Becoming bilingual:
Exploring language and literacy learning through the lens of narrative

Sumiko Taniguchi

Doctor of Philosophy

2009

University of Technology, Sydney
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Student

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank a number of people who helped make this thesis possible. First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Jenny Hammond, for her constant support, insightful advices, and above all, her patience. I am also grateful to my co-supervisors, Lyn Yates and Alison Lee, for their valuable comments and encouragement.

I would like to thank research participants who shared their stories with me. Special thanks go to Satoko and her family, whose willing cooperation enabled me to explore the potential of narrative inquiry. I also thank two anonymous participants for their generous co-operation in interview sessions.

I would like to extend special thanks to my writing advisors: Sheilagh Kelly, Cynthia Nelson, Constance Ellwood, and Robert Covelly. I would also like to thank Penny Kinnear for her help with English translation.

I would also like to thank my friends and colleagues, Akira Haruna and Kathy Riley, in particular, who showed their interests in my work, and gave me encouragement. My thanks go to my fellow research students past and present for their support: Emi Otsuji, Constance Ellwood, Anita Devos, Usa Noytim, Bernice Melville, Julie Choi, Kate Bower, Takako Yoshida, Maria Harissi, Bong Jeong Lee, Maria Chisari, and Chhang Rath. Special thanks to Terry Fitzgerald, who sustained my wellbeing through Alexander technique lessons. My gratitude is also extended to the Faculty staff and IT

support persons for their efficient work.

My gratitude for their moral and intellectual support goes to three families in Camden, Leemens, Wrigleys, and Newtons, who made my stay in Sydney always comfortable.

Finally, I wish to say thank you to my husband and my daughter for their understanding and patience throughout the development of my thesis.

Sumiko Taniguchi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS iv

LIST OF FIGURES x

ABSTRACT....................xi

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: EXPLORING LANGUAGE AND LITERACY LEARNING THROUGH THE LENS OF NARRATIVE 1

- 1.1 Why becoming bilingual? 1
- 1.2 Origin of this study 3
- 1.3 Research questions....................7
- 1.4 Theoretical framework of the thesis 9
  - 1.4.1 Why the need for a complementary approach to studying second language and literacy learning? 9
  - 1.4.2 Why sociocultural theory? 14
  - 1.4.3 Why Narrative?....................18
  - 1.4.4 Why identity? 20
  - 1.4.5 Why written narratives (as opposed to spoken narratives)? 23
  - 1.4.6 In conclusion: The role of sociocultural and narrative theory in my research 27
- 1.5 Research design of the thesis 28
- 1.6 Contributions of the thesis 32

1.7 Structure of the thesis..33

CHAPTER 2 THEORISING NARRATIVE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING LANGUAGE LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES 34

Introduction 34

2.1 Conceptualising narrative 35

2.1.1 Locating conceptions of narrative historically 35

2.1.2 Etymology of narrative: Narrative as both telling and knowing 36

2.1.3 Formalist approaches to narrative: Narrative as literary text....................................37

2.1.4 Transition from narrative as literary text to narrative as an organizing structure of personal experience: Labovian sociolinguistic analysis..38

2.1.5 Significance of Narrative turn: Epistemological shift 40

2.1.6 Narrative as a mode of knowing 44

2.1.7 Interpretive approaches to narrative..47

2.1.8 Emphasis on a sociocultural perspective: Narrative as a social and relational activity 52

2.2 Using narrative in language and literacy learning research 54

2.2.1 Overview of the uses of narrative in the field of language/literacy learning 55

2.2.2 Review of representative narrative studies in the field of language and literacy learning...59

2.2.3 Autobiographical studies of language learning 60

2.2.4 Biographical studies of language learning 64

2.2.5 Conceptions of narrative and narrative inquiry within my study 73

Summary of Chapter 2: Major theoretical points about narrative 79

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: NARRATIVE AS A RESEARCH TOOL 82

