethnic heritage. This identity is rooted in the shared geography, history, and cultural practices in a heritage community. In the study to be reported on this thesis, on the opposite (west) coast of Canada, there has been a long-standing Cantonese immigrant presence. The Cantonese community has tangible boundaries and cultural symbols (language, opera, food culture) within the city in which the study was conducted, so community-level motives need to be taken into account when exploring Cantonese learning in a transnational context. The “anti-ought-to L2 self” described earlier is a psychological rebellion against others’ expectations, representing individualism and demonstrating personal abilities by rejecting the
mainstream language and choosing a less popular or more challenging language (Thompson, 2017). In the context of bilingual Canada, French is usually the preferred or privileged choice of additional language due to its official status and ample opportunities to learn it in public schools and higher education. Some students may be highly motivated to learn Cantonese to resist the identity imposed by public media to learn French in Canada. In choosing Cantonese, students might express their distinctness, various forms of capital, feelings of freedom and flexibility.

2.3 Cantonese Learning

With limited publications on Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese in a foreign context, I have drawn on Cantonese learning research in different contexts and within different groups. The first two papers focus on a Hong Kong context, and the other two focus on the North America context. Each context includes non-Chinese ethnicities (e.g., Caucasian) and ethnic Chinese groups, both languages in use and language education.

Non-Chinese Learners in Hong Kong

Sachs and Li (2007) focused on non-ethnic Chinese learners studying Cantonese as an additional language in Hong Kong. The data was collected first by a small-scale questionnaire survey, followed by in-depth, semi-structured interviews which were conducted individually and in focus groups. The analyzed data demonstrated that there was a huge discrepancy between attitudes and behaviors in Cantonese learning. Both Cantonese learners and native speakers showed positive attitudes towards non-Chinese residents learning Cantonese, but the fact was that learners rarely took actions to learn the target language and the native speakers failed to provide a community of practice for them. For learners, the perceived learning difficulty of Cantonese pronunciation, especially the tonal system and the linguistic distance between their
mother tongue and Cantonese made Cantonese “a very, very difficult language” (stated by an interviewee). In addition to the great learning frustration and challenge from the language itself, the general lack of practice community – the support and cooperation of native speakers – also prevented learners from learning Cantonese. Some interviewees pointed out the reluctance of local Hong Kong people to interact with them in Cantonese when they made efforts to practice using this target language. Reluctant behaviors were interpreted as Cantonese native speakers’ preservation of their pure culture and ethnolinguistic identities, as well as their English preference (communicative effectiveness) when dealing with non-Cantonese interlocutors, within this sociopolitical environment (connection to colonial Britain) and given language policy (English as official language) in Hong Kong.

**Ethnic Chinese Learners in Hong Kong**

Wang (2014) hypothesized that there was a mutually constructed relationship between sociocultural identity and Cantonese language learning of Mainland Chinese university students studying in Hong Kong. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to explore how the perceived identities of Mainland Chinese students affected their Cantonese learning and use. The data was collected from 11 qualitative interviews (seven participated in focus groups, and four in in-depth interviews) and a survey questionnaire of 383 research participants. By examining identity, investment, and imagined community involved in Cantonese learning, the statistical analysis showed that Chinese identity played an important role in the construction of sociocultural identity, which exerted influence on learning achievements through the investment on Cantonese.
Overall, Mainland Chinese students were willing to identify with an integral concept of Chineseness, rather than being labeled with geographical regions such as Mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan, etc. The desire for a Chinese identity in a non-discriminatory sense required students to negotiate and reconstruct their sociocultural identities between their imagined community and current identification. Their investment in Cantonese learning varied according to the negotiation of these two situations. As a result, the characteristics of learning as well as the social identity were “multifaceted and complicated” (Wang, 2014, p. 144). Individuals’ experiences therefore should be independently explored through in-depth interviews in which identity issues can be reflected upon.

Although the survey questionnaire involved a large number of participants, the depth and reliability cannot be guaranteed if learners’ personal traits are not considered. Results should be further validated with individual cases to increase their reliability and validity. That was the reason why a qualitative methodology (i.e., in-depth interview) was needed in the post-survey investigation. In addition, this study noted that the different social aspects between Mainland China and Hong Kong had distinct influences on students’ identity construction. However, the historical, political, social, and cultural factors were not elaborated on sufficiently in relation to identity issues. How, and to what extent, did these factors impact on learners’ identity construction?

**Third-generation Chinese Americans**

Ho (2011) aimed to explore the opportunities and restrictions of heritage language learning of third-generation Chinese Americans who were of Cantonese decent (including other related language varieties, e.g., Toisanese). The authors conducted a qualitative research study
by interviewing eight third-generation Chinese Americans in their 20s about their motivation and demotivation to learn Chinese (including Mandarin, Cantonese, and other Chinese varieties) as their heritage language. The findings showed both instrumental and integrative motivations were involved: fulfilling the language requirements, attraction to pop culture, maintaining family ties, integrating within social circles, and affirming their ethnicity identity. One important factor in learners’ motivation to learn the heritage language was their community of practice. The community could be either the familial connection, or social interactions in peer groups. For one thing, if there were significant family members speaking the heritage language, potential learners were encouraged to learn the target language to better connect to certain members, because they felt obligated to maintain the familial history and preserve cultural roots; moreover, learning the heritage language was a way to gain legitimation and affirm their ethical identities, as their perceived selves were Chinese. For another, if there was a large social circle of Chinese speakers, the learners longed to learn the heritage Chinese language to feel a greater sense of belonging or affiliation with their Chinese friends. Both family members and peer groups could provide the learners with authentic audiences and multiple opportunities to practice.

In Ho’s (2011) research, the author pointed out there were several factors that could decide which Chinese variety to learn: the availability of language education in a particular Chinese language, the appeal of language media, the perceived difficulty of language learning, and the future usefulness of the language. The availability has two distinct meanings with regards to teaching and learning respectively. In terms of teaching, not all Chinese language varieties were equally offered in the formal institutions students enrolled in, and the easy access to language education was a deciding factor of learners’ language choice. In the respect of learning, the potential learners assumed that the transition from one Chinese variety to another
would be easier than to another (foreign) language, so the perceived effortless acquisition would be a strong motive. When discussing the utilitarian function of the target language, some participants agreed that they could get better service if speaking Cantonese in a Cantonese-background store.

Another study conducted by Yang (2003) explored the motivation differences between different generations of Chinese Americans. According to Yang, compared to the third-generation learners in 1950s who were in support of English monolingualism, the current third-generation members were more likely to believe that “being bi/multilingual is an asset for all kinds of careers on the global stage” (Yang, 2003, p. 397). Although it highlighted the significance of multilingualism, the investigated group was Cantonese heritage language learners only. As the nature of language learners is becoming more complex, flexible, and multifaceted, a group division mediating between heritage and non-heritage, even the group in-between heritage and non-heritage learners, has emerged. For example, when Cantonese speakers learn Mandarin, or Mandarin speakers learn Cantonese with some shared experience but different linguistic trajectories, are they still “heritage language” learners? In sum, the motivation of heritage language learning should be explored within some subgroups of heritage/non-heritage language learners.

**The Decline of Cantonese in North America**

Jiang (2010) did a sociohistorical analysis of Chinese heritage-language education in British Columbia, Canada, where she discovered the replacement of Cantonese instruction by Mandarin in recent years. In history, she reported that Cantonese received a distinctive status as “the most widely taught and was one of the most commonly spoken varieties of Chinese in BC”
(p. 7), but some Cantonese-only Chinese schools started to include Mandarin instruction due to the current immigrant demographic change. In order to accommodate students’ needs, Chinese community schools modified their curriculum by gradually shifting from Cantonese to Mandarin.

Yum (2008) did a comprehensive overview to explore the language maintenance and language shift in Philadelphia’s Chinatown. The general tendency summarized by Yum was that both Mandarin and English were gaining speakers, while Cantonese was declining. However, this study also pointed out that Cantonese was less likely to disappear from the language scene in Chinatown and its presence in the community was still strong. This was partly because being bi/multilingual became more valued by the residents, which encouraged many Chinese Americans to re-learn their heritage language. That is to say, those who viewed bi/multilingualism as linguistic capital would be more motivated to learn Cantonese. However, since Mandarin is the sole Chinese variety taught in most U.S. language institutions (as in other Anglophone countries), there is a consistent choice of acquiring Mandarin over Cantonese.

**Summary**

Due to fact that the systematic research on Cantonese learning motivation is not adequate to account for the range of newly-emerging transnational learning groups and learning contexts, the research agenda for LOTE motivational studies under the framework of globalization and multilingualism could contribute to revitalizing this language. Although the researched contexts and groups are limited, some common considerations are presented in learning Cantonese, such as the importance of community of practice, perceived difficulty level of Cantonese, availability of language programs, and being multilingual. Regarding the diverse Cantonese learners’ groups and the complex environment of learning Cantonese with regards to sociocultural, geopolitical,
and ideological issues, Cantonese learning behavior should be viewed in a global space through a micro-sociological and multilingual lens.

A number of Cantonese learning studies were conducted in Hong Kong (e.g., Wang, 2014; Sachs & Li, 2007), but very few were found in transnational diaspora contexts. The contextual factors (habitus) are dynamic and vary according to the change of context conditions (field). Specifically, when the learning field is shifted from Hong Kong to other learning context, the learning habitus will show distinct characteristics and functions relative to motivation, which should be further examined through empirical studies.

Within the limited number of Cantonese studies setting in North America, the emphasis was predominantly put on Cantonese heritage language learners. In addition to cultural roots and familial ties, the revitalization of Cantonese should be further explored by considering its cultural attraction, learning context, communicative and social functions from the perspective of diverse learning groups, especially those who are transnationals without traditional ties to Cantonese communities. The nature of language learners is more complex, flexible, and multicultural than before, and we need to shift our focus from language itself to the learners when researching language choice. Taking Cantonese learning for example, most studies focus on the cultural connection to the language of the heritage learning group, ignoring the non-heritage group, more culturally and linguistically diverse groups. All of these factors led me to conduct the study described in more detail in the following chapters.
Chapter 3: Methodology

The setting for this investigation was the Cantonese language program in a Canadian university, which was first offered by the department in 2015. In this study, the main concerns were to explore students’ dynamic motivation and multifaceted learning needs, and to test if the dominant motivational theories reviewed in the previous chapter could still apply to the motivation of learning Cantonese and shed light on the past dominance, current emergence, and future trends of the changing, plural, contextually situated motives. The following research questions were addressed:

1) Are motivation models to learn English represented in three historical phases adequate to account for the motivation of learning LOTEs such as Cantonese? And are the current LOTE theories (e.g., discussed in Chapter 2) adequate to explain the motivation for learning Cantonese in a transnational context?

2) What motivation factors are newly emerged to represent the complex, dynamic, and multifaceted nature of learners in a globalized and multilingual world as exemplified by one Canadian university? And what is the trend in the acquisition of LOTEs in this specific learning context?

3) Why do students choose to learn Cantonese instead of other foreign languages in a Canadian post-secondary institution? Can learners’ diverse linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds be captured through a multilingualism and investment lens rather than a rigid, stable psychological framework?

A mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative methods was applied in this study: the first stage was a small-scale quantitative survey working as a preliminary step to collect
participants’ background information and gather the most prominent motivation factors, which then helped design the qualitative interviews; and the second stage, the qualitative research, would be conducted after the quantitative survey in the form of semi-structured interviews. The core of the qualitative stage was to investigate in greater depth participants’ interpretation of their learning motivations and multilingual practices. These two stages are described in turn below.

3.1 Quantitative Study

The quantitative study, using a questionnaire, preceded the qualitative study to collect data on a larger scale. The merits for doing survey questions before interviews include not only effectively covering a larger population of participants, but also providing evidence of prominent variables or factors to inform the following qualitative study.

3.1.1 Participants

The participants in this quantitative part of the study were undergraduate students who were registered in “Basic Cantonese for Mandarin Speakers”. A total number of 61 participants were recruited to take part in the quantitative survey, including the students in two sections in 2017 winter term 2 (30 students per section, 60 in total) and their TA (a previous student in the same section in 2016 winter term 2). All participants took Cantonese as a 3-credit course. Except for two of these 61 participants who were domestic students, the rest (59) were all international students, with the average 4.14 years of residence in Canada. These participants were categorized as Mandarin native speakers through the language placement assessment, most of whom had no prior Cantonese learning experience (86.9%) and no family connection to Cantonese-speaking regions (90.2%). What’s more, although a few of the participants did not speak Mandarin as their first language, they spoke Mandarin as a heritage language or had attained near-native
proficiency in Mandarin. As these students were enrolled in degree programs in an English-dominant country, English was considered the default language that they commonly used for communication. In summary, they were all multilinguals with higher levels of proficiency in both Mandarin and English who were learning or had learned at least one additional language, such as Cantonese (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Participants’ Language Learning Background Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prior Cantonese Learning Experience</th>
<th>Family Connection to Cantonese-Speaking Regions</th>
<th>Additional Foreign Languages Acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No responses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>86.9%</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to descriptive statistics, the majority (45%) of recruited participants were from diverse divisions of the Faculty of Arts leading to a bachelor’s degree, in which the major of Economics took up the largest proportion (30%), followed by the School of Business (18.3%). In contrast, only 15% of them were from the Faculty of Science and Applied Science. Fourth-year students accounted for more than 50% of these participants in this Cantonese language program. Except for four students who were born in Canada, Malaysia and Taiwan respectively, the major group (93.3%) originated from different parts of Mainland China, representing six dialect areas (Mandarin 48.3%; Wu 25%; Min 6.7%, Hakka 1.7%, Hui 1.7%, Gan 1.7%). Among those who are from dialect areas other than Cantonese, two thirds (66.7%) were able to speak their social
dialect, while 6.7% were not; 23.3% claimed that they could understand but were unable to speak their heritage language.

