



MONASH University

Representations of the self among Chinese immigrants

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(MA, BA)

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Abstract

This study investigates the interconnections between self-representation in language, culture and cognition. Twenty-five Mainland Chinese immigrants to Australia were interviewed. Linguistic features of speaking about oneself in Chinese provide a rich resource to explore cultural meanings of the self. This thesis looks into participants' perception of selfhood, negotiation of social identities and construal of socio-cultural experiences by analysing linguistic constructions. To this end, data collected in the form of focus group interviews were analysed qualitatively, using a framework that incorporates elements from social psychology, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics.

The qualitative analysis is organised according to the social psychological tripartite model of self-representation: the individual dimension, the relational dimension and the collective dimension. The individual dimension is informed by data where speakers differentiate themselves from others as unique individuals. Utterances that express dyadic relationships fall under the scope of the relational dimension. The collective dimension is revealed as speakers negotiate memberships in terms of social collectives both explicitly and implicitly.

Participants use language to represent themselves favourably throughout the discussion. The analysis highlights participants' subject-positioning in discursive interactions as the social construction of the self is a matter of social performance. Situated in the context of immigrant Chinese, these performances find expression in self-reliant evaluations that promote sincerity, connectedness and sharedness, which can be argued as constituting a fluid socio-cultural construction of selfhood among the interviewed Chinese immigrants. In terms of their group membership, they feel themselves to be perceived as *cultural exemplars* of their affiliated Chinese communities. Meaningful variations for naming these Chinese-based social groups and evaluations of their characteristics constitute part and parcel of the construction of their Chinese ethnicity.

Self-representational performances reflect speakers' understandings of more enduring socio-cultural values. Sincerity and genuineness stand out as common values. Utterances that reflect descriptions and interpretations of dyadic relationships show that these Chinese speakers foster trustworthiness and cooperativeness by seeking discourse alignment and

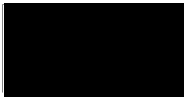
avoiding dis-alignment. Discussions about social collectives and membership categories show that participants try to establish a sense of authenticity and correctness by projecting their own interpretations of certain meanings associated with imagined cultural collectives onto their addressees.

The study also finds linguistic evidence to support the view that the self is conceptualised in culturally specific ways. Participants' accounts of individuality and self-evaluations and self-reflections embed the dynamics of self-representation. These utterances reflect depictions of interpersonal proximity and speakers' imagined positions within dyadic relationships and group memberships. The ways self and other are conceptualised in the social space suggest that the listeners are not construed by the speaker as just the object or recipient of their utterance, but also as part of the speaker's subjective world that is constructed intersubjectively through imagination. Individuals imagine themselves to belong to various communities, the process of which involves the creation and interpretation of meanings for these imagined cultural collectives and the negotiation of these meanings in the given socio-cultural context.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This study investigates the interconnection between self-representation, language, culture and cognition. It draws on data gathered through interviews with twenty-five Mainland-born Chinese immigrants in Australia. Linguistic features of speaking about oneself in Chinese provide a rich resource for exploring the cultural meanings of the self. This study's aim is to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' perception of selfhood in relation to their linguistic construction and negotiation of social identities. Data collected in the form of focus group interviews were analysed qualitatively, using a framework that incorporates elements from social psychology, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics.

1.1 The concept of self

The current study takes a linguistic approach to the investigation of self-representation. For individuals, a sense of self is essential; one is to define or to become oneself in relation to others through social practices. These practices of relating to each other could involve narrative accounts of self-identity, social responsibilities, practical ethical principles, and ideals of the good (Barresi & Martin, 2011). The way selfhood emerges in people's talk can be a reflection of their thinking, the way people think about themselves and others. This becomes the point of departure of the present study. It asks how self-representation emerges from the negotiations of various aspects of social-cultural knowledge, namely, the construction and reconstruction of identity, the discussion of social-cultural values, and the formation of social relationships.

The self, across various disciplines, such as sociology, social psychology and linguistics, is increasingly viewed as being constructed through narration and interaction. The self is a socially constructed category. It is something that has to be constructed and sustained in the linguistic activities of the individual. Self-categorisation is emergent, and dependent on spatio-temporal and socio-cultural context. The current study examines the way selfhood emerges from people's talk. Conversation, as a form of social interaction, is mediated by the interlocutors' knowledge of linguistic conventions. These are shared knowledge, with which speakers perform particular social acts and stances in front of hearers. Language also contains resources for speakers and hearers to negotiate socio-cultural values. Linguistic features that

emerge while people talk about themselves therefore indirectly index shared socio-cultural values.

This study proposes that linguistic forms in the participants' narration and interaction with one another offer a valuable window on the speaker's self-representations. While self-representations are unique to the individual speakers concerned, they nonetheless reflect the broader cultural context of those individuals. Self-representation in a given culture is contingent upon the ecological, cosmological, social and moral orders permeating the culture. Meaningful variations in naming different social groups reflect the construction of the interlocutor's social identities. The multifaceted quality and complexity of self-representation is evidenced by the adoption or selection of various pragmatic strategies during social interaction.

The self is a culturally constituted category. how the self is construed very much depends on the psychological mediation of culture (Cohen, 1994; Morris, 1994). Being situated in a given cultural context, the self does not stand as an isolated entity, but rather as an integral part of a cultural system (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Marsella et al., 1985; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, 1989). Self-representation is thus culturally experienced. A person's cultural experiences manifest in how each individual understands their place within the cultural group with which they identify. Speaking of one's cultural identity, the speaker offers a rich indexical cues of both subjectively and intersubjectively constituted socio-cultural categories which then provide researchers with a window into the mental and cultural models of a culture's members.

The contemporary social theories of the self, as a result of the proliferation of social and scientific investigations, seems to face a shift from being unified or indivisible to being fragmented and plural. The concept of self is conditioned by time and determined by socio-cultural and linguistic context. Chinese immigrants in Australia, a new and growing group of global citizens, are living in a society where multiculturalism and plural understanding of identity is celebrated. The interaction among themselves and with people from other geographic or linguistic backgrounds facilitates further development of the sense of cultural and linguistic multiplicity and plurality in the construction of social reality. The current study serves as an investigation of a group of immigrants and their cross-cultural experience that accommodates these diversified views without losing the authenticity of their beliefs and convictions that are shaped by their past experiences.

Self-representation, in the context of the present study, is an on-going social and cognitive process. It requires viewing such experiences as occurring in social interaction, a context where each individual is in dynamic contact with social others. Recent linguistic and anthropological research on language, culture and thought demonstrates that language forms the basis for the collective cultural understanding among its speakers. The interactions between members of a cultural group can be argued as generating cultural cognition (Sharifian, 2003, 2011), which embraces the cultural knowledge that characterises the cultural group. In this regard, the Chinese immigrants' cross-cultural experience might well generate features that reflect collective cultural heritage handed down through history. As we make sense of the world that we live in, it is inevitable that we exercise our cognitive faculty through categorisation and conceptualisation. Various concepts related to the self, lexicalised and expressed through language, are part of that process. Cognition provides an anchor for comprehending both inherited cultural assets and also forms the basis for participants' moment-to-moment negotiation of the meanings of linguistic constructions in talking about their identities.

1.2 Immigrants and immigration

In the increasingly globalised world, many societies have become multi-cultural. Immigrants play a significant role in these multi-cultural societies, and since European settlement began in 1788, Australia has had a rich history of migration. Immigrants have made considerable contributions to Australia's social development, cultural integration and economic prosperity. As a result of contact between people of different cultures, the various lifestyles and cultural practices of the diverse migrant communities have been absorbed into mainstream Australian culture.

Chinese Australians are one of the largest groups of Overseas Chinese people. Ever since the gold rush in the mid-19th century, waves of immigrants from Mainland China and Southeast Asia have contributed to the ever growing Chinese communities in Australia. In the most recent wave, persons born in China made up the third largest group of overseas-born Australian residents, accounting for 1.9% of Australia's total population on 30 June 2014 (ABS, 2014). According to Settlement Data from 1 January 2010 to 31 December 2014, Chinese skilled workers represented the second largest overseas-born Australian skilled worker group. Recent years have seen China continue as the largest single contributor to the international student population in Australia. In 2010–2011, one fifth of all student visa

applications lodged and granted were from China (18% and 20% respectively) (ABS, 2011). An increasing number of young Chinese come to Australia to better their education and decide to stay in Australia. Many of them were born in 1970s to 1990s in Mainland China; they have received Australian tertiary education and have entered into the Australian labour force. These young professionals are likely to contribute to the social landscape of contemporary Australian society to a large extent in the long run. For all these reasons, this target group is a worthy object of study.

Immigrants' adaptation to their host society has become an increasingly important topic in social studies (Briman & Trickett, 2002). The cultural change that occurs as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups has become an increasingly important construct used to describe the adaptation of immigrants to their new environments. Many studies show that significant cultural transition takes place over the span of generations for various immigrant groups (Alba, 1995; Cuellar et al., 1981; Der-Kambetian & Ruiz, 1997; Marin et al., 1987; Padilla, 1980; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Rosenthal et al., 1989; Rumbaut, 1995; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1988). Several procedural models have been developed by social scientists to describe this cultural change as a process in terms of developmental stages, such as Park's three-stage model which includes contact, accommodation, and assimilation (Persons, 1987). Such procedural models presuppose that an aim has already been set, which is to acculturate. Models that aim at describing the stages that people may go through before fully conforming with the host/target community have been proposed, such as Oberg's (2006) four stages of culture shock which include honeymoon, crisis, recovery and adjustment.

Other researchers use the term acculturation and focus upon identifying the components of acculturation. For example, Gordon (1964) suggests that language, behaviour and identity form the three components of the immigrants' adaptation to the host society. Teske & Nelson (1974) contend that acculturation should include changes in material traits, behaviour patterns, norms, institutional changes, and importantly, values. In this regard, a person's psychological features, in addition to developmental sequences, are included and highlighted to contribute to an understanding of how an individual mind deals with the shock of a new cultural environment. These studies also imply an assimilationist perspective.

In recent studies of cross-cultural adaptation, theorists start to view the cultural transition among immigrants as an open-ended process, where immigrants should no longer

assessed by how well they assimilate to the host culture (Berry, 1980; Kim, 1979, 1988; Kim, 1995; Kim, 2001; Kim & Gudykunst, 2005; McGuire & McDermott, 1988). This view is particularly important as it shifts its focus to the social and environmental influences on immigrants, thereby promoting a social constructivist perspective. Tam notes that “the world has become more and more pluralistic in its cultural development” and “seemingly less and less divergent in its shrinkage, as a result of globalisation” (2011, p. 505). The traditional categories for conceptualising world cultures in the case of immigrants, the so-called host and home cultures, are no longer adequate for analysing the current global world. Therefore, the current study avoids the aforementioned dichotomy and offers instead an empirical examination of cultural transition among the group of young Chinese first generation immigrants. It will use a methodology that utilises narrative analysis to prioritise the participants’ subject-positioning in discursive interactions. It also describes various cultural concepts which centre upon representations of the self as they emerge.

As a result of contact between two or more cultural groups, immigrants make constant comparisons between the social norms and behaviours that they were born and raised with and those they observe in the new cultural environment. Immigrants’ discussions about host culture’s norms, values, customs and appropriate behaviours reflect their own socio-cultural stances. One view within migrant studies regards immigrants as finding themselves in a situation where they have to learn to cope with the demands and expectations of a new culture (Melikian & De Karapetian, 1977). Another view of this cultural process states that, when groups of individuals from different cultures come into continuous contact with each other, there can be changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936).

This study aligns itself with the latter view. The current study deals with the cultural understandings of selfhood among a group of Chinese immigrants who were born and raised in China in 1980s and 1990s. It treats the participants’ cross-cultural experience as a socially constructed process. This process constitutes “the entirety of the evolutionary process an individual undergoes vis-à-vis a new and unfamiliar environment” and therefore one that must “be understood in terms of a dynamic interplay of the person and the environment” (Kim & Gudykunst, 2005, p. 379). The impact of their home culture may continue to influence the immigrants’ way of life in the new cultural environment. Influences from the home culture can also exert an influence on their accommodation of new experiences. Thus,

the study draws on concepts and ideas that can be argued to shape the participants' stylistic ways of representing the self in the cross-cultural context.

1.3 Research questions

The presented study aims at exploring the following questions:

1. Among Chinese first generation immigrants to Australia, what linguistic forms are used to refer to the self and what cultural notions do these reflect?

2. How are these prominent cultural notions negotiated among Chinese first generation immigrants?

3. What role does self-representation play in social interaction among Chinese first generation immigrants?

To fully address these questions in the context of the current study, several language-specific and general issues need to be addressed. The self is construed within a given cultural and linguistic context. Various Chinese terms denoting the self are not readily translatable into the terminology of the multiple dimensions of self-representation. The Mandarin Chinese lexical system of the self is the object of study. The term "Chinese" is not used in a cultural essentialist sense as if some people are more "Chinese" than others. Instead, it is viewed as a constellation of cultures which embrace a global perspective, therefore, the self that emerges out of the interaction among these interviewed Chinese immigrants in Australia is not seen as an alternative to a mainstream Chinese culture, but contributes to the plurality of Chinese cultures in the global sense. Representations of the self are taken as processes as well as products of interaction between external social structures and language use with human agency. As for the current participant cohort, their China-Australia cross-cultural experiences form the foundation of their social interactions. Their self-representations are then analysed linguistically in terms of how they emerge in and are constituted from the discursive practices under the aforementioned socio-cultural conditions.

There has been considerable debate and disagreement among linguists and anthropologists over cognitive universalism and cultural relativity. Cultural knowledge can be thought of as a set of shared understandings and interpretations that characterise smaller or larger groups of people (e.g., D'Andrade, 1984; Quinn, 1991; Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn,

1994). Shared knowledge and practices arguably reflect similar ways of thinking among people of the same cultural background. According to Keesing (1974, p. 89), culture can be “conceived as a system of competence shared in its broad design and deeper principles, and varying between individuals in its specificities.” In this view, culture “is ordered not simply as a collection of symbols, but as a system of knowledge, shaped and constrained by the way the human brain acquires, organises, and processes information and creates internal models of reality” (Keesing, 1974, p. 89). Culture thus consists of a series of overlapping cultural models, schematic cognitive representations of socially significant phenomena which are shared by individuals in a social group and which construct meanings for these individuals. These cultural models serve a directive, but not determinative function for individual behaviour (Dressler, 2001, p. 1). The current study does not deny the disparity between cognitive universalism and cultural relativity. It aims for contributing to the discussion by offering a systematic analytical framework for viewing the relationship between cognition and culture by examining the variety of expression produced by the participating Chinese immigrants.

1.4 Significance of the study

Firstly, this study explores the interconnection between self-representation, language, culture and cognition. When immigrants are experiencing a society that is new to them, socio-politically, culturally and linguistically, often they need to acquire knowledge of social norms and practices, learn new ideas and decide whether or not to accept them. Although the media provides an important source for such knowledge, another important source is interaction with others who have had the similar cross-cultural experience. The language they speak with one another fulfils a socialising function. The participants of the present study, Mainland-born Chinese immigrants in their 20s and 30s, negotiate norms and values fed by the cross-cultural context and interactions they are embedded within.

Beyond this, according to cultural anthropology, the most fundamental function of language is to provide a means by which speakers can evoke and reinforce adaptive imagery in one another (Palmer, 1996). Communication and language socialisation can be analysed as cognitive processes. Language and imagery, as Palmer (1996) notes, contribute to the effectiveness of cultural adaptations. In this regard, the immigrants’ adaptation to the new culture can be studied from the point of view of how they internalise the new environment by cognitive means. A study of participants’ narration and interaction with one another provides

a way to see these internalised cognitive processes (Clark, 2008; Clark & Chalmers, 1998; Johnson, 1987; G. Lakoff, 1987; G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Secondly, this study explores self-representation by applying social psychology's tripartite model of self-representation to a qualitative and descriptive analysis of language use. The multi-dimensional analytical approach that integrates linguistic, conceptual and cultural knowledge in presenting the construction of the self brings together cognitive models and social structures that are related to meanings and forms of self-knowledge. The tripartite model of the self-representation points out the individual, relational, and collective dimensions of self-representation. The composition of the three facets does not follow a hierarchical order and does not give priority to any dimension as the primary form of conceptual frame or mental representation.

This framework does not presuppose an invariant homogeneous unity regardless of socio-cultural background. Rather, this application argues for an ever-changing relationship between the self and the social context. This theoretical construct argues for the interdependence of language, cognition and social interaction. At each dimension, meaningful self-representations are enacted, performed, and negotiated through intersubjective positioning of self and other(s). The continual re-construal of the indexical value of each linguistic performance constitutes a fluid constellation of socio-culturally related meanings. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis offer detailed explanation.

Finally, this study investigates a group that has not been studied systematically. They are young Chinese first generation immigrants who were born after China adopted Reform and Opening-Up policy¹. These young Chinese first generation immigrants were mainly born in 1980s and 1990s, Chapter 4 will introduce their demography in more detail. They received formal education in Mainland China when drastic social and economic reforms were taking place before they migrated to Australia. The world has seen China's economic growth and increasing involvement in international affairs in the last 30 years. The interviewed participants represent a newly emerging cultural group among overseas Chinese. They are

¹ The second generation of central leadership of Communist Party of China, led by Deng Xiaoping, started the implementation of a serious of political and socio-economic reform in 1978 in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

living in a society where multiculturalism and plural understanding of identity is celebrated by everyone.

It is hoped that this study will offer a better understanding of these young Chinese immigrants in Australia. The contemporary globalised world makes it much easier for them to identify with a variety of imagined collectives. The ways these immigrants jointly perform different aspects of the self evoke imageries, categories and identities. The selfhood that emerges from their interactions displays socio-culturally formed constructions. Conceptualising and reconceptualising enduring and emerging cultural beliefs all carry profound socio-cultural implications.

1.5 Aim and scope of the research

The social world is constructed through human action and interaction. The endeavours of each individual takes to express themselves and to understand others not only promotes interpersonal communication but also contributes to forming a shared social world. It is usually done between people who grow up and live within the same cultural environment, but the integration of different cultures has brought together smaller cultural groups to a greater extent.

Throughout their life, individual people relate socially to each other in various ways. To have a sense of self is essential during this process, which involves narrative accounts of self-identity, social responsibilities, practical ethical principles, and ideals of the good (Barresi & Martin, 2011). To be a self in the social world, in terms of the contemporary social scientific literature, is to become oneself in relation to others through social practices. In a given cultural context, the way selfhood emerges from people's talk is a reflection of their imaginations, the way people imagine themselves in relation to others. Representations of the self is shaped by an individual's understanding of their place within the imagined cultural collective with which he or she identifies (e.g., Brewer & Roccas, 2001; Cross & Madson, 1997; Hardie et al., 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Drawing on the constructivist perspective of the formation of the self (see Section 2.1 of Chapter 2 for a review), the current study treats self-representation in a plural sense, which involves the individual, relational and collective dimensions. Informed by the tripartite model of self with three fundamental aspects—the individual self, the relational self and the collective self—self-representation can be studied in terms of unique personal qualities,

dyadic relationships and social group memberships. The concept of the self, viewed in a plural sense, is inherently variable and should be contextually anchored.

The current study places its focus on the participants' cross-cultural experience which is a very unique circumstance itself because of the exposure to various cultural constructs. First of all, as briefly discussed in Section 1.2, the study focuses on the impact of immigrants' home culture which arguably continues to influence the immigrants' way of life in the current cultural environment and on their accommodation of the perceived cultural diversity. Thus, the study draws on concepts and ideas that can be argued to shape the participants' stylistic ways of representing the self in the cross-cultural context. In light of the social constructivist perspective that the current study adopts, the analysis treats immigrants as the cultural subject to their socio-cultural environment.

Having chosen Mainland-born Chinese immigrants in their 20s and 30s, a group of people that the researcher is mostly familiar with, the study probes into this group of Chinese people's language use. The aim is not to compare them to any other groups of people in terms of their cultural characteristics, nor does it try to generalise their perceptions of different cultural norms and behaviours. Earlier in the literature of cross-cultural comparative investigation of self, a dimension of the cultural-self perspective came to be formulated. This dimension was said to capture the structure of cultural differences (Greenwald & Breckler, 1984; Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984), such as individualism versus collectivism (IC) (Hofstede, 1980; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990), independent versus interdependent views of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994), idiocentrism versus allocentrism (Triandis, 1989), and agency versus communion (Bakan, 1966). Each of these definitions differs, but they converge in their description of an orientation toward focusing on an individual as a member of a significant in-group (Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002, p. 903). However, the immigrant groups are themselves a socio-cultural hybrid and cannot be said as representing a particular culture.

Having said so, the study does not reject the idea that the self is subject to cultural orientation. Drawing on the findings of various empirical social psychological studies of self-construct (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Marsella et al., 1985; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, 1989), the self does not stand as an isolated entity but rather as an integral member of a cultural system (for a review, see Section 2.1.2 in Chapter 2). The participants of the present study are immigrants who were born in the 1980s and 1990s and who received formal

education in Mainland China. They have had a distinctive material, cultural and political experience that their parents' and grandparents' generations could not have had. The demography and the historical background of the participants forms the socio-cultural context for a descriptive interpretation.

The current research resides in the important topic of selfhood and society by exploring the self as a modern Chinese concept in the context of the contemporary globalised millennium. Chapter 3 will draw on the discourse of modern Chinese identity, Chinese nationalism and individualism in modern China. This discourse has informed a rich socio-political context for the interpretation of the cultural influences on participants' stylistic way of speaking and talking about themselves.

The ever-changing relationship between the self and the social context, resulting from the performative actions in which each individual engages in social interactions, creates meanings and forms of self-knowledge, producing various social identities. Chapter 2 reviews studies of self and identity in the field of linguistics. Having chosen a linguistic approach, terms that refer to the self are analysed as they appear in the interlocutors' interactions. Chapter 4 will introduce the relevant methodologies for detailed linguistic analysis. The analysis places its emphasis on participants' comments that reflect how they refer to themselves and one another in the naturally occurring talk.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present analytical results of how participants construct favourable representation of themselves at the individual, the relational and the collective dimensions. At each dimension, the discursive analysis, the first part of each of these chapters, explores how participants take stances to display, negotiate and reinforce their perceptions of shared socio-cultural values related to self-representation. In the meantime, the analysis also looks for evidence where the speakers' language production embodies ways in which they exercise cognition.

The second part of Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the analytical results on the cognitive construal of each dimension of the self accordingly. The current study treats language as a conflation of collective and cultural repertoire. Language, in its socio-cultural context, creates meaning, the process of which involves a cognition-based negotiation of socio-culturally shaped knowledge. Language, scrutinised for an examination of representations of the self, then, connects cognitive construals of the self and the social structures of the self.

Chapter 2. Self, language and the socio-cultural world

It has become widely accepted among scholars that people are capable of accommodating different beliefs and understandings regarding their “self”; indeed, the self may be considered fragmented, although people tend to speak as if they were a unified and indivisible self². The current research grounds the theoretical framework of the present investigation on an interdisciplinary concept of the self. Drawing on contemporary social theories of the self, especially in sociology, social psychology and linguistics, the theoretical propositions for the self relevant to the current study are: that the self is social plurality constructed through narration and interaction; that talking about oneself is a way of performing oneself in the social world; and that the discursive process of relating oneself to others reflect certain cognitive patterns, which are evoked in interaction.

Drawing on sociological, social-psychological and linguistic studies of the self, Section 2.1 focuses on contextualising the view that the social self is pluralistic and relational which emerges out of social interactions. Section 2.2 reviews concepts employed by researchers of language socialisation and communication to guide the interpretation of speakers’ social positioning of self and other. Section 2.3 draws on studies of language and cognition to discuss cognitive patterns, conceptual structures, and mental models corresponding to linguistic expression. Section 2.4 provides a rationale for the socio-cognitive approach that the current study adopts in order to examine features of speaking and thinking about oneself in the present Chinese corpus.

2.1 The social construction of a plural self

In social theory, the self is often used interchangeably with the term “identity” (Sökefeld, 1999). Identity enjoys a great popularity among scholars involved in the social psychological study of language learning, language use and discourse analysis (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977; De Fina et al., 2006; Giddens, 1984; Labov, 1972; Norton, 2000; Tajfel, 1982, for more details, see Bianco et al., 2009). Identity as a modern concept validates personal development in terms of self-understanding, which in turn incorporates self-

² In early modern times, Descartes (1637/1998) conceptualised the self in terms of consciousness with the formulation “I think therefore I am” which has since been regarded as a key moment in the conceptualisation of the “modern subject” (Oliver, 1992, p. 38).

representation on the personal or individual level, and collective representation on the cultural or ethnical level.

Identity can be understood as the social side of the self (e.g., Tajfel, 1982; Turner et al., 1987). To have an identity is to define what is important and what is not, or to orient to certain qualitative distinctions within which one lives and chooses in their social life (Taylor, 1989, p. 30). From this perspective, identity can be taken as a series of processes as well as products of the interactions between social structures and language use. From a discursive analytical perspective, language speakers take responsibility for taking stances and for invoking socio-cultural value, which can be defined as *positioning* acts (Davies & Harré, 1990; Du Bois, 2007)³. Identity will be defined here as the “social positioning of self” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In light of this definition, selfhood is of a constructed nature. The self can be defined (or organised) according to the various identities that tie into social relations. It emerges from the interplay of one’s psycho-cognitive activity and social-cultural experience. As Michel Henry puts it, the most basic form of selfhood is constituted by the very self-manifestation of experience (1963/2011, p. 581).

Peirce (1868) and Mead (1934) emphasise that the sense of self is developed through the acquisition of linguistic capacities. The proactive self has the power to form various identities by either taking up roles or acting reflexively to one’s interlocutors. This is particularly relevant to the current study which involves reading statements about the self as expressions of the speakers’ social identities. The study, therefore, takes the concept of the self in a broad sense and extends the concept to include all kinds of linguistic cues that mark self-understanding and identity construction. To be a self in the social world, in terms of contemporary social science literature, is to become oneself in relation to the other through linguistic practices.

2.1.1 A social construction

The social self refers to aspects of the self that are experienced in relation to other people that are constructed and developed by the individual through interaction with the social environment. In modern psychology, various theorists, in their definitions of self-concept, has stressed the inseparable relationship between the self and social life.

³ Section 2.2.1 of this chapter offers a more detailed introduction to the linguistic definition of positioning.

William James presents the psychological construct of the self as giving the individual a sense of “connectedness” (James, 1890/1950, p. 335). Baldwin (1897/2012) believe that personality development is inextricably tied to the course of one’s relationships. Sullivan posits that personality arises from interpersonal experiences, “the relatively enduring pattern of recurrent interpersonal situations that characterise a human life” (1953, pp. 110–111). Charles Cooley (1902/1983), in his *looking glass self*, argues that as the way we think about ourselves is a reflection of our imagination of other people’s appraisals.

Although it seems clear to social psychology theorists that social interactions help shape the self, how such influences take effect in the individual’s mind is another question. Some researchers are concerned with how the individual gains self-knowledge through self-definitions. Van Maanen (1979) argues that construction of the self are learned by interpreting the responses of others in situated social interactions. He maintains that individuals learn to ascribe socially constructed labels such as “ambitious”, “engineer”, and “upwardly mobile” to themselves and others through interactions (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 27). Andersen and Cole (1990) and Baldwin (1992), on the other hand, define the social-psychological process that the self experiences as the conceptualisations of close relationships in terms of mental representations of the self and *significant others* (Mead, 1934), individuals or groups whose opinions are valued (DeLamater et al., 2014, p. 12).

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1985) both centre, not upon the self-perception, but on the influence of social groups on the self. Central to these approaches is the argument that our behaviour and attitudes regarding ourselves develop through the social roles we take up (Farmer & Tsakiris, 2012). The self is seen as a cognitive structure (Gergen, 1971), and the system of concepts available to a person in attempting to define himself are separated into two main classes: terms that denote one’s membership of various formal and informal social groups, and terms that denote specific attributes of the individual. Social contextual factors either enhance or diminish the meaningfulness of either the personal or the social aspects of the self (Ellemers et al., p. 163). The self is treated as an abstract symbolic structure while the cultural influences and the individual’s heterogeneous orientations remain separated.

Symbolic interactionists believe in the mutually constructed nature of person and society in the course of social interaction (for a review, see Stryker & Statham, 1985), which therefore promotes a social constructivist perspective. Mead (1934/1952) draws on Cooley’s

looking glass self and argues that the self is shaped by the anticipated and observed responses of others. Symbolic interactionism sees the self as symbolically expressing subjectivity and conducting symbolic interchange with social others intersubjectively in concrete social context. Central to Mead's symbolic interactionist definition of the self is the ability to take the role of the other and to perceive the attitude of the other towards the perceiver.

Linguists, especially those who work in the area of language and society, have been studying the interplay between language and social identity. The speaker's social class, gender, age, and so forth is said to be directly reflected in language use. This is a structuralist view which posits a one-to-one correlation between the speaker's social identity and the kind of language this speaker would naturally produce. For example, Labov (1963, 1972), in his studies on linguistic varieties, illustrates how membership into certain social groups influences the way people pronounced the sounds of English. This is a simple equation between social-identity categories and language use.

Linguists who do not treat social identity as a variable that determines differences in language use argue for the co-constructed nature of self and other in studying the linguistic mediation of social identities. They give more attention to interactions and individual acts (Bianco et al., 2009). This perspective has been heavily influenced by the social constructivist paradigm which is deeply rooted in symbolic interactionism⁴. Both theories state that reality is socially constructed with others. Social categories, such as gender, class, and ethnicity, do not pre-exist social practices, but are instead viewed as negotiated through language and other symbolic systems by interactants in the real context of interaction (De Fina, 2007).

Social identities, constructed through interaction, are self-defined yet pluralistic and dynamic. An individual agent and other agents in the social environment constantly negotiate social identities. Bourdieu (1977) puts forward the notion of *cultural capital* as the foundation of one's social life, including their linguistic actions. Giddens's *duality of structure* (1984) also provides some room for individuals to negotiate their identities in various social context. Giles et al. (1991) propose the accommodation theory and argue that interlocutors' identity also has a bearing on the speakers' identity negotiation, thus broadening the scope to even wider discursive context. Accommodation theory states that identity is an ongoing and

⁴ For a review, see De Fina (2013).

situated process, related to all the participants in an exchange and not restricted simply to the speaker. The participants in social and linguistic activities do not enter with a pre-existing or fixed identity, but are beginning to identify with, or to distance themselves from, social categories of belonging.

Findings derived from conversational analysts of talk-in-interaction have demonstrated that neither should the analysts presuppose a “*priori*” that interactants will perform in accordance with their presumable social profiles, nor should they take for granted their social meanings (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). For example, some studies have shown that speakers often construct allegiances with collectives that are not regarded as their own (e.g., Blommaert, 2005; Rampton, 1995, 2006), and that they establish identity differentiations within communities that are socially constructed as homogenous (e.g., Bailey, 2000; De Fina, 2003).

The social self is thus a social construction which does not presume an inner mind as being separated from the outer social world. An individual cannot be said to have an innate and strictly personalised sense of self. Rather, one is constantly in the process of constructing their selves, each of which have their locus in social interaction. The self may be considered a “product of the scene that comes off” (Goffman, 1959, p. 252). The social construction of the self thus arises in the dynamic process of social experience and linguistic activities. People’s life experience always involves relationships with others, enabling an ongoing process of co-construction between self and other. The social self is therefore contingent, relational and highly situational. The next section will draw on findings from cultural psychology to explore the culturally experienced nature of the construction of the self.

2.1.2 A cultural experience

The self that is subject to cultural orientation has been analysed with a variety of empirical findings (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, 1989). Influential theories have emerged, purporting to provide comprehensive accounts of the individual (e.g., self-understanding, emotion, motivation, social behaviour), not as an isolated entity, but rather as an integral member of a cultural system. Two such theories, with particular focus on the self, are Triandis’s (1989) conceptualisation of the self in a cultural context and Markus and Kitayama’s (1991) theory of independent versus interdependent self-construal. In broad terms, these theoretical formulations can be called the cultural-self perspective (Sedikides et al., 2003).

Cross-cultural comparative study is thought to capture the structure of cultural differences (Greenwald & Breckler, 1984; Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984), such as individualism–collectivism (IC) (Hofstede, 1980; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Triandis, 1989; Triandis et al., 1990), independent versus interdependent views of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994), idiocentrism–allocentrism (Triandis, 1989), or the agency–communion view (Bakan, 1966). Each of these definitions differs, but they converge in their description of an “orientation toward focusing on oneself either as an individual or as a member of a significant in-group” (Heine et al., 2002).

In East Asia, the person is understood not as an independent entity but primarily as a relational entity. In these cultures, relationships define the self, and the person is viewed as connected with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, 1989). These cultural views of the person stress social and relational concepts, such as reciprocity, belongingness, kinship, hierarchy, loyalty, honour, respect, politeness, and social obligation to a greater extent than individualist cultural views. Typically in this context, an individual’s sense of self is thought to be enabled, guided, and constrained by his or her social relationships, roles, and norms, rather than his or her own thoughts (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998).

Sedikides et al. (2003) prefer generalisable side of the human motivation to assert the self by putting forward the pan-cultural principle of the self-enhancement, which is “people in all cultures strive to maintain and achieve positive self-regard” (Sedikides et al., 2003, p. 73). They found that the evidence favouring Western self-enhancement and Eastern self-effacement is far weaker than previously thought, a pattern consistent with the failure of the investigation to observe a cultural effect on self-enhancement. In other words, both individualistic and collectivistic cultures permit the promotion of oneself, though through different methods, in that people self-enhance tactically, strategically, and opportunistically by making the culture work for them. This phenomenon, which is evident across many cultures and traditions, is a tribute to human resourcefulness, flexibility, and adaptability.

This perspective forms the general priori for the assessment of participants’ context-situated behaviours. Participants of the present study were all born and raised in Mainland China and migrated to Australia as young adults. The immigrants who participate in the present study have had a similar cross-cultural experience, including what they have learned and experienced in China. The analysis of their self-representations shall then form the basis

on which we can presuppose that the participants seek to present a favourable self-image in front of people who are of the same cultural background (cf. Chapter 5, 6 and 7).

2.1.3 The multifaceted structure

As for the structure of the self construct, studies have suggested the existence of several levels at which self-knowledge is represented (e.g. Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Numerous terms have been used through the years to refer to the structure of the self as a complex and comprehensive self-construction involving several aspects, among them the public self (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984), interpersonal self (Markus & Cross, 1990), the social self (Brewer, 1991), interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the relational self (Andersen & Chen, 2002; Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brew & Gardner, 1996, Chen et al., 2006), and relational interdependent self-construal (Cross et al., 2000), among others.

The self that can be disaggregated to various levels has long been the central topic for researchers. Social identity (Tajfel, 1982) and self-categorisation theories (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1994), for example, distinguish personal from social identities as the two descriptions of the self. Anderson and Chen, with the *relational self*, assert that, for most people, “the self is in fact entangled at both the interpersonal level with specific others in one’s life and at the collective level in relation to the social groups with which one identifies” (2002, p. 637).

Meaningful human existence depends on knowing not only one’s place in relation to other individuals, but also in the sphere of in-groups and out-groups. Comparisons between characteristics shared by in-group members and those of relevant out-groups play a defining role in the individual’s self-conceptualisation (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Self-identities that are formed on a collective level are particularly constrained by the necessity of satisfying individual needs for inclusion and distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991).

Optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) also regards social identification on the collective level as separated from the interpersonal level. Brewer and Gardner (1996) explain that the dyadic and group-based aspects of the self should be separated into relational and collective selves. Theorists who are in favour of this distinction maintain that the former involves intimate ties with specific others and the latter involves memberships in social groups (e.g., Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Gergen, 2006, 2011). They distinguish between “private”, “public” and “collective” facets of the self (e.g., Greenwald & Breckler, 1984;

Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; Triandis, 1989). Distinguishing between the multiple facets of the self may be specifying different aspects of self-definition, namely the self can be defined as personal intrinsic traits, in relation to another individual, or in relation to a social group, given different situational context.

Discussions centring on this issue have led to the formulation of the socially based ideas of the self in terms of tripartite representation, with many scholars supporting the tripartite model of self-representation. Gaertner et al. (2012, p. 997) formulate the self-concept that comprises three fundamental self-representations. They are the individual self, the relational self, and the collective self. In agreement with Sedikides and Brewer (2001), Gaertner et al. (2012) regard these three self-representations as the three fundamental dimensions of self-definition and self-interpretation. People define themselves as independent social agents, interdependent partners of dyadic relationships, and interconnected members of social groups (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Chen et al., 2006; Gaertner et al., 2012; Kashima & Hardie, 2000; Kashima et al., 1995; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001).

The individual self consists of those aspects of the self that differentiate the person from other people as a unique constellation of characteristics, traits, interests, goals and experiences. The relational self consists of aspects that are shared with partners and define the person's role or position within significant relationships, reflecting interpersonal attachments with close relationship partners. The collective self deals with the membership of and identification with core social groups and consists of those aspects that are shared with in-group members and which differentiate the in-group from relevant out-groups. Interpersonal bonds form the basis of collective self-definition, which is derived from common (and oftentimes symbolic) identification with a group. It should be noted that each aspects of the self involves assimilations and contrasts which occur between and within persons, dyads, and groups for the individual, relational, and collective self respectively (Gaertner et al., 2012).

In an effort to explore and delineate the possible interactive relations among the three self-representations (e.g., Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001), many have argued for the primacy of the individual self (e.g., Higgins & May, 2001; Klein, 2001; Sedikides et al., 2011). This primacy has been challenged by Onorato & Turner (2002), as they claim self-perception can be depersonalised in settings that involve intergroup encounters. Some have instead argued for the primacy of the relational self (e.g., Andersen &

Chen, 2002; Chen et al., 2006; Sedikides et al., 1993; Tice & Baumeister, 1990; Tice et al., 2001), or of the collective self (e.g. Hogg, 2005). Aron and McLaughlin-Volpe (2001) and Smith et al. (2001) believe that the relational and collective self-representations are primary and subsume the individual self.

Self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987, 1994) and integrative conceptualisation of relational selves (Chen et al., 2006) both emphasise self-categorising as not fixed at any level, and as inherently variable and highly dependent on contextual shifts in frames of reference. Other researchers have argued for contextual primacy, where neither the individual nor the relational or collective self is inherently primary. They state that the relative primacy of these selves depends on contextual factors that influence their accessibility (Sedikides et al., 2011). Indeed, research on the working self-concept (Markus & Wurf, 1987) and symbolic interactionism or role theory (Stryker & Statham, 1985) demonstrates shifts in self-definition as a function of norm salience, role importance, or fleeting social circumstances, respectively.

Other perspectives suggest that one level of self-construal is stable and, as a function of cultural values, belief systems and socialisation, is dominant over others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). As the culture-as-contextual-primacy perspective (Gaertner et al., 2012) predicts, the individual self usually tops the motivational hierarchy in Western cultures, but is subordinate to the relational and collective selves in Eastern cultures. Markus and Kitayama's (1991) differentiation of the *independent self construal* and the *interdependent self construal* suggests that the cognitive, emotional, and motivational elements of the self-system are forged by culture (Heine et al., 1999). There has been growing evidence for cross-cultural variability in self-construction (e.g., Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). These studies have helped to sustain a broader interest in the structure of the self to account for various kinds of self-relevant information, such as people's cultural backgrounds and the influences on their collective identities and various group-based and gendered identities.

Owe et al. (2013) propose the construction of contextualism, which specifically refers to the importance of context for understanding of people's beliefs, arguing that it plays a significant role in defining a person. This includes social and relational context, such as family, social groups, and social positions in addition to physical environments. Central to this perspective is that connectedness and belonging, viewed as a feature of being human

(Baumeister & Leary, 1995), are not merely affiliations or alliances between the self and others but entail fundamental differences in the way the self is constructed in different contextual situations.

It is therefore more appropriate to consider the context in which one dimension of the self may become more salient, rather than to determine which dimension is more prominent over the other. The pluralistic view of the self that the current project aligns itself with involves the recognition of the multifaceted nature of the social context. The construction of the self, viewed within this multifaceted context, cannot be studied separately from the cultural system. Different cultures may put more or less emphasis on different aspects of the self. Culture, in this regard may broadly reflect the functioning of the contextual-primacy hypothesis. Cultural context embeds all the social encounters when individuals experience what it means to be a person who is situated in a network of interpersonal relationships. The self that emerges in social relations is mediated by language and other semiotic systems⁵.

2.1.4 A meaning-making process

This section discusses the proposition that self-construction is a meaning-making process. Meanings regarding who we are come from the experiences of our social connections with the world. At the heart of our meaning-making activity, as Kegan (1980) suggests, is the drawing and redrawing of the distinction between self and other. As discussed in Section 2.1.1 a great many thinkers and researchers have emphasised the role of language in the mediation of the co-construction of self and other. According to Mead (1934), self-formation is a reflexive process, i.e., making an object to oneself, which is mediated by language. Menary (2011), reviewed Peirce (1868) and Mead (1934), and contends that the development of the self is “a process of the internalisation of the communicative act” (2011, p. 629). He maintains that the self becomes a “minded self” by taking on the symbolic gestures of the other through linguistic interaction.

In terms of the sense making process by which people give meaning to their social experiences, Anne Buttimer (1976) proposes to view the *narrative self* as the creative centre of a life-world that was shared with others. The narrative approach offers to view the

⁵ Chapter 3 will focus on illustrating the Chinese notions related to the concept of self, such as self (*ziji* 自己), individual (*geren* 个人) as containing cultural meanings of the self that have been produced in modern Chinese language.

language exchange between self and other as comprising of various self-narratives. These self-narratives could create a sense of self as having a past and a future in the various stories that the self and the other tell about the selves (Gallagher, 2000). Different narratives could illuminate different aspects of the self in different ways (Schechtman, 2011, p. 394).

Some scholars endorse the view that the narrative structure of the self on the basis of its embodied nature (e.g., Dennett, 1992; Gallagher, 2005; Schechtman, 2011). The bodily experience of the self is said to lay the foundation for situating one's memories, personality, traits, goals and values within a coherent narrative structure (Farmer & Tsakiris, 2012). The emphasis is on the process of self-creation which selects, arranges and unifies the multifaceted and even contradictory parts to construct a single whole (Wollheim, 1984). Nelson (2003, p. 28) claims that the three essential components of narrative, temporal perspective, the mental, and physical perspective of the self, could be integrated into a conscious self-awareness.

Such a view faces criticism, and some have questioned whether self-narrative really functions in a way that forms a unified consciousness (Schechtman, 2011). If this model of narrative means that one person has multiple narrative selves, it would be assuming a single author was forging sequentially and linearly ordered narratives. However, this phenomenological unity⁶ fails to take into account the possible coexisting and simultaneous narratives when the **author** is tied up with various others and/or the self is defined as socially and culturally constructed (Geertz, 1973; Mauss, 1985; Shweder & Bourne, 1982).

Other scholars highlight the intersubjective and reflexive fabric of the narrative self (e.g., Coelho & Figueiredo, 2003; Crossley, 1996; Fiske et al., 1998; Giddens, 1991; Ricoeur, 1988). Ricoeur's (1992) theory of *narrative identity* provides the insight for comprehending otherness as part of the narrative self, according to whom narrating the self is "seeing oneself as an other" (Ricoeur, 1988, p. 246, cited in Sparrowe, 2005). The meaning-making process of narrating the self bases on taking "oneself as an object of reflection for the self" (Sparrowe, 2005, p. 429). Based on the condition of narrativity which Christman (2004)

⁶ For a critique of the phenomenological approach to study self-consciousness, see Ley (1977) and Ley & Samuels (1978).

defines as having the capacity for socially mediated self-reflection for a person, the creation of a self-narrative is very much a reconstructive process.

In light of Mead's symbolic interactionist definition of the self, as reviewed in Section 2.1.1, taking the role of the other and perceiving the attitude of the other towards the perceiver is central to one's symbolic exchange with others. Social interaction, rather than being separated from the development of self-understanding, is probably the origin of having a sense of self. An exploration of the meaning-making process, should be in favour of more nuanced and detailed analysis of what constitutes socially mediated self-reflections for a person.

Social interaction forms the condition for the narrative self where an interpreting subject needs to interpret the events, memories, and impressions they experience and make some sense of them according to socially mediated semantic rules (Christman, 2004, p. 709). Forging a sense of self is an act of interpretation where the subject reflects on its own experience, which in essence involves narrative accounts of self-identity, social responsibilities, practical ethical principles, and ideals of the good (Barresi & Martin, 2011). Socially constructed norms and ideals of what it means to be a good person are internalised, and orchestrate the meaning-making process of the self in accordance with cultural standards and values.

2.2 Linguistic analysis of the construction of self

As reviewed in the previous section, the contemporary theories of the self and linguistic research on identity have shown a close relationship between the experience of selfhood and language use. In the field of linguistics, analytical frameworks have been proposed to study language socialisation and analyse the construction of discursive identities. Taking how social identities are performed linguistically as a vantage point, linguistic variations constitute the building blocks of the self which are socio-culturally constructed realities embedded in the communicative activities.

The following sections review the key concepts used by researchers of language socialisation and communication, such as performance, positioning, indexicality and stance-taking. They are particularly relevant to this study in terms of informing methods applied to the data analysis which is tailored for participants' performative acts in discursive interactions with interlocutors.

2.2.1 Performing selves in front of others

Performance analysis is a qualitative method for analysing narrative-in-interaction and its growing importance can be seen in its application to focus groups, community meetings and classrooms. This method captures the interactional nature that characterises these scenarios (Riessman, 2008, p. 124). The idea of performance speaks to the fact that speaking the self constitutes an act of identity and that being someone is a form of doing (De Fina, 2013). With this foundation, the performance perspective does not hold any presupposed assumptions in order to describe what the self is, but is primarily concerned with what makes the self as it is.

Erving Goffman (1959) proposes an analytical model that regarded the self in terms of presenting one's role for one's audience. Goffman's view is particularly influential among linguists and anthropologists who have focused a great deal of attention on the symbolic capacities of language as capturing public cultural meanings embedded in each performance of the self (e.g., Bauman, 1993; Levinson, 1983; Ochs, 2012; Silverstein, 1996). This section will discuss the performative characteristics of the social sense of self along with the role of language in social interactions in detail.

Goffman (1981) puts forward the dramaturgical metaphor; social actors stage performances of desirable selves to preserve "face" in situations of difficulty; talkers undertake do not intend to provide information to a recipient, but present dramas to an audience. Researchers adopting this dramaturgic view have been experimenting with the notion of *performance* in studies of "vested presentations of self" (Riessman, 2003). Emphasising the performative element is particularly important when it comes to the enactment of identities and self-representation in social communication. Each instance of such should be understood as being situated and accomplished with audience in mind. As much as the self is inherently social, the communicative manifestations of it must be accomplished in performances that are effective. Performances are expressive attempts to involve an audience; they are "performances-for others" (Young, 2000, p. 109).

Goffman's sociology of everyday interaction, which envisions the centrality of interaction for understanding human behaviour in terms of social performance in front of an imagined audience, has deeply influenced the work of many sociologists and sociolinguists. These scholars focus their attention on the details of face-to-face interaction and to the speakers' choice of linguistic categories relative to the social situation (e.g., De Fina, 2013;

Gumperz, 1970; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1982, 1987, 1988). As Bauman argues, performances are frames which are interactionally defined. These presentation modes allow us to “chart more closely the culturally shaped, socially constituted, and situationally emergent individuation of spoken act” (Bauman, 1993, p. 195). Researchers have illustrated the complex, real-time process of the performance of social actions through which speakers make evaluations, create alignments, and construct personas.

The choices social actors make, which constitute an emergent identity, can be analysed with the notion of *positioning* (B. Davies & Harré, 1990). This analytical concept of positioning has come to be very popular among sociolinguists. It refers to the process by which selves are located in the conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines (B. Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). Once an individual has taken up particular subject positions, the individual experiences the world from the vantage point of these positions. They may also accept or reject positions that others take.

With each positioning, the subject takes stances to assign sociocultural values to objects of interests (Du Bois, 2007). A frequently and extensively explored concept, *stance-taking* (Bucholtz, 2009; Du Bois, 2007, 2011; Jaffe, 2009; Ochs, 1993) can be argued as ideologically tied to larger social categories and closely linked to the speakers’ interactional purposes (e.g., Chun, 2007; Coupland, 2001; Johnstone, 2007; Kiesling, 2005; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Schilling-estés, 2004). It has also been argued that the relation of language to social identity is mediated by the interlocutors’ understanding of linguistic conventions for performing particular social acts and stances alongside the interlocutors’ understandings of how acts and stances are resources for structuring particular social identities (Brown & Levinson, 1979).

As for the relationship between the performer’s subjectivity and other co-participants’ in the discursive exchange, Du Bois (2011) proposes the *dialogic self* which is said to contribute to the organisation of social action in public. It is fundamental and pervasive condition of human sociality for speakers to engage in dialogues. Intersubjectivity, according to Du Bois (2011), represents the calibrated relation between one person’s subjectivity and another’s. The self, mastering the dialogic principle, is believed to be able to navigate a cognitive-functional adaptation to the public or interpersonal domain of exterior sociality and an internal organisation of the private or psychic domain of interior sociality (Du Bois, 2011, p. 78).

Perhaps this conclusion of a unified and coherent picture of the socio-cognitive frame of dialogic self is drawn too fast, but it is worthwhile highlighting two distinct points. The first point is that subjectivity is never autonomous or independent, but always acquires social meaning in relation to other available subjective positions and other social actors (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 588). Extending from this perspective, meaningful dimensions of the self is ascribed through the perceptions and representations of others'. The second point can be illustrated with what Bucholtz and Hall call distributed agency (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 606), which arguably lies at the heart of "joint activity" or "co-construction" (e.g., Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; C. Goodwin, 1995; M. H. Goodwin, 1992; Ochs & Capps, 2001). Agency is intersubjectively distributed among several social actors, which can be viewed as an accomplishment of social action (Ahearn, 2001). The intersubjective relationship between social actors underscores the social positioning of self and other. Configurations of self and other are intersubjectively constructed. Interlocutors perform aspects of the self together and jointly produce representations of the self.

2.2.2 Indexing selves in context

The mappings between linguistic forms and social categories have always been a central tenet of sociolinguistic study, with the aim of understanding how socially or contextually bound meanings are produced in a given language, time and place. According to the aspects of language believed to subject to context-bound interpretation or meaning assignment, contemporary theorists draw either implicitly or explicitly on the concept of indexicality (Silverstein, 1976, 1985, 1996, 2003). The mechanism of indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1985).

The indexical approach regards context as a product of language use, rather than as functioning solely as a constraint on linguistic performance (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992). Starting from the speech context or local interactional context, contemporary sociolinguistic research has heavily investigated indexical stance-taking in interaction (e.g., Bucholtz, 2009; Chun, 2007; Coupland, 2001; Johnstone, 2007; Kiesling, 2005; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Schilling-estes, 2004) and indexical values of stylistic variables (e.g., Eckert, 2000, 2008; Irvine, 2001 and Irvine & Gal, 2000 for English; Zhang, 2005, 2008 for Mandarin). Stance researchers argue that linguistic performances gain their semiotic value only within the socio-cultural context in which it is used.

Michael Silverstein (1985) differentiates second-order index from the first-order index. First-order index indexes a membership in a population which can be detected from stereotypes that distinguish social or geographic categories. For instance, what Labov (1963, 1972), in his studies on linguistic varieties, observes the correspondence between membership into certain social groups and the way people pronounce the sounds of English belongs to first-order index. The second-order index pertains to “speaker’s subjective meta-linguistic knowledge of the social and communicative roles played by variable linguistic forms.” (Foulkes et al., 2010). It can be found in the more fleeting and delicate markers (Scherer & Giles, 1979; Schiffrin, 1987) which speakers use stylistically and selectively as they position themselves with respect to certain qualities and characteristics.

Based on this understanding, indexicality involves (at least) two semiotic levels. The direct indexicality refers to the linguistic forms that are associated with interactional stances or orientations to ongoing talk. The indirect indexicality manifests styles or identities that are in turn ideologically associated with particular social groups (Bucholtz, 2009; Inoue, 2004).

Sociolinguists are able to scrutinise the ideological link between language and society through the indirect semiotic processes by which speakers construct ideological representations of linguistic varieties. This link has become a way to prove the absorption of ideology into lexicon. Zhang (2005, 2008), for instance, studies Beijing Mandarin variables and has established a link between these variables and the speakers’ local ideology, focusing on Beijing as a specific urban site. These speakers represent an important social change in China in terms of their adoption of Western consumerism and cosmopolitan lifestyles. This visible ideological move in language is said to be taking place within a fluid and ever-changing ideological field. Beginning from this ideological field, the continual re-construal of the indexical value a variable creates in language is said to then constitute an indexical field (Eckert, 2008), which is a fluid constellation of ideologically related meanings.

Recent studies of stance-taking, particularly within Du Bois’s stance-triangle (2007), an analytic toolkit of interconnected concepts, enriches the understanding of how the relationship between stance, style, and identity is formed both from the local interactions, and through the workings of broader cultural ideologies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Dimensions of locally relevant values and broader socio-cultural values can be explicitly or implicitly mobilised and deployed through each discursive performance. Du Bois suggests that the “social actors jointly enact stance within the mediating frameworks of linguistic structure and

socio-cultural value they invoke in doing so” (2007, p. 140). Via specific acts of stance-taking, value can be focused and directed at a precise target, as locally relevant values are activated to frame the significance of participant actions (Du Bois, 2007).

Participation in discourse involves a continual interpretation of forms in context, an in-the-moment assigning of “indexical values” to linguistic forms (Eckert, 2008, p. 463). These indexical values are shared and constantly negotiated between the interlocutors. From the perspective of enacting self-representation, indexical values for linguistic representations of the self are contextually situated and ideologically informed. Speakers mobilise and deploy socio-cultural values and negotiate them with other interlocutors. Self-representations emerge from diversified discourse situations, and are constituted by acts to assert and/or negotiate various socio-cultural norms and expectations.

2.2.3 An application – personal pronoun use

In terms of the display and the construction of identity in interaction, both linguistic conventions and fleeting interactional moves play the social function of indexing acts and stances. The perceived relationship between the speaker and the hearer, as Brown and Gilman (1960) indicate, affects pronominal choice. Using personal pronouns to refer to oneself is intimately linked to identity construction. Personal pronouns, regarded as a key discursive feature, reveal how individuals perceive themselves with respect to others (e.g., Bourdieu, 1992; Grundy & Jiang, 2001; Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990; Ochs, 1992; Wortham, 1996). Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990) argue that deictic personal pronouns function in ways that contribute to identity negotiation and to the construction of a social reality in social situations. This section reviews studies that focus on personal pronoun use and identity construction.

The significance of a personal pronoun as an index comes from its fundamental connectedness to ideological structures, including cultural beliefs and values about the sorts of speakers who use them to produce particular sorts of language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Lerner and Kitzinger (2007) even assert that pronominal systems can be deemed as culture’s social organisation. Various studies show that the plural use of self-reference shows relational (Stanley & Billig, 2004) or institutional responsibility (e.g., Silverman, 1987; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990).

Studied in the context of Chinese, deictic pronoun use provides a salient window to relational aspects of selfhood that arise in communication in relation to the communication demands in the given culture. In English, the function of deictic pronouns in social identity construction is fully developed to foreground the speaker's inclusiveness or exclusiveness in communication (Lyons, 1977, p. 677), whereas Chinese pronouns are said to be more often used for face-keeping (Lee, 1996, 2012) and politeness (Mao, 1996).

Lee (2006, 2012) studies first person pronouns in historical Chinese communication and demonstrates that speakers base the choice of pronoun on the perceived relationship between the interactants. The choice chosen represents the different selves that the speakers accord themselves while communicating with the people around them. These selves represent a configuration of role relationships with others. The Confucian prescription of 己 *ji* 'self' and 人 *ren* 'other' as mutually entailing and interdependent correlatives can be argued as mediating linguistic realisation (see discussion in Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3).

Mao (1996) explores the communal dimensions of the first person plural pronoun and gives a well-articulated account of the blurring boundary between 我 *wo* 'I' and 我们 *women* 'we' in Mandarin Chinese. The ambiguity may be rooted in the Chinese relational sense of self-construct, which presumes a meaningful existence of the individual in terms of having various relationships or as part of larger collectives (see Chapter 3). Whereby the collective form is said to signal modesty and/or politeness as well as neutralising conflict (Mao, 1996), it may also be pragmatically manipulated to enhance power from a collectivism-oriented perspective (H. Huang & Lu, 2016). In sum, in addition to discursive identity construction, analysing the personal pronoun system of a language can reveal the culturally oriented discursive rules they contain.

Djenar (2007, 2008) finds self-categorisation theory quite sufficient in discussing the interconnection between person-referring terms and social relations. Through the investigation of pronouns in Indonesian, important linguistic representations of self-categorisation, forming a personal and social sense of self have been shown to be equally salient and active in one's linguistic construction of social identities among Indonesian speakers. Regarding pronouns in terms of flexible and context-dependent self-categorisations has enabled the contradiction between formality, neutrality, and intimacy to be reconciled and for different-speaker and same-speaker variation to be explained (Djenar, 2008, p. 51).

Research into pronouns in Chinese is still underdeveloped for the purpose of identity construction (Mao, 1996; Zhou, 2002). The current study intends to fill the gap by exploring Chinese pronoun use as a key indicator of the speakers' identity construction. In Chinese interactions, the conversational parties presume the existence of a social protocol that maintains "face" (Arundale, 2010), or "social harmony" (Chang, 2001), and will act in such a way as to protect its integrity. The participants' seeking to present a favourable self-image in front of people who are of the same cultural background can be regarded as a shared stance object (Du Bois, 2007, p. 159), which brings into focus the intersubjective identity construction between interlocutors engaged in dialogue.

The interpretation of pronouns in discourse has also been studied extensively in terms of perceptual cognition. From the perspective of perceptual cognition (Rubin, 1915/1958; Hanks, 1992, 2009; Grandy & Jiang, 2001), personal pronouns involve a deictic anchoring point. Choices of pronominal reference in discourse serve the establishment and maintenance of the speaker's viewpoint. These viewpoints, with regard to the speaker's egocentric conceptualisations, can invoke specific relationships between the present speaker and/or addressees and others. Recent work in cognitive linguistics have identified important avenues in the investigation of ways speaker and hearer negotiate viewpoints. As viewpoints mark speakers' cognitive representations of the speaker-hearer interaction, it is highly relevant to the current study. The next section will review the relevant studies in terms of the cognitive models that underlie and conceptual representation of social proximity and membership. These studies have delved into the cognitive anchors of linguistic expressions, exploring concepts and approaches (including viewpoint) relevant for studying the cognitive construal of the self.

2.3 The conceptual basis for the experienced self

The growing body of cognitive linguistic and cognitive anthropological research promotes the idea that a person's embodied conceptual anchor is conditioned by cultural contingencies which arguably plays a crucial role in the construction of self-representations. On the basis of language use, scholars who hold a general belief that language reflects and is shaped by the mental structures of the human mind have treated cognitive models for lexical concepts as an object of investigation. In light of these studies that address the cognitive basis of language, speaker's choice in language, including the construction of identities and self-representation is closely related to the cognitive strategies of the speaker (Langacker, 1990).

This section reviews studies which explore the conceptual structure corresponding to linguistic elements, focusing on cognitive conceptualisation of social experiences and cognitive models depicting self-understanding and social relationships.

2.3.1 Mental models for the self

Cognitive linguistics tend to attribute certain ways of using language to a cognitive basis from an experiential realistic perspective. According to George Lakoff (1987), individuals interact with the real world under the guidance of cognitive models. Central to this perspective is the idea that cognitive categories are often based on interactions between the external world and the human body, including spatial experiences and perceptions. The bodily grounding of human experience is said to be pervasive in understanding abstract concepts. The mechanism involves a recruitment of entities, qualities, and structures involved in perception, feeling, bodily movement, etc., to construct the understanding of an abstract concept. For instance, cognitive linguistic research has shown that image schemas, such as container, object, source-path-goal, near-far, up-down, center-periphery, right-left, straight-curved, forced motion, degree of intensity, balance, iteration, and so on., give coherence and structure to human experience (Johnson, 1987).

Cognitive linguists have developed theories and analytic tools to conduct conceptual analysis to show the basic structures underlie the meanings of terms for abstract concepts. Conceptual organisation is said to underlie the construction of meaning (Fauconnier & Sweetser, 1996, p. 12). According to Mark Johnson (1987, p. 171), categorisation, image schema, metaphorical projection, and metonymy constitute the cognitive structure of symbolic understanding. Each cognitive model addresses the interplay between cognitive connection and natural language. For example, image schema, one of the cognitive models, refers to abstract concepts consisting of patterns emerging from repeated instances of embodied experience.

The conceptualisation of abstract concepts involves systematic mental projection of language, imagery and inferential structure between conceptual domains. Conceptual metaphors and image schemas (Johnson, 1987; G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; G. Lakoff & Turner, 1989), for example, are believed to form a basic cognitive structure which functions in the form of cross-domain mapping. Conceptual metaphor theory (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999) states that we use our knowledge about the source domain, usually concrete, to reason about the abstract knowledge in the target domain. Cross-domain mapping

or metaphorical projection can be defined as a conceptual operation involving projecting structure from a concrete source domain onto the abstract target domain. Metonymy is another conceptual operation in which one entity can be employed in order to identify another entity.

Conceptual integration offers a conceptual model that blends mental spaces. According to conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002, 2003), one's mental operation in an inferential activity involves at least four mental spaces where the conceptual structure from two input spaces (the source and the target) is projected into a blended space through the mediation of another mental space, called the generic space. The function of the generic space is to enable the user to establish correspondences, often partial, between the source and the target.

A large amount of research focuses on the cognitive structure of linguistic representations (e.g., Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002; Gibbs, 1994; Goddard, 2004; Kövecses, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Reddy, 1979; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999; Yu, 1998, 2007, 2009). Cognitive linguistic analytical tools can be applied to scrutinise the mental models that underlie the linguistic representations of the self. Based on different cognitive structures, researchers seem to arrive at different sets of representations while investigating the same concept.

The conceptual representation of the self can reflect a metaphorical structure. George Lakoff (1996), for example, departing from his imaginative metaphorical structuring of the self, finds the self, on the conceptual level, though divided and lacking self-consistency, is highly structured. His conclusion is that our conceptual system already includes a built-in conceptualisation of who we are (G. Lakoff, 1996, p. 117). Building on Lakoff's classification, Li (2010) explores the *locational self* in relation to self-control. Studying Chinese autobiographical texts, Li (2010) proposes a model to structure Chinese authors' experiences of reaching towards a normal state of the self in terms of motions in space. The study highlights that movements in space can act as the source domain in constructing the self in terms of spatial dynamics.

The cognitive structure of self-representation in discourse invariably involves mixed viewpoints. Dancygier (2008) offers a blending approach to study narrative voice and identity by means of conceptual integration. She argues that a coherent sense of self is the result of

conceptual blending (Dancygier, 2008, p. 168). Her analysis of first and third person pronouns shows that the construction of identity within narrative texts is concurrent to the building of narrative spaces, and choices of pronouns anchors several mental spaces, such as the narrative space and the representation space. The mental spaces framework serves as a useful tool to interpret the complexities of the representation of identity in narrative along the lines established by the narrative, and the maintenance or shift of narrative viewpoint.

Xiang and Pascual (2016) apply the conceptual blending theory to analyse a mixed viewpoint construction in an old Chinese text. In doing this, they demonstrate the alternation of the addresser and addressee roles involves the cognitive engagement of the two. An analysis of conceptual blending shows literary experience to be conceptualised as a fictive conversation between the writer and the assumed readers (M. Xiang & Pascual, 2016, p. 141). Analysing the representation of the writer's voice through rhetorical questions, they argue that an intersubjective viewpoint blend (Verhagen, 2005) of writer and potential readers produces writer's illocutionary acts embedded in the text. Their study suggests persuasive discourse involve the cognitive engagement of the addresser and addressee which is intersubjectively grounded. The mixed use of first and second person pronouns presuppose intersubjectivity (M. Xiang & Pascual, 2016, p. 150). The writer is able to take the role of the questioner and answerer through a split of the self. The role of the questioner represents an imagined interlocutors' viewpoint and the answerer delivers the message that the writer intends to put forward to the imagined reader.

The notions of viewpoint and space has been explored as a cognitive model for studying the cognitive representation of social relationships. For example, speakers' using of metaphors and pronouns to indicate social relationship and differentiation often resides upon the spatial relations to ego (e.g., Dancygier, 2008; Langacker, 2007). Other studies have found that speakers often project social relationships onto their corresponding physical locations (e.g., Fillmore, 1983; Jackendoff & Landau, 1991; Talmy, 1978, 1983; Zhou, 2002; Zhou & Fu, 1996). Li (2010) gives linguistic evidence of the spatial orientations of the self, while Zhou and Fu (1996, p. 8) find that proximity and distance in physical space can be projected onto social relationships in the form of spatial and verbal behaviours, in both symbolic and conceptual terms in Chinese. Chen (2002) explores the relations between social life, viewpoint in space through social deixis by having the positioning subject as the deictic centre, marking an attempt to theorise the cognitive aspects of social identity. She concludes

that the imagined space functions as a reasoning and communicative tool in identity construction.

The self cannot be summarised as a set of cognitive structures. So far as the cognitive construal of the self is concerned, it involves imagination of self-perception in social interactions. Imagination may play a significant role in self-representation. On the other hand, self-representation also involves the internalisation of social experiences. The next subsection focuses on cognitive conceptualisation of social experiences.

2.3.2 Conceptualisation of social experiences

If the conceptualisation of social experiences can be studied using cognitive semantics, cognition is said to occupy the crucial interface between the personal and the social, and hence between individual discourse and social structure (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 354). Then, any form of knowledge, ideologies, attitudes, emotions, norms, and values should be considered as mental representations.

Mark Johnson, given considerable attention to schematisation, proposes embodied imagination for creative connections to be made between one's perceptual experience and abstract understanding of meaning through, for example, image-schematic, metaphoric and metonymic projections. He also claims that embodied imagination not only permeates our embodied, spatial-temporal, but also socio-culturally formed and value-laden understanding (Johnson, 1987, pp. 170–172).

Empirical evidence has shown that metaphor can act as a framing device (Hart, 2011). Metaphors are significant in ideological communication and persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2016; Koller, 2004), and they mark attitudes and orientations to context, propositions and social and political structures/relationship (McEntee-Atalianis, 2013). Cognitive linguistic studies have placed some attention on the so-called partial mapping correspondences, both conventional and innovative, between the source and the target domains. They are of particular interest as they are ascribed with socio-cultural values.

However, marrying cognitive universalism with the study of social discourse on the account of partial mapping can be too ambiguous. As Andrew Goatly (2007) argues, the experiential and universalistic explanation of metaphoric themes based on metonymies of bodily experience seems particularly powerful in target areas, such as emotion (e.g. Kövecses, 2005), however, some of the metaphoric themes in which cultural and social

influences are apparent might have been developed ideologically⁷. The two perspectives should be complementary. So far as the current study is concerned, human sensorimotor and socio-cultural experiences are both responsible for cognitive construal the self.

In order to expand cognitive linguistics as an analytical tool towards social orientation, some have taken a discourse or descriptive approach by incorporating critical linguistics (e.g., Dirven et al., 2003; Goatly, 2007; Hart, 2011), while others have conflated cognitive anthropology and developed an ethnographic approach (e.g., Sharifian, 2003; Sharifian et al., 2008). They both argue forms of knowledge, ideologies, attitudes, emotions, norms, and values are stored in various shared mental representations which govern the collective actions of a group.

Social representations, such as more general and abstract socio-cultural knowledge, attitudes or ideologies people share with other members of a group, for critical linguistics, are called social cognition. It is a system which include a set of strategies for their effective manipulation in social interpretation, interaction and discourse (Van Dijk, 1990, p. 166). As for cultural linguists, cultural conceptualisations gather cultural knowledge and understanding that are distributed across the minds in a cultural group (Sharifian, 2003, p. 204). Following this line of thought, meaningful social beings are dependent on the mental structures of the representations of the self which are shared when we understand each other and are able to communicate in a speech community.

Both sociolinguists and cognitive sociolinguists put the socio-cognitive functioning of speakers in the centre of attention (Kristiansen & Dirven, 2008, p. 4). Du Bois argues for a cognitive-functional approach to explore the adaptive process of syntactic abstraction in terms of dialogic resonance in conversational interaction (Du Bois, 2014). Du Bois believes that syntactic abstractions may represent “grammaticised adaptations to the demands of structural coupling between interlocutors and their utterances”, putting adaptation at the centre of “the human motivation to engage and the human capacity for abstraction” (2014, p. 392).

⁷ Ideology, in its narrowest sense, can be understood as systems of symbolic representations motivated by the sectional interests of those holding or following them. In its widest sense it simply structures any set of values and ideas that inform any social and/or political reality, which is the preferred sense here.

Drawing on cognitive semantic theories, language variation within dialects, sociolects, cultures, registers, styles are explored in terms of the variation of different types of meaning, both lexical and constructional (Pütz et al., 2014, p. 9). Kristiansen and Dirven (2008) argue that language use in different regional and social groups is characterised by different conceptualisations, by different grammatical and lexical preferences, and by differences in the salience of particular connotations. This research focus adds a necessary social dimension to the cognitive linguistic enterprise as the type of research extends the cognitive paradigm into the social patterns involved in linguistic symbolisation.

The interpretation of cognitive models or categories and social structures, using a discourse approach, as Andrew Goatly argues, needs to guard against ideologically-vested interpretation (2007, p. 13). The current investigation does not attempt to make global generalisations regarding the relevance of socio-linguistically meaningful units to the cognitive representations of value and ideological landscape of any broader social categories. It, therefore, does not concern the functionality of linguistic abstractions in terms of mapping power relations within the ideological-driven discourse. One maybe too assertive to state that the neutral conceptual metaphor bears a significant responsibility for the imagination of the value-laden linguistic phenomena, thereby only offering a range of suggestive correlations.

Perhaps one can only be modest by emphasising the idea that thinking is not just a static product of cognition, but a process of cognitive functioning (Morillas, 1999). The cognitive patterns can only be interpreted in terms of pragmatically driven and context-based construal that emerge in social interactions. It has been shown that people rely on a patchwork of representations that are sometimes disconnected or inconsistent and can dynamically shift between them when cued in context. The use of prefabricated chunks and patterning might at the same time fulfil the functions of avoiding ambiguity and helping the hearers process utterances efficiently (Cserép, 2014). This is irrespective of how much influence human embodied experience exerts on people's perception and evaluative judgement (Cserép, 2014; Gibbs, 2011).

The interpretation of conceptual metaphors, image schemas and spatial deixis needs to take an emergentist perspective (Cameron & Deignan, 2006). People's use of metaphorical language emerges from the discourse environment, depending on the pragmatic purposes such representation serves in the local context. Conceptual representations of the self, abstracted from people's discursive interactions, can be explained as how discourse

participants draw on their linguistic and cognitive resources for processing ideas of self-representation for their interlocutors.

2.3.3 Cultural conceptualisations of the self

The conceptual system that underlies a particular language should be studied in terms of its cultural context (Yu, 2007b, p. 77). Cognitive linguists and cognitive anthropologists have been attempting to integrate linguistic, conceptual and cultural knowledge and argue for the interdependence of language, cognition and culture. The growing body of literature on cultural variation with regard to basic cognitive models has opened up vigorous discussion about how to re-address the issues of universality and relativity that constitute the embodiment thesis.

The concept of the cultural model as used and developed by cognitive anthropologists (Holland & Quinn, 1987) claims that cultural models of language and thought underline linguistic use. Cultural models are culturally and intersubjectively shared schematic knowledge structures that organise events in the world in a propositional as well as a motivational format. Cultural models are said to encode all the information members of a culture possess, which enable them to coordinate, interpret, and orient their actions, beliefs, values, norms, and so on (D'Andrade, 1984).

If culture is thought of as a set of shared understandings that characterise smaller or larger groups of people, these shared understandings, arguably, permeate the ways people thinking about themselves as a cultural being. Hence, the self can be seen as an index of both subjective and intersubjectively constituted categories making up the mental and cultural models of a culture's members (Morillas, 1999). Conditioned by its emergent nature, the conceptualisation of the self may encode or reflect some general or universal properties, but it displays, more often than not, the particular way in which a given culture conceives of the self.

Cultural Linguistics, a discipline that incorporates linguistic anthropology and cognitive linguistics, hold the central belief that the cognitive basis of language from a given culture is culturally constructed (Palmer, 1996; Sharifian, 2003). The primary concern is not with how people talk about some objective reality, but how they talk about the world that they themselves imagine (Palmer, 1996, p. 36). According to Palmer (1996), cultural models are strongly influenced by historical and socio-cultural context.

Sharifian (2000, 2003, 2009) proposes to use *schema* to explore cultural conceptualisation when it is defined as “generalised collections of knowledge of past experiences which are organised into related knowledge groups and are used to guide our behaviours in familiar situations” (Nishida, 1999, p. 755). Schema has been frequently used to refer to the mental organisation or structure of knowledge, information or experience (e.g., Bregman, 1990; Chafe, 1990; Fillmore, 1975; Rumelhart, 1980). Although the definitions of schema vary (e.g., Casson, 1983; D’Andrade, 1984; Lakoff, 1988; Langacker, 1990; Strauss, 1992; Strauss & Quinn, 1994), many have acknowledged their explanatory power in cognitive studies (e.g., Bobrow & Norman, 1975; Minsky, 1975; Rumelhart, 1980).

Cultural conceptualisation is similar to the symbolic anthropological definition of culture as an intersubjectively shared, and often implicit, matrix of meanings structuring the perception of oneself and the world (Geertz, 1973; Schneider, 1976). Based on this view, cultural diversity in abstract thinking results not only from differences in cognitive skills or environmental complexity, but also from the predisposing and constitutive effects of divergent cultural premises. Such premises have no necessary empirical basis, but are historically transmitted products of the collective imagination (Sahlins, 1976; Shweder & Bourne, 1982). The culturally produced shared knowledge about self and other, which is encoded in language, thus have a certain cognitive reality.

For this viewpoint, lexical-cultural terms, as well as metaphors, encapsulate a great deal of cultural information and locally grounded knowledge. As for the exploration of the conceptualisation of the self that is subjective to culturally specific interpretations, it is not within the scope of the present study to explore the conceptualisation of the self as a shared cognitive model among Chinese speakers. Instead, the study focuses on culturally loaded terms that manifests people’s understanding of personhood and selfhood.

An analysis of the conceptualisation of culturally loaded terms should attend to aspects that reflect human embodied cognition, and recognise the predisposing and constitutive effect of cultural premises which are historically-transmitted and ideologically-formed products of the collective imagination. These are packets of knowledge that are culturally construed, carrying with them cultural premises, and can be argued as forming the basis of the cultural conceptualisation of the self (Sharifian, 2003, 2009, 2011).

Self-representation in Chinese, along with the negotiation of Chinese socio-cultural values, is not a homogeneous entity. Drawing on the previous discussion of conceptualisation in discourse, it could be said that the self in Chinese may have more than one possible conceptual representation, depending on the cultural meanings brought to bear on their interpretation and imagination. Also, as individuals are exposed to different ways of understanding the self, they tend to develop multiple models, each with diversified metaphorical entailments (Garro, 2003; Strauss, 1992). It is necessary to integrate the dynamic cognitive process into the reflexive process of social judgment (Onorato & Turner, 2002, p. 149; Turner et al., 1994, p. 458). The next section outlines the socio-cognitive approach that the current study takes in examining the linguistic manifestations of the self. It calls for the interdisciplinary integration of perspectives and methods from social psychology, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics.

2.4 Towards a socio-cognitive approach

Drawing on recent developments in the theorisation of the self within the paradigm of social psychology, a social psychological view of the self as a socially constructed multidimensional concept forms the foundation for theorising the self in the current study. The social psychological tripartite model for self-representation serves as a sound conceptual scaffolding for analysing aspects of the self as they emerge in language production. Section 2.4.1 presents the rationale for adopting performance analysis in relation to the role of positioning subject in the discursive production of self-representations. Section 2.4.2 illustrate the interpretive approach for explaining socio-cultural values that are mediated through the pragmatic enactment of social identities. Section 2.4.3 centres the discussion of the socio-cognitive approach on cognition in discourse in terms of the reference frame.

2.4.1 The performing subject

Recent development in the domain of social psychological theorisation of self-representation has proposed a tripartite model that organises the individual, relational, and collective dimensions the self (cf. Section 2.1.3). These configurations can be brought together as sharing the same cognitive alignment and distributional basis. Maintaining that meaning-making is still largely social-contextual driven, the implications of the centrality of a positioning self in one's social life need to be treated as the foundation of analysis. The social context becomes motivational sources for speakers to position themselves socially.

Agency, evaluation and perception are critical elements in the understanding of a positioning subject. With regard to agency, social categorisation provides a useful theoretical framework for explaining the cognitive mechanism of positioning. Defined in the social psychological terms, social categorisation takes the perspective that each individual finds a place in the social world by way of a psychological process. According to Turner et al. (1994), the individual actively engages in social activities as a perceiver of various social context, seeking definitions of their own in terms of his or her contextual properties. Much discussion has centred upon this mechanism of self-defining with regard to collective identification or categorical membership through social judgement which “is not simply a group one is objectively in, but one which is subjectively important in determining one’s action” (Turner et al., 1987, p. 2). Social categorisation might have mediated the different ways that speakers position themselves in particular context which subsequently produce social identities.

It is beyond the current study’s scope to measure how much the speaker exhibits commitment towards a displayed social identity. Instead, the study applies the notion of performance to define speakers’ communicative acts as comprised of two dimensions, namely the judgements of the self and the perceived evaluations of others. This is because, as far as the interlocutors’ are concerned, every speech event can be a private as well as a public evaluative action. As argued previously, the positioning subject is always active. That is to say every communicative evaluation takes the vantage point of one’s private subjectivity. On the other hand, each verbal evaluation should be analysed as a public event. The performance-centred approach (Bamberg, 1997; Bauman, 1993; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Goffman, 1974, 1981; Riessman, 2003) particularly emphasises this perspective, which, in essence, treats each communicative event as a social accomplishment. Taking performance as a meta-communicative frame relies on the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence (Bauman, 1993; Hymes, 1971). The act of speaking to an audience opens the speaker up to scrutiny for the way it performs social identities.