3.1.2 Instrument: Questionnaire

The questionnaire incorporated two parts. Part one was used to collect background information, including participants’ language background (monolingual or bilingual/multilingual, as seen in Appendix A), academic background, transnational experience (e.g., migration), etc. In part two, the motivation survey was designed using a 5-point Likert scale in which students were asked to rate to what extent they agreed with the given motivational statements by ranking them from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

A general strategy for creating a list of appropriate indicators is to review previous studies, which can make use of good work to save time and also allow comparison between the study under consideration and previous research (Guppy & Gray, 2008). The examined items in this study were basically adapted from the “Ideal L2 Self” from Dörnyei and Ushioda’s (2009) L2 motivational self-system (L2MSS), predominantly focusing on learning one specific language in a concrete situation. To overcome the monolingual bias in SLA, as described in Chapter 2, Henry (2017) introduced the concept of “Ideal Multilingual Self” to represent the self-image of language learners who demand more than one foreign language under the influence of global English and other societal changes. Learning environment is also an influential aspect which should be taken into consideration in the questionnaire design, including language credit requirements, and the provision of formal language programs (Lanvers, 2017; Macintyre et al., 2017). Other operationalized items are based on the frequently stated motives in the previous studies of learning LOTEs (specifically, in this case, Cantonese), for example, imagined community which refers to “groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with
whom we connect through the power of the imagination” (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241),

*community of practice*, referring to a group of people who share knowledge or experience and
learn to do something better by interacting regularly (Wenger, 1998), career advancement,
cultural attraction, personal connections to target language speakers, integration within target
language community, and “anti-ought-to self” (Thompson, 2017). And I also incorporated some
motives based on previously reviewed Cantonese learning research, such as learning
confidence/challenge, practical usage, sense of entertainment, etc. When a survey is designed to
assess individual attitudes or opinions, instead of asking a direct question, one strategy is to
present a statement and then ask people whether they agree or disagree with it (Guppy & Gray,
2008). All of the 21 motives and their corresponding statements are listed in the following chart
(Table 3.2). The statement serves as an initial stimulus, and a set of response categories is used to
measure reactions (see Appendix A).

**Table 3.2: Motivation Factors and Operationalized Statements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation Factors</th>
<th>Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Cultural attraction         | Pop culture: I like Cantonese pop culture and art (including films, pop music, TV shows, etc.)<br>Traditional culture: I am interested in traditional values and customs of Cantonese culture (e.g., dim sum, Yue opera, festivals, etc.)
<p>| Sociopolitical interests    | I am learning Cantonese because I am interested in understanding different aspects of the social and political environment in Hong Kong or Guangdong. |
| Strategic use               | If I understand/speak Cantonese, I can get better service in a Cantonese store/restaurant.                                               |
| Availability of formal learning | Learning Cantonese in a formal language program is more effective than self-study.                                                      |
| Perceived level of difficulty | Learning Cantonese should be much easier than learning other (foreign) languages.                                                        |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation Factors</th>
<th>Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career advancement</td>
<td>Cantonese would help my future career, such as getting a better paying job (esp. in HK).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal Metropolitan (multicultural) self</td>
<td>Learning Cantonese can make me a more multilingual and powerful person to understand diverse cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal Multilingual Self</td>
<td>I want to use different languages to talk with different people, not only in English or Mandarin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community of practice</td>
<td>Many people around me (e.g., friends, neighbors etc.) study or speak Cantonese. If I know Cantonese, I can have more opportunities to practice or communicate better with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power of Cantonese-speaking regions</td>
<td>Cantonese-speaking regions play an influential role both in China and in the world (esp. economy).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social status</td>
<td>Speaking Cantonese can increase my social status and give me more advantages than speaking other dialects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language requirements</td>
<td>I am learning Cantonese to fulfill my language requirements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning frustration</td>
<td>I was frustrated by learning other foreign languages so I turned to Cantonese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration to target language speaking group</td>
<td>I don’t want to be excluded from my Cantonese speaking friends. Knowing Cantonese makes me feel less limited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting language challenge</td>
<td>Cantonese is considered to be a challenging language. I take the Cantonese course because I want to prove that I can meet this challenge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal connection to target language group or community</td>
<td>I have a strong connection to a person or a group from Cantonese-speaking regions (e.g., celebrity, intimate friend, family members or relatives, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-ought-to self</td>
<td>Most people around me tend to learn commonly taught languages (e.g., French, Spanish), but I want to learn something different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagined community</td>
<td>Learning Cantonese is very useful for me to integrate into a global and multilingual community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being entertained</td>
<td>I would like to study other languages for fun, especially languages that are not compulsory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-confidence</td>
<td>The ability to speak Cantonese can make me a confident person in language learning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Ethical approval was obtained through the university’s Behavioral Research Ethical Board before the start of data collection, and ethical principles were observed all the time (e.g., transparency regarding the research purpose, design, and procedures for the participants, ensuring full rights for participants to participate in and withdraw from the study, maintaining participants’ privacy and anonymity). The data was collected in the last fifteen minutes in the Cantonese classroom, where the author/researcher distributed the questionnaire and explained the research purpose and significance, with the assistance and permission of the instructor. There were 61 students who agreed to take part in the survey and I got 61 questionnaires back, so the rate of collection was 100%.

The collected data was analyzed using SPSS version 24.0, a widely recognized statistical tool in social science. A total of 21 motives were calculated to compare their mean scores within the Likert scale.

3.2 Qualitative Study

The established motivation models (for example, L2 Motivational Self System) have been frequently tested within a quantitative framework following traditions in psychology in the past decades (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009), and they also provided solid empirical validation which can be generalized or tested in different English learning contexts. However, as noted in Chapter 2, the monopoly of English as L2 raised a remarkable surge in SLA where motivation was concerned (Ushioda, 2017), so the motivational indicators examined through quantitative methods were predominantly concerned with English instead of LOTEs. When it comes to learning LOTEs in line with the trend of globalization and multilingualism described in earlier chapters, quantitative studies can expand the breadth but fail to reflect the depth and diversity of
the data. Sugita McEown et al.’s (2017) quantitative research, for example, offered useful insight into learning LOTEs in a Japanese context; however, limitations were also pointed out, suggesting that longitudinal studies and observational studies should be undertaken to address the complex and dynamic nature of students’ motivation. As motivation is dynamic rather than static, varying from person to person, qualitative research methods have the potential to better capture the deeper features through individual storytelling.

As was stressed by Busse (2017), data that might be considered sensitive was not collected for ethical reasons, such as participants’ migration background and socioeconomic status of their parents. Busse noted “that leaves unexplored whether students’ response differed according to their backgrounds” (p. 579). Although there is a social division in language learning habitus, as was pointed out by some past studies, these factors could not be tested explicitly in the survey questions due to research ethics. It is known that more foreign language options are offered in private schools than state schools, and students from affluent families are more likely to invest in developing multilingual skills because their parents are more likely to afford to live near private schools, travel across countries, and engage with people from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds. It can be assumed, however, in the setting in which the current study took place, that the international students enrolled in the Cantonese course came from socioeconomic backgrounds that permitted their travel and residence abroad, over many years, as well as their education toward an undergraduate degree at expensive international student tuition rates. Face-to-face interviews which are “useful for sensitive topics” (Hennink, 2011, p. 131) can therefore compensate for the lack of emotional dimensions in quantitative methods by encouraging people to broadly talk about their life experience and address more subtle questions.
In-depth interviews “aim to collect data not only or primarily about behavior, but also about representations, classification systems, boundary work, identity, imagined realities and cultural ideas, as well as emotional states” (Lamont & Swidler, 2014, p. 5). In my study, the merits of conducting qualitative research were twofold. First, the researched participants were of a limited number because Cantonese was a newly established language program that only accepted approximately 60 students (two sections) every term. Cantonese was offered in few universities across North America, and in this study, I chose to only explore this Canadian university offering Cantonese courses from beginning to advanced level as the research field. In this situation, I had to make good use of the data I collected from maximum 61 participants (60 students + TA), which were not enough to conduct a purely quantitative analysis. Therefore, I placed more emphasis on qualitative research methods to gain detailed insight and go deeper into the research issues than I was able to do with the survey. The second merit was that qualitative study could better capture the complexity and dynamics in motivation, especially of learning LOTEs. The motivation factors varied from one person to another according to their different life trajectories and learning experiences. In response to this situation, the narratives about individual experience and the focus on contexts surrounding people’s lives allowed me (and others who do qualitative research) to interpret multifaceted motivations for certain behaviors from interviewees’ perspectives. Moreover, the meanings of people’s action, perception, appreciation were also significant, but they generally could not be obtained without interacting with, or at least without talking to people (Lamont & Swidler, 2014). In this case in which many Cantonese learners might be motivated by developing “imagined community” (discussed in Chapter 2), interviews provided an accessible way to examine the meanings, imagined functions, and emotional aspects of language learning motivation.
3.2.1 Participants

All the participants who completed the survey questionnaire were asked if they agreed to participate in a follow-up interview at the end of the survey; if so, they would leave their contact information for the researcher. I received 15 responses but only chose four of them as the interview subjects due to time constraints. Also, I interviewed the Cantonese instructor who had much cross-cultural teaching experience and had witnessed the changing motivation and learning needs of his students in the new millennium.

To diversify the data, the participants were selected across nationalities, gender, dialect areas, majors, proficiency level, etc. Pseudonyms were used for all the interview participants in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Background Information of Interview Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Cantonese Proficiency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
<td>Nantong Dialect (Wu)</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>ECON</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
<td>Sichuan dialect (Mandarin)</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>MATH</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kathryn</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
<td>Wenzhou Dialect (Wu)</td>
<td>TA</td>
<td>GERM</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Krystal</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Shanghainese (Wu)</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>COMM</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Native</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jessica was a second-year undergraduate student majoring in Economics, who was born and raised in Jiangsu, P. R. China. She is fluent in both standard Mandarin and her local dialect (Nantong Dialect, a variety of Wu dialect). She had no Cantonese learning experience before
taking this course, and no familial ties to Cantonese speaking regions. Jessica’s first exposure to Cantonese was with her parents, who were big fans of Cantonese pop culture, but neither her parents nor she had opportunities to receive formal Cantonese instruction in China.

Frank, born in Sichuan in southwest China, was enrolled in his 3rd year in a program leading to the Bachelor of Arts in Math (Major) and Statistics (Minor). Like Jessica, Frank has achieved native proficiency in both standard Mandarin and his local dialect (Sichuan dialect, a variety of Mandarin), but never learned Cantonese before this course.

Kathryn was a third-year undergraduate who was studying in a German program. As a native speaker of Mandarin and Wu dialect, her motivation to learn Cantonese was inspired by a Hong Kong celebrity, which provided her with a way of self-learning through TV shows. She did not have access to formal learning until the Cantonese program was offered in her university, where she had previously been a student in a Cantonese course (2016 Winter term 2) and was a current TA in the same for-Mandarin-speaker section (2017 Winter term 2); she was also registered in the advanced-level Cantonese course. Kathryn was included because she was strongly motivated to learn Cantonese and also achieved good learning outcomes, which could represent the motives for some Mandarin speakers to sustain long-term Cantonese learning.

Krystal was a Canadian-born Chinese, whose heritage language was Shanghai. She was not fluent in Mandarin and experienced language transfer from learning basic Mandarin to basic Cantonese due to what she described as the learning frustration from intensive writing tasks of Mandarin teaching. She was motivated to learn Cantonese by her parents who could speak Cantonese, and acquiring communicative skills was regarded as the main learning purpose for her. As the only English native speaker who was not very proficient in Mandarin, she found it
challenging to succeed in the Mandarin-speaker section of the Cantonese course, and the motivation for her to maintain her interest was to learn it for fun and also to be able to practice with her parents.

Richard, the Cantonese instructor, was a native speaker of Cantonese, with proficiency in Mandarin, English, and other languages as well. Richard started to work at this university in 2015 when the Cantonese program was first offered. Before that, he had taught both Mandarin and Cantonese at different universities in the U.S. for eight years.

3.2.2 Instrument: Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to collect qualitative data from the target participants (4 students, 1 instructor). The interview protocol was a worksheet with a series of questions was used to keep the consistency of the interview. As is argued by Hennink (2011), “it is not called a questionnaire, nor it is used in the same way as a questionnaire” (p. 112). I usually followed the question outline but was not restricted to the listed questions, which included five categories. Part one was designed to encourage students to narrate their personal experience and life stories of language learning; the second part focused on individual learning experiences in a formal institution. Part three investigated their direct and indirect connections to the target language community; part four asked about their imagined community and the learning goals they would like to achieve; and the last part was concerned about identity issues in learning Cantonese and other languages, in this specific context with the comparison to other learning contexts, further considering how these acquired languages interacted with each other. As a closing question, interviewees were asked if they had anything further to add or any suggestions for this project (see Appendix B.1).
3.2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The qualitative data was collected after the completion of quantitative data analysis in a place on campus where interviewees might feel most at ease and might be able to talk freely. At the beginning of the interview, every participant was provided a consent form to sign, ensuring that they were voluntarily taking part in this interview and understanding their rights to protect their personal privacy and quit at any time. I then presented an introduction to my research and the procedure in case they had any problem with this study. It took 40 to 60 minutes for each participant to complete the interview. The interviews were conducted mostly in Mandarin with Mandarin-speaking participants but in English with the Canada-born interviewee and the Cantonese-speaking instructor. During the interview, I kept notes or made a short summary of key issues that emerged from the interactions; the interview was also recorded with the participants’ approval and then transcribed (and translated) in the analysis process.

Grounded theory (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1976) provided an inductive approach to analyze qualitative data through a scientific lens, whereby codes, concepts, and theories were derived from narratives of actors in the field. In other words, grounded theory encouraged an in-depth and detailed scrutiny of microdata and required frequent repetition of analyzing the original data to “produce empirically backed-up, generalizable theoretical claims” (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, p. 246). Glaser (1978) also emphasized the need for rigorously constructed middle-range theories based on explicit, transparent coding procedures.

The transcribed and translated data in this study was analyzed in the NVivo Pro to calculate the word frequency, which acted as a database for my coding system. “Codes are essential topics discussed by participants and are identified through reading data” (Hennink,
2011, p. 216), and codes in this study were assigned to motivation factors mentioned by
interviewees that could influence their LOTE learning process. Then I built a coding system with
a comparison of what I read from the research literature, from what I previously discovered in
the quantitative data, and from what was explicitly raised by the interviewees (e.g., “easy
credits”). For the next step, I went back to the original data and aimed to find supporting
examples for each motive, and added more underlying motivation factors as well. According to
Hennink (2011), “the validity of data should be checked by identifying whether it is represented
across different interviews in the study, or whether it is highlighted by participants themselves as
an important issue” (p. 220), which can help to secure meaningful, robust, and valid codes.

The coding process involved in “labelling and indexing all the data using the codes listed
in the codebook” (Hennink, 2011, p. 225), which was a critical step to provide building blocks
for data analysis. To code the entire data set, I carefully read the original data paragraph by
paragraph, with the consideration of which motives were mentioned in this section and then
labelled this section with relevant codes. This coding process required repetition when the
codebook (or coding scheme) was refined by means of adding new codes and reconsidering
existing codes.

In Chapter 4, I present the results of both stages of the study.
Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter shows the quantitative and qualitative results based on statistical analysis and thematic analysis, respectively. The quantitative data provides an overview of the motivational system, specifying the position of each motive and their changes; the qualitative data expands on how each factor changed and affected learning behaviors, according to participants.

4.1 Quantitative Results

As shown in Table 4.1, the 21 examined motivation factors were ranked with their mean scores, from the highest to the lowest. The higher scores indicate higher motivation, meaning the participants were more likely to be motivated to learn the target language by this factor, while the motivational factors below the average (3.65) were less likely to have an effect.

Table 4.1: Ranking List of Tested Motivation Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Motivation Factor</th>
<th>N (valid)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ideal Multilingual Self</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4.4590</td>
<td>.74328</td>
<td>.09517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Availability of formal education</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4.3500</td>
<td>.79883</td>
<td>.10313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Career opportunities</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4.2459</td>
<td>.84962</td>
<td>.10878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Learning for fun</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4.2459</td>
<td>.88799</td>
<td>.11370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ideal Metropolitan Self</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4.1639</td>
<td>.82017</td>
<td>.10501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Imagined Community</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.9508</td>
<td>.93855</td>
<td>.12017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Influence of Cantonese-speaking regions</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.9180</td>
<td>.97117</td>
<td>.12435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sense of confidence</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.9180</td>
<td>.97117</td>
<td>.12435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Perceived difficulty level (easy)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3.8667</td>
<td>1.04908</td>
<td>.13544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Practical use</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.8033</td>
<td>1.24926</td>
<td>.15995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sociopolitical interests</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.8033</td>
<td>1.07734</td>
<td>.13794</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Community of Practice</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7869</td>
<td>1.03465</td>
<td>.13247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pop culture</td>
<td>3.7667</td>
<td>1.04746</td>
<td>.13523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Traditional culture</td>
<td>3.6066</td>
<td>1.18714</td>
<td>.15200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Social status booster</td>
<td>3.5902</td>
<td>.90143</td>
<td>.11542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Integration to the target language group</td>
<td>3.2000</td>
<td>1.20451</td>
<td>.15550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Meeting language challenge</td>
<td>3.1967</td>
<td>1.18067</td>
<td>.15117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Anti-ought-to Self</td>
<td>3.0328</td>
<td>1.35360</td>
<td>.17331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Personal connections to Cantonese</td>
<td>2.7213</td>
<td>1.27973</td>
<td>.16385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Language credits</td>
<td>2.6167</td>
<td>1.34154</td>
<td>.17319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Learning frustration from learning other languages</td>
<td>2.3115</td>
<td>1.20473</td>
<td>.15425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average: 3.65

“Ideal multilingual identity” topped the list with a mean of 4.46 (rounded up, out of 5), followed by the “availability of formal language education” (4.35). Factors of “increasing job opportunities” and “learning for fun” got the same scores, standing in the third position (4.25). “Ideal metropolitan self” and “imagined community” also ended up on the top-five list. As a consequence of globalization and multilingualism, ideal multilingual self and ideal metropolitan self proved a high-level emergent identity in the transnational context to learn Cantonese. To sum up, these top motivation factors tend to be holistic, future-oriented, and psychologically proximal.

It is worth mentioning that integrativeness, which used to be considered a strong motive to learn a particular language, especially English, was not rated as highly in this study when it came to learning Cantonese. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), integrative motivation described people’s aspiration to learn a particular language in order to integrate into the target
language community and the culture associated with this language. Also, integratively motivated learners were more likely to have personal affinities to the target language, such as lovers, family members, or celebrities who spoke that language. Previous research following Gardner and Lambert’s framework pointed out that integratively motivated learners were more successful than instrumentally motivated learners because integrative motivation was a stronger factor. However, in this study of learning Cantonese, seeking integration to the target language-speaking group fell below the average rating (#16 out of 21). Since Cantonese is neither an official language nor dominant language in Canada, the direct link between the motivation to learn Cantonese as an additional language and the integration to a local Cantonese-speaking community cannot be maintained.

The same trend appeared with respect to cultural topics, including pop culture (music, films, TV shows), traditional culture, and sociopolitical interests. These cultural items were rated around the average among the 21 items, meaning they were not as attractive to these learners as expected. Thompson (2017) for example, showed evidence of how language learning was inspired by the love of the culture tied to that language for U.S. students. Ho (2011) also identified that Cantonese descendants willingly seek cultural ties to their heritage communities by learning Cantonese. However, for Mandarin-speaking students learning Cantonese, traditional culture ranked below the average (#13 out of 21), while the other two, pop culture (#12 out of 21) and sociopolitical interests (#10 out of 21) rated just a little above the average line. Within the cultural themes, sociopolitical interests were ranked higher than both pop and traditional culture, demonstrating that the sociopolitical (relative democracy vs. tight political control), socioeconomic (capitalist economy vs. socialist market economy) features in Cantonese-
speaking areas, especially in Hong Kong, interested these participants more due to their distinctiveness.

Another motivation indicator of integrativeness was personal affinity, but the data showed “personal connections to Cantonese” obtained a low ranking point; this finding was also revealed by the descriptive quantitative data: 90.3% of the participants had no family affiliation to the Cantonese-speaking regions, which indicated that “significant others” did not work as a strong impetus for their Cantonese learning. Cultural attraction and familial ties were proved by several previous empirical studies to be strong motives for heritage language learners to learn Cantonese, e.g., third-generation Chinese American (Ho, 2011), but they did not perform as working motives for Mandarin background learners of Cantonese in this study. In this case, the mainstream motivational theories on learning English or learning Cantonese as a heritage language were not adequate to account for the motivation of the new generation of Mandarin speakers to learn Cantonese.

“Anti-ought-to self” complements “ought-to self” in the dimension of learning LOTEs. In L2MSS, ought-to self contains attributes that one believes one ought to possess because of external pressure from what is expected by the society, family, or other extraneous influences (Dörnyei, 2009). Unlike the ought-to-self, students with strong anti-ought-to self may feel motivated to challenge themselves by taking a commonly perceived difficult language or a less prevalent language. Thompson (2017) discovered the “rebellious” self-concept had a significant influence on two English L1 students’ language choice (Chinese and Arabic, rather than Spanish) in the United States: students were motivated to learn LOTEs to refuse the powerful influence of global English, and to learn a LOTE other than Spanish to resist the advantageous status of Spanish in the specific socio-political setting. Lanvers (2017) took the United Kingdom as an
example to show the fact that British learners perceived English monolingualism as a threatening constraint to prevent them from entering the international arena. Hence, learners were driven to learn LOTEs as they aimed to reject the imposed image of British in general being less competent in language learning, which was frequently reinforced by the public. However, the data of learning Cantonese in this study demonstrated that anti-ought-to self and the preference for challenges did not serve as significant motivation factors because they both remained below the average, arriving at #18 and 17 (out of 21) respectively. Similarly, the aspect of learning frustration from other languages ranked at the lowest on this questionnaire (#21). As a possible explanation, the participants who intend to embrace an international outlook and to develop a multilingual identity can supportively reduce the likelihood of antagonism, conflict, and competition between the learned languages and ready-to-learn languages, the dominant language and the minority languages. In this case, the multilingual motivational system has greater resilience in the face of threats from the outside world, which can facilitate the coexistence and sustain the harmonious relationship of diverse languages.

4.2 Qualitative Findings

As reported in Chapter 3, the qualitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis by categorizing the data into motivational themes, ranging from the intrinsic to extrinsic items. The following coding scheme (Table 4.2) summarized the frequency of how many interviewees mentioned each motivation factor, which was sorted from the high frequency to low frequency. The factors with a plus sign (+) were stated by students to positively motivate them to learn Cantonese, and those with a negative sign (-) indicated this factor did not function as a favorable motive. The categories left blank were not referred to by the participants, including the factors
that failed to work or those that might have subtle functions but might not be consciously presented or recognized in participants’ motivational system. Comparatively, the (-) factor was clearly defined as the factors that students were not dependent on at all. Frequency in this table (column on the right) indicates the total of either positive or negative mentions (combined).

Table 4.2: Frequency of Coded Motivation Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation factors</th>
<th>Frank</th>
<th>Jessica</th>
<th>Kathryn</th>
<th>Krystal</th>
<th>Richard</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career opportunities/advancement</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy credits/ GPA booster</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language status of Cantonese</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption preference</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal learning environment</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal Multilingual Self</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The influence of Hong Kong</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of learning fields</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of Cantonese program</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural attraction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ encouragement</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to learn</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>Family/friends' connections</td>
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In the following sections, some prominent motivation factors are exemplified with participants’ quotations. Both English and Mandarin were used in the interviews to accommodate participants’ language preference. In the presented data, quotations that are italicized have been translated from the original Mandarin. Those not in italics were originally produced in English.

4.2.1 Ideal Multilingual Self and Global Identity

A notable motivation factor that emerged from the themes was the Ideal Multilingual Self, which means a person’s desire to acquire multilingual abilities. It is the factor that attained the top position in the survey and also remained influential in interviews. In addition to officially dominant Mandarin and English in their lives, 60.66% of the participants in the survey reported that they had already learned another additional language before taking Cantonese. Even though
some of them had never picked up a third language before, the action of learning Cantonese (in progress) offered them a multilingual experience. In this situation of multilinguals/bilinguals (Mandarin, English, or more) learning an additional language (Cantonese), all the participants are multilingual beings.

The participants not only enjoyed the learning processes and were instrumentally motivated to develop skills in these languages but also considered it an opportunity to become proficient in multiple languages that are not commonly spoken by everyone. Under the influence of global English where English has become a commonplace skill, participants repeatedly mentioned that being multilingual might help increase their competencies in the global market.

“I want to learn more languages, use different languages to communicate with people from diverse backgrounds, not only in English or Mandarin.”