Speaker’s perception reflects cognitive patterns. The concept of viewpoint, a term used a lot by cognitive linguists to scrutinise the intersubjective conceptual coordination between speakers and addressees (Langacker, 2007; Verhagen, 2005), offers useful insight. Conceptual spaces are said to be embedded in speakers’ positions (Dancygier, 2008). The

construction of a conceptual space is a necessary component of subject positions. Personal pronoun use, as reviewed in Section 2.2.3, can be an important indicator of the intersubjective perception of self and other. Within certain positions, the current speaker perceives other speakers to be taking up certain positions themselves. These subject positions are therefore socially oriented performative acts. Performative acts can be argued as resting on the supposition that speakers are maintaining their discourse alignment with other speakers.

Intersubjectivity, from the perspective of embodied cognition, validates the performative nature of the subject's positioning. In light of maintaining intersubjective conceptual coordination, speakers must estimate their addressees' knowledge states and presuppositions, and hearers must also estimate speakers' knowledge states (Langacker, 2001). As speakers do not have direct access to the interlocutors' cognitive states, they are always speaking to their addressees whose knowledge states, presuppositions and affect speakers are estimating or imagining (Sweetser, 2012, p. 6). In other words, all hearers and addressees are imagined hearers/addressees. The imagination of self-perception in social interactions is a socially orientated, therefore performative, intersubjective experience.

2.4.2 The mediation of social-cultural values

The interpretation of subject positions focuses primarily on the indirect relation of language to social identity, mediated by the interlocutors' knowledge of linguistic conventions for performing particular social acts and stances and the interlocutors' understandings of them as resources for reinforcing socio-cultural values through stance performances. Drawing on the social constructivist perspective, the emergence of each dimension of self-representation is a result of the subject's social positioning vis-à-vis others, which implies mobilising and deploying socio-cultural values and emotionality within social alignment with other interlocutors in the given socio-cultural context.

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) and self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), developed by social psychologists, theorise the effect of group identification in the discussion of social identities. The epistemic and affective aspects of collective identification have received a great deal of attention from social psychological researchers and sociologists, especially when it comes to the issue of collective identity or collective self-representation.

In terms of collective self-representation, the *us* versus *them* categorisations have proved to be salient in the construction of one's sense of self (Onorato & Turner, 2002).

Constructing the collective sense of self is also a salient social option for the actualisation of oneself in the world. Numerous empirical experiments have been conducted by social psychologists supporting the affective commitment and closeness one feels to other members of a category during the cognitive process of collective identification (Ashmore et al., 2005; Oakes et al., 1994; Turner et al., 1987).

However, in-group favouritism has long been contested due to the assumption that researchers are prone to making, namely that there is a deterministic association between certain behaviours and social categorisation. In addition, minimal group paradigms and Likert scale evaluations cannot take into account the choices that a person makes outside the laboratory. From the perspective of ecological validity, these test performances cannot predict behaviours in real-world situations. Self-representation depends very much on different communicative goals and pragmatic motives. Perhaps, we could say that speakers are constantly formulating the multifaceted self-representation in social interactions under the influence of pre-existing cultural, institutional and societal/dominant discourse.

Bucholtz and Hall (2004, 2005) establish the interaction between social semiotics and the individuals' social identification process in the framework of tactics of intersubjectivity to emphasise the identification as inherently relational, not a property of isolated individuals. This method is by and large only applicable to interpretations made of real-time identity construction and co-construction (Bucholtz, 2009; Ochs, 1992). Personal characteristics in some scenarios comprise allegiance to social identities (De Fina, 2013), as one's self-construct derives from one's knowledge of one's membership in a social community together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255).

Individuals perceive themselves as belonging to social groups, and recognition of membership(s) in these social categories carries with it knowledge of the values, positive or negative, that are attached to these groups (Liebkind, 2010, p. 141). Taking Indonesian as an example, studies have shown that the indirect connection between linguistic forms and social categories can often go beyond the local interactional level and invoke enduring subject positions and social categories (Djenar, 2007, 2008; Manns, 2012).

The examination of Chinese expressions should include take an interpretive approach that takes into consideration the details of the interactional context and socio-cultural factors

that transcend the here-and-now discursive context. Individual behaviours are socio-culturally shaped. Socio-cultural norms are not sets of constraints on the positioning subject's language choice, but a meaning-making enterprise. They are tied into each dimension of the dynamic construction of the multi-faceted and plural sense of the self.

2.4.3 Cognition in discourse

Language, in the context of the current study, is a conflation of collective and cultural repertoire that constitutes a source for the cognition-based creation and negotiation of socio-culturally shaped meaning of linguistic abstraction. As for the linguistic examination of the self, the social self can be analysed and interpreted with the notion of cognition in discourse. It has informed an analytical framework that incorporates methodologies that treat the ways speakers' self-represent using various linguistic terms as representations of various mental construal and social interactional constructions. The discussion focuses on the following three principles when studying cognition in discourse, namely the representational principle, the intersubjective principle, and the emergent principle.

The representational principle

Within the socio-cognitive approach towards analysing the social self, the word *representation* is a preferred notion. It links the narrative process of producing selves to the symbolic values of various linguistic manifestations of different aspects of the self which are being constantly and mutually constructed in discourse. First, the representations of the multifaceted self serve as the reference frame. To analyse ways which one performs one's social being and to understand the many socio-cultural elements, especially those that are intimately related to one's ways of being or personhood, one will have to accommodate multiple reference frames and switching footings. It is crucial to draw on the different dimensions of this reference frame during the analysis of the discursive practice.

Second, an individual's subjective navigation in the world, built upon a cognitive anchor, is able to project many construals of self-related social experiences, including self-identity, social relationships and group membership and so on. Our cognition serves as the ground upon which our lives are staged and performed. Experiences in sensorimotor domain such as bodily orientation, objective manipulation and motion, or sense of space, and so on, can be used to conceptualise and reason about subjective experiences (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Schubert & Otten, 2002). For instance, numerous psychological and cognitive linguistic studies have shown that social relations often manifest themselves in spatial

relations (Chen, 2002; Fillmore, 1983; Jackendoff & Landau, 1991; Li, 2010; Schubert & Otten, 2002; Talmy, 1978, 1983; Wolfowitz, 1991; Zhou, 2002; Zhou & Fu, 1996)⁸.

The intersubjective principle

Speakers' intersubjective positioning increase the effectiveness of communication in discursive transactions, but more importantly, it constitutes the essential part of the speakers' narrative reflexivity. In his discussion of reflexivity as a property of language and a human faculty, Duranti (2011) contends that it is this property that gives us the opportunity to reflect on our past, current, and potential ways of being. The temporal quality of our social life implies an inner life and we constantly reflect on what we now see from the point of view of what we might have been and from the point of view of what we might in fact become (Duranti, 2011, p. 15). Taking the audience into the speakers' own reasoning process is more than just pragmatic move, but a necessary meaning-making process for the speakers themselves.

The socio-cognitive approach does not treat the self as taking the form of a unified cognitive structure located in the individual's memory system. The representation of the self, on the conceptual level, is a matter of subjective perception of the self and intersubjective imagination of the other. Firstly, knowledge mutually shared by the interlocutors, including the aforementioned mental imageries, is the common ground from which mental spaces can be built up by the interlocutors' communicative use of language (Ferrari & Almeida, 2015, p. 100). Pronominal choices in discourse, for instance, from a cognitive linguistic perspective, anchor the speaker's mental-space construal in ways specific to that speaker's cognitive and perceptual access (Dancygier, 2008). Conceptually, speakers use metaphors and pronouns with imagined addressees in mind to build the individual speaker's mental-space construal which is specific to that individual's cognitive and perceptual access.

Secondly, with respect to the metaphorically proximal and distal use of pronouns in face-to-face interactions, speakers function as objects of their own conceptualisation as a consequence of apprehending other minds and simulating how they appear from other vantage points (Langacker, 2007, p. 184). Perspective taking and management are not only first person phenomenon. Deictic displacement (Sweetser, 2012, p. 9) suggests that

⁸ See Section 4.3.2 of Chapter 4 for more discussion and relevance to the study of the relational aspect of the self in particular.

perspective-taking is not always egocentric, that is the speaker need not function as the deictic centre. Understanding of these speech event scenarios is an integral part of the intersubjective cognition of the speaker and the hearer.

This perspective lends support to the aforementioned intersubjective identity construction in light of stance-taking and context-dependent self-categorisation (in the social psychological sense). The current study intends to bridge the theoretical gaps between these disciplines to explore the cognitive basis of pronoun use in relation to self-representation in discourse (cf. Section 2.4.1).

The emergent principle

With regard to the interpretation of conceptual metaphors, image schemas and spatial deixis in discursive practice, the socio-cognitive approach takes an emergentist perspective (Cameron & Deignan, 2006). Discourse participants draw on their linguistic and cognitive resources for packaging ideas of self-representation for their interlocutors. Conceptual representations of the self can be abstracted from people's discursive interaction for the purpose of semantic analysis. The analysis is based on the premise that metaphorical language and image-schematic orientations emerge from the discourse environment. The emergence depends on the pragmatic purposes the cognitive representations serve in the local context.

Individual performs various aspects of the self, literally and metaphorically to articulate a wide range of forms of participation in socio-culturally oriented practices. Under the emergent principle, the study rejects the idea that metaphors used by the participants are statically culturally determined or that they contribute to a single and unified cultural construction of the self. Instead, the interpretation of these metaphors looks at how people strategically draw upon different linguistic resources and conceptual models in constructing their personalised, situational self in different context (Ochs, 2002).

Various normative presuppositions and cultural conventions, along with each act of stance-taking, can then be brought to light, which people inevitably draw on and deliberately exercise during the process of perceiving, re-enacting and negotiating self-representations. A comprehensive and thorough investigation of self-representation needs to explore the interrelatedness of cognitive centrality and plurality of discursive performances.

Having taken the cognitive construal of the self as operating in a situational and emergent matter, the composition of the tripartite model of self-representation does not give priority to any dimension as the primary form of conceptual frame or mental representation. Nor does the framework presuppose an invariant homogenous unity regardless of any socio-cultural backgrounds. Rather, the analysis for this study will focus on how social actors deploy cognitive resource, such as long-term knowledge, implicit theories, cultural beliefs, social representations, collective memories, and imagined commonalities, flexibly and pragmatically to perform aspect(s) of the self as and when appropriate in front of the intended audience.

2.5 Summary

The current study defines the self within the framework of the modern socio-psychological investigation of the self. This chapter has reviewed several social theories of the self, with a focus on the recent literature in identity studies related to language socialisation and linguistic research. Moreover, there has been a focus on conceptual models corresponding to linguistic representations of identity and social relationships. In brief, the current study argues that social reality arises from social interaction. In light of sociolinguistic studies of identity construction in language interaction and cognitive linguistic proposals of the embodied conceptualisation of the self, the self is viewed as a constituent relational plurality which emerges gradually out of social interactions.

Many agree that the self is constructed through narration and interaction, and should be understood relationally (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Frosh, 1991; Gergen, 2006, 2011; Giddens, 1984). Gergen (2006) uses the word “network” to refer to mental functioning and explains that “it is not so much, ‘I think therefore I am,’ but ‘I am networked, therefore I am’” (Gergen, 2006, p. 112). To have a stable understanding of who we are is based on how well we understand our relationships with others. It is constantly negotiated between the individual agent and the social environment.

The self, as the subject of our psychological and bodily events, should be understood as a process of becoming in relation to others through language. Therefore, to have a sense of self in the social world is a socio-culturally constructed and linguistically experienced process. It exercises the human cognitive capacity to conceptualise social practices in relation to others. The cognitive construal of the self involves imagined self-perception in social

interactions and the internalisation of social experiences. Linguistic representations that convey ascriptions and evaluations of the self cannot be analysed without taking into account the socio-cultural context from which they arise. Chapter 3 will discuss a number of prominent cultural concepts that are related to the discourse of selfhood in twentieth century China. This discourse can be argued as influencing how participants of the present study speak and think about themselves as culturally constituted beings.

Chapter 3. To be modern and Chinese: Chinese conceptions of selfhood

As reviewed in the previous chapter, theorists and researchers with an interest in cross-cultural differences have often argued that members of different cultures (and in different historical periods) have diverging beliefs or ideas about the nature of personhood (e.g., Geertz, 1973; Mauss, 1985; Shweder & Bourne, 1982). Several scholars have argued that Chinese and Western notions of self are significantly different (e.g. Hsu, 1985; Sun, 1991; Fei, 1948). Researchers who have conducted a variety of empirical studies by contrasting the self in Chinese and other Eastern cultures to the Western conception have proposed revisions to the existing Western theories to accommodate the cross-cultural differences (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Marsella et al., 1985; Nisbett & Masuda, 2003; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, 1989).

Whether the Chinese self is purely reactive to role expectations or individually autonomous has been the subject of a great deal of debate. Anthropologists Fei Xiaotong (1948) and Francis L. K. Hsü (1971) study the psycho-cultural orientations of the Chinese people and depict features of Chinese social networks as a continuous field of concentric layers. According to Fei, the Chinese self is bound to others in a social network. The extent of intimacy with another person is reflected by the relative position of that other person within the concentric circles of one's psychological field (Fei, 1948, pp. 24–27). For Hsü (1971), the Asian conceptualisation of the individual is located within a network of relationships, a view which removes the human from the centre of the world and recognises that the individual is embedded in a social network. This view is said to contrast with the egocentric Western view of personhood.

Some scholars argue that the difference between Western and Asian models can be traced back to an indigenous Chinese school of thinking. Confucianism is said to have had a most profound influence in defining personhood in Chinese societies (Hwang, 2000, p. 163). It could be said that modern psychologists who compared aspects of the so-called Chinese self to Confucius's teachings have reinterpreted Confucianism using the newly emerged psychological framework to explain features of a supposedly Chinese personhood (e.g., Ho, 1995; Hsü, 1971; Hwang, 1987, 1988, 1995, 2000; Tu, 1985). For example, Hsü (1953) believes that Chinese people's inclination to be socially and psychologically dependent on

one another is influenced by Confucian moral principles. Others may not draw a direct connection, but they have nevertheless based their discussions on interpretations of notions from traditional Chinese literature. For example, King and Bond (1985) argue that the individual, in an effort to achieve 仁 *ren* ‘benevolence’, can actively strive to reach the state of autonomy and achieve 圣人 *shengren* ‘sagehood’ (King & Bond, 1985, p. 57). Likewise, Tu (1985) reframes the Confucian idea of a person, not as a set of interpersonal relationships and role obligations, but as a dynamic process of spiritual development (Metzger, 1981). It is clear that premodern Chinese teachings on selfhood and personhood continue to be relevant to the interpretation of modern Chinese people’s social behaviour with respect to the self.

However, a narrow interpretation that places the focus on the continuation of traditional Chinese thinking suffers the drawback of being culturally essentialist. The idea of self-awareness in the Chinese context is open to numerous interpretations and cannot be summed up neatly. The idea of narrative as essential to self-construction offers a more objective mode of interpretation⁹. In light of the social constructivist perspective introduced in Chapter 2, this chapter will discuss the meanings of Chinese terms related to the conception of the self, such as 国民 *guomin* ‘national people’, 个人主义 *geren zhuyi* ‘individualism’ and 国民性 *guominxing* ‘national character’ with reference to their first uses in the historical context of modern China. These notions entered the modern Chinese vocabulary in the early twentieth century and embodied the discourse of nation-building in modern China.

The participants of the present study are a group of Chinese immigrants who were born and raised in China in 1980s and 1990s. Some have been studying in Australia with the intention of permanent migration, while others have been living in Australia for several years upon receiving tertiary education in Australia. Responses and comments from these participants contain linguistic representations of the self which reflect the cultural ways of viewing personhood in contemporary China. The participants, as members of the same generation (born in the 1980s and 1990s), have a common understanding of China’s history in the twentieth century as a result of the education they received in Mainland China.

⁹ See Section 2.1.4 in Chapter 2 for a review.

Although the participants of the present study may not explicitly discuss their understandings of influential premodern Chinese school of thoughts, such as Confucianism and Daoism, their statements about how they perceive themselves as Chinese people, how they view other Chinese people, and how they see themselves in relation to non-Chinese people all indicate some socially-constructed norms and ideals of what it means to be a good person. It is for this reason that this chapter will address how China's modern nation-building discourse has shaped the social constructions of the self among the contemporary Chinese people and interpret how some premodern ideas and values have been re-imagined by some influential modern Chinese intellectuals. These ideas are shared cultural resource on which Chinese speakers draw in self-expression in social interaction. We can develop a better understanding of the types of statements made by the participants in this project by recognising what might have influenced the assumptions that the participants may hold.

3.1 Individuality in the Chinese context

The idea of 自我感受 *ziwo ganshou*¹⁰ 'having a sense of self' and 作为中国人 *zuowei Zhongguoren* 'being Chinese' are both modern inventions in China. Although translations of the English word *self* can be found in Chinese, we should not assume equivalence of meaning between the English word *self* and Chinese terms such as 自己 *ziji*, 己 *ji*, 自我 *ziwo* (also translated as 'ego'). 自我 *ziwo* 'self' or 'ego' was a neologism imported from Meiji-era Japan into modern Chinese (1868–1912)¹¹. Likewise, the assumption that Chinese equivalent terms can be found for English-language concepts such as *national identity* and *nation* is problematic. This is because the cultural meanings carried by the Chinese conception of being a 国人 *guoren* 'national person' cannot be fully captured by the modern Western concept of national citizenship.

In Imperial China, the term 中国 *Zhongguo*, the present-day term for China, meant the central territory. It was never used to define a sovereign country, nor was it assigned a specific geographical location before the nineteenth century. The term is said to have

¹⁰ For each Chinese term, pinyin will be given at the first mention in each chapter. A complete glossary including pinyin and translation can be found in Appendix 5.

¹¹ The Japanese language had, by the 1920s, an enormous number of modern concepts that were written in *kanji* (Japanese use of Chinese characters). The Chinese borrowed these terms to translate concepts from European languages into Chinese (L. H. Liu, 1993, p. 167).

originated from the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 BC) and was used to refer to the dominated area (Hu, 2000; Luo, 1998; Wang, 1977; Yu, 1981; as cited in Zhao, 2006, p. 6). After overthrowing the Mongol Yuan (1271–1368), the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) envisioned 中国 ‘China’ for the first time as a distinctive domain for 汉人 *Hanren* ‘Han people’, the ethnic group that forms the majority of the Chinese population today. This domain was located at the centre of the Ming empire and the domain for inner 蛮夷 *manyi* ‘barbarians’ was included in the outskirts of the Ming realm (Jiang, 2011, p. 103). With the rise of nationalism as a modern idea during the late Qing period (1901–1911), the Han literati advocated a strong national identity in the name of 大中国 *da Zhongguo* ‘greater China’ (X. Tao, 1995, pp. 200–201).

The question “who am I?” was closely related to that of “who are we?” for the literati of the late Qing and early Republican periods in Chinese history (1850s–1920s). This was because of the rapid decline of Qing court (1644–1912), the last imperial dynasty in China, and the rise of political causes to strengthen and modernise the country. Discussion of the modern idea of selfhood started during this period. By the mid to late 1910s, it had become a key point of discussion among Chinese intellectuals. Reflections on individuality have since become a recurring theme in modern Chinese literary criticism. This section will focus on the relationship between the individual and the country, the tension between individual identity and collective identity, Chinese perspectives on individuality, and Chinese criticism of 国民性 ‘national character’. It will argue that the nationalistic and ideological context that underpins the cultural meanings of descriptions of the self in the modern Chinese language also shape the ways in which participants in this study construct their respective selves through narrative.

3.1.1 The ideology of Chinese individualism

Discourse on individuality in China evolved through the twentieth century. Scholars and historians often note the contrast between Chinese “collectivism” and Western “individualism” (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, Mccusker, & Hui, 1990)¹². However, we should note that this contrast is a contrived one. This subsection examines the notion of individuality, focusing on how it is defined and interpreted

¹² Section 2.1.2 of Chapter 2 has discussed this problematic cultural categorisation in greater detail.

differently by various prominent authors during the period of the May Fourth Movement (roughly 1917 to 1927)¹³.

The Chinese discourse of individuality and collectivity is constructivist and aims at creating new senses of self that would be appropriate for the types of social roles people ought to play in an ideal society. Modern Chinese intellectuals from the late Qing period (1890s onwards) to the Republican period (1912–1949) drew inspiration from Western conceptions of individual identity and national identity as foreign cultural repertoires. The May Fourth intellectuals’ linked it to what they perceived as their social responsibility of emancipating their fellow citizens in order to create a modern nation. For the Communists and Leftists, “collectivism” was presented in terms of awakening the masses to their oppression by local tyrants and foreign imperialists. This subsection will focus on how May Fourth intellectuals interpreted individualism in the historical context of the May Fourth period, followed by a discussion of individualism in Communist China under Mao (1949–1976). The purpose is to see the extent to which these views may have been shaped by the ideological content of national politics in modern and contemporary China.

Xu (2009b) reviews 个人 *geren* ‘individual’ in the context of the New Culture Movement and regards it as a notion of a separate, self-aware entity with its own internally generated sense of importance. One reason for the eminent discourse in the name of 新文化 *Xin Wenhua* ‘New Culture’ in the mid-1910s and 1920s is that “old” China as labelled as suppressing the voice of individuals and “new” China as something that the liberated individuals could strive to build. The progressive and radical intellectuals led the New Culture Movement to revolt against institutionalised Confucian values of filial piety and submission to patriarchal authority. In Confucianism, the idea of self-cultivation places exclusive emphasis on the improvement of the individual self to serve the family, the country and ultimately the emperor. The implication is that the cultivated personality would help to ensure peace and order within society. The May Fourth iconoclastic radicals dismissed Confucian self-cultivation as oppressive and backward.

¹³ The May Fourth Movement, also called Chinese Enlightenment, occurred in tandem with the New Culture Movement, refers to the anti-Confucian revolt led by intellectuals and scholars in the mid-1910s and 1920s.

Lu Xun (1881–1936), a leading writer and literary critic in Republican China, accused Confucian norms of consuming the individuality of Chinese people and their capacity for having individual thought. Influenced by Le Bon, Freud and Nietzsche, Lu Xun pointed to the contents of the individual’s dynamic instinctual psyche that were yet to be examined. He wrote in his 1925 essay “Sudden thoughts, 5” (忽然想到, 五 *Huran xiangdao, wu*) that people should have the courage to release their instinctual forces (cited in Sun, 1986, p. 473). Lu Xun’s advocacy of critical thinking can be illustrated by his thinking about 立人 *liren*. 立人 *Liren* literally means making people stand up straight. In his 1907 essay “On cultural aberrations” (文化偏至论 *wenhua pianzhilun*), Lu Xun expounded his conception of 立人 as 尊个性而张精神 *zun gexing er zhang jingshen* ‘respect[ing] individuality and free[ing] the spirit’. Davies regards Lu Xun’s intention to be encouraging people to give clear expression to their thoughts and feelings (2011, p. 145).

According to Lu Xun, the lack of an independent and autonomous mind makes people vulnerable to corruption and oppression. In 1918, he wrote in “A madman’s diary” (狂人日记 *Kuangren riji*), published in *New Youth Magazine*¹⁴ that, in a traditional feudalistic society, the higher someone was on the hierarchy, the more they would “eat” off those who were below them. Lu Xun’s insight is that the 封建社会 *fengjian shehui* ‘feudalistic society’ of Confucian values is unnatural. As the result of Confucianism’s enduring influence on Chinese society, hierarchism is crushing people’s ability to think for themselves while making them fearful of those in power. Those who are not fully conscious are considered “blind” and are seen to embody “aggressive instincts and faults” which have the “destructive power” to devour the awakened individualities (Sun, 1986, p. 476). The implication is that Chinese people must think for themselves if they want to be modern and emancipated from Confucian beliefs. Subsection 3.2.1 will come back to address Lu Xun’s criticism of “old values” and Confucianism in connection with the ambivalent attitude the project’s participants express about being Chinese.

In an effort to embrace 个性解放 *gexing jiefang* ‘emancipation of individuality’, the May Fourth thinkers advocated self-awakening in order to assert the authority of 自我 ‘self’. For many who promoted this cause, autonomy of the individual was brought into discussion

¹⁴ *New Youth Magazine* is an influential Chinese revolutionary magazine founded by Chen Duxiu in 1915.

as a modern personality trait. The liberal thinkers linked selfhood to the idea of 自觉 *zijue* ‘self-awakening’, an awakening to the rightness of Western democracy, science, individual freedom, and the emancipation of women and youth. Li Dazhao (1888–1927), a May Fourth intellectual who co-founded the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) with Chen Duxiu in 1921, for instance, maintained in his 1916 article “Creating a youthful China” (青春中华之创造 *Qingchun Zhonghua zhi chuangzao*) that Chinese youth bore the responsibility of exercising original thinking to challenge traditional Chinese views. The May Fourth idea of self-awakening gives rise to discussions around Western-inspired values such as liberty, equality, fraternity and human rights. These values are integral to Chinese discourse of individuality in the late 1910s and early 1920s (Gu, 2001, p. 592).

The relation of self to society receives a great deal of attention in the May Fourth discourse. Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), another leader of the May Fourth Movement and co-founder of CCP, in his 1914 article entitled “Patriotism and Self-consciousness” (爱国心与自觉心 *Aiguoxin yu zijuexin*), presented his idealised nation as one inhabited by fully self-aware individuals. Chen argued that an individual’s identity was ensured only when it found a meaningful expression in terms of culture, community and race by creating a nation-state to protect and embody it (Harris, 2002, p. 192). This is to say, as modern Western thinking about the autonomy of the self was imported to China, it was closely linked to the autonomy of the new Chinese Republic during the May Fourth era.

Hu Shi (1891–1962), essayist and philosopher and a leading figure of May Fourth, also placed exclusive emphasis on a person’s societal function. Drawing on John Dewey’s elaboration of self and society, he suggested that the full development of individual potential was the primary condition of a well-functioning society (Hu, 2006, cited in Zhang, 2013). Hu equated individuality with a process of conscious self-improvement. Hu separated detached individualism from true individualism (Fung, 2010, p. 154), which is his contribution to Chinese ideas about selfhood. Hu used the term 唯我主义 *weiwo zhuyi* ‘egoism’ to criticise those who sought to live apart from society because they were unhappy with it. For him, individuals ought to serve society and attempt to improve social conditions. True individualism, as Hu wrote in 1920 in “The anti-individualistic new life” (非个人主义的新生活 *Fei geren zhuyi de xinshenghuo*), consisted of individuality, free will and responsibility. A truly individualistic thinker should be responsible for his decisions and actions and should

not run away from his social responsibilities. Later in 1935, in “Individual freedom and social progress” (个人自由与社会进步 *Geren ziyou yu shehui jinbu*) he wrote that the dual responsibilities of a truly liberated individual underscored the connection between personal freedom and social progress. Hu called for the voice of the individual through self-transformation to replace the ancient classical canon as a necessary process of nation-building via literary reform (Liu, 1993, p. 182).

Hu Shi warned in the “The anti-individualistic new life” that the 小我 *xiaowo* ‘lesser self’ must not be confined to operating as a self-interested ego. It must evolve into a higher form of consciousness so as to benefit the nation as the 大我 *dawo* ‘greater self’. This tension between collective identity and individual identity rose to prominence when individuality became a key topic among May Fourth intellectuals (Xu, 2009a). The dichotomy of 大我 ‘greater self’ and 小我 ‘lesser self’ became a topic of interest and triggered a great deal of debate in the 1910s and 1920s. As the terms themselves indicate, they do not exist in isolation and their respective denotations are only meaningful in comparative terms.

In the historical context of the May Fourth Movement, discussion of the relationship between self and society, as encapsulated in the 大我 ‘greater self’ and 小我 ‘lesser self’ dichotomy, was focused on discovering the correct collective attitude. 大我 ‘greater self’ and 小我 ‘lesser self’ are popular and prominent terms in the discourse of the May Fourth liberal intellectuals (Chow, 1960), as they naturalise the nation (and society) as the 大我 ‘greater self’ and the individual as the 小我 ‘lesser self’ (G. Davies, 2012, p. 31). Against the background of turbulence of early twentieth century China, progressive intellectuals saw the wellbeing of the nation as resulting from the cumulative actions of individuals.

From the late 1920s onwards, following the rise of authoritarian politics, intellectuals gradually diverged into different political camps and became members of the two major political parties, the Kuomintang (KMT), who ruled China from 1927 to 1948 before it moved to the island of Taiwan, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), who were founded in 1921 and is the founding and ruling political party of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) (founded 1949). Although operating based on different political ideologies, both parties were organised along authoritarian lines. The polarisation of the individual and the state can be manipulated to serve political purposes during political indictment (Liu, 1993, p. 176), leading to the undermining of individual pursuits in the name of national and collective

goals. Equating individualism with selfish interests, the modern Chinese state has encouraged people to be selfless and public-minded in its political propaganda. This promotion of a selfless attitude began first under the KMT government of Chiang Kai-shek (1928-1943) and has been further developed under the CCP when it took power in 1949.

The vocabulary for selflessness underwent important changes under Communist rule as individualism was denounced as a “bourgeois” value. As a result, the prioritisation of collective goals over personal interests was especially prominent during the time of Chairman Mao’s rule (1949-1976). Although Mao Zedong (1893–1976), Chairman of the CCP, viewed Confucianism as the ideology of the exploitative class and its ideas of social harmony contradicted by Marxist tenets (Solomon, 1972, p. 140), the assertion of authoritarian autocracy reflects the Confucian ideology for having a strong central authority. It is said to be necessary for the CCP to keep control over the country (S. Wang, 1994, p. 168). Mao, during the early phase of PRC governance, launched a series of mass mobilisation campaigns, including land reform and anti-rightist campaigns in the 1950s and the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The so-called 小资产阶级的自私自利性 *xiaozichanjieji de zisizilixing* ‘petty-bourgeois selfishness’¹⁵, was a frequently used description of the people’s “enemies” who were labelled “bourgeois”. These were people who were accused of placing their personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second. The difference between “comrades” and “enemies” was a large part of ideological, political and organisational instruction under Mao.

The priority of collective interests is most clearly reflected in Maoist ideological education. For example, the charters and mottos of CCP, the Chinese Communist Youth League (founded 1922), and the Young Pioneers of China (founded 1949) all contain the principle of 为人民服务 *weirenmin fuwu* ‘serving the people’, and every member should see this as their main responsibility. This political slogan was introduced during Mao’s time in power and has remained widely used in the present day.

The participants who were recruited for the research reported in the coming chapters (cf. Section 4.1 in Chapter 4) were all born in the 1980s and 1990s, with the exception of one

¹⁵ Quoted from a 1937 pamphlet published by Mao, titled “Combating liberalism” (反对自由主义 *Fandui ziyou zhuyi*)

participant who was born in the 1970s. People in this age group experienced a very different China in which there was authoritarian rule but with an emphasis on patriotic education and not Maoist collectivist politics. They did not experience the ideological strictures and politics of Maoist rule which dominated the first three decades of the PRC (1949-1976). None of the participants are interested in commenting on the impact of Maoist politics and culture. No one comments on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). One group of participants, referring to themselves as ordinary people, are simply indifferent to the political landscape. Despite this indifferent attitude, we cannot assume that participants are free from the ideological influence of these events.

The ideological orientation in participants' comments is still apparent. Participants from two groups see mass media as facilitating people's ideological bias. Bias against China and Chinese products, according to one participant who is a businessman, can just be "a matter of fighting for interest"; ideological difference, in this light, is simply imagined or invented. Participants generally take the attitude that ideological differences are product of non-Chinese people being misled by biased newsfeeds and a lack of knowledge about contemporary China. Having knowledge of internet censorship in China, participants should be aware that reports from Chinese media are also biased, perhaps even more so than the Australian media. None of the participants seemed to be concerned about media and internet censorship in China, however.

The participants do not seem to be aware that they refer to non-Chinese people disrespectfully by using derogatory terms such as 鬼佬 *guilao* 'Westerner (literally foreign devil)' and 老外 *laowai* 'foreigner (literally old outsider)' that were widely used in China throughout the twentieth century. They seem to presume that the use of these derogatory terms is legitimate because China was formerly oppressed by the Western powers and the current Communist China is said to be reported negatively by Western media. These contemporary Chinese people have been informed by and have internalised the cultural and ideological differences between China and Western countries to produce their own stereotypes.

3.1.2 The nationalistic context of Chinese individuality

Progressive Qing officials in the nineteenth century used the slogan 中学为体, 西学为用 *zhongxueweiti, xixueweiyong* 'Chinese knowledge as the foundation, Western

knowledge for practical application’ and its abbreviation 中体西用 *zhongti xiyong* (Davies, 2011, p. 128), and made use of a pair of ancient concepts 体 *ti*, meaning the original pattern and 用 *yong* meaning uses of that pattern¹⁶. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the pairing of 体 ‘order’ and 用 ‘application’ acquired a political meaning and made an unprecedented political impact (Ci, 1994, p. 249). Between the 1850s and 1880s, the dyad was employed to defend the preservation of Chinese cultural traditions as an essential core (体) and the strengthening of the Qing dynastic realm through application and mastery (用) of Western practical knowledge on matters of armaments, science and modern technology. An increasing emphasis had been given to the practicality of the newly emerging principle of nation-building in the 1890s -1900s. With the influx of Western political knowledge, many intellectuals were empowered by modern Western modern ideas and started to form new conceptions of Chinese nationhood in the modern context. An important consequence is the increasing levels of rejection of the Chinese 体 ‘order’ with the embrace of the Western 用 ‘application’. These changes contribute to New Culture intellectuals’ break with traditional Chinese values of personhood.

Chinese cultural concepts such as 体 ‘order’ and 用 ‘application’, together with imported Western ideas, were used in the construction of a new national-political orthodoxy. Dikötter describes this process as “investing new ideas with native meanings and nuances, reinterpreting modern political ideologies, reconstructing their cultural heritage, and finally, actively inventing their own versions of identity and modernity” (1996, p. 593). Rather than treating the idea of modern Chinese individuality and national identity as an exotic postulation, it is perhaps more appropriate to view the Chinese conception of personhood as having gone through a rapid process of social construction.

This subsection will address the importance of the narrative of modern nation-building in framing modern Chinese discourse on the self and the society. As mentioned in the previous subsection, individualism became a central theme of the May Fourth movement.

¹⁶ This pair of concepts was found in a third-century A Documentary on the *Daodejing* by Wang Bi; 体 *ti* refers to the organized form or substance and 用 *yong* is the application of 体 *ti* according to varying circumstances. By distinction, the ontological status of an object, 体 *ti*, retains its original organisation, however, its application, 用 *yong*, can be multiple and infinite. The relationship between the two in the context of Neo-Confucianism metaphysics is that, despite the invariant essence and the context-dependent application, they are of the same unity (Cua, 2013).

The imagining of the needs and interests of the self and the ethical responsibilities of the individual were defined within the nation-state framework. When New Culture intellectuals denounced “old” China for suppressing the voice of individuals and hailed “new” China as something that liberated individuals could strive to build, they were in some ways promoting an individualism linked to nation-building as a collective enterprise. Their iconoclastic and anti-traditional rebellion was also an instrument for national survival (Lin, 1972).

May Fourth intellectuals witnessed the historical transition of China from centuries of dynastic rule to a modern republic. The economic problems China faced and the aggression of foreign nations might have led them to form political views that promote individualism as part of 救国 *jiuguo* ‘saving China’. These patriots saw a grim future for China if they did nothing. Given the upsurge of the May Fourth Movement in 1919 came out of a patriotic protest against a weak government capitulating to the demands of foreign powers at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, the May Fourth elite could be considered to be instrumental in defining China’s national identity at the time. Their street protest on the 4th of May, 1919 remains a significant event commemorated annually in China.

By 1912 and the collapse of the Qing dynasty, more and more Chinese people were exposed to Western ideas by attending modern schools and overseas education. Educated Chinese who no longer served the 天命 *Tian Ming* ‘Mandate of Heaven’ as imperial bureaucrats now saw themselves as modern citizens in the newly founded Republic of China. The traditional and largely Confucian understanding of the universe, as governed by the 天命 ‘Mandate of Heaven’, 天道 *Tian Dao* ‘Way of Heaven’ and its 天理 *Tian Li* ‘Principles of Heaven’, was accused of being the biggest barrier to China becoming a “nation within the world” (Xu, 2009b, p. 5). They saw an urgent need for China to become a modern nation-state, and for China to adapt itself to an international order of modern nation-states.

The ardent nationalism of the 1900s in China was the result of a deeply felt loss of China’s cultural authority (Pye, 1990, p. 9). It became increasingly apparent to the early Chinese social reformers that the pursuit of the universal ideal of the traditional (Confucian) utopian worldview laid at the core of the backwardness of imperial China. Instead, modernisation of the West could be set as a model to follow. Liang Qichao (1873–1929), a leading reformist of late Qing and early Republic China, and Yan Fu (1854–1921), a renowned translator of the same period, were among the Chinese scholars in the 1890s and

1900s to promote Western theories of science and politics. Darwin's theory of evolution, for example, gave them a new perspective for viewing the country and the people. They emphasised the practical value or 用 'application' of Western knowledge over the cultural 体 'organisation' of Chinese knowledge.

The May Fourth intellectuals might have inherited this attitude to regard the Western individualism as an essential trait to foster in themselves and their fellow-citizens. Even though they seemed to reject Chinese traditional 体 'order', their westernisation was linked to the goal of 自立自强 *ziliziqiang* 'striving for self-improvement' and establishing a modern Chinese 体 'order', a new modern Chinese national order which could stand independent of Western role models. The belief in the importance of 自立自强 'striving for self-improvement' not only dominated the Republican China, but also continued to influence ideologies in the 1930s and beyond (Zarrow, 1999, p. 171).

This goal of 自立自强 *ziliziqiang* 'striving for self-improvement' embodies a new set of cultural rules by embracing a sense of self-consciousness and constantly looking for modern intellectual legitimacy to continue to be an emotional and mentally strong self. Xu (2009b) uses the example given by Liang Qichao in his 1900 work "The Origin of China's Backwardness" (中国积弱溯源论 *Zhongguo jiruoyuan lun*) to illustrate Liang's endorsement of the principle of the struggle for existence. The underlying argument is that an autonomous individual should take full responsibility for their own wellness. Whether applied to the interactions of individuals or of societies, the idea of the survival of the fittest became influential in twentieth century China. According to Schwarcz (1986, p. 104), along with the introduction of the striking new view of the dynamic principles of evolution, Social Darwinism has become the source of a transformation of Chinese values at the national.

The doctrine of Social Darwinism enables the conceptual interaction between modern nationhood and selfhood. As Harris (2002, p. 185) states, Liang Qichao was an outstanding advocate for a new conception of personhood as part of the need for nation-building. His theory not only comes to be seen as a defining moment in the reappraisal of the Chinese state and the Chinese worldview under the impact of Western ideas (Harris, 2002, p. 185), but also marks a decisive break with Confucian intellectual tradition (Elvin, 1990, p. 15). As an enthusiastic advocate of nationalism, Liang Qichao drew an immediate connection between the mortal individual bodies and the immortal state. He translated *citizen* into 国民 *guomin*

which is the combination of 国 *guo* ‘nation’ and 民 *min* ‘people’. In his 1902 work on citizenship, “On Renewing the People” (新民说 *Xin min shuo*), he expounded his ideas about individual, race and nation. Liang defined 国民 ‘national people’ as 有国家思想, 能自布政治 *you guojia sixiang, neng zibu zhengzhi* ‘having state consciousness and being able to self-govern the state’. Liang’s conception of 国民 ‘national people’ was influential throughout the 1900s. Scholars have noted that it served as a point of reference for other scholars and for politicians during the first Republican decade (1910s), perhaps also inspiring the May Fourth intellectuals’ conception of themselves as the awakened individuals after 1919 (Liu, 1993, p. 175).

Many of the participants speak about how living in Australia heightened their awareness of being Chinese, with some indicating that this is a positive thing and others viewing it negatively. For all of them, 作为中国人 ‘being Chinese’ has been synonymous with being “me”. The discovery of one’s individuality comes with an enhanced sense of a collective Chinese identity (an identity shared with other ethnic Chinese) in a foreign country. The participants also claim that they experience a stronger sense of identification with China because they live in Australia and that they thought far less about what being Chinese meant when they lived in China. This self-consciousness of their Chinese identity abroad is the result of people in Australia seeing them as Chinese, as three (out of five) groups of participants (cf. Chapters 5 and 7) explain so. Participants feel strongly about their Chinese identity, which is evident in their use of collective self-reference to include one another in terms of 我们中国人 *women Zhongguoren* ‘we Chinese’. The participants also distinguished themselves as 出国的人 *chuguo de ren* ‘people who go abroad’, seeing themselves as contributing to a collective identity of the new global Chinese. Both terms represent an idealised identity which hinges on the importance of self-improvement in Chinese understandings of the self. This identity can be seen as having developed out of early modern Chinese concepts such as Liang Qichao’s 国民 ‘national people’ (cf. Chapter 7).

According to the psychologically conceived, multifaceted framework of the modern self¹⁷, the collective dimension can function in a way in which socialisation and cultural values play the dominant role and where the socio-cultural context is highly important to a

¹⁷ See Section 2.1.4 Chapter 2 for a review of the multiple facets of the self.

person's conception of the self (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). As reviewed in the previous chapter, modern notions of the self in social science literature have long ceased to be viewed as a given or an invariant unity. In light of constructionism, selfhood is instead understood as something that is dynamically evolving and not simply based on education, life experience or socialisation alone. Among the contemporary China immigrants, however, there remains a strong causal assumption about how selfhood develops out of nationhood. A number of participants indicate that they see themselves as not only responsible for their individual image, but also for a collective image, the image of China. Their collective cultural imagination of what it means to be Chinese is inseparable from their sense of self. The culturally-situated Chinese self that has been outlined in the above reflects a strong nationalistic attitude. The examples of present-day cultural thinking recounted above reflect the legacy of the conceptions of Chinese selfhood in late Qing and early Republican China. The intimate relationship between their individuality and being Chinese carries with it a trace of Liang Qichao's original imagination, the inseparable fate between selfhood and nation-state.

3.2 The re-imagination of "old" flaws

As reviewed in Section 2.1, Chapter 2, identity is a modern concept that validates the notion of personal development in terms of self-understanding and membership in a social group where individuals consolidate their self-categorisation. Having introduced the modern Chinese discourse on the self and nationhood, we can now say that a Chinese person who is conscious of living in a foreign country appears to have a self-understanding that is strongly related to a presumed collective identity. This self-understanding is nationally and culturally defined.

According to the social constructivist definition of the self outlined in the previous chapter, becoming a self is a meaning-making process. The participants' comments reflect their education in mainland Chinese schools in the 1990s and 2000s. The authors and literati discussed so far in this chapter are the most frequently quoted people in Chinese history and politics textbooks. Modern Chinese history, including the May Fourth era, is widely taught as part of the history of the CCP. Key authors and their works, such as the ones quoted in the previous section, are familiar to the participants of my project. As people who were educated in Mainland China in the 1980s and 1990s, the participants are likely to have internalised the official narrative of nation-strengthening.

Much of the participants' discussion have been centring upon their perceptions of behaviours and characters of Chinese people in China and other Chinese people in Australia. The participants all point out that, when compared to Australia, China and Chinese people embody a great deal of negative qualities. The participants' comments indicate that they regard themselves as capable of reflecting on the negative attributes of the Chinese as a cultural grouping because of their privileged access to cross-cultural experience and knowledge as a result of living in Australia. This section will draw on the moral discussions of selfhood that have emerged from participants' self-reflective comments which bear similarities to statements made by prominent authors during the May Fourth era.

3.2.1 The critique of negative Chinese traits

In the cross-cultural comparisons, the participants tend to attribute common collective traits among people to their location in a given 社会环境 *shehui huanjing* 'social environment'. They also speculate about the 国情 *guoqing* 'national condition' that gives rise to Chinese attitudes and tendencies. This is striking because the participants treat these terms not as concepts but as if they were part of reality. The term 国情 'national condition' is frequently used in the language of the Chinese government where it refers to the specific conditions of China's social, political and economic development under Communist Party rule (Wang, 2013, p. 24). The participants' use of 国情 'national condition' bears no resemblance to this definition, however. Instead, they used the term to refer to the geographical and cultural conditions under which people develop their outlook. This is quite similar to how the use of 国民性 'national character' in the early Republican period (mid-1910s onwards).

This section attempts to relate narratives of building a strong China to the critical attitudes of participants in the study. Emphasis will be given to how 国民性 'national character' was criticised for different purposes by literary critics and writers in different eras of the twentieth century. With the criticism produced in the 1910s and 1920s by Chinese intellectuals, a certain stereotype of negative Chinese traits became popular within the nation-building framework of how to improve the country and the people. From a social constructivist perspective, the discourse of May Fourth intellectuals supplies the basic vocabulary for an understanding of selfhood as bound up with ideas of self-improvement as well as loathing for China's defeat in the modern era.

As discussed in Section 3.1.2, Liang Qichao's conception of 国民 'national people' promotes a life outlook based on the "survival of the fittest" by means of natural selection exalted attributes such as dynamism, aggressiveness, self-assertion, and the realisation of capacities. These values were particularly prominent in the historical context of the early twentieth century in China. According to Liang, these vitalities used to be suppressed by a premodern Chinese attitude which favoured a modest and peaceful attitude in order to achieve social harmony. For example, Liang criticised the Confucian virtue of 仁 *ren* 'benevolence', as it required an unequal relationship. Because benevolence is given by a superior to those who are his inferiors, people who are inferiors do not foster a capacity to be actively involved with their own welfare. Rather, they are expected to appeal for help from their superiors (G. Davies, 2010, p. 61). Liang's criticism of benevolence rests entirely on the fact that Confucian values do not allow people to develop their own agency. In the modern Chinese outlook this was viewed as passivity and resignation (Schwarcz, 1986, p. 104).

As Sun observes, Liang Qichao has played a crucial role in formulating a psychological view of selfhood in the Chinese cultural context (1992, p. 257). Liang's concept of 国民 'national people' contributes to a psychologised view of individual development because it reflects the new emphasis among educated Chinese of the 1900s on the formation of one's 性格 *xingge* 'character'. According to Sun, Liang regarded personal experience, conduct, habits and traits as a transmissible totality of modern selfhood (1992, p. 242). Liang's formulation of a "transmissible" character implies that descendants can be influenced by ancestors. Stressing the Chinese need for character-building, he was actually inculcating such transmission from ancestors to descendants for nation-building.

When the May Fourth iconoclasm unfolded a decade later, the May Fourth intellectuals criticised the negative transmission of a great many Chinese premodern traditions which lay at the core of China's backwardness. May Fourth intellectuals used the term 遗传性 *yichuanxing* 'heredity' to refer to a negative 国民性 'national character' that was deeply ingrained among Chinese people. The term was widely used in Chinese literature of the May Fourth period to point to fundamental faults in the Chinese self and psyche. This way of referring to 国民性 'national character' has also persisted into the present day.

Lu Xun can be said to be the most powerful social critic of the May Fourth period, mainly because his criticism of China's spiritual malaise has been very influential. The target

of Lu Xun's criticism is the 旧社会 *jiushehui* 'old society'. Among his best-known works is "The true story of Ah Q" (*阿Q正传 Ah Q Zhengzhuan*) (1921). Lu Xun used a composite figure to represent all of the negative traits he saw in the Chinese as a people. Ah Q is a half-witted village "never-do-well" who does not have any personal identity, he does not even know his own name. The symbol Q is used to name him because of its aural and visual similarity to the Manchu "queue", the long braided ponytail.

The character Ah Q presents the 国民性 'national character' negatively, making it synonymous with 劣根性 *liegenxing* 'rotten character' (Tsu, 2005, p. 125). Lu Xun used the story to mock the servility of Chinese people and to criticise their tendency to be bombastic. Ah Q's peculiar way of indulging in feeling a sense of 精神胜利 *jingshen shengli* 'spiritual victory' is tragic when in fact he has been humiliated. The Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty forced Han Chinese men to adopt the queue as a sign of submission. Lu Xun made the point that after the founding of the Republic people's servility never went away. Ah Q, in this context, is an allegory of the yet-to-be-awakened Chinese majority, also called the *masses*. Ah Q can be considered a unique Chinese cultural phenomenon. The success of Lu Xun's story has meant that this literary character has become naturalised in everyday Mainland Chinese discourse. Everyone knows what "Ah Q" means. The fact that 阿Q精神 *a q jingshen* 'Ah Q spirit' continues to be used in Mainland China today as a reference to stupid behaviour indicates the influence of Lu Xun's story. Ah Q, therefore, stands out as a cultural legacy of foundational modern Chinese narrative.

The participants seem to be very sensitive to non-Chinese people's negative views possibly because negative representations of the Chinese 国民性 'national character' have been internalised in their minds along with nation-building ideology. Several participants in this study indicate that to have 等级观念 *dengji guannian* 'a sense of hierarchy' or to adopt a hierarchical view of other people is a fault deep-down 骨子里 *guzili* 'inside the bone' and a 心理习惯 *xinli xiguan* 'psychological habit'. These remarks reflect the influence of the nationalistic (and Social Darwinistic) perspective that first became popular in late nineteenth and early twentieth century China. This philosophy sees culture as a matter of transmissible positive and negative traits, implied in the idea of 遗传性 'heredity' (cf. Section 5.2.4 in Chapter 5).

These participants are aware that they are Chinese and share the same flaws as other Chinese. In their remarks, 等级观念 ‘a sense of hierarchy’ describes a common negative trait among 华人 *Huaren* ‘ethnic Chinese people’ in Australia as well as Mainland Chinese citizens (who are referred to as 国内人 *guoneiren* ‘people within the country’). The uses of the expression 国内人 ‘people within the country’ (further analysed in Chapter 7) indicate that speakers often distance themselves from other Chinese using this term. These participants no longer live in China and no longer endorse certain norms, such as sense of hierarchy, that are pervasive in China. One participant comments on the hierarchical view that 国内人 ‘people within the country’ have and remarks that she notices her own hierarchical attitude only because she is in Australia.

Several of the participants say they are worried that the bad behaviours of other ethnic Chinese might cause non-Chinese people to stereotype them or disrespect them. However, these same participants also stressed the importance of self-respect as a Chinese trait, noting that having self-respect does not mean that the Chinese are better than other people. The participants might have re-imagined these negative characteristics to form a new discourse in a cross-cultural context. Making distinctions between an ideal Chinese self and the flawed Chinese “selves” they see around them, they can prove to people outside of their cultural imagination that they are either wrong in forming misunderstandings about China and Chinese people or that there exist Chinese people, like themselves, who do not have those negative cultural characteristics.

3.2.2 The rectification of negative traits

It is interesting to see how the participants express the process by which they found their individual sense of self. Most of them seem to have gone through a process of narrating their self, which is to take oneself as an object of reflection (Sparrowe, 2005, p. 429). Self-reflection requires one to act as the evaluating subject while also seeing oneself as the object of self-evaluation.¹⁸ From the perspective of the intersubjective construction of the *narrative self*¹⁹, the aforementioned negative accounts presume that non-Chinese people in Australia would see the same “negative” cultural characteristics that they see in their fellow Chinese.

¹⁸ Chapter 5 will present an analysis of how an ideal self is presented and constructed through actions of self-reliant reflection.

¹⁹ See Section 2.1.4 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the relationship between self and other.

They worry that the non-Chinese might show prejudice against them because of these “negative” traits. The participants reflect on these “negative” characteristics in order to deal with misunderstandings about China from people outside of their cultural imagination. They seem to be of the belief that their individual endeavours could change their foreign counterparts’ biased opinions of the Chinese as a people.

The participants’ emphasis on being morally correct bears similarities to discussions about the moral value of selfhood in early twentieth century China. These similarities are indicative of the ongoing influence of the latter on present-day discourse of self-perception. The process that May Fourth intellectuals engaged in while reflecting upon and debating about individuality as a form of moral rectitude is just as self-assertive as it is self-reflective. According to the narrative approach to viewing the self, forging a sense of self involves narrative accounts of self-identity, social responsibilities, practical ethical principles, and ideals of the good (Barresi & Martin, 2011) (cf. Section 2.1.4 in Chapter 2).

May Fourth intellectuals exercised self-reflection while debating individuality, which helped to promote a belief in the importance of self-conviction. This self-conviction is linked to moral conviction. Taking the popular notion of cosmopolitanism as an example, it was said to be the “new tide” for the “new century” during the May Fourth era that won out over nationalism (Xu, 2009, p 10) because cosmopolitanism was considered to be morally superior. The May Fourth protest broke out as an explicit response to Western aggression and the unfair Treaty of Versailles. Cai Yuanpei, Vice-Chancellor of Peking University, in the “Preface to *The Citizens’ Magazine*” (国民杂志序 *Guomin zazhi xu*) (1919) promoted cosmopolitanism over nationalism, using the word 大 *da* ‘great’ to refer to a higher collective. He wrote that narrow nationalism would inevitably lead to defeat, for beyond the nation there lay a higher aspiration. The discourse of cosmopolitanism envisions the May Fourth patriots’ cause to be fit for the advancement of all of mankind, a higher aspiration that is superior to Western nationalism, which therefore can be argued as serving the need to find moral rectitude.

The modern Chinese intellectual mainstream is said to embrace the idea that a rational, morally enlightened citizenry could, and should, “express the general will” (Metzger, 1998, p. 21). Individuality, in this context, is a goal for fostering modern values and a strong sense of social responsibility which is beneficial for the society as a whole. As discussed earlier, the May Fourth discourse links the achievement of personal goals to nation-

strengthening. Reflecting upon and debating about individuality as a form of moral rectitude results in an emphasis being placed on realising one's full potential.

For the May Fourth intellectuals, their instrument to strengthen the nation-state is to “utilise their knowledge and talents for the education and betterment of the ignorant and indifferent” (Dikötter, 1996, p. 601). This discourse includes statements about their alienation from the masses. These progressive urban educated elite perceived themselves as awakened individuals who knew how to build a better country. They imagined themselves to be teachers of the “ignorant” masses. Lu Xun, in his 1919 story “A Madman’s Diary” (狂人日记 *Kuangren riji*), expressed the relation between the unthinking Chinese people who cling to the “old” ways and the awakened individual as that of a collective cannibal and its prey. He wrote that traditional Chinese society was 吃人的 *chiren* ‘cannibalistic’ in nature. In the context of the May Fourth period, this type of negative imagining of traditional Chinese society implied that the future generations could have a better future because of the sacrifice the awakened individuals made (Sun, 1986, p. 468). It should be noted that to be 觉悟 *juewu* ‘awakened’ in this discourse is to be keenly aware of the burdens of the Chinese nation, and how it used to be humiliated by powerful foreign exploiters. An important part of the discourse for expressing self-awareness in modern China is to be aware of the shame of China as a weak and war-torn country.

A similar sense of self-fashioned alienation can be seen in the responses my participants give when they speak of their lives in Australia. Living in a foreign country does separate the participants from the majority of the Chinese people in China. Interestingly, the alienation they feel between themselves—Chinese who live in Australia—and people in China has become an integral part of their collective identity construction (cf. Sections 7.1.3 and 7.2.3 in Chapter 7).

When the participants talk about their own cultural identity in the Australian society, many imply that they feel they are the representatives of Chinese culture and should thus present it in the best light. 国内人 ‘People within the country’ reportedly exhibit negative characteristics that the participants themselves can observe and criticise. Some of these critical views are put forward as the wisdom gained from living overseas. Most of the participants point out that a key benefit of living in Australia is that it enables them to gain a new perspective on life in China and to conduct a cross-cultural comparison. Such criticism

seems to constitute a body of privileged knowledge they have acquired through living overseas and need to pass on for educational purposes, either for their own descendants or for their fellow-Chinese people (cf. Sections 7.1.3 and 7.2.3 in Chapter 7).

An integral part of the rhetoric used by university-educated Chinese today is the presentation of an attitude, as Davies (2007) has written, of worrying about the country and the people. She traces this rhetorical repertoire to the stylised language of the premodern dynastic intellectual tradition, often captured in the four characters 忧国忧民 *youguo youmin* ‘lit., worry about the country and worry about its people’ (G. Davies, 2007). Implicit in this rhetoric is the moral obligation or assumption that “intellectual praxis itself has the power to guide and transform society by finding solutions for the worries that an author has identified” (G. Davies, 2007, p. 18). It also leads to an attitude of moral superiority. Davies uses the example of an observation by Lu Xun in his 1933 essay “Human Language” (人话 *Renhua*) that the typical educated Chinese person has an inherent habit of language. The instructive mode of writing reflects a “tutelary impulse”, positioning the addressee as “the young” (G. Davies, 2013, p. 297). The present-day well-educated Chinese immigrants somewhat resemble this paternalistic image in the way they criticise the cultural quality of Chinese people for the purpose of restoring their image in Australia.

As part of the process of narrating their cultural identity in Australia, it seems to be popular among the participants to adopt a correct attitude in front of people who have a shared socio-cultural background. This includes being reasonable and knowledgeable about the cultural and social behaviours of Chinese communities (in Australia and in Mainland China). Several of the participants state that they want to be 客观 *keguan* ‘objective’ in their perceptions about China. It seems to be clear to them that narrow-minded and one-sided views are incorrect and are to be cast away. Forming a correct appraisal towards China and Chinese people that is 客观 ‘objective’, along with reacting to the perceived misunderstandings about China from people outside of their cultural imagination, contributes to the construction of their collective cultural identity in Australia (cf. Section 7.2.2 in Chapter 7).

3.3 The re-imagination of “old” values

As mentioned earlier, some student participants felt more aware of their Chinese identity after moving abroad. In light of social cognition, people’s talk reflects the way

people imagine themselves in relation to others in a given cultural context. It is a reflexive process that involves the internalisation of social experiences. These social experiences contain the predisposed cultural premises that are historically transmitted and ideologically formed, the interpretations of which sustain people's imagined collective identity as something unique and exclusive. This section will discuss some premodern Chinese ideas of personhood in relation to the types of comments made by the project's participants from a constructivist perspective. It is argued that while the participants produce their own cultural and social perceptions in their discussions, the cultural ways of expressing the self reflect the re-imagination of some "old" values.

3.3.1 The embodied self

In contrast to the aforementioned iconoclastic May Fourth intellectual's interpretations of individuality in the context of modern China, some modern Chinese writers' conceptions of modern personalities reflect a re-interpretation of the premodern concept of 真诚 *zhencheng* 'authenticity' which is of an embodied nature. The May Fourth writer and scholar Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967), in his 1918 article "Human literature" (人的文学 *Rende wenxue*), sought to promote authenticity as the principle mode of self-expression. Qian views Zhou's conception of the self as emphasising on the capability of expression and experience (2011, p. 139). A prominent, albeit younger, member of the New Culture group, Lin Yutang (1895–1976), echoed Zhou's argument and emphasised the importance of expressing one's personal inclination by advocating 性灵 *xingling* 'personality and temperament'.

According to Qian, the origin of the notion of 性灵 'personality and temperament' could be traced to its appearance in a premodern Chinese theory of poetry that advocated spontaneous expression of one's inner thoughts and feelings and emphasised creativity among late Ming and early Qing writers who saw themselves as belonging to the *Xingling* or Expressive School (2011, pp. 138–140). In his 1936 essay "On *xingling*" (记性灵 *Ji xingling*), Lin translated 性灵 'personality and temperament' to mean self-expression, seeing it as an expression of one's 个性 *gexing* 'personality'. Lin's conception of 个性 'personality' includes a person's bodily build, nerves, reason, emotions, learning, viewpoints, experience, sophistication, likes and dislikes, habits and hobbies. Qian regards this idea of Lin's as ontologically based in the notion of authenticity, an antiquity of Wang Yangming's

psychology of heart/mind (S. Qian, 2011).²⁰ The crux of Zhou and Lin's argument is the author's authentic self-expression can meet the reader's heart/mind. In this regard, both Lin and Zhou are of the idea that it is through the expression of the inner self that one acquires a positive social (or public) self.

The same assumption is also reflected in my participants' repeated reference to sincerity (see analysis in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.3 of Chapter 5). From a linguistic perspective, it is important to note that the participants place a particular emphasis on genuine expression. According to the participants, expressing one's true feelings is the ideal way to be oneself. They claim it is of primary importance that one has a 真心 *zhenxin* 'true heart' or 'sincere intentions' which are valued more than a person's etiquette and good manners which are deemed to exhibit only the superficial/external character of that person.

In the comments that participants make in relation to their private thoughts, the word 感觉 *ganjue* 'feeling' can refer to premature yet authentic ideas or firmly-kept impressions. This has shown some indication for the convergence of feeling and thinking in Chinese. In other words, the mind does not constitute a separate entity from the sensing body. The legacy of the unity of mind/body is evident in the range of references to an embodied conceptualisation of the self that appears in the participants' conversations. Participants make frequent reference to the heart and other bodily organs to express their ideas and thoughts or to describe their mental activities (cf. Section 5.2.4 of Chapter 5). These embodied metaphors are a clear indication that the Chinese language is rich in expressions that treat body parts as thinking and feeling organs. Such expressions reveal a unified concept of body and mind (Yu, 2009).

This unity implies a body/self that is thinking and sensing and is interacting with the surrounding world. It can be said to derive from Daoism's straight-forward connection between personhood and nature. In Daoism, self-cultivation revolves around improving a person's 气 *qi* 'vital energy' to allow that person to function well in both the natural and the human world. The human and natural worlds together form a harmonious relationship. Unlike Confucianism, Daoism does not regard the self as defined by, or an extension of, social relationships. Rather, the self is one of the organic manifestations of the 道 *dao* 'cosmos' or

²⁰ Wang Yangming (1472–1529) was a Chinese Neo-Confucian philosopher lived in the Ming dynasty.

‘the way’ (Hansen, 2000; Morris, 1994). Section 5.2.4 in Chapter 5 will illustrate how body parts are used by participants to structure self-related mental processes in the Chinese conceptual system drawn from embodied experiences. This language phenomenon is inherited from the premodern Chinese embodied conception of personhood (Yu, 2009).

The participants also speak of their powerlessness when faced with difficult situations, using the expression 身不由己 *shenbuyouji*, literally means ‘a body beyond one’s control’. This expression can also mean going against one’s will. Another expression used by the participants, 不由自主 *buyouzizhu* ‘an inability to control oneself’, meaning beyond one’s own mastery, relates to the idea of a spontaneous overflow of emotive sentiments. There are also modern Chinese expressions about losing control of certain emotions in the absence of a self-aware subject, such as 情不自禁 *qingbuzijin* ‘being overwhelmed by emotion’, where one is unable to restrain one’s own emotion. This expression draws upon a conceptual metaphor in which bodily feelings are the object of control. Losing control of them is called 真情流露 *zhenqingliulu* ‘overflow of authentic emotions’, which constitutes an authentic representation of one’s embodied affective experience. Equivalent terms in English include “I couldn’t help myself” or “I was overtaken by a powerful emotion”. In Chinese, the difference is that the mind/body is at the locus of self-control, rather than a conscious subject.

Self-development in the Chinese cultural context is called 修身 *xiushen* ‘self-cultivation’, in which the second element, 身 *shen* ‘body’, denotes the whole person. The growth of moral energies, according to Mencius, a great thinker in the Confucian school of thought, directly influences bodily development (Yu, 2008). Contemporary Chinese words containing 身 ‘body’ reflect this premodern Chinese habit of thinking of a person as an embodied being, such as expressions for self and person, namely 自身 *zishen*, literally ‘self body’ and 本身 *benshen*, literally ‘root person’. The same embodied thinking can also be seen in reference to the organic formation of personhood (Yu, 2008) and nationhood, such as 心主神明 *xinzhushenming* ‘heart is the mastery of mind’ and 国之元气 *guozhiyuanqi* ‘vigour of the country’, and the prevalent use of metaphors like 命脉 *mingmai* ‘lifeline’ for pillar industry in the national economy, 死穴 *sixue* ‘lethal point’ for taboo topic, and 软肋 *ruanlei* ‘rib cartilage’ for a weak argument.

3.3.2 The interdependent self

Modern Western self-understanding is often seen to be premised on a rational consciousness and tending towards subjective autonomy. In Chinese-speaking societies, the modern notion of self has similarities with Western self-understanding, but is formulated and expressed in a different way. As discussed previously, expressions about the self and self-awareness in the Chinese language indicate an embodied view of the self. The way they are used either transit the premodern postulations of personhood or reflect a re-interpretation of an “old” concept. In terms of modern Chinese people’s understanding of themselves in relation to others, some connections can be drawn between them and several popular ideas and propositions in Confucianism. Confucianism can be described as a set of ethical perspectives constitutive of a school of thought.

The participants’ use of 自己 *ziji* and 己 *ji*, both meaning ‘self’, is generally confined to statements about their private needs and “real” feelings and thoughts.²¹ When 自己 ‘self’ is used as an adjective, it means ‘of one’s own’ or ‘being close to oneself’, for example 自己人 *ziji ren* ‘own people’ refers to people who are most intimately related to oneself. 自己 ‘self’ embodies the highest degree of affective principles (cf. Section 5.1.3 of Chapter 5). Participants, in the Australian context, use 自己的 *ziji de* ‘of one’s own’ to describe other Chinese people as 自己的同胞 *ziji de tongbao* ‘own compatriots’ and to define group-based cultural practices as 华人自己的传统 *Huaren ziji de chuantong* ‘ethnic Chinese’s own traditions’²².

The line between the self and the other in Chinese is blurred by these expressions. According to Sun, this is a negative trait as it has helped to make the Chinese self more prone to treating others as mere extensions of one’s own needs (Sun, 1991, p. 29). The relation-oriented personhood is evident from Chinese expressions. The earliest examples appear in the ancient Chinese classics associated with Confucianism. 己 ‘self’ in a Confucian sense is an *embedded self* found within a particular socio-cultural tradition, and is defined not by a person’s eccentric traits or individual characteristics, but by a person’s relationships (Lai,

²¹ Chapter 5 offers a detailed examination of 自己 *ziji* and 己 *ji* along with other *self markers* with regard to the construction of the individual dimension of self-representation.

²² The word 传统 ‘tradition’ is actually a modern invention that exists in retrospective terms. The term is a loanword from Meiji Japanese, generally understood as the three teachings (*sanjiao* 三教), Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, rolled into a common set of moral values. These three distinct traditions have been said to have constituted traditional Chinese culture, represent contrasting orientations towards life (Morris, 1994)

2003, p. 123). According to the Confucian canonical text “Analects” (论语 *Lunyu*), 修己以敬 *xiujiyijing* ‘cultivat[ing] in yourself respectful attentiveness’ is undertaken so that one can 修己以安人 *xiuji yi anren* ‘give ease to all other people’ (论语: 宪问 *Lunyu: Xianwen*, 1993)²³. Connectedness and interdependence thus take priority over the bounded and unique individual entity when one comes to think of his or her social counterparts. This cultural belief forms the foundation of human relations in contemporary China as well as a modern Chinese person’s conceptualisation of his or her own person in relation to others.

The student participants of this study especially speak of how they “respect” people who are able to “manage themselves”. By exercising self-discipline in what one says and does, one is worthy of respect from others. Linguistically, 自己 ‘self’ was used as a stand-alone pronoun when the participants sought to engage in self-evaluation (cf. Chapter 5). Their reflections included admissions of personal faults and shortcomings. The participants also believed that if they acted “well” and corrected “bad habits”, non-Chinese people would show them more respect (cf. Chapter 7). The relational orientation of participants’ self-management carries the influence of premodern conceptions of the interdependent self among contemporary Chinese people in their ways of viewing themselves and others.

In Confucian thought, there is no such thing as the self as an independent entity (Lai, 2006). Rather, there is an interdependent configuration of relational selves in its account of ethics and human interaction. People’s communications with fellow human beings form the basis of their existence (Hsü, 1953); the self would be meaningless if separated from the relations with others. Failing to maintain sound relationships would put one’s personhood in danger. The inseparable relationship between self and other can be found in a Confucian saying which is 己欲立而立人 *jiyuli er liren* ‘establish[ing] others in seeking to establish themselves’, found in “Analects” (论语雍也 *Lunyu: Yongye*, 1998). Rather than dualistic in the sense of representing some underlying ontological disparity (Hall & Ames, 1998), 己 *ji* ‘self’ and 人 *ren* ‘other’ should be understood as mutually entailing and interdependent correlatives.

²³ For complete translation, see (Yang & Pan, 1993).

The self is also said to be made up of a series of role relations with *significant others* (Morris, 1994). King and Bond (1985) observe that a person, defined in Confucian terms, can never separate him or herself from obligations to others. For instance, the application of Confucianism under dynastic rule highlights five obligatory relationships, the 五伦 *Wu Lun* ‘Five Cardinal Relationships’. They are the relationships between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, between brothers, and between friends. These are relationships that establish a hierarchy in terms of intimacy and distance, and superiority and inferiority. The Confucian account of personhood expects a person to be able to interpret his or her relationship with others and make appropriate responses towards others.

五伦 ‘Five Cardinal Relationships’, key to normative Confucian thinking, became authoritative during the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), and formed the basis of expressions of respect and obedience for centuries. These hierarchical relationships were denounced by modern Chinese intellectuals. Although the Chinese government under Mao Zedong condemned Confucianism as “feudal”, the post-Mao government began to bring Confucianism back (Bing & Seurre, 1995). Confucian ideals re-entered the public discourse in the 文化热 *wenhuare* ‘cultural fever’ during the 1980s and 国学热 *guoxuere* ‘national studies fever’ of the 1990s and were reconstructed and re-imagined. As a result, the participating Chinese immigrants, having grown up in the 1980s and 1990s, are familiar with the key terms in popular Confucianism.

Confucian terms for personal virtues such as 孝顺 *xiaoshun* ‘filial piety’, 尊重 *zunzhong* ‘respect’ and 自律 *zìlǜ* ‘self-discipline’ continue to be relevant for contemporary Chinese people. Research has shown that some traditional Chinese family values such as 孝顺 ‘filial piety’, denounced by Chairman Mao, have become highly valued by the post-Mao younger generations (Croll, 2006; Liu, 2008; Whyte, 1994). When making cross-cultural comparisons, some participants say they find it hard to come to terms with Australians’ unsupportive attitude towards elderly members of the family. Many participants feel that it is their duty to 赡养父母 *shanyang fumu* ‘be responsible for parents’ welfare’ in their retirement (cf. Section 5.1.3 of Chapter 5) and consider 孝顺 ‘filial piety’ as a Chinese virtue (cf. Section 7.1.1 of Chapter 7).

Participants stress the need for correcting one’s faults and shortcomings in order to be worthy of respect. The participants did not fully conceptualise their self-refinement in the

original Confucian sense. Instead, as discussed in Section 3.2.2, they have re-imagined the narrative of negative Chinese 国民性 ‘national character’ to reflect how they fear non-Chinese view them. They worry that non-Chinese might disrespect them or show prejudice against them because of the negative characteristics they can see in their fellow Chinese. Self-cultivation, a Confucian term, becomes a counter measure to offset the detrimental effect this perceived cultural bias can have on their survival in Australia. Chapter 7 will present more evidence of their belief in the benefit of self-cultivation in relation to their assumed role of *cultural exemplar*.

In their discussions, the participants of the present study identified some personal virtues as embodying cross-cultural differences. Some participants are resistant to the new social norms they encounter in Australia, many of which are reflected in the polite use of English language. Some say that they are uncomfortable with non-Chinese people’s “superficial friendliness” which to them is merely a pretence (cf. Section 5.2.3 of Chapter 5). The mismatch can be discussed in terms of a traditional Confucian value—信 *xin* ‘integrity’—one of the 五常 *Wu Chang* ‘Five Constant Virtues’. 信 ‘Integrity’ is not an innate virtue. Rather, it is perceived as a combination of subjective feeling and objective observation of trustworthiness (Yue, 2015). Based on this view, one’s integrity lies in the coordination of public action and personal values.

It should also be noted that the negative view of non-Chinese people’s “superficial friendliness” is probably due to their different conception of social etiquette and its appropriate application, and is further complicated by their perceived social distance from their non-Chinese associates (Chapter 5 addresses this issue more fully in Section 5.2). The re-imagination of “old” values related to selfhood is best understood as conditioned by the participants’ exposure to both the post-Mao ideological and socio-cultural landscape of contemporary China and the liberal socio-cultural environment of Australia.

3.3.3 The selfless self

When recounting the steps they took to come to Australia, four participants feel that it was more a case of fate than their personal choice. One says that she is 命中注定 *mingzhongzhuding* ‘ordained’ to make the decision to leave China and come to Australia. Another says that she 认命 *renming* ‘accept[s] what fate has put the way’. These participants are not serious believers of destiny but they use these expressions to avoid portraying

themselves as self-driven. In Chinese socio-communicative activities, having no desire to motivate oneself is not always seen as a sign of weakness.

In some other comments that participants make, it is clear that 人不能为所欲为 *ren buneng weisuoyuwei* ‘people cannot do whatever they want’. In other words, being completely driven by one’s own desires is dangerous or wrong. It is also interesting to note here that Group 1’s participants complained that Australians are too 自我 *ziwo* ‘egocentric’, as the things they talk about are 很多的是自己 *henduo de shi ziji* ‘a lot about self’ (cf. Section 7.1.3 of Chapter 7). 自己 ‘Self’, in these rare cases, indicates selfishness. Of particular importance to the present discussion is the manner in which 私 *si* ‘selfishness’ is discussed as a negative trait of the self. Together with the participants’ way of evaluating their personal choices and diction, their avoidance of a working egoistic centre indicates that other larger-than-self body institutions such as religion, morality or Karma, can impose restrictions on a self, in which case the self or the ego contains negative instincts that one cannot govern.

Overcoming selfishness by being selfless forms part of the vocabulary with which the participants chose to present a favourable self-image. This is a Chinese social construction. Moral qualities of the self have been a key concept in both premodern and modern Chinese thinking.

Two well-known Confucian thinkers, Xunzi (314–217 BC) and Mengzi, also known as Mencius (372–289 BC), have opposite ideas about human nature. Chong (2008, p. 94) regards Xunzi’s statement that 人之性恶 *renzhixing’e* ‘human nature is evil’ as the opposite of Mencius’ belief that 性善 *xingshang* ‘human nature is good’²⁴. For Mencius, every human being is born with goodness, and therefore the state of nature embodies moral resources. Xunzi, however, focuses on the self-interested tendencies, claiming that it is natural for people to indulge their natural instincts. A person’s instinctive impulses are seen as immoral and needing regulation by social norms.

²⁴ Xunzi made the statement repeatedly in “Human’s Nature is Evil” (*xinge* 性恶) (Wang & Shen, 1988), for translation see (Knoblock, 1994); for the statement of Mencius’, see (Lau, 2003).

As reviewed in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, during the early phase of the 1900s, natural instinct was often used as an anchor point for national politics and the imagination of modern Chinese individuality. Liang Qichao's Social Darwinistic conception of 国民 'national people' features an re-imagination of Xunzi's view on human nature which is innately immoral. Liang criticised the selfish aims that human beings had (Cua, 2013, p. 388). May Fourth intellectuals furthered this criticism by regarding human nature as cruelly represented by a "hypocritical, feudalist, cannibalistic old China" (Rocha, 2010, p. 603). May Fourth writers resorted to the rhetoric of 大我 'greater self' and 小我 'lesser self,' using it at times to prioritise the collective interest and to suppress self-interest.

As reviewed in Section 3.1.1, the idea that being egocentric is bad and being selfless is virtuous was particularly popular during Mao's rule (1949–1976). Mao condemned the so-called petty bourgeois selfishness from the early days of his leadership of the CCP and praised the working class as 大公无私 *dagongwusi* 'completely selfless' and therefore most revolutionary²⁵. To be 无私 *wusi* 'selfless' was to reach a moral height. Participants also regard 有私心 *yousixin* 'having self-interest' as a negative trait (cf. Section 7.1.3 of Chapter 7) and in this regard reflected both a Confucian and modern Chinese outlook.

As mentioned, the Chinese government brought back Confucianism in moral education in the 1980s. Many Confucian values have been rephrased to match the promotion of social virtues since then. The aforementioned selfless self is one of many. Chinese Communist propaganda promotes selflessness as a socialist value to this day by urging people to aspire to altruism rather than to pursue their individual needs. Political slogans containing the notion of 无私 'selfless(ness)', such as 无私奉献 *wusifengxian* 'selfless contribution', have always been an integral part of CCP political indoctrination. Taken together, the discussions of the moral meanings of the self and the selfless self can be traced to pre-modern Confucian teachings which have been reinterpreted in the twentieth century.

²⁵ For Mao's comment, see his 1949 article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (*Lun renmin minzhu zhuanzheng* 论人民民主专政)

3.4 Summary

Society has witnessed a profusion of alternative modes of thinking derived from various cultures. The awareness of these many viewpoints enables scholars to investigate many alternative realities, including different culturally oriented conceptualisation models of personhood. As explained in Chapter 1, this study explores through language use how the self is conceptualised in Chinese through the discursive interaction among a group of Mainland-born Chinese people. The aim is not to compare them to other groups of people in terms of their cultural characteristics, nor to generalise their perceptions of different cultural norms and behaviours. Instead, by drawing on the interplay of Chinese conceptions of personhood and Western theories of self and individuality, this chapter has explored several socially transmitted norms and tendencies in the articulation of selfhood in modern China.

Drawing on the social constructivist definition of the self, as outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter has examined the role of cultural context in the production of statements about individuality and collective identity. The same constructivist approach has been adopted to examine the Chinese discourse of individuality from the emergence of this topic in the 1890s in Chinese intellectual writings, and teasing out the nationalistic and ideological context for the indigenous conceptions of modern Chinese selfhood. The nationalistic and ideological context continue to be relevant to contemporary Chinese immigrants' understanding of being a Chinese person in Australia.

This chapter has highlighted several premodern and modern Chinese ideas of personhood that are of contextual importance from a social constructivist perspective, in relation to the types of comments made by the project's participants. The discussion has also addressed cultural meanings of the self that have been produced in the modern Chinese language. Key attributes of the self found in the writings of influential individuals from different periods in modern China were compared to linguistic features of speaking about oneself in Chinese as seen in the research data, with a focus on representations of modern Chinese identity and individuality. These perspectives are cultural as they reflect people's interpretation and the re-imagination of traditional Chinese values in modern Chinese discourse. The earlier sections of this chapter indicate how modern Chinese thinkers continued to emphasise the importance of the 大我 'greater self'. It can be argued that premodern ideas have been reinterpreted in the twentieth century to produce new cultural

meanings in modern China. Comments that the participants made also reflect such key assumptions of this discourse.