(Jessica, 31/01/2018)

“It is impressive for people to know a lot of languages, so I want to get the basics of as many languages as I can. So you can always have something to talk about, such as Cantonese.”

(Krystal, 02/02/2018)

Multilingual abilities are related to the construction of global identities. In today’s world, people gain more opportunities to interact with people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds through social media and transnational trajectories. These participants indicated that they would like to identify themselves as global citizens, meaning that they refused to be attached to a specific place, and instead, they believed they belonged to the world. That is to say, they aimed to acquire a range of global capital so that they were able to travel across borders easily and interact freely with people by accommodating others’ linguistic preferences; this is referred to in the literature as flexible citizenship (Duff, 2015; Ong, 2000). As multilingualism
and transnationalism are intimately tied to globalization and identity as well (Duff, 2015), being a speaker of multiple languages used in many parts of the world links one to a wider global community, not limited to a reference group or a specific language community. In this case, shared linguistic knowledge may potentially reinforce the sense of connectiveness to flexible citizenship and transnational identities, so picking up a particular language is not only subject to the identification with the target language, but also serve as an integral part of multilingual identity.

As in the case of multilingual Spain (Lasagabaster, 2017), the cosmopolitan self was embraced by the young generations in that country who tended to eliminate the language resistance executed by nationalist political rhetoric and ethnolinguistic boundaries, while they viewed Catalan, a regionally official language in that autonomous community of Spain, as a resource for constructing their cosmopolitan identities. Similarly, in my study, Cantonese as a linguistic resource offered ways of expanding the range of multilingualism and further increasing these Mandarin speakers’ perceived global capital.

In terms of linguistic repertoires, Cantonese was regarded by participants as a “cool” language that was easier and faster to acquire due to its linguistic proximity to Mandarin. Many participants expressed that “learning Cantonese makes me feel cool” in the interviews. When I further asked them to interpret the meaning of “being cool”, their responses were in line with the notion of multilingual identity. What made them feel cool was not the ability to speak Cantonese only, it was principally the multilingual ability that gave them a sense of achievement where Cantonese was one of their languages. Therefore, Cantonese was considered as a semiotic element that expanded or enriched their linguistic repertoires. As Kathryn reported:
“Although, in my mind, Cantonese is a dialect, not a language, I still believe acquiring Cantonese is competitive because I do not think there are many Mandarin-Cantonese bilinguals.”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

Kathryn elaborated on her attitude to Cantonese saying that the Cantonese itself was not impressive, but being Mandarin-Cantonese bilingual would earn her more prestige. To be more specific, being Cantonese monolingual was less impressive, while Cantonese was more valuable and made her more competitive in the global marketplace when it was part of one’s bilingual/multilingual system (English/Mandarin/Cantonese). Similarly, participants reported that they hoped that other less dominant languages in the current Canadian context would also be incorporated in their language repertoires in their future:

“If possible, I want to learn German and French to increase my linguistic diversity.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“I am learning Cantonese to add one language in my linguistic profile. I have a dream all the time, that is to learn all the languages of Eight-Nation Alliance (八国联军).”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

Jessica, Krystal, Frank, and Kathryn all referred to their desire to learn a number of languages, and Kathryn also expressed a post-colonial concern that the acquisition of eight colonizers’ languages functioned as an ideal image to become a powerful person. In history, China was invaded by Eight-Nation Alliance (Japan, Russia, Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary), which represented the great powers in the world in the age of imperialism/colonialism. Now it seems the learners (especially Kathryn, in the quotation above) were “dreaming” of conquering the languages of some of these countries as forms of symbolic power. Recall that Kathryn was majoring in German at this university.
Interestingly, these participants viewed the quantity of languages in their repertoires as a measure of multilingualism, but few of them were concerned about the quality (i.e., level) of language learning, not proactively stating the level of language proficiency they would like to achieve. When I asked the beginner-level participants to rate to what extent they wanted to be proficient in Cantonese from the rank of 1 (basic) to 10 (superior), they gave the answers of 3, 6, and 6 (Kathryn, the fourth participant, already had advanced proficiency). Echoing Krystal’s statements regarding “getting the basics in as many languages as I can” (interview, 02/02/2018), Frank also indicated that he would not register for the intermediate-level Cantonese course because he believed “learning the basics is enough for me (to carry out the daily conversation)” (Frank, interview, 03/01/2018). The perceived understanding of multilingualism may vary from person to person, but there was a propensity among these participants to focus more on the quantity of languages in which they have basic proficiency than aiming for high proficiency in additional languages (other than English and Mandarin) that can be used for deep conversations. According to the instructor, only 6 students out of 60 (10%) in the program continued to learn Cantonese all the way from beginning to advanced level. One possible reason may be the learners’ view of multilingualism. For example, speaking eight languages with six of them at a basic level seemed to be more prestigious than mastering three languages all at the advanced level, and this language ideology should be further examined with a larger sample of learners and more additional languages. In addition, learning basic Cantonese seemed to fulfill their curricular requirements.

4.2.2 Availability of Formal Cantonese Education, Practice, and Market

Another factor that was identified in both the quantitative (#2 out of 21) and qualitative analysis of motivation was the availability of formal language education in Cantonese. Due to
the language status and ideology of Cantonese, participants had limited access to Cantonese learning when they resided in Mainland China. As language is the medium of political power, the sole official language, Mandarin, is strongly promoted by the Chinese central government and its status is hard to be challenged, which is consistent with the purpose of maintaining national unity. In this context, speaking the national standard language shows the sense of belonging to the legal nation, of being a full citizen, entitled and duty-bound to participate in public life and exercise a citizen’s rights (Bourdieu, 1984). From my own experience growing up in Northern China where Mandarin is dominant, I hardly had exposure to Cantonese. Having studied at a normal university in Beijing for four years, I regarded Mandarin as my sole dominant language over other Chinese varieties and my home language (Shandong Dialect, a variety of Mandarin). Standardized Mandarin was greatly valued in my university which prepared future teachers because all the students who aimed to attain a teaching certificate were required to pass the Putonghua (Standard Chinese, a common name of Mandarin in Mainland China) Proficiency Test at a high level. Everyone whose native language/dialect was not Mandarin made great efforts to approximate standardized spoken Chinese. Those who spoke with a recognizable accent, for example, Cantonese or Hunanese, were not qualified or eligible for a future career in education because their Mandarin was deemed not good enough.

Due to this constructed language ideology of superiority of Standard Mandarin, Cantonese education was suppressed by sociopolitical power and devalued on the ideological level in China. As noted earlier in Chapter 2, Bourdieu (1984) provided a solid method of analyzing power with the concepts of habitus and field: *habitus* refers to diverse logics constructed by the society of how to appreciate, perceive, and act, followed by different forms of realization; the social space where habitus gains its power is called *field*. Generally speaking,
once the learning context (field) shifted from Mainland China to Canada, and the power was transferred from the highly-controlled national context to a liberal transnational context, the contextually pre-established language hierarchies (habitus) would change and the easy access to Cantonese learning resources/rewards became available.

Three participants in my study expressed their appreciation for the opportunities/access to official/formal Cantonese learning in Canada – a different field from their former living environment:

“*My motivation to learn Cantonese became stronger when I came to Canada and when I knew there was a for-credit Cantonese course*”.

(Jessica, 30/01/2018)

“There is a limited resource of learning Cantonese in China, and I have hardly ever found any educational institutions offering Cantonese training in my hometown.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“I have never attended formal Cantonese language program in China because I think I can nail it by myself. But I started to take Cantonese as a course after coming here. *Learning Cantonese in a class is helpful with my pronunciation and tones, and I didn’t pay too much attention to those aspects in self-learning.*”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

As reflected in the preceding quotations, most students showed a preference for studying Cantonese in a formal learning environment to self-learning, so the supply of educational opportunities might have increased their learning demands and motivation. Bourdieu (1984) pointed out “demand hardly ever pre-exists a supply” (p. 460), which indicated the motivation to learn Cantonese could have been inspired by the offering of Cantonese language courses. Furthermore, formal instruction was preferred by these young-generation learners because it was viewed as more effective and more systematic than self-learning, as two students commented:
“If my university didn’t offer the Cantonese program, I would probably not consider learning this language.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“I think it is good to go to a class. In the formal learning, you can always know if you are speaking right or wrong.”

(Krystal, 02/02/2018)

The changed socio-educational context not only produced an easy access to a Cantonese learning program but also provided a local (as well as virtual) community of practice. Three participants commented on this point:

“Cantonese resource is more accessible in this city because there is a large Cantonese community, where we can easily find someone to talk to.”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

“Learning Cantonese in this city has an advantage because you have a lot of opportunities to speak to Cantonese speakers.”

(Krystal, 02/02/2018)

“Cantonese can be used in Hong Kong and some overseas Chinese communities, and also Hong Kong film and TV shows provide some important resources to learn Cantonese.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

Many participants agreed that learning Cantonese was practical in the given context. Mandarin is so dominant in Mainland China that it leaves less space for Cantonese, which may be marked as a social stigma. In contrast, this Canadian coastal city was a traditional harbor for Cantonese-speaking immigrants and there is still a large Cantonese community. Therefore, it is easier for learners to find an interlocutor or a field to practice Cantonese than in many parts of China.

Participants also reflected on their career advancement and noted that Cantonese would improve their job prospects in Canada, Greater China, and possibly elsewhere:
“I do not think it is necessary to use Cantonese in China, even in Guangzhou, but Cantonese is a bonus skill if I want to find a job in this city.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“Being Mandarin-Cantonese bilingual is very competitive in the job market.”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

“Cantonese is useful if I want to find an internship opportunity in Hong Kong, but Hong Kong is not the only destination. I have many options and I just want to prepare more possibilities for my future.”

(Jessica, 30/01/2018)

Frank, in the first quotation above, felt that there was no need to learn Cantonese in Mainland China where Mandarin was widely accepted even in Cantonese-dominant cities. However, multicultural Canada allowed him to question pre-constructed beliefs and go down another linguistic path in which speaking Cantonese became a bonus skill, leading to bilingual/multilingual competence, or career preparation.

This changed perception was not only an outcome of residing in their new transnational context but was also shaped by the influence of global English and the multilingual turn. As Ushioda (2017) noted with respect to LOTEs, “having skills in additional languages may offer a competitive edge in a global job market where English skills have become commonplace, and where monolingual even bilingual English speakers may lose out to multilingual competitors” (p. 475). Global English has gradually gained its power as a compulsory subject for many children entering the educational system and as a must-have skill in the workplace in many parts of the world. And the field for my research in western Canada is an English-dominant society where all the participants had an average of 4.14 years’ transnational experience and spoke English as ordinary practice. The spread of global English may “motivate individuals to diversify their language skills beyond survival English” (Ushioda, 2017, p. 475), leading to the pursuit of
multilingual competence. Learning Cantonese became a way to empower individuals by increasing the multiplicity and diversity of their linguistic repertoires.

4.2.3 From Cultural Interests to Cultural Consumption

Cantonese pop culture used to be a big attraction to Mandarin speakers, especially in the 1980s and 90s. Some participants mentioned that their parents were big fans of Cantonese pop culture and used to learn Cantonese by themselves. These parents encouraged their children to pick up Cantonese as a cultural practice shared by the family. Several participants commented on this cultural factor specifically:

“*I got to know about Cantonese due to the influence of my parents. They are obsessed with Hong Kong pop culture, and encourage me to learn some Cantonese.*”

*(Jessica, 30/01/2018)*

“They (parents) learnt from watching TV shows, so a lot of times we go out eating dinner with their Cantonese-speaking friends.”

*(Krystal, 02/02/2018)*

“My parents want me to learn some Cantonese because they think it is useful.”

*(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)*

As was explained by the participants, they were influenced by their parents’ attitudes and encouragement towards Cantonese both in relation to pop culture and other more utilitarian reasons. However, according to the survey, cultural interests were not rated highly as sources of learning motivation in the questionnaire responses. And indeed, they were, again, rejected as driving factors in the qualitative interviews too, as the following quotations from three focal participants revealed:

“For me, I am not familiar with Cantonese culture too much. So for me, it (learning/using Cantonese) is more like socializing or just for fun.”

*(Krystal, 02/02/2018)*
“I do not think I will register higher-level Cantonese course, because the basic knowledge is enough for me. As far as I know, advanced Cantonese focuses more on cultural issues, which are not attractive to me.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“To be honest, I am not interested in Cantonese culture at all. Learning Korean and Japanese is more about cultural influence, but Cantonese is not.”

(Jessica, 30/01/2018)

Studies on heritage language learning (e.g., learning Gaelic in Atlantic Canada) have found that shared history and cultural practices associated with the language created a sense of connection among heritage language learners, who learn the language in order to identify with their cultural roots and recover their own heritage identity or that of region in which they live, if not theirs personally (MacIntyre et al., 2017). But for these Mandarin speakers who have few historical affinities to Cantonese, Cantonese culture may not attract them to invest in this language. The most prosperous period of Hong Kong culture is past from the perspective of the young generation, and currently, the development of multimedia provides them with an easy way to connect with other (“foreign”) cultures, making Cantonese less unique to satisfy their exotic interests. As stated by Jessica in the above quotation, she was culturally more attracted by Korean and Japanese, not Cantonese. Furthermore, Cantonese may not be perceived to be as foreign or novel as other languages to generate cultural interests. The sense of distinction or uniqueness received from linguistic knowledge of Cantonese was greater than their enthusiasm for its culture. Jessica expressed her view on her own learning interests:

“I do not have the expectation to reach the native speaker level of Cantonese. What I primarily expect is learning for fun. For example, if I can use Cantonese to order dim sum in a restaurant as a way of being entertained, I will be super satisfied.”

(Jessica, 30/01/2018)
It is interesting that Jessica mentioned her learning motivation was for entertainment. Kubota (2011) also noticed there was a new trend of learning languages as a leisure activity and form of consumption among English learners in Japan. “Learning for fun” was voted high in terms of motivation in the questionnaire survey in my study as well, and cultural consumption can better explain this attitude towards Cantonese learning by the participants in this study. For example, each registered student in the Cantonese course was required to do presentations twice with optional topics, and the most frequently selected topics were those related to consumption, such as food, tourism, shopping, or even the financial industry, because these topics were, for them, more interesting and relevant to the real world. As Bourdieu (1984) stated “consumption is a stage in a process of communication which is disposed, consciously or deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences” (p. 2). Cultural consumption can put them in a specific classificatory position with distributed capital, which establishes and marks differences by the process of learning a distinct language. In this case, the knowledge of Cantonese enables them to be competent in Cantonese-related topics and legitimate to consume this knowledge (or capital). Learning a language for leisure or consumption can distinguish the learners by gaining social capital from teachers and peers, showing their preferred lifestyle, distinct social taste, and even social prestige.

4.2.4 Cantonese vs. Other Chinese Varieties: Language Status and Imagined Community

When comparing Cantonese to other Chinese varieties, participants’ responses were in line with the view that Cantonese enjoyed a more prestigious status than others (apart from Mandarin). Language status is a reflection of power, especially political power, which also involves economic potential, and cultural influence, and even the number of its speakers. As discussed in the introduction chapter, Cantonese-speaking people have achieved prominence in
China’s history and Cantonese has always occupied a top position in the language hierarchy. This realization was also evident in participants’ interview comments, both with respect to the status of Cantonese in Greater China and in western Canada.

“In my mind, Cantonese is the most influential dialect in China.”

(Jessica, 31/01/2018)

“Cantonese can be easily recognized (by non-native Cantonese speakers), but other Chinese varieties cannot.”

(Jessica, 31/01/2018)

“Being able to speak Cantonese makes me feel cool, and others also believe you are cool (高大上: high, fancy, classy).”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

“If I apply for a job, I’ll put Cantonese on my resume, instead of other Chinese dialects.”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)

“I think a lot of people speaking Cantonese here (this Canadian city), so that will make it more prestigious.”

(Krystal, 02/02/2018)

When I further explored how Cantonese could get such a distinguished status, two participants suggested that the impact of Hong Kong empowered Cantonese from socio-historical and economic aspects:

“Hong Kong is the window of China to connect to the whole world! Decades ago, Hong Kong was far more advanced than Mainland China either in social system or in other aspects, so Cantonese carries something that other dialects do not have from the socio-historical perspective.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“Cantonese can be recognized (by non-native Cantonese speakers) due to the economic prosperity of Hong Kong.”

(Kathryn, 02/02/2018)
Although some of the participants had never been to Hong Kong before, they still developed a clear imagination of what it should look like. When they described Hong Kong, they would use a series of vocabulary items, like *metropolitan, modern, advanced, civilized*, etc. Cantonese was considered a cultural symbol of Hong Kong by these participants, and learning Cantonese meant getting close to Hong Kong, the international city. One participant, Jessica, had a future plan to do an internship in Hong Kong, so she picked up Cantonese to prepare for her future. In this case, Hong Kong became an imagined community which might be physically distant, but participants could build a psychological connection between themselves and the imagined community, and between the past/current situation and future possibilities, by learning the language – Cantonese.

The desired memberships in an imagined community may affect “agency, motivation, investment, and resistance in language learning” by inviting global, multilingual and other identities (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 589). As more and more people describe themselves as global citizens, they refuse to be tied to one particular community; instead, they plan to establish relationships with various destinations to gain a sense of being unlimited. However, an imagined global community is not simply the sum of several imagined communities. It refers to the holistic concept of the borderless multicultural and multilingual community. For example, Hong Kong itself is an imagined global community, and Hong Kong plus other countries act as an integral concept of an imagined global community, and the space moving among these multiple sites can also be recognized as an imagined global community. The potential members in the imagined global community are more likely to have an *international posture*, which is defined as an “interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners, and … openness or a non-ethnocentric attitude toward
different cultures” (Yashima, 2002, p. 57). Survey data in my study also showed participants’ desire to integrate into an imagined global community instead of a physically existing community.

4.2.5 Cantonese vs. Other Foreign Languages: The Sense of Investment and the Emergence of Economic Rationale

Investment is a term borrowed from economics, which is described as the “product of adjustment to the objective chances of turning competence to good account” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 85). Darvin and Norton (2015) noted that people invested in a particular language in order to gain a wider range of symbolic and material returns. According to Bourdieu (1984), linguistic competence is an obtained form of symbolic capital which can be exchanged with other forms of capital, such as educational capital, cultural capital, or even academic credits. During the interviews, the return of gaining academic credits was reported to be a strong motive for these participants to invest in learning Cantonese.

The process of choosing a language to learn is similar to selecting investment products when investors will take account of the relative risk and potential benefit, cost and value. As Frank stated in his interview, “taking Cantonese course is cost-effective,” which was an indication of his rational calculation of maximum profits. As linguistic competence is not directly equivalent to economic values in a tangible way, it needs to be evaluated and imagined by incorporating various properties, such as time, energy, course level, reputation, etc. When it came to participants’ decisive factors in choosing to learn Cantonese instead of other foreign languages, their responses included two rationales.

First, learners perceived that Cantonese was easier to learn and it was more possible for them to get high grades because of its greater linguistic proximity to Mandarin than other foreign
languages. As the difficulty level was perceived to be low, acquiring this language required less time and energy, which could save their capital investment (e.g., time and efforts) to get a better return (e.g., grades or proficiency). Note that as international students who had learned English as a foreign language, the other courses students were taking toward their degrees would likely be very challenging, both cognitively and linguistically. Cantonese, therefore, provided a safe learning space, of sorts.

Secondly, compared to other foreign languages offered from the beginner-level (100 level in terms of course designation), basic Cantonese courses for Mandarin speakers started from the 300 level, providing a way to earning upper-level credits, which counted for more in their GPA. As Frank explained: “If I want to apply for a Master’s program in Canada, 100-level courses are not calculated in my GPA evaluation system, but 300-level courses take up a large portion. I paid the same money, and invested the same time and efforts to learn a basic language, but I could get more benefits (course level, grades) from Cantonese. It is a good deal!”

Below are some additional remarks made by Frank and other focal participants during the interviews reflecting this view:

“Taking Cantonese is cost-effective (性价比高). Getting easy credits is my initial purpose to take this course.”

(Frank, 30/01/2018)

“It is an upper-level course but it is easier, so it is a GPA booster.”

(Krystal, 02/02/2018)

“Compared to other foreign languages, Cantonese is closer to Mandarin and easier to learn. I always consider taking a new language but do not want to try very hard (languages). I do not feel pressured to learn Cantonese.”

(Jessica, 30/01/2018)
The economic rationale provoked these course-takers to spot and make use of what could be seen as either a vulnerability, or an opportunity in course offerings (to build on prior knowledge, their Mandarin L1). The Cantonese program started in September of 2015, with basic courses for combining heritage, non-heritage, and Mandarin speakers. One year later, one Mandarin-speaker section and one heritage-learner section were created, separating the two, to accommodate the diverse and multifaceted demands of learners. For non-heritage learners, there was a prerequisite that they must finish two years of Mandarin study before they could register for Cantonese courses. For this reason, basic Cantonese courses for non-heritage learners were numbered at the 300 level. However, the later two added courses, Cantonese for Mandarin speakers and Cantonese for heritage learners, were also numbered at the 300 level, along with the original Cantonese courses for non-heritage students. The institutional status (upper-year credits) of these courses soon became appealing to these students, resulting in a surge in Mandarin speakers’ desire to study Cantonese. So the numbering was an artifact of the complex process of developing and revising the curriculum over time, based on experience.

It is worth mentioning that most of the motivation factors discussed above are consistent in both quantitative and qualitative data, with the only exception being “economic rationale”. Learning for “language credits” received very low scores (ranked #20 out of 21) on the questionnaire (see Table 4.1) but proved to be the strongest motive discussed in the follow-up interview, displaying a lack of reliability for this factor. Or perhaps participants were less candid about the instrumental value of the courses toward their GPAs in the questionnaire, which was filled out during class time, than in the one-on-one interviews with the researcher in a non-instructional space. Further investigation should be carried out to examine to what extent the strategic academic calculation affects learners’ motivation, and which one is more decisive.
compared with the attainment of the ideal multilingual self and other prominent factors, and the reason for the discrepancy between the survey and interview.
Chapter 5: Discussion

This study examined the factors that may influence students’ Cantonese learning motivation at one Canadian university, providing a perspective to understand why an increasing number of Mandarin speakers are interested in learning a less commonly taught language in a transnational context. The motivations for Mandarin speakers to learn Cantonese were different from people’s motivation to learn English or other LOTEs reported in other research literature. They were also different from learners learning Cantonese as a heritage or foreign language in other research, due to different learning contexts (e.g., in Hong Kong, vs. western Canada). Feldman (2004) defined motivation as “factors that direct and energize the behavior of humans and other organisms” (p. 309). This chapter summarizes a variety of motives categorized by different types of motivation, including instrumental and integrative motivation, and intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of transnational Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese. Through discussing the motives, this chapter tries to answer the three original research questions which were put forward in Chapter 3. In my study, integrative motivation was not a strong impetus for learning, but instrumental motivation was still very apparent, as the discussion of investment in the last part of Chapter 4 revealed clearly. The mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic motives was also found to facilitate Cantonese learning. I discuss these traditional orientations to learning motivation in the following sections as they relate to my findings.

5.1 Integrative Motivation vs. Instrumental Motivation

Integrative motivation, established by Gardner (1985), refers to a favorable attitude towards the target language community, sometimes a desire to integrate and adapt to a new target culture through learning the language. This construct has been used by many researchers of foreign language learning motivation. However, this study found that “integrative motivation”
did not capture the key learning characteristics of the new transnational generation (at least those who participated in this study), who had already acquired some major languages (e.g., Mandarin and English) both in the home and the host country for life and career uses. When learning a regional language (Cantonese) of their home country (Mainland China), there is no need for them to acculturate or integrate into the target language community. Similarly, different from learning English in an English-dominant society as a survival skill, it is unnecessary for learners to pick up Cantonese as a must-have communicative tool in English-French bilingual Canada and particularly with a growing Mandarin-speaking population in British Columbia.

Similarly, many Cantonese learners did not have integrative orientations to Cantonese culture, even though some reported that their parents had been so-inclined. Compared to Cantonese heritage language learners who are connected to the target language culture, cultural affiliation and family roots which are attached to heritage-oriented L2 self turned out to be less attractive for Mandarin speakers in this study, none of whom came from regions in Greater China where Cantonese is widely spoken. Having no personal connections and little prior exposure to Cantonese, these Mandarin speakers did not develop strong emotional bonds or shared core values and beliefs in Cantonese, hence displayed not much interest in the target culture. Also, culture was often predominant in the motivation to learn a foreign language in other studies, but Cantonese seemed not to have exotic or novel characteristics for these Mandarin speakers.

Instrumental motivation, as has been noted previously in this thesis, is related to learners’ utilitarian goals for mastering a language (Gardner, 1985). An instrumental motivation factor observed among Mandarin speakers in this study was that Cantonese could be a “bonus skill” in the job market where multilingual ability is highly valued. For example, the customer service at
Canadian banks in the city usually offer their service not only in English, but also in Mandarin and Cantonese. Compared to Mainland China, Cantonese in Canada was, according to participants, more recognized and used as a linguistic resource parallel to Mandarin, in many sectors of the society. Mastering Cantonese as an additional language therefore makes the learners more competitive in the global and local job market.

Also, these participants were instrumentally motivated by what they characterized as easy credits when I looked into the reason why they registered in Cantonese rather than other foreign languages at the university (question 3 raised in Chapter 3). According to Bourdieu’s (1984) theory of capital and investment, the process of choosing a language to learn is similar to deciding what financial products to invest in, guided by the rational calculation of maximum profits. Language learners who invest in a particular language expect to get a wider range of symbolic and material return, including academic credits or higher grades. It is therefore a very rational, logical choice for these learners and one that is encouraged by the institution.