Forging a sense of self is a reflexive meaning-making process where the subject reflects on its own experience. The self, as an object of discussion and reflection, is always being reassessed and re-evaluated. Self-reflection involves narrative accounts of self-identity, social responsibilities, practical ethical principles, and ideals of the good (Barresi & Martin, 2011). This can be seen in the comments of the participants over the life of the project. The cultural context outlined in this chapter complements and elaborates on the key theoretical issues addressed in Chapter 2. It also serves as a cognitive schema for Chapter 4, which is specifically focused on the systematic analytical framework adopted in this study for analysing the linguistic constructions of the self in Chinese. These linguistic constructions are based on the statements made by the project's participants.

Chapter 4. Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology and analytical approaches for collecting and analysing the data used in this study. It begins by introducing the overall demography of the participants, followed by the method of recruitment. Details of the participants are then described according to their allocated focus groups. Following this, data collection procedures and data transcribing methods are presented. The chapter concludes with an explanation of a multi-dimensional analytical framework integrating different approaches designed for the analysis of the data.

4.1 Participants

The participants for the present study are Chinese first generation immigrants living in Australia who were born and raised in Mainland China. They are either studying in Australia with an intention to apply for permanent residency upon obtaining an Australian higher education degree or have studied at an Australian higher education provider prior to their immigration to Australia permanently. Participants were sought who were aged between 20 and 35 at the time of data collection. Those people within this age range would have been born after the introduction of the one-child policy in China and were the only child in the family.

4.1.1 Recruitment

Participation is on a voluntary basis. Posters and flyers were left at places frequented by potential participants, such as libraries, student activity centres, bus and train stations, and meeting points. The posters and flyers contained general information about the project without indicating any form of payment. Once a response was received, the participants were informed that the preferred participants were those who had been studying in Australia for higher education, had stayed for at least one year and had decided to stay in Australia permanently. Those who did not fit the requirements were contacted and asked not to participate.

Participants were recruited by various methods. The second recruitment method was through word of mouth and snowballing. Participants were encouraged to inform their friends and associates about the research and invite them to participate. Those who showed interest would then get an explanatory statement, and those who agreed to participate would again be asked to invite their acquaintances to participate. The researcher's contact details were made

available on the explanatory statement. Explanatory statements and consent forms were distributed to the participants on the interview day. Signed consent forms were collected to confirm participation before the interview started.

4.1.2 Focus groups

A total of 25 participants were recruited and 5 focus group interviews were conducted. 24 participants met the selection criterion by experience. There was one participant in group 1 who did not fit this selection criterion because she was temporarily visiting Australia, but she did not participate the focus group discussion until the end of the interview. Her data was still recorded but was not used in the analysis. One participant in group 2 did not fit the selection criterion by age who was 44. Her data was collected and transcribed for analysis. Each focus group contained 5 to 6 group members except for one group of three. Group five had only three participants because two failed to attend on the interview day. Each group had one interview, with 5 focus group interviews conducted in total. Table 4.1 specifies the number of recordings and length of each focus group interview. Table 4.2 shows the background information of participants including age, gender, length of stay in Australia and educational background.

Table 4.1 Focus group interview information

Group number	Recording number	Length of recording	Collecting date	Comments
Group 1	1.1	1h32m	09/03/14	
	1.2	10m	09/03/14	Participants continued to talk when the interview was over
Group 2	2	2h	16/03/14	
Group 3	3	1h36m	23/03/14	
Group 4	4	1h30m	04/04/14	
Group 5	5	1h	24/05/14	

Table 4.2 Profiles of interview participants

Group number	Coding	Age	Gender	Length of stay	Highest qualification	Occupation
Group 1	P1	30	F	6 Y	Master of arts	Accountant
	P2	32	F	8 Y	Bachelor of commerce	Self-employed
	P3	32	F	9 Y	Bachelor of nursing	Nurse
	P4	28	F	9 Y	Bachelor of commerce	Accountant
	P5	32	M	6 Y	Master of commerce	Sales
	P6	17	F	-	Secondary school	(did not participate)
Group 2	P7	26	F	4 Y	Master of arts	Teacher
	P8	27	F	4 Y	Master student	Student
	P9	30	F	5 Y	Master of arts	Teacher
	P10	26	M	4 Y	Master of arts	Teacher
	P11	44	F	10 Y	Master of arts	Hospitality
Group 3	P12	29	F	9 Y	Master of commerce	Accountant
	P13	30	F	4 Y	Master of psychology	Psychologist
	P14	30	F	10 Y	Master of commerce	Sales
	P15	30	M	12 Y	Bachelor of arts	Self-employed
	P16	30	M	7 Y	Bachelor of commerce	Sales
	P17	27	F	8 Y	Bachelor of commerce	Accountant
Group 4	P18	20	F	12 M	undergraduate	Student
	P19	24	F	18 M	master student	Student
	P20	20	F	12 M	undergraduate	Student
	P21	20	F	18 M	undergraduate	Student
	P22	25	F	18 M	master student	Student
Group 5	P23	21	F	5 Y	undergraduate	Student
	P24	22	F	5 Y	undergraduate	Student
	P25	20	F	5 Y	undergraduate	Student

4.2 Data collection

4.2.1 Focus group interviews

The study utilised focus group interviews as a data collection method. A focus group interview is a form of qualitative research data collection method, and is an interview where a small group of people interact to discuss topics that are supplied by the researcher (Morgan, 1997). The unique strength of a focus group interview lies in the production of data and insights that would have been less accessible without the interaction found in a group. For instance, the context of group discussions may accommodate Chinese cultural values and norms of communication which could not have been revealed during one-to-one interview. Focus group interviews also served the need for rapid interactive data gathering.

To ensure the effectiveness and the productivity of the focus group interviews, the participants were allocated to groups in which members were of similar age and had similar educational, professional and financial background. Participants should therefore have had more common topics for discussion and be likely to talk about things of similar general interests. Conditioned by the word of mouth recruitment method, participants who knew each other preferred to attend the same session, meaning some groups included acquaintances while others did not. Some groups contain participants from a mixture of socio-economic backgrounds. The dynamic formation of the groups provided the overall data with more variability and fluidity (Bloor et al., 2001).

Prior to the interviews, the participants were invited to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) which was designed to collect basic socio-demographic information and to bring their life experience in China and their post-immigration life in Australia to the forefront of their minds. In the questionnaire, information on factors such as age, length of stay in Australia and occupation were collected. The completion of a short questionnaire was also a convenient time-filler before the focus group started while participants were waiting for late arrivals (Bloor et al., 2001). Since the questionnaire was not designed for seeking participants' personal opinions on any part of the research, none of the questions in the questionnaire sought comments on any particular socio-cultural phenomena.

Each group interview was conducted in Chinese and audio recorded. The purpose of the interview was to gather in-depth information from the participants about their experience, thoughts, and feelings on various topics that were related to their life experience and

understanding of the self. The interviews were facilitated by the researcher and were of semi-structured form according to the pre-prepared topics (Appendix 2), that is to say they were not strictly restricted to the question-and-answer format. The researcher mainly played the role of conversation facilitator (Bloor et al., 2001) to focus the group's attention, ensuring the natural flow of interaction without restricting it. The researcher only interrupted to avoid domination of the group by individual members and to encourage those who often did not self-initiate participation in the discussion to speak up or to give alternative viewpoints. An equal and open atmosphere was maintained to safeguard all the participants' concerns over dignity and privacy. All the participants were advised beforehand to show due respect to other participants when expressing their opinions.

Before commencing data collection, a pilot group interview was conducted to estimate the minimum amount of time needed to address the topics in a satisfactory fashion. Optimum length was found to be one and a half hours, and thus this became the allotted time. However, some group discussion could go beyond the advised timeslot depending on the interviewees' willingness to talk and their desire to elaborate on their answers.

Participants were asked to discuss topics of identity and ideology in the Australian cultural context, and understandings of social and cultural issues that are concerned with their lifestyle. They were also invited to describe their understandings of the various regional, ethnic and national cultures, different religious beliefs, their expectations of life in an unfamiliar environment, their cross-cultural experiences which include things that they appreciated or found challenging, and reflections on the worldview and values that they might hold. The interview was generally divided into four themes. They are understanding of cultures, cross-cultural experiences, expectation of immigration life and reflections on worldviews. It should be noted that the interviews were not rigidly tied to this structure, but allowed the participants to elaborate on their responses extensively. All the participants were encouraged to elaborate on why or why not they agreed or disagreed with what had been said previously. In doing so, the interview constantly moved across the four themes.

Initial questions regarding their lives as expatriates and/or their cross-cultural experiences were very broad, allowing the participants to discuss the cultural and societal differences most salient to them. Participants were asked to describe specific concepts and ideas in Australia that were different from those in China. In order to familiarise the participants with one another, ice-breaker topics, such as their funniest thing or scariest

experience, were put to the group at the start. The researcher then led the discussion towards topics which were more likely to encourage them to talk about themselves in terms of personal values, social roles and cultural identities. After participants had described as many situations and concepts as possible, such as work-life balance, family relationship, moral standards and religious beliefs, they were encouraged to talk about incidents, usually complex or confusing problems, that they had encountered in Australia. While they were describing those incidents, the researcher encouraged them to describe how they initially reacted, what they decided to do and whether that incidents had brought to them any changes of view.

The primary goal of this study is to analyse social constructions of the self. Given the limitations imposed by the number of participants, the participants were encouraged to provide sources for their existing knowledge and to recall the interactions they had with other immigrants. In terms of those interactions, the following questions were asked: how would you start a conversation with an immigrant with whom you are not familiar? What traits they may have are most attractive to you? Do you often have contact with other immigrants, on what occasions, and what topics do you pursue? In the end, all the participants were invited to share their outlook on life, objectives or dreams they would like to fulfil in the future.

4.2.2 Data transcription

In order for a detailed and rigorous analysis to be conducted, all of the group interviews²⁶ were transcribed²⁷, including interrupted and unfinished utterances. A sample transcription is provided in Appendix 4. To capture more of the interaction process, certain paralinguistic speech characteristics were included in the transcription, such as pauses, hesitations, and interruptions. The transcription also captured brief extracts of speech in the form of “mm” or “yeah”, and other oral communication elements that might signal the emotive state of the speaker, such as laughter, using conversational analysis transcription conventions. When the contributions were inaudible because more than one person was speaking at the same time, the speech would be transcribed as much as possible, and where it could not be, a suggested interpretation was provided and marked in the transcription.

²⁶ In accordance with the requirements of the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee, the research data can be open-archived and made available to other researchers in 2019.

²⁷ The initial transcription was carried out by a researcher assistant who had had previous experience in transcription. The researcher then listened to all the recordings while reading the completed transcripts to check their quality and completeness.

All the speakers were identified as far as possible in the transcription with a designated code. It was only when speaker identification was not possible that the speaker would be marked as unidentified. It should be noted that, unlike conversation or discourse analysis which considers aspects of speech delivery as useful, the transcripts were produced for a predominantly content-based analysis. As what was communicated was of more importance than how it was communicated, certain qualities were chosen not to be transcribed. The qualities left out included prosodic features and aspects of speech delivery, including intonation. A detailed list of symbols of transcription can be found in Appendix 3.

4.3 Data analysis

As reviewed in the previous chapters, modern socio-psychological and sociolinguistic studies of the self demonstrate that the formation of self can be explored through social interactions, and should be understood as a matter of social construction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Frosh, 1991; Gergen, 1995; Giddens, 1991). Social experiences give rise to the relational processing of the self which is going through dynamic reconstruction. People's social practice in relation to others reflects cognitive processes. The analytical framework proposed in this chapter will consolidate a socio-cognitive approach to the analysis of the socio-culturally embedded representation of the self as its multiple facets emerge in social interactions. All of the recordings were analysed qualitatively in order to identify recurrent patterns in how the self was described. Core patterns were illustrated by means of representative excerpts.

Social psychology informs us that the self can be conceptualised as a multi-faceted self-representation. For the purpose of theoretical exposition, the discussion is organised into three dimensions; the individual, the relational and the collective. The individual dimension arises as one differentiates oneself as a unique person, the motivation for which is associated with protecting or enhancing oneself psychologically (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The relational dimension of the self emerges as one cooperates with others through establishing interpersonal relationships, the motivation for which is related to one's effort of maintaining interpersonal relationships (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The collective self is manifested in large social collectives, relying on intergroup comparison with the motivation of enhancing the in-group (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

The participants under investigation are first generation Chinese immigrants to Australia. During the focus group interview, they were encouraged to discuss their experiences in Australia and to compare those experiences with their expectations prior to their migration from Mainland China. In the analysis that follows, it is important to bear in mind that participants make their contributions in the presence of, and aimed at, an audience which has similar life experiences. Second, we need to consider the socio-cultural resources at the disposal of an audience which originates from the same cultural matrix as the speaker and which plays an active role in experiencing and negotiating the meaning of newly encountered socio-cultural elements.

The tripartite self-representation model (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Gaertner et al., 2012; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001) serves as the underlying framework for the differentiation of aspects of self-representation. The notion of performance guides the discursive analysis within each dimension. With each performance, the subject takes up particular positions (B. Davies & Harré, 1990), performing the respective dimension of selfhood (Bamberg, 1997, 2011; Goffman, 1981), taking stances to assign socio-cultural values to objects of interests (Du Bois, 2007). Self-representation is constructed on the spot as a function of a creative interaction between the performer's intentions, expectations, knowledge of the socio-cultural background of the social encounter and reactions by other social performers. Analysis of each dimension integrates cognitive linguistic analytical methods to study cognitive abstraction, categorisation, schematisation and projections as important aspects of the subject's positioning within the socio-cultural world and the intersubjective cognitive engagement with the interlocutors.

4.3.1 Discursive performance analysis

The analysis of the conceptualisation of the individual, relational and collective dimensions of self draws on two types of methodologies, namely, the sociolinguistic approach and the cognitive linguistic approach. A sociolinguistic approach examines how the self is expressed through the participants' narratives and discursive activities. The individual dimension of the conceptualisation of self emphasises the way social agents present and construct facets of the individual self in social interactions. By contrast, the relational dimension deals with participants' ways of representing and constructing dyadic relationships. The collective dimension maps the relevance between the representational and emergent construction of the collective dimension of self-representation and the performance

and negotiation of the collective sense of self in social encounters. The speaker’s utterances are studied in terms of how speakers take stances to create favourable representations of themselves (Harrison, 2011; Hill & Zepeda, 1993). This section introduces key notions and tools applied to each dimension in the discursive performance analysis.

Subject positioning

Discursive performance analysis applies the concepts of subject positioning and performance roles (Bamberg, 1997, 2011; Bauman, 1993; B. Davies & Harré, 1990; Goffman, 1981) in the investigation of how the subject enacts stances related to the individual self-representation. The investigation into the individual self is guided by the question “who am I here-and-now”. Embedded in some of the speakers’ self-evaluating utterances are speakers’ performances of the individualised sense of self. These utterances can be identified with self markers. The table below lists all of the Chinese self markers that help to identify the utterances where speakers take stances to evaluate aspects of individual self in front of the intended audience.

Table 4.3 Self markers in the discursive analysis

Individual self-referential pronoun	Reflexive pronoun	Possessive pronoun	Adverbs
我 <i>wo</i> ‘I’	我自己 <i>woziji</i> ‘myself’	我自己(的) <i>woziji(de)</i> ‘my own’	(我)一个人 (<i>wo</i>) <i>yigeren</i> ‘on (my) own’; (我)个人 (<i>wo</i>) <i>geren</i> ‘(I) personally’; (我)这个人 (<i>wo</i>) <i>zhegeren</i> ‘this person like (me)’
你 <i>ni</i> ‘one (literally you)’	你自己 <i>niziji</i> ‘oneself (literally yourself)’	你自己(的) <i>niziji(de)</i> ‘one’s own (literally your own)’	(你)一个人 (<i>ni</i>) <i>yigeren</i> ‘by oneself (literally by yourself)’
自己 <i>ziji</i> ‘self’		自己(的) <i>ziji(de)</i> ‘of one’s own’	(自己)一个人 (<i>ziji</i>) <i>yigeren</i> ‘on one’s own’ (自己)个人 (<i>ziji</i>) <i>geren</i> ‘self personally’

Self-referencing pronoun use makes it possible to study how pronouns index different types of self (C. L. Lee, 2012). Four categories of self markers can be summarised and within each category three pronouns are self-referencing, i.e. first person singular pronoun 我 *wo* ‘I’, 自己 *ziji* ‘self’ and the impersonal use of second person singular 你 *ni* ‘you’. The impersonal 你 ‘you’ does not refer to the addressee but means ‘one’²⁸. The same usage of the *generic you* (Huddleston, 1984) or *impersonal you* (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990) can be found in English,

²⁸ For consistency, all the impersonal use of second singular 你 *ni* in the analysis will be translated as 你 ‘one (literally you)’.

which is a “stylistically less formal variant of non-deictic one” (Huddleston, 1984, p. 288) and “need not include the addressee in its reference, nor is the speaker excluded” (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 740). 自己 ‘self’ can be used on its own as an independent pronoun and/or can form the reflexive and possessive pronouns with 我 ‘I’ and 你 ‘one (literally you)’. In addition, adverbs that signal self-representation are also examined, namely 一个人 *yigeren* ‘on one’s own’, 个人 *geren* ‘personally’ and 这个人 *zhegeren* ‘as a person’.

Through discursive practices, people perceive and produce references to one another (and themselves) situationally as social beings (Bamberg, 1997, p. 336). From an analytical point of view, a person who is involved in discursive practice (B. Davies & Harré, 1990) and creates social alignment with regard to others (Bamberg, 2011) is called a positioning subject. People position themselves with regard to others in order to “differentiate and integrate a sense of self” (Bamberg, 2011, p. 8). These positions, which are central to the meaning and the organisation of interaction, are also called performance roles. The multiple performance roles allow the performer to represent more than one self, each of which represents a different epistemic value. Individual self-representation emerges while speakers distribute responsibility for various acts across these multiple voices. Therefore, positioning analysis acts as a guideline for applying a discursive analysis to the data. Utterances containing self markers are analysed by identifying which voice is speaking or which self is being represented.

Informed by narrative analysis, which has utilised positioning analysis as an approach in accessing the narrator’s identities (e.g., Bamberg, 1997, 2011; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Davies & Harré, 1990; Harrison, 2011; Ochs & Capps, 1996; Riessman, 2003, 2008), the same dramaturgical perspective is adopted for the analysis in this study. Discourse situations produce aspects of the individual dimension of self-representation. They are social performances situated and accomplished with audience in mind. In order to construe these expressive attempts, several performance roles are distinguished to reveal how the speaker distributes responsibility and orients oneself towards an object of stance²⁹, characterising it as having some specific quality or value (Du Bois, 2007, p. 143). Drawing on Goffman (1981), the identity of the speaker can be split into a

²⁹ See discussion of stance, see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 in Chapter 2.

three types of performance roles which are differentiated by a varied degree of responsibility. The *principal* takes full responsibility of the utterance’s content (Goffman, 1981; Manning & Gershon, 2013, p. 111). The *author* (Goffman, 1981) is responsible for composing the wording. The *animator* (Goffman, 1981) is the one who physically re-enacts utterances, thoughts and sentiments, but holding no responsibility for its wording or intent (Hill & Irvine, 1993, p. 11). The following table uses one participant’s utterances as an example to illustrate the co-existing performance roles.

Table 4.4 An example of how to identify the three performance roles

Examples	performance role and discourse function	responsibility	distance to audience
1. 我爸妈一直 他们没有就是给我一个死的 就是规划 My parents never had a strict plan for me	author (introduce the topic)	composer of wording	immediate accessible to the audience
2. 说 * 你一定要怎么样 (They) say “what should you be like”	Animator (indirect reported speech)	enactor of utterance	most deeply embedded in the narrative space
3. 他们没有 they haven’t	author (elaborate the topic)	composer of wording	immediate accessible to the audience
4. 但我现在迷茫 不知道做什么 but I’m confused now and don’t know what to do	principal (self-evaluation)	owner of content	not immediately accessible to the audience but is committed to the evaluation
5. 所以我就经常联系他们说我的压力 so I contact them quite often and tell them about my worries.	author (introduce solution)	composer of wording	immediate accessible to the audience
6. 我觉得就是他们即使不懂 也需要沟通 I think that even if they cannot understand, (we) need to communicate	principal (final assessment)	owner of content	not immediately accessible to the audience but is committed to the evaluation

The speaker in this example is performing more than one role within a single turn. The *author* (Goffman, 1981) is the main role. In this turn, the voice that introduces and develops the topic, i.e., relationship with parents, is identified as the author, “the one the speaker refers to as currently responsible and accessible to the listener” (Goffman, 1974, p. 520, see also Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Goffman, 1981; Harrison, 2011; Irvine, 1996; Levinson, 1988; Manning & Gershon, 2013). In this case, the author is responsible for describing the speaker’s parents to the audience.

In line 2, indirect reported speech helps to identify the *animator* (Goffman, 1981). The content of line 2 after the reporting verb 说 *shuo* ‘say’ originates from the parents; in other words, the first person pronoun 我 ‘I’ is not the author of the remainder of the sentence. The

animator only re-enacts the parents' statement. It does not interfere with the principal's decisions or necessarily express the viewpoint of the principal. Apart from shifts in voice quality, intonation, pitch or pause, when reporting verbs such as 说 'say' and 告诉 *gaosu* 'tell' are used in conjunction with modal expressions in a way that does not fit in the current interactional frame in time and space, it helps to identify reporting clauses. In this case, the animator is responsible for contextualisation.

Contrasting the voice of the author which, is publicly oriented, the principal in line 5 expresses a private and not-known self who is in the position to speak of the speaker's individualised opinion. The principal is often identified with the use of cognition verbs, such as 觉得 *juede* 'think' and 认为 *renwei* 'of the opinion'.

These roles are at the discretion of the speaker (Harrison, 2011, p. 194). Scrutiny of the complex construction of subject positions in talk-in-interaction enables researchers to analyse how the speaker distributes responsibility for various acts across these three roles. What is relevant to the current analysis is that the differentiation of the three roles can constitute a means for creating proximity (Harrison, 2011; Haviland, 1999; Levinson, 1988). For instance, the author can keep the principal away from the audience when the principal's proposition entails a breach of social norms. In other words, speakers choose different roles for subject positions for the purpose of creating favourable representations of themselves (Harrison, 2011; Hill & Zepeda, 1993).

Personal pronouns

Having introduced subject positioning analysis with respect to the individual dimension, the same notion will also be applied to the relational dimension. Self markers and opinion markers will be examined in relation to the performance of relational self-representations. This subsection will introduce person deictics as a key discursive feature, focusing on participants' intersubjective positioning through self-reference. As reviewed in Section 2.2.3 of Chapter 2, person deictics reveal how individuals perceive and construct selfhood with respect to others (e.g., Bourdieu, 1992; Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990; Ochs, 1992; Wortham, 1996).

During an interaction, indicating self-reference represents a desire on the part of the speaker to manipulate distance between themselves and the topic under discussion, or between themselves and the discourse co-participants (Maitland & Wilson, 1987, pp. 498–

499). According to Rees (1983, cited in Maitland & Wilson, 1987), the relationship between distancing strategies and a pronoun system can be represented as a continuum, according to which *I* and its variants are considered to be the most fundamental form of self-expression.

As mentioned previously, several personal pronouns are identified as constructing self markers, such as 我 ‘I’, 你 ‘one (literally you)’, and 自己 ‘self’. They are sorted to identify the positioning subject. The discursive analysis of relational self-representation examines the use of self-reference in the interactional frame when the participants enact stances intersubjectively (Du Bois, 2007, p. 159). Their study of pronoun use provides a window into the relational aspects of selfhood that arise in Chinese speakers’ communication. The emergence and the construction of the relational aspects of selfhood, therefore, are interpreted as to how they should meet the communicative demands of Chinese culture.

Du Bois’s (2007) theorisation of intersubjective stance-taking inspires the analysis to place the speaker at the locus of perception. The analysis of emerging relational self-representation looks at the use of self-reference when the speakers take epistemic stances to relate to the listeners. In other words, the speakers, with varied degrees of certainty, express their assertions with an aim to self-represent to be both assertive and empathic. The analysis considers all instances of first person pronoun, including instances where speakers include and/or exclude the hearer by using collective self-reference and/or individual self-reference.

The analysis of the relational dimension will look at how the Chinese self-referential pronouns, the singular self-reference, e.g. 我 ‘I’, and the collective self-reference, e.g., 我们 *women* ‘we’ and 咱 *zan* ‘we’, and occasionally zero anaphora, occur with opinion markers. The following table lists the opinion markers that are indicative of the speakers taking stances to relate to the listeners.

Table 4.5 Opinion markers in the discursive analysis

Epistemic/cognitive verbs	觉得 <i>juede</i> ‘think’, 感觉 <i>ganjue</i> ‘feel’, 相信 <i>xiangxin</i> ‘believe’, 说 <i>shuo</i> ‘say’, 讲 <i>jiang</i> ‘speak’
Modal particles	会 <i>hui</i> ‘will’, 可能 <i>keneng</i> ‘probably’, 还 <i>hai</i> ‘still’, 都 <i>dou</i> ‘all or both’, 才 <i>cai</i> ‘should’
Modal adverbs	真的 <i>zhende</i> ‘really’, 其实 <i>qishi</i> ‘in fact’
Proximal and distal demonstrative	这个 <i>zhege</i> ‘this’, 那个 <i>nage</i> ‘that’
Other adverbs suggesting Epistemic modals of possibility	有(些/的)时候 <i>you(xie/de)shihou</i> ‘sometimes’

These constructions help to identify the speakers' collaborative construction of epistemic stances together with the recipients. The collaborative acts include assertion, persuasion, mitigation and accommodation. In cases where speakers use these structures to maintain the floor and present their views with full certainty, they are categorised as assertion. If the views are expressed to persuade others, they constitute persuasive action. Hesitation markers, such as cognitive verbs and modal particles denoting a lesser degree of certainty, help to identify mitigation. In addition to these types of discourse context, the speakers announce agreements or disagreements using opinion markers voluntarily and strategically as responses to other stance-takers' utterances. It is called accommodation. Embedded in these discourse strategies are social performative actions.

The change of self-reference between the singular and collective forms is another essential part of the investigation of the speakers' intersubjective positioning. During an interaction, the choice made between a singular and a plural form is said to be of more than referential purpose (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). The change implies a shift in perception of the relationship between the self and the others where the hearer or even non-existing parties can be included or excluded through the different choices. In practice, three types of change of reference are explored. They are *aggregation*, *extraction* (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) and *depersonalisation* which is a change from explicit self-reference to the impersonal form.

Aggregation refers to the replacement of an individual reference such as 我 'I' with a collective one, e.g., 我们 'we' and 咱 'we'. Extraction is the reverse of this process where a collective reference is replaced with an individual one. In addition, the analysis also includes instances where first person pronouns are replaced with an indefinite pronoun, e.g. 大家 *dajia* 'everyone'.

The analysis of the change of reference shows that the individual speakers are always talking to other active co-participants and are constructing a real-time discourse community with the listeners that are present. Identity construction is the social positioning of the self and other (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; B. Davies & Harré, 1990). Using interchangeable individual and collective self-reference in context, the speaker's goal is to construct appropriate self-representation for the intended audience. It reflects the speakers' understanding of the nature of the perceived interpersonal relationship.

The following table elaborates on the functions of the three types of change of self-reference with examples taken from the data.

Table 4.6 An illustration of change of self-reference

change of reference	Function	Example
aggregation	broadens the reference from an individual to a collective	我觉得在一个大团体里面 还是我比较倾向于听团体的 就像我们中国人吃饭在一个大桌子上面 I think I am still inclined to listen to the group when inside a big group, for example we Chinese eat around one big table
extraction	narrowing the reference for the speaker from a collective	我们学到的就只是生活技能而已 就真正的独立我们还没有做到 我还是靠着家里的 what we learnt are just life skills, we haven't reached true independence yet, I am still dependent on family
depersonalisation	avoiding an explicit and direct reference to speakers themselves and to the collective they are in	我不喜欢的人就那种特自私 尤其大家出来以后就是要互相帮助 互相帮忙 互相支撑 I don't like people that are very selfish, everyone should help each other, help each other and support each other after coming abroad.

As the analysis presents participants' flexible individual and collective self-perceptions, the discussion pays close attention to the discursive context. These choices index the deictic anchoring point of the speaker (Grundy & Jiang, 2001, p. 114), and also create a vantage point from which culturally oriented discursive rules derive. By examining pronoun changes in the context of the current study, the "habitual presuppositions the speakers use to organise their interaction" (Wortham, 1996, p. 23) can be explained in relation to the communicative demands found in Chinese culture.

The distinction between 我 'I' and 我们 'we' in Mandarin Chinese reflects a degree of vagueness (L. Mao, 1996), i.e., the choices between the singular and the plural form manifests an observable vagueness in terms of the deictic anchoring point of the speaker³⁰. The collective form is said to signal modesty and/or politeness as well as neutralising conflict (L. Mao, 1996). It may also be pragmatically manipulated to enhance power from a collectivism-oriented perspective (H. Huang & Lu, 2016).

The analytical result will uncover the discursive and pragmatic principles as well as socio-cultural values relevant to the participants' relational self-representation. Choice of

³⁰ The vagueness can also be related to the relation-based Chinese conception of self which presumes a meaningful existence of the individual in terms of situating in a network of interpersonal relationships or in terms of dwelling as part of larger collectives (see discussion in Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3)

personal pronoun contributes to identity negotiation and to the construction of a social reality in a given socio-cultural situation (Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990). The use of collective self-reference with regard to group membership will be introduced in the next subsection.

Membership categorisation

With regard to the collective dimension, discursive positioning analysis explores the participants' collective self-representations through membership categorisation. Claiming membership explicitly and implicitly involves alignment to group-based affective and epistemic socio-cultural values. Through evaluating these memberships, the speakers also negotiate the meaning of being members of certain social communities, which is equally important for them in terms of social identity construction.

Strategically and pragmatically, group boundaries can elicit empathy and align the in-group members in a moral stance of “us” against “them”. It is a salient social option for the actualisation of oneself in the world. The *we-them* dichotomy is essential to the conceptualisation of the collective dimension of the self³¹. As far as the current study is concerned, the *we-them* dichotomy is analysed in terms of forming imagined collectives.

Unpacking what *we* and *them* are referring to helps to make an assessment of the speakers' own stance. As all the participants are Mainland Chinese first generation immigrants who talk about their experiences in a cross-cultural context at the focus group interviews, utterances concerning their ethno-political representations indicate the majority of the socio-cultural communities they perceive as being members of. At the initial coding stage, expressions that convey ascriptions and evaluations of improvised imagined collectives were organised into different themes. Various Chinese socio-cultural communities of which participants position themselves as discerning members were summarised. Terms that were used by participants to refer to cultural groups were identified.

The participants align themselves as members of groups including global Chinese citizens, migrants who moved out of China, ethnic minorities in Australia. Various generational collectives can also be found, namely first generation Chinese immigrants, single-child generation, post-80s and post-90s. A variety of references used by the

³¹ See Section 2.1 in Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion.

participants for Chinese socio-cultural groups and non-Chinese groups are highlighted for analysis. The following table summarises all the demographic terms used by the participants.

Table 4.7 Ethno-political references to Chinese and non-Chinese

	Geographical	Non-geographical
Chinese	中国人 <i>Zhongguoren</i> ‘Chinese people’, 大陆人 <i>Daluren</i> ‘Mainland people’, 国内人 <i>guoneiren</i> ‘people within the country’	华人 <i>Huaren</i> ‘ethnic Chinese people’, 第一代移民 <i>diyidai yimin</i> ‘first generation migrants’, ABC (Australian-born Chinese)
Non-Chinese	澳洲人 <i>Aozhouren</i> ‘Australian people’ 洋人 <i>yangren</i> ‘ocean people’, 外国人 <i>waiguoren</i> ‘foreigner (literally outside country people)’, 西方人 <i>Xifangren</i> ‘Westerner’, 本地人 <i>bendiren</i> ‘local people’ 当地人 <i>dangdiren</i> ‘local people’	鬼佬 <i>guilao</i> ‘Westerner (literally foreign devil)’, 老外 <i>laowai</i> ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’

In the focus group discussions, several terms are identified as denoting Chinese groups. 中国人 *Zhongguoren* ‘Chinese people’, 国内人 *guoneiren* ‘people within the country’ and 大陆人 *Daluren* ‘Mainland people’ are based on national geographic distinctions. The de-nationalised term 华人 *Huaren* ‘ethnic Chinese people’ is inclusive of all those who are culturally Chinese. ABC, which is pronounced as the English letters, is short for ‘Australian-born Chinese’. This abbreviation refers to ethnic Chinese people in Australia who are the descendants of 第一代移民 *diyidai yimin* ‘first generation migrants’. References to non-Chinese groups are just as numerous, such as 鬼佬 *guilao* ‘Westerner (literally foreign devil)’³², 老外 *laowai* ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’, 澳洲人 *Aozhouren* ‘Australian people’, 洋人 *yangren* ‘ocean people’, 外国人 *waiguoren* ‘foreign country people’, 西方人 *Xifangren* ‘Westerner’, 本地人 *bendiren* ‘local people’ and 当地人 *dangdiren* ‘local people’.

In light of the link between the social actors’ stance-taking and the socio-cultural frames that mediate the consequences of their actions (Du Bois, 2007, p. 141), expressing allegiances to groups shows the individual’s perception of oneself as belonging to social collectives. Recognition of membership in these collectives carries with it knowledge of their values, positive or negative (Liebkind, 2010, p. 141). As Tajfel (1981) notes, people’s

³² Westerners have been depicted as foreign aggressors by Chinese people since the Opium War (1840 – 1860) and in Maoist China. Derogatory terms, such as 鬼佬 ‘Westerner (literally foreign devil)’, and terms denoting alienation, such as 老外 ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’, remain in use in contemporary China.

membership in a social community and knowledge of the values and emotional significance attached to that membership is essential to the formation of their social identity (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). The ways participants take stances to invoke collective identities or group membership, in this context, reveal how people think about themselves and others in terms of social collectives.

Sociolinguistic research on stylistic variation in language (e.g., Eckert, 2000, 2008; Labov, 1963; Zhang, 2005, 2008) has found linguistic evidence that ideologies about locality underpin interactional meaning. In the case of the current study, where Chineseness and group membership are both fluid constructions, local identities that are related to those constructions go through continual reconstruction and reproduction. They are indexed through claims about what it means to be “us” as opposed to some identified “them”. The investigation thus starts from the interpretation of the different connotations of these forms of demographic categories for both Chinese and non-Chinese people as they emerge when the speakers take stances to show approval or disapproval of the associated socio-cultural value. Evaluations of the characteristics that are typical to the in-group members as opposed to out-group members should be analysed first.

A discursive approach is applied to the examination of speakers’ stance taking to invoke collective identity or group membership. Within this approach, the discursive positioning of performers is studied from the point of view of how they jointly perform selves that invoke affective and epistemic socio-cultural values. One way of positioning themselves within certain socio-cultural groups is to use collective self-reference. Through collective self-reference, one can align with group values and self-represent to be a discerning member of such an imagined collective. In the interactional frame, using collective self-reference to include the hearers in the interaction is also an effective way to seek affective resonance from the audience by evoking in-group assimilation. When taking a stance to express allegiance to a group that the hearer may or may not be part of, the speaker can project a sense of epistemic authenticity while speaking on behalf of the group and establish both status and solidarity in relation to the collective.

Construction and reconstruction of an “authentic” representative of “us” constitutes an indexical field (Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003) which is a constellation of meanings that are ideologically linked. Evaluations, both positive and negative, are meaningful variations that form a fluid indexical field (Eckert, 2008) which is part and parcel of the construction of their

Chinese ethnicity. The interpretation of the construction of Chinese ethnicity through stance acts in membership talk, then, becomes three-fold, namely the discourse context of the aforementioned Chinese cultural groups, the self-perceived positioning with respect to other immediate locational agents in context, and the negotiation of socio-cultural beliefs and values that are characteristic of these collectives.

Throughout most of the discussion, participants exchange their opinions about their perceptions of the cultural differences between Australia and China. 澳洲 *Aozhou* ‘Australia’ and 中国 *Zhongguo* ‘China’, in most cases, form the dichotomy. Sometimes, 澳洲人 ‘Australian people’ is substituted with 这边 *zhebian* ‘here’ or 本地人 ‘locals’ and 当地人 ‘locals’, while 国内人 ‘people within the country’ appears frequently in the comparison between Australian and Chinese people in Australia.

These cross-cultural comparisons are studied in conjunction with positioning strategies. For example, the participants positively and negatively evaluate both the Chinese cultural group and the non-Chinese cultural group and use collective self-reference to enhance their conviction. In the interactional frame, participants tend to pragmatically evoke an inclusive cultural group while they talk about intra-cultural comparisons as a strategy to keep the audience within the same social collective through collective self-representation. The diversified categorical naming of various groups and the construction of their meanings in participant interactions can be indicative of a dynamic process of cultural identity construction through collective self-representation.

4.3.2 Cognitive-conceptual analysis

As discussed in Section 2.4 Chapter 2, the current study adopts a socio-cognitive approach that attends to both cognitive categories and social structures of self-representations. Complementing the aforementioned performance analysis, expressions about the self can be divided into semantic categories that correspond to different cognitive patterns. Informed by cognitive linguistic analytical methods, this cognitive-conceptual analysis scrutinises the cognitive processes that build on metaphorical projections, metonymic correspondence, and image-schematic patterns. This section introduces the analytical process applied to conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, image schemas relevant to each dimension of self-representation. The individual dimension examines the cognitive models that are embedded in utterances of self-evaluation as reflections of oneself

as an individual and that express an individual's inner self and/or internal causations. The relational dimension explores the cognitive patterns of expressions of interpersonal relationships and proximity in discourse. While the relational dimension is concerned with the imagined self-position within dyadic relationships and its designated cognitive patterns in Chinese, the collective dimension studies the cognitive aspect of participants' imagined perspectives or viewpoints that are embedded in their membership talk.

Inner self metaphors

As Davies and Harré point out, the subject position plays a crucial role which “incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire.” (1990, p. 46). With each act of stance-taking, speakers draw on and exercise various normative presuppositions and cultural conventions, simultaneously perceiving, re-enacting and negotiating their selfhood. In the context of the current study, this conceptual repertoire is examined using a cognitive-conceptual analysis.

Within the analysis of the individual dimension, the cognitive processes underlying the linguistic conventions and facilitating the process of enacting favourable representations of the individual self are identified and explained. Previous cognitive linguistic studies have shown that proximity and distance in physical space can be projected onto social relationships through metaphorical expressions (e.g., Fillmore, 1982; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977; Wolfowitz, 1991; Zhou & Fu, 1996). This approach to the conceptualisation of the individual dimension of self deals with the meaningful structure of distance and space on the conceptual level (Johnson, 1987). The cognitive anchor plays a crucial role when a social actor ventures into the social world where different types of symbolic information are being created and exchanged. Performing for the intended audience, which can also be seen as reaching for a discursive goal, could not take place if these thoughts did not have a shared cognitive basis among the interlocutors.

Cognitive linguists have studied the conceptualisation of self among English speakers and uncovered a number of general metaphoric structures of the individualised self (Lakoff & Becker, 1992; Lakoff, 1996; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). These basic structures can be referred to as *primary schemas* (Gibbs & Colston, 1995, p. 349), which come to be associated with abstract concepts and result in a set of primary metaphors, metonymies or image schemas. These primary cognitive categories are derived directly from experiential correlations, or “conflations in everyday experience” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 49). The study of these

correlations show that for English speakers a number of source domains, such as space, object possession, and exertion of physical force, provide cognitive models for conceptualising selfhood.

According to Lakoff's analytic results, the conceptualisation of self in English reflects a fundamental split between SUBJECT and one or more SELF (Lakoff, 1996, pp. 93–96). In this split, the SUBJECT³³ is the locus of the essential subjective experience which includes consciousness, perception, judgment, will and capacity to feel, whereas the SELF represents the bodily properties, physical characteristics, names, personal histories, social roles, religious affiliations, etc. Based only on the conversational data collected for this study, the inner-self metaphors under examination at this dimension explore the anaphoric relationships between the subject noun and the object noun which are expressed metaphorically. According to a primary observation, the object is usually signified by 自己 'self' and a subject and an object can often be connected by actions verbs. These constructions entail conceptual metaphors. For example, 保护我自己 *baohu woziji* 'protect myself' can be regarded as a conceptual metaphor where the speaker's conscious mind is the subject and the speaker's private need or interest is the object. Informed by Lakoff's SUBJECT/SELF split, the conceptual metaphor at work here is SUBJECT TAKES CONTROL OVER SELF. Constructions containing 自己 'self' and action verbs are all identified and examined for potential conceptual metaphors, which are categorised and presented in the analysis. In cases where the word 自己 'self' is missing, idiomatic expressions about self-control and self-evaluation that contain conceptual metaphors are also analysed.

SUBJECT/SELF split anchors the primary conceptual correspondence between a SUBJECT who is evaluating or exerting control over a SELF which is the object. Based on SUBJECT/SELF split, THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF, THE LOCATIONAL SELF, and THE ESSENTIAL SELF (Lakoff, 1996) organise metaphorical expressions of inner self and internal causation in Chinese for detailed analysis. Metaphorical expressions of self-control in terms of object manipulation or choice of location in space fall under the categories of THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF and THE LOCATIONAL SELF respectively. THE ESSENTIAL SELF is divided into CONGRUENCE and BALANCE where metaphorical descriptions of self-evaluations are analysed

³³ Throughout the analysis, references to conceptual metaphors will appear in the form of small caps.

conceptually. In addition, as body parts are also found to be prominent as the seat of the SELF and/or to structure self-related mental processes in the Chinese conceptual system, the last category is THE EMBODIED SELF. When studying expressions of self-related thinking and feeling experiences in Chinese, a number of body parts emerge that constitute a set of embodied source domain concepts. They are heart, brain, belly, bones and eyes.

These complex metaphors are composed of more than one primary schematic structure (Grady, 1997, 1999) and need to be sub-divided into sections with different primary schematic structures. Complex metaphors can be combinations of primary metaphors, metonymies, image-schematic cognitive models and cultural beliefs (N. Yu, 2007a, p. 31). For each metaphor, metonymy and image schema, its cognitive semantic structure is explored on the basis of how they relate to the physically grounded projection of the self in the abstract realm. Metaphorical and metonymic mappings and entailments as well as the conceptual blending of many construal form the semantic basis of the designated expressions.

In addition, the relative salience of self-construction in various socio-cultural settings might determine what is expressed. Given the aim of the current analysis, each conceptual pattern of the self is described and explained with regard to their interactions with socio-cultural factors and communicative functions. The interpretation of each complex metaphor often involves discussion of the potential conceptual integration process, i.e. the importing and blending of the relevant culturally entrenched meanings from the generic space into the newly established mental space (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002, 2003) and the relevant cultural conceptualisations which are handed down across generations and are shared by people from the same cultural group (Sharifian, 2011; Sharifian et al., 2008).

Proximity metaphors

The relational dimension analysis focuses on the use of proximity metaphors in Chinese. From the perspective of cognition, speakers' linguistic choices, such as the employment of metaphors and metonymies, indicate a social space which enables speakers to project social relationships or proximity onto their corresponding physical locations in space. Proximity metaphors arguably offer a rich resource to investigate the imagined self-positions within dyadic relationships and its designated cognitive patterns in Chinese.

Proximity metaphors are embedded in the ways that interpersonal relationships are metaphorically represented. Therefore, the target domain concepts under investigation here include linguistic representations of interpersonal relationships and proximity alongside

affective evaluations of interpersonal relationships. The initial identification starts with organising the relevant comments and utterances containing conceptual metaphors, for instance, the participants discuss the nature of specific dyads or interpersonal relationships and share opinions about how to maintain or manage these relationships. In addition, personal opinions about how a person is supposed to navigate in the social world are also included in the analysis because they too build on the relational conception of the self (see Section 2.1 in Chapter 2 for a social constructivist conception of the self and Section 3.3.2 in Chapter 3 for the Chinese premodern conception of the interdependent self).

The analysis of the relational self is based on different primary conceptual patterns to those of the individual self. Studies have shown that speakers often project social relationships onto their corresponding physical locations in space (e.g., Fillmore, 1983; Jackendoff & Landau, 1991; Talmy, 1978, 1983; Zhou & Fu, 1996). Informed by previous studies of spatial metaphors and the conceptualisation of space in Chinese (e.g., Chen, 2002; Li, 2010; Zhou, 2002; Zhou & Fu, 1996), the current study focuses on exploring object manipulation, motion in space and spatial locations as source domains in structuring an understanding of oneself in relationships. Primary conceptual metaphors, metonymies and image schemas organise the relevant metaphorical expressions into separate conceptual metaphors, namely the PATH, FORCE, CONTAINER and CENTRE-PERIPHERY (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987).

Expressions about personal development and the cultivation of relationships with family and friends in terms of linear movement in space fall under the PATH metaphor. Depictions of professional relationships, friendship or other forms of interpersonal relationships in terms of the exertion of physical force are classified as the FORCE metaphor. Negotiation of opinions as a result of interpersonal interactions can be conceptualised in terms of outpouring substance and mixing substances. They are analysed together, as they all entail the CONTAINER image schema. Action verbs that are used metaphorically and nouns denoting PATH and FORCE are highlighted and listed for analysis. Since the schematic patterns arise from imagistic domains, the expressions may not always contain the actual words “path”, “force”, “container” or “centre-periphery”, in which case the verbs and adverbial adjuncts that draw on the physical representations of these schematic patterns are examined.

As for the roles that conceptual metaphors play in social identity construction, McEntee-Atalianis (2013, p. 319) demonstrates that “metaphors mark attitudes and

orientations to context, propositions and social and political structures/relationship” with empirical evidence. The examination of the cognitive patterns that underlie the use of proximity metaphors in Chinese cannot be divorced from the socio-cultural context of the Chinese speech community. The underlying conceptual projections and image-schematic structures are regarded as an important stance-taking resource and strategy to entail or index imagined self-positioning in interpersonal relationships.

The interpretation of each metaphor aims at establishing correspondences between spatial cognition and the construction of intersubjective stance-taking to display and claim various interpersonal relationships. The analysis of the mapping mechanism and the correlations within each metaphor, metonymy and image schemas pays special attention to the partial mapping correspondences. Both conventional and innovative correspondences between the source and the target domains are of particular interest as they are ascribed with socio-cultural values. For example, the FORCE metaphor can be utilised to create a stance of positive evaluation of proactive effort that people in a relationship devote to sustain it, it can also be used to denote negative evaluation of people that are bound to an unequal relationship.

Spatial deixis and mixed viewpoints

The collective dimension explores the participants’ flexible collective self-representation which is manifested in the way they use metaphors and spatial deixis in conjunction with self-reference and other-reference. From a conceptual perspective, describing one’s location in social groups is indicative of some kind of spatial conceptualisation of self-perceived group membership. This approach treats “us” and “them” as imagined scenes which are spatially represented and located in specific configurations in relation to each other. Exploring the complex and varied meanings of these imagined scenes can help to understand the role space plays within the discursive construction of identities (Chen, 2002, p. 88). Collective self-reference, from the perspective of cognition, prompts an imagined shared space (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) which is exclusive of other non-members. Demonstrative determiners, such as *this* and *that*, may cue the construction of multiple viewpoints (Verhagen, 2016, p. 4). From the perspective of mental space building (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), these demonstratives may prompt a comparative scenario. The co-occurrences of collective self-reference and other-reference with demographic terms for Chinese groups and non-Chinese groups serve the analytical purpose to interpret the meaning construction of group membership.

As explained previously, people's cognitive conceptualisation of social relationships often corresponds to physical locations in space. The dynamics of the conceptualisation of group membership is explored in conjunction with spatial deixis. They are embedded in verb constructions and nominal phrases that metaphorically entail spatial distance. At first, all instances of 这 *zhe* 'here' or 'this' and 那 *na* 'there' or 'that' were highlighted as identification codes. They are common Chinese demonstratives which indicate the distance of the object from the speaker. When they are used as place adverbs, 这 'here' or 'this' modifies places that are close and 那 'there' or 'that' modifies places that are far way.

The use of this set of deixis reveals a sense of spatial orientation in the imagination of different social groups. Instances where 这 'here' or 'this' and 那 'there' or 'that' are just referring to the geographic locations of the Australian cultural group and the Chinese cultural group were excluded from further analysis. The analysis only included instances of constructions containing 这 'here' or 'this' and 那 'there' or 'that' as spatial demonstratives which are employed as discourse deixis with regard to one's collective representation or deictic expressions indicating social proximity. For instance, the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of group membership can be indexed by 这 'here' or 'this' and 那 'there' or 'that' with self-reference and other-reference respectively.

The analysis pays special attention to the mixed use of proximal and distal demonstratives with inclusive collective self-reference and collective categorisation. It is said that *here* designates a region centred on the subject or the ego. The most representative combinations containing *here* used by the participants are 我们这儿 *women zher* 'we here' and 澳洲这儿 *Aozhou zher* 'Australia here'. While the former includes the speaker and hearer, the latter excludes both parties and centralises a third party. It therefore contests the aforementioned ego-centric deictic anchor. This cognitive phenomenon might speak to what is called the intersubjective conceptual coordination (Langacker, 2007; Verhagen, 2005) between the interlocutors who are simultaneously the conceptualisers. With the case of 澳洲这儿 'Australia there', it implies the existence of 我们那儿 *women nar* 'we there' which includes the speaker and the hearer in an imagined populace that does not belong to the reference space of 澳洲这儿 'Australia there'. The addressees' viewpoint contributes to the speaker's choice of linguistically expressed viewpoint (Sweetser, 2012, p. 12). The speaker, due to this intersubjective nature of viewpoint negotiation, also functions as object of

conception as a consequence of the apprehension of other minds and the mental simulation of how they appear from their vantage points (Langacker, 2007, p. 184). Then, applying a cognitive approach to the mixed use of proximal and distal demonstratives with inclusive collective self-reference and collective categorisation as markers of viewpoints will explicate the intersubjective aspect of collective self-representation from the perspective of cognition.

Group membership corresponds to an imagined social space which can absorb the characteristics that individual members believe as distinctive and unique to the group, gained through their insider perceptions and interactions with other group members. In the cross-cultural comparative scenario, the conceptual metonymy *THING FOR PROPERTY OF A THING* can be readily available to members of a community and guides more specific inferences (Radden et. al., 2007, p. 10). Then this conceptual metonymy serves as a pathway for the meaning construction of their collective identity.

It was found during the coding process that participants employed a great many demographic terms which either included themselves or excluded themselves. It could be argued that these terms are characterised by a mixture of being inside a spatial area and being outside of a spatial area in the metaphorical sense. The *CONTAINER* image-schematic structures organise references to the participants' imagined positions within social groups and group memberships.

From the perspective of subject positioning, it can be argued that, having an imagined viewpoint within the fictional stage of a social world, one can perform and construct imagined identities accordingly. The speaker maps his or her location in social groups in terms of being inside or outside of an imagined space. The process of constructing memberships by participants positioning themselves as self-aware discerning members, and ways that those members reason through different imagined viewpoints within the membership discourse, has a cognitive basis. This perspective would then help to integrate the cognitive analysis to the previous discursive analysis.

The mixture of imagined viewpoints reveals the flexibility of participants' imagined perspective-taking, i.e. they tend to switch their imagined viewpoints of being "inside" or "outside" of imagined spaces. These imagined spaces can be found in references to Chinese immigrants, Chinese people from Mainland China and other people who live in Australia. To view the shifting viewpoints on a conceptual level, it reflects one's imagined positioning of

self relative to other objects (Kozhevnikov et al., 2006). From a socio-performance perspective, this imagined positioning reflects identity construction. For example, instead of framing themselves always as new-comers seeking further acceptance and therefore being in a disadvantaged position, they drew on past experience and tried to re-frame themselves as being in the home society where they used to be in the advantaged position and used to be accepting towards people from elsewhere. This can be a way to charge the new imagination with positive evaluations, which then can be extended to their fellow members of this newly evoked imagined collective.

Implications of spatial representation of group membership is then discussed as a conclusion to the cognitive linguistic analysis of the collective dimension. Spatial cognition of their group membership reveals the dynamics of the cognition of group formation which unfolds in social identity construction. So far as this study's participants are concerned, they are Chinese immigrants in Australia who have had rich cross-cultural experiences in a sense that they can see themselves from various perspectives, i.e. as members of several imagined collectives. The aforementioned shifting perspective can be a result of their spatial imagination of their immigrant identity. As participants are forming imagined ties through collective self-representation in the discussion of inter-cultural differences, they jointly build a shared cross-cultural Australian-Chinese space. The emergence of this space can be an essential part of their co-construction of their immigrant identity which can accommodate their shared values and beliefs.

4.4 Summary

As reviewed in Chapter 2, the present study views the relationship between the individual and the social world as one of mutual contribution. Reality is seen as socially constructed with others. One is becoming a self in social practice. The investigation thus treats the self as constructed in social interactions intersubjectively and concurrently; conceptual structures are only meaningful when meanings of selfhood is currently being constructed.

This chapter has outlined the overall demography and recruitment methods of the participants, data collection using focus group interviews, and analytical approaches which integrate sociolinguistic and cognitive linguistic methods. It has also constructed a multi-dimensional analytical approach that integrates linguistic, conceptual and cultural knowledge

in presenting the construction of the self that is based on the interdependence of language, cognition and social interaction.

In order to suit the needs of the current research, data analysis applies the tripartite model of self-representation from social psychology, namely individual self-representation, relational self-representation and collective representation as the theoretical scaffolding for the implementation of linguistic approaches chosen for the analysis of the data. It takes the perspective of “the conceptualisers choose to construe the situation and portray it for expressive purposes” (Langacker, 1990, p. 315). Socio-cultural beliefs and values are not studied as a stand-alone body of knowledge and are examined as they emerge in linguistic interactions.

Chapter 5. Individual dimension

The investigation of the individual dimension of self-representation is built around those who they are here-and-now as a person in contrast to other people. The focus group discussion data enjoys a rich amount of personal narratives where speakers take the opportunity to represent and construct facets of the personal self before others, three of which have been identified, namely private self, independent self and true self. This chapter starts off with a discursive analysis by focusing on these three aspects respectively. Through self-exposure, participants orient to a favourable self-representation. Each speaker allocates responsibility, makes evaluation or assessment across multiple depictions of the self, and makes implicit comparisons between various knowledge about themselves such that speaker is portrayed as good person worthy of others' respect and empathy. With each positioning, speakers evaluate aspects of themselves indexing 自己 *ziji* 'self' and other self markers as objects of stance and characterising them as having some specific quality or value (Du Bois, 2007, p. 43). It involves the enactments of various normative presuppositions and cultural conventions which are always negotiable with the audience.

The analysis integrates the dynamic cognitive process into the reflexive process of social judgment. Naturally-occurring discursive data is also analysed using cognitive linguistic tools to interpret the conceptualisation of a person's inner self and/or internal causations and their designated cognitive patterns in Chinese. In this way, a conceptual analysis explores several cognitive models and image schemas that underlie the idealised representation of the individual self. Conceptual models, such as conceptual metaphor and image schemas, can be activated and negotiated in constructing accounts of a personalised and situational self in context.

5.1 Construction of individual self in discourse

This part of the analysis applies the concepts of subject positioning and performance roles (Bamberg, 1997, 2011; B. Davies & Harré, 1991; Goffman, 1981) in the investigation of how the subject enacts stances related to the three facets of the individual dimension of self-representation. The focus of this analysis is on the way each speaker sets the stage for the performance of their private self, their independent self and their true self with self markers, i.e. lexical expressions signalling evaluative stances which target aspects of the individual self. As discussed in Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4, the most common self markers are the

singular self-referential pronoun 我 *wo* ‘I’, the impersonal self-reference using the second personal singular 你 *ni* ‘one (literally you)’, and 自己 *ziji* ‘self’. 自己 ‘self’ can be an independent pronoun and also form reflexive pronouns with first person and second person pronouns, creating 我自己 *woziji* ‘myself’ and the impersonal 你自己 *niziji* ‘oneself (literally yourself)’. 自己 ‘self’ can also function as a possessive adjective with or without the following particle 的 *de* to form an expression ‘one’s own’. Adverbs which signal self-representation, such as 一个人 *yigeren* ‘on one’s own’, 个人 *geren* ‘personally’ 这个人 *zhegeren* ‘as a person’ are also included in the analysis.

The analysis of subject position in talk-in-interaction aims at understanding the way the speaker creates space and recontextualises time frames in narratives for various acts across performance roles. As explained in Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4, these multiple performance roles often represent diversified social distances that the speaker keeps from the discourse and/or audience (Haviland, 1996; Levinson, 1988, Harrison, 2011). The analytic results show that the interaction of these roles put on a joint-performance, displaying several selves in the speaker. The split anchors various self-reliant evaluations and presentations.

5.1.1 Evaluating the private self

This subsection contains utterances where speakers make evaluations of the private sense of self. Evaluations of their private thoughts and needs constitute social acts for representing the individual dimension of the self. The pronoun 自己 ‘self’, with or without personal pronouns in self-reference helps to index a private sense of self.

In Example (1), 自己 ‘self’ follows second person singular 你 ‘one (literally you)’. The combination of the impersonal use of 你 ‘one (literally you)’ and 自己 ‘self’ in Example (1) is referring to the speaker herself which indexes her private self as the stance object:

- (1) Recording 1.1
 1 P1 同事很友好 但是你就害怕你自己说的别人听不太懂
 Colleagues are very friendly, but **you** worry if they don’t understand what **you (lit. yourself)** said.

In mandarin, when the second person singular refers to its substitution for an indefinite pronoun in casual speech, it can be classified as the impersonal use (Biq, 1991). English also demonstrates the impersonal use of pronouns. With the presence of 自己 ‘self’, the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ should, in fact, be a reference to the speaker.

While both 你自己 ‘oneself (literally yourself)’ and 你 ‘one (literally you)’ refer to the speaker, 你自己 ‘oneself (literally yourself)’ signifies a private sense of self, contrasting 你 ‘one (literally you)’, which expresses the public self. Applying the concept of *performance roles* (Goffman, 1981), Example (1) is a clear instance of the speaker taking up different performance roles with a varied degree of responsibility (cf. Chapter 4). In this utterance, both the author and the principal are at play (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Goffman, 1981; Harrison, 2011; Irvine, 1996; Levinson, 1988; Manning & Gershon, 2013). The author is the one who composes the utterance, i.e. “the one the speaker refers to as currently responsible and accessible to the listener” (Goffman, 1974, p. 520); and the principal is the social entity that takes the full responsibility of the utterance’s content (Manning & Gershon, 2013, p. 111).

In Example (1), the speaker is describing a challenge she faces at work. The voice of the author raises the issue of language barrier, engaging other participants in the same focus group discussion. It is then followed by an attitudinal predicate. A mental verb 害怕 *hai pa* ‘fear’ is used, denoting an attitudinal concern which is expressed by bringing in the principal. The principal does not interact directly with the audience (Harrison, 2011) but it is someone who is committed to what the words say (Goffman, 1981). The voice of the principal that addresses a private and not-known self contrasts that of the author which is publicly oriented.

Similarly, 自己 ‘self’ in Example (2) is indicative of two performance roles:

- (2) Recording 1.1
 1 P5 一直就到现在就是 读书这条路就放弃了 就成了 做着 自己 不爱做的工作
Up till now, (I) had given up studying, (life) has become working on jobs that I (lit. self) do not enjoy.
 2 为了这个钱 但是 你自己 想的 东西 又放在后面 而且越到后面 机会成本越高
It is for money but things you yourself want are left behind and the costs grew bigger as time passes.
 3 现在又买了房 所以你就更不可能去 碰那些东西 就这样子
Now it has become less possible for you to pursue those things after buying a house, so that’s it.

The speaker is talking about his own dilemma. However, no first person pronoun is used. Instead, 自己 ‘self’ appears twice, once without an antecedent and once with the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ which is referring to the speaker. The utterance stresses the fact that the principal’s intention is at odds with that of the author. The former is not happy with their current life, and the latter has to reconcile. The contradiction brings a sense

of powerlessness and the needs of the private self may have to be sacrificed because of the survival pressure an immigrant faces.

In some cases, the principal is responsible both for moral commitments and private needs, as shown in Example (3):

- (3) Recording 1.2
- 1 P5 那你的意思是说* 比如说 啊 没有没有别的意思啊 那你还是准备出来把他送到私校的时候
Is that what you meant <sudden stop> for example, <exclamation particle>! no offence <exclamation particle>! but you still want to send him to a private school.
- 2 同时晚上回来 你要灌输他一种想法就是 他长大了以后一定要回报我当年的投入<吗>
And at the same time instil the idea after school that he has to pay back the investment I have made when he grows up right <interrogative particle>?
- 3 P1 我不会我不会说就是 直接地这样跟他
I won't I won't tell him in such a straight forward manner,
- 4 但是我会每天每天相处的时间里面 会跟他慢慢灌输这种思想
but during the time I spend with him day after day, (I) will instil the idea into him gradually.
- 5 P5 <@@@> 那你不就是这个思想
<laughing quality> then that's still exactly what you think.
- 6 P1 但是我会不会强制他 因为我会自己以身作则 我会对我父母孝顺 让他慢慢感受到我是这样做
But I won't force him, because I will set myself (lit. self) as an example. I will fulfil filial piety to my parents and let him know gradually that this is what I have been doing.
- 7 不是说我是为了我自己
It is not just doing so for my own sake.

The referent of the first person pronoun 我 'I' in Line 3 is the principal, the performance role of the speaker takes up in response to the previous speaker's turn. The second speaker first takes the stance with a dispositional predicate 不会 *buhui* 'will not', positioning the subject along an epistemic scale, presenting the subject as knowing and discerning. The use of 自己 'self' indexes the principal's moral commitment, which is illustrated by the action that the principal announces, namely 以身作则 *yishenzuoze* 'set an example' (Line 6). The logical subject of the last utterance is the author, who is oriented to the audience and who responds to Participant 5's suggestion that Participant 1's primary concern is to teach her child to repay her. In ancient Chinese moral teachings, such as Confucius, as well as in modern communist propaganda, altruism takes precedence over individual needs and so Participant 1 seems to feel the need to make the clarification that she is not a self-interested person (cf. Section 3.3.3 of Chapter 3). Although the principal is also responsible for hosting the private self, morals need to be stressed and publically displayed through the voice of the author. The interplay of the publically oriented author and the private morality-bound principal demonstrates that the speaker is both open about her needs and strongly commits to what she believes to be the correct way of being. Example (4) also shows

that, even though the principal is the commander of the speaker's private thoughts, the author can dispute them.

(4) Recording 3

- 1 P12 我是说**我**现在有点冷血 就对很多事情 不会那么的 尤其是对家人
*I am saying that **I** am a bit cold-blooded now toward a lot of things, especially family.*
- 2 如果那个家庭成员对我不好 **我**根本看都不看他 我国内的亲戚
*If a relative in China does not treat me well, **I** will ignore that family member completely.*
- 3 如果换成以前 甚至**我**现在还在国内的话 **我**会觉得就算他再坏
*Had it been in the past, even if **I** were still in China, **I** would think, despite how bad a person he is,*
- 4 他还是我家人 我会看他 跟他说几句话 但现在**我**就是接受了那种看法
*he is still my family, I would pay attention to him and talk to him, but now **I**'ve already accepted that opinion:*
- 5 为什么 他如果不给我面子 **我**为什么还要看他脸色
*Why should **I** be at his disposal if he shows no respect to me?*
- 6 那可能是**我自己**个人问题
*That is probably just **my own personal** issue.*

Jia (1981), Liu (2005) and Zeng (2005) argue that 我 ‘I’ often helps to express a public sense of the self³⁴. The pronoun 我 ‘I’ in Lines 2 to 3 and 5 can be regarded as representing the author, a publicly oriented voice. The author comments on the 冷血 *lengxue* ‘cold-blooded’ nature of the principal, which is also indexed by 我 ‘I’ (Line 1 in bold). This act lays the groundwork for a potential split of self-presentation between the public and the private self. The voice of the author also demonstrates that the protagonist has undergone a change because of speaker’s migration to Australia. The speaker’s cold-bloodedness is described as conditioned by the Australian socio-cultural context. In the second half of Line 4, the performance put on by the principal (in bold) positions the speaker as accepting 那种看法 *nazhong kanfa* ‘that opinion’ (underlined). The distal demonstrative 那 *na* ‘that’ implies a change of opinion on the speakers’ part (Chapter 7 will discuss the relationship between deictic reference and speakers’ imagined self-positioning). The opinion that the speaker has accepted, in the context of cross-cultural comparative evaluation, might be something the speaker has discovered in the Australian socio-cultural environment. To reveal what 那种看法 ‘that opinion’ is about, the rhetorical question in Line 4 exposes the speaker’s thinking-aloud process to the audience. The answer to the question is “no”; it is foregrounded in Line 3

³⁴ Hirose (2000) discusses public and private self in Japanese. Scholars who have studied Chinese classical texts can also find this distinction whereby the first person pronoun 我 ‘I’ is an expression of public self, i.e., it relates the self to the other, for more detailed discussion, see Lee (2012, p. 82).

and reinforced in Line 6. One does not need to respect others if no due respect is given in return.

It should be noted that the speaker does not finish her turn with a straightforward assertion. Instead, she distances herself in Line 6 by stating that her statement is only her opinion. In the interaction frame, the author is accessible to the listener (Goffman, 1974). This performance role anticipates possible reactions from the audience (Harrison, 2011) and assists the audience in understanding and accepting the principal's position. The interactive performance of the author and the principal lends support to Du Bois's definition of positioning as the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking socio-cultural value (Du Bois, 2007, p. 143). At times when the speaker's stance might risk one's being socially unacceptable given the audience are all Chinese, such as Line 5 in Example (4), the author shoulders the discursive responsibility to negotiate with the audience as well as further distancing the principal from the public (Line 6). It is expected in the Chinese family-based value system that one should always be tolerant and forgiving to their closest relatives 自己人 *zìjǐ rén* 'own people', to be "cold" or unfriendly to family members, therefore, seems like a taboo. However, through the joint performance of the author and the principal, which already negotiate the perceived breach of Chinese social norms between them, the speaker's violation of the norm does not appear to be too sharp.

The speaker acknowledges at the start of her turn that her opinion could be criticised as "cold" or unfriendly, which represents a deliberate breach of Chinese socio-cultural norms on her part. The author appeals to the audience, positioning herself as being sensitive to potential disagreements. This contextualisation strategy helps to downplay the violation of Chinese norms embedded in the speaker's stance. It also pinpoints the private self as the stance object (Du Bois, 2007). The private self strengthens the moral value that the stance denotes which is one should stand up for what one believes.

On the other hand, 自己(的) *zìjǐ(de)* 'of one's own' in Line 5, used in the form of a possessive adjective, signifying ownership of personal opinions or indicating essential social relationships, can also be argued as presenting the private self which occupies the central position of one's emotions and affective values. Even though the opinion does not appear to be socio-culturally agreeable, it is nevertheless what the speaker believes.

This subsection focuses on speakers' self-representations of private self. A performance role analysis has found that both the public sense and the private sense of the self exist by contrast and are joint performances. The performance between the publically oriented author and the morality-bound principal can present the speaker as someone who is open about his or her private needs. The joint performance through different performance roles can help to minimise the speaker's violation of the norm. The private self, as can be indicated by self-referencing pronouns or possessive pronouns, embodies a high degree of affective principles, including demonstrating one's needs and personalised beliefs.

5.1.2 Reflecting independence

After examining utterances containing evaluations of the private sense of self, this section focuses on the ways speakers perform their individual self-representations by reflecting upon their independence. Apart from the private self, the independent self is also found to be evidently indexed by 自己 'self'. Within these evaluations of what an independent person should be like, the stance predicate (adjective or verb) specifies the nature of the stance-taker's position which is undertaking certain actions on one's own. The sense of self-reliance can be intensified by 一个人 'on one's own', as shown in Examples (5) and (6):

- (5) Recording 5
 P25 但是要真的说到自己一个人处理乱七八糟的事的话 肯定还是有挑战
*But when (I) really deal with random chores by **myself on (my) own**, it will definitely be challenging.*
- (6) Recording 5
 1 P25 但我其实是刚出来的时候跟我国内同学是疏远挺长时间 因为他们理解不了我
But in fact I was estranged from my classmates in China for quite a long time when I had just come over here, because they didn't understand me.
- 2 因为我是上了高二出来的嘛 他们就觉得哎 你不用高考 你可以直接去那边
Because I came out when I was in year 11, and they thought "you didn't have to sit the college entrance exam and you can go straight to university",
- 3 然后就直接上大学 然后以后就想要什么有什么那种感觉 他们不会理解说
"then go directly to university then get anything", that kind of feeling, they won't understand.
- 4 你自己一个人出来是另外一种压力 可能不是学业上的 是生活上的
***One (lit. yourself) on one's own** bears another kind of pressure when going abroad perhaps not in academic terms but in daily life.*
- 5 那他们就理解不到这一点 然后等他们慢慢陆陆续续有更多人出国了
Then they couldn't understand this and after more people gradually went abroad,
- 6 他们才慢慢共同话题又多起来 然后才又回到大家那个圈子里面
(I) started having more in common with them and came back to the circle that everyone was in.
- 7 P23 其实这不管在国内还是国外 每个人都有压力 只不过压力来源不一样而已
In fact, no matter whether (one is) in China or Abroad, everyone all has pressure from different sources.
- 8 其实每个人都 * 就没有特别一帆风顺的人 真的是这样 就不管从什么方面来讲
In fact, everyone cannot all <sudden stop> always be successful at everything, it is true in all respects.

With regard to the performance roles that the positioning subject takes on, the lack of pronominal reference in Example (5) and the use of the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ in Example (6) (Line 4) makes it difficult to determine whether the speaker uses the voice of the principal or that of the author. The use of modal verbs (underlined> in the evaluations, such as 肯定还是 *kending haishi* ‘definitely will be’ in (5) and 可能不是 *keneng bushi* ‘probably not’ in (6), shows that the author acts as the positioning subject within an interaction frame. The term 一个人 ‘on one’s own’ in Line 4 of Example (6) specifies the nature of the stance-taker and leads to the stance object. Unlike the voice of a private self introduced previously which indicates the distance of the principal from the audience, the stance-taker’s objective is to establish subjectivity through contrast. The distinction is then supported by the evaluation that proceeds in both examples.

According to Du Bois (2007, p. 152), orientation to an object is a necessary part of the process of constituting subjectivity. Thus, an appropriate understanding of the stance object is a prerequisite for the unveiling of the full meaning of the stance. The stance objects in Examples (5) and (6) are the actions that the self has undertaken independently, whether it is dealing with random chores on one’s own or living abroad on one’s own. Presupposing the action of the individualised self is a stance object, the author’s positioning process leads to a potential split of the speaker’s subjectivity because of a seemingly missing principal.

This is not to say that speakers are self-contradicting as if the integrity of the consciousness is under threat. Firstly, whether or not the speaker’s subjectivity can be reduced to an integrated and purely internal subjective perspective is questionable (Du Bois, 2007, p. 157). Secondly, as shown in Example (6) the split does not pose any difficulty for the interlocutor to follow. In fact, through the voice of the author, the invisible principal successfully elevates the applicability of one’s individualised experience to a general level, which is exactly how Participant 23 responds by taking a stance that is channelled by the principal as indicated by 其实 *qishi* ‘in fact’, an opinion marker showing strong affirmative evaluation, stating what she believes to be true. This split as a result of the speaker’s self-reflection is further demonstrated in Example (7):

(7) Recording 5

1 P23 我爸妈一直 他们没有就是给我一个死的 就是规划

My parents never had a strict plan for me.

2 说* 你一定要怎么样 他们没有 然后就是我自己来做主 就是我自己想做什么就去做什么

(They won't) say <sudden stop> "what you should be like", they haven't, so I call the shots on my own, that is I do whatever I myself want to do.

3 但是我现在迷茫 不知道做什么 所以我就经常联系他们说我的压力啊

But I am confused now and don't know what to do, so I contact them quite often and tell them about my worries <exclamation particle>!

4 跟他说一说 我觉得就是他们即使不懂 也需要沟通

Talking to him, I think that even if they cannot understand, (we) need to communicate.

The speaker in Example (7) is switching between the voice of the animator and the author as well as the principal. According to Goffman (1981), the animator is the one who physically re-enacts utterances, thoughts and sentiments. 自己 ‘self’ (Line 2) here also plays the role of allowing the speaker to reflect upon her own action as the stance object through the voice of the animator. This is the performance role in which the speaker does not need to hold any responsibility for the animator’s wording or intent (Hill & Irvine, 1993, p. 11). The author remains the main active performance role, before and after the animator (the underlined part at the start of Line 2). The animator interrupts to index the discrepancy between their parents’ expectation and the speaker’s reality. Although parents have assumed that “I” knows what “I am” doing by giving “me” full autonomy, “I” does not know what “I” wants to do. As the speaker does so, the author takes an affective self-positioning which is “I am lost”. Towards the end of the utterance, the principal emerges with the help of the stance marker 觉得 *juede* ‘think’ (Line 4). Mental verbs, verbs that express cognitive, perceptive, emotional/attitudinal and desiderative meanings, are the main building blocks of the speaker’s subjective perspective in speech (Baumgarten, 2008). It is only the principal who is in the position to speak of the speaker’s opinion.

The distributed responsibility across the three performance roles, as shown in the analysis, lends support to Harrison’s (2011) argument that the selves that are described by the principal and the author of the same narrative in the same storyline are not truly the same in terms of knowledge, lived experience, and states of mind. These multiple selves may entail and create space within discourse (Brès, 1996; Haviland, 1999; Levinson, 1988). By presenting various depictions of themselves and by distributing praise and blame over three performance roles situated in time and space, the speakers can also construct their current selves as ideal representatives of their cultural ideologies (Harrison, 2011). The principal, who is most responsible for the content, is often found to conclude the utterance. This action constitutes a genuine self-reflection.

Also, a genuine self-reflection does not fully take shape until 自己 ‘self’ is made the object for self-evaluation. This evaluation can be distributed across different time frames:

- (8) Recording 3
1 P12 因为很多时候他们眼中是我们刚出国那时候的样子 我们眼中也是他们以前的样子
Because we are still the same as when we just left China in their eyes and they are still the same as before in our eyes.
2 当时时间久了 你自己长大了 看的東西不一样了 你一对比就出来了
After a long time when you (lit. yourself) have grown up and have started to see things differently, you can understand by comparing (past with present).
- (9) Recording 3
1 P12 而且就是价值观之类的 你已经独立了
And also in terms of value views, you are already independent.
2 你自己建立的思想观念和价值观已经和父母的不一樣了
The ideas and values you yourself build are already different from those of your parents’.

In both Examples (8) and (9), the principal is examining the author with the specification of the current timeline (underlined parts). The independent self is described by the principal as having gone through the process of growing mature in Example (8) and as constructing a new value system in Example (9). It is not to say that the independent self stands in contrast with a dependent self that existed in the past. This independent self should only be understood as a by-product of the speaker’s stance object through the voice of the principal which is the self that acts independently across time. Despite the recontextualisation brought about by the change of time frames, the principal is able to gain an overview of the experience that the author has had across time. In Example (10), the speaker starts the utterance with the stance marker 觉得 ‘think’, choosing the principal as the active performance role, taking an epistemic stance as understanding their parents and the concept of family very well:

- (10) Recording 3
1 P14 我会觉得更理解父母 家庭 因为以前沉浸在家庭里面 被保护 被溺爱的感觉
I would think I would understand parents and family better because I used to be immersed in the family and was protected and spoiled.
2 当你自己离开 受委屈了 才会明白 哦 原来自己是多么的幸福
Only after oneself/myself (lit yourself) has left and felt being wronged would (oneself/myself) realise self used to be so blessed.
3 然后现在很多事情要你一个人面对 但你回家之后不用自己一个人去面对
Then there are lots of things that one/I (lit. you) on one’s own needs to face now, but (one/I) won’t need to face on oneself (lit. self own) when one/I (lit. you) goes home.
4 你总是会被保护的很多
One/ I (lit. you) is always well protected.
5 然后再一个就是说看到父母变老了 自己责任变大了 自己越来越大了
Another thing is to see parents aging, self is experiencing more responsibility as self grows older,
6 要有更多的责任感去承担更多 也会慢慢自己结婚有小孩子 上有老下有小
having more responsibility to bear, gradually self will get married and have children. (When one has) the young and the old at the same time (to look after),

- 7 夹在曾经自己是小孩子 看着父母的那个阶段的生活 然后那个时候是不可能理解体谅的
(*one would*) *get caught in the situation when self used to be a child seeing that period of life parents used to live, back then (one) could not have understood (what parents had been through).*
- 8 然后当自己到这个年纪的时候就会发现当初父母是多么的不容易
Then when self comes to this age, (one) will realise how difficult it would have been for parents,

It is interesting to see that 自己 ‘self’ is used throughout the rest of the utterance substituting a personal pronoun apart from the four instances of impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’. It achieves a dual function, namely impersonalise to generalise and recontextualise to evaluate. As Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990, p. 752) explain, using the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’, the speaker is letting the hearer enter into the speaker’s worldview, implying that the hearer also shares the same perspective, which can be considered as an act of camaraderie. However, it is argued that pragmatic involvement is not the primary concern for the speaker in this utterance. With the repetitive use of 自己 ‘self’, the speaker almost slips into a self-reflective narrative. This self-reflective narrative does not follow a straight timeline. Phrases such as 原来 *yuanlai* ‘used to’ (Line 2) and 曾经 *cengjing* ‘once upon a time’ (Line 7) are indicative of the different time frames that the author positions itself in. While the narrative comes out through the voice of the author, the principal remains in the backdrop and only emerges when an evaluation needs to be made.

Throughout the five recordings of the Chinese immigrants in Australia, more than half of the possessive adjectives (22/39 total) that contain 自己 ‘self’ express a sense of self-reliance. Of all the 39 occurrences of 自己的 ‘one’s own’, 24 are used in a sense that establishes an independent and self-reliant individual self-representation, whereas those that are signify ownership or possession tend to suggest a private and exclusive self-representation, as discussed in the previous section. In particular, a reoccurring pattern in the data has 自己的 ‘one’s own’ modifying epistemic nouns, such as 意愿 *yiyuan* ‘will’, 想法 *xiangfa* ‘idea’, 观点 *guandian* ‘view’, 意见 *yijian* ‘opinion’, 声音 *shengyin* ‘voice’, 价值观 *jiazhiguan* ‘value’, and 性格 *xingge* ‘character’. According to Biber et al., (1999, p. 648), these epistemic nouns are used by the speaker to express “an assessment of the certainty of the proposition [...and] an indication of the source of the knowledge”, in other words, marking the epistemic stances by positioning oneself as the origin of the information. Whether these stance evaluations are made positively or negatively, they all lead to a similar self-disposed presentation of an independent self who is capable of having rational self-reflection.