For these Cantonese learners, they carefully compared different languages by calculating the cost (time, efforts, energy, etc.) and benefit (credits, grades, course level, impact on graduate education). Compared to other foreign languages, Cantonese was believed by these learners to be more accessible because of its linguistic closeness to Mandarin, leading to a lower level of learning difficulty. In this case, the rate of return was increased by saving the cost. Another consideration was the course level. Unlike other foreign languages offering basic courses from the 100 (first-year) level, Basic Cantonese was considered an upper-level course numbered at the 300 level, which could work as a “GPA booster” because this upper-level course was reportedly easy to learn but had a high impact on learners’ academic records. Getting easy credits (and seemingly high grades) in the Cantonese course would probably be a realistic account of
students’ learning purpose, and this could be intertwined with intrinsic motives to sustain their motivation to complete the 300-level course. We should, however, keep in mind that the rational comparison between Cantonese and other foreign courses was contextualized from the students’ perceived image of a newly-established language program without much statistical evidence provided for potential students. What they had imagined to be an “easy” language might have become more challenging after studying in the program for a period of time (e.g., after the mid-term assessment). In addition, the program and curriculum were still evolving at the time of this study (when the program was in its infancy); therefore, the views of the participants relate to the curriculum as they perceived and experienced it at that time.

In some earlier research conducted by Gardner and Lambert, integrative motivation was found to be more significantly functional in formal learning than instrumental motivation (Ellis, 1994). However, in this study of Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese, integrative motivation was seemingly insignificant as a factor, whereas instrumental motivation (as discussed above) exerted a strong effect. As many scholars have pointed out, integrative motivations may not fit in the foreign language setting (e.g., Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). Cantonese was provided as a foreign language option in the Canadian context, which indicated that the integrative motivation of learning English in a second language context could not fully interpret the Cantonese learning in this foreign language context. In addition to previous research on English learning motivation, integrativeness was also found to play an underlying role in facilitating other motives for learning LOTEs in the Japanese context (Sugita McEown et al., 2017), showing that learning motivations of a specific LOTE should not be generalized to other LOTEs. In response to the first question raised in Chapter 3, the previous conceptualization of motivating learners to learn
English and other LOTEs is not adequate to explain the Cantonese learning motivation due to different target languages and contextual issues.

5.2 Intrinsic Motivation

The Cantonese learning motivation of transnational Mandarin speakers in this study tended to be more holistic, psychologically proximal, and future-oriented. As intrinsic motivation factors refer to a driving force from the inherent pleasure which works within the individual (Noels, Clement, & Pelletier, 2001), it can better capture the characteristics of the ideal multilingual self and imagined community.

The concept of Ideal Multilingual Self is a product of globalization. The prevalence of Global English powerfully enhanced by neoliberalism and globalization, makes English a necessary but also a commonplace skill in many societies across the world, which results in a less competitive position of being monolingual or even English bilingual in either global markets or the educational industry (Ushioda, 2017). In the globalized world today, multilingual ability is more favorable among individuals who intend to seek employment or educational opportunities globally. Furthermore, the advancement of technology and the expansion of mass migration has made it possible for individuals to frequently travel across borders and connect to the global community. In response to the social demands and global market, multilinguals pick up languages/varieties to form a richer linguistic repertoire, and they are “well documented as handling the semiotic repertories flexibly, sometimes keeping them separate, at other times alternating them, fixing them, or meshing them” (DFG, 2016, p. 26). Global citizens are able to develop multilingual skills to flexibly interact with people from different parts of the world, so being multilingual is naturally related to their global identities, thus motivating them to learn as many languages as they can to expand their linguistic repertoires as needed. The notion of ideal
multilingual identity also inspires new generations to pay more attention to minorities’ languages, not only the official language or dominant languages, in specific contexts or for specific purposes.

One phenomenon which should be further examined is what is meant by multilingualism. Multilingualism in this study was discussed by participants with more emphasis placed on the number of languages in their repertoire (e.g., adding Cantonese) rather than the level of proficiency attained (seeking beginner-level vs. advanced proficiency). This study showed some evidence of this imbalance in that the majority of the learners stopped at the basic level and showed no interest in moving up to the advanced level of Cantonese. Different populations and contexts need to be investigated because this finding may be an artifact of the credit value, course number (as upper-level courses for Cantonese learners), and language requirements in this university and the fact that none of the participants majored in Cantonese (which was not yet an option). An additional consideration is that the students were mainly learning oral Cantonese, since they were already highly literate in written Chinese (with perhaps the exception of the Canadian-born participant, Krystal). It might suffice for their purposes for many students to take one course to understand how the sound system functions in Cantonese in comparison with Mandarin.

I also examined why the participants in this study chose to learn Cantonese instead of other Chinese varieties in this particular Canadian transnational context (supposing that all the varieties were offered in post-secondary education). I believe it is because of the perceived language status of Cantonese both within Canada and Greater China, which was regarded as more prestigious than other Chinese varieties, aside from Mandarin. Even though Cantonese is not privileged enough to be an official language of China, it has been very powerful due to this
region’s economic success. Furthermore, because Cantonese used to be the lingua franca in many overseas Chinese communities as a result of its large immigration population, it is more likely to be considered an independent language in the host countries. Indeed, the language Canadians or Americans called “Chinese” for many years was most likely Cantonese, not Mandarin. Cantonese is recognized as a language rather than a dialect in the Canadian context, and is also valued by its position in the multilingual system (as one of several languages offered in banking service encounters).

For another reason, the status of Cantonese is closely related to the influence of Hong Kong, which is an imagined community for these Cantonese learners. Although some students might never have visited Hong Kong before, they had created an image of Hong Kong, of what it looked like. As noted in previous chapter, a series of descriptors were used to depict the details, like modern, civilized, advanced, and metropolitan. Cantonese was considered a cultural symbol of Hong Kong based on previously acquired information, so learning Cantonese meant approaching the international metropolis - Hong Kong. Furthermore, some students regarded Hong Kong as a potential destination for them to work, study, or live, temporarily or permanently; even though Hong Kong was just one option among their imagined global communities, they were excited to learn some Cantonese to prepare for their future. Under such circumstances, Cantonese acquisition narrowed the discrepancy between the actual environment and their imagined communities, and also built the psychological link between their current situation and future possibilities. Although physical distance existed between the actual and imagined societies in which they resided, the psychologically proximal connections facilitated their motivation to learn Cantonese, with the help of their future-oriented imagination. According to Anderson (1991), imagined community was an intrinsically integrative construct, which was
imagined by people who desired to be part of the target community/group. But in this case of these Mandarin speakers, Hong Kong was imagined in an instrumental way in which they could engage in the global economy instead of desiring to gain the permanent, meaningful membership or belonging in that community. The instrumental aspect of “imagined community” may need to be further investigated and re-conceptualized with the expanding considerations from transnationals and flexible citizens.

5.3 Extrinsic Motivation

Extrinsic motivation includes some subtypes: external regulation is related to environmental energizers outside of the learners; identification regulation refers to the idea that learning a language is valuable to achieve their chosen goals (Noels et al., 2001). The motivation factors targeting external influence are multidimensional, contextual, and rational, incorporating the sociopolitical (language ideologies), sociocultural (culture as commodity), and socioeconomic (educational investment) considerations. If the external stimulators have changed or stopped to take effect, the motivation might disappear as well.

The first extrinsic factor in this study was the changed learning context (field) which made it possible for the learners to have access to formal Cantonese education, a local (as well as virtual) community of practice. With 95.1% of the investigated participants having grown up in a Mandarin-dominant area, the ideology of “Mandarin as a standardized language” was deeply rooted in their language attitudes, devaluing other Chinese varieties. When the context shifted from Mainland China to Canada, the pre-established language ideology was weakened and the language hierarchy between Mandarin and Cantonese became less rigid. The new context allowed the learners to change their Mandarin-only attitude and adopt another linguistic path. In multicultural Canada, no matter what the size of speaker population is, both Cantonese and
Mandarin are minority groups’ languages in terms of their language status. However, the potential motivation to learn Cantonese was not evident until the formal Cantonese courses were offered. In the new context where motivation may be unconscious and underlying, the demand for Cantonese learning was promoted by the supply of the language program. Similarly, the existence of a community of practice (the local Cantonese-speaker community) enabled students to envisage the ways to use and practice Cantonese in everyday activities (at banks or restaurants), which also motivated them to view this as a useful language. Canada has a history of receiving Cantonese-speaking immigrants, establishing large Cantonese communities housing Cantonese grocery stores, restaurants, and landmarks like Chinatown, etc. So there were more opportunities for participants to speak or practice with local, native Cantonese speakers.

In summary, linguistic resources are never “neutral, value-free, systems”, and rather, each resource “tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life” (DFG, 2016, p. 27; Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293). Language learning is a contextually situated process, which means if the context changes, the internal motivation and attitudes toward the target language will be reconstructed as well.

Another extrinsic motivation factor was influenced by how much enjoyment they received from learning Cantonese. According to Bourdieu (1984), the psychological satisfaction is also included as a kind of symbolic return. He explained: “the pleasure is one of the preconditions of successful investment” (p. 86), which explains why “learning for fun” was rated high (#3 out of 21 items) in my survey.

According to these participants, the sense of entertainment could be gained from the topics or content taught in the language curriculum. Surprisingly, Cantonese culture, which used to be a big draw to older generations (like the parents of the learners) in China just decades ago,
did not seem to act motivate to interest the new generation to learn Cantonese. The reason may be that, nowadays, people can easily encounter foreign cultures through technology and multimedia, so Cantonese culture is no longer a novelty. It is interesting to mention the sense of novelty/distinctiveness in the Cantonese language course for Mandarin speakers, sociopolitical topics received more attention than pop culture and traditional culture because of the uniqueness of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical environment in Hong Kong which adopted a more independently legal, political, and economic system as a special administrative region in China.

Unlike heritage language learners, cultural roots and cultural identities are less appealing to the Mandarin speaker group due to their limited personal exposure and connection to Cantonese. The data showed that what these participants were interested in was topics related to consumption, such as shopping, food, tourism, and the financial industry, etc., which were perceived to be more interesting and more relevant to their real-life situations than, say, Cantonese opera. In the globalized new economy, language is commercialized as commodity, which is tied to cultural consumption. Culture is a social artifact and a particular form of fetishism according to Bourdieu (1984), and aesthetic activities or cultural consumption is not guided by the intrinsic interest on culture, but driven by the desire to gain distinctive properties (capital). Language learners are also consumers in the process of consumption, who aim to gain a sense of distinction and satisfaction corresponding to their socioeconomic status. Topics in consumption function as the media to have fun and also mark differences by displaying these learners’ daily routines, preferred lifestyles, social tastes, and social prestige.

The aforementioned intrinsic and extrinsic factors were intertwined with each other to affect these participants’ Cantonese learning motivation, which answered the second research question in Chapter 3. Those factors incorporated both intrinsic and extrinsic aspects, which
could not be entirely and rigidly grouped into a specific motivation type, so the above categorization was fluid and interchangeable under some circumstances. In other words, both cognitive-psychological and socio-contextual perspectives can help explore students’ complex, dynamic, multifaceted motivation.

This discussion also revealed some questions remaining to be further explored. It is important to note again that earning course credits, as an extrinsic motive, was the only factor that did not achieve the consistent responses across the quantitative and qualitative data: it was a weak factor in the survey but was strongly presented in interviews. Perhaps the interview site is more personal than the classroom, where the questionnaire was completed, and allowed the interviewees to express themselves more freely and in more detail. Therefore, this utilitarian indicator should be further explored in terms of the extent to which it can shape learners’ motivation, and how it interacts with other prominent intrinsic motives (e.g., ideal multilingual self). On the other hand, as more students in this context proceed to advanced levels of study in Cantonese, it would be worth investigating why they persist with Cantonese language study and to what effect. For example, the only advanced learner in my study, Kathryn, was motivated to learn (or persist with) Cantonese by her boyfriend, a Cantonese speaker from Hong Kong. As we mentioned previously, 90% of the Mandarin-speaking learners did not choose to move up to the next level of coursework after completing the basic Cantonese, but what made Kathryn’s learning motivation sustainable was integration within her boyfriend’s speech community. This indicated that instrumental orientations appeared to have a stronger impact on the beginning-level learners, but for some who were highly motivated to become advanced Cantonese users (like Kathryn), the dominant motives might show some integrative characteristics as well. Thus, the motivation to learn a same language, Cantonese, might change at different language
proficiency levels and as students’ relationships, perceptions, and opportunities change as well. Therefore, some longitudinal studies including advanced learners should be carried out to verify the changing motives within and across individuals at different points in their L2 learning trajectories. It may be that examining beginner-level students primarily provides an inadequate range of views, experiences, and motivations with respect to Cantonese. Therefore, studying a wider population of learners would provide other insights into the appeal of Cantonese to contemporary learners in China.