In contrast to the representations of the private self presented in the previous subsection, the current subsection focuses on the speakers' account of individuality. The individual sense of self can be emphasised to showcase the speakers' independence or their reflections of independence.

5.1.3 Assessing the true self

This section will illustrate the subject/object split/unity across various performance roles by interpreting the third most noticeable form of individual self-representation in terms of assessing the true self. In previous studies on Mandarin epistemic phrases, many researchers have discussed the significance of mental verbs or cognitive verbs which carry the epistemic function of expressing a speaker's emphasis on their upcoming speech (Biq, 1991; Huang, 2003; Lee, 2010; Liu, 1986).

In the data, 觉得 'think' forms a construction with the first person pronoun. The use of this construction as a turn-taking technique will be discussed in Section 6.1 of Chapter 6 with regard to how the relational dimension of self-representation is realised. The current analysis will investigate how these phrases become typical instantiations of the speaker taking stances to reveal the most truthful and sincere assessment of themselves.

In the following utterances in Examples (11), (12) and (13), the three speakers all talk with the voice of the principal and describe characteristics of themselves in negative terms, evidenced by the use of the opinion marker 觉得 'think':

- (11) Recording 2
1 P10 对 **我觉得我自己**是属于那种算了的人
Yes I think I myself am one of those who gives in easily.
- (12) Recording 5
1 P24 就**觉得自己**还是有很多不如别人的地 X 之前就**觉得自己**就是这样
(I) think self still has a lot of things that are not quite as good as others, used to think self was like this,
2 跟别人差不多 但是后来发现有挺多不足的
not much different from others, but later found a lot of shortcomings.
- (13) Recording 5
1 P25 大概有个印象 但是我觉得自己看自己还是缺点比优点多 就越相处越觉得 自己怎么变这样
Have a general idea, but I think self would see more shortcomings than merits in oneself and the more time passes, the more (I) think how did self end up like this.

The use of 自己 'self' makes the stance object very clear which is participants' own characteristics. All of these utterances stand alone as a single turn and none of the speakers show any attempt to restore their self-image or to end on a positive note (cf. Section 3.3.3 of Chapter 3). It could be said that they might want to appeal to their audience by being modest.

From a subject positioning point of view, the active performance role in these utterances is the principal. Especially in Examples (11) and (13), the overt pronoun 我 ‘I’ as subject reflects the speakers’ wish to intensify and emphasise his/her individual self as the one who is responsible for the utterance (Lee, 2010). Speech act verbs like 觉得 ‘think’ in Chinese are often used to introduce one’s viewpoint if it is not thought/expected to be a socially shared view (See Lee, 2010, p. 196 for more discussion). The principal successfully fulfils what Tao (1996, p. 63) calls *the principle of responsibility*, expressing the speaker’s ownership of the responsibility for information given to the recipient. The current data shows that the participants would make their sole ownership of responsibility stronger by starting their turns with 我个人觉得 *wo geren jue de* ‘I personally think’.

In Example (12), 自己 ‘self’ is repeated twice without an antecedent. This is also the case in Example (11), where 自己 ‘self’ is used as the subject without other pronouns preceding it. It is only through context that 我 ‘I’ can be construed as being the subject. This phenomenon is called *first person zero-anaphor* and is used to create a less arrogant tone (Xiong, 1998) for the stance-taking action³⁵. Meanwhile, 觉得 ‘think’ is also repeated to emphasise the principal’s ownership of the utterance. Thus, this participant achieves the effect of making a firm but modest self-evaluation. Each speaker expresses a genuine self-impression, as either easily giving up, being not as good as others, or having more shortcomings than strengths.

Another noticeable pattern found in the data in terms of self-evaluation, apart from the syntactic structure 我觉得自己 *wo jue de ziji* ‘I think that myself’, is the phrase 我这个人 *wo zhegeren* ‘this person like me’. In some rare cases the first person pronoun 我 ‘I’ is used as a noun, directly appointing the self as the object of evaluation while the principal remains the evaluating subject. These constructions establish the authenticity of the evaluation which could never have been achieved by anybody else. In Example (14), the speaker becomes able to see who she really is when she understands that everyone else is different:

³⁵ Xiong (1998) discusses in great detail the *first person zero-anaphor* in Chinese and its pragmatic functions and cognitive implications. Due to the focus of the current analysis which falls on self-representation, no distinction is made between reflexive pronouns and zero-anaphoric reflexive pronouns. It is nevertheless worthwhile to examine their differences in further research.

(14) Recording 5

- 1 P25 其实**我**觉得 主要是来了这边以后每个人的经历不一样 所以才会就是 **你**的独特性才在
*In fact, I think **one's/my (lit. your) uniqueness** only shows up as a result of coming here, as everyone's experiences are different.*
- 2 就是因为**我**觉得大家都不正常 大家都跟我不一样
*Simply because I think everyone is unusual and everyone is different from **me**,*
- 3 **我**才能意识到**我**是作为一个**我**这么个存在 (P)
until then I finally realised I am existing as (who) I am.
- 4 不像初中高中 我是一滴水 融入大海那种感觉 (A)
Unlike the feeling (I had) when (I was) in secondary school: I was a drop of water in the sea.
- 5 国内那种压力可真的不是盖的 (P)
The kind of pressure in China is enormous.
- 6 **我**当时初中的时候(A)
When I was in junior high school,
- 7 就是按全班总成绩排名 按名次排座位 等于**你**盯着前一名的后脑勺在上课 然后每次上课(A)
*(our seats) were arranged according to exam grades, that way **one/I (lit. you)** would stare at the back of a person's head who was one rank higher in class.*
- 8 **我**觉得这样心理都会不正常吧 (P)
I think such (an arrangement) would (put everyone) out of order.
- 9 而且来这边挺奇怪 **我**直到来这边之后 **我**才认识到我是一个中国人 (A)
Also what (I) found strange is that I only felt like I was a Chinese when I came out here,
- 10 就那种感觉才出来(P)
that feeling finally emerged.
- 11 因为在国内大家都一样 然后反而是来这边之后 站在比如说他们的角度去看中国 (A)
Because everyone is the same in China, but only after coming here (did I) take on their perspective on China.
- 12 就站在**我**当时**自己**的角度去看中国 是完全不一样的东西 (A)
*In comparison to **my own** perspective on China, (I) can see completely differently.*
- 13 所以**自己**还挺有收获的 (P)
*So **self** has actually gained a lot.*

In the underlined segment, the speaker first establishes their attempt to take an epistemic stance by exercising the subject's cognitive capacity to announce an 意识 *yishi* 'awareness' (Line 3). Since both the subject and the object of 意识 *yishi* 'awareness' align with the speaker herself, the principal is then able to secure a complete ownership of the opinion embedded in the stance. In addition, the socio-cultural value that is being communicated via the stance is made very clear, which is I am the best judge of myself. The author then takes over to briefly send the audience's attention back to a time in the past. It consolidates the principal's performance to demonstrate that the self as the object of evaluation has undergone changes across different time frames, the principal stays at the heart of the evolution.

As the narrative keeps developing, the author and the principal take turns to participate (the active performance role of each Line is indicated at the end of each Line). The author tells the story and the principal makes evaluations. As part of the story-telling, the author describes the feeling of being more aware of one's ethnicity after coming to Australia. The principal reinstates 那种感觉 *nazhong ganjue* 'that kind of feeling' (Line 10), reminding the audience to recognise the performance role of the principal in a subtle way and laying the ground work for the final statement that the principal is going to make. At the end of this small piece of narrative, the principal concludes that the speaker has gained an enriched understanding of who she truly is.³⁶

Example (15) is an extract of a participant who explains her motivation to come to Australia. Interestingly, a full description of the context of her decision-making is done in the form of a self-reflection. 我自己 'myself' is the assessed by the speaker herself.

- (15) Recording 1.1
 1 P2 哦 然后我的话 是当时 额 在出国之前
Oh as for me, at the time before I went abroad,
 2 其实我是一直 嗯嗯嗯 对什么出国这 我自己是没有什么概念的
in fact, I was always having no idea about why would go abroad myself.
 3 这都是我想是我爸他 他 他一个朋友的女儿好像就读那个四川大学那个联合办学
This I think (going abroad) was because of my dad. He had a friend whose daughter was studying at Sichuan University in a joint program,
 4 然后她在那里读书 然后又出国了 然后可能 额 她爸跟我爸在一起经常就讲这些事情
then she went abroad after studying there, and perhaps her dad was working with my dad, so they often talked about these things,
 5 又让我爸也觉得 哦 我 我也要把我女儿送出去 就是这样子糊糊涂涂的被他送了出来
which made my dad think "I would also like to send my daughter out", so (I) was sent abroad by him feeling confused.
 6 其实我自己 我都不是我自己愿意的
In fact, I myself was not willing, myself.

Participant 2 takes the floor and begins telling her own story regarding what made her come to Australia. Her utterance begins with the footing of the author in Line 1. Similar to the tactic used in Example (14), this speaker creates two sets of time frames to direct the audience's attention. After setting the time frame as before leaving China, the principal takes the lead and assumes the responsibility of analysing herself in retrospect (Line 2). The use of 其实 'in fact' (underlined in Line 2), the emphatic structure of 是...的 *shi ... de* in the same

³⁶ Analysis of the collective dimensions will expose the participants' perception of ethnicity and group-membership in more detail (cf. Chapter 7).

Line (underlined), and the marker for the stance object 自己 ‘self’ all help to articulate the epistemic stronghold, which is I know what my true self is.

(16) Recording 3

1 P15 这个话其实 还是不要讲 讲会被人打

In fact, (I) should probably not say this. If (I) say it (I) would be attacked.

2 有的时候可能是一种 你可能不接受这个话 但并不代表你会反对它

*Sometimes it is probably a case where **one (lit. you)** probably doesn't accept but **one (lit. you)** does not object to it.*

3 其实你要都摊出来讲的话 这个话是讲得通的但是 你作为中国人你很难理性上接受不赡养父母

*In fact, if **one (lit. you)** talks openly, this idea of not supporting parents financially makes sense. But **one (lit. you)** as a Chinese, **one (lit. you)** finds it hard to reason into accepting it,*

4 因为父母应该有责任把你养大 但是你其实并没有责任去养你的父母

*because the parents should be responsible for bringing **one (lit. you)** up, but **one (lit. you)** in fact does not have the responsibility to support **one's (lit. your)** parents.*

5 我是这样想的 不代表我不养我的父母 我只是不会强迫别人养他的父母

This is what I think. It doesn't mean that I do not support my parents, I simply won't force others to support their parents.

6 我只是表达这个观点 并不是我自己就是这个人 我只是能容忍这种观点的存在

I am only expressing the opinion, but it doesn't mean that myself am such a person, I simply can tolerate the existence of this opinion.

In Example (16), the principal's personal belief can contradict the opinion that is tailored for the public which is announced by the author. The author lays the groundwork at the beginning of the utterance by warning the audience that what he is about to say might not be liked. It is an explicit pragmatic move as much as an implicit shifting of performance role. The main body of the argument features the use of impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ (Lines 2 to 4), though the principal remains inactive until the speaker's opinion is stated.

The speaker's opinion—you actually do not bear the responsibility to support your parents—is a taboo statement in Chinese culture as it violates the filial piety. The author quickly steps into the interaction frame to engage the audience (underlined parts in Lines 5 and 6) into understanding the argument the principal is trying to make before they make a judgement. Even though the idea in Line 4 may sound outrageous, it is not the principal's main argument; it does not mean “I” won't support my parents. Once again, 自己 ‘self’ points to the true self who does not embody what the ambiguous impersonal pronoun is referring to.

(17) Recording 4

1 P21 也许你可能自己做的比较好她也会有一些改观 但也就只能做到这里了

*Perhaps if **one (lit. yourself)** can do better, she can change her view. But there is only so much (one) can do.*

2 你不可能完全改变人家对你们整个一个地方的看法

You cannot possibly change others' view on your people from the entire region.

自己 ‘self’ in Example (17) should be identified as performing the role of the principal as when the external conditions impose difficulty for one to live up to the ideal self, the principal maintains closeness with the true self. Such a positioning demonstrates the speaker’s effort to construct the true self in a sense one should be true to oneself.

This subsection gathers the participants’ utterances for assessing one’s true self which reflect their beliefs of the correct way of being. It is found that the principal remains close to the true self when the external conditions impose difficulty for one to live up to the ideal self. Such performance of the principal demonstrates that one should stand up for what one believes and one should always conduct rational self-reflection, thereby strengthening a favourable self-representation.

In light of the present analysis, it is the social orientation of the participants that forms the basic point of departure for the description of the performance of idealised representation of individual self. In which case, the individual dimension of self-representation is analysed from the perspective of how it is discursively accomplished in social interaction. A subject/self split in the cognitive-semantic realm is observable. The following section will probe into the semantic structure of the conception of the individual dimension of self.

5.2 Construal of inner self in discourse

As George Lakoff (1996) and Mark Johnson (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) explain, the use of anaphoric pronouns is based on what they call the SUBJECT/SELF split. In the case where 自己 ‘self’ is used in the object position as the bearer of the subject’s action, this split becomes very apparent in utterances where the participants reflect upon themselves using *I*-epistemic verb construction preceding 自己 ‘self’ as the object. In the previous section, the discursive analysis showed that the principal often speaks on behalf of the subject and evaluates the self as the stance object. The conversational data collected for the present study contain a variety of constructions for which the anaphoric relationships between the subject noun and the object noun have a metaphorical basis.

The variation in how SUBJECT and SELF are connected metaphorically is important for an understanding of their causal relationship. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999), SUBJECT acts as the locus of the speaker’s subjectivity and consciousness, their capacity to feel, their judgement, and will, while SELF’S properties are comprised of physical

characteristics, social roles, etc. The current data shows that the SUBJECT/SELF split forms the basis of a number of conceptual metaphors for conceptualising experiences as a unique individual. Common to the participants of the present study are self-reflection and self-motivation. Setting the SUBJECT/SELF split as the primary metaphor, numerous metaphoric or schematic structures of the self on different occasions emerge. They are THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF, THE LOCATIONAL SELF and THE ESSENTIAL SELF. The last subsection of the cognitive linguistic analysis will summarise how body parts are used in the self-evaluative and self-reflective comments made by the participants.

5.2.1 THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF

As we raise the question “what person do we think we are”, we cannot help asking “who is asking” and “who is being asked”. These considerations prompt further questions, such as who is in control? Who sets the standards for action? The initial step to conceptualise and rationalise these questions is to conceptualise a person as divided into SUBJECT and SELF (G. Lakoff, 1996). Subsequently, certain physical relations can be drawn between different parts, the primary one being SUBJECT EXERTS FORCE OVER SELF³⁷. The canonical configurations of this are SUBJECT IS INSIDE SELF, SUBJECT IS ABOVE SELF, or SUBJECT IS IN POSSESSION OF SELF (G. Lakoff, 1996, p. 101). The SELF is thus rendered as a physical object upon which certain constraints, both good and bad, can be imposed, while the SUBJECT stays at the locus of one’s reasons, perceptions and judgements. In this regard, a sense of internal causation is conceptualised as metaphorical connection, with the SUBJECT as the cause and the SELF as affected party (G. Lakoff, 1996, p. 112).

The two utterances in Examples (18) and (19), both share the same conceptualisation of the SUBJECT exerting control of the SELF. The SUBJECT bears the responsibility of protecting the the SELF which embodies one’s own interest, personality or privacy:

(18) Recording 1.1

P3 把自己保护好...让自己安全

Protect self³⁸ well and keep self safe.

(19) Recording 2

P10 我感觉 攻击性特别强 有一种就是 可能他是自我保护或者什么

I feel (they are) very aggressive which is a kind of self-protection or something.

³⁷ All the conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and image schemas in the analysis are marked in small capitalisation.

³⁸ The metaphors in examples are marked as bold.

Mappings in (18) and (19):

- (i) SAFETY IS PART OF SELF.
- (ii) PROTECTING ONE'S SAFETY IS EXERTING FORCE.
- (iii) STRENGTHENING SAFETY IS FIGHTING.

In the utterance in Example (20), it is ambiguous what the speaker is saying needs to be protected:

- (20) Recording 5
1 P25 就是对谁你都觉得特别好 但是其实你就觉得 就是给你一种特别假的感觉
You think, that's like being nice to anyone, but in fact you think (he) gives you a very pretentious feeling.
2 ...可能就只是要**保护自己**
*...Maybe it is just for the purpose of **self-protection**.*

Inferring from the context, the speaker might mean their true personality since the topic under discussion is what they like or dislike about a person. Based on this inference, the mapping mechanism in Example (20) can be summarised as:

Mappings in (20):

- (i) PERSONALITY IS PART OF SELF.
- (ii) EXHIBITING ONE'S PERSONALITY IS PUTTING ON AN ACT.
- (iii) CONCEALING ONE'S PERSONALITY IS PREVENTING IT FROM DANGER.

In Examples (21) and (22), the object of protection is one's own interests:

- (21) Recording 1.1
P2 人家**管自己**都来不及
*Other people are busy **looking after themselves**.*
(22) Recording 3
P15 中国人比较像羊..... 就不会**保护自己**
*Chinese people are more like sheep..... (Chinese people) don't know how to **protect oneself**.*

Mapping in (21) and (22):

- (i) INTEREST IS PART OF SELF.
- (ii) LOSING ONE'S INTEREST IS LOSING CONTROL.

- (23) Recording 5
P24 因为这是**对自己的一种保护** 我觉得出国的人对**自我保护**能力都比较(强)
*Because this is **one way of protecting the self** I think people who go abroad all have a strong sense of **self-protection**.*
(24) Recording 5
P24 还没有觉得**自我保护**什么的 虽然我爸我妈天天跟我说你要**自我保护** 意识强一点儿
*(I) don't yet think (it) is about **self-protection**. Although my parents tell me every day "you need a stronger awareness of **self-protection**".*

Mapping in (23) and (24):

(i) PROTECTION IS EXERTING FORCE.

(ii) SUCCESSFUL PROTECTION IS POSSESSION.

The utterances in (23) and (24) seem to show that the SUBJECT successfully takes control of the SELF, which leads to a positive evaluation of oneself, otherwise the participants could be deemed to have failed to self-improve from the experience of living overseas. Self-improvement, in the Chinese context, helps to bring positive regard (cf. Chapter 3). The underlying prerequisite is that the SUBJECT sets the standard.

Several examples show that the SUBJECT often strives to take actions to make the SELF better. Some participants have expressed their aim to become a better person. In terms of the conceptual basis for such an aspiration, the SUBJECT's capacity to conceive such an aspiration is free of the constraints that are imposed by space and time. The SUBJECT exists in the present, while the SELF experiences time and is constantly going through changes. Therefore, the interpretation of what it means to be this better person depends largely on local or contextual situations. It can be hard to infer what part of the SELF the SUBJECT wants to exert influence over. It is important, though, to consider the socio-cultural value of this metaphorical association, especially when there are not enough local clues in the immediate discourse context.³⁹ The SUBJECT's successful control over the SELF often takes the form of 约束好自己 *yueshuhao ziji* 'discipline oneself well' and 管理好自己 *guanlihao ziji* 'manage oneself well', both of which presuppose that the SELF has negative, socially unacceptable qualities⁴⁰. The SELF is either too lazy or the SELF tends to procrastinate:

(25) Recording 4

P20 就起码让自己自律一点儿吧 比如说我实在太懒了

Then at least make self more self-disciplined, for instance I am really too lazy.

(26) Recording 1.1

P4 给自己一个期限

Set self a time limit.

³⁹ The analysis of the relational dimension explores this further in terms of the role that cultural beliefs and ethos play in the conceptualisation of the self that is situated in interwoven social relations.

⁴⁰ Section 3.3.3 of Chapter 3 has discussed the moral qualities of the self within in the context of modern Chinese and premodern Chinese discourse.

Mappings in (25) and (26):

(i) SUBJECT IS CAUSING SELF TO ACT.

(ii) SUBJECT IS A PERSON WHO SETS STANDARDS OF CONDUCT FOR SELF.

The SUBJECT being able to keep control of the SELF is regarded as a merit in a person; failing to do so might be deemed as a defect:

(27) Recording 4

P21 然后不太欣赏的...对自己要求不太严格...这种人

Then not very appreciative of those who don't have a high standard for oneself, that kind of people.

(28) Recording 4

P21 我是比较欣赏那种可以管理好自己的

I appreciate those who can manage themselves well.

Mappings in (27) and (28):

(i) SUBJECT IS IMPOSING CONFINING FORCE ON SELF.

(ii) SUBJECT IS A PERSON WHO SETS STANDARDS OF CONDUCT FOR SELF.

As mentioned, the underlying socio-cultural value of THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF is that the SUBJECT should always strive to watch out for the imperfect SELF. As a typical characteristic of this model, the SUBJECT is the centre of agency. For this reason, meaningful socio-moral implications can only be drawn in terms of whether the SUBJECT successfully acts as an agent orienting towards a result the SUBJECT wants to achieve.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) discuss taking control of another's SELF as taking another's possession, an extended version of the SELF CONTROL IS OBJECT POSSESSION. According to them, losing control to another SUBJECT is mostly seen as evil and scary in the American culture. With this cultural background, taking possession of others can metaphorically represent indoctrination. In some other cultural cohorts, such as India, the self being possessed by another SUBJECT metaphorically represents submission to deity, which is seen as positive (Lakoff and Johnson, (1999).

In Example (29), the metaphor extends to include another SELF:

(29) Recording 4

P21 你首先要了解自己 以及管理好你自己 约束好你自己

You should at first understand self and manage yourself well and discipline yourself well.

这样才能有利于你对别人起到一个管理作用

In doing so, it can be beneficial for you to have an effect on managing others.

It is clear that neither of the aforementioned cultural models applies to this example, in which the SUBJECT's proper exertion of control over the SELF takes precedence over individual agency as the metaphorical controlling effect is charged with a sense of moral pediment.

In Chinese meritocracy, self-discipline has always been regarded as an important characteristic of a leader, for self-discipline is an essential part of self-cultivation. Self-cultivation, a key moral teaching in the Confucian school of thought, is the only way for a person to become a morally superior being. As for the relationship between the SUBJECT and the SELF, that taking control of another's SELF is taking another's possession, which is another example of SUBJECT'S taking control over the SELF. Given a specific cultural context, the agency of SUBJECT transcends an isolated individual⁴¹.

Apart from discipline, the SUBJECT's agency is also manifested in examining oneself and discovering oneself, both of which are oriented toward self-improvement or metaphorically taking better control over the SELF:

(30) Recording 5

P25 大概有个印象 但是我觉得自己看自己还是缺点比优点多 就越相处越觉得 啊 自己怎么变这样
*Have a general idea, but I think **self would see more shortcomings than merits in oneself** and the more time passes the more (I) think how did self end up like this.*

(31) Recording 5

P25 只有你觉得说我有必要跟这个人 更加了解我自己 我才愿意去跟他吵
*Only if you think that "I feel the need" to (argue with) this person to **get to know myself** better then I would be willing to argue with him.*

Mappings in (30) and (31):

(i) SELF-EXAMINATION IS EXERTING PHYSICAL FORCE.

(ii) SUBJECT IS A PERSON WHO SETS STANDARDS OF CONDUCT FOR SELF.

(32) Recording 5

P24 我们这个年龄还是在寻找自己的年龄 就还没有定型的年龄
*The age of ours is still the age of **searching for self** which is an age that is not yet settled.*

Mappings in (32):

(i) SELF-DISCOVERY IS EXERTING PHYSICAL FORCE.

(ii) SUBJECT IS A PERSON WHO SETS STANDARDS OF CONDUCT FOR SELF.

⁴¹ Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3 has discussed the cultural perspective of self-discipline in Chinese in more detail.

The metaphorical models found in Examples (30), (31) and (32) treat the SUBJECT as the one who sets standards for the SELF. The internal causation is always one-directional, that is, either the SUBJECT successfully applies its force on the SELF or the SUBJECT fails to do so and the SUBJECT will suffer a sense of guilt when the SELF does not act accordingly. This negativity is the result of the discrepancy between the standards set by the SUBJECT and the actual deeds of the SELF.

In the data, it is found that if there should not be any actions decided on by the SELF, the decision to act has to come from one's own SUBJECT. With this principle, the SUBJECT can purposefully choose not to change the SELF.

- (33) Recording 1.1
P2 我也不可能说为了你的想法**改变我自己**
*It is impossible to **change myself** because of other people's (lit. your) opinion.*
- (34) Recording 5
P25 你要先**把自己做好** 然后别人不喜欢你那是别人自己的问题
*One (lit. you) should **do the best of oneself** first, then if other people don't like it is their own problem.*

Participant 3 and Participant 25 stresses the importance of the SUBJECT. The reason is that the SELF has to live up to the standards that the SUBJECT sets out, even if they are not necessarily in agreement with those of other people's SUBJECT. In the end, it is the SUBJECT's choice how to act in spite of other people's reactions.

There are also other examples that show the mis-match between the SUBJECT and the SELF. The SELF is said to be the locus of needs, desires, purposes and ambitions and sets the long-term standards of behaviour (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 108). According to many of the student participants, they often force themselves to study, to socialise or to find a religious belief, which unfortunately does not yield a satisfactory result:

- (35) Recording 4
P19 像我们都属于比较懒的人我觉得就是**强迫自己**学吧 ...就**强迫自己**吧 ...就每天**强迫自己**
*For lazy people like us, I think, (we) should **force (our)selves** to study, **just force (our)selves, force (our)selves** every day.*
- (36) Recording 4
P20 像我这种人就是**自己都收拾不好的 强迫自己**参加各类活动
*People like me who **can't even tidy oneself up** have to **force (our)selves** into participating in all kinds of activities.*
- (37) Recording 5
P23 即使过程中你可能会**逼迫自己**做一段时间 但是你到最后还是会停掉的
*Even if you might **force self** to do something for a while during the process in the end you would still give up.*

- (38) Recording 4
 P22 我想算了 不强迫自己 因为每次 本来之前其实自私的想法 在 XXX 吧 认识一些朋友
I think let it be, (I) don't force (my)self because (I) used to have this selfish thought which was to make more friends at <name of a Christian student group>.
 ... 然后能练练英语 但是进去吧 发现也想**找到自己的**信仰 但是往往一较劲吧 自己会特别变扭
*Then (I) can practice English, but after attending (the meetings) (I) also wanted to **find (my) own faith** but when **forcing (myself), self would feel uncomfortable.***
- (39) Recording 4
 1 P18 还有那个姐姐也 她也跟我说你要坚持每个星期都去教堂
Also that sister who also told me that you should keep attending church every week,
 2 说什么你慢慢去了以后发现 你并不是你自己要去教堂而去 是你自己非常想去
saying that you would find out gradually after going (to church) you don't just want to go to church yourself, it is you yourself, you want to go very much,
 3 感觉好像每次去听了一次课 又一次人生的感悟
(I) feel as if, after every time attending the lesson, (I learn) the meaning of like once more.

Since the SELF, not the SUBJECT, operates in the world, it is the SELF who answers the call to satisfy those needs and desires. As pointed out earlier with regard to the notion of narrative self in Section 2.1.4, the self has the track record in the past and present which constitutes a standard for present action. In terms of SUBJECT/SELF split, the SELF is the one who experiences time and space (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 108). If the SUBJECT fails to match with it, it can lead to betrayal (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 108) or dilemma, as indicated by these participants.

In the comments made by the participants, a sense of frustration can be detected when the participants express that they are not in full control of their daily activities. The needs of the SELF and the activities that the SELF engages in can impose pressure on a conscious SUBJECT:

- (40) Recording 3
 P13 然后在家里面的话 就觉得太**限制了**
*At home, (one) feels (one's freedom) is **restricted.***
- (41) Recording 4
 P21 是那些琐事儿**把你缠着了** 让你没法学习
*One's life can **be strangled by** those trivial matters.*

As Participant 13 remarks the restriction on the SELF is not because of what the SUBJECT orients to do, but because of other external factors such as family responsibility and expectations, or other social pressures. Similarly, Participant 21 complains that the SELF's action is driven by the need to live independently, rather than by the determination of a conscious SUBJECT.

In these two examples, the role of the SUBJECT has been downplayed. When asked about how they made the decision to come to Australia or to decide to stay, many participants

speak of 命运安排 *mingyun anpai* ‘arrangement of fate’, or they put it as 不是我的选择 *bushi wode xuanze* ‘not my choice’. Metaphorically speaking, it implies that control over the SELF is not entirely up to the speakers themselves.⁴² In the absence of a fully controlling SUBJECT, there might be a possibility that the SELF might break away or become uncontrollable. In Examples (42) and (43), moral principles are described as something that is given to oneself to restrict the SELF.

(42) Recording 2

P9 不管你是信佛教还是什么伊斯兰教 基督教 天主教这些 它对人的行为是会有一定约束的
*No matter if one (lit. you) believes in Buddhism or Islamism or Christianity Catholicism they all **have certain restrictions on people’s behaviours.***

(43) Recording 2

P9 没有道德的约束 他什么东西都可以做的出来的 但是他在考虑利益的同时 他就忘记了道德约束
*He could just do anything if there were no **moral restrictions**, but he would forget the **restriction put down by morality** as he pursued benefits.*

The Example (44) shows that fate or Karma can impose restriction on the SELF:

(44) Recording 5

P25 但是你必须相信这个世界上是有什么东西是可以是可以控制你
But one (lit. you) must believe that there is something in this world that can take control of one (lit. you),
 所以人不能为所欲为 不能说什么坏事都去做 会遭报应的
so people cannot do whatever they want, one cannot keep doing bad things, as (one) would be punished by Karma.

The common conceptual metaphor in these example can be called the UNBOUNDED SELF. First, the loss of control is often metaphorically mapped onto an object getting out of a bounded region. Second, when the SELF breaks out in the absence of a controlling SUBJECT, another larger-than-self body institution can impose restrictions on it, such as religion, morality or Karma. It should be noted that THE UNBOUNDED SELF here is different from THE LOCATIONAL SELF metaphor (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) in which the SELF is depicted as the container that has the SUBJECT in it. THE LOCATIONAL SELF is a general metaphoric model that we use to conceptualise normal self-control by the SUBJECT and the lack thereof (G. Lakoff, 1996, p. 11). According to this model, the SUBJECT takes the blame when it fails to consciously impose control over their actions, whereas THE UNBOUNDED SELF exists independent of a conscious SUBJECT. If acting recklessly, the SELF is the one that suffers the consequences for violating the rules set by external factors, as the boundary is not drawn by

⁴² Section 3.3 of Chapter 3 introduces some premodern Chinese cultural beliefs that are embodied by these utterances.

the SUBJECT. Therefore, the drawing of these boundaries depends a lot on cultural beliefs and ethos, thus charging the metaphor with a rich socio-moral meaning, i.e. disobeying authorities.

In sum, two primary metaphors play important roles in understanding THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF. Apart from the SUBJECT/SELF split, another primary metaphor, CAUSES ARE FORCES, sets the basis for understanding the SUBJECT's control over the SELF through physical force. In the following section, another group of metaphors will be discussed which addresses another experiential basis that is central to our understanding about the individual self.

5.2.2 THE LOCATIONAL SELF

As indicated previously, when the SELF escapes a bounded region, a sense of losing control can be evoked. THE LOCATIONAL SELF emerges out of a space-oriented cognitive model. Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 274) conclude that THE LOCATIONAL SELF in English has self-control conceptualised as being in a normal location. Based on this, the SUBJECT's losing control can be conceptualised as its being out of a container, setting the INSIDE-OUTSIDE dichotomy as the deictic context (J. Li, 2010).

Examples found in the current data, however, show a different set of spatial orientations in the Chinese expressions about a person's inner world, namely DEEP-SHALLOW. This maps as the most potent self-control being when the SUBJECT is lying deep, and retrieving that control comes by way of reaching vertically downwards. Both the young professionals and the students expressed the need to exercise their self-control by keeping the 底线 *dixian* 'bottom line'. This term is roughly equivalent to *fundamental principles* in English.

(45) Recording 3

P15 得有个底线 只要不过底线就看情况了 开心不开心 如果过底线了那就没得讲了

One has to have fundamental principles (lit. bottom line) but whether (one would be) happy or not all depends on whether (one is) violating (one's) fundamental principles (lit. crossing the bottom line), there is no room for further discussion if that happens.

(46) Recording 3

P16 每个人都有他们的底线

Everyone should have their fundamental principles (lit. bottom line).

(47) Recording 4

P22 他触碰到我底线了

He violated my fundamental principles (lit. bottom line).

This so-called 底线 'bottom line' is the fundamental principle of a SUBJECT, and violating it in the metaphorical sense of touching it is deemed to be the ultimate form of

losing dignity. In all of these example, crossing the 底线 ‘bottom line’ is indicated as symbolically disrespecting the SUBJECT, which therefore reflects LOCATION FOR ACTIVITY metonymy. With regard to the correspondence between a deep-lying location as the word *bottom* signifies and importance, it is an instance of the conceptual metaphor DEPTH IS POTENCY.

To understand the spatial projection DEEP IS POTENT and what it implies, an understanding of the imagery of some Chinese cosmological notions are necessary. In the famous ancient Chinese text on the Daoist cosmology, the “Book of the Way and the Virtue” (道德经 *Dao De Jing*) the ontological nature of the creating force in the cosmos is depicted as 深不可识 *shenbukeshi* ‘too deep to be understood’ (Ames & Hall, 2010). This depth activates our perceptual experience of looking at a pool of water. The deeper the water is, the harder it is for us to see the bottom, corresponding to the cosmology which is too fathomless to be easily understood. Likewise, the most admired ethical conduct in Chinese culture is considered to be like “still water” that “runs deep” (Y. Lu, 2012).

In such cases, one’s subjective standards for one’s moral conduct is framed in terms of verticality. Metaphorically, the deeper it goes, the closer it is to one’s fundamental values. Insofar as the application of self-control is concerned, the deeper the SUBJECT dwells in the metaphorical sense, the more obligated the SUBJECT is to adhere to one’s values. The correlation between a sense of depth and potency can also be found in the current data set in the descriptions of one’s strongly-held belief as 根深蒂固 *genshendigu* ‘deeply rooted’, and firmly-kept impression as 深的 *shendeyingxiang* ‘deep’ or 深刻 *shenkede ganjue* ‘deeply carved’. These beliefs and impressions, as expressed by the participants, are the last ones to be altered or transformed. Participants also use 心底 *xindi* ‘bottom of the heart’ as the faculty that stores the most sincere and private feelings. Section 5.2.4 will discuss in more detail regarding the embodied use of HEART FOR THINKING AND FEELING in Chinese.

In their description of friendships, some participants distinguish close friends from normal acquaintances in terms of DEEP-SHALLOW:

- (48) Recording 4
P21 大家都(是)不深入(的朋友)
Everyone doesn't (regard each other as) deep friends.

- (49) Recording 5
 P23 和 local 之间的友情也没有说能够交流到 哦 我今天我家里面怎么怎么样 没有**深入**到这种程度
*It is hard to form a **deep** friendship with local Australian people to the degree that (we) can talk about what happens at each other's home.*
- (50) Recording 5
 P25 可以继续往下**深交**下去
*(We) can continue to keep **associating deeper**.*

Taking the individual person's perspective, the interaction of the SELF with another person draws on the locational situation of the SUBJECT. Sincere interaction can only take place when one person's SUBJECT allows another person's SELF to reach down deeper into one's inner world. A possible explanation is that, the SELF that occupies the normal location acts as the deictic centre for the speaker to represent the current state of the inner self. It corresponds to what Li (2010, p. 85) suggests "when mental activities arrive at the deictic centre, the self has control over these activities". If the SELF could be set as the deictic centre, THE LOCATIONAL SELF would represent the relationship between the split SUBJECT and SELF.

Drawing from the examples found in the data, THE LOCATIONAL SELF corresponds to the structure of the SUBJECT/SELF split. The SUBJECT and the SELF occupy two ends of the same space, and the SUBJECT stays below the SELF. This is not to say that only the locational cognitive model forms the metaphorical basis of social relations in Chinese. Taking a person's subjective assessment as the vantage point here, it is argued that THE LOCATIONAL SELF is key to the understanding of one's personal efforts in developing friendships. The SUBJECT is always in control of the SELF, and the SUBJECT sets the standard for where the SELF goes.

5.2.3 THE ESSENTIAL SELF

Up to this point, the SUBJECT/SELF split has guided the investigation into different aspects of the SUBJECT's role in determining the actions that the SELF needs to take. While previous metaphors are found to embody the idealised representation of the individual self through self-control, this part of the analysis addresses metaphors related to the idealised status of the inner self by being true to oneself. Two types of image-schematic cognitive models are found. They are CONGRUENCE and BALANCE. To find one's essential self is particularly important when one is faced with diversified social situations. The conceptualisation of the individual self is at the mercy of various social constituencies. However, THE ESSENTIAL SELF metaphors create personalised referential frames to reason about one's stands on social judgements. The following discussion examines the conceptual

patterns of the self through CONGRUENCE and BALANCE and their interaction with socio-cultural factors and communicative functions.

CONGRUENCE-INCONGRUENCE

It seems to be widely agreed by the young professionals recruited for this study that etiquette, manners and other socially oriented pragmatics that a person employs exhibit only the superficial-external character of that person, implying that the inner self is often incompatible with what one appears to be. In other words, there are two sets of selves. In the data, the two sets of selves take on the form of 表面 *biaomian* ‘appearance’ and 背后 *beihou* ‘behind the back’.

- (51) Recording 1.1
P5 我觉得他表面上尊重了你 他从另一个方面(没有尊重你)
*I think he respects you **at appearance**, but from the other side he (does not).*
- (52) Recording 1.1
P3 但是你看不出来他们内心想什么 他们可能背后一副嫌弃的样子 表面上看得出来
*But one (lit. you) cannot tell what they are thinking about in their **inner hearts** they probably dislike **in reality (lit. behind the back)**, which one (lit. you) cannot tell **from the appearance**.*
- (53) Recording 1.1
1 P4 我觉得鬼佬有的时候比较表面 表面是一个样 对表面是一个样
*I think Westerners are quite **superficial** sometimes, showing one thing **on the surface**, right, showing one thing **on the surface**,*
2 但内心的话 有的时候行为看出来 觉得可能跟你 自己表面上的那种 看上去的那种想法不一样
*but in terms of the **inner heart**, sometimes seen from behaviours and in comparison to you yourself **on the surface**, is different from the impression (you) have.*
- (54) Recording 1.2
P4 就是说你不了解他的真实人格是什么 就是他会表现出来
*That is to say you don't understand his **true personality or what he will turn out to display**.*
- (55) Recording 2
P11 他们 nice 是在表面 但是你一旦接触的话 你会发现其实就是文化 他不理解你
*They are nice **on the surface**, but as soon as you associate (more) you would realise he does not actually understand you culturally.*

Having an essence, which is referred to as an 内心 *neixin* ‘inner heart’ in Example (52) and Example (53) and a 真实人格 *zhenshirenge* ‘true personality’ in Example (54), based on Lakoff and Johnson’s *Folk Theory of Essences* (1999), accounts for the incompatibility of who we are essentially (SELF 1) with what we do (SELF 2). Based on the participants’ comments, the external self is easily seen while the real self is hardly visible. Each self is evidently incompatible with the other. The incongruence between the external presentation and the essence sets a contrast between one’s behaviours and true thoughts, which renders one’s behaviours as insincere and deceptive.

It is for this reason, the noun 表面 ‘appearance’ can also be used as an adjective which means ‘one being obviously insincere’. One participant from group one comments on

insincere social etiquettes as 很表面其实 *hen bianmian qishi* ‘very superficial actually’. Some Chinese proverbs that describe a person’s moral integrity also contain the image schema of CONGRUENCE-INCONGRUENCE, such as 表里如一 *bianliruyi* ‘outside inside like one’, which means a person being honourable, and its opposite 表里不一 *biaolibuyi* ‘outside inside not like one’, which means a person lacking integrity. Therefore, the metaphorical entailments can be summarised as:

- (i) The superficial self is easy to see.
- (ii) The inner self is hard to see.
- (iii) Congruence is positive.
- (iv) Incongruence is negative.

Staying consistent as far as keeping one’s appearance compatible with one’s inner reality, is not only a matter of selectively matching one of the contradicting selves to the essence and disavowing the others (see examples of REAL ME and TRUE SELF in Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 282), but is a moral commitment.

For instance, CONGRUENCE symbolises public reputation:

- (56) Recording 3
 1 P13 我现在比较守时了 以前不守时 还有我觉得这边洋人很讲究信誉这种东西
I am rather punctual now while I used not to be. Also I think Westerners here care a lot about accountability.
 2 就像你刚才讲的 social contract 你要对你的言论负责
Just like what you said about social contract, you are responsible for your words.
 3 但是中国的话 好像就表面的一层 然后底下的一层 这边的话就是非常有信誉
Whilst in China underneath the surface lies another layer, (people) here (on the other hand) are reliable.

Metaphorically speaking, by failing to achieve CONGRUENCE, the SUBJECT is losing the ultimate control, and a person is also faced with a high degree of emotional negativity. However, it is not a simple matter to understand why THE INCONGRUOUS SELF, especially in these Chinese scenarios, is charged with a strong affective negativity. Drawing on Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002, 2003), the SUBJECT/SELF split blends with the image schema CONGRUENCE-INCONGRUENCE and constitutes a conceptual blend (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002, 2003). As part of the process of partial selection from two input mental spaces, the relevant culturally entrenched meanings from the generic space are blended into the newly established mental space.

The CONGRUENCE image schema in Chinese is arguably closely related to the Chinese cultural conceptualisation (Sharifian, 2011) of 信 *xin* ‘integrity’. In the Chinese context, 信 ‘integrity’, one of the 五常 *Wu Chang* ‘Five Constant Virtues’ of Confucian ethics, provides a meaningful foundation for interpretation (cf. Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3). Being a responsible and reliable person means that one should 言行一致 *yanxingyizhi* ‘act in accordance with one’s words’, the prerequisite of which is to hold one standard consistently. On the other hand, the very existence of an outside SELF and an inside SELF suggests a sense of contradiction and uncertainty which is the biggest impediment to personal integrity.

There are several Chinese idioms reflecting this conceptualisation. When one’s reality is found to have contradicted public appearance, one can lose one’s reputation; if one is found to be 心口不一 *xinkoubuyi* ‘speak[ing] one way and think[ing] another’, then the person is no longer worthy of trust. In a similar vein, if one’s exterior is exaggerated too much while the interior is not enriched enough, one can be criticised as being 名不副实 *mingbufushi* ‘the reality does not live up to the name’ or that they 虚有其表 *xuyouqibiao* ‘look impressive but lack real worth’.

In the social arena, complicated by the fleeting discursive contingency, the meaning of THE INCONGRUENT SELF can get ambiguous:

- (57) Recording 1.1
 P4 大家表面上还过得去
Everyone is ok at appearance.

For example, Participant 4 in Example (57) remarks, possibly in a cynical way that so long as everyone remains nice on the outside, the differences at the inside can be overlooked. Perhaps, the participant herself has no intention of exposing her true opinions under certain social circumstances.

The following extract is part of a very intriguing discussion of the interior and exterior of a Chinese person:

- (58) Recording 3
 1 P15 中国人比较像羊 从小到大就发现了没有用 就不会保护自己 也不懂有这种工具(关系)
Chinese people are quite like sheep who find oneself worthless since (they were) little and don’t know how to protect oneself, and also don’t know how to use this tool (networking),
 2 整个就不会了 我们是披着羊皮的狼
just don’t have any clues. We are wolves in the disguise of sheep skin.
 3 P12 你要生存下来 一会儿要做羊 一会儿要做狼
If you want to survive you need to act like a sheep at times and act as a wolf at other times.

4 P17 我是披着狼皮的羊 就是表面吓唬人家一下 其实是很容易被别人欺负
I am a sheep in the disguise of a wolf. (I) can only frighten people at appearance, (I'm) in fact very vulnerable.

In this extract, the consistency principle implied in the previously discussed integrity schema is overridden by flexibility principle. Participant 15 criticises Chinese people as being weak and lacking self-protection skills, calling “we”—the Chinese immigrants in Australia—weak on the surface but tough on the inside. The utterance “we are wolves in the disguise of sheep skin” (Line 2) suggests two set of selves which are the weak SELF and the tough SELF. In this scenario, the weak SELF is the façade and the tough SELF is the essence. However, being tough is a matter of the SUBJECT’s deliberate choice. Given certain social conditions, not only has the SUBJECT chosen to be inconsistent, but has also made the tough SELF the main or dominant character. In contrast, Participant 17 confesses that the weak SELF turns out to be the dominant SELF for her. Since the choice between the weak SELF and the tough SELF is made individually, it needs to be interpreted based on the communicative purpose (Line 4). Participant 12 expresses that both the weak SELF and the tough SELF are equally important, as the primary concern for an immigrant is to survive (Line 3), which extends to the social orientation of the self.

BALANCE

As many of the participants indicate, another important personal trait lies in the ability to strike a balance. In fact, the experience of balance is so pervasive and basic for a coherent causation of ourselves (Johnson, 1987, p. 74), that we should reflect on the interaction between the cognitive pattern of BALANCE and the meaning-making process of one’s pursuit of internal equilibrium. As mentioned earlier, with the SUBJECT/SELF split, the SELF is the locus of one’s needs, desires, purposes and ambitions. They often scatter into multiple versions of conflicting SELVES. It is up to the SUBJECT to organise these multiple SELVES, a task which is often conceptualised as keeping a balance. The speakers of the utterances in Examples (59) and (60) use either the Chinese word 平衡 ‘balance’ or code-switch to the English word *balance* to talk about their experiences of having to reconcile:

(59) Recording 4
P20 不管怎样都是有缺点有优点 自己平衡点吧
No matter what, everyone has strengths and weaknesses, let self find the balance.

(60) Recording 1.2

- P1 你自己其实一直是在 **balance 所有的啊** 你的生活 你的一生 其实就是在 **balance** 各方面啊
*One (lit. yourself) is always trying to **balance everything in one's (lit. your) life, which is in fact just about balancing all respects.***
就像我们留在这边 觉得这边好 但一方面我们就不能回国照顾父母 有思乡之情 思念父母
Like we who stay here think it is better here, but we cannot go back to China and also miss (our) hometown and parents.
你各方面 对 你各方面都是一直在处于一个 **balance** 啊 就是这样啊 人生就是这样
*Ones (lit. you) is always **balancing all respects, this is life.***

Each SELF instantiates a need that the person has, such as living an Australian life, looking after their parents, life in their hometown, or life with their parents. Each SELF can also represent the traits and shortcomings of a person. However, as much as these needs cannot be satisfied simultaneously, the traits and shortcomings are all the building blocks of each person. The SUBJECT is being indecisive towards the value that the one particular SELF is associated with. Therefore, the SUBJECT cannot resolve the issue by making the best choice, for there is no one choice that can be deemed the best. The SUBJECT must come to terms with gains and losses, in other words, find a balance. The internal equilibrium only comes with the full knowledge of the pros-and-cons of each SELF. A comprehensive understanding makes them equally important, and such an understanding provides an epistemological basis for the SUBJECT to avoid confusion and apprehension.

A state of BALANCE is seen as the ideal state. If no BALANCE has been achieved, one is still stumbling or facing the danger of failing:

(61) Recording 1.2

- P4 我现在食物都还没有 **balance** 永远都还没有 **balance**
*I haven't **balanced** my diet yet, which can never be **balanced**.*

In other words, the speaker here finds it too difficult to “balance” food, which is an important part of her life. At first sight, it seems odd to call not liking food “unbalanced”, the word that fits in the collocation should be not yet accustomed. Note that the speaker is talking about not eating well, which is not having a diet with the right balance of nutrition.

The speaker code-switches to the English word, which shows that the speaker does not have a ready way of expressing in Chinese the kind of state she has come to in regard to eating. IMBALANCE seems to represent in the best way for the speaker to express what she is trying to convey. Featuring a visual gestalt where all physical weights or forces are in balance, the schematic structure of BALANCE entails a sense of stability. In one's mind, if such a stability is lost, one can be considered irrational and prone to misjudgement. In this

light, finding balance metaphorically represents one's reasoning process of finding equilibrium.

(62) Recording 2

P7 觉得好像人都不容易满足 然后想要的越多 但是你的得到的就会越少这样子
(I) think perhaps people are all difficult to satisfy, the more (you) want the less you can actually gain,
导致你心理就会严重**失衡**
which resulted in a **seriously unbalanced** psychological state.

To use the participant's own words, such as in Example (62), if one's needs or desires are becoming so excessive that one feels that the amount one gains is always less than the amount one wants, the balanced state is then broken, and one would feel tremendously disturbed.

In Chinese, 心里不平衡 'psychologically unbalanced' also describes the feeling of being unfairly treated. The unfair treatment which may come from society and cause the person to feel that he or she may have been disadvantaged:

(63) Recording 2

P11 现在经济不景气嘛 中国的发展这么好 他这种 因为本身他认为已经是在义务式帮你
The (global/Australian) economy is in recession now, but China is developing so well. He thought that he had helped you voluntarily.
现在<XX>他**心里不平衡** 一定是这样的
Now <XX> he must **feel unbalanced**.

The unfair treatment can also affect one's perception of interpersonal relationships. If one asks more than the other, the balance between the two people can be destroyed. Otherwise, fairness is achieved:

(64) Recording 2

P7 感觉人的想法没有这么的多复杂 然后比较单纯 就是**你想得到的 跟你要的就是会比较均衡**
(I) feel that people's thinking is not that complicated and can be rather simple. If **what one (lit. you) gets is what one (lit. you) wants, in this way, (one) will be well balanced**,
不会让你这么的 做出这么的**变态或失衡的行为**来
(knowing so, one) won't allow oneself (lit. you) to do something as **distorted and unbalanced** as this.

Metaphorically speaking, the SUBJECT is the one who maintains the BALANCE, while the SELF is the one who experiences different social forces. In our moral and legal experiences, the notion of equality is a reoccurring theme. Rights, privileges, penalties, damages and duties are at the disposal of the SELF. However, if they are exploited by the SELF, then the SUBJECT, the locus of one's consciousness, perception and judgment, needs to come forth to seize control over the SELF by restoring BALANCE.

On a final note, the CONGRUENCE and BALANCE image schemas are not operating entirely separately. Both of them emphasise duality in the conceptualisation of the individual self. Admittedly, it is hard to find a unified cognitive pattern that can define what the essence of a person is, certainly not by choosing one over another. What can be argued, though, is that there are at least two essential principles that a person can rely on. CONGRUENCE and BALANCE help to organise our social experience of being a person and to reason about who we really want to be. Section 5.2.4 will redirect our focus to body parts, which are also found to be quite prominent in Chinese, being seen as the seat of the conceptualisation of thinking and feeling.

5.2.4 THE EMBODIED SELF

The analytical results show that body parts are frequently drawn upon in metaphorical expressions of the self related to mental experiences, namely 心 *xin* ‘heart’, 肚 *du* ‘belly’, 脑 *nao* ‘brain’, 骨 *gu* ‘bone’ and 眼 *yan* ‘eye’. Previous studies have elaborated on a comprehensive body-based linguistic system to structure self-related mental processes in the Chinese conceptual system (e.g., Pritzker, 2007; Slingerland, 2004; Yu, 1998, 2003, 2007). This study will focus on metaphorical expressions that describe the individualised self with respect to different body parts. Departing from a cognitive-pragmatic-discursive perspective (Morillas, 1999), the main focus of here is the interaction between the selection of different body parts to represent the self in order to portray oneself as a thinking and feeling individual. Speakers’ representations of THE EMBODIED SELF in their cognitive environment depend on contextual information about the other SELVES involved in the communicative event.

HEART STORES THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS

An analysis of body part and mental verb collocation shows that the participants use the HEART metaphor when speaking of their private thoughts. In other words, the heart is construed as the locus of their inner self (N. Yu, 2009). As Ning Yu notes, the Chinese HEART is considered to be the centre of thought in Chinese culture (N. Yu, 2009, p. 208).

Speakers in Examples (65), (66) and (67) do not know exactly what they or other people really think, but if the thoughts are coming from the inside of the heart, they are likely to be true:

- (65) Recording 1.1
P3 可能他**心里面**可能真的是不知道怎么想
*Perhaps he truly does not know **inside (his) heart** how to think.*
- (66) Recording 1.1
P5 他可能**心里**是这样的想法
*He may think **inside (his) heart** like this.*
- (67) Recording 2
P9 其实外国人小孩**心里**也知道的
*In fact, foreign kids know **inside (their) heart**.*

When narrating one's own thinking or deliberation, one feels fully committed to the thoughts coming from the heart and the self can take full responsibility for them:

- (68) Recording 4
P22 我**心里**就想着 我觉得我这样做肯定不对
*I had been thinking **inside (my) heart**, I thought what I did was definitely wrong.*
- (69) Recording 4
P20 但是我**心里**就觉得以后就 起码坏事儿不能让她知道
*But I **inside (my) heart** thought that at least embarrassing things cannot be revealed to her in the future.*

People also hope, wish, desire, and expect with their hearts (N. Yu, 2009, p. 209). The hopes and wishes that come from the heart represent a person's most authentic and truthful resolutions. Despite the impossibility of turning these hopes or wishes into reality, the self is willing to sustain the hope or the wish:

- (70) Recording 2
P10 我**心底里**可能会希望他会能支持我
*I, **in the very bottom of (my) heart**, would probably hope that he can support me.*
- (71) Recording 2
P9 谁**心里**都想做到最好 但有的时候嘛 如果你真的说在这边教课的话 他会受到一些现实的影响
*Everyone **inside (their) heart** wants to do the best, but at times when you are teaching here, he would also be influenced by some realities.*

Yu's study has shown that different parts of the heart can indicate how active the mental or emotional processes are in one's inner world, with "the tip being most active and the bottom being least active" (N. Yu, 2009, p. 168). Given the bottom of the heart also signifies the innermost being of the self (N. Yu, 2009, p. 170), feelings and thoughts that arise from this location, though inactive most of the time, are sincere and true, and they always stay at the back of one's mind. If the heart-wish or ambition clashes with reality and if one is unable to fulfil these ambitions, it leads to a sense of powerlessness or even failure, such as in Example (71).

From the participants' discussion, it is also noticed that marking some thoughts as from the interior of the heart to contrast to other thoughts that are not from the heart represents an internal reasoning process:

- (72) Recording 4
 P20 然后其实我也没觉得他们多聪明 我心里觉得你们说英文我根本听不懂 我心里这么想
*In fact, I actually don't think they are very smart. I inside (my) heart think you guys' English is completely incomprehensible. This is what I think **inside (my) heart.***
- (73) Recording 5
 P25 他们会觉得说 有什么好担心的 实在不行就回国
They would think that there is nothing to be worried about, worst comes the worst, (I) go back to China,
 我心里想 怎么可能 都走到这一步了 所以就一联系就吵
*I **inside (my) heart** think how is that possible, (I) have already come this far. So (I would) argue (with my parents) as soon as (I) contact (them).*

In defining the origin of some thoughts as coming out of the heart, the heart is portrayed as a container. The interior of the heart prevents these thoughts from public disclosure. Inside the heart, one can feel comfortable evaluating peers in bad terms as these evaluations are only made privately, and are therefore harmless.

Similarly, one can think to oneself in response to disagreement. In this way, the heart creates a private space for the self to hold on to thoughts that might not be completely acceptable to other people due the perceived disagreement. At times, these thoughts should only be kept inside the heart, as expressing them outwardly would be regarded as inappropriate:

- (74) Recording 4
 P18 我可以放在**心里面** 我不一定一定要这样
*I can keep it **inside (my) heart.** I don't need to be like this.*
- (75) Recording 4
 P20 就是像我以前的房东 他就跟我说他以前去过中国玩 特别特别脏啊
For example, my former landlord said to me he had travelled to China and (found China) very dirty.
 其实我**心想** 他就是这样你也不要跟我讲啊 其实我觉得就是这样 就是假如就是
In fact, I thought, in my heart even so you (he) should not tell me, in fact this is what I think.
 比如我就不会说荷兰人都很什么那个种(族歧视) 这种话我不会说
For example, I would not say Dutch people are all very racist or things like that. I wouldn't say,
 就算我**心里(觉得)**不好 或是什么 我不会说
*even if I think **inside (my) heart** that something is not right or else, I wouldn't say.*
- (76) Recording 1.1
 P4 实际上大家都**心知肚明**
*In actual fact, everyone already **knew without saying anything openly (lit. inside heart and belly).***

Apart from the heart, the 肚 'belly', seen in Example (76), is another body part that is commonly the source of inner thought⁴³. Belly and heart, both hidden inside the body, can be used to conceptualise knowledge that is not supposed to be shared publicly. Corresponding to the private sense of self discussed in Sections 5.1.1 and 5.2.3, the heart seems to be a popular

⁴³ Due to its rare occurrences in the data, the metaphorical use of belly will not be discussed in detail.

seat for a person's inner being, as opposed to a public one. When the public SELF is found to be in sharp contrast with a supposedly deep-lying true SELF, the person can appear to be pretentious, insincere, distanced, and defensive:

- (77) Recording 1.1
P1 可能我觉得有时候他是比较 装作比较平等 但他心里是怎么想的
*Perhaps I think he sometimes pretends to be fair, but (I don't know how) what he thinks **inside (his) heart.***
- (78) Recording 1.1
P3 对 有时候他撞到你 他说 sorry 其实他不一定心里面真的觉得 sorry
*Right, sometimes he says sorry when he hits you, but in fact he does not necessarily feel truly sorry **inside (his) heart.***
- (79) Recording 1.1
P3 但是你看不出来他们内心想什么
*But you cannot tell what their **inner heart** thinks.*
- (80) Recording 4
P18 所以他们会 内心比较防备
*So their **inner heart** would be very defensive.*

In the public arena, one can reserve personal opinions “inside” the heart which means concealing true thoughts and keeping all communication at a superficial level. Due to the memories that are ascribed to the heart (N. Yu, 2009, p. 158), the heart represents one's true self. At times, one needs to reveal the true SELF to be sincere whether or not it is appealing to the person who receives it. In certain social scenarios, the act of revealing one's true SELF can be highly appreciated interpersonally. True friends are expected to communicate deep thoughts or words coming from the heart:

- (81) Recording 5
P25 或者是觉得这个人还挺靠谱的 可以继续往下深交下去 每个人心里面都有个感觉 说不太清楚
*Or (I) think this person is very reliable and (with whom I) can keep developing (a friendship). **Inside (their) heart, everyone has a feeling they find hard to describe.***
- (82) Recording 5
P23 但是说想要交到那种真正的 就是能跟你说心里话 真正解决你问题的朋友挺难的
*But it is very hard to find that kind of true (friends) who can tell you words **inside (their) heart** and can truly solve your problems.*

Communication is most effective if words said and heard come from the heart. That is to say, both parties have the mutual knowledge that these thoughts and feelings could not have been said and heard in public. Understanding of each other's heartfelt sentiments provides the basis on which an intimate interpersonal relationship is built. Participants across different age groups all express their ideal friendship using expressions like 交心的朋友 *jiaoxinde pengyou* ‘friends with whom one can open the heart’ and 掏心的朋友 *taoxinde pengyou* ‘friends with whom one can reach out to the bottom of the heart’. These two expression can be analysed with HEART IS THE CONTAINER FOR THE PERSON'S FEELINGS AND

BELIEFS metaphor and CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED metonymy. 交心 *jiaoxin* ‘open heart’ and 掏心 *taoxin* ‘reach out to the bottom of heart’ both emphasise the exchange of feelings and beliefs that the two person held privately. Private feelings and beliefs are seated in the heart. Both expressions define this ideal status of interpersonal communication and relationship (N. Yu, 2009, p. 183). The two people’s hearts create a shared space where the content within the two hearts can meet. It would be ideal if people have the same or similar thoughts and feelings, which are often expressed as people having the same heart:

(83) Recording 4

P21 所以你得找到一个基本上跟你是一条心的 就是以及各方面可以相互互补啊 帮助的那种人
*So one (lit. you) needs to find one who basically **has one heart** and whom one (lit. you) can mutually help out.*

In Example (83), 一条心 *yitiaoxin* ‘one heart’ is another example for HEART IS THE CONTAINER FOR THE PERSON’S FEELINGS AND BELIEFS metaphor and CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS metonymy. The heart, or its line of thought, is sometimes conceptualised as a long and narrow (or thin) object so that 条 *tiao* ‘classifier of long and thin object’ is used when the emphasis is on the function of the heart as thinking and feeling (N. Yu, 2009, p. 168). If two people share the same line of thought, they are likely to share the same standards and needs, and they are likely to think and act for their common welfare which could be the ideal situation. What can also happen, however, is that one’s one-sided expression of sincerity can turn out not to be reciprocated:

(84) Recording 1.1

P4 我们是觉得 而且或者是文化吧就是我们觉得只要我们心到了就 OK 了
*We think that it is probably due to the (difference in) culture. We think as long as our **heart is in it (lit. heart reaches)**, it is ok,*
 但是他们呢体会不了 他们就只看表面的 你说还是没说 就这么表面的黑白的 黑的 白的东西
but they cannot feel it. They would only look at what appears on the surface whether you said it or not, these superficial things or in terms of black and white.

(85) Recording 1.1

P4 知道你有没有那个心的时候 就是说出来 可能说着就属于比较直接的 就说可能体会不到
*Put into words when knowing **whether one’s (lit, your) heart is in it (lit. have that heart) or not** maybe in a direct way, (others) may not be able to feel it.*

The private SELF, embodied in the heart, carries more weight than the public SELF, as in Example (84). One topic of the discussion is about the participants’ experiences of culture shock when they first arrived. As mentioned in Section 5.2.3, participants believe politeness and manners only manifest in the public SELF, which stands in contrast to the ESSENCE:

- (86) Recording 1.1
P3 不是真的**心里面**好像客气
*Not truly polite **inside the heart**.*

The words expressing politeness can be easily 说出来 *shuochulai* ‘put into words’, as in Example (84), while the true sincere self is delivered by the heart and is hard to 体会 *tihui* ‘feel’, as in Example (85). Communication will not be successful if the intentions from the heart—the more valuable information—is not understood properly.

The heart is also found to be used in conjunction with emotional feelings. The following discussion will turn to the role of heart as the locus of a person’s emotional life. One participant from group 1 complains of the frustration in terms of 内心上的伤口 *nexinshangde shangkou* ‘having a wound on the inner heart’. As much as words can be deeply imprinted on the heart, emotional marks on the heart might also stay there forever. The WOUNDED HEART metaphor can express one’s feeling of being mistreated.

Participants have produced these sentiments of being unfairly treated:

- (87) Recording 4
P19 弄得**心里心里**很不舒服
*Making (me) feel very uncomfortable **inside (my) heart**.*
- (88) Recording 4
P20 但我**心里**还是不服气啊
*But I am still not convinced **inside (my) heart**.*
- (89) Recording 4
P18 我就觉得**心里**很不开心
*I just feel unhappy **inside (my) heart**.*
- (90) Recording 4
P20 我**心里**觉得挺难受
*I feel very disturbed **inside (my) heart**.*
- (91) Recording 5
P23 **心里面**会压抑啊
*(People) would feel depressed **inside (their) heart**.*

In these utterances, all negative sentiments are metaphorically located in the heart. It is not a coincidence that the heart happens to be sensitive to these highly personalised negative emotions. Previous studies have explained that there could be an embodied connection between negative emotions and the damage they inflict on the internal organs (N. Yu, 2009, p. 241). However, since none of these words from the semantic domain of emotion involve metaphorical reference to physical force, the expression 心里 *xinli* ‘inside the heart’ is primarily metonymic. 心里 ‘inside the heart’ is a substitution for the inner self. It goes without saying that no one wants to appear unhappy all the time. Therefore, there is a belief that these negative feelings should be hidden from the public.

From the perspective of performance, the positioning subject should be the principal, the one who is committed to the affective knowledge conveyed in the utterance. The feelings inside the heart, supposedly not to be known to the public, once said, are revealed. It seems to be contradictory to the speakers' intention of keeping these thoughts and feelings to themselves.

As discussed previously with regard to the SUBJECT/SELF split in Section 5.2.1, the split SUBJECT and SELF can carry different socio-moral meanings, the SUBJECT's successful control over the SELF presupposes that the SELF has negative, socially unacceptable qualities (cf. Section 5.1.1). The expression 心里 'inside the heart', as a metonymic representation of the morality-bound principal, represents an individual as a reasonable person should be able to keep bad feelings under control. From the perspective of embodied cognition, the heart, the governor of all mental or psychological activities (N. Yu, 2009), is the best candidate to govern these negative emotions.

According to these embodied expressions used by the participants, it seems to depict a situation where one is in conflict with oneself (cf. Section 5.2.3), the heart takes precedence over other cognitive faculties:

(92) Recording 1.1

P4 大家都知道有那种等级 所以很难说闹

Everyone knows about that kind of hierarchy which is therefore difficult to fight against,

然后做了以后心里又特别不舒服 然后就特别难受

*Then (one) would feel very uncomfortable **inside (one's) heart** after doing (what one was told), very uncomfortable.*

(93) Recording 2

P10 这边 我去交个罚款 都态度很好他们 就是感觉

(I) feel that their attitude was very good when I went to pay fines there,

哦 罚了钱我心里感觉还挺舒服的

*I still feel comfortable **inside (my) heart** even though I was fined.*

就是 至少他们很热情的

At least they were friendly.

The speaker in Example (92) is unhappy with the condescending boss. In this utterance, several voices are speaking at the same time. At first the statement is addressed to the audience; hence the voice comes from the author. However, the voice from the heart represents a different voice from the principal. In Example (93), the speaker is talking about the experience of paying a fine, which is not a "happy" experience. However, the overall emotional experience concludes on a positive note because the heart feels comfortable after receiving friendly service. In Chinese, if a person is feeling completely satisfied and fully

content, it is described as 心满意足 *xinmanyizu* ‘heart is filled with happiness’. Thus both the speakers have their heart-felt feelings conveyed through the principal which in both utterances turns out to be the dominant voice.

In Examples (94), (95) and (96), each of the speakers express their emotional distress, which is related to apprehension or guilt about what they should or should not do. Without exception, these feelings are tagged as heart-felt:

- (94) Recording 4
1 P18 像我去年 每个星期天上午都会去教堂 然后每个星期五都会去 XXX
Take me as an example, I went to church every Sunday morning and <name of a Christian student group> every Friday last year.
2 但是我现在是 真的是没的办法 因为太多作业了
But I truly cannot (go) now because of too much homework,
3 我就打算以后都不去了 这样的我 心 里面会有点那个 有点愧疚
I then decided not to go thereafter as I feel a bit guilty inside (my) heart.

This student cannot keep attending church services because of the academic pressure. Irregular attendance has caused her emotional distress and has become a source of guilt. The heart is the seat for harbouring this feeling of guilt.

- (95) Recording 4
1 P19 如果是作为动力的话 我要说一点 就是信仰的支撑吧...
In terms of motivation, I want to say that it is due to the support from having a faith.
2 但是你觉得这件事情就不想学 就特别不想学 但是不学 心 里就不安 但是你还是不想学
But I (lit. you) think that I (lit. you) just don't want to study this, feeling very reluctant, but if (I do) not study (I) would feel disturbed inside (my) heart, but I (lit. you) still don't want to study,
3 就可能 就是读读圣经或什么的 还挺管用的
Maybe reading the Bible or something else can be quite helpful.

This student participant does not have the motivation to study. From Examples (94) and (95), we can see that motivation and feelings are addressed with different subjects. On the one hand, the speaker expresses a genuine lack of motivation; on the other hand, the heart is feeling disturbed or even guilty. Participant 19 chooses to read the Bible to put her heart at ease, which is a necessary step towards finding the motivation to continue studying.

As Lakoff and Johnson (1999) note, we can be at war with ourselves through the projection of ourselves onto other people and only one can win. Examples (94) and (95) show that one's reason or will power might not necessarily win the battle. If one is to convince oneself, it has to start from examining heart-felt emotional distress.

- (96) Recording 1.1
1 P4 工作是一方面 然后工作完了以后回到家就看电视 然后我我 我小时候我爸妈 不
Working is one aspect. After work (I) would watch TV at home. When I was young my parents didn't,

- 2 反正不提倡你看电视了 反正先做作业什么的 所以电视对于我来说可能是一个比较
didn't allow you to watch TV. In any case, (I) needed to finish homework first. So TV for me is probably
- 3 怎么样 就是无所谓的东西 如果说你让我把生活 就是下了班的所有时间用来看电视上的话
something unnecessary. If you ask me to spend all the time on TV after work,
- 4 我心里觉得 guilty 然后 然后 但是那样 那样的生活我就不想要
I (would) feel guilty inside (my) heart. That is not the life I want.
- 5 我就想要跳出去 跳出去有什么办法呢? 一是换工作
I just want to jump out. How <interrogative particle>? One way is to change the job,
- 6 然后二就是找男朋友 然后有个人分享一下 有个人聊天什么的
and the second way is to find a boyfriend, to have someone to share, someone to talk to.

In a similar fashion, this young professional in Example (96) feels guilty about living an unproductive life apart from working and watching TV. The sense of guilt comes from her inner heart. This emotional feeling could be so strong that it can motivate her to change the way she lives (Lines 5 and 6). In fact, guilt and shame is often expressed in terms of a heart-felt feeling in Chinese, e.g., 问心有愧 *wenxinyoukui* ‘heart has a guilty conscience’ and 亏心事 *kuixinshi* ‘guilty hearted things’. An observable interaction of a person’s emotions and feelings which are seated at the heart and one’s self-representation in social interaction seems to suggest a socially oriented cognition of emotion through the heart. The heart, as an embodied and culturally enriched source concept, helps to involve and engage the listener or the audience to the speaker’s inner world, which thereby increases the effectiveness of communication in discursive transactions.

Cognitive scientists believe that each individual interacts with the world under the guidance of cognitive models. Body parts are an important source domain for various self-related conceptual schemes and cognitive categories, which are not static repertoires located in the mind of each individual thinker. The discursive practice that the SUBJECT engages in also shapes the application of them. The subject position plays a crucial role which “incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire” (B. Davies & Harré, 1991, p. 46). The following subsection compares the heart with other body parts the participants use to refer to different subjective impressions with varied discursive purposes.

HEART BRAIN BONE EYES

It is found in the data that body parts are used in metaphorical expressions about one’s personal opinions. These opinions can be assumptions that are not tested, or views taken from a certain perspective, even bias and prejudice.

As Kövecses (2005) notes, KNOWING IS SEEING is one of the primary conceptual metaphors for thinking. In this metaphor, the validity of a viewpoint is dependent on the viewing perspective. It is interesting to note the various ways of addressing these opinions using different body parts.

(97) Recording 5

P24 就是还是得知道别人对你的看法是什么 然后从别人眼里也能看到自己看不到的东西
(One) still needs to know what opinions other people have of one (lit. you) and can see something **through other people's eyes**, which are not perceivable from one's own eyes.

(98) Recording 3

P12 因为很多时候他们眼中是我们刚出国那时候的样子 我们眼中也是他们以前的样子
*Because we are still the same as when we just left China **in their eyes**, and they are still the same as before **in our eyes**.*
当时时间久了 你自己长大了 看的東西不一样了 你一对比 就出来了
After a long time when one (lit. yourself) has grown up and has started to see things differently, one (lit. you) could understand through comparing (past with present).

In Example (97), the participant believes that one should take someone else's perspective to gain true knowledge as, metaphorically speaking, everyone's SUBJECT sees things with different eyes. In other words, any opinion a person has is a result of his or her own way of thinking and reasoning. To be aware of individual differences and limitations is a crucial social imperative. For the same reason, we should always show understanding and compassion for other people, as one's viewpoint can be difficult to alter, as Example (98) indicates. As the participant grows older, her mental maturity also increases, which enables her to take a fresh viewpoint.

(99) Recording 1.1

P5 不是他们心里想象的那样 但是很多人都不知道
*Not like what they imagine **inside (their) heart**. It is unknown to many people.*

(100) Recording 3

P15 当你发现这个人跟你心目中的不一样的时候 当你发现他的价值观跟你不一样
*When one (lit. you) realises that this person is not the same as what one (lit. you) has **in (one's) heart's eyes**, when one (lit. you) finds out that his values are not the same,*
那你就变得不认同这个人 那就会跟他疏远
one (lit. you) would not identify with this person and would distance him.

A subjective impression, as in Example (99), can be an imagining in the heart or, as in (100), something that is seen in one's 心目 *xinmu* 'mind's eye' (literally heart eye). These two examples are a more complex extension of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor. It may involve conceptual blending (Fauconnier, 1997; Fauconnier & Turner, 1998). Blending the HEART IS A CONTAINER metaphor with the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, to have an impression is to have a vision in one's heart.

From the perspective of conceptual metonymy, EYES FOR SEEING is a very common conceptual metonymy in the Chinese language (for more examples, see Yu, 2004). The heart, being the key source domain concept in Chinese, is conceptualised as an entity in relation to mental activities (N. Yu, 2009, p. 146). The HEART FOR PERSON metonymy blends with the KNOWING IS SEEING and forms the metaphorical representation of the SEEING AND KNOWING HEART.

Since both participants emphasise the contrast between one's impression in the heart and an externally existing reality, it can be inferred that this mental impression which is generated by the heart constitutes one's private evaluation. A reasonable and smart individual should be aware that one's subjective evaluation can portray a distorted image, and thus one should always try to seek the reality.

(101) Recording 1.1

P5 他们的脑海当中还是很久以前的中国 因为在这边不会正面地去宣传很多中国

Within their brain sea is still the China from a long time ago, because (media) here would not feature a lot of positive publicity about China.

(102) Recording 1.1

P5 脑海里设定那 说明你定了一个目标 我想留在这儿

One (lit. you) installed the objective within the brain sea which is "I want to stay here",

你在你**在脑海里**设定了两个条件 然后你再往那个地方争取

one (lit. you) installed two conditions within the brain sea, then one (lit. you) strives towards that goal.

(103) Recording 5

P24 我觉得出国的人对自我保护能力都比较 已经定型了

I think people who go abroad have an already-fixed sense of self-protection,

已经在**脑子里**好像 我得和别人交往的时候要小心一下

(I) already (have the impression) inside (my) brain that I have to be careful when associating with others.

If the previously discussed mental impressions are flexible and can be altered when circumstances change, the impressions one makes within the brain 脑海 *naohai* 'brain sea' are likely to be permanently biased. Although this result cannot be generalised to support the binary hypothesis where the brain thinks and the heart feels (Pritzker, 2007), it is worthwhile discussing the choice of brain over heart by these participants. It seems that having a biased opinion might not be one's own choice.

In Example (101), the participant seems to hold the belief that, if provided the wrong information, one can establish a prejudgement which is nothing personal, and therefore forgivable. However, if this prejudgement comes from the heart, it is more likely to be corrupted by personal resentment.

When an idea is fixed or 设定 *sheding* ‘installed’ in one’s mind, such as in Examples (102) and (103), the brain can act as a CPU that runs the program as a separated part of one’s internal mental activity.⁴⁴ In Examples (102) and (103), the brain is somewhat programmed with either a goal or a principle. The mental activities it houses seem to exist parallel to what the person is experiencing, either trying to achieve the goal or to make friends.

The next two examples contain another source domain 骨 *gu* ‘bone’ which is also a body organ.

(104) Recording 1.1

1 P5 举个例子 老板 他可以接受一个鬼佬鬼妹这么跟他说话

For example, the boss can accept a Western man or a Western woman talking to him like this.

2 他接受不了一个华人跟他说话 他觉得这里也有阶级层次

But he cannot accept an ethnic Chinese person talking to him (in the same way), he feels that there is a hierarchy.

3 就像我骨子里觉得 哦是华人 很早以前来的华人

*Like I think (he) is ethnic Chinese **in his bones**, an ethnic Chinese who came a long time ago.*

4 我的骨子里觉得哦 老板是我上级 他骨子里觉得 XXX 是我的下级 他这已经潜移默化的

***Inside (my) bones** I think that the boss is my superior. **Inside (his) bones** he thinks that <name of participant> is my subordinate. He has already been imperceptibly (convinced).*

5 不知道叫不叫语言 但是是一种习惯 心理上的习惯

Don't know whether it is linguistic, but it is a habit, a psychological habit.

(105) Recording 5

P24 香港人是骨子里面... 香港人就觉得

*Hong Kong people think **inside (their) bones** ... Hong Kong people just think,*

其实好多香港人就觉得 大陆人的素质就是特别低的那种

in fact, lots of Hong Kong people think that Mainland people have very poor public manners.

A bone is the other body part which is used to describe one’s personal opinion. It can express a deeply ingrained conviction, such as a sense of hierarchy in (104) or intragroup discrimination in (105). Studies on conceptual metaphors that involve bone are rare. However, bones and bone marrow are not something unfamiliar to a non-medical person in Chinese culture. 深入骨髓 *shenru gusui* ‘bone marrow deep’ 刻骨 *kegu* ‘imprinted on the bone’ are very idiomatic ways of describing a deep-rooted and unforgettable belief or memory. A very well-known ancient Chinese text attributed to a political philosopher, the “Book of *Han Feizi*” (Watson, 1964) records an anecdote about a famous physician who lived in the 5th century B.C. called Bian Que. Bian Que was invited to see Duke Huan and made his diagnosis, saying that “your sickness is in your bones which is the deified judge of life, I cannot do anything” (在骨髓, 司命之所属, 无奈何也 *zaigusui, si mingzhisuoshu,*

⁴⁴ The Chinese word for computer is 电脑 *diannaoh* literally means electric brain.

wunaihe ye). If a sickness lies as deep as the bones, it means it has developed into the final stage which makes the illness fatal or incurable, which makes literal sense. The physical location of bones at the inner-most part of the body is mapped onto the vital part the issue. The conceptualisation of bones in these comments made by the participants and Chinese expressions and proverb is that the quality carries by the bones are almost impossible to change.

For now, let us focus on the bone metaphors present in Examples (104) and (105). The sense of hierarchy is more than just a simple observation, but a psychological habit that can never be changed between the speaker himself and his boss. With regard to intragroup discrimination, as the participant in Example (105) claims, it seems to be impossible for people from opposing groups to change each other's group prejudices. It could be argued that the speaker must possess schematic representations of the self and the subjective impression one has. Some idiosyncratic schematic representations, such as BONE-DEEP FOR FIRMLY ENGRAINED, can be the result of personal meaning-construction strategies of self-representation. Section 3.2 of Chapter 3 has discussed the imagination of personal flows in the discourse of 国民 *guomin* 'national citizen' and 国民性 *guominxing* 'national character', the participants' remarks reflect the influence of the nationalistic (and Social Darwinistic) perspective that sees culture as a matter of transmissible positive and negative traits, implied in the idea of 遗传性 *yichuanxing* 'heredity' and 国民性 'national character'. The negative representations of a group of people's "character" might have been internalised in their minds along with transmission of the nation-building ideology.

In conclusion, the embodied self is instantiated by some body-part terms, such as those for "heart", "belly", "bone", "eye", etc. These findings support the cognitive view of metaphor. It recognises each pairing of source and target domain as being motivated by a cognitive reality. Further more, as researchers working in Cultural Linguistics have shown in studies across different languages, these cognitive realities also converge on cultural beliefs which are handed down across generations and are shared by people within the same cultural group (Sharifian et al., 2008). The embodied self in Chinese enhances a "cognitive-cultural

perspective” (Morillas, 1999, p. 8), showing a conceptualisation of self achieved by way of cultural models⁴⁵.

5.3 Summary

Discursive positioning analysis shows that the social construction of a favourable self-representation is a joint performance by different voices of the speaker. Individual self-representation is found to be realised in which the three performance roles, namely the author, the animator and the principal, interact to display the multiple selves of the speaker. The split anchors various self-reliant evaluations and presentations. The term 自己 ‘self’ often indicates a private self and sets oneself away from the public. A self that is independent and real can be understood as a by-product of speakers’ stance positions that are expressed through the voice of the principal when speakers undertake certain actions on one’s own and make a truthful assessment of oneself.

The analysis illustrates a subject and object split which emerges out of performances of self-reflection. It is the principal who reminds the audience of the evaluation and lays the groundwork for the final statement that the principal is going to make. The author appeals to the audience, positioning itself as being sensitive to potential disagreements. An implication of the interaction of performance roles is that it helps to downplay the violations of Chinese norms embedded in the speakers’ stance utterances. The principal is mostly responsible for a genuine self-reflection and acts as the evaluating subject, while 自己 ‘self’ is made the object for self-evaluation. Another implication is that the performance of the principal strengthens a favourable self-representation where one stands up for what one believes in and one is capable of having rational self-reflection.

The performance of subject positioning serves as a prelude to the analysis of the conceptualisation of the individual dimension of self in the cognitive-semantic realm. The SUBJECT/SELF split acts as the default implementation of the conceptualisation of the individual self. Self-control can be projected onto object manipulation or choice of location in space. Analysis of THE PHYSICAL OBJECT SELF has found that a sense of internal causation is conceptualised as metaphorical connection, with the SUBJECT as the cause and the SELF as

⁴⁵ This metaphorical as well as cultural conceptualisation (Sharifian, 2011) of the several body-part terms, such as bones, is worthy of further exploration.

affected party. In light of conceptual metaphorical and conceptual metonymic analysis, THE LOCATIONAL SELF in the identified Chinese phrases draws on LOCATION FOR ACTIVITY metonymy and conceptual metaphor DEPTH IS POTENCY. CONGRUENCE and BALANCE image schemas are effective in organising experiences of self-evaluation. The production of these cognitive and conceptual patterns of the self is based upon their shared cultural understandings, ethos and knowledge about the discursive conventions in a given speech community.

The analytical results show that body parts are frequently drawn upon to represent the self to others which reflect metaphorically expressed mental processes in the Chinese conceptual system. Each individual interacts with the world under the guidance of cognitive models. As far as the self-related conceptual schemes and cognitive categories are concerned, body parts in Chinese constitute an important source of these models. Cognitive semantic analysis lends support to the previous subject positioning analysis. The positioning subject plays a crucial role which “incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire” (B. Davies & Harré, 1991, p. 46). Metaphorically and conceptually, it is the SUBJECT that shapes the application of the cognitive models according the social context that the SELF is experiencing across time and space. The analytical results show that different body parts can be used to refer to different subjective impressions with varied discursive purposes.

The cognitive patterns of the inner self and self-related mental and emotional activities do not form a coherent unit, but feature multiplicity and even contradiction. The selection of various cognitive models to perform the individual self to the best capacity is a dynamic process. Conceptual models can be activated and negotiated in constructing accounts of personalised and situational selves in context. Arguably, shared cultural understandings and ethos shape the production of these cognitive and conceptual patterns of the inner self. When investigating inner-self metaphors in Chinese, including the embodied self, the results add to metaphorical conceptualisation of self by means of mental and cultural models in language and thought.

Chapter 6. Relational dimension

Ways of speaking organise ways of being in the world (Duranti, 2011; Hymes, 1971). As Bottero (2010) notes, a greater emphasis on the concrete interpersonal networks of interdependency, obligation and constraint through which intersubjective negotiation and accountability flow can help locate and connect the different aspects of identity. How the individual participants engage in a multiplicity of relationships, ascribe to each other's dyadic relationships, and how they create, discuss, and negotiate the meanings of those relationships in conversations can be a key resource for relational identity construction. After exploring how participants self-represent or construct the individual dimension of self-representation in Chapter 5, the analysis of the relational dimension presented in this chapter focuses on the intersubjective construction of the relational self through constructing interpersonal relationships and negotiating their meanings.

Specifically, the relational dimension of self-representation among Chinese speakers is constructed while speakers discursively perform their social identities with shifting perspectives, employing numerous symbolic and pragmatic strategies to display and claim various interpersonal relationships. Social performative actions of positioning one another in relationship can be regarded as the shared stance object (Du Bois, 2007, p. 159). The performance of relational self-representation is not a simple matter of personal choice. It is a joint performance with dialogical co-participants through which the interlocutors produce their discursive identities as assertive and empathic co-participants.

6.1 Construction of relational self in discourse

As introduced in Chapter 4, the data includes five groups of Chinese immigrants. Each group of participants was asked to talk about their life experiences in Australia. Most of the participants did not know each other before the focus group discussion took place. In front of old and new acquaintances, they expressed allegiances to multiple imagined communities (Anderson, 1983), primarily age groups and generational groups, and institutional and non-institutional collectives. These allegiances emerged as participants used collective self-reference. Chinese collective self-referential pronoun 我们 *women* 'we' is found to denote the speaker as a member of a specified group or more generally aligned with some unspecified individual or group. Using collective self-reference signalling the aforementioned allegiances, speakers can either include their interlocutors in these

allegiances to shorten the distance or exclude the interlocutor by identifying with imagined co-present others to distance themselves from the interlocutor.

Self-referential forms along with other opinion markers will be analysed as interactional stance-taking devices. Self-reference using personal pronouns reveals how individuals perceive themselves with respect to others (e.g., Bourdieu, 1991; Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990; Ochs, 1992). Conversational partners make choices between singular and plural person reference to strategically include or exclude the hearer or other non-present parties (E. S. Kashima & Kashima, 1998).

The analysis bases on two linguistic features. The first is the presence of the Chinese first person pronoun 我 *wo* 'I' and plural form 我们 *women* 'we' and other inclusive or exclusive referential terms, and the variations of individual self-reference, collective self-reference and the use of indefinite pronouns.

The self-representational stances are identified with the help of markers for opinions, i.e. verbal expressions relating the speakers with the listeners. As introduced in Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4, the following linguistic constructions contain opinion markers, including cognitive verbs, such as 觉得 *juede* 'think', 感觉 *ganjue* 'feel', 相信 *xiangxin* 'believe', 说 *shuo* 'say', 讲 *jiang* 'speak', modal particles and adverbs, such as 会 *hui* 'will', 可能 *keneng* 'probably', 还 *hai* 'still', 都 *dou* 'all or both', 才 *cai* 'should' and 其实 *qishi* 'in fact', proximal and distal demonstratives, such as 这个 *zhege* 'this' and 那个 *nage* 'that', and other adverbs suggesting epistemic modals of possibility, such as 有(些/的)时候 *you(xie/de) shihou* 'sometimes'.

Continuing the discursive positioning analysis which is applied to the analysis of the individual dimension, the discursive analysis of the construction of relational self-representation takes the perspective that the speakers are always talking to other active co-participants and are constructing a real-time discourse community with others. A range of distinguishable discourse activities can be identified when participants state their opinions, namely assertion, persuasion, mitigation and accommodation. These activities embed speakers' performances to construct the speaker's relational self-representation in a focus group discussion.

6.1.1 Assertion

This subsection explores how speakers assert themselves in their intersubjective positioning acts. The syntactic structure of the first person pronoun 我 *wo* ‘I’ in collocation with cognitive verbs and speech act verbs, namely, 觉得 ‘think’, 感觉 ‘feel’, 相信 ‘believe’, 说 ‘say’, 讲 ‘speak’, is a very common way for the speakers to take the floor to speak with a certain epistemic tone (J. W. Lee, 2010, p. 196). When the use of 我觉得 *wojuede* ‘I think’ becomes highly formulaic, it indicates the speaker’s strong will to maintain the floor:

(106) Recording 1.1

- 1 P2 我就觉得我在这边生活真的是习惯了 又要让我回国去 去去去什么从政那些事
I just think I have become accustomed to my life here, if I am asked to go back to China and go into politics,
- 2 好像我又觉得我不合适 然后又加上后来我 我 我现在的男朋友
I also think it is not suitable for me, besides I have my boyfriend now.
- 3 然后我觉得我跟他还是觉得大家想的东西都比较一致 就还是
Then I think he and I both think the same (about our future).
- 4 我还是比较愿意跟他一起生活 所以说我就决定留在这边 然后不准备回去 就是这样子的
I'd rather live with him, so I decided to stay here and am not planning to go back.
- 5 我都是糊糊涂涂地被安排过来 安排过去的
It was arranged that I come here in complete confusion, arranged to go (abroad).
- 6 P3 <@@> 然后后来就糊里糊涂地被你男朋友安排了
<laughing quality> *Then (you're) arranged by your boyfriend in confusion later on.*
- 7 P2 嗯对 应该是吧
Yes, probably right.
- 8 P3 感觉像命运的安排
It feels like (I am) being arranged by fate.
- 9 P2 我觉得真的有点 有点 有点命运 这些东西 真的 有的时候人家说你要信命信命
I think things like fate can really be quite true, sometimes people say you should believe in fate.
- 10 我以前不信命 真的我现在 我我我觉得我有点信命 <@@>
I did not believe in fate in the past, but now truthfully I I I think I am starting to believe in fate.
<laughing quality>

Participant 2 is the dominant speaker in Example (106) who explains the reason why she decided to stay in Australia. Although she uses 我觉得 ‘I think’ repeatedly to maintain the floor, the statements that come after this construction do not carry too much epistemic force. She ends her first turn on an uncertain note. Taking the floor again after responding to participant 3’s stance with positive evaluation, she starts addressing to the audience with a seemingly stronger certainty by using 我觉得 ‘I think’. But the rest of the utterance sounds more self-deprecating than assertive. Especially, as Lee notes (J. W. Lee, 2010, p. 196), *I* repetition + epistemic verb (Line 10) helps to emphasise subjectivity and to project an impression of uncertainty. It achieves a dual function as an effective way of making the opinion as of her own carefully-thought-through thought, and as a strategic way to appeal to the previous stance-taker by expressing convergent alignment.

The speaker in (107) uses the *I*-epistemic verb (or cognitive verb) construction twice to maintain the floor, which shows the speaker's willingness to be responsible for the utterance it goes with:

(107) Recording 1.1

1 P2 我就觉得 只要是自己有能力了 不管去哪里

I just think as long as self is capable, wherever (one) goes,

2 你是金子到哪里都是发光的 对吧/

if one (lit. you) is gold (one) would glow wherever (one) goes, is that right <interrogative particle>?

3 我就觉得 只要是你自己有能力

I just think if only one (lit. yourself) is capable.

4 不满意这个工作 我可以去找第二个

I can find another job if (I'm) not satisfied with this one.

Within this utterance, it can be found that the speaker's self-reference is quite inconsistent. The overt pronoun 我 'I' as the subject is used twice with the opinion marker 觉得 'think', reflecting the speaker's wish to intensify and emphasise his/her individual self (Tao, 1996, cited in Lee, 2010, p. 196). The performance role in Lines 1 and 3 is the principal, the role expressing the speaker's viewpoint, as 自己 *ziji* 'self' intensifies the ownership of the statement.

In Lines 2 and 3, the second person singular pronoun 你 *ni* 'you', when used as an indefinite personal pronoun, can facilitate the Chinese speakers' speaking through the consciousness of others (X. Xiang, 2003, p. 500). This use reflects a wish on the speaker's part to extend the epistemic ground to the audience. As the speaker seeks confirmation from the audience by asking 对吧 *duiba* 'is that right' before moving on to the subsequent epistemic stance, the embedded performance role in Line 2 is the author who is interacting with the audience.

The footing in Line 4 is ambiguous. It could be the author elaborating on the statement made by the principal for the audience or the animator modelling the utterance on behalf of people who share the same idea. The variation of self-reference and epistemic stance-taking indicates the speaker's effort to assert and to construct intersubjectivity.

Many of the assertive remarks are not made independently, but are proceeded with a convergent alignment; the speaker would evaluate the previous stance before taking a new stance:

- (108) Recording 5
- 1 P23 就以前打电话回家都是那种报喜不报忧的
In the past (I) only reported good news and avoided the bad ones when calling home.
- 2 P25 对 都是这样
Right (we are) all the same.
- 3 P23 我国内的同学也挺迷茫的 **我觉得** 这个年龄就是迷茫的年龄
*My classmates in China (lit. within the country) are also quite lost. **I think** this age (of ours) is the age of feeling lost.*
- 4 对 都一样 就不管在哪儿 就不管你学什么 就都 不容易 就是不管是在国内还是国外
Right, (we are) all the same. Wherever (one) is and whatever one (lit. you) studies, it is not easy for all, in China (lit. within the country) or abroad.
- 5 就每个人都会遇到各种各样的困难 所以说都是一样的
Everyone faces all kinds of difficulty, therefore (we are) all the same.
- 6 **我觉得** 即使是在国内的话 我可能 就有可能会羡慕出国的人
***I think** I might probably be envious of people who go abroad if I were in China (lit. within the country),*
- 7 但是说 **我也会意识到说** 就 其实 大家都一样 各有各的难处
*but **I would also be aware that** in fact everyone is all the same in having their own problems.*

Participant 23 is encouraged by the positive evaluation made by another participant of her previous turn and takes her second turn (Line 3). Following the description of a general impression about her classmates in China who are also feeling lost, she makes an assertive statement and calls their age—early adulthood—the 迷茫的年龄 *mimangde nianling* ‘lost age’ (Line 3). Rather than continue to explain her reasons for making such an assessment, she turns her attention to accommodating the previous interlocutor’s stance by saying that everyone faces the same challenge and simultaneously creates rapport with the audience (Line 4). Line 5 where she adds that this principle applies to everyone regardless of their geographic locations or specialised areas of study she is building on her personal impression and developing it into an argument. She confirms this by finishing off the conclusion by claiming that everyone can at times feel lost. Participant 23 makes good use of accommodation strategy in conjunction with opinion markers (underlined). From the perspective of positioning, the principal plays the role of stating opinions (in Lines 3, 6 and 7) while the author engages the audience (in Lines 4 and 5), thereby enhancing an image of herself as an understanding conversational co-participant who shares the same feelings about being an international student and at the same time have a good insight about the current situation.

In the data, apart from *I*-epistemic verb construction, another coded expression of speakers’ intersubjectively positioning is the collocation of adverbs of indefinite time with the first person singular and an opinion marker. This linguistic construction forms an impression of uncertainty in a relational interaction.

- (109) Recording 1.1
 1 P3 有时候我觉得这跟是不是中国人没有关系 就算是澳洲人
Sometimes I think this has nothing to do with (one) being Chinese or not, as even among the Australians,
 2 像其他国家的人 都可能有 aggressive 的人 也可能有 nice 的 对吧/
or people from other countries, there are always people who are aggressive and people who are nice right <interrogative particle>?
- (110) Recording 2
 1 P11 但是我是 怎么说 有时候我是想去学一点东西 比如我去开车 我去学一下这个东西怎么说
But for me, how to say, sometimes I just want to learn something, for example I would like to learn how to say this (in English) when I am learning to drive,
 2 那我可能有意的去找一个鬼佬 对不对/ 万一以后汽车坏了去修车 对吧/
then I might intentionally find a Westerner right <rising tone>? In case I need to fix the car when it breaks down in the future, right <interrogative particle>?

In both of these examples, 有(些)时候 ‘sometimes’, the adverbs of indefinite time, are not used as determiners of a time frame for the upcoming assertive statement. The speaker of (109) makes the remark during her narrative of an experience in which she was being discriminated against, as one of her co-workers believed that all Chinese were rude. Adverbs of indefinite time appear to set an external condition, which makes the speaker less self-assured but more fair-minded.

The speaker of (110) is conversing with others about whether they prefer Australian service providers or Chinese service providers. Contrasting the others’ preference of Chinese over Australian, he is the only one who would try the Australian provider. To avoid being different from the rest of the group, he also uses 有时候 ‘sometimes’ construction to justify his choice as a conditional one. Taking a look at the performance role allocation, the principal manages to move slightly away from the audience when an adverb of indefinite time is applied, saving one’s public image from being too different from the rest of the group.

The plural use of self-reference is said to show relational (Stanley & Billig, 2004) or institutional responsibility (e.g., Silverman, 1987; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990, cited in Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). Using collective self-reference, the speakers can also avoid drawing attention to themselves as individuals. As the speakers repair from collective self-reference to individual self-reference, they select themselves in particular out of a relational collective. Such instances are called *extraction* (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). Epistemic collective, as a form of performative self-reference variation, can be a way of showing assertion in a relational interaction. It features the replacement of a collective reference form with an individual one, narrowing the reference for the speaker from a relational collective.

(111) Recording 5

- 1 P25 大一的表示**我们**现在还在抱怨 就每次一个作业交上去之后就是交了
As freshman we are now still complaining, every time (we) just simply submit the assignment,
- 2 但是不知道**我们**在做什么 因为现在还很基础 而且你知道什么经济金融啊就很概念化的东西
(without getting feedback) we don't know what we are doing because it is still very basic right now,
and, you know, (about) concepts like economics and finance,
- 3 就**我们**也不知道**我们**在写什么 就写 写完以后交上去
we just don't know what we are writing about, so (we) just finish writing and submit.
- 4 我们* 我觉得挺崩溃 我是很少通宵 我 11 点之前不上床我会死 基本上都是早期什么之类的
We <sudden stop> I think (I am) very frustrated, I hardly ever work overnight as I have to go to bed
before 11, (what we learn) is quite basic,
- 5 就也就觉得还好 就虽然说不是特别喜欢 但就我在国内高中那种感觉 我不喜欢我学的东西
which is not too bad though I am not terribly interested, but it is similar to the feeling I had in high
school in China (lit. within the country) when I didn't like what I was learning,
- 6 但必须得学下去 那就学了 总得先把这一段过 先毕业吧
but (I) had to keep studying, well, I just keep studying for the time being until graduation.

In Example (111), the speaker initially presents herself as a member of a relational collective, first-year university students, which, excluding the rest of the audience, speaks on the collective's behalf about their disorientation in their studies. She does so by choosing the collective mode of self-reference (Lines 1 to 3).

In Line 4, extraction is used to narrow the speaker's epistemic authority from that of a relational collective of which she is a member to just herself (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 540). In limiting the purview of the categorical assessment to the speaker alone, the individual self-reference sets the basis for what is later formulated as her personal experience. As Lerner and Kitzinger note, this repair reflects the interpersonal facet of self-reference (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 543), which provides a solution to the problem of ascribing motives on behalf of others. This case of epistemic extraction saves her from inadvertently characterising all first year students as disliking the subject she is discussing. Drawing the attention to the principal with the opinion marker 觉得 'think', the extraction also directs the audience into sympathising with her own personal feeling of 崩溃 *bengkui* 'frustration'. The final assertive remark where she says she has to keep studying for the time being until graduation takes on an interpersonal touch.

The replacement of an individual reference, 我 'I', with a collective one, 我们 'we' or 咱 'we', is called *aggregation* (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007), which broadens the reference from an individual to a collective. Extensive research has shown that speakers are flexible in taking on individual self-perceptions and collective self-perceptions depending on the discursive context. If, however, an extraction appears after an aggregation, it shows a very

conscious move on the speaker's part to extract oneself as an individual from a generic statement he or she has already produced.

(112) Recording 5

- 1 P23 **我觉得**我到现在都没有完全的自我独立 **我觉得**还是靠着家里的啊
***I think** I am not completely independent, **I think** I am still dependent on family.*
- 2 我和我爸我妈的关系一直都挺好的
My relationship with my dad and mum has already been good,
- 3 然后我到现在都挺粘他们的 就是觉得还没有长大 好多事情还是在逃避
I still depend on them, thinking that (I) haven't fully grown yet, (I'm) still running away from lots of things.
- 4 就出国的人就总说 啊 我很独立 但其实说到底就还是在靠父母给你付学费
People who go abroad always say "I am very independent", but the truth is parents are still paying for one's (lit. your) tuition fee.
- 5 就如果没有父母给你付学费 你怎么出来的
*How did **one** (lit. you) goes abroad without parents' paying for **one's** (lit. your) tuition fee.*
- 6 **我们**学到的就只是生活技能而已 就真正的独立**我们**还没有做到 **我**还是靠着家里的
*What **we** learnt are just living skills, **we** haven't reached true independence yet. **I** am still dependent on family.*

The speaker starts her turn by taking the stance of evaluating herself. The repetition of the *I*-epistemic verb structure 我觉得 'I think' in Line 1 shows that the principal is strongly convinced that she is still dependent. After elaborating on this topic by the author in Lines 2 and 3, the principal enhances the speaker's stance position in the latter half of Line 4, starting with "the truth is", which is also a counter argument against that of an imagined third-party 出国的人 *chuguo de ren* 'people who go abroad'. This is a voice delivered by the animator following the reporting verb 说 'say' at the start of Line 4. In Line 4, the speaker chooses the voice of the principal to take an evaluative stance by presenting what the speaker regards as the truth (underlined), that 出国的人 'people who go abroad' fail to realise that they rely on parents' finance. Her argument is then supported by the explanation in Line 5—studying abroad could not have happened without parents' financial aide—for people who fit this category. Since this category inclusive of the recipients who are all undergraduate students, the speaker might have offended the audience by labelling them as dependent. This may be why the speaker chooses the inclusive plural form of self-reference 我们 'we' in Line 6, which shortens her distance from the audience. Taking into account the interactive nature of stance-taking acts, the speakers need to exercise degrees of interactional caution when expressing their views (Clayman, 1992, p. 163). Statements in Line 6 made using 我们 'we', due to its effect of including both the speaker and the audience, can be regarded as coming from the author, which plays the role of correcting face-threatening movements.

As a result of the co-presence of the generic 你 ‘one (literally you)’ in Line 5 and the collective 我们 ‘we’ in Line 6, the principal might have inadvertently put herself into a juxtaposition. The voice of the author makes it even more ambiguous whether the speaker regards herself as thinking the same as everybody else or as holding her own opinion. At the end of this excerpt, the speaker extracts herself from the relational collective (Line 6). This way, she genuinely admits that she is still dependent on her family without imposing the same assertion on other student co-participants. Extracting herself from this relational collective turns out to be necessary to avoid violating other interlocutors’ self-esteem.

As previous conversational analytical studies have shown, participants in conversation orient to their own entitlements to knowledge and experience and to the entitlements of their co-participants (Goffman, 1974; Goodwin, 1981; Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1996, cited in Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). In matters of knowledge, experience and action formulation, extraction is a strategic move to distance oneself from co-participants. Especially when the speakers perceive themselves and the hearers as of a same collective, extraction can help to strengthen the speaker’s epistemic authority to assert their own opinions as being independent of some collective knowledge.

(113) Recording 5

- 1 后来我慢慢跟那个男生熟了之后聊起来就发现他们从小受到的教育就是那样的
After getting familiar with that boy, gradually (I) realised that they were taught that way since (they were) young.
- 2 他们从小被教育 **我 * 就像我们** 从小被教育只有一个中国
*They have been taught since (they were) young, **I <sudden stop>, like what we have been taught since (we were) little that there is only one China,***
- 3 他们被教育就是香港不是中国的一部 香港是一个独立的地方
they were taught that Hong Kong is not part of China and Hong Kong is an independent state.
- 4 所以到后来**我** 就是说各人观念不一样 就慢慢不去纠正他们那种 没有什么对错之分
*So in the end **I stopped** correcting them. It could only be said that everyone has different views and there is no right or wrong.*

Unlike (112), where the shifting self-reference is produced for relational and discursive reasons, (113) marks an effort to create individual epistemic authority using extraction. In Line 2, the speaker aggregates to the just-referred-to relational collective which corresponds to the presumably existing “they”. The self-initiated repair in Line 2 aborts the role of the principal and restarts on a different footing, such that the subsequent viewpoint is attributed to the inclusive “us”. This revised version is delivered by the interacting author which takes on the intersubjective perspective by including the audience in the speaker’s reasoning process. The difference between “their” political view and “our” political view is based on the way history has been taught in different educational systems. In Line 4, the

speaker extracts herself from the relational collective whereby the principal resumes the positioning role and wraps up the utterance and formats it as an assertive statement. The extraction not only helps to strengthen the speaker's epistemic authority to assert what she knows herself, rather than being a recipient of collective knowledge, but also establishes herself as someone who acts impartially without submitting to the collective's authority.

When the assertion is made to evaluate experiences in the past, some speakers are found to use collective self-reference when none of the rest of the group ever had the same experiences. The following will use Examples (114) and (115) to discuss the use of *vague we* (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 745) in intersubjective positioning acts:

(114) Recording 1.1

- 1 P2 额 我觉得最吓人的应该是 额 第一次额做 presentation 吧 <@@@>
Ur I think the most frightening thing would be presenting for the first time <laughing quality>,
 2 就跟着很多那些国外的 那些那些同学 就也是很没信心
(presenting) in front of a lot of those foreign classmates, (I) had no confidence,
 3 就怕人家听不懂我们的发音 然后我们英语也没信心
(I) was afraid that others might not be able to understand our pronunciation, and we are not confident in speaking English.

(115) Recording 2

- 1 P10 然后我就觉得 就这个事情 怎么说呢/ 因为本来就是不可能挂他们当地的人
I just think regarding this matter, how to put it <interrogative particle>? Because (the teacher) definitely won't fail those local students,
 2 因为我们英语本来就不可能和他们比 对不对/
because our English is definitely no comparison to theirs, right <rising tone>?

Participant 2 in (114) takes their turn after the previous interlocutor has expressed her fear on the first day at work when she was afraid that other colleagues might not be able to understand her. Participant 10 responds to the previous speaker's complaint that students of Asian backgrounds are being disadvantaged at school due to language issues. In both cases, the speakers change the individual self-reference to an ambiguous collective one without identifying any particular people or group. This choice can be called the *vague we* (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 745), which can be understood as one of purposeful calculation. Other people who are involved in the relational collective remain unspecified. Because 我们 'we' ordinarily connects other people to the speaker, if the referential starting point does not take place locally, and no conversational partner can be regarded as an additional member of the relational collective, then the self-referential aggregation is bound to be a known-in-common resource.

One way of interpreting this is that, when the speaker talks about an other-than-here /now context, collective self-reference helps the speaker to show distance from the current

cohort by assimilating themselves to non-existing others. However, since the speaker has prior knowledge of the listeners' similar backgrounds, there seems to be little need for the speaker to retreat to a non-inclusive circle. This brings another perspective. The speaker might be inferring a sense of inclusiveness to the rest of the participants present and implying that 我们 'we' have all experienced a stage where our poor English handicapped us.

Since both participants are talking in retrospect, the collective orientation encompasses a self-perception in the past tense and a locally situated orientation. The ambiguity may also be rooted in the Chinese relational sense of self-construct, which presumes a meaningful existence of the individual, especially in the past, in terms of being part of larger collectives. In cases when the participants are recalling some early experience, using aggregative 我们 'we' seems to be a strategy that the participants employ in order to situate themselves in a generational group. Prominent generational groups are 我们那个时候 *women nage shihou* 'that times of ours', 我们读书的时候 *women dushu de shihou* 'the times when we were studying', 我们这一代 *women zheyidai* 'our generation (literally this generation of ours)', 我们独生子女 *women dusheng zinv* 'we single children', etc. This feature might be related to Chinese past-time orientations (Yau, 1988). In places where they recall the past, they can choose the collective over the singular form to self-reference even though the story might be quite personal. It shows an effort to keep their personal voices out of isolation and engage their voices collectively with "the time of the past".

(116) Recording 5

- 1 P24 太多了 就是我第一次回去嘛 第一次回去 就是来这儿的半年以后回去
Too many (differences). I went back for the first time after being here for half a year,
- 2 就是有一点不太敢过马路 第一次来这儿也是不太敢过马路
(I was) a little bit afraid of crossing the road. When I came here for the first time I was also afraid to cross the road.
- 3 因为**我们之前**那个小村庄也没有什么红绿灯 也没有什么 主要是 但凡有车都开得特别快那种
*Because the little village of **ours in the past** didn't have traffic lights, which is not the main reason, it's mainly because the cars are always too fast.*

In Example (116), we can see that this participant seems to be speaking on behalf of the people from her past. Especially when the current topic is intertwined with the past, we can detect the change of lens between the singular and the plural. The collective form 我们 'we' may reflect the arousal of nostalgic feelings of the speaker when she is looking back on the past (Yau, 1988). From this respect, aggregation can also call upon due attention to Chinese speaker's perception of past and emotional engagement with the subject matter (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). Such a past-oriented self-perception and emotional involvement

might be affected by the sense of group membership, as emotion can be triggered by the social aspect of identity (Smith, 1993, p. 303). It also reveals the emergent and context-dependent nature of the speaker's identity in talk-in-interaction (Huang & Lu, 2013).

The analysis so far has shown that assertion in intersubjective positioning manifests speakers' construction of their relational self-representation. The variation of self-reference and epistemic stance-taking using opinion markers indicates the speaker's effort to assert and to construct intersubjectivity. These constructions indicate the speakers' epistemic responsibility for their subjective position. With which the speakers present themselves as someone who is certain about what they say and who is not a passive receiver of a collective knowledge.

Linguistic constructions that form an impression of uncertainty in a relational interaction, such as adverbs of indefinite time, help to deliver their assertions without representing themselves as being too self-assured. At the same time the speakers present to be quite sensitive to other co-participants' perceptions in their assertive performances by formulating their assertions without over-representing which might violate other interlocutors' self-esteem. Some assertions made in the intersubjective interaction also show an effort to keep speakers' personal voices out of isolation by engaging their voices collectively, which represent the speaker as someone who have a good insight about the same feelings or similar experiences that other co-participants might have.

6.1.2 Persuasion

Having discussed assertion, this subsection focuses the attention on persuasion. Persuasiveness in communication helps to establish a relational self-representation that is characterised by trustworthiness and high levels of affection. As discussed in Section 5.1 of Chapter 5, participants use the combination of opinion markers, such as 觉得 'think', and self markers such as 我 'I' and 自己 'self', in stances where speakers reveal the most truthful and sincere assessment of themselves. Previous studies of the first person singular and their use with perception and cognition verbs found that these pronouns are often a reflection of the intrinsic attitudes used particularly in the communication of sincerity (Coppeters, 1982; Maitland & Wilson, 1987). A sense of sincerity can help to enhance the persuasiveness of the speaker's opinions.

(117) Recording 2

1 P10 我觉得这边的文化 真的 一个中国的社区他们保留的文化 可能比 从某种程度上比国内做得好
I think, in terms of cultural (preservation) here, truly, a Chinese community perhaps does better than China (lit. within the country) to some degree in preserving their culture.

2 真的 我觉得他们 有些都第二第三代华人了 就说那个舞龙舞狮 对吧/ 现在国内很少舞龙舞狮
Truly, I think some of them are second or third generation ethnic Chinese (who) can perform a lion and dragon dance, right <interrogative particle>? A lion and dragon dance can hardly be seen in China (lit. within the country).

3 这边多少专业这个舞龙舞狮 就是 我 真的 我 我有时候会 被他们表演震撼
There are lots of professional dragon and lion dance (teams) here. I truly I I sometimes would be astounded by their performances.

4 他们那些 可能他们本身不会说中文 但是那些华人的小孩子
They probably cannot speak Chinese themselves, but those ethnic Chinese descendants.

5 他就有兴趣继承这样的遗产 文化遗产 所以非常好嘛
They are keen on inheriting this cultural inheritance, so it is very good <exclamation particle>!

In Example (117), in addition to the *I*-epistemic verb constructions, the speaker reinforces the degree of sincerity with the phrase 真的 *zhende* ‘truly’ three times. Each time, the phrase appears before or after the opinion markers, namely 觉得 ‘think’ in Lines 1 and 2 and 会 ‘will’ in Line 3. These opinion markers also show that the active performance role embedded in these utterances is the principal. The speaker therefore displays a strong tendency to elicit his alignment by making repeated epistemic stances using *I*-opinion marker constructions. His appreciation towards the Chinese immigrant community’s maintenance of Chinese cultural heritage is his true assessment which is worthy of the audience’s convergent alignment.

What makes speakers’ opinions persuasive can be how truthful it is. In other words, speakers’ stances should be high in epistemic value. As explained with regard to Example (107), speakers, in addition to self-reference, can choose to use second person pronoun impersonally to emphasise the interlocutor’s perspective. The impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’, without specifying any target recipient, consolidates the positioning of speakers and others intersubjectively, which ultimately makes speakers’ stances more convincing.

(118) Recording 4

1 P19 从现在 从我现在的这个 从我现在的这个时间段想 我觉得就是
From now, from my current, from my current period of time, I think,

2 如果他能帮助我成为一个更好的人 那我就应该会因为这个信它 无关正确与否
if he can help me become a better person, then I should for this reason believe it, regardless of its correctness.

3 我觉得哪个宗教都有它正确的一点 你觉得如果是信佛教的人 肯定会觉得佛教是完全正确的
I think any religion has its correct point. One (lit. you) thinks if people who believe in Buddhism would definitely believe that Buddhism is completely correct.

4 我觉得 就每一个宗教 就信仰它的人 都会觉得它是正确的 才会信它

- (Then) **I think** everyone who believes in one religion would agree with it before (one) starts believing in it.
- 5 但是**我觉得**从中 不管**你**信什么 它能帮助你成为一个更好的人
But I think no matter what one (lit. you) believes, one (lit. you) can benefit from it and be a better person,
- 6 摆脱一些**你觉得**你很 你很看不起它 **你觉得**纠缠在其中很变扭的事情
while getting rid of some things that one (lit. you) thinks one (lit. you) despises or things that one (lit. you) thinks can make one (lit. you) feel very uncomfortably entangled,
- 7 从那个圈里出来跳到另一个圈 成为一个更好的人 **我觉得**很注重这一点
and jump out of that circle and into another one, to become a better person. I think I value this.

Within this short narrative, 我 ‘I’ acts as the primary storyteller and corresponds to several recipients. They can be those who are not religious, those who believe in other religions and those who believe in the same religion. The speaker tailors her argument for these imagined recipients. Considering the interactional roles that speakers and listeners inhabit in conversation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Ochs & Taylor, 1995), interactional roles are situational identities in their own right, serving to socially position speakers and hearers (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 608). The speaker changes from first person self-reference to the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’, which indicates the speaker’s attempt to create situational identities. Turned her personal opinion into common ground that can be shared with the rest of the audience. Other co-present participants can then selectively align themselves with the aforementioned groups of recipients. The alteration of self-reference, i.e., between first person singular and impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’, contributes to the epistemic force.

Example (118) also contains a lot of repetition, which also reveals how eager the speaker is to appeal to the audience, especially emotionally. As Tannen (2007) argues, speakers are highly interactive individuals for whom repetition enhances interpersonal rapport, creativity, and sense of self (cited in Lee, 2010, p. 186). The speaker assumes speakership by repeating the prepositional phrase 从现在 *cong xianzai* ‘from now’. The content is increasing enriched each time the phrase gets repeated, which also shows that the speaker is struggling to formulate the right language to express her argument. She then strengthens the argument by producing the repetition of **我觉得** ‘I think’ to show the speaker’s strongly subjective epistemic stance for the utterances it goes with. This pattern might support Traugott (1989)’s claim that meanings tend to move toward greater subjectivity, which is motivated by speaker-addressee interaction (cited in Lee, 2010, p. 196) without excluding the possibility that **我觉得** ‘I think’ can also be a grammaticalisation of an epistemic formula.

Example (119) also show cases of repetition, especially the repetition of the token of 我觉得 ‘I think’.

(119) Recording 2

1 P8 我觉得 我觉得西方才是扭曲中国的

I think I think the West is actually the one that distorted China,

2 我们那时候因为新疆不是发生 75 事件的时候

we (knew) at the time when the July 5th riots happened in Xinjiang⁴⁶,

3 我们知道维吾尔人杀的是汉族人 但是西方人他们 我看媒体上

we knew Uighurs killed Han people, but I saw on the media that those Westerners,

4 他们把那个汉族* 维吾尔人头按到汉族人身上说是汉族人杀的维吾尔人

they photoshopped the Han people <sudden stop> Uighur people's heads onto Han people's bodies and said Han people killed Uighur people.

5 西方才是 才是 他们才是扭曲中国嘛

The West actually actually, they actually distorted China.

The speaker in Example (119) self-initiates the turn using lexical repetition, a sign of a strong willingness to align with the statement the principal makes (Line 1). Another proof of the speaker's will lies at the end of the turn, where the opinion marker 才是 *caishi* ‘actually’ is repeated three times (Line 5). Although this statement has no pronominal reference, it is a repetition of the epistemic stance the principal initiates at the start of the speaker's turn. Within this final remark, the principal re-states the speaker's belief that the Western media has reported a distorted image of China.

Apart from the affective use of modal verb and adverbs in conjunction with *I*-opinion marker constructions and repetition, it is found that the speakers also use collective self-reference, 我们 ‘we’, and collective other-reference, 他们 ‘they’ in their affective stances. The collective forms arouse the audience's emotional resonance and enforce the affective orientation of their stance (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Distribution of singular and collective pronominal forms is also used as a distancing strategy across various imagined collectives, with *they* on the furthest end (see Maitland & Wilson, 1987 for further discussion). Taking the perspective of a group that has the potential to include both speakers and hearers, the stance can be more appealing to the audience emotionally. In light of intersubjective

⁴⁶ On July 5th, 2009, large scale riots broke out between Uighurs and Han Chinese in Urumqi, capital city of Xinjiang province.

engagement, the potential receivers of the utterance are also invited to join this relational collective and share the opinion that concerns the relational collective.

In Example (120), Participant 11 also invokes a group identity by using collective self-reference to increase the persuasive power of her opinion:

- (120) Recording 2
1 P8 我那时候也选过一门课 international law 那门课没把我整死 就全部都是 local 的学生
At that time I chose the subject of international law which nearly killed me because all the students were local students,
2 就我和我们家另外一个 这门课老师可能不会挂人 但是如果你水平太差肯定是要挂你
I and one of my housemates were the only (international students), the teacher of this subject may not be inclined to fail students, but if your level is too low (he or she) will definitely fail you.
3 我那时候就基本上每天去找老师 如果我那个东西写不好
At that time I would visit the teacher almost every day, if I couldn't write the assignment well,
4 因为他要用澳洲的什么全国各个 case 来 support 哪个国家赢什么之类的
because he wanted (us) to use all cases in Australia to support which country should win.
5 我那时候每天找老师 如果我没有找的话 挂的肯定也是我
At that time, I went to see the teacher every day. If I hadn't done that I would definitely have been the one who failed.
P10 对 全是 local 学生 课就特别有压力 是是
Right. All were local students, which brought a lot of pressure for that class. Right right.
7 P11 像这种 communication 也是很重要 像澳洲学生跟老师关系就是 friend 经常 visiting
Communication is also the key the relationship between Australian students and teachers. It is like friendship, (students) often visit (teachers),
8 那我们华人学生都不会去的 他们这种 build up 选老师问问题啊
but we ethnic Chinese students wouldn't go to (or like) them to build up (the relationship by) asking teachers questions,
9 就是跟他 talking 我们 * 也是我们的问题 我们文化不一样
by just talking to him we <sudden stop>. It is also our problem, our culture is different.
10 P10 我们一般不太会去
We normally wouldn't do that.

Throughout her turn, Participant 11 stays consistent with the use of the collective form of self-reference, meaning her individuality remains hidden. Employing the collective self-reference, Participant 11, despite the age difference between her and the other participants⁴⁷, successfully inserts herself as one of the audience and shortens the distance between them. Her opinions would become easier for the audience to accept, which turns out to be the case when Participant 10 echoes the collective reference to show alignment.

Ochs and Capps (1996) have shown us that affective and epistemic stances serve as central meaning components not only of momentary social acts but also of more enduring social constructs such as social identities (cited in Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012, p. 433). It

⁴⁷ Participant 11 was aged 44 at the time when the data was collected while other participants were aged between 26 and 30.

can then be argued that what is embedded in a speaker's social practice of enacting an affective stance is not only the desire to persuade the interlocutor but also to construct aspects of the relational dimension of the self that fits in the social context.

When the participants move from an individual self-reference to a collective one, the persuasiveness of their utterances rely even more on the affective environment of the discourse. In Example (121), the participant regards herself as a collectively oriented person. To illustrate the point, she presents herself as a member of 我们中国人 *women Zhongguoren* 'we Chinese'.

- (121) Recording 5
1 P24 我觉得在一个大团体里面 还是我比较倾向于听团体的 因为可能就还是 就怎么说
I think I am still inclined to listen to the group when inside a big group, which is maybe due to
2 就中国人还是有那个集体观念嘛 就不像这边的人 他们好一个一个的 一个人就是一个个体
the collectivism that Chinese people have. It is different from people here. They are individuals. A
person is an individual.
3 然后他们就像*老外说 中国也是 中国人 然后聚一堆那样
They, they are like <sudden stop>. Foreigners say Chinese also Chinese people stick together.
4 就像我们中国人吃饭在一个大桌子上面 然后围满人吃
*For example, **We Chinese** eat around one big table, it is fully surrounded by people.*
5 然后就我还是比较倾向于集体观念
So I am still inclined toward collectivism.

This excerpt is a self-assessment starting with an *I*-epistemic verb construction which lays the ground work for the subject to take full epistemic responsibility of the information to come (Line 1). The participant then continues to describe herself as preferring to listen to the group, which is so-called 集体观念 *jiti guannian* 'group-mindedness' (Lines 1 & 2). References to Chinese people, third-party collective, appears twice in Line 3. The speaker later aggregates to be one of these Chinese people, creating a vivid picture that her listeners are familiar with in terms of a group of people eating around the same table (Line 4). This imagery seems to capture the essence of the message which is this collective-orientation is deeply rooted within all Chinese people, including "you" and "me". The speaker's intention of persuading the rest of the group becomes clear.

Contrasting the subtle way of persuading the listeners by taking them into the speaker's perspective in (121), the aggregation instances in (122) and (123) can be said to exhibit an intent on the speaker's part to persuade the audience into agreeing with them.

- (122) Recording 2
- 1 P7 我觉得 我觉得说实话 可能会越来越重视 但是尊重就不一定了
I think I think honestly speaking, (non-Chinese) may pay more attention, but not necessarily respect (Chinese),
- 2 P8 因为有的时候中国人出去做的行为让人也尊重不起来
because sometimes Chinese people's behaviours in foreign countries are not worthy of respect.
- 3 P9 我觉得 这取决于就是我们现在这边待的 留下的人努力
I think it is up to our effort, the ones that stay here (to change the bad impression of Chinese people),
- 4 还有就是再来的人 就是他的素质是不是有提高 会不会就是让人
Also depends on whether those who come, whether he can improve their public awareness.
- 5 因为说实在的 你 * 就是 我们身上的陋习 就是不光是留在这边 还有就是要过来的人
Because honestly speaking, we/one (lit. you) <sudden stop> that is, we have bad habits, not only do people who stay here, but people who are coming also have,
- 6 和刚过来的人 难免都会有 就是 让别人或者就是外国人
and people who just arrived unavoidably have (bad habits). (They) make other people or foreigners,
- 7 我们眼中的外国人看的就是不习惯 或者是觉得我们真的是很差的地方
people we regard as foreigners uncomfortable and (make them) think that we are really bad in some respects,
- 8 确实我们要承认就是有很多我们没有做的很好的
we should indeed admit that there are lots that we haven't done very well.
- 9 有一些我们一些传统 不好的习惯 是需要就是去改的
Some of our traditions and bad habits need to change.
- (123) Recording 4
- 1 P21 而且就像她之前讲的说 可能会有一种责任感 就是你的 说的时
Also like what she said before, (we) probably have a sense of responsibility, which means while we/one (lit. you) are speaking,
- 2 你应该怎么跟人家体现我们自己国家的优势 就是会注意一点这方面
we/one (lit. you) should show others the strength of our own country and pay attention to this.

Both Participant 9 in (122) and Participant 21 in (123) move from singular impersonal reference to their collective identity which they assume that they share with the rest of the audience, which is “we are all Chinese”. It can be argued that group-oriented engagement plays a very important role in their self-referential choice. The main concern for this choice might be the maintenance of the interest of the group to which they belong. The group membership emerges when “the collective cover” (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 550) is adopted to speak for a group rather than a single individual.

When making a collective epistemic stance using 我们 ‘we’, speakers conform to a socially shared value. These stances are also highly affective as they trigger a sense of obligation and engagement among the audience who are subsequently invited affectively by the speaker to share these strong feelings about their group membership. These two participants might be calling on all the other participants to have positive regard for their Chinese identity and act well in the cross-cultural context. Chapter 7 will continue the discussion of using collective self-reference to invoke collective identities with regard to the construction of collective self-representations.

The speaker of (124) shows an attempt to yield the floor with aggregation, to speak of feelings which are presumably shared by the rest of the group:

(124) Recording 4

- 1 P20 嗯 我觉得挺多的 因为我觉得出国是个围城 国内小伙伴想出国 特别想 然后就各种
Hmm I think (there are) a lot of (difficulties) because I think going abroad is fortress besieged⁴⁸,
which means mates in China (lit. within the country) want to go abroad very much,
- 2 反正完全不知道咱心酸吧
*but have no knowledge of **our** bitterness at all.*

咱 *zan* ‘we’ is a typical inclusive collective-referential pronoun in Chinese which is more inclusive than 我们 ‘we’ as it includes and engages the listener (Huang & Lu, 2016). Aggregation, as seen in Example (124) is indeed a tactic to constitute a relational collective that can then subsequently be referred to as 我们 ‘we’ (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 534). In this particular case, the locus for the construction of this relational collective is the empathy the speaker and the audience might have for one another.

An analysis of participants’ ways of persuading other co-present participants has shown that speaker’s persuasive social practices reflect aspects of the social construction of the relational dimension of the self that fits in the social context. Opinion markers and a variety of emphatic phrases create a sense of sincerity which helps to reinforce the epistemic value of speakers’ assessment, thereby enhancing the persuasiveness of speakers’ opinions. The alternation of first person pronoun and the impersonal second person pronoun also appears to be a way of making speakers’ stances more convincing as it opens up the possibility for the audience to align with any newly constructed social identities.

The speakers appeal to the audience emotionally. Repetition reveals the eagerness. Speakers also use collective self-reference, 我们 ‘we’, and collective other-reference, 他们 *tamen* ‘they’, to arouse the audience’s emotional resonance. Aggregation, as shown above, functions as a way to appeal to the audience to present the speakers as being very empathic. Evoking group identity by using collective self-reference increases the persuasive power of speakers’ affective and epistemic stance. Stances are highly affective if they trigger a sense of empathy or obligatory engagement in a group membership.

⁴⁸ It is also the title of a famous masterpiece written by Qian Zhongshu (1947) which is very well-known among Chinese people.

6.1.3 Mitigation

After examining speakers' use of collective and individual self-reference and opinion markers in assertive and persuasive communicative acts, this section will focus on speakers' communicative acts of mitigation using different forms of self-reference in enacting epistemic stances. These performative acts can achieve a very practical end, that is to minimise interpersonal disagreement. They will be analysed from the perspective of relational self-representation. The speakers perform these actions to appeal to the audience, which is a key aspect of their relational self construction. In fact, mitigating personal opinion in public discourse is said to be an important pragmatic rule within the Chinese socio-cultural context, as it reflects the desire not to over-represent (X. Xiang, 2003, p. 499), as otherwise one would be subjected to potential criticism. As stated in Chapter 4, all the interviews were conducted in the format of focus group interview, the participants would have been more prone to adhering to such Chinese cultural value and norm of communication.

A tone of hesitation can be made explicitly by the author to situate the speaker in an invulnerable private space outside the interactive framework (J. W. Lee, 2010, p. 202), which indicates the personal nature of the statement:

(125) Recording 1.1

1 P3 我觉得 我觉得朋友很羡慕我们的 是不是

I think I think friends are rather envious of us, correct or not <rising tone>?

2 我觉得 我不知道 我的朋友是蛮羡慕我的

I think, I don't know, my friends are quite envious of me,

3 说 哦 你的选择是对的 当年出去

(they) said "your choice about going abroad back then was right".

The entire utterance appears in a fragmented manner. Two of the three instances of 我觉得 'I think' in the statement made by the principal are interrupted by the voice of the author (Lines 1 and 2). Schegloff (2006) argues that interference with progressivity is relevant to the recipient as it may violate hearers' inclination toward a smooth, unmarked delivery (cited in Lee, 2010, p. 202), making the hearers take notice in an indirect way. But the speaker is unsure whether the other interlocutors that she identifies as belonging to the same relational collective would agree with her. Subsequently, the author publicly announces the uncertainty in Line 2 while the animator reports what the speaker heard from her friends in China in Line 3. In this way, the speaker avoids over-representing the entire relational collective and successfully draws the audience's attention on her personal impression.

The speaker can also mark an uncertain footing deliberately and openly through the voice of the principal. The speaker in Example (126) defines her opinion as 个人 *geren* ‘personally’ and the speaker in (127) calls her interest 非主流 *feizhuliu* ‘off main stream’:

- (126) Recording 3
 1 P13 交朋友**我个人感觉**中国人 和同一种人交朋友 和不同种人交朋友还是会不同
In terms of making friends, I personally feel that Chinese people form different friendships with people of the same ethnicity than those of other ethnicities,
 2 就是你**可能**会付出同样的努力 但是你得到的结果**可能**就不一样
that is to say even if you probably make the same effort with (them) you probably get different results in return.
- (127) Recording 4
 1 P20 **我觉得** 我这个 有点儿**非主流** 啊 就是那个什么学会中国文学的那个课我就觉得
I think this (opinion) of mine is a bit off main stream. I think studying Chinese literature,
 2 我觉得我挺有优势 因为我觉得去那个课上的人大部分都是本来是学商科的
I think I have a lot of advantages, because I think most people who attend that class are studying commerce.
 3 但是学的 啊 这学期压力好大啊 学一门中文课减轻压力吧 肯定听得懂
“But (I have) a lot of pressure in this semester <exclamation particle>! Studying a Chinese subject helps to reduce the pressure <exclamation marker>. At least (it is) definitely easy to understand.”
 4 然后他们其实对文学一点儿也不感敢兴趣 也没有相关的什么东西
Then they are actually not interested in literature, having nothing in common,
 5 就是一个很普通学商科的学生 当然他们不普通 不能这么讲
for an ordinary commerce student, of course, they are not ordinary, (I) can’t say this,
 6 但是他们学那课 **感觉**主题就是 哎 没事儿 这中文课这么简单
but their (purpose) for studying that subject, (I) feel, mainly is because “Chinese is so easy,
 7 我肯定能过 我来这儿就是放松压力的 巴拉巴拉
I definitely can pass and I come here to relax” (they might think that) blabla.
 8 觉得他们都是抱着这样的心态 所以感觉那些 觉得他们真的不是特别的认真还是怎么样
(I) think they all think in this way. so (I) feel that they are not truly dedicated or due to other reasons.
 9 可能 反正**我自己**就是一个比较喜欢文学的人 我不是那种 而且这本来就是**我**本专业的课
Maybe I myself quite like literature and I am not that type (picking an easy subject). It is also a subject for my major.
 10 我不可能像他们那样无所谓 我觉得**我不大可能**像他们那样 这就算优势吧
I cannot be as careless as them. I think I probably won’t be like them. This can be an advantage <exclamation particle>!
 11 然后我觉得选这课的人不是很多 所以我觉得非主流
I think there are not too many people who choose this subject, so I think (I am) off main stream.

Participant 20 in Example (127) is very eloquent in stating the certainty towards the subject matter, her being different from (Lines 2 to 10) other Chinese students in choosing their major, fluctuates with the alternation of strong opinion markers and hesitation markers. At the very start, the speaker shows signs of trying to frame her comment as a very personal one, not necessarily applicable to other people, by using the proximal demonstrative 这个

‘this’ (Line 5)⁴⁹. The mitigated status of the negative comment is substantiated by the collocation of other mitigating tokens such as 感觉 ‘feel’, 还是怎样 *haishi zenyang* ‘or else’, and 不大可能 *buda keneng* ‘probably not’. In the similar fashion, 可能 ‘probably’ is in use in Line 2 in Example (126). The weak opinion markers 感觉 ‘feel’⁵⁰ in Lines 6 and 8 of (127) are marked with zero anaphora. As previous studies have shown, zero anaphora and spatial deixis as person reference are avoidance strategies which enable speakers to avoid explicitly defining the self and the other and thus to minimise potentially face-threatening mistakes (Kartomihardjo, 1981; Manns, 2012). Taken together, the speakers in these utterances use many hesitation markers; personal opinions are either indirect or mitigated by resorting to speculations. The underlying uncertainty reflects the speakers’ intent to avoid disagreement from the audience as they are expressing a very personal perspective.

Some speakers choose the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ without any specific reference to themselves or the audience in phrasing their opinions. In Example (128), the speaker uses the impersonal 你 *ni* ‘one (literally you)’ throughout the entire utterance where the speaker might be thinking aloud. It is then hard to decide whether it is the principal or the author from whom the voice comes.

- (128) Recording 4
 1 P21 如果真的是很好的朋友 大家也不会主动挑起这件事情
Among truly good friends, we (lit. everyone) won't deliberately bring this matter up.
 2 而且可能在某方面 人家反而会对你有一些改观
Also probably in some respects others might actually change their view on us/one (lit. you).
 3 比如以前会觉得好像 觉得中国出国的都是富二代啊 什么有钱的就可以的
For example, (people) used to think those who went abroad were rich second generation who could do so because they were rich,
 4 但是如果你是先跟她成为好朋友以后 然后再跟她讨论这个问题的话
but if we/one (lit. you) first became her friend, then discuss this matter with her,
 5 她可能会接受的好一些 第一至少她不会跟你争辩 不会那么严重的争辩
she can probably accept it better, at least she wouldn't argue with us/one (lit. you) so fiercely.
 6 第二个也许你可能自己做的比较好 她也会有一些改观
Secondly probably if we/one (lit. you) self can do better, she can change her view.
 7 但也就只能做到这里了 你不可能完全改变人家对你们整个一个地方的看法
but there is only this much (one) can do, we/one (lit. you) cannot possibly change others' view on our/own (lit. your) people from the entire region.

⁴⁹ Spatial distinction for the use of demonstratives can play an important role in assigning interactive roles thereby exerting a significant influence on the relational self-representation, which will be dealt with in Section 6.2 is concerned with pronominal choices which explicitly position the speaker and addressee within a frame.

⁵⁰ A frequency count of 觉得 ‘think’ and 感觉 ‘feel’ in the same recording shows that 觉得 ‘think’ is used predominantly with a specific person reference (163 out of 208), while 感觉 ‘feel’ is used mostly with zero anaphora (13 out of 18). Due to the relatively small sample size in the current study, this finding is not to be generalised.

In Example (128), the speaker's thinking-aloud contains two conditional scenarios. They are "your best friend who knows about your financial status is unlikely to upset you by bringing up a pre-existing bias (rich second generation are poorly mannered)" (Lines 4 and 5), and "someone who gradually becomes your good friend who would not classify you as one of the poorly-behaved rich second generation because of the way you present yourself" (Line 6). Without stating her personal opinion, the speaker uses 自己 'self' and the second person pronoun 你 'you' to convey an empathetic connotation (X. Xiang, 2003, p. 503). It enables the speaker to place the interlocutor in juxtaposition with their acquaintances and emphasises the lack of control in terms of other people's opinions which might well have negative connotations.

In Chinese culture, 悦人 *yueren* 'pleasing others' and 悦己 *yueji* 'pleasing oneself' are mutually shaping and mutually enhancing. Typically, deliberately neglecting other people's opinions can make one appear to be self-centred and arrogant. In this context, collocation of 自己 'self' and the hesitation marker 可能 'probably' enables the speaker to continue the interlocutors' perspective without resulting in some kind of interactional discomfort on the part of the interlocutors.

Apart from hesitation markers, the speakers are found to aggregate to the *vague we* (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 745) to reduce the assertiveness of their interactive stances:

- (129) Recording 1.1
 1 P4 现在想起来**我其实**算是很幸运 像**我们**这种一毕业就找到工作的很少 很多人还蛮曲折的
Now thinking in retrospect I am in fact very lucky, (lit. this kind of) people like us who found a job immediately upon graduation are rare, a lot of people went through a lot of difficulties.
- (130) Recording 1.1
 1 P2 但我有时候看他们那什么大纪元时报 呵呵 我就觉得好像是吹牛有些 对 有些好像
But I sometimes read their Epoch Times⁵¹, I think (it) seems to be too much exaggerated,
 2 我觉得说的不是正确的 然后反正我觉得这些东西 可信不可信
I think it isn't correct and I think (one) can either believe or not believe these things anyway.
 3 但是 然后 对 我就觉得比较远 对 我就觉得好像影响不到我的生活
But I think it is rather remote from me, I think it cannot affect my life.
 4 P1 呵呵 那个太极端了啊
That is too extreme.
 ...5 P3 就跟**我们**的生活比较远 就是**我们**那个 level 还没到那个政治的那个层次上去
Too remote from our life, or we haven't reached that political level.
 6 P4 因为**我们**本来就是普通大众
Because we are just ordinary people.

⁵¹ The *Epoch Times* is an international broadsheet paper, known for its support to politically persecuted Falungong believers in China and Anti-CCP editorial stance.

The speakers of (129) and (130) are inconsistent in their choice of self-reference. Both of them start with individual self-reference and end on collective notes, which could be taken as aggregation. In (129), aggregation marks a strategic move from individual to a collective with unspecified others, placing the speaker as one of a group of people who are able to find a job immediately upon graduation (Line 1). The collective form is also said to signal politeness (L. Mao, 1996). With aggregation, the speaker of (129) avoids drawing attention to herself, which would otherwise be seen as an act of boasting. Instead, she moderately embeds herself in a vague collective which she regards as the “lucky ones”.

Participant 3 in Example (130) responds to Participant 2’s previous turn in the collective form which might include herself as well as other recipients in Line 5. Without explicitly specifying her own political stance, Participant 3 finds a way to agree with Participant 2 in Line 5 which implies that as long as it does not affect her life, she does not care which side is correct. She does so by aligning herself with a vague collective. In the end, Participant 4 expands this vague collective to an even more generic one—ordinary people (Line 8)—thereby reducing the epistemic force further. Participants’ indifference to politics and the fact that these participants avoid discussing politics can be related to their education and experience in the Communist China (cf. Section 3.1.1 of Chapter 3).

In conclusion, minimising interpersonal disagreement in interaction, using repetition or hesitation markers and weak opinion markers, is a performative act which can be argued as another key aspect of speakers’ relational self construction. The individual sense of self, in these utterance, can be intentionally minimised, such as the use of vague *we*, thereby representing the relational dimension of the self. The underlying uncertainty reflects the speakers’ intent to avoid disagreement from the audience. Speakers are always anticipating the possible reactions from the audience. Without over-representing the relational collective, the speaker draws the audience’s attention on understanding their personal impression from the perspective of the speaker. Hesitation markers help to deliver personal opinions as either indirect or mitigated. The analysis also found that speakers can adopt the interlocutors’ perspective without resulting in some kind of interactional discomfort on the part of the interlocutors by using the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ and placing the interlocutors in juxtaposition. Apart from hesitation markers, the *vague we* (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 745) also reduces the assertiveness of speakers’ interactive stances. Embedding one’s identity

in a vague collective helps to avoid drawing the attention to the speaker. The avoidance might be conditioned by the social-cultural norms.

6.1.4 Accommodation

In addition to the types of discourse context discussed so far, the ways speakers announce agreements or disagreements can also be very revealing in terms of their roles in the intersubjective construction of the relational self. This subsection explores the discourse situation of accommodation where speakers react to other speakers' stance utterances.

Using *I*-epistemic verb combinations and self-reference, participants do so voluntarily and strategically to show either positive accommodation or negative accommodation. As explained at the start of this chapter, the participants converse to construct a real-time discourse community with others, which forms the basis for each of them to construct appropriate relational self-representations intersubjectively with other co-participants. Accommodating other co-participants' utterances is key to this joint-effort.

First, with regard to positive or convergent accommodation, the use of impersonal pronouns, such as 人 *ren* 'people' or 'one', 每个人 *meigeren* 'everyone', is a noticeable feature in convergent accommodations. Statements granting these pronouns as the subject tend to ground a general conclusion that applies to a much wider scope than the immediate deictic context. That is, the conclusion not only applies to the speaker and the addressees, but also many other people. While these deductive conclusions are often presented as an impersonal truth, some are depicted as a personal resonance.

- (131) Recording 4
1 来这儿就光注重于这儿的不好了 然后就老想那边的好
Paying too much attention to the bad things here after coming here and keep thinking about the good things over there,
2 但是回去了以后 可能就看到那边的不好 想着这边的好 贪得无厌了吧
but if (I) were to go back probably would see the bad things there and miss the good things here. Too greedy <exclamation particle>!
3 P21 赞
Like.
4 P20 嗯 我同意 人都是很贪欲 就是光盯着目前不好的方面
*I agree **people are all** greedy and always fix eyes on things that are presently bad.*

Participant 20 agrees with Participant 19's remark, which should supposedly be a matter of her own personal opinion. The impersonal pronoun 人 'people or one' downplays individual involvement of the speaker and the intended interlocutors, as it refers to general ways *one* does things without linguistically referring to concrete individuals (Budwig, 2000).

The speaker then moves away from the deictic centre and enters the sphere of a universally applicable “life drama script” (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 752). As Kitagawa and Lehrer point out, a discourse effect of the impersonal pronouns is that both the speaker and the addressees can be viewed as *dramatis personae* in the world of generalised and abstract discourse (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 752). Having said that participant 20, to agree, must have had a similar reflection on her own attitude—being greedy and wanting the up sides—this impersonal move seem to be unnecessary. A possible explanation might be that this speaker feels the need to approximate universal values to find more comfort for everyone in the current cohort who shares the same thought, namely Participants 19 and 21.

Enhancing a sense of sharedness can reinforce acquaintanceship and familiarity. Accommodating the previous stance utterance by highlighting the sharedness helps to make it a fully-fledged engagement whereby discourse participants can commit to a common ground. Within these positive accommodations, the use of emphatic adverbs, such as 其实都 *qishidou* ‘in fact all’, can show that not only the principal agrees with what has been said but also the speaker shares that belief personally.

- (132) Recording 5
- 1 P25 但我**其实**是刚出来的时候跟我国内同学是疏远挺长时间 因为他们理解不了我
But in fact I was estranged from classmates in China (lit. within the country) for quite a long time when I just came over here, because they didn't understand me.
- 2 因为我是上了高二出来的嘛 他们就觉得哎 你不用高考 你可以直接去那边 然后就直接上大学
Because I came out when I was in year 11 and they thought “you didn't have to sit in the colleague entrance exam, and you can go straight to university”,
- 3 然后就直接上大学 然后以后就想要什么有什么那种感觉 他们不会理解说
then go directly to university then get anything, that kind of feeling, they won't understand,
- 4 你自己一个人出来是另外一种压力 可能不是学业上的 是生活上的
I/one (lit. yourself) on one's own is bearing another kind of pressure when going abroad, probably not in academic terms but in daily life.
- 5 那他们就理解不到这一点 然后等他们慢慢陆陆续续有更多人出国了
They couldn't understand this. And after more people gradually went abroad.
- 6 他们才慢慢共同话题又多起来 然后才又回到大家那个圈子里面
(I) started to have common topics with them again and came back to the social circle that everyone was in.
- 7 P23 **其实**这不管在国内还是国外 每个人**都**有压力 只不过压力来源不一样而已
In fact, no matter whether in China (lit. within the country) or abroad, everyone all has pressure from different sources.
- 8 **其实**每个人都 * 就没有特别一帆风顺的人 **真的是这样** 就不管从什么方面来讲
In fact, everyone cannot all <sudden stop> be always successful with everything, it is true in all respects.

Participant 23 makes a convergent alignment with the previous stance, echoing what Participant 25 regards as a true assessment using the modal adverb 其实 *qishi* ‘in fact’ (Line 1). Repeating the emphatic adverbial structure 其实都 ‘in fact all’ twice in Lines 7 and 8,

Participant 23 promotes the scope of application to 每个人 ‘everyone’, which lends more epistemic power to participant 25’s opinion. In the data, a great many participants agree with each other’s opinions, and there is a strong sense of shared belief as if the participants are discovering the truth of the matter together. The two conversational partners in (132) are working together towards a discovery of an impersonalised all-applying truth between them.

It is interesting, though, to notice that Participant 23 never brings herself in, and her utterance is marked with zero anaphora (Lines 7 and 8). It is hard to determine whether she agrees because of shared knowledge or personal experience. From a discourse perspective, acknowledging the previous statement while minimising one’s personal involvement helps to create a rapport and to construct a stable, shared discursive space in which all participants can feel comfortable contributing without worrying that one’s opinion will be disputed.

(133) Recording 5

- 1 P25 如果当时不是我爸妈给我掏学费的话 我觉得我也不会心甘情愿地听他们的
If my parents hadn't paid for my tuition, I don't think I would have listened to them willingly,
 2 选我不喜欢的专业 但他们那种感觉就是替你付学费 那你就走这条路
or chosen a major I didn't like. But they had the feeling that (they) paid your tuition fee then you have to walk this path.
 3 P23 对 这种感觉**其实**挺不好
*Right, this feeling is **in fact** quite bad.*
 4 P25 对 那种感觉特别不好 就是我们替你付学费 我们给你设想了一条路
Right, that feeling is awful (which is) "we paid for your tuition fee, we set a path for you",
 5 那你就按这条路去走 是这种感觉
the kind of feeling "you just have to walk this path (which we set for you)".
 6 P23 我们买了你的未来
"We paid for your future".

In Example (133), Participant 23 (Line 3) first responds without indicating herself, meaning the principal of the utterance remains in the background. It is therefore difficult to say what made her feel “quite bad” (Line 3), whether studying subject one does not like or being unable to choose one’s own path. Even with such an implicit alignment (Du Bois, 2007), Participant 23 succeeds in building the rapport which encourages Participant 25 to continue contributing. Participant 23, using 我们 ‘we’ referring to the parents who pay for the tuition fee, expresses her agreement implicitly through the voice of the animator (Line 6). Although she does not announce her opinion publicly, we can see that she shares her interlocutors’ opinions and feelings.

Apart from zero anaphora and the use of impersonal second pronoun, the data shows that first person pronouns can be replaced by the indefinite pronoun (大家 *dajia* ‘everyone’). The speakers’ choice between the first person pronoun and an indefinite pronoun, as

Helmbrecht (2002, p. 41) argues, can be made to avoid an explicit and direct reference to themselves because it is an act of impoliteness to set oneself too obviously in the foreground of what is communicated. Impersonal constructions can downplay individual involvement of both the speakers and the intended interlocutors by referring to a general reality thereby avoiding linguistically referring to any concrete individuals (Budwig, 2000). In addition, individual's self-perceptions can also be depersonalised, which reflects that discourse partners perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category in the interactive context (see discussion in Onorato & Turner, 2002).

The Chinese indefinite pronoun 大家 'everyone' features a much more pragmatically effective function than making the discursive action hearer-friendly and polite. It helps the speaker to homogenise all parties and promote a sense of sharedness among participants. These acts are then also identified as accommodation in discourse.

When using indefinite pronouns such as 大家 'everyone', the boundary between the speaker and the conversation partner is obscured. For example, in (134) the speaker describes herself as a non-religious person. Rather than state the difference between being non-religious and being religious, she brings everyone, religious and non-religious, to the same generic level of having different beliefs. 大家 'everyone' in Line 5 helps to create a rapport among all conversational partners (one participant has claimed to be religious).

- (134) Recording 4
 1 P20 也没有信仰 但是我不是一个特别希望自己有信仰的人
(I) also don't have a faith, but I don't mind self having no faith,
 2 我觉得没有信仰也没什么关系的人
I think having a religion or not makes no big difference,
 3 然后就是 就是对这边的话没什么感觉吧 反正周围有信这个的朋友
having not much bearing on life here. There are friends around who believe this,
 4 也不会说因为**他们**信这个 就把**他们**晾着 也不会这样 **他们**不要强迫我加入**他们**那个就行了
*(I) won't ignore **them** because **they** believe this, so long as **they** don't force me to join **them**.*
 5 我觉得我这个人 还挺 不能说包容吧 就觉得身边人就 就是差别 不是不是
I think this person of mine is tolerant, it is not the correct word maybe, (I think) people are not much different,
 6 就是说**大家**信仰不同 我也觉得没什么
everyone has different belief, which I think is not a big deal.

After agreeing with the previous speaker by stating that she does not have a religious faith either (Line 1), Participant 20 expands on her view. She does not perceive religion as alienating herself from others (Lines 4 and 5). Although she considers friends who have a religion as "they", in the end she wraps up the utterance using 大家 'everyone'. Both individual and group distinctions are minimised using this indefinite pronoun. Separation and

differences, which would otherwise be obvious, are immediately replaced by multiplicity. 大家 ‘everyone’ incorporates all the co-participants as well as the group they might identify with to emphasise commonality (Line 6). This step into multiplicity neutralises the implication of negative insensitivity that otherwise may have been implied to hearers.

(135) Recording 4

- 1 P21 我觉得吧 像教会这种东西和信仰呢 可以先分开来讨论
Church and faith, in my opinion, should be discussed separately.
- 2 我觉得像教会 像这种组织什么的 大家一开始很想去 是因为觉得比较有归属感
I think church is like a kind of organisation. The reason why everyone wants to go at the start is because of the sense of belonging.
- 3 以为呢很多人 特别就是当有人可以带着你的时候 你就会觉得 啊 特别好
(I) think for lots of people, especially when a person guides you, you would feel very good about it,
- 4 因为有那种大姐姐啊什么的 可以指导你 或者对你特别好
because if there is an older sister who can guide you and who treats you very well,
- 5 你就会有一种很想加入那个组织的感受 但不一定是信它的信仰 所以这就等于说是有同感
You would have a strong feeling to join that group without believing in the religion which is based on empathy,
- 6 所以就 嗯 喜欢 所以就在一起 但是后来呢 慢慢了解深了以后会发现
(people) stay together because of appreciation then the more (one) understands the more (one) would realise,
- 7 就像之前你讲的 说有一些分歧 就是在 因为毕竟肯定会有一些不同嘛
like what you said before more disputes, because there are always some differences (in thinking).
- 8 所以 又因为有差异 所以就没有完全的加入 所以就等于说
Because of these differences (one) cannot fully commit (oneself to the church).
- 9 人好像都是这样子的吧 人属于群居动物 高级动物 大家都想找到归属感
People are all like this, people are social animals, highly intelligent animals. Everyone wants to find a sense of belonging.
- 10 然后也许有的人找到了 比较契合 所以就在一起了
Then perhaps some found it, (they) are very compatible and stay together.
- 11 但是 像我的话 像基督嘛 像圣经里面 因为我不能完全赞同 所以在我看来我就不能信它
As for me, Christ or the Bible has things that I cannot fully agree, so I cannot believe in it.
- 12 包括像佛教 我也不能做到什么不杀生啊 不吃那些东西 我也不能完全做到
Including Buddhism, I cannot commit to vegetarian lifestyle, I cannot commit (myself to it).
- 13 道教呢/ 我是很喜欢 但是我又觉得我了解不够 如果没有完全了解 我也不能完全归属于它
Daoism <rising tone>? I quite like, but I also don't think I know enough about it, without complete understanding I cannot belong to it completely either.
- 14 就这种感觉 所以就是 在寻找
This is what (I) feel and (I) am still looking (for my belief).

After hearing the previous turn-taker's dilemma about wanting to belong to the Christian community and disliking some beliefs found in Christianity, Participant 21 speaks of her view regarding both aspects in Example (135). Although it is hard to determine to what extent her utterance is showing convergent alignment to the previous speaker, her use of 大家 ‘everyone’ indicates her intention of taking the previous turn-taker into her own perspective. She believes that finding a sense of belonging is a universally shared quality among all human beings that motivates people to either join a church or to find a faith (Lines 2 and 9). She then finishes her argument with individual self-reference (Line 13) and states that the

very same humanistic reason will continue to motivate her to search for her own belief (Line 14).

It could be said that the use of impersonal constructions supports the view that speakers perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category. Take Participant 21 in Example (135) as an instance, one can choose to dis-involve oneself as an individual in a voice that is made from a generic collective as much as one can choose to emphasise one's individual responsibility to make certain assertions free from the collective hegemony.

Another visible discursive function that 大家 'everyone' manifests is to presuppose agreement in the interactive context through which the speaker can position all the interlocutors in an imagined relational collective which is constructed on the basis of having a common understanding.

(136) Recording 4

1 P19 讨厌的就是 富二代 我说啊... 就是 目中无人

(I) dislike rich second generation I say... (they are) disrespectful to others,

2 P22 我觉得有些是 比较什么都考虑自己啊 不顾别人吧 像我觉得不一定是富二代

I think some think only for (them)selves without concern for the welfare of the others', (they) are not necessarily rich second generation.

3 我不喜欢的人就那种特自私 尤其大家出来以后就是要互相帮助 互相帮忙 互相支撑

I don't like people that are very selfish. We (lit. Everyone) should help each other and support each other after coming abroad.

4 但有些人就是对 欺负人那样 我不太喜欢那样的人

But some people bully others. I don't like people like that.

5 当然最欣赏的人还是那种不光自己学习好 还带着你一起学习 帮助别人 学习上

Of course (I) really appreciate those who not only manage their own study well but also guide me (lit. you) and help others in their studies.

Due to the demography of this group of participants, all undergraduate students, a great deal of the same opinions are expressed. In the instances of impersonal epistemic stance-taking using 大家 'everyone', however, the stance taker is not reporting a commonly agreed opinion directly, nor does it aim at establishing epistemic authority. The goal might be enhancing the online/in-the-moment conversational identity, building a sense of shared self. The construction of the sharedness requires a certain solidarity. Participant 22 in Example (136) is continuing the topic of "who do you dislike" after Participant 19 names disrespectful people. Participant 19 uses rich second-generation as an example for being disrespectful.

Participant 22 shows her disagreement, but in a very implicit way (Line 2) and she is more careful with her word choice. She first shortens her distance with the audience using 大

家 ‘everyone’ in Line 3 and describes 大家 ‘everyone’ as seeking mutual support.

Contextualising her disapproval of certain behaviours that are against the already-stated commonality, she then draws the distinction between people she dislikes by referring to them as 有些人 *youxieren* ‘some people’ without naming any groups. 富二代 *fu’erdai* ‘rich second-generation’ has had a negative connotation, and generalising its quality might still inadvertently offend other co-participants who happen to have come from a wealthy family. In this way, Participant 22 not only invokes empathy from the rest of the group but also avoids being biased against any specific groups.

When negative accommodations do occur, they often feature a non-personal mediator through which negative comments are fashioned in a non-face-threatening manner. It should be noted that the avoidance of face-threatening acts and the implementation of politeness strategies are not the focus of the present analysis. The primary interest still lies in the frame of self-reference and its implications in intersubjective positioning. Example (137) illustrates a speaker contesting the previous stance utterance through an impersonal voice:

(137) Recording 3

1 P14 不赡养父母啊 我不能接受这个

I cannot accept (people who) don't support (their) parents.

2 P15 这个话其实 还是不要讲 讲会被人打

In fact, (I) should probably not say this. If (I) say it, (I) would be attacked.

3 有的时候可能是一种 你可能不接受这个话 但并不代表你会反对它

*Sometimes it is probably a case where **one (lit. you)** probably doesn't accept but **one (lit. you)** does not object to it.*

4 其实你要都摊出来讲的话 这个话是讲得通的 但是你作为中国人 你很难理性上接受不赡养父母

*In fact, if **one (lit. you)** talks openly, this idea of not supporting parents financially makes sense. But **one (lit. you)** as a Chinese, **one (lit. you)** finds it hard to reason into accepting it,*

5 因为父母应该有责任把你养大 但是你其实并没有责任去养你的父母

*because the parents should be responsible for bring **one (lit. you)** up, but **one (lit. you)** in fact does not have the responsibility to support **one's (lit. your)** parents.*

6 我是这样想的 不代表我不养我的父母 我只是不会强迫别人养他的父母

This is what I think. It doesn't mean that I do not support my parents, I simply won't force others to support their parents.

7 我只是表达这个观点 并不是我自己就是这个人 我只是能容忍这种观点的存在

I am only expressing the opinion, but it doesn't mean that myself am such a person. I simply can tolerate the existence of this opinion.

As the idea of supporting parents is almost regarded as a cultural imperative, Participant 15 presupposes a lot of socio-cultural pressure if he were to speak against it (Line 2). The animator delivers the opinion, while the principal carefully states that the opinion is not his own by way of the impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ (Line 3). By suppressing the normal deictic context, this opinion to which the speaker himself does not hold any personal

commitment is reduced to a generic statement that does not concern either the speaker or the addressees.

Xiang (2003, p. 505) notes that negative opinions are difficult to express in public if the comments are concerned with other people or public issues, which is characteristic of Chinese culture. This leads to Chinese speakers using public consciousness as a mediator to express negative comments. A generic collective can minimise the individual selves, under which condition the interlocutors need not come into direct contact with each other. This means no one would lose “face” when the opinion is disapproved when a public consciousness is in use.