Due to the relatively small sample, particularly in the qualitative component of the study, I cannot generalize the findings of motivation factors of transnational Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese beyond this study and context. However, this investigation is able to address a number of common issues that are worth further exploration. It can serve as a beginning step to re-conceptualize the motivation indicators based on diverse contextual factors and group differences.
Chapter 6: Implications and Conclusion

This chapter presents theoretical implications of multilingual, contextual, language-specific motivational research, followed by pedagogical implications for multilingual classrooms. Then I conclude with motivational features of Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese and suggest some future directions for research.

6.1 Theoretical Implications

As the mainstream motivational models currently in circulation in applied linguistics are all primarily based on the motivation to learn English, like the L2 Motivational Self System, Self Determination Theory, and the Socio-Educational Model, the monopoly of English leaves less space to discuss the motivation to learn LOTEs, such as Cantonese. The globalized world provides a greater number and diversity of transnationally interactive contexts that individuals can get access to, so there is an increasing number of people who are interested in developing multilingual skills to enrich their linguistic repertoires. Under this circumstance, the English-oriented theories and findings “may be not applicable to other languages in the 21st century landscape” (Duff, 2017, p. 598). However, within the limited number of up-to-date LOTE studies, predominance is given to European languages and the researched contexts are primarily in the U.K. and continental Europe. In the research field of learning LOTEs, very few studies were carried out to explore learning motivation in relation to L2 Chinese, let alone varieties of Chinese other than Mandarin, such as Cantonese. Even within the limited studies on Cantonese, the emphasis was put on Cantonese heritage learners (e.g., Ho, 2011) instead of Mandarin speakers or non-Chinese learners. This study aimed to narrow this gap and open the investigation of Mandarin-speakers learning Cantonese, a regional language, in a transnational context, to find
out the motivations of this particular learning group: Why did they choose to learn this particular target language in this specific learning context?

The motivation of Cantonese learners in this study was characterized as holistic, dynamic, complex, and multidimensional due to individual diversity and variability. As DFG (2016) stated, language learning “is a ceaseless moving target, with periods of stability but never stasis, and describable via probabilistic predictions but never via deterministic laws” (p. 29). Different groups, even individuals, learning the same target language may have different motivations (or may represent their motivations in different ways) at different points in time. Although this study examined only Mandarin learners of Cantonese, heritage learners and non-heritage learners, in addition to Mandarin speakers will no doubt have quite different motives for learning Cantonese.

Duff (2017) advocated that researchers “broaden the linguistic and geographical reach of their work to other contexts as well” (p. 599). The motivational indicators would be divergent if the same learning group learned various languages. Taking Mandarin speakers for example, their motivation for learning Cantonese is no doubt different from their (earlier) motivation to learn English, to learn other LOTEs, and to learn other Chinese varieties. The motivation to learn LOTEs cannot serve as a collective concept that can be generalized to explain any LOTE motivation. Rather, each language needs to be examined comparatively to capture the attitudes and values attached to the particular language, especially a less commonly studied language. It also needs to be examined within the local social and educational context. Mandarin learners of Cantonese in another institution with different policies, practices, and curriculum might express quite different views.
DFG (2016) stated that “the more extensive, complex, and multilingual the contexts of interaction become over time, and more enduring learners’ participation is in them, the more complex and enduring their multilingual repertoires will be” (p. 77). The previous research primarily depicted learning an additional language in domestic contexts, such as American students learning Spanish in the U.S. (Thompson, 2017), Japanese students learning English and other foreign languages in Japan (Sugita McEown et al., 2017), British students learning LOTEs in the U.K. (Lanvers, 2017). These studies all elicited the motivation of learning foreign languages in the domestic or local context without including other regional possibilities (such as Chinese students learning Cantonese in Canada, a transnational context). Although Lasagabaster (2017) analyzed young immigrant students’ motivation to learn different languages in contact in Spain, it is different from the transnational context with international student sojourners, which represents a more open-ended, dynamic, and fluid process potentially, instead of a one-step immigration process. In many transnational contexts, individuals have potential connections to different global sites, not limited to their home country or the current host country. They can physically and mentally travel across these sites back and forth and to any imagined communities. The students in this study are Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese as a foreign language in a transnational or foreign context, different from Mainland China and Hong Kong as domestic contexts. These transnational Mandarin speakers are international students living in Canada for educational purposes, but they are loosely and temporarily attached to this place, without any apparent strong affiliation to Canadian citizenship, and they might seek other new destinations globally to live, work, or study in the future. Therefore, in a transnational learning context which is fluid and difficult to measure, particularly in the absence of longitudinal research that can track learners’ trajectories (educational, linguistic, migrational) over many
years, there is more complexity and uncertainty of language learning motivation and corresponding behaviors. This is, thus, a need for future investigations and theory development.

Motivation is not fixed or stable; it constantly changes according to time (the global era, and hour by hour or minute by minute), space (the transnational context, classroom to classroom, university vs. community), and participants (transnational new generation, urban vs. rural, science vs. humanities majors, people from varying socio-economic backgrounds and means). Further investigations are therefore needed on Cantonese learners in the current context, particularly as the program expands and as students move to other levels, and then on other combinations of languages and learners in other geographical locations, in both formal and informal settings, local and transnational contexts.

6.2 Pedagogical Implications

6.2.1 Multi-competence and Internal Goals

Instead of being the mechanical sum of multiple separated languages, multi-competence stresses the holistic and organic system of all acquired languages (L1, L2, Ln) in the same mind or community and their interactive relationships (Cook, 2016). To develop multi-competence, one should be encouraged to focus on interrelatedly strategic and pragmatic use of multiple languages, rather than an isolated language associated with the native speaker fallacy (i.e., that the goal of language learning should be to emulate “native speakers”). That is to say, the idealized native speaker should not simply be the proficiency standard. The goal of language education should be to emphasize the whole performance of linguistic competence, and deal with complex problems using multiple languages effectively, thus “expanding their communicative repertoires and identities and their facility with languages more generally” (Duff, 2017, p. 602). Smythe and Toohey (2009) investigated the sociocultural contexts and practices in a Canadian
Punjabi-Sikh community and found that “students responded enthusiastically when they were invited to share multilingual, multimodal resources” (p. 53) at the public school. Therefore, teachers working in multilingual settings and multilingual schools should be aware of students’ learning identities and linguistic resources to invite and build their hybrid linguistic competence. Furthermore, the “third space” which depicts the hybrid space existing “in-between” (Bhabha, 1994) different languages should be developed, in light of learners’ current and future transnational identities.

Cook (2005) discussed the internal and external goals of language teaching: external goals are related to using languages appropriately like native speakers to communicate and convey information outside of the classroom; while internal goals relating to individual mental development do not necessarily include having learners behave like and strive to mingle with native speakers. He also criticized curriculum design that places too much emphasis on external goals rather than internal purposes, advocating that teachers should work on balancing internal and external goals by recognizing what students actually need. In societies where multilingualism is highly valued both in the job market and educational institutions, strengthening students’ multilingual ideal self as the internal goal is of the utmost importance. To be more specific, instructors need to deal with the concept of possible selves in their classrooms and help students develop strong multilingual ideal selves (Lasagabaster, 2017). Teachers also should discover who in transnational contexts strives to achieve multilingual abilities and how their imagined future selves affect their language learning motivation, and then create opportunities for them to connect to (and possibly expand) the imagined community, such as through field trips or target language community involvements. Moreover, in terms of the transnational new generation, the combination of cosmopolitan view and their multilingual ideal
selves will bring about not only individual but also social benefits (e.g., social harmony, social integration, respect for cultural and linguistic diversity, etc.). In a multilingual context, the development of an ideal multilingual self that encompasses a cosmopolitan (multicultural) self is of vital significance and the education system should aim at helping learners construct and develop it.

Knowledge of other languages and their cultures and the promotion of intercultural awareness and multilingual selves should help pave the way for multilingual and multicultural understanding if students and institutions invest in this goal sufficiently and effectively. There is a compelling need to build bridges between the instructional learning represented in classrooms and the practice community in real-life situations (e.g., through service-learning, and other forms of interaction) to overcome the gap between language learning and meaningful language use within communities of practice in which the language is naturally used.

6.2.2 Educational Supply

Diverse language supply (i.e., provision of instruction in particular languages) and formal learning resources can trigger students’ motivation both consciously and unconsciously. As motivation is dynamic and complex, students may have multifaceted learning demands, needs, desires. So the learning objectives, learning styles, and learning needs differ from one another and the curriculum is expected to be more varied to accommodate learners’ demands. As reported by the instructor participant in this study, he has witnessed a number of Cantonese programs that were shut down in North America due to the so-called declining demand. As he observed:

“They (the Cantonese program providers) see this year, we do not see many students register, then maybe we cannot sustain the program. But I think it is kind of vicious circle:
if you do not put enough resource in, you do not make sure it is a good program, (and) students might not be very interested in that.”

(Richard, interview participant, 02/02/2018)

On the other hand, the curriculum design should also be academically justifiable to avoid the resources being taken advantage of, to promote successful language learning, and to inspire students to persist with language study to higher levels possibly.

Curriculum design needs to take into consideration of the changing demands, preferences, and values of the learners, who may be more interested in developing critical thinking and problem-solving skills than language proficiency. Consumption topics related to everyday life and routines proved popular in this study than outdated representations of pop culture and traditions. This observation might be based on the fact that students do not have familiarity with more intriguing aspects of contemporary pop culture; they might be encouraged to engage with more in-depth analysis of differences in pop culture across Mandarin and Cantonese media.

More importantly, multicultural education advocates for engaging all students in diverse cultural practices, not only restricted to the target language culture. This requires the classroom instruction to recognize and employ the first-/second-language culture (perspectives, practices, products) as cultural resources to help develop Ln competence. In this regard, Richard, the Cantonese instructor, shared his teaching experience as a successful case of integrating the students’ L1 (Mandarin) culture with the language being learned (Cantonese):

“There are a lot of things that we did not understand from each other (Cantonese speakers and Mandarin speakers), maybe myth or misunderstanding, or a lot of cultural difference that will inspire meaningful discussion in the class. Even though I am a teacher, I realize I’ve learnt a lot from my Mandarin speaking students because we’d like the students do
the classroom presentation, just this term I expected each student to talk about their hometown in China (use Cantonese to introduce your hometown), and I realized that China was so big and there is so much I did not know. Now they can share with Cantonese speakers in Cantonese and talked about their hometown. I find it a meaningful cultural exchange.”

(Richard, interview participant, 02/02/2018)

Richard motivated students to reproduce cultural products and knowledge with Cantonese by creating learning settings and inviting them to bring their L1 culture to the classroom, contributing to cultural understanding and meaningful language practices.

6.3 Conclusion

Under the influence of multilingualism and globalization, the motivation of Mandarin speakers to learn Cantonese is complicated and very situated. The working motives are distinct from previous research findings targeting other learning groups, learning contexts, and target languages.

Different from the motivation to learn English in an English-dominant society, Cantonese learners in this study felt it to be unnecessary to have integrative orientations to be part of the target language speaking community. Since they have already acquired the dominant language of their home country and the host university, Cantonese might be instrumentally picked up as a utilitarian language to earn credits toward their degrees or develop a “bonus” skill in the global job market.

Different from the motivation of heritage Cantonese learners, Mandarin speakers who have less cultural affiliation with Cantonese did not show much interest in engaging with the target language culture. Rather than becoming integrated within Cantonese culture, they
presented more idealized and customer-oriented learning needs, such as enriching their linguistic repertoires or learning for fun.

Different from the motivation of learning other LOTEs in domestic contexts, a transnational context provides a dynamic site to explore the ever-changing motives and trajectories in certain global communities. The transnational learning field in this study allowed the learners to easily reject the previously imposed language hierarchies from China and develop a multilingual image in which Cantonese knowledge (together with English and Mandarin) has social status and value.

In summary, for academic purposes, the motivation of Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese needs to be examined within a contextual, language-specific, and multilingual framework. This study has shown that the integrative motivation fails to capture the motivational features of students in this research context but instrumental motives still worked as stimulators. Other factors working intrinsically and extrinsically also facilitated their Cantonese learning. The prominent intrinsic factor, ideal multilingual self, plays an important role in motivating Mandarin speakers to learn Cantonese in accordance with their global identities. This finding requires the classroom instructors to recognize students’ transnational experience and multilingual practices as resources to develop their multi-competence. The passion of an imagined community, another intrinsic factor, was psychologically linked to the current learning situation, which motivated the learners to learn for their future. In the classroom teaching, teachers are therefore encouraged to help learners envisage their future performance in a specific speech community or a variety of possible communities.

A prominently working extrinsic motive is the availability of a formal Cantonese program, which elicits Mandarin speakers’ motivation by providing credit-bearing Cantonese
courses in a postsecondary learning institution (a western Canadian university). Educational stakeholders are therefore encouraged to expand their language provision (across a range of languages and levels) in a sustainable way. What is more, the curriculum design should be academically challenging to make students more responsible for their learning achievements instead of being perceived as “easy-credit” takers.