大环境 *dahuanjing* ‘bigger environment’ is found to be the most popular representation of a public consciousness. Section 6.2.5 will discuss the semantics of this term with regard to the image-schematic conceptualisation of the relational self. Example (138) will only illustrate how 大环境 ‘bigger environment’ is made responsible for absorbing the disputed personal views:

- (138) Recording 3
1 P17 就是这边是生活 那边是生存
(We're) living here, (people) over there are surviving.
2 P16 我也不觉得 我觉得现在的澳洲越来越靠近生存 因为这边 相对来说这边还是生活 国内是生存
I don't think so. I think life in Australian has increasingly become a matter of survival, because it is relatively a matter of living here in comparison to survival in China (lit. within the country).
3 对的 问题是现在的澳洲的情况来说 大环境来说 现在澳洲跟以前比起来已经没有那么容易了
Right, the problem is, from the current situation in Australia, speaking of the bigger environment, it is much harder to live in Australia now than it was in the past.
4 不要说我们外来的移民 现在本地的学生毕业也不是那么容易找工作
Even the local students nowadays are having difficulty in finding jobs, needless to say we immigrants from the outside.
5 这里人口 市场太小了 很多东西做起来不是那么容易
The market is too small for the population. A lot of things are not that easy to do.

To make the negative comment impersonal, Participant 16 works on building 大环境 ‘bigger environment’ as a generic collective that shapes his personal view. He stresses the universality of his perspective by situating himself as a member of the immigrants group (Line 4), letting these immigrants (including the immediate audience) into his worldview, thereby implying that they all share the same perspective.

In a similar fashion, it is not surprising to find that a great many disputed personal views are attributed to different imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) and that the speakers who bring these contested viewpoint into the interactional frame can keep away

from their “referential property associated with the immediate speech act domain” while still maintaining “his/her locus as ‘the zero-point of the spatio-temporal co-ordinates’ of ‘the deictic context’” (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 752). For example, different living environments and age differences can be used to absorb impersonal views.

- (139) Recording 2
- 1 P9 我发现那个 额 精神方面的啊 那 这就不用举了 大家都是向钱看的啊 都是看钱的啊
I found that there are too many examples. In terms of the spiritual aspects, everyone all worships money, all about money <exclamation marker>!
- 2 这个反正尤其是我们这一代 八零后什么九零后的 都是一样的
In any case, especially our current generation, post-80s and post-90s, are all the same.
- 3 你天天你就听周围的事情基本上就
Things you hear from around you every day are basically just (about money).
- ...4 P9 因为你就是 * 就是他在那边生活的环境被渲染了 他就是觉得 你你你的人生混到这个年龄
*Because you just <sudden stop> he is infected by the **living environment** over there, and he thinks that if one (lit. you) have come to this age of your life,*
- 5 就是应该有这个有那个 你没有的 那你就是有问题的 活着就是 混得不好
one (lit. you) should have this and that. (If) one (lit. you) hasn't got these, one (lit. you) has a problem, life is bad.
- 6 P11 其实我觉得现在 我可能跟你们都有代沟啊 我觉得 现在好像 我觉得回去感觉好多了
In fact, I think I probably have a generational gap with you guys now. I think nowadays I think things have become better when I go back (to China).
- 7 为什么<哈>/ 以前像中国那种志愿者啊 就是出去 sacrifice 这种 那什么 很少的 从来都没有
Why is that<interrogative particle>? In the past volunteers who sacrifice (themselves) can hardly be seen, if they ever existed,
- 8 大家都是为了自己闷头赚钱 闷头干活 现在呢/ 因为很多人 就是开始关注公益了吧
***and everyone** just (used to) work for themselves to make money. how about now <interrogative particle>? A lot of people start to pay attention to charity <exclamation particle>!*
- 9 就说什么志愿者啊 我觉得好很多 以前**大家**谁去 who care 就是 care 现在算是一份大义
*Such as volunteers, I think, are a lot more. In the past **everyone**, who would care, (people who) care now are generous.*
- 10 现在大家在关心跟你没有关系的事情
*Now **everyone** is concerned with things that are not related to oneself (lit. you).*

In this example, the disparity between the two interactants lies in how much materialism is perceived as characterising the contemporary pop culture in China. While Participant 9 is of the opinion that people in Chinese, due to the current living environment in China, are getting more materialistic. She implies that overseas Chinese are living in a different “environment”. Participant 11 does not agree with the assessment. According to her, she has a different view because of her age difference with the audience, which implies that those who are of the same age group could agree with her (Line 6). This kind of conflation is reinforced by her desire to metonymically position herself as speaking on behalf of older generations who have seen the change over the years (Line 7). This way, she avoids criticising others who might be short-sighted due to the lack of comparative perspective.

Once again, it can be interpreted as an expression of a collective identity on her part, one that is not shared by other interlocutors. Judging by the occurrence of 大家 ‘everyone’ throughout the rest of the utterance (Lines 8 to 10), which is another ambiguous indefinite reference, the speaker’s intention is to contextualise her personal view at an impersonal level. This way she can minimise the face-threatening effect due to distinguishing the differed group identities. Moreover, 大家 ‘everyone’ neutralises her assertion so that she can avoid sounding too opinionated in front of the young addressees.

This last subsection further explores participants’ ways of constructing appropriate relational self-representation intersubjectively with other co-present participants through accommodation. Accommodating other co-participants’ utterances, speakers converse to construct a real-time discourse community with others. Convergent accommodation highlights the sharedness which engages discourse participants to commit to a common ground. Approximating the universal values in the statement which the interlocutors agree upon can bring comfort for people in the current cohort who share the same thought. It also helps to ground a general conclusion that applies to a much wider scope which is beyond the immediate deictic context. The impersonal uses of pronouns are found to be particularly prominent in these accommodating utterances.

Some speakers also minimise their own personal involvement in the convergent accommodations, using zero anaphora, indefinite pronouns and other impersonal constructions. Avoiding explicit and direct references to speakers themselves may be seen as an act of politeness, but more importantly people perceive themselves as the interchangeable exemplars of social categories to fulfill the pragmatic purpose. Without explicit reference to the speakers and the interlocutors, the impersonal constructions presuppose agreement in the interactive context, through which a discursive space for a sense of shared self is being constructed.

In cases of negative accommodation, the current cohort of Chinese speakers tends to use public consciousness as a mediator to express negative comments in a non-face-threatening manner. A generic space suppresses the normal deictic context which would concern either the speaker or the addressees. It might be a characteristic of Chinese culture that negative opinions are difficult to express in public if the comments are concerned with other people in the immediate context.

From the perspective of cognition, the listeners are more than just the object or receiver of the speaker's utterance, but are internalised as part of the speaker's subjective world through imagination. When the individuals convey their own opinions in reaction to previously made statements, they have already presumed common knowledge, presupposed agreement and/or pre-empted counter-arguments. The very action of accommodating statements made by other interlocutors, positively or negatively, reinforces the part that is shared by one another. The aforementioned ways of avoiding direct references to the listeners reflect the speaker's intention to minimising individual selves and building a sense of shared self which is can be extended to other individuals.

6.2 Construal of relationship and proximity in discourse

From the perspective of perceptual cognition, construction of the relational aspect of self can be a matter of emergent constituency (Grundy & Jiang, 2001; Hanks, 1992, 2009; Rubin, 1915/1958). Speakers' linguistic choices, such as the employment of metaphors, indicate a social space which enables speakers to project social relationships onto their corresponding physical locations (e.g., Fillmore, 1983; Jackendoff & Landau, 1991; Talmy, 1978, 1983; Zhou & Fu, 1996). The conceptual metaphor analysis examines descriptions of interpersonal relationships and proximity in Chinese.

It is found in the data that the ways interpersonal relationships and proximity are represented involve the schematisation of objective manipulation, motion in space and sense of space. This result reflects the observation that individual's navigation in the world is built upon a cognitive anchor. The analytical results demonstrate the existence of imagined self-position within dyadic relationships and its designated cognitive patterns in Chinese.

6.2.1 PATH

A person's navigation in the social world often corresponds to physical movements in space, which can be classified as a primary conceptual metaphor as they are derived directly from experiential correlations, or "conflations in everyday experience" (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 49). This primary metaphor echoes one of the most commonly recognised metaphors, which is LIFE IS JOURNEY (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

The PATH metaphor in Chinese is very socially oriented. In all of the examples, the PATH metaphor features different metaphorical entailments which are evoked flexibly and pragmatically, depending on the contextual situation.

The participants see themselves walking along a path as they make progress, as reflected in utterances in bold in the following examples:

- (140) Recording 3
P13 **路不能往回走啊 要往前走** 就觉得往前走的话 那就选择一个比较独立的生活方式吧
(I) cannot travel backwards, need to go forward, if (I) keeping going forward, (I) choose a more independent lifestyle.
- (141) Recording v5
P25 我**走一步看一步** 我拿到就是我的 我拿不到就是随缘
I think twice each step I take; I get what I get if not (I) let fate decide.
- (142) Recording 5v
P25 我心里想怎么可能 都**走到这一步了**
I think inside (my) heart “how is it possible, (I) have already travelled too far (to give up)”.
- (143) Recording 2
P11 随便他**怎么走** 顺其自然
He can go wherever he wants, let it be.
- (144) Recording 3
P14 **夹在**曾经自己是小孩子 看着父母的那个阶段的生活
Get stuck in the stage of live where parents used to be when I was once a child.

Mappings:

- (i) MAKING PERSONAL PROGRESS IS TRAVELLING PHYSICAL DISTANCE.
(ii) MAKING GOOD PROGRESS IS MOVING AHEAD.
(iii) HAVING DIFFICULTY IS BEING UNABLE TO MOVE.

The PATH can also be conceptualised in the plural form, as manifested in (145) and (146):

- (145) Recording 3
P16 多一个路子能走 留一条后路
Have one more path to take, leave a back path.
- (146) Recording 5
P25 我们给你设想了一条路 那你就**按这条路去走** 是这种感觉
It is the feeling that “we have prepared a path for you, then you just walk along this path”.

To have more than one path is to have more than one choice in life. Participant 25 implies that apart from the choice her parents have made for her, she can make the choice differently. In modern Chinese, friendship can also be metaphorically presented as a PATH, such as 多个朋友多条路 *duoge pengyou duotiaolu* ‘one more friend is one more path’. Due to the relational and interdependent nature of one’s social existence in the Chinese culture (see discussion in Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3), the PATH metaphor, in its plural form, speaks of this inherent social orientation with its cognition.

In addition to plurality, the direction is not restricted to having only a single direction. The social contingencies of its application might have shaped this flexible conceptualisation.

In Chinese, 后路 *houlu* ‘back path’ refers to a back-up plan in case things did not go as planned. In other words, if necessary, one should be prepared to give in to the unfavourable outcome given the unpredictable external circumstances which are beyond one’s control.

The setting of the PATH can involve other people as much as the completion of the PATH, as shown in the next four examples. The PATH signifies developing social and interpersonal relationships:

- (147) Recording 1.1
P5 也许你走得比别人更快 但这个就是短期和长期的
Perhaps you walk faster than others in the long run or in the short terms.
- (148) Recording 2
P9 在这边你能成为是朋友的 基本上就是 reliable 的 就是能走很远的
But those who become friends here basically are reliable, with whom (you) can **walk a long way**.
- (149) Recording 3
P15 志同道合的朋友
Friends that share the same aspiration and walk along the same path.

Several student participants have expressed frustration that they are walking along the path that their parents have chosen for them, such as Participant 5 in (147). In terms of having companions on these paths, good companions are characterised as covering long distances (148) and sharing the same destination (149). Peer competition can be conceptualised in terms of speed (149).

A sustainable interpersonal relationship can be described as a linear movement. On a temporal-spatial scale, different features of the PATH signify different results. Corresponding to the PATH metaphor, the successful development of interpersonal relationships can be mapped onto the physical action of moving forward. Conversely, if the relationship fails to develop, it remains in the past:

- (150) Recording 3
1 P13 有的时候我还是挺失落的 为什么只能活在过去才能感受到这段友谊 我会有这段感觉
Sometimes I am quite disappointed. Why could I only feel this friendship by living in the past?
2 所以我就 怎么说呢 我希望还能继续下去 但是我们的友谊只停留在过去 我就很失望 操心
So I wish I can still continue our friendship which seems to have stopped in the past. This makes me feel disappointed and worried.

From Example (150), friendship is conceptualised as an object heading towards a destination along a path, continuity can be regarded as a cognitive model for having successfully maintained interpersonal communication.

Communication in Chinese can also be conceptualised as a pathway. Successful communication is the result of a clear exchange of ideas. The transmission of these ideas can

be represented in terms of travelling in a physical space, or through a 渠道 *qudao* ‘passage’ in space:

- (151) Recording 3
P13 没有渠道的话不行
It won't work without channel.

Since communication involves information travelling from one end to another, when it comes to the possible disparities between the persons that are interpersonally connected, good communication in the metaphorical terms can involve the clearance of obstacles in the pathway:

- (152) Recording 1.1
P4 沟通的障碍
Communication obstacles.
- (153) Recording 3
P14 会让人变得有很大的隔膜 没法找回从前的样子
It would create a very big barrier, making people unable to find what is used to be like.

Its continuity would be obstructed if 障碍 *zhangai* ‘obstacles’ and 隔膜 *gemo* ‘barrier or estrangement’ are not cleared out of the way. A good and lasting friendship should overcome misunderstandings which is conceptualised as things that are blocking the PATH or PATHWAY. It could be said that the metaphors found in these two examples reflect a combination of two cognitive models, the PATH and the FORCE.

6.2.2 FORCE

Having analysed companionship in terms of physical movement in space, this subsection will analyse the participants’ depiction of interpersonal relationships in terms of the exertion of physical force.

In the comments some participants make, imposing an opinion on other people is metaphorically described as exerting excessive force, which is socially not desirable. For instance, to have an influence on other people by 左右 *zuoyou* ‘steer[ing] left or right’ or 驾驭 *jiayu* ‘manipulat[ing] (literally driving)’ can cause a loss of individuality on the affected party, which then can be a sign of showing a lack of respect:

- (154) Recording 2
1 P7 就会做一个参考 但不会被他们左右吧我觉得
I think (I) will accept the advice without being steered left or right by them.
- 2 P8 而且我觉得这边人一般不会驾驭别人 你做什么 别人也会觉得那是你自己的想法
Also I think people here in general won't drive others. People will think it is your own idea to decide what you want to do.

If the force is applied appropriately, however, it fosters good and sustainable relationships. From participants' description of their ideal friendship or friends, a common nurturing force can be identified. This is expressed as giving support from underneath, which is manifested in the metaphorical expressions in the following examples:

- (155) Recording 4
 P22 尤其大家出来以后就是要互相帮助 互相帮忙 互相**支撑**
*Especially everyone should help each other and **support** each other after coming abroad.*
- (156) Recording 5
 P23 是不是可以**托付**的朋友
*Whether or not a friend that (one) can **trust** (lit. **be supported from below**).*

In Chinese, both 撑 *cheng* and 托 *tuo* mean 'support from underneath', without which a structure would fall apart. With regard to sustaining interpersonal relationships, having mutual support can be particularly important when one is faced with pressure. This pressure can be conceptualised in terms of weight. The greater the weight is, the bigger the pressure is. A good friend gives supporting forces and with whom one can 分担 *fendan* 'share the load' to perform better.

In the data, various forms of physical force can be found to correspond to the manners whereby two or more people who are involved in relationships treat each other. According to the participants comments, one party can exert an influence more proactively on another, such as 拽 *zhuai* 'pull' which metaphorical refers to saving someone from danger and 抬 *tai* 'lift' which can mean giving someone compliments. The latter, especially, reflects a sense of unequal distribution of physical force in terms of vertical movement in space.

Indeed, the direction of the force not only suggests the purpose of the social interaction, but can also suggest unequal social status of the people who are in a relationship. For example, a force from above corresponds to showing no respect. One participant describes the attitude of his boss towards himself as "condescending":

- (157) Recording 1.1
 1 P5 鬼佬如果他是 manager 他不会像华人老板这样 直接命令你做什么事 他会是跟你商量讨论
Unlike an ethnic Chinese boss who commands you do something, a Western manager instead will discuss it with you,
- 2 通常情况下都是会这样 他不会是说 XXX 你一定要把这件事怎么样
usually, he won't say "<name of participant> you must do this in this way".
- 3 他不会是这样无理地去要求 所以 因为他没有那种**居高临下**的感觉
*He won't demand unreasonably, because he does not have a **condescending attitude** (lit. **situating higher and facing down below**).*

To occupy a position at a higher level in the physical space than another reflects the power relationship between the two people, with higher-up meaning having more power. Inequality of socio-cultural status can stress interpersonal relationships and make each person within the relationship feel unconformable, as if they are constrained by some physical force. The participants in different groups express similar feelings, particularly that they would feel much more relaxed when a relationship is built on equality:

(158) Recording 1.1

- 1 P1 我觉得我们公司等级制度非常森严 manager 就是 manager 下面下属就是下属
I think our company is very hierarchical, manager and subordinates are clearly defined,
2 下面的同事大家聊天没什么 然后大家会比较没有什么**拘束**地说话
*all of the colleagues below can chat easily without feeling **restricted** (lit. bound up).*

In Chinese culture, maintaining good interpersonal relationships can be regarded as one of the priorities that a person should keep. It is because relational-oriented personhood has been taught and sustained in the ancient classics, especially Confucianism (cf. Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3). These Chinese immigrants who have experienced both the collectivist Chinese society and the individualistic Australian society talk about the complexity of relation-keeping. Some say that they much more “relaxed” in the relationships with Australian friends:

(159) Recording 3

- P14 我觉得我觉得在澳洲跟朋友相处相对**更轻松** 无论是关系特别亲近或者不亲近 大家都**很放松**
*I think it is more **relaxed** (lit. lighter and loose) with friends in Australia regardless of the nature of the relationship being very close or not, everyone is very **relaxed** (lit. loose).*

(160) Recording 3

- P13 我喜欢你就好 不需要了解你的背景 就这方面的话我觉得**好轻松**
*“As long as I like you, (I) don’t need to know your background very well”, from this respect, I feel very **relaxed** (lit. lighter and loose).*

A good friendship is conceptualised as having less pressure because they do not need to worry about what other people think about themselves (159) or losing their privacy (160). Both of these obligations are metaphorically conceptualised as unnecessary constraints, without which a more desirable interpersonal relationship can be sustained.

This “relaxed” interpersonal relationship, according to the participants, is characterised by a sense of open-mindedness which can be found in expressions like 看得开 *kandekai* ‘able to see openly’ and 洒脱开放 *satuo kaifang* ‘open and easy’. Although, it is difficult to determine all the constituents of this so-called open-mindedness, it seems that open-mindedness helps to facilitate better interpersonal interaction.

Metaphorically speaking, if the two parties can be easy-going, they can avoid coercion, which corresponds to exerting excessive force in the physical realm.

- (161) Recording 2
1 P9 个人先**想开了** 然后再 再好好谈一谈啊
*One should **think openly** before having a good conversation with (others).*
- (162) Recording 2
1 P10 他们就比较偏激 就是没有像这边的人那么**看得开** 或者说这个性格没有像这边人那么柔和
*They are very aggressive, not like people here who are **able to see openly**, personality wise, not as gentle as people here,*
2 攻击性比较强 他们可能是从小就处在一种比较压迫 或者比较竞争的那种环境中成长过来的
(people in China) are rather aggressive. Perhaps they have been situated in and grown up within that kind of oppressed or competitive environment since (they were) young.
3 所以你去国内的小孩子和这边的小孩子也是完全的 是 不一样的
So you compare children in China (lit. within the country) to children here, (they) are completely different.
4 像这边的小孩子就可能 他们的思想就更加简单一点
Children here might have much simpler thinking.
5 我觉得 他们国内的小孩子他们可能就会不一样感觉
I think the children in China (lit. within the country), they might have different feelings.
6 所以这一点我就觉得 额 生活在这样一个环境里 可能在**心理上面的压力**会小一点
*So from this respect I think, living in such an environment (in Australia), (one) can suffer from **less psychological pressure**.*
7 会感觉 额 大家都是那样比较 额 平和的一种心态
(one) will feel that everyone is rather peaceful in mind.
8 这样感觉 这样的生活就会让我感觉更加**舒服**一点
*With this feeling, life would make me feel a bit more **comfortably at ease**.*

The speaker of (161) suggests that going easy on oneself is the prerequisite for good communication with others. **看得开** ‘Be[ing] able to see openly’ in (162) can also be interpreted as being easy-going which, according to this speaker, is a favourable personality trait (Lines 1 and 2). To go easier on oneself can bring less pressure (Line 6), which makes everyone peaceful (Line 7) and interpersonal interaction more comfortable (8). However, if the two parties both act aggressively, it leads to the strained interpersonal relationship:

- (163) Recording 2
1 P9 就是他们要一起竞争什么东西 他可能会 会有一些**瓜葛** 但是通常应该还 还好吧
*If they want to compete with each other for something, (he) probably would **have something to do with others (lit have some connected parts)**, but in the general terms, (I feel) ok.*
2 也有 也有不和的 我有见到过 差点就**撕撕**了起来的
*There are also conflicts I have witnessed, people nearly **got into a fight by tearing each other up**.*

As Participant 9 describes, the two competitors can be 有**瓜葛** *youguoge* ‘entangle[d]’ in the competition relationship, and end up **撕** *si* ‘tear[ing] up’ their interpersonal relationship as a result of aggressive competition.

The termination of an interpersonal relationship can also be called 断 *duan* ‘break[ing] off’ in metaphorical terms. As the liberal sense of the word implies, the friendship comes to an end if the two parties cannot find the connection between the two:

(164) Recording 4

1 P21 你只要联系一断 哪怕那种时间一长以后 你们不太好找入对接点
Once your connection is broken off, even after a long time, you find it difficult to find the connecting point.

Sustainable communication cannot happen if the two people do not interact. Lack of involvement, in this sense, can be metaphorically represented as failing to join. In Chinese, 断 *duan* ‘disconnect’ signifies both the physical status of disconnection and detachment, and termination and discontinuity in the abstract sense. Therefore, what brings the different parties together corresponds to a force of unity. This unity can be impaired as result of inactivity, as in (164), or can be broken due to more violent causes, as in (163).

6.2.3 Proximity and DISTANCE

Distance in spatial terms is another common source concept. Distance in space is ubiquitous when self and other are put in the same dyad. Participants use distance to define the context of interactions as 彼此之间 ‘space between one and other’ and 人与人之间 *renyuren zhijian* ‘space between people’, or to define more specific interpersonal encounters as 国人之间 *guoren zhijian* ‘space between fellow Chinese’ and 国际生之间 *guojisheng zhijian* ‘space between internationals’ in a given cultural context. Finally, 朋友之间 *pengyou zhijian* ‘space between friends’ and 亲戚之间 *qinqi zhijian* ‘space between relatives’ can be used to specify the social context.

The intimacy between people who are involved in a relationship and the affective bonding between those two people can be mapped onto the physical manipulation of distance. To move closer is to increase intimacy, thereby developing interpersonal ties:

(165) Recording 3

P15 喜欢的就走的近一点
Walk closer to people (I) like.

(166) Recording 3

P17 我去年回去跟我爸关系更亲近了
When I went back last year, (my) relationship with (my) father became even closer.

In Chinese, the metaphorical term 亲近 *qinjin* ‘intimate close’ describes the intimacy of the interrelated persons. If the intimacy grows stronger, the two person will feel closer to

each other, which is mapped on the shortened distance between two objects, as in (166). On the other hand, if the person is willing to develop the relationship, he or she can choose to make more effort, which corresponds to the purposeful action of moving across the space to be closer to the object, as in (165).

Conversely, 疏远 *shuyuan* ‘estrangle (literally stay away)’ is a symbolic gesture of estrangement:

- (167) Recording 5
P25 但我其实是刚出来的时候跟我国内同学是疏远挺长时间
But I in fact when I just came out here for a long time (I was) distant from classmates in China (lit. within the country).
- (168) Recording 2
P8 但是一般的朋友 反而跟你就是距离拉远了
On the contrary, you have distanced (yourself from) ordinary friends.

It can also be a symbolic gesture of one’s unwillingness to develop a relationship. In all groups, participants talk about distancing as an interpersonal strategy if one gets too involved with people they do not like, for example:

- (169) Recording 3
1 P15 当你发现这个人跟你心目中的不一样的时候 当你发现他的价值观跟你不一样
When you realise that this person is not the same as what you have in mind, or when you discover his values are not the same as yours,
2 那你就会变得不认同这个人 那就会跟他疏远
you would not identify with this person, and would distance him.
- (170) Recording 4
P18 你不喜欢他 你可以疏远嘛
If you don’t like him, you can just distance him.
- (171) Recording 1.1
P2 不是很熟悉的人面前去讲别人的坏话 我觉得像这种人的话一般可能就是
I think people who speak ill of others in front of unfamiliar people,
属于是你是跟他讲不清的那种人 就是 stay away 真的
are those whom you cannot reason with, and you should stay away.
- (172) Recording 4
P20 就自然疏远那种 我也不可能删她好友 那样子太明显
(I) will just distance that person without deleting that person from my contacts. That will seem too obvious.

It is interesting to note that the participants mainly talk about distancing rather than cutting off a connection completely. The latter only shows up once throughout the five group discussions. Maintaining sound networking can be a necessary utilitarian approach to gathering social capital; to cut someone off completely might be considered unwise.

From a cultural perspective, Chinese selfhood, especially in Confucianism, is a configuration of interdependent relational selves. The self would become meaningless if

separated from relations with others; failing to maintain relationships would put one's personhood in danger. Therefore, avoiding cutting off interpersonal relationships can be seen as a cultural attitude which has been handed down across generations from ancient past to the present. This cultural belief in an interdependent relational existence might have formed a modern Chinese person's conceptualisation of his or her own person in relation to others:

(173) Recording 2

- 1 P9 在这边你能成为是朋友的 基本上就是 reliable 的 就是能走很远的
But those who become friends here basically are reliable, with whom (you) can walk a long way,
- 2 但是 但是就是如果接触一两次觉得不行的话 那很可能以后基本上就失联了
but if do not get on after meeting once or twice, there is no need to keep that contact in the future,
- 3 基本上就失去联系了 不会再联系了
basically will lose the contact, there will be no more contact.
- 4 可是你在在 你在中国的话 有些朋友是你跟他不是很好 但是你多多少少你很难去失联的
But if one/I (lit. you) is in China, even though one/I (lit. you) doesn't get along with some friends, one/I (lit. you) cannot drop them,
- 5 你就是在在一个地方 你就是不想再见到他 你偶尔还是会碰到他
one/I (lit. you) is living in the same place (as that friend), one/I (lit. you) would still bump into him occasionally, even if one/I (lit. you) doesn't want to see him.

The speaker of Example (173) feels that she is at liberty to maintain contact or cut off contact with others in Australia (Lines 2 and 3). However, she is not free to do so in China (Lines 4 and 5). Although she explains that some people are hard to avoid as a matter of probability, the true reason might lie in the cultural constraint.

Sun Lung-Kee (1991, p. 29) explains that the blurring line between self and other in Chinese makes a Chinese individual more likely to treat others as mere extensions of his or her own needs. In light of cross-cultural comparison, if Chinese person can feel a greater need to maintain interpersonal relationships in the Chinese context than in the Australian context, what the speaker finds difficult to avoid is not so much about people, but this cultural atmosphere.

The Chinese blurring line between self and other is also conducive to the participants' assessment of their interpersonal relationship maintenance. Two participants reflect upon her estrangement from her parents and produce the utterance in Example (174). They lament the loss of closeness with friends and parents at home.

- (174) Recording 3
- 1 P15 其实可能太久了 毕竟不是老在父母身边的 所以感觉可能不一样
After being away from parents for so long, (one) would feel differently.
- 2 是 就是你还有这种感觉 但是又跟你想象中的有些不同
One/I (lit. You) can still feel it, but it is different from what one/I (lit. you) has imagined.
- 3 因为时间一直在变 读了十几年了 很难讲 对 就是疏远的感觉
Because time is passing, after more than a decade of studying, it is the feeling of distanced.
- 4 R 就是说跟父母的感受都不太一样 那你觉得他们哪些方面不一样
Regarding feeling differently towards parents, what aspects does that include?
- 5 P12 而且就是价值观之类的 你已经独立了
In terms of values, one/I (lit. you) has already been independent.
- 6 你自己建立的思想观念和价值观已经和父母的不一樣了
The ideas and values one (lit. you) builds for oneself are not the same as one's parents'.
- 7 P15 而且我觉得 我爸妈和我想象中的爸妈不一样了 都有可能
Also I think it is also possible that my parents are different from the parents I had in my imagination.
- 8 但更多的原因是我在国外我接受我的改变更多一点 他们可能变化更少
But mostly because I accept more of my change since I have been abroad, but they change less.
- 9 所以我觉得他们是这样的 但是他们可能跟这边的不一样 那我就觉得很惊讶 怎么会这样子
So I think they are probably different from people here. I was surprised, how did it happen.

Because of this blurring line, a Chinese person might be more likely to see his or her own identity as something “mirrored” in the opinions of others. The increasing distance between themselves and their old contacts in China, friends and family, reflects their change of identity which no longer builds on the opinions of the original significant others. As Participants 12 and 15 contend, they have established a different set of values for themselves that are very different from their parents’, which has led to their estrangement.

6.2.4 The social circle as a CONTAINER

This subsection summaries expressions found in the data that reflect a CONTAINER structure. CONTAINER is found to be a common conceptual vehicle that conveys our imagined positions within dyadic relationships. Proximity in interpersonal relationships can be conceptualised as situating within an enclosed CONTAINER. Social fusion can be metaphorically described as fluid flowing in and out of the CONTAINER.

ENCLOSED CONTAINER

Participants also talk about their associates as 圈子 *quanzi* ‘circle’. If one is to be estranged from a group of people, who is to exist the 圈子 *quanzi* ‘circle’; if one can regain common interest with a group of people, one is able to 回到大家那个圈子里面 *huidao dajia nage quanzi limian* ‘com[ing] back to the social circle that everyone was in’ (cf. Example (132) in Section 6.1.4). In this case, the CONTAINER forms the basis of the construal for a group of people (cf. Section 7.2.1 of Chapter 7 regarding the construal of the collective self) that the individual can come IN or OUT OF.

Some participants also use the word 过了 *guole* ‘across the boundary’ as a metaphorical expression for rude behaviour, such as invading other people’s privacy. Section 5.2.2 in Chapter 5 has analysed “crossing the line” in terms of violating one’s fundamental principles. The expression 过了 *guole* ‘across the boundary’ is used with a different social implication. Participant 4 in Example (175) uses the expression 过了 ‘across the boundary’ to describe the discrepancy between her expectation and other’s behaviours in terms of socialising in an appropriate manner.

(175) Recording 1.1

P4 然后他会觉得说太过了 关你什么事儿 而且或者说 或者说我 我 我们家里做了什么事情

1 *Then he would think (it is) **crossing the boundary**, what’s that got to do with you, or (discussing) what we did at home.*

就说觉得有的时候稍微过了 就有这样的

2 *(Discussing things like these) can sometimes **cross the boundary** a bit, (some people) are like this.*

Perhaps Participant 4 is only willing to share “what’s at home” with the very close associates (Line 1) who are conceptualised as within the boundary. However, if a person is not perceived as a close associate, then that person has no right to share the intimate information.

Beyond the familiar and unfamiliar there exists the unknown. The participants speak of “breaking out of the social circle” they have built with their frequent acquaintances, which implies that the conceptualisation of social circle features restriction and separation. The participants in Examples (176), (177) and (178) all refer to the action of seeking wider social contact or dismissing existing social contact in terms of jumping out of the 圈子 *quanzi* ‘circle’:

(176) Recording 1.1

P4 那样的生活我就不想要 我就想要跳出去 跳出去有什么办法呢/

*That is not the life I want, I just want to **jump out jump out**, but how <interrogative particle>?*

(177) Recording 4

P19 从那个圈里出来跳到另一个圈

Jump out of that circle and into another one.

(178) Recording 2

P10 朋友圈子不是 我是觉得想融入这个社会吧 不是 也不能总是混在中国人的圈子里

*(Not being confined) in the friendship **circle**, as I want to **merge into the mainstream of this society.***

*(One) cannot just always stay within the Chinese **circle.***

Some participants describe the experience of going abroad as a fortress besieged where both people who remain in China and those who have gone overseas cannot sympathise with one another or even mistake the other’s misfortune for happiness. Example (179) describes the meaning of this fortress besieged that separates the two camps apart:

(179) Recording 4

- 1 P21 跟她感受的 之前说的一样 围城围城嘛 就是里面的人想出去 外面的呢人想进来
(My feeling) is similar to what she said, **fortress besieged, fortress besieged**⁵²<exclamation particle>! people inside want to **get out** and people from outside want to **go in**,
2 就是等于说 你的经历别人不懂 然后别人羡慕你的东西呢 嗯 你也
it means people cannot understand your experience and what people are envious about (is not necessarily the things you feel proud of yourself).

A lack of familiarity can be referred to as being separated by a wall that surrounds us. And seeking understanding of the unknown can be described as travelling to the other side of the wall.

FLUID-INSIDE-CONTAINER

The metaphorical correlation between social fusion and harmony in Chinese depends heavily on water imagery, which can also be exemplified in the notions that come out of participants' discussion. The imagery of water underscores the FLUID-INSIDE-CONTAINER metaphor which is seen in expressions relating to building personal networks or associating with other people. According to the participants, if one manages to befriend local Australians, he or she can 跟他们混成一片 *gen tamen huncheng yipian* 'blend into one pond with them'. If one has difficulty staying within a social group, he or she might be 混不下去 *hunbu xiaqu* 'unable to continue blending'. If several people stick together, they can be said to be 混在一起 *hunzai yiqi* 'mixed up together'. The verb 混 *hun* 'blend in liquid' is the key term among all these expressions used by the participants.

Another socialisation term that the participants use is 融 *rong* 'melt' which also draws on the metaphorical correlation with the fluidity of liquid. It forms the basis of several social activities, such as 融入 *rongru* 'melt[ing] into' mainstream society, 融合 *ronghe* 'fus[ing]' two cultural groups and having 融洽 *rongqia* 'well blended' or harmonious interpersonal relations with family members:

(180) Recording 3

- P14 我会觉得更理解父母 家庭 因为以前沉浸 在家庭里面
*I will be more understanding towards parent, because (I) used to be **immersed** in the family.*

(181) Recording 3

- P12 读 uni 经常一帮人泡在一起 然后他们那帮人又认识另一帮人 就经常泡着泡着 你就会熟下来
*When studying at uni, there was often a group of people **infused** together, then that group would meet another group, **infusion after infusion**, one (lit. you) would be familiar (with a lot of people).*

⁵² Refer to footnote 47.

沉浸 *chenjin* ‘immerse’ and 泡 *pao* ‘infuse’ are two terms which are highly metaphorical, referring to the action of spending a long time with other people. In Chinese cultural, the imagery of water can be interpreted as carrying rich symbolic meanings, such as harmony, which can encapsulate various age-old philosophical principles that are drawn from the interactions between the natural and human worlds (e.g., Allan, 1997; Lu, 2012).

With regard to the conceptualisation of self and others in social relations in the Chinese milieu, the self and other should be understood as mutually entailing and interdependent correlatives (cf. Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3). From the use of these metaphorical expressions that reflect the conceptualisation of interpersonal relationships in Chinese, it can be said that connectedness and interdependence has a cognitive basis when one comes to thinking of his or her social counterparts.

While the person can be embodied as a container of personal beliefs and propositions (see analysis in 5.2), negotiations of opinions as a result of interpersonal interactions can also be conceptualised in terms of outpouring or mixing substances. The metaphorical term 灌输 *guanshu* ‘instil’ in Chinese means teaching of moral values. The participants use this term to talk about teaching the younger generation filial piety and their responsibilities towards senior family members as well as Chinese identity. 灌输 ‘instil’ evokes the metaphorical image of pouring water into a container which correlates with the successful reception of knowledge as having the container filled up with water. Negotiation of opinions can also be directional. The transmission of knowledge can take two modes, efflux in terms of 讲出来 *jiangchulai* ‘speak[ing] out’ or influx in terms of 听进去 *tingjinqi* ‘listen[ing] into’.

6.2.5 The social sphere by SYNECDOCHE

This final part of the cognitive linguistic analysis continues to explore how other conceptual vehicles convey our self-directing and culturally shaped meanings of being a person who is situated in a network of interpersonal relationships. Participants’ descriptions of their relationship with other associates reflect different image-schematic or metonymic relationships between the self and social world. Two models have been identified. They are the CENTRE–PERIPHERY model and the WHOLE FOR PART model.

CENTRE–PERIPHERY

The participants in the study call their immediate associates 周围人 *zhouweiren* ‘people around’, which reflects the structure of a CENTRE–PERIPHERY image schema. It is a

cognitive schematic structure that is constantly operating in our spatial perception (Johnson, 1987, p. 124). As Johnson (1987) explains, from our central vantage point we define a domain of macroscopic objects that reside at varying distances from us. The social world radiates out from the self as the perceptual centre. The self occupies a central position and others are distributed at the outskirts with a varying degree of distance from the core depending on the familiarity with the self.

We have better knowledge about people that 周围 *zhouwei* ‘surround’. They are the ones the speakers associate on a frequent basis whose opinions can be more important. The participants suggest that they are more emotionally engaged with these people:

(182) Recording 2

1 P10 我想做一件事情 周围人 甚至 主要是一些 我比较亲近的一些人能够支持我一下
(If) I want to do one thing (I would hope that) people around, mainly people to whom I am close, can support me.

2 如果我对那个人的关系不是很好 或者我对他有 个人有看法 那他支持不支持都无所谓
It does not matter too much if someone with whom I don't have a close relationship or whom I don't think highly of does not support me.

(183) Recording 5

1 P25 我来之前 因为我来之前我周围同学跟我差不多嘛 家乡背景差不多
Before I came, my classmates around and myself were from the same hometown and of similar backgrounds,

2 在一个城市长大 然后都差不多 我来这边之后我发现周围人跟我想的都不一样
(we) grew up in the same city, and we are almost the same, after I came here I found people around are all different from me.

3 那个时候就纠结了很久
(I) was disturbed for a long time during that time.

Familiarity is mapped onto distance. A greater familiarity also offers more emotional assurance. The speaker of (182) says he values support from those that are closer to him much more than others. However, if one is not completely understood by people around them, as in (183), one can be very distressed. Feeling the sense of belonging to other people can be motivational. For example, the speaker of Example (184) regards the having a concentrated social network essential to her social being:

(184) Recording 3

1 P14 然后关系就会更亲近 感觉大家在一起 这种凝聚力 回到大本营
The relationships get closer, feeling like everyone is all together and having that kind of concentration, (feeling of) returning to base camp,

2 这种亲情凝聚在一块儿的感觉是在这边没法体会到的
that kinship concentrated to one place is what is missing here.

Another expression that reflects the conceptualisation of one's social world that reflects the structure of social radiation is 交集 *jiaoji* ‘intersection of two radiations’. Intersection is used to conceptualise things that people have in common. The spatial area of

that intersection refers to how much that two persons are related or willing to share. This expression is found to refer to mutual friends or common ground, see in Examples (185) and (186):

- (185) Recording 3
P13 你会觉得是歧视吗 还是觉得他只是不想跟你**有交集**
*Do you think (it is) discrimination <interrogative particle>? Or just think he simply does not want to **associate (lit. have intersection)** with you?*
- (186) Recording 3
P15 比如晚自习之后可以出去走一圈 打球啊
*For instance, (we) can go out for a walk after studying in the evening or to play basketball together, **有一些交集** 就没有的话 其实你们的没有什么互相接触发展了 **having some intersection (common friends)**, if not, in fact you don't really have any possibilities to develop (friendship).*

People's social radiation is going through constant fluid transformation as some people can develop into familiar acquaintances and some do not:

- (187) Recording 4
P20 但有些人他会**牵涉到你** 我觉得很烦
*But some people might **sill involve and include you**. I feel annoyed.*
- (188) Recording 3
P15 就算你俩再好 也只有这个**范围** 你没有其他事情能**让你俩更亲近**
*Even if the two of you are very good, there is a **bounded area**, as there are no other things that can **bring the two of you any closer**.*
- (189) Recording 3
1 P16 就比如说我自己一个**圈子** 如果是**外来的** 不一样的话 我还是会
*For instance, I have a **circle myself**, when there is someone who **comes from outside**,*
2 不能排斥吧 就选择**不要太接近**
*(I) cannot reject (that person), but (I) can choose **not become too close** (to that person).*

In these three utterances, the periphery position manifests a reduced degree of intimacy, which in spatial terms is characterised by being remote from the perceptual centre. If others force themselves into one's established degree to familiarity, it can lead to distress, as in (187). Some set a boundary to stop interpersonal relationship from developing, as shown in (188). Then, the action of increasing or deducing familiarity can be conceptualised on the scale of distance to oneself, as one can keep a stranger at the edge of the circle, as indicated in (189).

According to Johnson's (1987) CENTRE-PERIPHERY model, it is the self who dwells at the centre that manipulates the distance with others, which suggests the self as occupying the deictic centre. That is, the self who remains at the subject position is responsible for breaking

out of this radiation as much as building it⁵³. Based on participants' comments, it is not always the case. According to the speaker of Example (190), people move in and out of our established friends' 圈子 *quanzi* 'circle' freely:

(190) Recording 2

P7 所以说我觉得这边朋友圈子的话流动性比较大 就说你交朋友的频率和机会会更多
So I think friend circle here is flowing very fast, you have more chance of meeting new friends.

Examples (190) shows that the establishment of friendship is metaphorically referred to as “flowing into” the circle (cf. Section 6.2.4). A shared social space is being built between people who belong together, its ever-changing dynamics can be metaphorically attributed to the fluid flowing IN or OUT OF the CONTAINER. This conceptualisation is devoid of a perpetual centre. The fluidity model suggests that both self and others are subject to changes in terms of either being “inside” the 圈子 ‘circle’ or on the “outside”.

WHOLE FOR PART

A person amidst the interwoven social relations, from the perspective of imaginative cognition, co-construct the society with other relating people. The relationship between person and society, by synecdoche, is not necessarily represented by the dualistic relationship that the CENTRE-PERIPHERY (Johnson, 1987) perspective suggests. Then the WHOLE FOR PART constitutes the primary conceptual metonymy. Then a whole serves as a reference point for accessing one of its parts (W. Lin, 2010, p. 8). This cognitive model for person and society denies the person's position as holding the imagined centre. Instead, its locus is the primacy of situation over person.

The notion of 环境造人 *huanjing zaoren* ‘the environment creates the people’ can be found in the participants' comments which is representative of this conceptual metonymy. The participants who are considering educational methods for their children stress the importance of fostering a good 成长环境 *chengzhang huanjing* ‘growing environment’ and 教育环境 *jiaoyu huanjing* ‘educational environment’, as one's interpersonal environment at home and school can shape one's personality.

⁵³ Fei Xiaotong, a well-known anthropologist once illustrated the features of the Chinese social network in the form of the concentric circles (1948/2007). According to his analogy, Chinese people experience themselves as situated at the centre of a network and the extent of intimacy with another is reflected by the relative position of that person within the concentric circles of one's psychological field (Hwang, 2000) (cf. Chapter 3).

环境 *huanjing* ‘Environment’ forms a generic space where a person inevitably settles; personal attributes are thereby contributed to the social environment or people around. The participants seem to believe that the ways people act and behave are shaped by the 社会环境 *shehui huanjing* ‘social environment’ or 大环境 *dahuanjing* ‘greater environment’. Example (191) demonstrates this idea of 环境造人 *huanjing zaoren* ‘the environment creates the people’ which implies that the condition of a generic space that a person is exposed to has a direct influence on that person:

(191) Recording 1.2

- 1 P2 我觉得环境是很重要的 真的 我觉得环境是相当重要 环境造人 真的
I think environment is very important, it is true, I think environment is rather important, (the statement) “the environment creates the people” is true.
- 2 P3 对你的圈子 你周围的圈子是什么样的人
Yes, one’s (lit. your) circle, the circle around one (lit. you),
- 3 P2 你就是会成什么样的人
determines whom one (lit. you) will become.

It is noted that participants resort to these generic spaces to understand characteristic differences both interpersonally and inter-culturally. At the interpersonal level, due to the diversified generic spaces different people situate in, each person acts and thinks differently. For example, the speaker in (192) reports that she has experienced an identity crisis upon her arrival in Australia because she could not identify with her peers (Lines 4 &5):

(192) Recording 5

- 1 P25 我来之前 因为我来之前我周围同学跟我差不多嘛 家乡背景差不多
Before I came, my classmates around and myself were from the same hometown and of similar backgrounds,
- 2 在一个城市长大 然后都差不多 我来这边之后我发现周围人跟我想的都不一样
(we) grew up in the same city, and we are almost the same, after I came here, I found people around are all different from me,
- 3 那个时候就纠结了很久
(I) was disturbed for a long time during that time.
- 4 是我不正常还是他们不正常 因为你觉得自己不正常别人都正常的时候
(I don’t know whether) I am not normal or they are not normal, because if I (lit. you) think I (lit. you) am not normal while others are all normal,
- 5 很有可能你自己是一个神经病 就特别纠结
it is quite possible that I (lit. yourself) am a lunatic. It is very disturbing.
- 6 后来就发现只不过是因为比如成长环境不一样啊 来自五湖四海 所以就也都是正常的
Later (I) found that it is simply because of the different growing environments between me and other people. (We) are all from all over the world which is just normal.

As soon as she realises the differences in people’s growing environments, interpersonal differences are no longer conceptualised as interpersonal barriers (Line 6). Growing environment becomes a generic space which can absorb and accommodate these personal differences and turn them into normality.

Cross-culturally, most of the participants appear to be quite critical of some Chinese people's behaviours which reflect a different set of values and concerns from Australian people:

(193) Recording 2

1 P9 因为你就是 * 就是他在那边**生活的环境**被渲染了 他就是觉得 你你你的人生混到这个年龄
*Because you just <sudden stop> he is infected by the **living environment** over there, and he thinks that if you have come to this age of your life,*

2 就是应该有这个有那个 你没有的 那你就是有问题的 活着就是 混得不好
(you) should have this and that; (if) you haven't got these, you have a problem, your life is miserable.

Materialism in China is said to characterise contemporary Chinese people. A person would be inevitably influenced by this social trend if he or she comes from that social environment. The 社会环境 'social environment' in which a group of people lives in then becomes synonyms with the collective characteristics of the people.

On the one hand, as discussed in Section 6.1, by attributing the collective characteristics of the people to these generic spaces participants can avoid talking about themselves as well as other individuals. On the other hand, Chinese people tend to de-emphasise the distinctiveness of personal existence as there is no clear-cut boundary between oneself and others. It is probably due to the fact that Chinese people tend to find meaning in their social roles rather than finding meaning from the autonomous self. The self and other, in the Chinese context do not stand in opposition to each other but are of interdependent relationship (cf. Section 3.3.2 of Chapter 3). The ways self and other are conceptualised in the social space reflect two types of conceptual models. These conceptualisations can take the form of an egocentric self at the centre of a CENTRE-PERIPHERY radiation or filling up a socio-cultural generic space which is devoid of any concentric self.

As the participants talk about their observations of Chinese people, they assume the generic framework of 社会环境 'social environment' in their discussion. Talking about this socio-cultural generic space that each person contributes is just as realistic as talking about the people themselves. This attitude can be argued as reflecting the nationalistic context of the Chinese perspective on the relationship between people and society (cf. Section 3.1.2 of Chapter 3).

6.3 Summary

The analysis of the relational dimension of self-representation explores the participants' intersubjective positioning in discourse and the imagined self-positions in relations and their designated cognitive patterns in Chinese. In the interactional frame, participants work together to keep the conversation going. From a stance point of view (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012), the subjectivities that participants put into play via stance-taking are realised intersubjectively through the process of alignment⁵⁴. That is, the stances that each participant makes are inevitably built on the perceptions of co-present others'. Aspects of the relational self-representation are manifested in social acts that enhance a sense of sharedness and reinforce acquaintanceship and familiarity. These acts encourage discourse co-participants to commit to a common ground that is agreeable to the socio-cultural context.

The present study focuses on the establishment of a short-term and local relation with willing participants in a round-table discussion who have had similar life experiences. Assertion, persuasion, mitigation and accommodation are all proactive performances whereby speakers realise the actualisation of self-representation in front of these co-participants. Constructing certainty and persuasiveness in their communication helps to establish a relational self-representation that is characterised by trustworthiness and high affection level. Mitigating personal opinion in public discourse reflects the desire not to over-represent. Conveying hesitation enables the speaker to avoid causing interactional discomfort on the part of the interlocutors or disagreements from the audience. The act of making sure disagreements are expressed in non-face threatening ways reflects elements of Chinese socio-cultural discursive rules. Speakers' explicit and direct reference to themselves are sometimes deliberately avoided and individual involvement can be downplayed through impersonal constructions. Using public consciousness and resorting to a general reality are the preferred ways of expressing negative comments.

The analytical results describe the imagined self-position within dyadic relationships and its designated cognitive patterns in Chinese. The construal of proximity and interpersonal

⁵⁴ Du Bois (2007) defines the lining-up of stance utterances as alignment, which is a key dimension of the social construction of intersubjectivity. Alignment encompasses convergent actions and divergent actions, both of which can be explicitly and implicitly conveyed to the co-participants. This insight is particularly important to view the construction of relational self-representation as an on-going process which features dynamism, flexibility and intersubjectivity.

relationship in discourse between self and other are not in isolation at the level of imagined cognition. The co-conceptualisation of self and other is manifested in several cognitive models.

Developing and maintaining interpersonal relationships which are intimately related to the participants' relational self-representation are cognitively encrypted in FORCE and PATH. Expressions like 周围人 'people around' or 圈子 'circle' suggest that people are related with each other with a varied degree of familiarity. Social proximity can be conceptualised in terms of having a spatial distance between one and another or occupying a position within one's social CONTAINER. Some Chinese expressions relating to building personal networks or associating with other people also reflect an imagery of water and FLUID-INSIDE-CONTAINER metaphor underscores these expressions. A CENTRE-PERIPHERY model can be also found in some expressions that describe the self as occupying the perceptual centre to view the social world that radiates out from the self.

It is also noted that participants, in their metaphorical imaginations, build generic spaces such as 大环境 'big environment' to understand characteristic differences both interpersonally and inter-culturally. As discussed in Section 6.1, by attributing the collective characteristics of the people to a generic space participants can avoid talking about themselves as well as other individuals. The de-emphasised distinctiveness of personal existence speaks to the cognitive reality that there is no clear-cut boundary between oneself and others in Chinese.

In terms of the deictic anchoring point of the speaker (Grundy & Jiang, 2001, p. 114), the Chinese 我 'I' and 我们 'we', as self-referencing tactics, manipulate the speaker's and the listener's perspectives to achieve pragmatic purposes. The hearers can be included as members of specified or unspecified groups with which the speakers identify. The hearers can also be excluded from this relational collective if represented as temporally separated from the hearers' contextual reality in the current time and space (Baumgarten, 2008). An individual can also dis-involve oneself as well as one's interlocutor in a voice that is made from a generic collective.

The socio-cultural context shapes the construal of proximity and interpersonal relationships in Chinese. An examination of their mapping mechanism and metaphorical entailments reveal diversity rather than unity. The social contingencies of their applications

might have shaped the flexibility of these conceptualisations. Different metaphorical entailments are evoked flexibly and pragmatically, depending on the contextual situations. Cognitive models are conceptual vehicles to convey our self-directing and culturally shaped meanings of being a person who positions oneself and others in a network of interpersonal relationships. Chapter 7 will explore the construal of collective self-representation in terms of having imagined positions within socio-cultural groups.

Chapter 7. Collective dimension

Continuing the socio-cognitive approach applied to the previous two dimensions of self-representation, Chapter 7 presents the analysis of the collective dimension, which addresses self-representations that are tied to collectives. The investigation of this dimension focuses on the relation between the construction of the collective self-representation as situational and emergent constructs and the performance and negotiation of these constructs in social encounters.

Participants in this study exchange their opinions about China and China-related issues in the global context, many of which reflect a cross-cultural comparative perspective. Although they have not been asked to give a clear and explicit account of how much their collective identity as a Chinese person means to them, they voluntarily self-represent as taking on this collective cover to convey their highly personalised conception of how to live their lives in Australia.

Individuals' perception of their own membership of social collectives is indicative of their recognition of the knowledge and values, positive or negative, which are attached to these collectives (Liebkind, 2010, p. 141). This chapter will scrutinise the interactional and conceptual resources participants deploy in negotiating the meaning of being members of various socio-cultural collectives. It is through this negotiation that they construct the collective dimension of self in the reflexive activities of social exchange. The participants, despite their age difference, share the same country of origin which is China. Ethnicity, therefore, is chosen as the focus of analysis from the many elements that constitute a person's collective self-representation.

For the current generation of the newly immigrated Chinese in Australia, "Chinese" could be a given heritage that they carry in their lives. Participants negotiate their Chinese ethnicity and construct Chineseness through various collectives. These imaginations accommodate various collectively shared values and beliefs. They are analysed as social performances that emerge from the various communicative activities that are centring upon China and Chinese people. Through these performances, the participants self-represent as members of the Chinese community in Australia to demonstrate their unique cultural identity.

7.1 Construction of collective self in discourse

Sociolinguistic studies of language change and stylistic variations have shown a systematic absorption of socio-cultural values into the lexicon. Meanings attached to linguistic forms with variation constitute an indexical system that embeds these values in language. In the context of the present study, where participants act as spokespeople of their imagined collective and jointly invoke and negotiate group membership constantly, meaningful variations for naming social groups form a field of socio-culturally embedded indexical meanings (Eckert, 2008), which form part and parcel of the construction of their Chinese ethnicity in the cross-cultural context.

This section explores the different connotations of descriptors of demographic categories for both Chinese and non-Chinese people. The Chinese groups are mostly referred to as 中国人 *Zhongguoren* ‘Chinese people’, 国内人 *guoneiren* ‘people from within the country’ and 大陆人 *Daluren* ‘Mainland people’ which are based on the national geographic distinctions. The de-nationalised term 华人 *Huaren* ‘ethnic Chinese people’ is also frequently used, and is inclusive of all those who are culturally Chinese. For Australian-born Chinese, participants also code-switch to English, using ABC (Australian-born Chinese) to refer to ethnic Chinese people in Australia who are the descendants of 第一代移民 *diyidai yimin* ‘first generation migrants’.

Expressions that refer to non-Chinese groups are just as numerous, such as 鬼佬 *guilao* ‘Westerner, literally foreign devil’⁵⁵, 老外 *laowai* ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’, 澳洲人 *Aozhouren* ‘Australian people’, 洋人 *yangren* ‘ocean people’, 外国人 *waiguoren* ‘foreigner (literally outside country people)’, 国外人 *guowairen* ‘foreigner (literally country outsider)’, 西方人 *Xifangren* ‘Westerner’, 本地人 *bendiren* and 当地人 *dangdiren*, which both mean ‘local people’. The analysis focuses on participants’ indexical use of these cultural collectives. These linguistic representations are found in stance-taking actions through

⁵⁵ Westerners have long been depicted as foreign aggressors for Chinese people since the Opium War (1840 – 1860) and in Maoist China. Derogatory terms, such as 鬼佬 ‘foreign devil’, and terms denoting alienation, such as 老外 ‘foreigner, literally old outsider’, remain in use in contemporary China.

three types of performative acts, namely naming Chinese groups in Australia, evaluating China in the global context, and comparing the Chinese to others.

7.1.1 Naming Chinese groups

This subsection will focus on participants' acts of naming various Chinese groups which may or may not include the speaker or the audience. The naming process reveals that collective self-representation is a discourse-based social construct. In addition to 中国人 'Chinese people', which specifies the country of origin, participants sometimes use 华人 'ethnic Chinese people', the de-nationalised term to refer to all Chinese immigrants and descendants, irrespective of their nationalities. The diversified categorical naming of various groups and the construction of their meanings in participant interactions is indicative of a dynamic process of negotiating group membership in the Australian context.

(194) Recording 1.1

1 P5 对我突然想起有一个有个德国哥们儿 就是人很严谨很聪明

Right, it suddenly occurred to me, there was this German dude who is very rigorous and smart,

2 这些就不说了大家都知道的德国人都这样子

needless to say, everyone knows that Germans are all like this.

3 我们一般 大家都是 通常都华人同学住在一起

We normally are, in general, all ethnic Chinese classmates live together.

(195) Recording 2

1 P11 如果你变成 像荷兰人想变成澳洲很容易的 你不差几辈差不出的

If one (lit. you) Dutch would like to become Australian (it is) very easy; one (lit. you) doesn't need to take too many generations,

2 但是华人 你即使是几十代过下来 还是这样

but ethnic Chinese still (don't find it too easy) like that, even if you have crossed dozens of generations.

(196) Recording 1.1

1 P1 看你跟什么人交流了 就入乡随俗呗 既然你跟他们说 你就要注意注意一下这些方面

It depends on with whom we (lit. you) are communicating, just do what the villagers do since we (lit. you) are talking to them, we (lit. you) should pay attention to these matters.

2 但如果都还是 我们都是华人的话 该怎样就怎样

But if we are both ethnic Chinese, then do it the way it should be.

Both participants in (194) and (195) use 华人 'ethnic Chinese people' as a comparison to other ethnic groups, such as German and Dutch. And speaker of both (194) and (196) positions themselves and others in the focus group as belonging to this group. The speaker of (196) also uses 华人 'ethnic Chinese people' to separate herself and the rest of the group (an imagined 我们 women 'us') from an imagined "them", represented by an ambiguous third person collective reference 他们 *tamen* 'they' or 'them'.

华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ represents a group with distinctive cultural characteristics, which, as Participant 11 depicts, is the building blocks of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Australian society:

(197) Recording 2

- 1 P11 就是说我们住的地方呢就是 小孩呢就是一一般
Take the place we live for example, children in general,
- 2 很多是**华人** 还有很多事希腊人 很多是印度人 那么他们不会说就是因为 *
lots of ethnic Chinese, Greeks and Indians, they won't say because <unfinished utterance>
- 3 他们学校每天都会讲 每个 term 都有一种就是 culture 的那种介绍
Their school teaches (multi-culture) every day, every term introduces one culture.

华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’, in these scenarios, form an imagined collective that exists in the Australian multi-cultural context. For instance, the speakers of Examples (198) and (199) initially refer to people from 中国 ‘China’, but then later refer them to 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’. This might be because they think the term 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ fits better into the Australian context which represents an imagined culturally affective community of Chinese immigrants in Australia:

(198) Recording 2

- 1 P10 我觉得这边的文化 真的 一个**中国**的社区他们保留的文化 可能比 从某种程度上比**国内**做得好
I truly think, in terms of cultural (preservation) here, a Chinese community perhaps does better than China (lit. within the country) to some degree in preserving their culture.
- 2 真的 我觉得他们 有些都第二第三代**华人**了 就说那个舞龙舞狮 对吧/ 现在**国内**很少舞龙舞狮
Truly I think some of them are second or third generation ethnic Chinese. (They) can perform lion and dragon dances right<interrogative particle>? Lion and dragon dances can hardly be seen in China (lit. within the country),
- 3 **这边**多少专业这个舞龙舞狮 就是 我 真的 我我有时候会 被他们表演震撼
there are lots of professional dragon and lion dance (teams) here, I truly sometimes would be astounded by their performances.
- 4 他们那些 可能他们本身不会说中文 但是那些华人的小孩子
They probably cannot speak Chinese themselves but those ethnic Chinese children,
- 5 他就有兴趣继承这样的遗产 文化遗产 所以非常好嘛
they are keen on inheriting this cultural inheritance. It is very good <exclamation particle>!

(199) Recording 2

- 1 P11 像中国 * 华人有几个是在电视台工作的 有几个 newspaper 里 writing 的/
For example, very few of Chinese<sudden stop> ethnic Chinese, are working at TV stations. How many are working for newspapers <rising tone>?
- 2 没有的
None.

The speaker of (198) first uses the more national term 中国 ‘China’ in Line 1, but changes to the de-nationalised form 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ to refer to Chinese in Australia while referring to Chinese in China as 国内人 ‘people from within the country’. The co-existence of 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ and 国内人 ‘people from within the country’ shows a discrepancy between the speaker’s positioning outside China, as 国内 *guonei* ‘within

the country’ refers to the Chinese who are living in China, which is not the place where participants would locate themselves. For instance, Participant 10 in Example (198) contrasts the community of 国内 ‘within the country’ to that of 这边 *zhebian* ‘here’ in Australia where he himself is. The speaker of (199) self-repairs from people from 中国 ‘China’ to 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ as the collective term for the entire Chinese population in Australia. 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ presumably embodies the entire Chinese population in Australia which is broader than 中国人 ‘Chinese people’.

Participants are found to take stances to invoke collective identities by homogenising the rest of the audience as common of this imagined collective. They do so with collective positioning using collective self-reference, that is 我们华人 *women Huaren* ‘we ethnic Chinese’.

- (200) Recording 2
 1 P11 像这种 communication 也是很重 要 像澳洲学生跟老师关系就是 friend 经常 visiting
Communication is also the key. The relationship between Australian students and teachers is like friendship. (Students) often visit (teachers).
 2 那**我们华人**学生都不会去的 他们这种 build up 选老师问问题啊
*But **we ethnic Chinese** students wouldn't go (or like) them building up (their relationship by) asking teachers questions,*
 3 就是跟他 talking **我们** 也是**我们**的问题 **我们**文化不一样
*by just talking to him, **we**, it is **our** problem, **our** culture is different.*
- (201) Recording 1.1
 1 P2 我觉得 就是饮食方面也有很多不一样的 <@@@>
I think there are lots of differences in terms of food <laughing quality>.
 2 像比方说 你说喝水 像**我们华人**比较喜欢喝温水啊 或喝茶啊这些
*Take drinking as an example, **we ethnic Chinese** like drinking warm water or tea,*
 3 他们就喜欢喝那个冰水 然后我就搞不懂那个
(but) they like drinking icy water and I can't understand.

Using collective self-reference to include the hearers in the interaction, both speakers seek affective resonance from the rest of the group by assimilating all the other discourse participants into an imagined cultural collective, represented by 我们华人 ‘we ethnic Chinese’. The use of 我们华人 ‘we ethnic Chinese’ is an indexical one as it excludes non-Chinese which indicates disapproval of features of non-Chinese’s that contrast what are perceived as “ours”.

- (202) Recording 1.1
 1 P5 哦 对 谈到这一点 比如说我们公司有**华人**也有鬼佬 鬼妹
*For instance, there are **ethnic Chinese**, Western men and Western girls in our company,*
 2 鬼妹在公司里 感觉比老板架子还要大 但是**华人**就不一样 文化可能不一样
*Western girls seem to be more important than the boss, but **ethnic Chinese** are not the same due to cultural differences.*
 3 可能天生就觉得一个级别一个级别 他是有这样的 至少他 pay 你工资 他是你老板啊
(Chinese) think naturally rank after rank and this sort of (sense of hierarchy), the boss is at least the one who pays your salary <exclamation particle>!
 4 或者这样 你不应该这么去顶撞他 但是在鬼佬眼里他是懒得管你的
Because of this, you should not contradict him, but in Westerners' eyes, he wouldn't care.
 5 他说的是事实 我做不完 是事实啊 你如果要我马上做完你必须请人 就是这样
(For a Westerner) he is speaking of the reality that "I can't finish" it is the truth, "if you want me to finish immediately, you have to hire more people."
- (203) Recording 1.1
 P3 很多都不买房子 买房都是**华人的** <@@> 压力那么大
*A lot of (Westerners) don't buy houses. Those who buy are all **ethnic Chinese** <laughing quality> having big pressure.*
 P2 <@@> 但是有房子的也是属于那种比较有上进心的鬼佬 也是比较少
 <laughing quality> *Those (Westerners) who have houses are the few self-driven ones.*

Examples (202) and (203) demonstrate two cultural characteristics that the participants believe are embodied by 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ in comparison to non-Chinese in Australia. The speaker of (202) believes that having a strict sense of hierarchy is a Chinese cultural feature, which he has gathered from his own personal experience working for a Chinese boss and working with Chinese colleagues. The interlocutors of (203) also jointly make the evaluation that 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ are more ambitious than Westerners. As explained previously, the demeaning term of 鬼佬 ‘Westerner (literally foreigner devil)’ is treated by the participants as a normal reference to non-Asian Australians. Supposing Chinese are more self-driven than Westerners is a highly personalised impression, but even a highly personalised impression, good or bad, can be reinforced by interacting with other group members. For example, another participant comments on hierarchy as a Chinese characteristic:

- (204) Recording 1.1
 1 P4 我觉得 我第一份工作是**香港人** 然后我就觉得那个吵得嘞 就是 哎 我要做什么事就风风火火
*My first job was (working for) a **Hong Kong** person. Later I just think he was too fussy and I had to rush to do everything.*
 2 那可能跟**国内**老板还不一样 就是做什么事风风火火 就是说我一秒我要这个 下一秒我要那个
*This perhaps is different from a boss from **China** (lit. **within the country**). (My former boss) rushed to do everything and wanted different things second after second,*
 3 就像 XXX 说 说那种不可能 但就自己可能就是**华人**老板 然后自己又是**华人**
*it is like what <name of participant> said, it was impossible (to complain), but maybe (he himself is an **ethnic Chinese** boss and (my)self is also **ethnic Chinese**,*
 4 大家都知道有那种等级 所以很难说闹 然后做了以后心里又特别不舒服 然后就特别难受
Everyone all knows about that kind of hierarchy. It is therefore difficult to fight against, then would feel very uncomfortable inside (our) heart after doing (what was asked of us), very uncomfortable.

Participant 4 indicates that she felt uncomfortable because her former boss treated her without due respect. Taking an evaluative stance by aligning with another interlocutor (Line 3), she convinces herself and the rest of the group that her mistreatment is because of this cultural characteristic that 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ have, including her boss who is from Hong Kong (Line 1) and herself who is from Mainland China or 国内 ‘within the country’ (Line 2). It could be said that, in naming Chinese people 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ or 中国人 ‘Chinese people’ and evaluating them in the Australian context, the participants create a Australian-Chinese cultural space.

However, this imagined Australian-Chinese cultural collective is not very stable, and one can either move up to a superordinate cultural imagination—Asian cultural group—or move down to a subordinate imagined cultural collectives—Mainland Chinese cultural group—depending on the indexical context. In other words, the indexical use of these demographic categories are highly dependent on the discourse situation. The speaker of the utterance in (205) assimilates his Chinese identity to a higher level collective which is Asian. The goal is to explain what the speaker himself believes as the correct way. For him, the importance of exposure of local Australians to Chinese culture as well as other Asian cultures is key to building Australia as a multi-cultural society.

- (205) Recording 2
 1 P10 嗯 他没有机会接触到亚洲文化 或者中国文化 他们就会觉得这个
If he doesn't have opportunity to know Asian or Chinese culture, they would think that,
 2 你们不属于这里 外来的 但一旦他接受了这个 他去接触过了
"you guys don't belong here (you are) foreign", but as soon as he accepts or he has known about,
 3 比如说当地有很多中国人啊 有很多中国餐馆啊 他就吃过一两次中国菜
for example, there are a lot Chinese locally where there are a lot of Chinese restaurants, if he has had one or two Chinese meals,
 4 那他就觉得 哎 multi culture 是个好东西 是吧/ 这个所以挺重要的
he would think "ah multiculturalism is a good thing" right <interrogative particle>? so it is very important.
 5 在这边多举办一些文化方面的活动 像什么 culture 之类的 culture day 啊 有些学校都有
Hosting more cultural activities here, like cultural day at some schools,
 6 所以我觉得挺好的 给小孩子一个比较有趣的 一个接触文化的机会
so, I think, is a great opportunity for children to know culture in an interesting way.
 7 给他小孩子写写毛笔字啊什么 画画画
Such as letting children practise calligraphy or practise painting.

In Example (205), the mixed use of third person plural pronoun in Line 1 and second person plural in Line 2 sets a clear group boundary between the “locals” and presumably Asian immigrants who are perceived by the “locals” as “foreign”. Chinese culture and Asian culture are placed as an “other” which needs to gradually be accepted by the “local” people.

The participants' group membership is unstable compared to the imagined collective of the "local" because of the mixed use of Asian and Chinese (Line 1).

Self-reference does not provide clues either, as the first person singular is only used once when the principal emerges to claim the ownership for the epistemic value of the stance that the speaker takes (Line 6). The speaker shows his positive evaluation of the significance of cultural activities in terms of fostering multicultural awareness among children in Australia. The embedded social identity might not be a cultural one, but can be an institutional one. For instance, Participant 10 emphasises his role as a teacher to stress the importance of multiculturalism from an educational point of view. It could therefore be argued that the use of Asian and Chinese as indexes of multiculturalism can result from cautious deliberation. Equating multiculturalism to the acceptance of Chinese culture can be problematic. Rather, assimilating the Chinese cultural space to the more inclusive Asian one can minimise interpersonal disagreement (see also the discussion of mitigation in Section 6.1.3 Chapter 6). In other words, the choice of cultural collectives has a discursive basis.

(206) Recording 2

- 1 P9 就是在 Boxhill 那个游泳馆 然后就有个澳洲人 男的小伙子
(I was) at Boxhill swimming pool, there was an Australian young male.
- 2 他看到 因为 Boxhill 中国人就很多嘛 但是偶尔也会有不说中文的 什么像越南人啊这样的
Because he saw that there are a lot of Chinese in Boxhill, occasionally also some non-Chinese speaking people like Vietnamese,
- 3 但是他看到你第一眼他就就会跟你说你好 这就是对你的一个 额 定义 就是他判断你
but the minute he saw me (lit. you) he would say hello in Chinese, which is a form of categorisation according to what he decided,
- 4 不管你是 日本人 韩国人 中国人 他先说你好 他不会是用日文来说你好怎么样的
no matter if one (lit. you) is Japanese, Korean or Chinese, he first said hello in Chinese, he wouldn't say "hello, how are you" in Japanese.
- 5 他就是几率比较大 然后他就说你好 然后当时就我们两个在那里面
He had a better chance (to pick the correct ethnicity). He said hello to the two of us at that time,
- 6 然后他就说 他说话也挺慢的 就是有一点 额 说不清楚的 然后 然后他就突然问了我一句
he said in a slowly but a bit unclear way, then he suddenly asked me,
- 7 就是他说 what's the difference between Asian language and Chinese
he said "what's the difference between Asian language and Chinese?"
- 8 然后 然后我说我有点没听懂你这个问题 什么是 Asian language 和 Chinese 的区别
Then I said "I didn't quite understand your question, what is the difference between Asian language and Chinese."
- 9 然后我说中文就是中文啊 我说中国是一个国家 我当时还很认真地给他讲
I said Chinese is Chinese, I said China is a country. I told him seriously at that time.
- 10 我说 Asian language 是有好多语言 因为我说中国也是在亚洲里面的
*I said Asian language is a collection of many languages, because, I said **China** is part of Asia.*
- 11 然后他当时就说 哦是吗/ 他也不知道问什么了 就是这个事情给我印象很深的就是
He said "oh is that so" <interrogative particle>? he didn't know what he asked, but this thing struck me.
- 12 我不知道他到底是怎么看中国的 但是他他 他问出这个问题
*I didn't know how he viewed **China** when he asked such a question.*

Whereas the speaker of (205) positions himself, and possibly the audience, as belonging to an imagined Chinese cultural collective and also a larger Asian one through discursive opposition with non-Asian Australian people, the speaker in (206) places herself within the imagined culturally affective collective represented by 中国人 ‘Chinese’. Participant 9 positions herself and other affected parties within the imagined Chinese cultural collective and distinguishes it as separate from other Asian groups of people. She tells the audience of an unpleasant experience in Box Hill, an eastern suburb in Melbourne which is known to be populated with Chinese-speaking residents. Although the participant is aware that this is common knowledge, she still feels offended that her ethnicity should be taken for granted by a non-Asian Australian (Line 3). She regards this ethnic preconception as a form of racial prejudice, as the non-Asian Australian assumed her Chinese identity by her non-Western appearance. The Western-centrism that this non-Asian Australian is exhibiting becomes more apparent by asking the difference between Asian languages and Chinese. In the latter part of the narrative, she mentions Chinese nationality twice. The repetition shows a high affective level to her group membership which is an exclusive categorisation (Lines 10 and 12). At the heart of her ambivalence lies the neo-Chinese collective cultural identity. Section 7.2.1 will explore the exclusive structural feature of collective cultural imagination, exploring how the participants’ imagined collective identity is construed in spatial terms.

The examination of the names for Chinese groups that participants do not identify with also reveals imagined cultural collectives are constructed in discourse. By setting themselves apart from the locally-born Australian Chinese which is also called ABC (Australian-born Chinese), and 国内人 ‘people from within the country’ for Chinese people from Mainland China, the participants negotiate and create relevant meanings, thereby constructing the relevant indexical fields (Eckert, 2008). Example (207) contains references to the ABC:

- (207) Recording 2
 1 P10 但我奇怪为什么在学校里 中国孩子都是跟**中国孩子**在一起的
*But to my surprise at school Chinese children are always together with **Chinese children**,*
 2 他们很少 就比较**少**跟那些洋人的孩子
they very rarely (mix) with those Western children.
 3 P9 文化还是不一样的
Culture is still different.
 4 P11 其实我也不愿意让我儿子跟鬼佬在一起
In fact I am reluctant to let my son mix with Westerners.
 5 P8 **ABC**跟**ABC**在一块 洋人跟洋人在一块
<Australian-born Chinese> mixing with <Australian-born Chinese> and Westerners mixing with Westerners.

One participant calls the second generation Chinese 中国孩子 ‘Chinese children’ while the other participants call them ABC. The disparity is an evidence of “acts of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, cited in Eckert, 2008, p. 463). The stance that Participant 10 takes is about his own observations. The subsequent speaker re-evaluates the stance with a convergent alignment, re-fashioning the stance object in her own way and staking a claim to a nuance that hints at marginality. The fourth speaker’s choice of ABC could have been a deliberate action and implies potential cynicism that is ABCs are born in Australia and are a marginalised group in the Australian population. In all the cases where ABC is used in the data, they are portrayed as an “other” to the cohort with negative connotations. For instance, they cannot speak Chinese as fluently as “us”, e.g. Line 4 in Example (208):

(208) Recording 2

- 1 P9 就是 **ABC** 的小孩在这边出生了 就刚才你们说的那个问题
<Australian-born Chinese> children are born here, like what you guys said just now,
- 2 我有一个学生他就是 **ABC** 的男孩子 他他们家住北京了
I have a student who is an <Australian-born Chinese> boy, he and his family live in Beijing,
- 3 然后你就看他 其实他就是一个纯 **ABC** 在这边出生长大上学什么
then (if) you look at him, (you will see) in fact he is a pure <Australian-born Chinese> who was born here and grew up here and went to university here,
- 4 额 中文说的也 就跟家里人沟通那种程度的
(his) spoken Chinese is only (good enough) to communicate with family.

They also embrace some non-Chinese ways of living which their first generation parents are not necessarily ready to take on, e.g. Line 4 in Example (209):

(209) Recording 3

- 1 P15 然后这边的人从小到的都是无忧无虑的这种生活对吧/ 你什么都不做也不会饿死
People here have lived a carefree life since (they were) little, right <interrogative particle>? One (lit. you) won't starve to death by doing nothing.
- 2 所以他是很难去理解你的那种 你从亚洲背景过来的这种忧患意识哪里来的
So it is very hard for him to understand the awareness of potential danger of people who come from Asian backgrounds.
- 3 你完全不理解 他也不明白你为什么要这么做 所以你刚才谈这个没办法谈的 没办法理解 ...
We/One (lit. you) can't understand (him) completely, he also can't understand why we/one (lit. you) have to do this, so what you said just now can't be discussed (with them), (it is) impossible (for them) to understand.
- 4 除非第二代第三代我们的子女 那些 **ABC** 才可能会 他们就会相对来说那样一点
Our children, those second generation or third generation <Australian-born Chinese> would probably would become like that.

Participants characterise the difference between the group they self-identify with and so-called ABC in terms of their ability to speak Chinese as their first language. They also highlight the distinction between the groups by positioning themselves and their interlocutors as belonging to an imagined first generation collective which is not transferable to their second generation:

- (210) Recording 2
 1 P9 但你们家儿子在这边长大了以后 他可能就未必 就像**我们这一代母语是中文的**过来的
*But your son grew up here, he might probably not be like (us) in the future, **our generation whose mother tongue is Chinese.***
 2 大部分情况下 还是会找 那你开车你找教练怎么不找西人啊/ 你还是要找中国人啊
(We) in most cases would still look for (Chinese). Why don't you find a Western driving instructor <interrogative particle>? you still have to find a Chinese <exclamation particle>!
 3 听得 最起码你是能听得懂的
You can at least understand (a Chinese driving instructor).

By setting the linguistic contrast between the first generation and the second generation, the speaker reduces her distance and enhances rapport with the audience in order to convince them (see Chapter 6 for persuasive acts and distance management with discourse partners).

Another participant also stresses the importance of maintaining the Chinese language among the younger generation of Chinese descendants in Australia. The speaker uses collective self-reference to be inclusive of the audience and exclusive of others, she creates a group boundary so that the audience is positioned as part of “us”, othering to the so-called second generation Chinese through third person plural reference:

- (211) Recording 2
 1 P11 所以我就是觉得**我们的**教育应该重视一下**他们**
*So I just think **our** education should pay more attention to **them** (meaning second generation Chinese),*
 2 **我们的**语言如果失掉了呢
*if **we** are to lose our language,*
 3 最起码口语不应该失掉吧
speaking should at least not be lost <exclamation particle>!

In her opinion, maintaining the language for “our descendants” is a task that all the members of the group should assume. Such a group distinction helps to invoke a moral responsibility among other listeners as if “first generation Chinese”, which this study’s participants represents, are responsible for the language maintenance among the second generation.

Eckert (2008, p. 464) argues that words can absorb connotations through association with aspects of the context in which they are used to create stances. So far, it has derived from comparisons between this imagined collective and the second generation Chinese immigrants, which is often based on contrast rather than similarity.

Some participants’ utterances also reflect a construction of imagined cultural collectives which is based on emphasising the similarity between the first generation who

themselves identify with and the Australian Chinese. For instance, the following two comments highlight the similarity between Chinese families and Australian Chinese families:

- (212) Recording 1.2
P1 但是我也看到很多说从**华人**家庭里长大的孩子 也很孝顺父母啊
*But I can see (that) a lot of children who grew up in **ethnic Chinese** families are also filial to their parents <exclamation particle>!*
- (213) Recording 2
1 P10 我觉得他们 有些都第二第三代**华人**了 就说那个舞龙舞狮 对吧/ 现在国内很少舞龙舞狮
*I think some of them are second or third generation **ethnic Chinese** (who) can perform lion and dragon dance right <interrogative particle>? Lion and dragon dance can hardly be seen in China (lit. within the country),*
2 这边多少专业这个舞龙舞狮 就是 我 真的 我我有时候会 被他们表演震撼
There are lots of professional dragon and lion dance (teams) here. I truly sometimes would be astounded by their performances.
3 他们那些 可能他们本身不会说中文 但是那些华人的小孩子
*They probably cannot speak Chinese themselves, but those **ethnic Chinese** children.*
4 他就有兴趣继承这样的遗产 文化遗产 所以非常好嘛
They are keen on inheriting this cultural inheritance, so it is very good <exclamation particle>!

Although the children under discussion belong to a different demographic group from the first generation Chinese immigrants, their background is clearly stated as Chinese, which the speakers themselves endorse. Both the first generation and the Australian-born Chinese share the same cultural heritage and form a larger imagined cultural collective. Keeping this alive requires all the members to sustain their shared values and traditions, such as filial piety and the performance of Chinese New Year celebrations. As mentioned earlier, 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ constitutes an imagined collective that is produced and constructed in the Australian context. Participants’ positive evaluation of the descendants of Chinese immigrants in Australia is an act of convergent alignment to the invoked socio-cultural value. Cultural continuity is marked as being of great importance as it is something that the first generation Chinese and the Australian Chinese share in common, making it an essential to the meaningful representation of 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’. Speakers can collectively position themselves among 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ or otherwise associate 华人 ‘ethnic Chinese people’ with values and traits they appreciate. With either act, speakers represent characters that are related to this collective identity and construct meanings for such collective with those who are perceived as sharing this collective identity.

Analysis of the indexical use of demographic categories has so far shown that speakers form a number of imagined cultural collectives, depending on the particular discourse situation. These imagined cultural collectives are social performances whereby social actors constantly creating meanings for these imagined cultural collectives and

negotiating these meanings with other people who are supposedly share the same imagined cultural collectives. The next subsection will examine utterances that feature cross-cultural comparisons. Participants' fluid collective self-representations emerge through the performance of these comparative evaluations.

7.1.2 Evaluating China

Most references to 中国 *Zhongguo* 'China' in the data sit in the international/regional context where China either represents the country of China in the world or the geographic area of the country. However, some rare cases find 中国 'China' to be used to refer to the areas outside Mainland China where people are classified as Chinese speaking people:

(214) Recording 2

1 P10 中国人 尤其是台湾人 就转的更加慢一点

Chinese people especially Taiwanese transfer slower,

2 因为有 research 嘛 他语言的 transfer 额 switch 就非常少

as some research showed that its language transfer or switch is very little.

3 就是台湾人他就是 就保持着说中文的习惯 至少在家里面

Taiwanese still maintain the habit of speaking Chinese at least at home.

(215) Recording 2

1 P11 像我们中国 你比如早期的移民到东南亚的 他们本身已经很多代 他们还是

Like we Chinese, for example, early migrants to Southeast Asia have been many generations themselves and they are still,

2 他们的语言客家话 福建话 广东话 潮州话 他们都在说的 小孩子一个人都会说很多

they are still speaking their languages, like Hokka or Hokkien, Cantonese and Teochew. Every child can speak many languages.

The speakers of Examples (214) and (215) both talk about language maintenance among the various tribes of Chinese descendants in the world. Both participants use 中国 'China' at the beginning of their utterance. The speaker of (214) believes the people of Taiwan should be included in the Chinese speaking community. As for the speaker of (215), she also imagines the early migrants to Southeast Asia as a member of 我们中国 'we Chinese', as they speak the same language. From these examples, the linguistic term of 中国 'China' conflates two sets of conceptual categories, the linguistic area and the geographical area, each corresponding to different imagined collectives.

Some choose the category of 大陆人 'Mainland people' and position themselves in terms of a more exclusive form of imagined audience, instead of Chinese. Taiwan and Hong Kong do not come under this imagined audience in the global context. This is exemplified in Example (216) (Lines 6 to 7 and 9 to 11):

- (216) Recording 5
- 1 P24 我之前也是上课 就老师就说这个班是中国人的请举手 台湾人香港人不举
Earlier I was also in class, when the teacher asked Chinese in this class to raise their hands, Taiwanese and Hong Kong students didn't.
- 2 P25 他们从小受到教育不一样而已 也没有说什么对错
It is simply because they had been taught differently since young, there is no right or wrong.
- 3 P23 高中的时候特别愤 就怎么不举呢 你们一定要举啊
(I was) very upset in high school "how could they not raise (their hands), you guys should have raised<exclamation particle>!"
- 4 P24 我在想我如果是台湾人 我可能也不举 就因为**中国好像也没有给台湾香港带来太多荣耀**
*I am thinking if I were Taiwanese, I probably won't raise either, because **China didn't seem to bring too much glory to Taiwan.***
- 5 P23 **中国**给台湾和香港带来太多经济上面的东西了 就如果没有**大陆**人去旅游啊 或者什么 香港就
***China** brought too much economic benefits to Taiwan and Hong Kong. If people from **Mainland** don't go travelling there, Hong Kong (economy) would (plunge).*
- 6 P24 就香港人他们好像是骨子里面*
Hong Kong people seem to inside bone <unfinished utterance>
- 7 P23 其实香港对**中国** 香港和**中国**关系还行 就台湾和**中国**不怎么样
*In fact Hong Kong's (attitude) towards **China**, the relationship between Hong Kong and **China** is ok, but Taiwan and **China** are not getting along very well.*
- 8 我们学校台湾人员特别排斥**大陆**
*Taiwanese in our school especially reject the **Mainland**.*
- 9 P24 没有 香港人也是 香港人就觉得 其实好多香港人就觉得 **大陆**人的素质就是特别低的那种
*Hong Kong people are the same, in fact lots of Hong Kong people think that **Mainland** people have very poor public manners.*
- 10P25 就觉得**我们像暴发户那种感觉** 出手很阔绰 但其实都土豪
*(They) think that **we are like new money** who spend big, but are in fact all nouveau riche.*

For example, Participants 23 and 24 use 中国 'China' to refer to the area of Mainland China and call people from this area 大陆人 'Mainland Chinese people' and Participant 25 resonates with this using collective self-reference (Line 10). All the participants display a very strong affective attachment to this common collective identity, indicated by the allusion to pride by Participant 24 (Line 4) and an implicit ambivalence by Participant 25 (Line 10). Participant 24 believes that collective identity is closely related to their sense of pride. Participant 23 agrees and adds that economic performance might not be a key factor. This feeling of pride is also mixed with other feelings, such as the mixed feelings towards the recent quick gains in material wealth among Chinese people.

The speaker of Example (217), after recalling her arguments with a male student from Hong Kong, differentiates two opposing imagined collectives which are linguistically represented by 我们 'we' or 'us' and 他们 'they' or 'them' respectively:

(217) Recording 5

- 1 P25 后来我慢慢跟那个男生熟了之后聊起来就发现他们从小受到的教育就是那样的
After getting familiar with that boy gradually, I realised that they had been taught that way since (they were) young,
- 2 他们从小被教育 就像我们从小被教育只有一个中国
they have been taught since (they were) young, like what we have been taught since (we were) little that there is only one China,
- 3 他们被教育就是香港不是中国的一部分 香港是一个独立的地方
they were taught that Hong Kong is not part of China and Hong Kong is an independent state.
- 4 所以到后来我就慢慢不去纠正他们那种 就是说各人观念不一样 没有什么对错之分
So in the end I stopped correcting them. It could only be said that everyone has different views and there is no right or wrong.

Differences in the political conceptions among people from different Chinese speaking regions are apparent, which, according to Participant 25, result from education and other cultural influences. Participant 25 accept them as facts (Line 4). She opens up her turn and closes her turn with individual self-reference where the performance role of the principal marks her opinion as high in epistemic value and close to the speaker. In Line 2, the author steps in to invoke the collective identity that the speaker shares with the rest of the group, that they all received formal education in China. And it is part of the formal education that the speaker shared with the rest of the audience that “there is only one China”. “We” who have been taught this way now have to face “them” who were taught otherwise (Line 3). Then the principal wraps the utterance with a conclusion that the political opinions “we” and “they” have been taught cannot be evaluated as one being correct and the other being wrong (Line 4). This way, the speaker is implying that what she was taught might be wrong but she does not want to say so explicitly. Instead, she is keeping a fair distance from what she was taught.

In light of interactional stance-taking, the speaker allocates the selves to different frames, namely the principal and the author in this particular case. The principal can stay out of that frame and reason through the disputed political viewpoints without undermining the collective cover the author is maintaining with the rest of the audience. The principal strengthens the speaker’s epistemic authority to assert what she knows, so that one is not a mere recipient to a collective knowledge (see more discussion around the assertive performative act in Section 6.1.1 of Chapter 6). The author is the one currently existing in the interactional frame and its performative alignment depends on who the addressees are. When a collective positioning indexed by 我们 ‘we’ includes the audience, the stance object is a collective identity that the speaker perceives as sharing with the rest of the audience. The allocation of responsibility across different performance roles constructs the collective

dimension of self-representation which is based on having positive regard for the invoked collective identity.

If the speaker invokes such collective cultural identity with the addressees, then the addressees are idealised as someone sharing the same collective identity as the speaker does. As discussed in Section 2.4 of Chapter 2, all addressees are imagined addressees from the speaker's point of view as speakers do not have direct access to the interlocutors' cognitive states, they are always speaking to their addressees whose knowledge states, presuppositions and affect speakers are estimating or imagining (Sweetser, 2012, p. 6). When participants draw on a collective cultural identity, this collective identity is idealised as the preferred collective self-representation in the local discursive context.

This imagined audience plays an active role in each performance that the speaker makes. That is to say, in addition to playing the active role of speaking and interacting with the primary speaker, the identity of the idealised audience plays a role in shaping the speaker's discourse. As the speakers take stances to invoke a collective identity that they share with this idealised audience, the idealised audience are positioned as being intimately connected to the collective as well as being understanding and loyal to the associated socio-cultural beliefs and values. The imagined audience, through this imagined collective identity, participates in the social construction of the collective dimension of self-representation in the local discursive context. Within the speech context of Example (217), the speaker and the imagined audience are negotiating norms that comply with an imagined common identity.

The collective positioning has a very strong emotional appeal. The speakers can send off a signal that they are sensitive not only to the presence of other listeners but also the common group identity they all have. Participant 11 in Example (218) identifies herself as Han Chinese. She refers to herself as well as the rest of the group as 我们汉人 *women Hanren* 'we Han people' according to their common ethnicity (Line 3), which is the major ethnic group under the leadership of the Chinese government:

(218) Recording 2

- 1 P11 那么我觉得新疆 像**咱们**中国这么大的一块领域啊 而且是一个民族这么单一
*I think for Xinjiang, **our China** is such a massive territory and is so monolithic in ethnic composition,*
- 2 很大的一个**集团** 很定会有更大的矛盾 像中国 但是中国的政府也有问题的
*(for) such a huge **collective**, there is definitely more disputes and Chinese government has also got problems.*
- 3 就是该大家都是平等的 **我们汉人**也是一样的 就是这样 汉人嘛 任何少数民族都是一样的
*Everyone should be equal. **We Han people** should be the same, which means Han people and minority groups should be the same,*
- 4 大家应该站在一个起跑线上 但是就是可能是反而相对的那个民族独立 或者自治
everyone should stand at the same starting line, conversely, ethnic group independency or autonomy
- 5 可能会导致这种矛盾 以后可能中国政府也会采取政策去改变吧
can probably lead to conflicts like this. Chinese government will take actions to address later.

The speaker of Example (218) uses the inclusive form of collective self-reference to arouse the same resonance among other members of the group, asserting that everyone is part of a **集团** *jituan* ‘collective group’. By positioning herself and the rest of the group as members of the collective, the imagined audience is positioned as participating in the speaker’s own reasoning process. This imagined collective represented by **我们汉人** ‘we Han people’ can engage fellow group members affectively and lead them to share what the speaker perceives as a common value given their shared group membership. Participant 11 is suggesting the value of favouring the collective interest over that of minorities. Participants from group one and four also emphasise the fact that China is a massive country with a huge population and that there are disparities within their own land, implying that state policy can only benefit the majority.

Participant 8 in Example (219) position herself as a member of collective group under provincial category, rather than ethnical category:

(219) Recording 2

- 1 P8 如果其他有中国* 新疆人在的话 你说什么新疆人做的维吾尔族做的 人家会生气的
*If there are other **Chinese** <sudden stop> Xinjiang people and you say it is Xinjiang people or Uighurs who did it, they can get angry,*
- 2 因为**我们都是新疆人** 也有维吾尔族也有好的 你只能说是 你只能说是恐怖分子
*because **we are Xinjiang people**, and there are good people among the Uighurs, you can only say that (they were) terrorists.*

In Line 1 of Example (219), Participant 8 self-repairs to align herself with innocent Uighur people, in the name of the geographic origin of their hometown. Although **新疆人** *Xinjiang ren* ‘Xinjiang people’ is often narrowly understood as reference to Uighur people, she believes it should be a multi-ethnic identity shared by Han Chinese and Uighur Chinese. The exclusiveness of the imagined collective creates a moral demand for the membered selves to sanitise the group boundary in order to protect the integrity of this imagined

collective. For instance, although, the terrorists are also believed to have come from that area, she does not regard these terrorists who also come from her hometown as in-group members. Evoking the collective self-representation creates a clear boundary between the imagined collective that the speaker aligns herself with and the alleged terrorists.

Some speakers call out-group members 本地的老外 *bendide laowai* ‘local foreigner’, such as Participant 5 in Line 5 of Example (220). This term refers to non-Chinese Western people in Australia as both 本地人 ‘local people’ and 老外 ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’.

(220) Recording 1.1

- 1 P5 因为在这边不会正面地去宣传很多中国 我觉得特别是主流媒体
Because I think especially the mainstream media here won't give lots of positive publicity about China,
- 2 他并没有说 会想 会会会宣传这个中国是一个新兴的国家什么 已经成为世界第二大经济体啊
he won't report China as an emerging country which has already become the world's second largest economy,
- 3 他不会正面的去评价你很多 所以很多老百姓他想象当中还是很久很久以前破旧的
he won't comment on you (meaning China) positively, so for lots of folks, in their imagination, China is still a very old and broken (country),
- 4 或者是极不民主的 可能我们现在 我们了解中国很封锁 可能这个但是她毕竟已经越来越开化
or (China) is very non-democratic. Probably we now we know that China was very closed but she is already opening up more and more.
- 5 但是可能本地的老外 他们会觉得中国更封锁或者是更加传统或陈旧
But perhaps the local foreigners, they would perhaps still think that China is more closed or more traditional and outdated.
- 6 只是有一些客户因为跟我们做了生意 然后有时候他不得不去中国看一些产品啊或什么
Only a few customers, after doing business with us, have to go to China to see products after doing business with us,
- 7 他们偶尔的机会去了以后 他们才知道其实中国已经很发达了
after they went by chance, they finally realised that China in fact is already very developed,
- 8 不是他们心里想象的那样 但是很多人都不知道
(China) is not what they had imagined in their mind. But a lot of people still don't know.

Participant 5 tries to remain very cool and understanding about the differences and the lack of knowledge about contemporary China and downplay the ideological differences between Chinese and non-Chinese people. He hints in the first two lines that media might have played a significant role. He might think that people's ideological bias come from mass media, implying that it is not the non-Chinese people's fault for having these bias or misunderstandings. In this way, he presents a neutral outlook on the disputed issues.

While the collective pronoun 我们 ‘we’ in Line 6 of Example (220) refers to the speaker and other Chinese colleagues as opposed to those who do not know much about China and Chinese products, the two 我们 ‘we’ in Line 4 could be instances of the so called *vague we* (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 745). They are vague as others who are involved in

the collective remain unspecified. These unspecified others could be exclusively Chinese people or could also include Westerners who are aware of the development in China.

As Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) have already noted, *vague we* has a rhetorical force that is in contrast to a third-party. Throughout this piece of narrative, the speaker made several reference to a third person to represent a contrasting group to Chinese. For instance, “he” in Line 3 give negative comments on “you” which refers to China, and “they” keep their eyes closed to the recent developments that China has made (Line 5).

The word 本地的老外 ‘local foreigner’ also reinforces the social alignment of the inclusive “we” and exclusive “they”. The term 老外 ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’ is an informal slang for “foreigner” which is used quite a lot by people in China. From a stance point of view, the speaker is positioning foreigners as “outsiders”. The term 本地 *bendi* ‘local’ categorises a 老外 ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’ in terms of country of origin, and excludes the speaker. In this way, the speaker categorises people who are perceived as biased against China as a group that is completely unreachable and whose opinions are therefore of no concern to fellow Chinese. Section 7.2 will revisit these internally contradictory other-referencing categories which depict out-groups and their perspectives as positioned within a space that is dislocated from the metaphorical space occupied by the speaker and their group.

In discourse, collective other-reference, such as 别人 *bieren* ‘other people’, 他们 ‘they’ or ‘them’ and so on, functions as distancing people away from an imagined collective with which the speakers identify. Some participants can not stand hearing 别人 ‘other people’ uttering ill words about China, some say they would at times 反驳他们 *fanbo tamen* ‘argue against them’ or 纠正他们 *jiuzhe tamen* ‘correct them’.

The strategic use of terms alluding to collective identities that include focus group participants implies a collision of ideas between the imagined “them” and an imagined “us”. Participant 8 in Example (221) portrays international media in the name of 他们 ‘they’ or ‘them’ which represents an imagined collective that deliberately distorts China and therefore annoys her:

(221) Recording 2

- 1 P8 我觉得 我觉得西方才是扭曲中国的 我们那时候因为新疆不是发生 75 事件的时候
I think I think the West is actually the one distorting China, we (know) at the times when July 5th riots happened in Xinjiang⁵⁶,
- 2 我们知道 维吾尔人杀的是汉族人 但是西方人 他们 我看媒体上
we knew Uighurs killed Han people, but I saw on the media and those Westerners,
- 3 他们把那个汉族 * 维吾尔人头按到汉族人身上说是汉族人杀的维吾尔人
they photoshopped the Han people <sudden stop> Uighur people's heads onto Han people's bodies and said Han people killed Uighur people.
- 4 西方才是 才是 他们才是扭曲中国嘛
The West actually actually, they actually distorted China.

Participant 8 is using both the singular form and the plural form of self-reference in this short comment on the Western media's "distorted" news report (Line 4). Noticeably, she is the only person in the group who came from Xinjiang province. 我们 'we' could not have been an inclusive reference for herself and the audience. As explained in Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4, while the voice of the author is interactive with the audience, the principal does not sit in the current interactional frame. Given the use of two mental verbs, namely 知道 *zhidao* 'knew' and 看 *kan* 'saw' in Line 2, the principal is most likely the main voice embedded in the speaker's epistemic stance-taking act. In this case, the change of individual reference to collective reference should be regarded as a case of aggregation. The shift from the singular form of self-reference (Line 1) to the collective one is not for the purpose of including and engaging the audience.

With regard to aggregation (for more discussion of it and the reversion action, i.e. extraction, see Section 6.1.1 in Chapter 6), Lerner and Kitzinger (2007, p. 547) note that it can broaden the scope of responsible authority which often happens concurrently with an attenuation of personal responsibility. However, considering the speaker's inconsistent use of both forms of self-reference in Line 2 of Example (221) and the highly emotional engagement she commits herself to in the production of the utterance, it could not be said that she is unsure of the degree of responsibility she is willing to take. What is embedded in this epistemic stance delivered by a collective voice is an expression of the collective self. It is part of a collective identity and is idealised as the one preferred in public (Djenar, 2008; Manns, 2012). It is also a performance to invoke collective identity and to assert her individual opinion through a collective voice.

⁵⁶ Refer to footnote 45.

Example (221) demonstrates the convergence of individual positioning and collective positioning, which can be interpreted as showing the stance-taker's alignment with the cultural ideologies that are attached to the very collective at the level of indirect indexicality. As reviewed in Section 2.2.2 of Chapter 2, the association of linguistic variables and social identities often work at the level of indirect indexicality. The alignment is strengthened by contrasting “us” with 西方人 ‘Westerner’ and the 媒体 *Meiti* ‘Media’ which are assigned the plural form of other-reference 他们 ‘they’ or ‘them’ (Line 3). In terms of the distance between various imagined collectives, *they* stand at the furthest point on the spectrum away from *us* (see also the discussion of relational distancing strategy in Section 6.1.2 Chapter 6).

Variation in the use of the self-referencing pronouns by the same speakers may reflect the flexibility of self-categorisation (Djenar, 2008, p. 33). More importantly, the positioning acts mediated by the variation constitute an indexical system that embeds idealised self-representations into a given socio-cultural context (Djenar, 2008; Manns, 2012). From an analytical point of view, framing different subject positions in social performances helps to unveil the complexity of the indirect relationship between linguistic forms and more enduring social meanings. However, in the mind of the individual, one does not necessarily always consciously frame meaningful ways of being, instead indexing and presuppose particular self-representations for the imagined and idealised audience.

我们 ‘we’, the referent of the a collective identity that the speaker assumes to share with the audience, gains indexical value in the current discursive activity. An indexical claim can either invoke a pre-existing value or stake a claim to a new value (Eckert, 2008, p. 464). It could be said that the indexical value of 我们 ‘we’, used by a Chinese immigrant living in Australia, is likely to be associated with a sense of loyalty to the patriotism education back in China. When a pre-existing value, such as one’s awareness of what one was taught, is brought into the moment-to-moment interaction with other Chinese immigrants, it is strategically utilised by the speaker to suggest a new value the addressees are more likely to be receptive to. The new value could be one’s political opinion is shared by education therefore one should neither be too one-sided nor be easily swung by the other side. In the meantime, the speaker self-represent to be a reasonable Chinese person and model it in front of her fellow people in Australia.

With an imagined affective audience with whom participants share the same Chinese cultural identity, the participants might have felt obliged to convey their individual value as a collective state of affairs. For example, one participant says that she feels the need to behave in a more self-conscious way in Australia as she feels that she carries a collective image of Chinese people which is the target of other people's potential judgement and she cannot let her own individual behaviour lead people to judge Chinese people unfavourably.

(222) Recording 4

1 P21 就是感觉在国外明显会感觉注重一些自己的这种感觉

(I) feel the need to be more self-conscious abroad,

2 因为别人肯定不会讲说啊 你这个人怎么怎么样 会说你看那个中国人怎么样怎么样

because other people definitely won't comment on you as a person, but will judge you as a Chinese,

3 所以相对而言会注意一些

therefore would pay more attention.

It cannot be said that all the other participants share the same collectivist thinking of "one individual is not only representing themselves, but also the collective image of Chinese people". Participants' comments indicate that they are self-conscious about how others view themselves. From a stance-taking point of view, the speaker converges her self-consciousness with a consciousness of a collective identity, which has added indexical value to the notion of self-conscious of what the speaker believes as a collective value. Being self-conscious has always been a well-regarded personal trait among Chinese people as it embodies an awareness of self-improvement. As Chapter 3 has reviewed, the moral value of self-improvement has been stressed by both traditional school of thought in China such as Confucianism and also the revolutionary patriotic intellectuals in modern China. The current speaker seems to be addressing to an imagined audience who would agree with her that they should be conscious of living in a foreign country.

In all of the examples above where the speakers use the collective self-reference 我们 'we' to include the hearers as part of an exclusive affective imagined audience, be it Chinese, Chinese from Mainland China or Chinese in Australia, these references gain indexical values in discursive acts. In these discourse situations, speakers' collective self-representation is found to be intimately related to an idealised imagined audience who are positioned as someone sharing the same collective identity. These performances reflect speakers' interpretations of this imagined and idealised collective identity which are linked to more enduring socio-cultural values. In a cross-cultural context, ideological differences form the basis of the participants' narrative about their Chinese identity. The interaction between having these perceptions and being a Chinese person in the global world is integral to their

collective self-representation. The next subsection will examine participants' utterances that features cross-cultural comparisons across various groups of people. These comparative evaluations reflect the construction of various online collective identities.

7.1.3 Comparing Chinese to others

Participants talked about their perceptions of the cross-cultural differences between people from 中国 'China' and 澳洲人 'Australian people'. Quite often, participants also use 这边人 *zhebianren* 'people here' and 当地人 'local people' to substitute non-Chinese in Australia. 国内人 'people from within the country' also appears frequently in the comparative evaluations of Australians and Chinese people in Australia.

Comparative evaluations of Chinese groups in the intercultural and cross-cultural context contain a great variety of group referents, some of which include the participant themselves and some do not:

- (223) Recording 1.1
 1 P3 对 我觉得澳洲人比较喜欢管闲事了 相对于中国人来说 中国人 一般不管你的事
Right, I think Australians like to mind other people's business in comparison to Chinese. Chinese in general won't bother with your matters.
 2 不关你的事你一般不会理嘛对吧/ 但**他们**澳洲人不一样
*You generally won't bother with things that have nothing to do with you, right <interrogative particle>? but **those** Australians are different.*
- (224) Recording 4
 1 P22 我就想为什么澳大利亚信主的那么多 我想可能也是跟**他们**社会福利是有关系的
*I am wondering why there are so many people who believe in God, I think perhaps it is related to **their** social welfare system,*
 2 人家不用为房子 不用工作 不用养父母医疗奋斗 中国人不一样
(because of which), they don't need to work hard for a house and don't need to work and don't need to support (their) parents, but Chinese are different.
- (225) Recording 2
 1 P11 其实呢以家庭为中心比较多一点 在中国呢 是以社会为主导的那种心理
In fact, (people here are) more family-centred, but in China, there is still that society-driven mentality.
 2 像**我们**以前中国的话 吃饭都不回家 好像哎 在中国工作的时候好像从来都不回家吃饭
*Like when **we** were back in China, (we) never went home to have meals, it seemed that while (we were) working in China, (we) never went home for meals,*
 3 天天在外面吃 **你**到这边来 所有的人都是回家吃饭
*(we) ate out every day but after **one (literally you)** comes here, everyone goes home to eat.*
- (226) Recording 3
 1 P13 我**现在**比较守时了 **以前**不守时 还有我觉得**这边**洋人很讲究信誉这种东西
*I am rather punctual **now**, I **used** not to be. Also I think Westerners **here** care a lot about accountability.*
 2 就像你刚才讲的 social contract 你要对你的言论负责
Just like what you said about social contract, you are responsible for your words.
 3 但是中国的话 好像就表面的一层 然后底下的一层 这边的话就是非常有信誉
Whilst in China underneath the surface lies another layer. Here (on the other hand, they) are reliable.

- (227) Recording 2
 1 P11 因为这边大家在一起就是利益关系就少 没有这种利益相关的话
Because here everyone's relationships with others are less involved with interests, because of this,
 2 可能就是说相对个体独立一点 不会像中国一竿子一铲子
perhaps individuals are relatively more independent, which is not like in China where people's interests are interrelated.

While the participants make these comparisons, they can choose to dis-align with a group using collective person reference. Collective other-reference, such as 他们 ‘those’ in Examples (223) and (224) are indicative of dis-alignment. Although the inclusive collective self-reference 我们 ‘we’ is in use in Example (225), it is situated in a time frame in the past, implying a change of attitude in the speaker. The impersonal 你 ‘one (literally you)’ makes the speaker’s alignment with the current Australian lifestyle more explicit (Line 3 in Example (225)). Similarly, the speaker of (226) endorses what is here-and-now, as opposed to what it was in the past (Line1). This endorsement is strengthened by quoting another participant’s previous stance. In Example (227), the indefinite pronoun 大家 *dajia* ‘everyone’ marks a subtle form of alignment which has the effect of presupposing agreement in the interactive context (see more discussion of the use of 大家 ‘everyone’ in accommodating performances in Section 6.1.4 Chapter 6).

Speakers may strategically include other listeners in the online imagined collectives that have been created for discourse purposes. First of all, the online imagined collectives collectively position other interlocutors which is a way of seeking social alignments from other discourse partners. In Examples (228) and (229), both participants take stances to invoke their shared values that emanate from an imagined exclusive cultural collective, linguistically represented by 我们 ‘we’ or 我们中国人 *women Zhongguoren* ‘we Chinese’.

- (228) Recording 1.1
 1 P4 对 因为他 因为他习惯了那个东西 然后一旦没有的话
Right, whilst he is used to that thing, then as soon as it is missing,
 2 对他们来说很明显 对我们来说一点都不明显
it would be very obvious for them, but for us it is not obvious at all.
 3 我们是觉得 而且或者是文化吧就是 我们觉得只要我们心到了就 OK 了
We think that it is probably due to the culture. We think as long as our heart reaches it is ok,
 4 但是他们呢体会不了 他们就只看表面的 你说还是没说 就这么表面的黑白的 黑的 白的东西
but they cannot feel it. They would only look at what appears on the surface whether you said it or not, these superficial things or in terms of black and white.

(229) Recording 2

- 1 P11 也可能跟澳洲文化有关系 澳洲人呢跟我们中国人不一样 中国人呢亲者亲 仇者仇
*It might be related to Australian culture, **Australians** are different from **we Chinese**. (For) **Chinese**, friends are friends, enemies are enemies.*
- 2 那么澳洲人呢 亲者不亲 仇者不仇 其实他们吵完可能就忘掉了
*As (for) **Australians**, friends are not friends, enemies are not enemies, in fact, after having an argument, they might forget (it) very soon.*
- 3 可能吵过了他也不跟你生气 因为他跟他最亲的人也没有那么亲 你看他马路上对谁都很好
Perhaps after the argument he wouldn't even be mad at you, because he is not that close even to the closest kin, you see he is nice to everyone in the street.
- 4 但他妈妈他一个月他也不去看一下 这是一种文化
But he won't even visit his mother once in a month, this is a type of culture.
- 5 所以像我们中国人一定要亲啊 亲得不得了 那么吵起来真的是冤家 就是这样 他们不会
***We Chinese** must be close (to our immediate associates) to a degree that we can't be any closer, but when arguing, (we become) real enemies, and they won't.*

These two participants both state contrasts and portray “us” as more caring and more truthful. According to these two participants, Chinese and Australians have very different social etiquettes and expectations of what is socially appropriate. Australian people, in their opinion, care more about formality than sincerity. For then, it triggers socially misunderstandings. The speaker of (228) would still opt to show sincerity, which is a collective value “we” hold. The speaker of (229) clearly opposes “their” Australian casual interpersonal connection. Her illustration of an Australian who can go for a whole month without seeing his mother invokes filial piety, a family value that Chinese people hold dear. It should be noted that these characteristics do not necessary represent what all participants perceive as the typical Chinese or Australian values or lifestyles. They are brought up by speakers who position other co-present partners as part of an imagined and idealised audience. Since both the speakers and the interlocutors, in the mind of the speaker, are intimately connected to this imagined collective, the speakers feel confident about describing their own beliefs or observations as collectively held.

Examples (228) and (229), as well as (200) in Section 7.1.2, provide concrete evidence of the pragmatic end of assimilating all the other discourse participants to an imagined cultural collective. In Examples (228) and (229), the affective cultural collective is represented by 我们中国人 ‘we Chinese’ while 我们华人 ‘we ethnic Chinese’ is found in (200). Both identities are created to accommodate what the speakers assume as and should be collectively held. The construction of an online collective identity can be a strategy for speakers is presuppose their own observations as shared ideas.

In the interactional frame, people negotiate cultural differences and talk about their own choices and decisions accordingly. Some stances that they take with collective

positioning can be high in epistemic value. These epistemic stances in cross-cultural scenarios contain their individual opinions. By establishing an online collective identity with other interlocutors, it helps to sell their own perceptions as a generalisable views. For instance, the same speaker in Examples (230) and (231) and the speaker of (232) take the inclusive collective positioning to strengthen the epistemic value of their thoughts:

- (230) Recording 1.1
 1 P3 有一个印度同事就跟我讲说 就是其实在印度啊 **他们的**语言啦跟**我们**有点相似
*There was an Indian colleague who told me in fact **their** language in India is very similar to **ours**.*
 2 就说 她说麻烦你 如果你想要别人帮你做什么事情她可能就会说
She said when asking a favour from you, or if you want other people to help you with something, she would probably say,
 3 额 can u help me to do something 这样子哈 但是他们这个之后不会加一个 please 额
“can you help me to do something” like this, but they won’t add a please afterwards,
 4 然后她就说 他们其实和我们中国人一样 不是说故意不加 please 他们就是习惯
*she also said in fact they are the same as **we Chinese**. Without intentionally omitting please, it is just because of the way people speak.*
- (231) Recording 1.1
 1 P3 然后我就觉得种族歧视 歧视这边还是 蛮 挺多的吧 但是好像不只是**我们中国人**
*I feel racial discrimination here is still rather serious, but maybe not just against **we Chinese**.*
 2 他们有些歧视皮肤比较黑的人 印度人 皮肤比较黑的人 嗯 菲律宾的人
They discriminate those whose skin is darker, like Indian and Filipino.
- (232) Recording 5
 1 P23 就是不一样 就是好像就因为我们读建筑嘛 就是一个楼里的人基本都认识
It is so different, like we all study architecture, so we basically know everyone in the building,
 2 然后就是 local 他们 就是和 和谁都认识 然后和谁都是朋友那种
those local students know everyone and are friends with everyone,
 3 就是即使是只见过一面 或者怎么样 都是朋友 然后
even if they have only met once, they are all friends.
 4 但是说 international 之间 就是说**我们中国人**之间
*But between international students or between **we Chinese** students,*
 5 就好像亲疏远分就比较明显 嗯 然后就是这样
there seems to exist an obvious differentiation between close friends and normal acquaintances.
 6 和 local 之间的友情也没有说能够交流到 哦我今天我家里面怎么怎么样 没有深入到这种程度
Friendship with local students cannot develop into a high degree of closeness where I can discuss family matters.

As Participant 3 identifies strongly as a Chinese person, she might have assumed a similar feeling from her audience towards issues the Chinese people, at the group level, face in Australia, namely the intra-cultural comparison in Example (230) and the racial discrimination in Example (231). The speaker of Example (232) is well aware of the different interpersonal expectations people of different backgrounds can have. She uses the inclusive collective reference in Line 4 of Example (232) to construct this imagined collective of Chinese people, linking her observation of how to maintain social contacts among Chinese to a prominent feature of this imagine collective. Since the addressees are assumed to share the same collective identity as the speaker, the speakers project their own interpretations of certain meanings that are associated with this collective cultural property onto their

addressees. Both speakers naturalise their own personal views as something “we” should all understand.

Participants comment on different family values people have in China and Australia. Some participants suggest different societies operate on different sets of lifestyles and values which are not directly transferable from one to another and are incomparable. They say that they are tolerant to contradictory opinions due to the existing differences and report that they either accept to both sides or admit neither is absolutely right or wrong. Collective person reference used in these comparative evaluations show that participants still rely on making group distinctions. Collective self-categorisation helps speakers to position themselves as well as other discourse participants in one cultural group against another. A boundary is often set between “us”, Chinese people who were brought up in China, and “them”, those who were brought up very differently.

One participant says:

- (233) Recording 3
1 P15 中国是拿道德准则去规范一些事情
Chinese abide by moral principles (in marriage),
2 说你这个不应该这样做 不应该那样做
saying you should not be doing this or that.
3 老外没有 他们是合约精神
They go by contract (in marriage).
4 比如说 结婚的时候老外就是说好了 有一个 agreement 对吧/
For example, foreigners had an agreement when getting married, right <interrogative particle>?
5 不管他以后贫穷生病 你都要照顾他 你们俩达成了有一个 agreement 这是一个协约关系
You need to look after him for poorer in sickness, the two of you form an agreement, a contract,
6 那就成为夫妻 什么时候你们觉得不 ok 了 就离婚了
(you two) become husband and wife, you divorce whenever you guys don't feel ok.
7 国内从小到现在都讲究一种责任 你们两个一起的啊 就不是这种协约关系
Within the country, (people) from young age to old age, regard marriage as a responsibility, it is not a contract,
8 所以这是两个不一样的价值观
therefore these are two different values,
9 所以我们不能用这种去管理 他们也不能这种管理
so we cannot manage (our marriage) in this (Western) way he cannot manage (his marriage) in this (Chinese) way.

Participant 15 in Example (233) concludes that Chinese and Australians have incompatible values for marriage without commenting on whether one is better than the other, but the clear group distinction gives away his attitude. According on him, Chinese believe spouses are responsible for each other's welfare, while foreigners do not feel so obliged and can just break the contract without suffering remorse (Line 6). In Line 9, he

explicitly says that “we” cannot adopt “their” value, which might be viewed as paternalistic as he prescribes an attitude to the other Chinese group members.

A participant from group one tells the group her experiences of racial discrimination at work. She begins by quoting an Egyptian co-worker’s remark at the aged care facility where she works as a nurse:

- (234) Recording 1
1 P3 她就跟我说 她说 我听一个中国朋友说 他说你们其实你们中国人是很 aggressive
I heard from a Chinese friend who said “you people your Chinese are in fact, your Chinese are very aggressive”.
2 我很想发飙 但是我后来我就说 说我就说 it depends 吧
I wanted to throw my temper (at her), but I said I just said it depends <exclamation particle>!
3 每个人都不一样对吧/ 有些时候我觉得这跟是不是中国人没有关系
Every person is different <interrogative particle>?, sometimes I think it has nothing to with (a person’s nationality) whether one is Chinese or not,
4 就算是澳洲人 像其他国家的人 都可能有 aggressive 的人 也可能有 nice 的对吧/
even if an Australian or like amongst people from other countries, there are always aggressive people and nice people, right <interrogative particle>?

Participant 3 first picks Australians as a group to compare with Chinese but immediately repairs to a more ambiguous reference including people from other countries (Lines 3 and 4). Her move from inter-group comparison to an impersonal statement is not a simple matter. It reflects her intension to self-represent as a sensitive Chinese individual who is responsible for one’s own actions and words. By doing so, she is modeling the kind of attitude for the others who share this collective identity.

Participants’ cross-cultural comparisons also contain critical evaluations of some typically Chinese behaviours. For example, they point out that some collective Chinese values can produce sub-cultures within Chinese institutions, such as a sense of hierarchy. Two participants from group one agree that their bosses who have a Chinese background show an obsession with hierarchy. One participant reports that his boss migrated to Australia from China a long time ago, but is still very much affected by a sense of hierarchy. Another participant who once worked for a Hong Kong boss also believes in an ingrained sense of hierarchy amongst Chinese people:

- (235) Recording 1
1 P5 他骨子里觉得 XXX 是我的下级 他这已经潜移默化的
he is already imperceptibly (lit. inside bone) (convinced) that <name of participant> is my subordinate.
2 不知道叫不叫语言 但是是一种习惯 心理上的习惯
(I) don’t know whether it is linguistic, but it is a habit, a psychological habit.

- (236) Recording 1
 1 P4 可能就是华人老板 然后自己又是华人
Maybe (he him)self is an ethnic Chinese boss, then (my)self is also ethnic Chinese,
 2 大家都知道有那种等级
everyone all knows that kind of hierarchy.

Both participants find it hard to cope with this allegedly Chinese characteristic in a professional relationship because they like the “Western” way which treats people more equally and fairly.

Likewise, another participant in the same group also adopts a critical attitude towards class differentiation in China where the labouring class is treated as the bottom of the social hierarchy:

- (237) Recording 1
 1 国内又不一样了 赚的是最底薪不说 而且还不是被人尊重
*China (lit. **within the country**) is different, (they) get the lowest pay and are still not respected,*
 2 服务员啊之类的都是社会底层 大家都被唾弃的
like waiting servants are all at the bottom of the society, are all being despised.
 3 大家都知道有那种等级
Everyone knows about that hierarchism.

The distinctions between Australian Chinese and Chinese people from China using the reference of 国内 ‘within the country’ is clear in Line 2 of Example (237). The referent of 国内人 ‘people from within the country’ is an out-group which embodies characteristics the participants regard as drastically different from those of their Australian counterparts. The term itself is self-explanatory in a sense that the physical locations in and out of the country embodies a sense of contrast between both sides.⁵⁷ Although Participant 3 has not elaborated how much respect their Australian counterparts receives, this cross-cultural perspective is portrayed as source of insight.

Participants, who differentiate their collective positioning from those 国内人 ‘people from within the country’. The physically distance from China reflects a dis-alignment from various Chinese cultural norms. Drawing on the participants’ comments, they criticise about materialism in China due to the destructive impact of money worship on Chinese people’s moral values; they also link the new stereotype they observe in Australia and across the globe

⁵⁷ Section 7.2 will explore the participants’ flexible collective self-representation which is manifested in the way they use this categorical term with spatial deixis and imaginarily positioning themselves as self-aware discerning members through spatial representation.

of Chinese people as *nouveau riche* to Chinese people's purchasing of Australian real estate properties and consumable products.

These negative evaluations towards Chinese people from China together with the aforementioned observations of the kind of behaviours they perceive as typically Chinese are drawn from their cross-cultural experiences. These cross-cultural experiences have been internalised as personal knowledge. With an idealised audience who are imaginarily positioned as affected members, speakers can construct their identity of being Overseas Chinese by projecting their personalised knowledge onto such an idealised audience. This online collective identity can be—Overseas Chinese—a group of people who can see more critically and clearly than people in China.

In the data set, not all of the cross-cultural comparisons are phrased as converging personal experiences with those of the collective. The epistemic stances where the speaker's collective identity remains largely hidden can be interpreted as some participants' approval of the Australian individualistic way of life and ability to think in terms of the individual rather than as a member of a group. In this regard, they see themselves as individuals who simply happened to be born and raised in China. An examination of the indexical value of some cross-cultural comparisons reveals that the notion of individualism is still a debatable idea among Chinese people. For example, participants in Example (238) align and dis-align with the so-called Australian individualistic socio-cultural value:

- (238) Recording 1.1
- 1 P5 如果中国报出一个什么好的消息 比如刘翔又跑了 110 的冠军 我
If good news came from China, like Liu Xiang won the championship in 110-metre hurdles I,
- 2 出了国我觉得好像确实这些是对我影响很大 然后很光荣 作为一个中国人
feel very proud to be a Chinese which I think does have a big influence on me when I am overseas.
- 3 但是别的可能没有太强的感觉 毕竟在这边 我觉得 没有 没有那么敏感
But the feeling (I have) is not that strong other times, I am not that sensitive as (I'm) here after all.
- 4 R 什么叫没有那么敏感
What does "not too sensitive" mean?
- 5 P5 嗯 就是在**国内**大家都想什么爱国主义这些比较大的
Towards those grand concepts, like the patriotism, everyone in China (lit. within the country) thinks about those.
- 6 但是我觉得**这边**的人可能更脚踏实地了一点
But I think people here are probably more down to earth.
- 7 不谈国家这么大的事情 不谈为国献身的事 把自己生活过好可能就算是为国家做贡献
No talking about big national issues, no talking about sacrificing for the country, making good livings oneself is making contributions to the country.
- 8 P1 对 **这边**的人 自我 对 比较自我 一点
Yes, people here are more self-centred.
- 9 P3 很多的是自己
A lot is about self.

- 10 P5 说的是自私 但是我觉得**这里的**这个**自私**并不是贬义词
*It is called selfishness. But I think **selfishness here** is not a derogatory term.*
- 11 P3 不过他们教育也是啊 就像你 你要比方说他是警察
But they are taught this way. For example, as a police officer,
- 12 那**我们可能那边**教育可能是 哦 你要一定要什么 为人民服务献身之类的
*if according to **our education over there**, you will have to serve the people and make sacrifices;*
- 13 在**这边**你就要先把**自己保护**好啊 我们护士也是这样的
*but **here** you have to **protect yourself first**, we nurses are (taught) the same way.*
- 14 如果你遇到一些火灾之类的啊 你得先让**自己安全** 然后你再去转移别人
*If you are caught in a big fire, you have to **make sure you are safe yourself** before you transfer other people.*
- 15 **他们**教育都是这样的
*This is **their** education.*

While Participant 5⁵⁸ regards individualism as being practical (Line 6) and selfishness as not necessarily a derogatory term (Line 10), others, such as Participant 1 and Participant 3 classifies **这边的人** *zhebianderen* ‘people here’ as being self-centred (Lines 8 and 9). Even though being self-interested is no longer conceptualised by a taboo for a Chinese person, **自我** *ziwo* ‘self’ or ‘egocentric’ (Line 8), when used as an attributive, connotes the sense of being self-absorbed which is negative in meaning (Line 8) (cf. Chapter 3).

In term of speakers’ positioning, all the participants either use impersonal reference or individual self-reference to discuss their observations of Australian culture or the difference between Australia and China without explicitly positioning themselves in any cultural collective, except for Participant 3 who uses the collective form. Chinese culture is referred as **我们那边** *women nabian* ‘we over there’, Line 12 in Example (238), as opposed to **他们** ‘they’, Line 15 in Example (238). Participant 5, 1 and 3 all use the term **这边的人** ‘people here’ (Line 13) to refer to people in Australia in contrast with those in China. These speakers neither fully aligned with to the group metaphorically represented as one that is “over there in China”, nor with the group in Australia (referred to as an “other”). Participant 3 in particular regards education “here” as something “they” practice, distancing herself from it. Therefore, it cannot be said that she agrees with the Australian **自我** ‘egocentric’ value. Unlike Participant 1, who remains silent after publicly expressing her disagreement, Participant 3 might just want to show her understanding of the term in the Australian context, which is a highly situational construct.

⁵⁸ Participant 5 is the only male participant in this group. Due to the unequal distribution of gender proportion and small sample size, analysis of gender differences is not within the scope of study (cf. Section 8.3.1 of Chapter 8).

In the intra-cultural comparative context, participants construct online collective identities, such as a shared Chinese cultural identity with other interlocutors as a strategy for collective self-representation. They can presuppose what they know as something that is shared. Participants use collective positioning in their epistemic stances in various cross-cultural scenarios to sell their own perceptions as the truth to other people who may agree with them, or invoke a sense of responsibility among other listeners who are positioned as members of the imagined collective. This is evident in some participants' epistemic stances where they try to act as a model for some kind of attitude for people they perceive as sharing this collective identity. The construction of an online collective identity constitutes an imagined social space which can absorb speakers' own beliefs, assumptions, and observations that they believe as collectively held and/or as generalisable knowledge. The next section explores the role of cognition and perception in turning speakers' cross-cultural views and opinions into knowledge upon which the conceptualisation of immigrant identity is negotiated and consolidated.

7.2 Construal of membership in discourse

In terms of the construal of the collective dimension of the self, speakers orient their points of view to an imagined audience. As discussed in Section 7.1, the indexical use of collective self-reference and categorical terms in stance-taking acts are indicative of imagined collective positioning, where speakers position other locutionary agents as part of their imagined and idealised audience. By invoking an imagined cultural collective that they share with other co-present partners (who form the local audience), they produce and reproduce their shared socio-cultural beliefs and values. It can be said that constructing these imagined positions forms the conceptual basis for negotiating a meaningful construal of imagined collective cultural property. This section will examine the cognitive aspect of participants' imagined perspectives or viewpoints that are embedded in their membership talk.

Collective person reference is found to be used together with multiple affixes or modifiers, especially spatial deixis, to negotiate appropriate collective self-representations. Conceptually, the metaphorical and image-schematic structures that underlie linguistic representations of group membership convey a spatial cognition. Participants' metaphorical descriptions of their self-perceived positions in collective cultural imaginations manifest cognitive models for collective identity construction. First, the discussion in this section will examine how social group membership is construed in terms of BOUNDED AREA. The notion

of viewpoint is then applied to participants' comments that contain shifting perspectives. The last subsection will explore the role of spatial cognition in negotiating the meaning of the imagined collective identity.

7.2.1 BOUNDED AREA

A great many references to the participants' imagined cultural collective evoke a CONTAINER schematic structure. Social groups are conceptualised as occupying bounded region in a space, and individuals are imagined to be either inside or outside these spaces (cf. Martin, 1996, cited in Chen, 2002, p. 97).

As mentioned in Section 7.1.2, geographic origin is a prominent focal characteristic for an imagined collective. The terms 老外 'foreigner (literally old outsider)', 外国人 'foreigner (literally outside country people)' and 国外人 'foreigner (literally country outsider)', are used 38 times in my data to describe people who do not share the same geographic origin as the speaker. In addition, participants talk about 进入 *jinru* 'enter[ing]' a circle of people and 出来 *chulai* 'com[ing]' from a social background (see also Section 6.2.5 for a discussion of space in the relational dimension) as if one's socio-cultural collective identity is BOUNDED AREA.

(239) Recording 4

1 P20 旁边鬼佬啊 就跟你没有相关的人 老说中国不好

Westerners, people who have nothing to do with you, always say China is bad.

2 你就不爱听 特别不爱听 以为呢

You especially hate hearing that and think,

3 你没有从那个背景出来 你不是中国人你不了解 你没有权

*you did not **come out of** that background. You are not Chinese. You don't understand. You have no right*

(240) Recording 4

1 P21 更何况就跟你根本不是一个地方的人呢 那些新加坡啊 或者马来西亚

Needless to say, (those people) who are not from the same place as you at all, those Singaporean or Malaysian.

2 甚至一些 更何况那些欧美人 就是文化差异方面

Even some, not to mention those Euro-American, in matters of cultural differences.

Participant 20 in Example (239) finds judgement of disputable issues by Western people can hurt her feelings, as if her own identity is under the threat. In light of the conceptual metaphor CULTURE GROUP IS BOUNDED AREA, a non-member's judgment has acquired the meaning of trespassing the bounded area in the metaphorical sense. If an outsider trespasses on this zone by denouncing the characteristics of the group, it then constitutes a threatening action to this collective identity.

By contrast, another participant in the same focus group does not mind ideological and political differences among people of different geographic origin, as shown in Example (240). Two groups of people are metaphorically mapped onto two mutually excluding BOUNDED AREAS. Then people who are from a different group should have a different imagined collective that the speaker positions herself in.

In the cross-cultural comparative context, a lot of participants represent themselves as understanding that disparities in social values are tied in closely with different social situations. As explained in Section 7.1.3, even without showing their alignment explicitly, they still use collective reference to draw the line between an imagined “us” and an imagined “them” (see Examples (228), (229) and (233) in Section 7.1.3). Evoking group distinction in taking epistemic stances, they seem to assume that people from different BOUNDED AREAS naturally do not share the same beliefs and values.

Some applied the CULTURE GROUP IS BOUNDED AREA metaphor to rationalise intra-group misunderstandings as a result of having different cultural backgrounds:

- (241) Recording 2
P11 我们不会不会在他那个文化范畴里面去考虑
we won't put ourselves in their cultural context (lit. bounded area) to consider,
... 本身的文化范围内有很多人这样的
a lot of people within that cultural context (lit. bounded area) itself are like that

Participant 11 recalls her initial cultural shock at Japan due to her lack of knowledge of the foreign cultural space (Line 1). After gaining enough experience, she comes to the conclusion that what she did not like, namely not treating women with enough respect, is the norm in that foreign cultural space. She makes repeated reference to this BOUNDED AREA to convince the rest of the group that bias is a result of lack of knowledge. Once the insider/outsider boundary is set, misunderstanding from outsiders can be attributed to lacking of knowledge. As far as her own imagined positioning is concerned, she has kept the Japanese cultural space a foreign space to which she remains an observer.

As discussed in the previous section, speakers use collective self-reference for collective positioning. By using inclusive collective self-reference, speakers position themselves and the idealised audience as being part of an imagined cultural collective. From a metaphorical point of view, speakers who invoke this collective identity which excludes others with whom they do not identify can suggest that the idealised audience should exercise their common membership responsibility to guard the BOUNDED AREA. The exclusiveness of

the BOUNDED AREA corresponds to preventing the “wrong people” from denouncing the shared membership. The BOUNDED AREA metaphor also contributes to construct an identical social identity for the idealised audience with shared values and beliefs.

As mentioned in Section 7.1.3, 这边人 ‘people here’ is a pervasive form of reference to non-Chinese in Australia. From the discourse context, it can be inferred that speakers who use this reference do not fully consider themselves as part of the Australian cultural group. Even the proximal demonstratives 这 *zhe* ‘this’ implies a sense of closeness to the deictic centre, 这边人 ‘people here’ is used to refer to an out-group that excludes the speaker.

This reference is found across all the group discussions, which reflects a conceptualisation of self-perceived location in space with regard to their collective identity in Australia.

(242) Recording 3

1 P15 然后这边的人从小到的都是无忧无虑的这种生活对吧/你什么都不做也不会饿死

People here have lived a carefree life, since young age, right <interrogative particle>? one (lit. you) won't starve to death by doing nothing.

2 所以他是很难去理解你的那种 你从亚洲背景过来的这种忧患意识哪里来的

So it is very hard for him to understand the awareness of potential danger of people who come from (lit. come out of) Asian backgrounds.

3 你完全不理解 他也不明白你为什么要这么做 所以你刚才谈这个是没办法谈的 没办法理解

We (lit. you) can't understand (him) completely, he also can't understand why we (lit. you) have to do this, so what you said just now can't be discussed (with them), (it is) impossible (for them) to understand.

(243) Recording 2

1 P10 我们更多的可能还是入乡随俗比较多 对对 可能不会刻意的去把我们的文化弄过来

We are more likely “do what the villagers do”, right, right, probably won't deliberately apply (lit. move) our culture here.

2 就是怎么说呢 就是他们怎么样 我们更多是适应他们

That is to say, follow them, and we are more likely to adapt to them.

Both speakers of Examples (242) and (243) consider themselves to have exited one cultural space and entered another (Line 2 in (242) and Line 1 in (243)), evidenced by them saying 从 *cong* ‘from’ and 过来 *cuolai* ‘come here’. The proposition 从 ‘from’ suggests moving away from the original deictic centre. The spatial verb 过来 ‘come here’ can be interpreted as encoding a social anchor in the three-dimensional socio-spatio-temporal anchoring in a communication act. According to Zhou and Fu (1996), the spatial deictic verb 来 *lai* ‘come’, is extensively used in coding social relationships in space in Chinese. In particular, 来 ‘come’ indexes a common goal for both the speaker and the addressees. Indeed, both speakers, in spatial terms, not only regard themselves as entering an foreign space but also share that experience with the rest of the audience. In addition, the inclusive collective

self-reference which is used by Participant 10 can be seen to foreground a cultural space which is shared by himself and the addressees. Therefore, not only do they have the cross-cultural experience in common, they also share an imagined cultural location within the host country. This cultural location is a result of forming imagined ties between people who have the shared value and life experience through collective self-representation— Chinese immigrants in Australia—in the context of the present study.

The conceptualisation of Chinese identity in terms of BOUNDED AREA excludes the non-Chinese Australians. This imagined cultural space also excludes other cultural groups (for an example, see (206) in Section 7.1.1). Thus this collective identity can be conceived in the schematic imagination as a CONTAINER. It allows only a certain amount of people to share the same collective identity and generate imagined meanings associated with this alleged collective cultural identity. Alienating Westerners from one's imagined positioning, the Chinese in-group creates a safe zone for the Chinese participants to talk about their personal views and observations about non-Chinese. As has been shown in Section 7.1, the repetitive use of the inclusive collective self-reference, demonstrates an effort to build online imagined spaces that can accommodate shared values and beliefs. These spaces can create reference points while they take stances to invoke collective identities national-politically, socio-culturally, generationally and so forth.

7.2.2 Mixed viewpoints

In the data, the terms and expressions participants use contain a mixture of viewpoints (Dancygier, 2008; Verhagen, 2005). 这 *zhe* 'this' and 那 *na* 'that' are common Chinese demonstratives which indicate the distance of the object from the speaker. 那些 'those' is often employed as discourse deixis for out-group people, casting a metaphorical distance between this imagined "other" and the speaker's position. From a stance point of view, the distance signifies an epistemic dis-alignment with the outsiders' socio-cultural beliefs and values (see more discussion of other-referencing as strategies to express disapproval in Section 7.1.3).

(244) Recording 1.1

1 P1 我觉得一般年轻人 然后还有文化程度高的人他可能没**那种**种族歧视

*I think in general young people and people who have high level of education probably don't hold **that kind of racial prejudice.***

2 反而就是老年人 **他们**会比较严重 但我觉得也有可能是年轻人就更接受**这种**多元文化

*On the contrary, older people, **they** can be quite racist, I think it is also possible that young people are more accepting of **this kind of multiculturalism,***

3 像我们公司年轻的鬼妹啊鬼佬 很多都有 Asian 的朋友

like the young Western girls and boys in our company all have Asian friends.

4 然后但是那些老年人就讨厌印度人 最讨厌印度人 然后其次就是穆斯林

*But **those** older people hate Indians if not the most, next is Muslims.*

(245) Recording 3

1 P15 你把水放在油里面 油放在水里面 你可以泡一块儿 但是他们之间不是一起的

(If) you put water into oil or oil into water, you can soak them together, but they cannot mix in between,

2 除非第二代第三代我们的子女 **那些** ABC 才可能会

*our children, **those** second generation or third generation Australian-born Chinese would probably, would become like that.*

In Lines 1 and 2 of Example (244), racial discrimination and multiculturalism are presented as two contrasting cultural attitudes and are both prefixed by spatial deixis. The attitude the speaker disagrees is called “that kind” and that which the speaker prefers is called “this kind”. Similarly, it can be argued that **那些** *naxie* ‘those’ assumes an anaphoric function in signalling discourse reference and metaphorically encodes non-proximity based on cognitive representations of group identity. Both speakers define people who do not share their group value or whose opinions are in sharp contrast to those of locutionary co-participants as “those”, placing “them” at a distance from “us”.

It should be noted that deictic forms such as **这些** *zhexie* ‘these’ and **那些** ‘those’ are highly situated in the discourse context. In a context where collective identity is invoked, their inferred epistemic value is built on the socio-culturally driven evaluation of in-groups and out-groups. For example, the use of **这** ‘this’ and **那** ‘that’ in (246) clearly demonstrates how the speaker marks the boundary of different groups that endorse different values:

(246) Recording 2

1 P10 而且很重要的一点我觉得**国内**的很多规章制度就没有**这边**的严格

*Another important point I think is that rules and regulations in **China (lit. within the country)** are not as strict as the ones **here,***

2 就很多 就是 怎么说呢 很多人不按规则办事嘛

that is to say lots of people don't follow the rules,

3 像**这边**都是按照很严格很严谨的规则办事的 **国内**就没有**这种**意识

*(people) **here** follow strict rules, but (people) in **China (lit. within the country)** do not have **this kind of awareness.***

4 而且国内也没有 **国内那些人**就不会 也没有那种责任

*Also (people) in **China (lit. within the country)** do not, **those people in China (lit. within the country),** don't have that sense of responsibility.*

This use of spatial reference can be argued to be signalling an epistemic distance represented in two mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1997). The current speaker, anchoring the deictic centre, imagines a new mental space represented by 那些人 *naxieren* ‘those people’ who are perceived as distant from the speaker’s viewpoint. The newly evoked mental space is then distanced epistemically. The distance of the two mental spaces represents a difference in knowledge which allows the speaker to imagine the contrast between people in China and people in Australia. From the speaker’s viewpoint, 那些人 ‘those people’ shows a lack of 这种意识 *zhezong yishi* ‘this awareness’ which is anchored to the speaker’s deictic centre. The speaker’s observation that several regulations are not followed properly by people in China then constitutes the criticism of people in China who do not uphold law-abiding values.

The use of spatial demonstratives 这 ‘here’ or ‘this’ and 那 ‘there’ or ‘that’ together with demographic terms metaphorically evokes a spatial distance between imagined collectives. In this light, the deictic centre for the meanings represented by spatial demonstratives is not simply based on the speaker’s geographic location, i.e. in Australia. These references to the Australian and Chinese cultural groups containing spatial which contain demonstratives in fact reflect the speaker’s construal of social proximity across cultural groups:

(247) Recording 2

1 P7 工作的话其实我不是很在乎 比如说是为中国人打工还是为**这边当地人**打工

*With regard to work, I don't really care whether I'm working for Chinese or for **locals here**.*

2 但是最好是能跟专业相关的 嗯 我不会在乎为谁打工这样子

But it'd better be related to (my) specialty. I don't care who I am working for.

3 生活也是 我觉得不排斥可以多交几个各国的朋友

In life, I also don't mind having more friends from various countries.

(248) Recording 3

1 P13 其实我感觉普遍来说 这边澳洲人他们安全感不强

*In fact I feel, generally speaking, **Australians here they are lacking in a sense of security.***

2 他们排外也是因为害怕 竞争啊 改变 他们喜欢安逸的生活

They reject foreigners because of the fear for competition and change. They like the easy life.

这边 ‘here’ is proposed to the reference to the local Australians, such as in the utterances in (247) and (248), in which case the deictic reference is indicative of the speakers’ perception of the distance between Chinese and non-Chinese people in Australia. A spatial demonstrative suggests distance (cf. Example (242) in Section 7.2.1). The speaker of (247) distinguishes Chinese bosses from local Australian bosses (Line 1) before she concludes that she can work for anyone (Line 2). The Chinese bosses are also in Australia, so technically they should have also been classified as 这边 ‘here’ if the participant’s physical location

functions as the deictic centre. However, the absence of 这边 ‘here’ before the Chinese group in Australia signals a difference in terms of the degree of deviation from the deictic centre. 这边 ‘here’ indicates the difference in terms of the speaker’s proximity to 中国人 ‘Chinese people’ and 当地人 ‘local people’. In which case the speaker might consider Chinese people as further away for the deictic centre while non-Chinese Australians are closer.

In contrast to this subtle self-perceived distinction, the speaker of (248) is more explicit in positioning herself as away from the deictic centre. The proximal use of 这边 ‘here’ set the deictic centre as the speaker’s location, while the repetition of collective other-reference 他们 ‘they’ keeps “them” separate from “us”. Therefore, it can be said that the use of this deictic expression reflects a distinction between Chinese in Australia as a group and local Australians as another group on the conceptual level. The the imagined “us” is positioned as way from the deictic centre of the Australian space.

Regarding themselves as immigrants from China who are living in Australia, participants often talked about their own observations of cross-cultural differences by evoking an online collective identity, as discussed in Section 7.1.3. The rest of this subsection will examine the construal of the mental space which is anchored temporally and conceptually by 我们这边 *women zhebian* ‘we here’. From speaker’s point of view, 我们这边 ‘we here’ constitutes the currently active mental space that reflects all the co-participants’ immigration experience.

First, the establishment of the mental space 我们这边 ‘we here’ is a result of conceptual integration (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002). The two input spaces are the deictic coordination space anchored by 这边 ‘here’ and the common identity shared by the interlocutors indexed by 我们 ‘we’. Both mental spaces feature a homogenising quality. Information from the two input spaces is selectively projected onto the newly blended space, a collective imagination of 我们这边 ‘we here’ that presupposes discourse alignment. On the other hand, the imagination of 他们那边 *tamen nabian* ‘they there’ is a result of a conceptual integration that recruits dis-alignment. In the following two examples, we can see two opposing voices represented by 我们这边 ‘we here’ and 他们那边 ‘they there’ respectively:

- (249) Recording 2
 1 P9 就是和**我们这边**买东西的需求是不一样的 而且 而且你回去之后就问 买房子了吗/
(Their needs are) different from the needs we here (have) to purchase, also (people over there) would ask you when you go back “have you bought a house <interrogative particle>?”
 2 然后我说没买 还没买/ 什么时候买啊 我说这个不知道 正为了攒钱 然后就说 那你就回来吧
(If) I said I haven't bought yet (they would ask) “haven't <rising tone>? When <rising tone>?” I said I don't know and I am still saving up, then (people over there) would say “just come back <exclamation particle>!”
- (250) Recording 2
 1 P9 因为你就是* 就是**他在那边生活的环境被渲染了** 他就是觉得 你你你的人生混到这个年龄
Because one (lit. you) just <sudden stop> just he is infected by the living environment over there, and he thinks that if one (lit. you) have come to this age of one's (lit. your) life,
 2 就是应该有这个有那个 你没有的 那你就是有问题的 活着就是 混得不好
(one) should have this and that. (If) one (lit. you) hasn't got these, one (lit. you) has a problem, one's (lit. your) life is bad.

From an imagined positioning point of view, these two examples show that Participant 9 is talking to an imagined audience which includes other co-represent conversation partners. This inclusive imagined audience excludes people from another imagined cultural collective, namely Chinese people in China. As Dancygier (2008, p. 168) asserts, the setting up of the blended spaces gives rise to new lines of reasoning which are not available in any of the input spaces alone. The observation of Chinese's people's characteristic and lifestyles can be inferred in juxtaposition within the cross-cultural context, and can now be presented as the reality and thus available as a target of criticism. By evoking a collective imagination of 我们这边 ‘we here’, speakers present themselves as discerning members of this imagined collective. The activation of this spatial representation marks a socially-oriented effort on the speakers' part to align and dis-align with certain beliefs and values.

Participants made some comments about the need to see from various perspectives which on the conceptual level corresponds to having different imagined viewpoints. Having these imagined viewpoints is a way to processing contrasting views and opinions. Participants even exercise a great deal of moral reasoning about what they perceive as the “correct” thing to do. Participant 21 in Example (251) describes the enrichment of knowledge that comes from contrasting perceptions of one's culture and country as her motivation to study abroad; participant 4 in Example (252) says she would encourage non-Chinese who are overtly critical of China to adopt a Chinese perspective; participant 24 upholds the principle of being 客观 *keguan* ‘objective’ which for her is the correct attitude when coming to an opinion about China.

- (251) Recording 4
 P21 一边旅游着一边 **换一个视角**去看看 这个感觉 如果你觉得好的话 那你就可以留下来这种样子
*As one travels, one sees **from another viewing angle**, (I) feel this way, “if you like it then you can stay”.*
- (252) Recording 1.1
 P4 就让别人从**另外一个角度**去理解这件事情
*Let other people understand **from another perspective**.*
- (253) Recording 5
 P24 哪边对就支持哪边呗 就不可以中国做错了什么 就不可以说 哦 我们对的 就是比较**客观**还是
*Support the correct side, (we) cannot say that we are correct when China does anything wrong, (I am) quite **objective**.*

Chapter 3 has discussed the moral reasoning for forming correct attitudes from a narrative point of view, which can be said as suggesting a process of self-reflection. Self-reflection, in this light, is an intersubjective construction of the narrative self. Forming the correct opinion amidst mixed viewpoints reflects the construal of several collectives. The current audience are idealised as belonging to the same imagined Chinese collective who would then be regarded as ordinarily sharing the same insider perspective. This other “viewing angle” towards China is presumably shared by non-Chinese people in Australia. That is, beyond the immediate audience, there lie other absent audiences, namely non-Chinese people in Australia. The newly blended mental space for the absent audience is idealised as having the viewpoints that the idealised Chinese cultural space does not have. In these three examples, participants do not collectively position themselves or the immediate audience. However, it can be inferred that the conceptual integration process to construe the newly blended mental space for the idealisation of an absent Australian space activates the co-present audience’s immigration experience and their exposure to contrasting views and opinions. The act of comprehending the “other” viewpoint then acquires the metaphorical meaning of having novel or privileged knowledge.

It is also easier to comprehend discrimination and stereotyping from the imagined “other” by incorporating a mixture of imagined viewpoints. Some participants put forward a hypothetical situation where they could change positions with local Australians, imagining themselves in the position of locals in order to understand their perspective. On the conceptual level, this transposition might reflect an egocentric perspective transformation, the imagined movement of one’s point of view in relation to the other object (Kozhevnikov et al., 2006). The participants’ cross-cultural experience has given them information that facilitates the construction of various imagined viewpoints.

Other participants comment on stereotyping as a universal malice, suggesting that stereotyping is a result of imagining group distinctions.

(254) Recording 5

1 P24 没有 香港人也是 香港人就觉得 其实好多香港人就觉得 大陆人的素质就是特别低的那种
Hong Kong people are the same, in fact lots of Hong Kong people think that Mainland people have very poor public manners.

2 P25 就觉得我们像暴发户那种感觉 出手很阔绰 但其实都土豪
(They) think that we are like new money who spend big, but are in fact all nouveau riche.

3 P24 一夜暴富
Became rich overnight.

4 P23 这中国各省之间都有这样的
It is the same across provinces in China.

5 P25 对 各省都会这样 像北京上海他们都会排外
Right, all the provinces are all like this, take people from Beijing and Shanghai as an example, they also reject people from elsewhere.

6 P24 其实澳洲也是吧 墨尔本 悉尼
In fact, it is also the case in Australia, Melbourne and Sydney.

7 P23 对 都一样的 墨尔本的人都很 就都很瞧不起布里斯本的人
Right, it is the same everywhere, people from Melbourne are also quite disrespectful towards people from Brisbane.

Due to the widespread consumerism in Mainland China, new stereotypes about Chinese people are emerging, such as 土豪 *tuhao* ‘nouveau riche’ and 富二代 *fu’erdai* ‘second generation rich’. In Example (254), several imagined collectives can be detected, such as people from Hong Kong, people from Mainland China, people from different cities in China, people from difference states in Australia. According to these participants, all of these imagined groups of people are defined by regional characteristics. People can be on the offender’s side or the victim’s side; it only depends on which perspective one takes. Previous research into perspective-taking and spatial language (Steels & Loetzsch, 2008) has shown spatial language inevitably involves implicit or explicit perspective alignment, which can be learned or invented through linguistic negotiation.

Spatial deixis may complement deictic pronouns to meet communicative demands in a culture (M. Zhou, 2002, p. 64). For example, the speaker’s inclusiveness and exclusiveness of addressees can be blurred for the sake of implicitness, evasiveness and avoidance of responsibility (Mao, 1996). The speaker of (255) calls her immediate group members 我们这种 *women zhezhong* ‘this kind of us’ to show her modesty:

(255) Recording 1.1

1 P4 现在想起来我其实算是很幸运 像我们这种一毕业就找到工作的很少 很多人还蛮曲折的
Now thinking in retrospect I am in fact very lucky, people like us (lit. this kind of us) who found a job immediately upon graduation are rare, a lot of people went through a lot of difficulties.

The particular group represented by the collective self-reference 我们这种 ‘this kind of us’ is unspecified. 这种 *zhezhong* ‘this kind’ implies one of many kinds, and that the speaker happens to be in this particular group defined by “lucky”. She not only minimises her individual identity, thereby demonstrating politeness, she also extends her modesty to those who are as lucky as herself in the audience by evoking this shared space. In which case 这种 ‘this kind’ does not necessarily foreground a privileged group identity.

From the comments participants make, they do not seem to construct collective identities as a false rationale for intragroup alienation. In fact, from the participants’ use of the word *local*, it is found that the distinction between “local” and “non-local” is gradable, rather than that of a pair of complementary antonyms:

(256) Recording 5

1 P23 哦对对对 我就一开始 我从布里斯本过来的时候 布里斯本那边就还是很 *local* 的

Oh, right right right, I started in Brisbane, over in Brisbane it is still quite local.

2 就中国人也多 但也没有说整个 city 就全是中文啊

Although there are a lot of Chinese (in Brisbane), but not as many as (in Melbourne) where the whole city is full of Chinese writing.

3 我来了墨尔本 这是中国城吗/ 哎 这是中国城嘛 哎 到处都是中国城

I came to Melbourne (I asked myself) “is this China town <interrogative particle>?” (I answered myself) “ah this is China town, ah China town everywhere”.

4 真的是 特别多 就连那个路标什么的 还有机场 sign 全部有中文

Really, a lot of street signs are written in Chinese, also signs at the airport all have Chinese translations.

The speaker of (256) compares the two cities she knows quite well and concludes that Brisbane is more *local* (or less multicultural) than Melbourne. There is of course no clear boundary between a *local* monoculture and *non-local* multiculture, the description of Brisbane as *local* reflects an impressionistic judgment of relative monoculturalism.

In sociolinguistic terms, discursive positioning is central to stance-taking (Jaffe, 2009, p. 4). As Irvine (1996) notes, discursive positioning works at two levels, namely the positioning of speakers with respect to the locally co-present audience and the positioning of the co-present audience with respect to absent audiences. Drawing on these two dimensions of discursive positioning, the aforementioned variation of insider and outsider perspectives can be attributed to speakers’ conceptualisation of cultural spaces which involve either the co-present audience or other absent audiences. As explained earlier, participants form an imagined collective (labelled 我们这边 ‘we here’) with other co-present Chinese immigrants. This collective anchors their viewpoint for critically observing norms that are depicted as

typical of Mainland Chinese people. Mainland Chinese people are then imagined as an absent audience.

By the same principle, participants can also imagine an Australian space (see Example (248) earlier in this section). Doing so, they critique norms that supposedly originate from another absent audience, the non-Chinese Australians, to which neither the speakers themselves nor the co-present audiences belong. Positioning themselves as away from the deictic centre of the Australian space, they should view what they perceive as Australian values as being in sharp contrast to their own. As shown above, being away from the deictic centre can be a metaphorical way of showing a social dis-alignment or disapproval of values and beliefs that characterise that imagined cultural area. For example, the Australians value of personal independence can be reinterpreted as Australians being self-interested (see Example (238) in Section 7.1.3).

Although, participants metaphorically describe themselves as located within the “territory” of their ethnicity, this should not be perceived as a fixed socio-psychological categorisation. Rather, the evocation of imagined collectives is part of the interactive and improvisational social performance. The participants put on these performances to negotiate their collective values and beliefs amongst themselves.

As the discursive positioning analysis presented in Section 7.1 shows, participants’ categorisation of their group membership is quite flexible and fluid. This is largely dependent on the kinds of pragmatic purpose they want to achieve and the socio-cultural value they want to convey in interactions. The emergence of the previously mentioned cross-cultural Australian-Chinese space shows speakers’ efforts at making collective self-representations through forming imagined ties with other people, which is part of the speakers’ performative presence in the cross-cultural context. Spatial representations of people in terms of larger and more inclusive groups or smaller and more distinctive sub-groups, reveal the dynamics of the cognitive planning of discourse.

7.2.3 The exemplar identity

An examination of collective positioning in stance-taking acts in Section 7.1 suggests that collective identities may be constructed in order to show alignment or dis-alignment with certain socio-cultural beliefs and values. Maintaining exclusiveness metaphorically corresponds to keeping the imagined non-members on the outside of the bounded area.

Participants negotiate cross-cultural experiences with regard to contrasting views and opinions by construing a number of mental spaces, some imaginarily include the speakers as well as other immediate co-present audience members and some don't. This final part of the chapter will focus on the role of imagined positions in performances of being an appropriate member of a group.

Drawing on comments from the current participants, it can be said that negotiating self-consciousness, self-cultivation and self-respect is an important aspect of their identity construction in Australia. According to the comment one participant made, she is now more conscious of her sense of self and her Chinese identity than they ever were before (See Exmample (14) in Section 5.1.3 of Chapter 5). The collective identity of being Chinese can emerge together with her sense of being a unique individual.

Some participants claim Chinese cultural characteristics as something “of their own”. This can be seen in the following excerpts from Recording 2 and 4:

(257) Recording 2

1 P11 首先我们不能否定自己的文化 首先你不能否定这张脸 走到哪里都是一张中国脸
At first, we cannot negate our own culture, at first we (lit. you) cannot negate this face, a Chinese face, wherever we (lit. you) go.

2 那么你本身再去否定别人一定会瞧不起

If we (lit. you) negate self, others will definitely look down upon us (lit. you).

(258) Recording 4

1 P21 而且就像她之前讲的说 可能会有一种责任感 就是你的 说的时候

Also like what she said before, (we) might have a sense of responsibility. It means when you are speaking,

2 你应该怎么跟人家体现我们自己国家的优势 就是会注意一点这方面

you should show others the strength of our own country, and pay attention to this aspect.

Participant 11 argues that the so-called 自己的文化 *zijide wenhua* ‘own culture’ belongs to every affective part of the imagined collective “we”, saying “no” to such a collective enterprise is to show disrespect to the collective. In this participant’s imaginations, non-Chinese can also see these “negative” cultural characteristics and might use them as a reason to disrespect Chinese people. Self-respect, in this context, stands as a counter measure which includes respecting and valuing what they perceive as making them “Chinese”. The speaker of (258) presents herself as well as her hearers purposefully as authentic members of their country of origin. Drawing on the CONTAINER image-schematic model, this could be read as a means of performing her authentic membership by demonstrating qualities which cannot be easily accessible to 人家 *renjia* ‘others’, people who are construed as outside the Chinese group.

The data include performances of the collective self-representations by performers who position themselves and their co-present audiences against other absent audiences. Building on the viewpoint model discussed in Section 7.2.2, one implication of construing absent audiences in terms of an Australian space or a Mainland Chinese space is that the speakers present their own observation or criticism as though it comes from the imagined others. Corresponding to the use of distal 那 ‘that’ as a distancing strategy, the proximal 这 ‘this’ is found with reference to imagined collectives that bring the speaker and hearers into the same spatio-temporal location, further defining the characteristics of their imagined collective:

- (259) Recording 3
 1 P16 而且我相信**我们这一代**都是独生子女
*Also I believe **this generation of ours** is mostly single-child,*
 2 很多爸爸妈妈都知道他们的儿女大了以后也没有能力去养他们
a lot of parents all know that their children are not capable of supporting them when they grow up,
 3 因为他们现在连房子都买不起
Because they can't even afford to buy houses now.
- (260) Recording 5
 P23 可能我们这一代开始就都是普通话了
*Maybe **this generation of ours** started speaking Mandarin from the beginning.*
- (261) Recording 5
 P24 我觉得是**我们这个年龄**还是在寻找自己的年龄 就还没有定型的年龄
*I think **this age of ours** is still the age of searching for self, an age that is not yet settled.*

The first person inclusive pronoun 我们 ‘we’ expresses similarity between speaker and hearer’s experiences, and proximal form 这 ‘this’ alludes to closeness between the speaker and the hearer (H. Tao, 1999). The newly evoked collectives, namely 我们这一代 *women zheyidai* ‘our generation (literally this generation of ours)’ and 我们这个年龄 *women zhege nianling* ‘our age (literally this age of ours)’, replace a generic collective (我们 ‘we’) which otherwise does not entail the quality of any particular age group or generations. These collective have gone through conceptual integration where co-participants’ common experiences are evoked and absorbed.