Taken together, the results indicate that a mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic motives work to sustain the Cantonese learning motivations of Mandarin speakers living and studying in Canada, but future investigations should identify how the intrinsic and extrinsic motives interact with each other and to what extent they can support the long-term motivation to study languages. As a beginning step in motivational research on Mandarin speakers learning Cantonese, while this study offered some useful insights into how some working motives were reflected in a specific LOTE context and how these factors differed from the previous studies, the results from this small study need to be interpreted with caution due to the specific context. Future research should include other exploratory studies like this one on students’ motivation to learn Cantonese, as well as larger-scale studies with different learning groups, different languages, and different learning contexts.
References


Appendices

Appendix A Questionnaire

Project Title: Motivation of Mandarin Speakers Learning Cantonese in a Transnational Context: Multilingualism and Investment

1. Which program are you enrolled in at your university? Major: ___________ Minor: ___________ (if any)

2. What is the level of your program? • Undergraduate • Graduate

3. Which year are you in? • 1st • 2nd • 3rd • 4th • 5th

4. Where were you born? (city and country) _________________

5. How long have you lived in this city? _________________

6. Have you lived in other countries and regions (including Hong Kong) (for more than 6 months) before coming to Canada? • No • Yes (Where: _________________)

7. Can you speak your local dialect?
   • Not at all • Yes (specify which one: ___________ ) • Can understand but cannot speak

8. Have you studied any additional foreign languages other than English? Which one? ________________

9. Have you learned additional dialects other than Cantonese? Which ones? ________________

10. If your university had not offered Cantonese, what language courses would you have liked to take? (specify 3 possibilities in order of preference) ① ___________ ② ___________ ③ ___________

11. Do you have any family connections to Cantonese-speaking regions? • No • Yes (Where ___________)

12. Did you have any prior experience learning Cantonese before taking this Cantonese course?
   • No • Yes (How? • By myself • Learned from parents or other relatives • Attended language program • Other: ___________)

13. If possible, would you like to register advanced-level Cantonese course? • No • Yes • Not decided

Please rate the following statements regarding your motivation to learn Cantonese:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pls. circle the answer:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1- Strongly Disagree, 2- Disagree, 3- Neither Agree Nor Disagree, 4- Agree, 5- Strongly agree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like Cantonese pop culture and art (including films, pop-music, TV shows, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Pls. circle the answer:**
(1- Strongly Disagree, 2- Disagree, 3- Neither Agree Nor Disagree, 4- Agree, 5- Strongly agree)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have a strong connection to a person or a group from Cantonese-speaking regions (e.g., celebrity, intimate friend, family members or relatives, etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to use different languages to talk with different people, not only in English or Mandarin.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I understand/speak Cantonese, I can get better service in a Cantonese store/restaurant.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Cantonese in a formal language program is more effective than self-study.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Cantonese should be much easier than learning other (foreign) languages.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese would help my future career, such as getting a better paying job (esp. in HK).</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Cantonese can make me a more multilingual and powerful person to understand diverse cultures.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to study other languages for fun, especially languages that are not compulsory.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many people around me (e.g., friends, neighbors etc.) study or speak Cantonese. If I know Cantonese, I can have more opportunities to practice or communicate better with them.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese-speaking regions play an influential role both in China and in the world (esp. economy).</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Cantonese can increase my social status and give me more advantages than speaking other dialects.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am learning Cantonese to fulfill my language requirements.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was frustrated by learning other foreign languages so I turned to Cantonese.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t want to be excluded from my Cantonese speaking friends. Knowing Cantonese makes me feel less limited.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese is considered to be a challenging language. I take the Cantonese course because I want to prove that I can meet this challenge.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am interested in traditional values and customs of Cantonese culture (e.g., dim sum, Yue opera, festivals, etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people around me tend to learn commonly taught languages (e.g., French, Spanish), but I want to learn something different.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Cantonese is very useful for me to integrate into the global and multilingual community.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am learning Cantonese because I am interested in understanding different aspects of the social and political environment in Hong Kong or Guangdong.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pls. circle the answer:
(1- Strongly Disagree,  2- Disagree,  3- Neither Agree Nor Disagree,  4- Agree,  5- Strongly agree)

| The ability to speak Cantonese can make me a confident person in language learning. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Other reasons (please specify)____________________________________________________ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Thank you very much for completing the questionnaire!

****Follow-up interviews****

Would you like to take part in a follow-up interview with Shuang Li to further discuss these topics?

Please circle:   Yes   No

If yes, please provide your contact email address: ________________________________
Appendix B  Interview Outline

B.1  Interview Outline for Students (English Version)

Project title: Motivation of Mandarin Speakers Learning Cantonese in a Transnational Context: Multilingualism and Investment

Background:
1. Could you please tell me why you chose to study Cantonese at your university?
2. How do you feel about this learning experience? Is it interesting? Is it difficult?
3. How, if at all, has it changed your sense of yourself as a Chinese person?
4. What difference in your life (career, social networks, popular culture engagements, etc.) do you think that knowing Cantonese will make?
5. What efforts have you made both inside and outside of this course to improve your Cantonese or to practice it? Do you have any future goals to use Cantonese?

Language learning autonomy/ attitudes:
1. Did you try to study Cantonese before taking this Cantonese course? If so, how did you learn it? (e.g., by yourself, attending courses, using Internet resources).
2. If your answer to the previous question was “yes,” can you please tell me why you were interested in Cantonese learning at that time?
3. What efforts did you make at that time?
4. Why did you think learning Cantonese was important to you?

Significant others/ social networking:
1. Did your family members or friends encourage you to learn Cantonese? Why?
2. Are any of your friend native speakers of Cantonese? From Hong Kong or from Guangzhou or somewhere else? What languages do you usually speak when you are together?
3. Was your interest in Cantonese inspired by Cantonese-speaking celebrities? Do you have any role models for speaking Cantonese?
4. Have you ever felt excluded from conversations or social networks due to a lack of Cantonese-speaking ability?
5. Have you ever heard others say that not knowing Cantonese caused some inconveniences or problems?
6. Has taking Cantonese expanded your social network or increased your appreciation of Cantonese language and culture? Outside of class, where do you encounter Cantonese most?
7. What role does social media or Internet-based popular culture play in your engagements with Cantonese. Can you give some concrete examples?
Imagined community
1. What are your linguistic goals in terms of language proficiency (listening, speaking) for learning Cantonese? Why?
2. What social/communicative goals do you think Cantonese will help you achieve?
   a. Integrating into a Cantonese community (where?)
   b. Using Cantonese during a job interview
   c. Having conversations with strangers (and in which contexts)
   d. Talking with a salesperson in a store
   e. Talking with friends
   f. Is Cantonese more likely to be of use to you here in Canada or in Hong Kong/China? Why?
3. On what occasions do you imagine you will use Cantonese to communicate with others?
   a. Ordinary conversations: grocery stores; restaurants; barber shops etc.
   b. Formal occasions: company; lecture (business meetings; academic exchanges)
   c. Are you currently able to take part in these kinds of activities using Cantonese? Why or why not?

Social identities/motivation
1. Why do you think learning Cantonese is important in this Canadian city?
2. Why did you choose to study Cantonese instead of other foreign languages or dialects of Chinese?
3. Does speaking Cantonese give you a special sense of achievement? Why or why not?
4. Would you have chosen to learn Cantonese in China if offered the possibility? Why or why not?
5. What is the difference between studying Cantonese in mainland China and in this Canadian city? In which situation do you feel more motivated to learn Cantonese?
6. Do you feel more engaged in groups of ethnic Chinese by speaking Cantonese? Where do those groups tend to meet?
7. Do you think the ability to speak Cantonese is more important than learning other Chinese dialects? Why or why not? Do you already speak other Chinese dialects? Where did you learn them? Do you think Cantonese is more or less prestigious than some of these other dialects?
8. What benefits (social, cognitive, cultural, professional) do you think you can gain from learning Cantonese?
9. Will you continue to study Cantonese after finishing this Cantonese course? Do you plan to take advanced Cantonese courses offered by your university?
10. Are there any other cultural reasons why you have been attracted to Cantonese?
11. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your Cantonese learning?
B.2 Interview Outline for Students (Chinese Version)

Project title: Motivation of Mandarin Speakers Learning Cantonese in a Transnational Context: Multilingualism and Investment

访谈提纲
课题：普通话母语者在海外学习广东话的动机研究

个体叙事：
1. 你可以陈述一下你为什么在你的大学学习广东话吗？
2. 你怎么来评价这段学习经历？有趣吗还是很难？
3. 这段学习经历有没有使你对作为一个中国人的感觉产生改变？
4. 学习广东话对你生活的那些方面产生了影响？（职业选择？社会网络？流行文化）
5. 你分别在课堂内外做了那些努力来提高你的广东话？

学习经历：
你在上这个广东话课程之前有没有学习过广东话？

a) 如果学习过的话，当时是怎么学习的？（自学、网络、上课等等）
b) 你当时为什么会对广东话感兴趣？
c) 你当时都为学习广东话做了什么努力？
d) 你当时为什么觉得广东话是一门比较重要的、值得学习的语言？

影响学习广东话的人员和社会关系：
1. 你的家人和朋友鼓励你学广东话吗？如果是，为什么？
2. 你有说广东语的朋友吗？他们来自哪个区域（广东、香港）？当你们在一起交流的时候你们通常用什么语言（普通话、广东话、英语）？
3. 你是因为追星才对广东话感兴趣的吗？引领你学广东话的偶像是谁？
4. 你（或你周围的朋友）经历过因为不会讲广东话而造成麻烦的事情吗？
5. 社交媒体或网络文化对你学习广东话有影响（帮助）吗？如果有的话，你是怎么借助这些工具来学习广东话的，可以给出几个具体例子吗？
想像语言社区

1. 通过学习广东话你希望在语言能力方面达到什么目标（听力、口语）？为什么？
2. 通过学习广东话你希望在沟通交往方面达到什么目标？
   a) 融入一个广东话社区（哪里）
   b) 使用广东话参加工作面试
   c) 和陌生人聊天（在什么场景下）
   d) 和商店里的销售人员聊天
   e) 和朋友聊天
3. 你认为你在哪里更可能使用到广东话？（大陆、香港、加拿大）
4. 你认为在什么场景下你更可能用到广东话去和他人交流？
   a) 日常情境：杂货店；餐馆；理发店等
   b) 正式场合：工作单位；学术讲座；商业会谈
5. 你现在可以在以上提到的场景中使用广东话吗？哪些可以？哪些不可以？为什么？

身份/动机

1. 你认为在温哥华学广东话重要吗？为什么？
2. 你为什么选择学习广东话而没有学其他的外语或方言？
3. 学习广东话会给你成就感吗？为什么？
4. 如果有条件的话，你会在中国学广东话吗？
5. 你觉得在中国学广东话和在温哥华学广东话有什么不同？你认为在哪种场景下你更有动力去学广东话？
6. 你觉得学了广东话之后你对海外华人群体有了更深刻的理解吗？
7. 你认为会说广东话比会说其他方言更厉害吗？为什么？
8. 你都会说什么方言？你在哪里学习的这些方言？你觉得和广东话相比，这些方言怎么样（更难，更有意思，更有用…）？
9. 你觉得学习广东话对你有什么好处？（社会关系网；文化认同；职业发展；娱乐体验等）
10. 学完"广东话基础"之后你还会继续学广东话吗？你会继续注册你的大学的高级广东话课程吗？
11. 还有其他的文化类的原因促使你学习广东话吗？
12. 关于学习广东话的经历，你还有其他的想和我们分享吗？
B.3 Interview Outline for Instructor

Project title: Motivation of Mandarin Speakers Learning Cantonese in a Transnational Context: Multilingualism and Investment

1. Do you think the Cantonese program offered in this Canadian city has more advantages compared to other regions? (historical connection, language policy, community support, etc.)

2. Please tell me about the kinds of students who take Cantonese, in terms of their ethnolinguistic backgrounds and levels of Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) proficiency. What do you think their motivation is for taking Chinese?

3. How has the teaching of Cantonese changed (if at all) since the course was first offered at this university (students, course, etc.)? If there were curricular changes, why?

4. What have been some of the challenges of teaching Cantonese to students from Mandarin-speaking backgrounds? How do you think students will build on their Cantonese knowledge from their course(s) after the courses end?

5. What is the difference between teaching overseas and teaching in a domestic context? What is the difference between teaching Mandarin speakers and non-heritage learners (especially the motivation)? Do you think the dialectical difference among Mandarin speakers will influence their ability and motivation to acquire Cantonese?

6. From your classroom observation, which topics interest students most (culture, politics, economics, etc.)? Which topics are frequently presented in the classroom presentations?

7. Can you please tell me the percentage of students continue to register advanced Cantonese course after finishing basic Cantonese course?

8. Can you please share with me one or two stories about typical students with high motivation? What are their background and how they managed to learn Cantonese?

9. Do you have any other comments about students’ motivations for learning Cantonese at this university and about how the program has accommodated their interests and needs?