From the perspective of indirect indexicality (see relevant discussion in Section 7.1.2), the collective positioning index, 我们 ‘we’, gains indexical value in the current discursive activity. An indexical claim can either invoke a pre-existing value or stake a claim to a new value (Eckert, 2008, p. 464). The new values might be a sense of responsibility to act as an exemplar of this imagined cultural group. One can exercise the shared cultural norms, so long as one perceives oneself as being an appropriate member of that cultural

group. These shared cultural norms are constantly being negotiated by the imagined in-group members.

As discussed earlier, participants can draw on their cross-cultural experience in order to negotiate the meaning of a Chinese immigrant identity. As discussed above, the participants of the present study have been quite sensitive to flaws that Mainland Chinese people are perceived to exhibit. Participants' heightened self-consciousness in the cross-cultural comparative context might result from the narrative process of reflecting upon their own "weak points" that the imagined "them" (non-Chinese Australians) can utilise against the participants⁵⁹. Some actually proposed a counter measure:

- (262) Recording 4
1 P21 你可能自己做的比较好
If you act very well on your part.
2 他也会有一些改观
He can change his opinion (about Chinese people).

This counter measure relies on self-perfection. Another participant calls on all fellow Mainland Chinese immigrants to exercise the role of *cultural exemplar*:

- (263) Recording 2
1 P9 我觉得 这取决于就是**我们现在这边待的** 留下的人努力
*I think it is up to **our effort, the ones that stay here** (to change the bad impression of Chinese people),*
2 还有就是再来的人 就是他的素质是不是有提高 会不会就是让人
also depending on whether those who come, whether he can improve their public awareness.
3 因为说实在的 你 * 就是 **我们**身上的陋习 就是不光是留在这边 还有就是要过来的人
*Because honestly speaking one (lit. you) <sudden stop> that is, **we** have bad habits, not only do people who stay here (have) but people that are coming also have,*
4 和刚过来的人 难免都会有 就是 让别人或者就是外国人
and people who just arrived unavoidably have (bad habits). (They) make other people or foreigners,
5 **我们**眼中的外国人看的就是不习惯 或者是觉得**我们**真的是很差的地方
*people **we** regard as foreigners uncomfortable and (make them) think that **we** are really bad in some respects,*
6 确实**我们**要承认就是有很多**我们**没有做的很好的
*we should indeed admit that there are lots that **we** haven't done very well.*
7 有一些**我们**一些传统 不好的习惯 是需要就是去改的
*Some of **our** traditions and bad habits need to change.*

Confucian and other traditional Chinese teachings place a great deal of significance on self-cultivation, through which one can develop into a person worthy of respect. This process is called 修身 *xiushen* 'self-cultivation'. Confucian self-cultivation is a process in

⁵⁹ See Section 3.2.1 in Chapter 3 for more discussion in relation to the modern Chinese discourse of 国民性 *guominxing* 'national character'.

which a person becomes a 君子 *junzi* ‘exemplary individual’. To become an exemplary individual is a self-directed search for one’s sense of worth (Brindley, 2009). However, there is no way that the individual could seek to achieve perfection or hope to realise their full value or cultivate their own moral self alone. Such a pursuit has to fit into the bigger picture of humanity as a whole and into the universal cultivation of individual moral behaviour according to different social roles (Brindley, 2009). These are persons of moral and cultural distinction who act as moral exemplars and fulfil their societal functions (Raphals, 2014).

This cultural value is still held by many Chinese immigrants. As mentioned earlier, they see themselves as not only responsible for their individual image, but also their contribution to a collective image. Self-image is particularly important, since by being an exemplar self, achieved from self-cultivation, one can win respect from others. As for participants’ collective positioning, it is more appropriate to say that acting as a *cultural exemplar* is integral to their collective cultural imagination.

This participant in Example (263) positions herself as a member of 我们这边 ‘we here’ (Line 1), who are able to see the flaws among different sub-groups of Chinese people, namely the new-comers, and those who are about to come to Australia (Lines 3 and 4). As discussed in Section 7.2.2, 我们这边 ‘we here’ represents a newly evoked mental space. The speaker and audience members are presented as exemplars of the imagined collective. The activation of this spatial representation serves the speaker’s need for social alignment. The blending process can also give rise to new lines of reasoning, such as we are better representatives of Chinese than people in China. The social meanings for this exemplar identity converge with the attitudes, beliefs and values that are associated with the imagined collective 我们这边 ‘we here’. From a stance-taking perspective, the stances using this inclusive collective self-reference 我们 ‘we’ embed very high group-based value⁶⁰. The indexical use of the inclusive 我们 ‘we’ constitutes a set of shared socio-cultural values that are uniquely “ours”.

Taking into account the socio-cultural aspect of the imagined positioning of Mainland Chinese people and non-Chinese Australian as distinct groups of “other”, it is argued that

⁶⁰ Section 7.1.3 discusses intra-cultural comparisons as a strategy to keep the audience within the same social group through collective self-representation in more detail

social alienation carries with it elements of contemporary Chinese people's moral reasoning which transcend the current discursive context. The participants all received formal education in China before coming to Australia for higher education, which would not have been possible without their own academic excellence or their families' financial wealth. Since they are tertiary-educated Chinese who consider themselves to be more knowledgeable than the common people in China, it can be argued that their criticism of China constitutes social positioning seeking moral rectitude. Section 3.2.2 of Chapter 3 has discussed a moral obligation in the Chinese intellectual tradition which is captured by the expression 忧国忧民 *youguo youmin* 'worry about the country and worry about its people'. The role of *cultural exemplar*, in this light, has a cultural heritage which is embedded in the discourse of fulfilling a modern Chinese individual's moral responsibility⁶¹. The idea of an *exemplar* can be seen as a group-level conceptualisation, or an instance of cultural schema (Sharifian, 2003, 2011), a synthesis of individual members' language production, which also displays the cultural cognition that characterises the cultural group(s) he or she identifies with.

7.3 Summary

This chapter began by exploring the participants' negotiated and constructed memberships of Chinese cultural groups at various scales through narrative and interaction. The conceptualisation of the collective dimension of self emerges as the performers take stances to achieve a diversity of social purposes. Strategically and pragmatically, creating group boundaries can elicit empathy and align the in-group members in a moral stance with the "us" against the other. It is also a salient social option for the actualisation of oneself in the world.

Chinese ethnicity in the cross-cultural context has adopted new meanings in the course of its construction and reconstruction in social interactions situated in context. Chineseness and being a Chinese are both seen as fluid constructions. They are indexed through claims about things that are characteristic for an imagined collective which is collectively referred to as "us" as opposed to some identified "them". These claims are made

⁶¹ 忧国忧民 *youguo youmin* reflects a moral attitude of Chinese intellectuals who engaged in political movements in modern and contemporary China (Cheek, 1992; G. Davies, 2007; Schwarcz, 1986; Tu, 1991). It is also a reoccurring theme in the contemporary state education. Chapter 3 introduces this topic in relation to modern Chinese discourse on individuality in Section 3.1.

in the interactional frame which explicitly or implicitly position other co-participants as members of the same community.

Collective categories and demographic terms, from an emergentist discourse perspective, are fluid social constructions. By naming Chinese people and evaluating them in the cross-cultural context, the stance-takers (dis-)align with the cultural ideologies. This reflects the relationship of linguistic variables and social identities at the level of indirect indexicality. The use of self-reference and demographic categories constitutes a fluid field of socio-culturally embedded meanings which form part and parcel of the construction of their Chinese ethnicity in the global and cross-cultural context.

Cultural imagination is highly relative and context dependent. Spatial metaphors and deixis, image schemas and personal pronouns reveal the participants' cognitive representations of their relationship to others. Imagined collective forms the basis for a meaningful social construal. Participants position themselves as self-aware discerning members through spatial representations to create meanings associated with a collective cultural property.

Spatial categories are exploited in the course of social interaction as a tool of reasoning and communication. Deictic spatial expressions are particularly exploited for reinforcing social alignment in social identity construction. Conceptual frames which draw on one's experience in space are aids to cognitive planning in discourse, in which locutionary agents choose and adapt their linguistic and conceptual resources to express and foreground particular meanings that they would like to be understood and agreed upon by other recipients.

The imagined collectives of "us", "them" and "others" are culturally relative, fluid social performances. Their meaningful constructions are built upon the socio-culturally driven evaluations. They are not of static in nature, but are at every moment a representation of newly evoked mental space, based on communicative needs in the discourse context. The results of this chapter also contribute to the study of discursive positioning from a cognitive perspective. It is found that audience can be imagined and idealised in performances. Speakers position other co-present partners as part of an imagined and idealised audience and intimately connect them to an imagined collective. When speakers take stances to invoke a collective identity that they share with imagined and idealised audiences, these audiences are

positioned as understanding and loyal to the associated socio-cultural beliefs and values. Beyond the immediate audience, there also lies the idealisation of other absent audiences. The absent audience is idealised as having the viewpoints that the idealised immediate audience do not have.

The participants developed a variety of categories for various groups and constructed their meanings through interaction. This process is indicative of a dynamic collective identity-in-construction through collective self-representation. It is a practical way of taking stances to invoke shared values that emanate from this shared imagined collective. The performances are reflective of the speakers' own interpretations of their shared collective identity. Meanings associated with an imagined collective cultural property have been constructed in the discursive negotiation with social others. One of the imagined collectives that the participants jointly constructed is that of the *cultural exemplar*, an identity which is integral to these groups of young Chinese immigrants' collective cultural imagination in Australia.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

This chapter reviews the outcomes of the present research project in light of its motivations. I begin by considering the research questions, before moving to the implications of the study. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

8.1 Research questions addressed

The topic of this study is the self-representation of university educated Mainland Chinese immigrants in Australia. Participants' perceptions of selfhood, their expressions of selfhood in social interaction and their conceptualisations of their cultural identity are investigated using data collected through focus group interviews. The previous chapters have presented a detailed analysis and discussion of the results of the study. In light of this analysis, which incorporates elements from social psychology, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics, the following conclusions have been reached in relation to three research questions:

1. Among Chinese first generation immigrants to Australia, what linguistic forms are used to refer to the self and what cultural notions do these reflect?
2. How are these prominent cultural notions negotiated among Chinese first generation immigrants?
3. What role does self-representation play in social interaction among Chinese first generation immigrants?

8.1.1 Research question one

Among Chinese first generation immigrants to Australia, what linguistic forms are used to refer to the self and what cultural notions do these reflect?

The data includes the following linguistic self-markers: the self-referential pronouns 我 *wo* 'I' and 我们 *women* 'we', impersonal self-reference using the second personal singular 你 *ni* 'one', notions of 自己 *ziji* 'self' and adverbs that signal self-representation, such as 一个人 *yigeren* 'on one's own', 个人 *geren* 'personally' and 这个人 *zhegeren* 'as a person'. Moreover, body parts (心 *xin* 'heart', 肚 *du* 'belly', 脑 *nao* 'brain', 骨 *gu* 'bone' and 眼 *yan*

‘eye’) are frequently invoked in metaphorical expressions of self-related cognitive experiences. For example, the heart is often used by participants when discussing their private thoughts. This reflects a conceptualisation of the heart as the locus of their inner self (N. Yu, 2009), the heart plays the role of a mental processor. A subjective impression of one’s inner world can be imagined or envisioned in the heart, or as something that is seen in one’s mind’s eye (心目 *xinmu*). The belly is another body part treated as the source of inner thoughts.

Section 5.2.4 of Chapter 5 compares the use of these body parts in relation to their social meanings. Belly and heart, both hidden inside the body, conceptualise knowledge which is not supposed to be shared publicly. The heart is also used to house emotions, which tend to represent one’s sincerest feelings. In comparison to the visions that are seated in the heart which are flexible and can be altered when circumstances change, the impressions that one makes within the brain are likely to be permanently biased. The bones are used to describe one’s personal opinions, which are thus construed as deeply ingrained convictions. The speakers who use metaphorical expressions to describe their personal thoughts and feelings which are seated at the various body organs are ultimately representing themselves in social interaction. This perspective suggests a socially oriented cognition of emotion through the body organs. Body organs, culturally enriched source concepts, helps to involve and engage the listener to the speaker’s inner world, which thereby increases the effectiveness of communication in discursive transactions.

When representing the self and others, the data reflects the prominent Chinese notion of the self embedded within social relationships. The maintenance or exploitation of these social relationships is important as individuals carefully define these social relationships. The close associates are called 周围人 *zhouweiren* ‘people around’ or 圈子 *quanzi* ‘circle’. The expression of 环境造人 *huanjingzaoren* ‘the environment creates the people’ is widely used in which 环境 *huanjing* ‘environment’ forms a generic space where a person inevitably settles. The participants believe that the ways in which people act and behave are shaped by the 社会环境 *shehui huanjing* ‘social environment’, the 大环境 *dahuanjing* ‘greater environment’ and the 国情 *guoqing* ‘national condition’. The self is in part defined by social environment, reflecting characteristics of others in this social circle. This is true for all members of the social group.

8.1.2 Research question two

How are these prominent cultural notions negotiated among Chinese first generation immigrants?

By using a socio-cognitive approach to the language in the participants' narration and their interactions with one another, each dimension of self-representation has been qualitatively analysed. Focusing on the nature of interpretive action in conversation, the linguistic examination confirms that becoming a self is a social process and the speaker's self-representation is co-constructed with other interlocutors in communicative activities. Social performances establish a sense of authenticity, appropriateness and sharedness. The indexical use of self-reference and demographic categories constitutes the negotiation of their indexical meanings among interlocutors. The way speakers use self markers and opinion markers in stance-taking acts reflects the speakers' meaningful interpretations of norms, values and other enduring social constructs. Most importantly, it brings forward aspects of self-representation that are perceived as agreeable in the current socio-cultural context.

The study reveals that an individual's navigation of the social world is guided by cognitive anchors. Conceptual models such as conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and image schemas can be activated and negotiated in constructing accounts of a personalised and situational self in different contexts. The analytical results show that body parts are frequently used to structure self-related mental processes in the Chinese conceptual system. Self-control can be projected onto object manipulation or choice of location in space. The representations of interpersonal relationships and proximity involves the schematisation of objective manipulation, motion, and sense of space. CONGRUENCE and BALANCE image schemas are effective in organising experiences of self-evaluation. The construal of social relationships reflects the LOCATION FOR ACTIVITY, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, and WHOLE FOR PART conceptual metonymies. CONTAINER image schema is also a common conceptual vehicle that conveys the speaker's imagined positioning with respect to others. The construal of group membership is tied to the spatial cognition, evoking a bounded area and viewpoints that are anchored in different collective imaginations. The emergence of certain cognitive patterns and structures is pragmatically driven and influenced by the participants' Chinese background. Cognitive patterns help the interlocutors to reinforce the meanings associated with each construal. These meanings either invoke pre-existing Chinese socio-cultural values or create new ones that are associated with an online discursive identity.

8.1.3 Research question three

What role does self-representation play in social interaction among Chinese first generation immigrants?

The results demonstrate ways in which the speakers self-reflect and self-evaluate to relate to their addressees. Self-representation and social interaction are in a mutually constructive relationship. The third research question can be addressed from both directions.

Self-representation is a social performance and a cognitive meaning-making process. In the current research setting, the participants express their perceptions of selfhood and negotiate who they are. The speakers create space in interaction and contextualise frames across performance roles to construct a favourable self-representation. They establish social relations with other social actors through language by enacting interactional stances and accommodating those of their co-participants. The speakers also engage in discourse activities to assert their own perceptions and opinions by establishing meaningful representations of various relational collectives.

The study found that the participants' sense of self emerges out of the reflexive process of social judgments in conversation. The findings of the present study contribute to the understanding of the intersubjective nature of self-representation. The enactments of various normative presuppositions and cultural conventions are flexible, being negotiated between the speaker and an idealised audience. The speakers are found to take the idealised audience into their own reasoning process. This is a necessary meaning-making process for understanding who the speakers are in relation to their life experience. As all the participants are first-generation Chinese immigrants in Australia, their own evaluations and perceptions with regard to their cross-cultural experiences gain indexical meanings and form part and parcel of the construction of their Chinese identity in Australia. Their shared experiences probably allow them to co-construct a more complex underpinning of their individual and social identities.

The cognitive centrality and plurality of discursive performances are essential to self-representation. The self is socially constructed in socio-cognitive contexts, and is based in the human cognitive capacity to conceptualise social practices in relation to others. The way that individuals perform self-representation is a socially orientated subjective experience. The cognitive construal of the self involves the imagination of self-perception in social

interaction. Communicative actions reflect the construction of real-time social spaces on which speakers project their construals of proximity and social relationships. The dynamic cognitive process is necessarily integrated into one's social experiences. The results also show that cognitive construal of the inner self, interpersonal relationships and group memberships function as a reasoning and communicative tools.

8.2 Implications of the study

8.2.1 The linguistic understanding of the social self

A socio-cognitive approach is adopted for the descriptive analysis of participants' talk-in-interaction. Methodologically, the current study combined sociolinguistic and cognitive linguistic analytical methods under a socio-psychological framework. Based on a social constructivist perspective, the analysis highlights discourse contexts where speakers of Mandarin, in the course of self-representation, have gone through cognition-based creation and negotiation of socio-culturally shaped meanings of linguistic abstractions. The study serves as an empirical ground for exploring different aspects of self-representation as fluid and dynamic social and cognitive processes.

The socio-psychological approach to analysis also explores the representation of the self in terms of the subjective perception of the self and intersubjective imagination of the other on the conceptual level. In discourse, locutionary agents adapt their linguistic and conceptual resources to express and foreground particular meanings in a manner that they would like to be understood and to have agreed upon by the addressees. Speakers are always speaking to addressees whose knowledge states, presuppositions and affect they are estimating or imagining. From the analysis of self-reflection, self-evaluation, and self-perception, the study found that intersubjective cognition of the speaker and the addressee is essential to self-representation. Cognitive models provide evidence of the imagined link between the self and others. The listeners are not construed by the speaker as just the recipient of their utterance, but are also treated as part of the speaker's subjective world that is constructed intersubjectively through imagination. Self and other are co-conceptualised in the same space; addressees can be construed by the speaker intersubjectively as belonging to an imagined collective.

The individual representation of a split of the self anchors the speaker's subjectivity. The analysis illustrates a SUBJECT/OBJECT split structure which emerges out of self-reflective

performances. The evaluating subject and the object for self-evaluation, which is often represented by the word 自己 ‘self’ and other self markers, are represented differently for the intended audience. In a social sense, the individual self is built around who speakers are here-and-now as a person in contrast to other people. Conceptually, the SUBJECT takes control of the SELF. The agentive relationship of the SUBJECT and the SELF can be projected onto the speaker’s social contact with others. Given a specific cultural context, this relationship encompasses metaphorical expressions for demonstrating self-discipline, self-protection and self-conviction for others and for revealing private thoughts for other people.

The choice between singular and plural person references (in terms of relational self-representation) reflects the speakers’ attempt to bring the intended hearers over to their perspective. Including the hearer in self-reference is a very subtle way of positioning the speaker and the addressees on the same epistemic ground. The speaker’s relational self-representation depends heavily on constructing a real-time discourse community with others, therefore, active co-participants play an important role in the speaker’s self-perception. The construction of a discourse relationship between the speaker and other interlocutors depends on the speaker’s imagined self-positions in relations and in groups. The speaker can position all the interlocutors in an imagined relational collective which is constructed on the basis of having a common understanding. The designated cognitive patterns of linguistic representations have been discussed in terms of the cognition of interpersonal relationships and group memberships in Chinese, as shown in Section 6.2 of Chapter 6 and Section 7.2 of Chapter 7.

In the collective dimension of self-representation, investigating improvised imagined collectives contributes to the understanding of discursive positioning (cf. Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4). Discursive positioning works on two dimensions, namely the positioning of speakers to the locally co-present audience and the positioning of the co-present audience to absent audiences. Speakers’ construal of cultural spaces either involves a co-present audience or other absent audiences. The participants are seen as the same imagined collective as the speaker. Other absent audiences can also represent imagined cultural spaces that are beyond the current discursive context and exist at another level of cultural imagination. Idealisation of larger and more inclusive groups or smaller and more distinctive sub-groups reveals the dynamics of the cognition in discourse as group formation unfolds in social identity construction.

This study also found concrete evidence to support the view that the self is conceptualised in culturally specific ways. Self-expression in a given socio-cultural context involves the negotiation of what it means to a person situated in a network of interpersonal relationships. Participants' accounts of individuality, relationality and collectivity reflect culturally specific depictions of internal causation, interpersonal proximity and imaginative positioning within dyadic relationships and group memberships. For example, Chinese expressions for a person's inner world and privately held principles and for reaching towards another person's inner world involve spatial orientations and representations of depth. The CONGRUENCE/INCONGRUENCE and BALANCE image schemas embed some Chinese expressions for an individual's observation and reasoning of moral/immoral behaviours and social experiences. As mentioned in 8.1.1, body parts are frequently drawn upon in Chinese metaphorical expressions of self-related cognitive experiences, with different body parts used for different mental and emotional experiences (see Section 5.2.4 in Chapter 5). The metaphorical correlation between an individual's agentive application of personal moral principles in social fusion in Chinese depends heavily on water imagery (see relevant discussion in Section 5.2.2 of Chapter 5 and Section 6.2.4 of Chapter 6).

As the self and other tend to form mutually entailing and interdependent correlatives in the Chinese milieu, when one comes to describe one's social counterparts, connectedness and interdependence are reflected in numerous metaphorical representations of a person's relationship with the social world. These conceptualisations can take the form of an egocentric self at the centre of a CENTRE–PERIPHERY radiation or filling up a socio-cultural generic space which is devoid of any concentric self. The deictic centre for the meanings represented by the Chinese spatial demonstratives is not simply based on the speaker's geographic location. The speakers' choice of spatial deixis and inclusive collective self-reference in Chinese membership talk depends greatly on the collective positioning of the speaker with regard to the idealised audience. The evocation of imagined collectives, as revealed by the Chinese data, is part of the interlocutors' interactive and improvisational social performance.

The qualitative analysis explores the indirect relation of language to social identity which is mediated by the interlocutors' knowledge of linguistic conventions for performing particular social acts and stances. Framing different subject positions as social performances helps to unveil the complexity of the indirect relationship between linguistic forms and more

enduring social meanings. Socio-cultural beliefs and values, which cannot be studied as stand-alone phenomena, can be examined as they emerge in linguistic interactions.

Self-representational performances also reflect speakers' understandings of more enduring socio-cultural values which can be reinforced or negotiated through stance performances. This study finds that the participants differentiate themselves as unique people (the individual dimension of self-representation) by finding the correct way of being through rational self-reflection. Sincerity and genuineness stand out as common values. As for the relational dimension of self-representation, utterances that reflect descriptions and interpretations of dyadic relationships show that these Chinese speakers foster trustworthiness and cooperativeness by seeking discourse alignment and avoiding dis-alignment. They tend to resort to public consciousness or a generic collective as a mediator to express disagreements. Discussions about social collectives and membership categories show that participants try to establish a sense of authenticity and correctness by projecting their own interpretations of certain meanings associated with imagined cultural collectives onto their addressees.

This study has offered an empirical, linguistic exploration of the concept of the self as a constituent relational plurality which emerges out of social interaction. This study reaffirms the relationship between the individual and the social world as one of mutual contribution. Linguistic reality is seen as socially constructed. The socio-cognitive linguistic analytical method has proven itself to be an optimal way for examining how aspects of the self are constructed in social interactions intersubjectively. The conceptualisers choose to construe the self and portray it for expressive purposes. Thus, the chosen method has revealed the conceptual structures when meanings of selfhood are being constructed in language use.

8.2.3 Immigrants and immigration

Chinese immigrants in Australia, a growing group of global citizens, are living in a society where multiculturalism and plural understanding of identity is celebrated. The interactions among themselves and with people from other geographic or linguistic backgrounds facilitate further development of the sense of cultural and linguistic plurality in the construction of social reality. The current study has explored factors that facilitate and shape this group's cultural imaginations and has addressed the plurality of these imaginations. The ways these immigrants jointly perform different aspects of the self create new meanings for their identities and for public imagination.

The study did not make immigration as a shared experience its central object of study. It rather offers an exploration of the effects that immigration can have on one's culturally characterised ways of viewing oneself and vice versa. The Chinese immigrants in Australia who participated in this research mention immigration as an external condition which can bring about certain difficulties. For example, one sacrifices some needs of the private self because of the pressure an immigrant is faced with to survive, or one finds it difficult to live up to the ideal self. Under such circumstances, immigration might have motivated these participants to give more thoughts on selfhood, individuality, collective identity, etc., in relation to their lifestyle in the cross-cultural context. However, these external conditions do not necessarily cause the participants to adapt to a way of life which never existed before. Participants have instead drawn on their cross-cultural experience as a body of knowledge upon which they can negotiate and consolidate meanings associated with the imagination of a Chinese immigrant identity.

The diversified categorical naming of various groups and the construction of their meanings in participants' interactions is indicative of a dynamic process of negotiating group membership in the Australian context. Participants, in their discussion of their personal opinions and beliefs, often evoke a collective image of Chinese people living in Australia, using this image to align and dis-align with certain beliefs and values that they perceive as group-based characteristics. The cross-cultural experience of these participants has given them information that facilitates the construction of various imagined viewpoints. Having imagined viewpoints is a way of processing contrasting views and opinions created by the cross-cultural experience. All of the participants speak positively of immigration as having equipped them with the ability to adopt different points of view or to come to an understanding from a culturally different perspective. The act of comprehending the "other" viewpoint acquires the metaphorical meaning of having novel or privileged knowledge.

Participants in this study exchanged their opinions about China and China-related issues from a cross-cultural comparative perspective during focus group discussions. They exercise a great deal of moral reasoning about what they perceive as the "correct" things to do in the Australian-Chinese cross-cultural context. The participants can be sensitive to flaws that Mainland Chinese people exhibit. They speak of demonstrating the correct opinions about Chinese people and China. The nationalistic and ideological context continue to be relevant to contemporary Chinese immigrants' understanding of being a Chinese person in

Australia. From the study, it becomes clear that present-day well-educated Chinese immigrants are highly critical of the cultural quality of Chinese people. Several of the study's participants speak of themselves as having some personal responsibility for restoring the image of Chinese people in Australia by their own appropriate actions. In this regard, they have re-purposed the modern Chinese narrative of negative Chinese 国民性 *guominxing* 'national character' to explain their unhappiness about the behaviour of other Chinese people in Australia, and the adverse impact that these other Chinese have on how non-Chinese Australians view the participants themselves. They worry that the non-Chinese might disrespect them or show prejudice against them because of the negative characteristics they can see in their fellow Chinese.

Some participants proposed a counter measure for all fellow Mainland Chinese immigrants; exercising the role of *cultural exemplar*. 修身 *xiushen* 'self-cultivation', a Confucian term, comes as an idealised cultural enterprise to offset the detrimental effect that the perceived cultural bias from the participants' non-Chinese counterparts can have on their survival in Australia. Self-cultivation is a process in which a person becomes an exemplary individual who is worthy of respect. It turns out to be a value still held by many Chinese immigrants. Acting as a *cultural exemplar* reflects Chinese immigrants' sense of a collective Chinese cultural identity. Many participants see themselves as responsible for their individual image which, in turn, contributes to the collective image. It should be noted that this collective self-awareness is also likely to be associated with a sense of loyalty to their country of birth, the People's Republic of China, and it is suggestive of the success of the patriotic education system that was introduced in China in 1990 and which remains in place today. However, the participants' high degree of self-consciousness about 'being Chinese' is also the result of their ethnic minority status in the Australian cultural environment.

For the Chinese immigrants who have experienced both the collectivist Chinese society and the individualistic Australian society, the complexity of relation-keeping can be very apparent and even daunting. Some participants say that they value the sense of individual freedom they experience in Australia. However, an examination of the indexical value of some cross-cultural comparisons reveals that the notion of individualism is still debatable among Chinese people. Some say they feel much more relaxed in relationships with local Australian friends, some regards friendship with non-Chinese as superficial, which implies a difference in their dealings with people from different cultural backgrounds.

Participants have not been asked to give a clear and explicit account of what their collective identity as a Chinese person meant to them. They often voluntarily take on this collective cover to convey their highly personalised conceptions of being Chinese immigrants in Australia. They also claim that they experience China and being Chinese more consciously than they ever had before. Being a Chinese person in Australia is an identity that accommodates various collectively shared values and beliefs. The participants' interactions with each other reveal that they share a strong view of 'what being Chinese means'. As previously discussed, this presumed Chinese identity reflects positioning oneself in an imagined cultural collective, which is a cultural imagination and is far from a fixed entity. Its formation is highly relative and context dependent. In cross-cultural comparisons, the positioning of one another as 'imagined' members of a larger cultural collective is a way to negotiate perspectives and viewpoints that are seen as unique to that cultural group or to rationalise differences and misunderstandings in the cross-cultural context.

8.3 Limitations and suggestions for further research

8.3.1 Limitations of the study

Due to limitations of time and resources, the data collected in China which consists of one group of young professionals, one group of postgraduate students and two groups of undergraduate students had been transcribed but was not used. The original idea was to compare the Chinese groups to the Australian groups. However, the initially proposed comparative study did not turn out to be feasible. Furthermore, the study has taken a slightly different direction from how it was originally conceived. It decided to accentuate self-representation rather than immigration. The researcher is based in Australia and has a similar educational and socio-economic background to the participating Chinese immigrants, which is another reason to focus on the data collected in Australia and to conduct a fine-grained qualitative analysis. This change has resulted in losing the comparative component.

The current thesis analysed the data that was collected in Australia which comprises 5 focus group interviews involving 25 participants living in one city. Including the experiences of wider groups from other parts of the country would be a way to enrich the findings for future research. Among the 25 participants, only 4 are male. Gender differences could not have been accounted for due to the small sample size.

Participants who volunteered to take part in the study only met once to discuss topics of general interest. This kind of casual social encounter limits the scope of the study in terms of the nature of social interactions. Discourse features that emerge out of this situational context would be different from interactions between close friends or family members. In addition, social experiences that are drawn from specific professional environments have distinct professional cultures that impact on the communication norms and expectations in those particular contexts (e.g., Silverman, 1987; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990).

The uncontrolled demography of the focus groups has caused further limitations. Chapter 4 indicated that some groups contained participants of mixed socio-economic backgrounds. In general, two groups were made up of students and the other three groups were formed by young professionals. Gender proportion and length of stay could not be controlled because of the snowball recruiting method. Due to the small sample size, no comparisons can be made to account for differences across the groups.

All of the participants were born in either the 1970s or 1980s and grew up in a period when China was going through profound socio-economic reforms and was witnessing increasing contact with the outside world. As mentioned in Chapter 3, it is the era when traditional ways of life and values are being reflected on and new ones being established and tested. Findings drawn from the social experience of this particular group cannot be used to represent the wider Chinese immigrant population. Without comparison to their contemporaries in China, it is also difficult to determine whether certain cultural beliefs and understandings are characteristic of young immigrated Chinese or of the generation they belong to. The data collected from other comparison groups, namely young professionals and students in China can be used for the next phase of comparative research.

8.3.2 Suggestions for further research

The outcomes of the study highlight a number of possible areas for further research. This study has focused on the establishment of a short-term local relation with willing participants who have rich cross-cultural insights in a round-table discussion. In this case, the cultural features that participants display in terms of discursive pragmatics might be different from family members or other long-term acquaintances. Studying these relationships would require an ethnographic approach.

In relation to the discussion of the cultural conceptions of selfhood, what we experience and construe as meaningful social distinctions and how we reason about selfhood are closely related to the cultural conceptualisations of other cultural schemas (Sharifian, 2011). The cultural conceptualisations that these notions carry are worthy of further exploration.

The current study has adopted a qualitative approach and established a model for identifying and analysing the Chinese expressions and lexical items for different dimensions of self-representation. At each dimension, the most prominent content themes were listed but not quantified. It offers a good starting point for conducting a comparative study across different comparison groups quantitatively.

Various concepts and ideas found in the Chinese language as the collective cultural heritage handed down across history. To address the limitations of the research, it would be useful to undertake focused studies on the social experience of Chinese people belonging to different generations, or longitudinal studies focusing on one particular age group. These studies would examine the cultural continuity and discontinuity with a wider scope or across a longer period of time. The conceptualisation and reconceptualisation of enduring or newly emerging cultural beliefs carry profound socio-cultural implications.

This study has presented evidence of cultural continuity, given its influence on various modern postulations of Chinese identity, shaping the way Chinese people think about themselves and their identities. The study of self in a contemporary Chinese community, and Chinese immigrants in Australia in particular, offers a starting point for investigating how traditional and modern views in Chinese culture are interacting with the ideas of other world cultures.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Demographic questionnaire

Appendix 2: Focus group interview topics

Appendix 3: Transcription symbols

Appendix 4: Sample transcript (with English translation)

Appendix 5: Glossary

Appendix 1: Demographic questionnaire

Personal Background Information			
Name		Age	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
Marital status	<input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Engaged <input type="checkbox"/> Having a boyfriend or girlfriend <input type="checkbox"/> Single		
<p>1. When did you come to Australia?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I have already lived for _____ years, I came at the age of _____ .</p> <p>2. How often have you been back to China since you came to Australia?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Once a year or more;</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Every two to three years;</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Every four to five years;</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I hardly went back.</p> <p>3. What job have you been doing in Australia?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> The same occupation as I did in China, which is _____;</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> New occupation, which is _____;</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I did not have any jobs;</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I was retired.</p>			
4. Educational qualification	<input type="checkbox"/> High school or lower <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor <input type="checkbox"/> Masters <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate		
5. Highest qualification's specialized area?	<input type="checkbox"/> Science <input type="checkbox"/> Humanity <input type="checkbox"/> Engineering <input type="checkbox"/> Medicine <input type="checkbox"/> Business		
6. Your permanent residence before you migrated to Australia	<input type="checkbox"/> Hong Kong, Macaw <input type="checkbox"/> Taiwan <input type="checkbox"/> East or east coastal cities <input type="checkbox"/> In-land China		
7. Have you been living in places other than your permanent residence?	<input type="checkbox"/> Studying away from home <input type="checkbox"/> Working away from home <input type="checkbox"/> Studying abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Working abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Never		

8. What's your religious belief	<input type="checkbox"/> Buddhism _____ years <input type="checkbox"/> Christianity _____ years <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ years
9. How often do you attend religious services?	<input type="checkbox"/> Very often <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Never Please specify the frequency: _____ times each month/year
10. Daily speaking language	<input type="checkbox"/> Mandarin <input type="checkbox"/> Cantonese <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese & English <input type="checkbox"/> Other regional dialect: _____
11. English proficiency	<input type="checkbox"/> Not a bit <input type="checkbox"/> Just a little <input type="checkbox"/> Daily use <input type="checkbox"/> Able to read and write <input type="checkbox"/> Very good
12. Dietary habit	<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> More Chinese than Western <input type="checkbox"/> Western <input type="checkbox"/> More Western than Chinese
13. Leisure activities (Please list at least three)	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____

Appendix 2: Focus group interview topics

1. Why you come to Australia?
2. When asked about the Chinese and Australian cultures, how you can describe them, please try to elaborate on topics such as work, study, entertainment and socialisation.
3. Have you experience cultural shock, regarding different value and behaviours.
4. How do you keep contact with your family and friends?
5. How important are your family and friends? What do you expect from the relationships with them? Do you have certain standards for making friends?
6. What kind of work you would like to do now or in the future? Do you like your present job? Why or why not?
7. What are the difficulties you encountered at work or in your study? How did you resolve them?
8. How can you describe yourself? What made you different from other people? What are you proud of yourself? What kind of person you are in the eyes of others?
9. Do you think it is important to have a belief? Why or why not?
10. What can be called as having a belief?
11. What would you react when you heard someone who is non-religious but says “God bless me”? What would you react if people say “that’s destiny” instead?
12. Do you often help others? Why or why not? What are the main reasons for you to help out? (e.g. reciprocity, to feel good/empowered, fulfil God’s mission, will feel guilty if not helping, people will have bad opinions on me if I don’t help, I am a good person, therefore I must help, my good deeds will be rewarded in the future, to promote positive spirits as my helping action will be seen by others.)
13. Please briefly introduce one incident/person that played a significant role in making you migrate. (positive or negative, family, work or study)
14. If you migrated with your family, please explain briefly what the main reason was apart from family reason.
15. Please describe briefly one of going-back-to-China experience which left a deep impression. Are there any things that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with?
16. Are you happy with your present life, why or why not? What can you do with it?

Appendix 3: Transcription symbols

		symbols
<u>Speakers</u>		
	Speaker identity/turn start	:
	Overlapping talk begins	[
	Overlapping talk ends]
<u>Tone</u>		
	Low falling tone	\
	Rising tone	/
<u>Pause/Silence</u>		
	Silence timed in seconds	(1)
	Pause of less than half a second	(.)
	Pause longer than half a second	(..)
<u>Quality voice</u>		
	Emphasis Perceived change based on volume or pitch change	EMPHASIS
	Sudden stop or unfinished utterance	*
	Laugh quality	<@@>
<u>Lengthening</u>		
	Vowel/consonant elongation	:::
	Stressed syllable	^
<u>Transcribers' perspective</u>		
	Researcher's comment	(())
	Uncertain hearing	<X X>
<u>Specialized notations</u>		
	Code-Switching	<E E>

Appendix 4: Sample transcript (with English translation)

Recording number: 1.2

Interviewees: P1, P2, P3, P4 and P5

Interviewer: Researcher

P5: 满足虚荣心嘛

To meet the vanity think

P1: 也不是满足虚荣心 你自己的孩子你肯定是想他很好啊 对吧/ 呃::: 我不知道其他人怎么想 反正我是有这种想法的 呃::: 然后你怎么说呢 (.) 我觉得 呃::: 也要看你怎么教育孩子了 如果你教育的不好 可能他会像鬼佬一样只顾他自己很自私 不会管你父母

Not about meeting the vanity, your own child, you definitely want the best for him <exclamation particle>! Right <interrogative particle>? ur::: I don't know how other people think, but I think so. ur::: how can I put it (.) I think it depends on how you educate the child. If you don't educate well, he probably will be like the selfish Westerners and only care about himself and does not worry you, the parents.

Notes: ((Westerners are selfish; 自己 denotes selfishness))

但是我也看到很多说从华人家庭里长大的孩子 也很孝顺父母啊

But I can see (that) a lot of children who grew up in ethnic Chinese families are also filial to their parents.

Notes: ((use ethnic Chinese to refer to Chinese decedents; filial piety is a virtue))

就包括有些鬼佬 我觉得他很孝敬父母 这看你爸妈怎么教育了 真的教育 还有你这孩子你处的环境 这是相当 相当关键的 我觉得

Including some Westerners, I think he can be filial to parents, this depends on how your parents educate, really is about education, and the environment this child of yours is in this is very very important, I think.

Notes: ((use ethnic Chinese to refer to Chinese decedents; filial piety is a virtue))

P5: 那你的意思是说 * 比如说 啊 没有没有别的意思啊 那你还是准备出来把他送到私校的时候同时晚上回来 你要灌输他一种想法就是 他长大了以后一定要回报我当年的投入吗

Is that what you meant <sudden stop> for example, <exclamation particle>! no offence <exclamation particle>! but you still want to send him to a private school. And at the same time instil the idea after school that he has to pay back the investment I have made when he grows up right <interrogative particle>?

Notes: ((conceptual metaphor, instil the thought))

P1: 我不会我不会说就是 直接地这样跟他 但是我会每天每天相处的时间里面 会跟他慢慢灌输这种思想

I won't I won't tell him in such a straight forward manner, but during the time I spend with him day after day, (I) will instil the idea into him gradually.

P5: <@@> 那你不就是这个思想

<laughing quality> then that's still exactly what you think.

P1: 但是我不会强制他 因为我会自己以身作则 我会对我父母孝顺 让他慢慢感受到我是这样做 不是说我是为了我自己

But I won't force him, because I will set myself (lit. self) as an example. I will fulfil filial piety to my parents and let him know gradually that this is what I have been doing. It is not just doing so for my own sake.

Notes: ((自己 denotes self-needs))

P5: 你那样说的是怎么样实现你的那个想法 那你的意思就是说你还是通过 行动 而不是语言上的这个说教 来让你的孩子接受这个观点就是 将来你老了 他管你 是这个意思吗

What you said is about how to realise your expectation, then what you meant is you still want to carry it out through action rather than teaching through talking to make your child accept this opinion “when you are old in the future, he looks after you” is this what you meant <interrogative particle>?

P1: 行动和语言 both <@@>

Action and talking <E both E> <laughing quality>

P3: 但是你的想法 是不是就觉得 呃::: 我的小孩不管他上什么学校 他开心就好 有些家长是这么想的 他自己开心 他觉得想学就学 OK 没问题 爱学习就学习 不爱学习我可能就去做一些技术方面的工作 你就觉得他 * 就是有些家长会这么想 开心就好

But your idea, is this ur::: “as long as he feels happy I don’t mind whichever school he goes to” some parents think this way “so long as he is happy himself and he learns if he wants to learn” “don’t like study, I can do some handy work” you just think he <sudden stop> some parents would think this way “as long as (the child) is happy”

P2: 随便他

Up to him

P1: 我是这么想的 嗯 因为我从小是我父母把我送到最好的学校 但是我现在就是觉得 其他方面我做的很好 但是我不开心 嗯 我就是不开心 就你从小就属于你的方向 像我是从中国过来的 都是父母给你定好的 就像我们最开始说为什么出国啊 所以说你很难知道 你不知道到底为什么 做什么能让你快乐 所以就出于这个 我就想我的孩子 我最大的希望是 希望他能开心

I think so. hm. Because my parents had sent me to the best school but I now think in fact I do very well in other things but I am not happy. Hm. I am just not happy. Since very young age, your direction, like I am from China, has been set by your parents just like what we said at the beginning why going abroad <interrogative particle>? So it is very difficult for you to know, you don’t know why on earth (you went abroad) “do things that make you feel happy” I hope for my child, my biggest wish is for him to be happy.

P3: 其实我觉得尊重小孩的自己的意愿也是很重要 就是你要问他们 但是有些时候小孩子 [

In fact I think it is also very important to respect the child’s own wish, that is you need to ask them, but sometimes, children [

P2: [前提是你得让他能知道 自己的意愿是什么]

The premise is that you have to let him know what (his) own wishes are]

P4: [对啊对啊]

[right right]

P3: 他并不知道他要做什么 他也不知道他需要什么东西 他可能 哦 你没有掌握好他就走偏了]

] he doesn’t know that he wants, he doesn’t know what he needs, he might, oh, if you fail to manage well he might go astray.

P1: 对

Right

P1: 嗯 那还是要适当的 就像说私校公校 我觉得不是一些发展上面能当 lawyer 你能做什么的关系 而是我觉得对他的一个礼仪啊 各方面 就是人品方面的教育 而不是说 对我就是说那方面的教育 综合素质 嗯 而不是其他 academic 哪方面的教育

Em need some (parental guidance), take government or private schools as an example, it is not about future career, becoming a lawyer or something else, but I think it is about etiquettes, in all respects, character education, rather than. What I am talking about is one's overall quality. Hm. Rather than the academic sides.

P3: 私校这方面应该比较好

Private schools in this area should be better.

P2: 我觉得环境是很重要的 真的 我觉得环境是相当重要 环境造人 真的

I think environment is very important, it is true, I think environment is rather important, (the statement) "the environment creates the people" is true.

Notes: ((environment makes people))

P3: 对 你的圈子 你周围的圈子是什么样的人

Yes, your circle, the circle around you

Notes: ((conceptual metaphor, circle of people))

P2: 你就是会成什么样的人

determines whom you will become.

P5: 我这块有质疑的是 你期望你的孩子是什么样 这是你的目标 和你实现这个目标的成本 你觉得是站在你的点上 balance

My question is, what you expect your child to be is your objective and you consider the cost, I think you are <E balance[ing] E> from your point of view.

P1: 你自己其实一直是在 balance 所有的啊 你的生活 你的一生 其实就是在 balance 各方面啊 就像我们留在这边 觉得这边好 但一方面我们就不能回国照顾父母 有思乡之情 思念父母 你各方面 对你各方面都是一致在处于一个 balance 啊 就是这样啊 人生就是这样

Yourself is always trying to balance everything in your life, which is in fact just about <E balance[ing] E> all respects. Like we who stay here think it is better here, but we cannot go back to China and also miss (our) hometown and parents. You are always <E balance[ing] E> all respects, this is life.

Notes: ((balance))

P4: 我现在食物都还没有 balance 永远都还没有 balance

I haven't balanced my diet yet, which can never be <E balance[d] E>.

P1: 我现在觉得我的厨艺越来越好了

I think my cooking is getting better and better

P4: 对啊 然后我也在跟我 因为我 我 我外公不是前几天去世了吗 然后然后就觉得说我外公实际上是一个 很复杂的人 就是说你不了解他的真实人格是什么 就是他表现出来说他 他骂人 谁都骂 他就是老年痴呆 估计到最后 就是他不知道 他不记得自己做的事情

Right. I am also thinking (about this) because my my my grandpa passed away a few days away, then I just think my grandpa is a very complicated person. That is to say you don't understand his true personality or what he will turn out to display. (before he died, he shouted at people, anyone, he had dementia, probably in the end he didn't remember what he did.

Notes: ((true personality))

P4 他会忘记东西 忘记东西以后呢 然后比如说他今天打电话给我妈 然后说 哎呀你快点过来 快点过来 然后说有什么事情 哎呀你快点过来就那种 然后你过去了以后他问你你过来干嘛呢 然后就是 他有多有一点事情就骂 然后你跟她讲不清楚的 他就像一个小孩 如果你不听他的 他就会在地上打滚那种 嗯 然后到最后是因为他 就说是因为他的 呃::: 肺部感染 就因为用最好的药都没有用 都没有反应

He would forget things, forget things, for example, he would call my mum on the day and said “oh, you come quickly, come over” and said he wanted your help, aiya, “you hurry up” like that, then after you got there, he would ask you “what are you here for?” and he shouted over any trivial thing and you could not reason with him, he was like a child. (he died) because of ur::: infection of the lung, no medicine worked in the end and he stopped responding.

P4: 但是后来我感觉很深刻的就是说 我们在 就是他在这个老年痴呆的期间我就觉得特别讨厌啦 我就觉得不可理喻啊 就很抓狂那种 但是 当他真真去了以后 你会觉得实际上所想得东西都是好的东西 然后 然后比如说他的存款 实际上他在生前 他是 他是 他是有 但他谁也不说 就子女 就是对他最亲的人 他反过来对别人最坏 然后他就是 比如他要买个什么东西 他就会让你出钱 他的钱就是他的钱

But what left me a deep (impression) is that, we are, I found him very annoying and could not reason with him when he was demented, driving me crazy. But after he really really passed away, you would think in fact (what he) left for (you, meaning her family) are good things. Then, for example his savings, in fact he had some saving before he died but he didn't tell anyone, even his children who are closest to him, but he treated them the worst, for example if he wanted to buy anything, he would ask you to pay for it, your money is his money.

P4: 他不会告诉你在哪里或者怎么怎么样 就觉得他是一个很自私的老头 但是到后来就是他去了以后 发现就有那么多存款 然后又房子什么的 然后就觉得说他实际上也是一个会思量的老头 就说他把那个钱 一是没有债 就是为子女 他知道存钱 他实际上是为了说我自己养我自己 然后我不给子女添负担 然后然后我走了也干脆 然后 呃::: 反正就觉得说 他实际上想的东西没人能明白 他自己到最后也说不明白

He wouldn't tell you where the money was, (I) just thought he was a very selfish old guy but in the end after he passed away I found that he had a lot of savings and property, (I) then think he is a well-considered old man. He had the money deposited for his children, he knew how to save up (for his old age) “I live on my own and do not bring trouble to my children and I can die quickly (without too much worries)” ur::: anyway (I) just think nobody knows what he really wanted and he himself couldn't tell either.

P4: 但是我们会觉得说 他实际上也不坏 就是这样子 所以 我们在讨论什么问题来着 / 对 就是一个感想 就觉得说 弄不清楚 哦 对对对 我的重点在这儿呢 通过这个故事 然后我就说 我就说我爸妈 我就跟他们讲了 要不然他们就牺牲一点 他们待在我身边 然后 要不然就是我们牺牲一点 我们就回去 但是就必须大家一起 因为我外公这件事情 都是隔辈的 他们都不给我讲具体的事情

But we would think he is in fact not bad, like that. So, what are we talking about again? Right, just a thought. Hard to tell. Oh, right right right, this is my key point, from this story, I just said, said to my parents, I told them, one way they sacrifice (their independence) by staying with us or we sacrifice a bit by going back (to China) but everyone needs to be together. Because of my grandpa's matter, which is another generation, they didn't tell me the details.

P4: 就说我为什么感觉难过 是因为我觉得我外公去的太快 他们给我的 就说他的状态 呃::: 比如他从医院里逃出来 然后逃出来了以后又身体不好又送回医院 以后呢又回到普通病房 然后我觉得普通病房了呢就好一些了吧 然后不说具体的 结果隔了两天没了吗 没了以后我跟他们谈的时候他们还觉得这是意料中的事情 但对我来说的话 我觉得是个 shock 因为我觉得从 intensive care 转到普通 care 就好了呀 就是好一些了嘛 至少会在撑一段时间 不可能两三天就没了

That's why I felt sad, it is because my grandpa passed away too quickly from what they (told me) about his situation. Ur::: for example he ran away from hospital, after running away from it he got sick and was sent back to the hospital. After that, he was transferred to normal ward, then I thought being in the normal ward he must be better but without any details he was gone, after he (died) they said it was as expected when they were talking to me. But it was a <E shock E> for me because I think from <E intensive care E> to normal <E care E> was an improvement, which meant he got better and he could live a bit longer and it was impossible for him to have died so quickly

P4: 所以我觉得 (3) 国内还有一个文化就是说是报喜不报忧 这让人很担心的 特别是自己跟自己父母的话 他不说实话的 然后我最近一个朋友就是要回家 就是因为他妈妈住院 然后他爸 就是在他问了若干次以后才说 然后但是他感觉不好 他感觉不是那么简单 然后我说如果你自己感觉不好的话 唯一的办法就是你回去 回去看一下到底怎么样 所以我 所以我不放心 因为我婆婆走的时候他们是瞒了我一年多 外婆走的时候

So I thought (3) there is another culture in China (lit. within the country) which is (people) tell good news and conceal bad news. This is very worrying, especially when (I) (lit. self) am talking to my own parents who are not telling the truth. I have a friend who wanted to visit home because his mother is in hospital and his dad, after being asked many times finally said he had a bad feeling. (my friend) wants to go home and have a look. So I so I feel worried, because they hid (my grandma's death) for a year after she died.

P4: 然后我外公走的时候就是 是我 是我 是我表姐跟我讲的 然后 呃::: 所以我觉得这样不行 我觉得就是因为这个文化 然后又是地域差这么远 不行 我们 要不爸妈牺牲一下 过来 适应 要不我们回去 我就不放心 这事放不下心 我现在就是这样想的 我之前还在想 哦 可能他们过来不适应的话 哦 就回去啦 然后自己照顾自己啦

Then it was it was it was my cousin who told me about my grandpa's death, then ur::: so I just think this is not right. I think because of this culture, and long distance, no, we, how about my parents sacrifice a little bit by coming here to accustom, or we go back. I am worried about this think. This is what I thought. Before I was thinking, oh if they cannot accustom they just go back and look after themselves.

P5: [老年人都这样]

[old people are all like that]

P1: [老年人都是这样]

[old people are all like that]

P3: 你有没有想过爸妈会 <X 移民 X>

Have you considered applying for < X immigration X> for your parents?

P4: 他们在排队现在 但是我觉得他们 *反正现在在国内

They are in the line now, but I think <unfinished utterance> (they are) in China now

P3: 我爸现在过来了

My parents have come here.

P4: 对啊

Right

P3: 他在努力适应中 <@@>

He is trying hard to acculturate <laughing quality>

P4: 对啊对啊

Right right

R: <@@>

<laughing quality>

P4: 嗯嗯 所以我在说不行的话 反正先让他们过来

Em em, so I thought I just get them here (and try)

- P1: 哎 / 你家里就你一个吗 还是/
 <exclamation marker> ! are you the only one in your family <interrogative particle> or ?
- P4: 嗯 一个 所以好多独生子女家庭嘛 都有那个
 Hm, the only one, so single-child family all have that (issue)
- P1: 我也觉得 挺为难的哦
 I am also finding it difficult.
- P4: 挺为难的哦 然后我就说不行 就只有这两种选择 再难都要做决定
 Very difficult, then I said, there are only these two choices, have to decide however difficult it is.
- P1: 但我想哦 [
 But I also think
- P3: [一家人还是不能分开在两边]
 One family cannot be separated into two sides
- P1:]但我想 可能我以后的话 说不准我以后还是要回去照顾他们 因为他们是不想过来的 不喜欢这里
 I think probably I would still go back to look after them in the future because they do not want to come here, don't like it here.
- P3: 说不定年纪再大一点可能会转变想法
 (they) might change their mind when (they) are older.
- P4: 对 可能退休了或怎么样 可能会
 Right, perhaps after retiring, probably will (want to come here)
- P1: 希望吧 要不 我我我只能回去 c
 Hope so, otherwise, I I I have to go back <laughing quality>
- P4: 我也有朋友他爸爸说我不想过来 因为现在还有班上嘛 然后他爸爸还比较传统 我说传统好啊 我们也很传统啊 就是中国的传统文化 但是我说人要多接受一点 他爸就讨厌白人 然后我说你慢慢地跟你爸讲 对啊 你可以不喜欢他 但你也可以保持中立 对吧 然后他说等他退休了再说吧 退休了因为是人 的一个变化嘛 所以有可能跟退休前想的 不一样
 I've also got a friend whose dad said "I don't want to come" because he is still working, also his dad is very traditional I said "it's good to be traditional, we are also very traditional" that is to say the traditional Chinese culture, but I say people should learn to accept a bit more, his dad hates White people then I said "you explain to your dad slowly, right <exclamation particle>! you can dislike him but you can also remain neutral, right <interrogative particle>?" then he said he would wait till he retires, we will see, after retiring, it is a big change in life, it is possible to think differently after retiring.
- P1: <@@>
 <laughing quality>
- P3: <@@> 蛮难的 我觉得他们
 <laughing quality> very difficult I think for them (to change their minds).

Appendix 5: Glossary

- 澳洲 *aozhou* ‘Australia’, Chapter 4
澳洲人 *Aozhouren* ‘Australian people’, Chapters 4, 7
澳洲这儿 *aozhou nar* ‘Australia there’, Chapter 4
阿 Q 精神 *a q jingshen* ‘Ah Q spirit’, Chapter 3
保护我自己 *baohu woziji* ‘protect myself’, Chapter 4
背后 *beihou* ‘behind the back’, Chapter 5
本地 *bendi* ‘local’, Chapter 7
本地人 *bendiren* ‘local people’, Chapters 4, 7
本地的老外 *bendide laowai* ‘local foreigner’, Chapter 7
本身 *benshen* ‘root person’, Chapter 3
崩溃 *bengkui* ‘frustration’, Chapter 6
表面 *biaomian* ‘appearance’, Chapter 5
表里如一 *biaoli ruyi* ‘outside inside like one’, Chapter 5
表里不一 *biaoli buyi* ‘outside inside not like one’, Chapter 5
彼此之间 *bici zhijian* ‘space between one and other’, Chapter 6
别人 *bieren* ‘other people’, Chapter 7
不大可能 *buda keneng* ‘probably not’, Chapter 6
不会 *buhui* ‘will not’, Chapter 5
不是我的选择 *bushi wode xuanze* ‘it was not my choice’, Chapter 5
不由自主 *buyouzizhu* ‘an inability to control oneself’, Chapter 3
才 *cai* ‘should’, Chapters 4, 6
才是 *caishi* ‘actually’, Chapter 6
曾经 *cengjing* ‘once upon a time’, Chapter 5
撑 *cheng* ‘support’, Chapter 6
成长环境 *chengzhang huanjing* ‘growing environment’, Chapter 6
沉浸 *chenjin* ‘immerse’, Chapter 6
吃人的 *chiren* ‘cannibalistic’, Chapter 3
出国的人 *chuguo de ren* ‘people who go abroad’, Chapters 3, 6
出来 *chulai* ‘coming’, Chapter 7
从 *cong* ‘from’, Chapter 7
从现在 *cong xianzai* ‘from now’, Chapter 6
大 *da* ‘great’, Chapter 3
大公无私 *dagongwusi* ‘completely selfless’, Chapter 3
大环境 *dahuanjing* ‘bigger environment’, Chapters 6, 8
大家 *dajia* ‘everyone’, Chapters 4, 6, 7
大陆人 *daluren* ‘Mainland people’, Chapters 4, 7
大中国 *da Zhongguo* ‘greater China’, Chapter 3
大我 *dawo* ‘greater self’, Chapter 3
当地人 *dangdiren* ‘local people’, Chapters 4, 7
道 *dao* ‘cosmos’, Chapter 3
第一代移民 *diyidai yimin* ‘first generation migrants’, Chapters 4, 7
都 *dou* ‘all or both’, Chapters 4, 6
肚 *du* ‘belly’, Chapter 5, 8

断 *duan* ‘disconnect’, Chapter 6
 多个朋友多条路 *duoge pengyou duotiaolu* ‘one more friend is one more path’, Chapter 6
 对吧 *duiba* ‘is that right’, Chapter 6
 反驳他们 *fanbo tamen* ‘argue against them’, Chapter 7
 非主流 *feizhuliu* ‘off main stream’, Chapter 6
 分担 *fendan* ‘share the load’, Chapter 6
 封建社会 *fengjian shehui* ‘feudalistic society’, Chapter 3
 富二代 *fu’erdai* ‘second generation rich’, Chapters 6, 7
 感觉 *ganjue* ‘feel’ or ‘feeling’, Chapters 3, 4, 6
 告诉 *gaosu* ‘tell’, Chapter 4
 隔膜 *gemo* ‘estrangement’, Chapter 6
 根深蒂固 *genshendigu* ‘deeply rooted (strongly-held) belief’, Chapter 5
 跟他们混成一片 *gen tamen huncheng yipian* ‘blend into one pond with them’, Chapter 6
 个人 *geren* ‘individual’ or ‘personally’, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6
 个人主义 *geren zhuyi* ‘individualism’, Chapter 3
 个性 *gexing* ‘personality’, Chapter 3
 个性解放 *gexing jiefang* ‘emancipation of individuality’, Chapter 4
 骨 *gu* ‘bone’, Chapters 5, 8
 骨子里 *guzili* ‘inside the bone’, Chapter 3
 观点 *guandian* ‘view’, Chapter 5
 管理好自己 *guanlihao ziji* ‘manage oneself well’, Chapter 5
 灌输 *guanshu* ‘instil’, Chapter 6
 鬼佬 *guilao* ‘Westerner (literally foreign devil)’, Chapters 3, 4, 7
 国 *guo* ‘nation’, Chapter 3
 过来 *guolai* ‘come here’, Chapter 7
 过了 *guole* ‘across the boundary’, Chapter 6
 国际生之间 *guojisheng zhijian* ‘space between international students’, Chapter 6
 国情 *guoqing* ‘national condition’, Chapters 3, 8
 国民 *guomin* ‘national people’, Chapters 3, 5
 国民性 *guominxing* ‘national character’, Chapters 3, 5, 7, 8
 国内 *guonei* ‘within the country’, Chapter 6
 国内人 *guoneiren* ‘people within the country’, Chapters 3, 4, 7
 国人 *guoren* ‘national person’, Chapter 3
 国人之间 *guoren zhijian* ‘space between fellow Chinese’, Chapter 6
 国之元气 *guozhiyuanqi* ‘vigour of the country’, Chapter 3
 外国人 *guowairen* ‘foreigner (literally country outsider)’, Chapter 7
 国学热 *guoxuere* ‘national studies fever’, Chapter 3
 汉人 *Hanren* ‘Han people’, Chapter 3
 还 *hai* ‘still’, Chapters 4, 6
 害怕 *haipa* ‘fear’, Chapter 5
 还是怎样 *haishi zenyang* ‘or else’, Chapter 6
 很表面其实 *hen bianmian qishi* ‘very superficial actually’, Chapter 5
 很多的是自己 *henduo de shi ziji* ‘a lot about self’, Chapter 3
 后路 *houlu* ‘back path’, Chapter 5

华人 *Huaren* ‘ethnic Chinese people’, Chapters 3, 4, 7
 华人自己的传统 *Huaren zijide chuantong* ‘ethnic Chinese’s own traditions’, Chapter 3
 环境 *huanjing* ‘environment’, Chapters 6, 8
 环境造人 *huanjing zaoren* ‘the environment creates the people’, Chapters 6, 8
 会 *hui* ‘will’, Chapters 4, 6
 回到大家那个圈子里面 *huidao dajia nage quanzi limian* ‘come back to the social circle that everyone is in’, Chapter 6
 混 *hun* ‘blend in liquid’, Chapter 6
 混不下去 *hunbu xiaqu* ‘unable to continue blending’, Chapter 6
 混在一起 *hunzai yiqi* ‘mixed up together’, Chapter 6
 己 *ji* ‘self’, Chapters 2, 3
 己欲立而立人 *jiyuli er liren* ‘establish others in seeking to establish themselves’, Chapter 3
 讲 *jiang* ‘speak’, Chapters 4, 6
 讲出来 *jiangchulai* ‘speak out’, Chapter 6
 交集 *jiaoji* ‘intersection of two radiations’, Chapter 6
 交心 *jiaoxin* ‘open heart’, Chapter 5
 交心的朋友 *jiaoxin de pengyou* ‘friends with whom one can open the heart’, Chapter 5
 教育环境 *jiaoyu huanjing* ‘educational environment’, Chapter 6
 驾驭 *jiayu* ‘manipulating (literally driving)’, Chapter 6
 价值观 *jiazhiguan* ‘value’, Chapter 5
 精神胜利 *jingshen shengli* ‘spiritual victory’, Chapter 3
 进入 *jinru* ‘entering’, Chapter 7
 集体观念 *jiti guannian* ‘group-mindedness’, Chapter 6
 集团 *jituan* ‘collective group’, Chapter 7
 救国 *jiuguo* ‘saving China’, Chapter 3
 旧社会 *jiushehui* ‘old society’, Chapter 3
 纠正他们 *jiuzhe tamen* ‘correct them’, Chapter 7
 觉得 *juede* ‘think’, Chapters 4, 5, 6
 君子 *junzi* ‘exemplary individual’, Chapter 7
 看 *kan* ‘see’, Chapter 7
 看得开 *kandekai* ‘able to see openly’, Chapter 6
 客观 *keguan* ‘objective’, Chapters 3, 7
 可能不是 *keneng bushi* ‘probably not’, Chapter 5
 肯定还是 *kending haishi* ‘definitely will be’, Chapter 5
 可能 *keneng* ‘probably’, Chapters 4, 6
 亏心事 *kuixinshi* ‘guilty hearted things’, Chapter 5
 来 *lai* ‘come’, Chapter 7
 老外 *laowai* ‘foreigner (literally old outsider)’, Chapters 3, 4, 9
 冷血 *lengxue* ‘cold-blooded’, Chapter 5
 劣根性 *liegenxing* ‘rotten character’, Chapter 3
 立人 *liren* ‘make people stand up straight’, Chapter 3
 蛮夷 *manyi* ‘barbarians’, Chapter 3
 每个人 *meigeren* ‘everyone’, Chapter 6
 媒体 *Meiti* ‘Media’, Chapter 7

民 *min* ‘people’, Chapter 3
 迷茫的年龄 *mimangde nianling* ‘the lost age’, Chapter 6
 名不副实 *mingbu fushi* ‘the reality does not live up to the name’, Chapter 5
 命脉 *mingmai* ‘lifeline’ or ‘pillar industry’, Chapter 3
 命运安排 *mingyun anpai* ‘arrangement of fate’, Chapter 5
 命中注定 *mingzhongzhuding* ‘ordained’, Chapter 3
 等级观念 *dengji guannian* ‘a sense of hierarchy’, Chapter 3
 那 *na* ‘there’ or ‘that’, Chapters 4, 5, 7
 那个 *nage* ‘that’ 那个 *nage* ‘that’, Chapters 4, 6
 那些 *naxie* ‘those’, Chapter 7
 那些人 *naxieren* ‘those people’, Chapter 7
 那种感觉 *nazhong ganjue* ‘that kind of feeling’, Chapter 5
 那种看法 *nazhong kanfa* ‘that opinion’, Chapter 5
 脑 *nao* ‘brain’, Chapters 5, 8
 脑海 *naohai* ‘brain sea’, Chapter 5
 内心 *neixin* ‘inner heart’, Chapter 5
 内心上的伤口 *neixinshangde shangkou* ‘having a wound on the inner heart’, Chapter 5
 你 *ni* ‘one (literally you)’, Chapters 4, 5, 6
 (你)一个人 (*ni*)yigeren ‘by oneself’, Chapter 4
 你自己 *niziji* ‘oneself (literally yourself)’, Chapters 4, 5
 你自己的(*de*) *niziji(de)* ‘one’s own’, Chapter 4
 泡 *pao* ‘infuse’, Chapter 6
 朋友之间 *pengyou zhijian* ‘space between friends’, Chapter 6
 平衡 *pingheng* ‘balance’, Chapter 5
 气 *qi* ‘vital energy’, Chapter 3
 亲近 *qinjin* ‘intimate close’, Chapter 6
 亲戚之间 *qinqi zhijian* ‘space between relatives’, Chapter 6
 情不自禁 *qingbuzijin* ‘being overwhelmed by emotion’, Chapter 3
 其实 *qishi* ‘in fact’, Chapters 4, 5, 6
 其实都 *qishidou* ‘in fact all’, Chapter 6
 圈子 *quanzi* ‘circle’, Chapters 6, 8
 渠道 *qudao* ‘passage’, Chapter 6
 仁 *ren* ‘benevolence’, Chapter 3
 人 *ren* ‘other’ or ‘people’ or ‘one’, Chapters 2, 3, 6
 人不能为所欲为 *ren buneng weisuoyuwei* ‘people cannot do whatever they want’, Chapter 3
 人家 *renjia* ‘others’, Chapter 7
 人与人之间 *renyuren zhijian* ‘space between people’, Chapter 6
 人之性恶 *renzhixing’e* ‘human nature is evil’, Chapter 3
 认命 *renming* ‘accept what fate has put the way’, Chapter 3
 认为 *renwei* ‘of the opinion of’, Chapter 4
 融 *rong* ‘melt’, Chapter 6
 融合 *ronghe* ‘fuse’, Chapter 6
 融洽 *rongqia* ‘well blended’, Chapter 6
 融入 *rongru* ‘melt into’, Chapter 6

软肋 *ruanlei* ‘rib cartilage’ or ‘weak argument’, Chapter 3
 洒脱开放 *satuo kaifang* ‘open and easy’, Chapter 5
 赡养父母 *shanyang fumu* ‘be responsible for parents’ welfare’, Chapter 3
 设定 *sheding* ‘installed’, Chapter 5
 社会环境 *shehui huanjing* ‘social environment’, Chapters 3, 6, 8
 身 *shen* ‘body’, Chapter 3
 身不由己 *shenbuyouji* ‘a body beyond one’s control’, Chapter 3
 深不可识 *shenbukeshi* ‘too deep to be understood’, Chapter 5
 深的 *shende* ‘deep’, Chapter 5
 深刻的 *shenkede yinxiang* ‘deeply carved’, Chapter 5
 深入骨髓 *shenru gusui* ‘bone marrow deep’, Chapter 5
 圣人 *shengren* ‘sagehood’, Chapter 3
 声音 *shengyin* ‘voice’, Chapter 5
 说 *shuo* ‘say’ 说 *shuo* ‘say’, Chapters 4, 6
 说出来 *shuochulai* ‘put into words’, Chapter 5
 疏远 *shuyuan* ‘estrangle (literally stay away)’, Chapter 6
 撕 *si* ‘tearing up’, Chapter 6
 死穴 *sixue* ‘lethal point’ or ‘taboo topic’, Chapter 3
 抬 *tai* ‘lift’, Chapter 5
 他们 *tamen* ‘they’ or ‘them’, Chapters 6, 7
 他们那边 *tamen nabian* ‘they there’, Chapter 7
 掏心 *taoxin* ‘reach out to the bottom of heart’, Chapter 5
 掏心的朋友 *taoxin de pengyou* ‘friends with whom one can reach out to the bottom of the heart’, Chapter 5
 体 *ti* ‘order’, Chapter 3
 天道 *Tian Dao* ‘Way of Heaven’, Chapter 3
 天命 *Tian Ming* ‘Mandate of Heaven’, Chapter 3
 天理 *Tian Li* ‘Principles of Heaven’, Chapter 3
 条 *tiao* ‘classifier of long and thin object’, Chapter 5
 体会 *tihui* ‘feel’, Chapter 5
 听进去 *tingjinqu* ‘listen into’, Chapter 6
 土豪 *tuhao* ‘nouvelle riche’, Chapter 7
 托 *tuo* ‘supporting’, Chapter 6
 外国人 *waiguoren* ‘foreigner (literally outside country people)’, Chapters 4, 7
 为人民服务 *weirenmin fuwu* ‘serving the people’, Chapter 3
 唯我主义 *weiwo zhuyi* ‘egoism’, Chapter 3
 文化热 *wenhuare* ‘cultural fever’, Chapter 3
 问心有愧 *wenxin youkui* ‘heart has a guilty conscience’, Chapter 5
 我 *wo* ‘I’, Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, 8
 (我)个人 *(wo)geren* ‘(I) personally’, Chapter 4
 我个人觉得 *wogeren juede* ‘I personally think’, Chapter 5
 我觉得 *wojuede* ‘I think’, Chapter 6
 我觉得自己 *wojuede ziji* ‘I think that myself’, Chapter 5
 我们 *women* ‘we’, Chapters 2, 4, 6, 7, 8

我们独生子女 *women dusheng zinv* ‘we single children’, Chapter 6
 我们读书的时候 *women dushu de shihou* ‘the times when we were studying’, Chapter 6
 我们汉人 *women Hanren* ‘we Han people’, Chapter 7
 我们华人 *women Huaren* ‘we ethnic Chinese’, Chapter 7
 我们那边 *women nabian* ‘we over there’, Chapter 7
 我们那儿 *women nar* ‘we there’, Chapter 4
 我们那个时候 *women nage shihou* ‘that times of ours’, Chapter 6
 我们这边 *women zhebian* ‘we here’, Chapter 7
 我们这儿 *women zher* ‘we here’, Chapter 4
 我们这个年龄 *women zhege nianling* ‘our age (literally this age of ours)’, Chapter 7
 我们这一代 *women zheyidai* ‘our generation (literally this generation of ours)’, Chapters 6, 7
 我们这种 *women zhezong* ‘this kind of us’, Chapter 7
 我们中国 *women zhongguo* ‘our China’, Chapter 7
 我们中国人 *women Zhongguoren* ‘we Chinese’, Chapters 3, 6, 7
 (我)一个人 (*wo*)yigeren ‘on (my) own’, Chapter 4
 (我)这个人(*wo*)zhegeren ‘this person like (me)’, Chapters 4, 5
 我自己 *woziji* ‘myself’, Chapters 4, 5
 我自己(的) *woziji(de)* ‘my own’, Chapter 4
 五伦 *Wu Lun* ‘Five Cardinal Relationships’, Chapter 3
 五常 *Wu Chang* ‘Five Constant Virtues’, Chapters 3, 5
 无私 *wusi* ‘selfless’, Chapter 3
 无私奉献 *wusifengxian* ‘selfless contribution’, Chapter 3
 想法 *xiangfa* ‘idea’, Chapter 5
 相信 *xiangxin* ‘believe’, Chapters 4, 6
 孝顺 *xiaoshun* ‘filial piety’, Chapter 3
 小我 *xiaowo* ‘lesser self’, Chapter 3
 小资产阶级的自私自利性 *xiaozhichanjieji de zisizilixing* ‘petty-bourgeois selfishness’, Chapter 3
 西方人 *Xifangren* ‘Westerner’, Chapters 4, 7
 信 *xin* ‘integrity’, Chapters 3, 5
 心 *xin* ‘heart’, Chapter 5, 8
 心底 *xindi* ‘bottom of the heart’, Chapter 5
 心口不一 *xinkou buyi* ‘speak one way and think another’, Chapter 5
 心里 *xinli* ‘inside the heart’, Chapter 5
 心里不平衡 *xinli bupingheng* ‘psychologically unbalanced’, Chapter 5
 心理习惯 *xinli xiguan* ‘psychological habit’, Chapter 3
 心满意足 *xinman yizu* ‘heart is filled with happiness’, Chapter 5
 心目 *xinmu* ‘mind’s eye (literally heart eye)’, Chapters 5, 8
 心主神明 *xinzhushenming* ‘heart is the mastery of mind’, Chapter 3
 新疆人 *Xinjiang ren* ‘Xinjiang people’, Chapter 7
 新文化 *Xin Wenhua* ‘New Culture’, Chapter 3
 性格 *xingge* ‘character’, Chapters 3, 5
 性灵 *xingling* ‘personality and temperament’, Chapter 3
 性善 *xingshang* ‘human nature is good’, Chapter 3

修己以安人 *xiuji yi anren* ‘give ease to all other people’, Chapter 3
 修己以敬 *xiujiyijing* ‘cultivate in yourself respectful attentiveness’, Chapter 3
 修身 *xiushen* ‘self-cultivation’, Chapters 3, 7, 8
 虚有其表 *xuyou qibiao* ‘look impressive but lack real worth’, Chapter 5
 眼 *yan* ‘eye’, Chapters 5, 8
 言行一致 *yanxing yizhi* ‘act in accordance with one’s words’, Chapter 5
 洋人 *yangren* ‘ocean people’, Chapters 4, 7
 一个人 *yigeren* ‘on one’s own’, Chapters 4, 7
 一条心 *yitiaoxin* ‘one heart’, Chapter 5
 遗传性 *yichuanxing* ‘heredity’, Chapters 3, 5
 意见 *yijian* ‘opinion’, Chapter 5
 意识 *yishi* ‘awareness’, Chapter 5
 意愿 *yi yuan* ‘will’, Chapter 5
 以身作则 *yishenzuoze* ‘set an example’, Chapter 5
 用 *yong* ‘application’, Chapter 5
 忧国忧民 *youguo youmin* ‘worry about the country and worry about its people’, Chapter 3
 有瓜葛 *youguage* ‘entangle’, Chapter 6
 有国家思想, 能自布政治 *you guojia sixiang, neng zibu zhengzhi* ‘having state consciousness and being able to self-govern the state’, Chapter 3
 有(些/的)时候 *you(xie/de)shihou* ‘sometimes’, Chapters 4, 6
 有私心 *yousixin* ‘having self-interest’, Chapter 3
 有些人 *youxieren* ‘some people’, Chapter 6
 有用 *youyong* ‘have utilities’, Chapter 6
 原来 *yuanlai* ‘used to’, Chapter 5
 悦人 *yueren* ‘pleasing others’, Chapter 6
 悦己 *yueji* ‘pleasing oneself’, Chapter 6
 约束好自己 *yueshuhao ziji* ‘discipline oneself well’, Chapter 5
 在骨髓, 司命之所属, 无奈何也 *zai gusui siminzhisuoshu wunaiheye* ‘your sickness is in your bones which is the deified judge of life, I cannot do anything’, Chapter 5
 咱 *zan* ‘we’, Chapters 4, 6
 障碍 *zhangai* ‘obstacles’, Chapter 6
 这 *zhe* ‘here’ or ‘this’, Chapters 4, 7
 这边 *zhebian* ‘here’, Chapters 4, 7
 这边的人 *zhebianderen* ‘people here’, Chapter 7
 这边人 *zhebianren* ‘people here’, Chapter 7
 这个 *zhege* ‘this’, Chapters 4, 6
 这个人 *zhegeren* ‘as a person’, Chapters 4, 5
 这些 *zhexie* ‘these’, Chapter 7
 这种 *zhezong* ‘this kind’, Chapter 7
 这种意识 *zhezong yishi* ‘this awareness’, Chapter 7
 真诚 *zhencheng* ‘authenticity’, Chapter 3
 真的 *zhende* ‘really’, Chapters 4, 6
 真情流露 *zhenqingliulu* ‘overflow of authentic emotions’, Chapter 3
 真实人格 *zhenshi renga* ‘true personality’, Chapter 5
 真心 *zhenxin* ‘true heart’ or ‘sincere intentions’, Chapter 3

知道 *zhidao* ‘knew’, Chapter 7
 中国 *Zhongguo* ‘China’, Chapters 3, 4, 7
 中国孩子 *zhongguo haizi* ‘Chinese children’, Chapter 7
 中国人 *Zhongguoren* ‘Chinese people’, Chapters 4, 7
 中学为体, 西学为用 *zhongxueweiti, xixueweiyong* ‘Chinese knowledge as the foundation, Western knowledge for practical application’, Chapter 3
 周围 *zhouwei* ‘surround’, Chapter 6
 周围人 *zhouweiren* ‘people around’, Chapters 6, 8
 拽 *zhuai* ‘pull’, Chapter 6
 自觉 *zijue* ‘self-awakening’, Chapter 3
 自己 *ziji* ‘self’, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 8
 自己(的) ‘of one’s own’, Chapters 3, 4, 5
 自己的同胞 *zijide* ‘own compatriots’, Chapter 3
 自己的文化 *zijide wenhua* ‘own culture’, Chapter 7
 自己人 *zijiren* ‘own people’, Chapters 3, 5
 (自己)个人 (*ziji*)*geren* ‘self personally’, Chapter 4
 (自己)一个人; (*ziji*)*yigeren* ‘on one’s own’, Chapter 4
 自立自强 *ziliziqiang* ‘striving for self-improvement’, Chapter 3
 自律 *zilü* ‘self-discipline’, Chapter 3
 自身 *zishen* ‘self body’, Chapter 3
 自我 *ziwo* ‘self’, ‘ego’ or ‘egocentric’, Chapters 3, 7
 自我感受 *ziwo ganshou* ‘having a sense of self’, Chapter 3
 尊个性而张精神 *zun gexing er zhang jingshen* ‘respect individuality and free the spirit’, Chapter 3
 尊重 *zunzhong* ‘respect’, Chapter 3
 作为中国人 *zuowei Zhongguoren* ‘being Chinese’, Chapter 3
 左右 *zuoyou* ‘steering left or right’, Chapter 6