Introduction 82

3.1 Narrative inquiry: What and Why 83

3.1.1 Selecting the research methodology 83

3.1.2 What is narrative inquiry? 84

3.1.3 Why do narrative inquiry? Justification for narrative inquiry 87

3.2 Research design of this study 88

3.2.1 Layers of narrative construction and analysis 89

3.2.2 Research participants 91

3.2.3 The first layer of narrative construction: Primary data and data collection 96

3.2.4 The second layer of narrative construction and analysis: Configuring data into a story 103

3.2.5 The third layer of analysis: Identifying themes and issues 107

3.3 Challenges of narrative inquiry 110

3.3.1 Ensuring trustworthiness in narrative inquiry 110

3.3.2 Ethical considerations 114

3.3.2.1 Ethical considerations of the relationship between the researcher and the participant 115

3.3.2.2 Ethics and rigour of translating someone else's story across languages 117

Summary of Chapter 3 120

CHAPTER 4 TWO LIFE STORIES: LEARNING TRAJECTORIES OF BECOMING BILINGUAL 122

Introduction 122

4.1 My story 124

  Overview of my transitional stages 124

  4.1.1 The first stage: Japanese monolingual 125

  4.1.2 The second stage: Contact with English as a foreign language at school 127

  4.1.3 The third stage: First sojourn: Intensive exposure to English in the United States .. 130

  4.1.4 The fourth stage: Japanese dominant but with constant use of English in study and research 136

  4.1.5 The fifth stage: Becoming a second language learner/user in Australia 142

  4.1.6 The sixth stage: Conscious effort to become a bilingual research writer 154

4.2 Satoko’s story 155

  Overview of Satoko’s transitional stages 155

  4.2.1 The first stage: Chinese monolingual 156

  4.2.2 The second stage: Migration and social and linguistic adaptation to Japan 157

  4.2.3 The third stage: Neither L1 nor L2 159

  4.2.4 The fourth stage: Striving for ‘both L1 and L2’ 161

  4.2.5 The fifth stage: Reconstruction of bilingual identities through writing autobiographical narrative 168

4.3 The experiences of collaborative autobiographical narrative writing: Intersection of two stories 169

  4.3.1 The circumstances of writing sessions 170

  4.3.2 Post-migration narrative 173

  4.3.3 Pre-migration narrative 181

  4.3.4 Satoko’s story beyond 190

4.3.5 My transition: A conscious effort to become a bilingual research writer 192
Summary of Chapter 4: Life-long transitions of two language learners/users 195

CHAPTER 5 INSIGHTS INTO LANGUAGE AND LITERACY LEARNING 198
Introduction 198
5.1 What is involved in becoming bilingual? Key issues emerging from learners' stories ...200
5.1.1 Border crossings 201
5.1.2 Social interaction 203
5.1.3 Self-regulation of affect 212
5.1.4 Transformation of identities 219
5.1.5 Linguistic development 236
5.1.5.1 Linguistic development across languages 237
5.1.5.2 The multimodal nature of language development 243
5.1.5.3 Control of multiple genres 247
5.2 The role of written narrative as mediating tool 249
5.2.1 The relationship between the mediation of narrative and the mediation of writing.250
5.2.2 Role of written narrative as mediating artifact 252
Summary of Chapter 5 256

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: RE-CONCEPTUALISING LANGUAGE AND LITERACY LEARNING THROUGH THE LENS OF NARRATIVE 258
Introduction 258
6.1 Insights into language and literacy learning 260
6.1.1 Summary of major findings: Nature of learners' change 261

6.1.1.1 Becoming bilingual involves life-long change 261
6.1.1.2 Becoming bilingual involves multifaceted nature of change 262
6.1.1.3 Becoming bilingual involves bidirectional change across languages, modalities, and genres 264
6.1.1.4 Becoming bilingual entails continuous translation 266
6.1.2 Significance of research findings and theoretical implications 268
6.1.2.1. Interplay among learners' social, affective and cognitive domains................269
6.2 The role of written autobiographical narrative in processes of language learning..........270
6.2.1 Summary of major findings: The role of written narrative....................................271
6.2.1.1 Making experiences comprehensible and tellable..272
6.2.1.2 Identity transformation 273
6.2.1.3 Facilitating social interaction..274
6.2.1.4 Taking control of emotion 274
6.2.1.5 Supporting language learning through appropriation and developing meta-cognitive awareness 276
6.2.2 Significance of research findings and theoretical contributions.............................277
6.2.2.1 The notion of artifact mediation 278
6.2.2.2 The contribution of written narrative as opposed to spoken narrative 278
6.3 Contributions of narrative inquiry to language and literacy learning research 281
6.3.1 Contributions of narrative inquiry: Summary of major features 282
6.3.1.1 Providing a wholistic picture of complex language learning process from an emic perspective...282
6.3.1.2 Providing a longitudinal portrait of individual learners 283
6.3.1.3 Elucidating the close connection between language learning experience and

other aspects of individuals' lives 284
6.3.1.4 Highlighting the role of sociocultural and socio-historical context.................284
6.3.1.5 Giving voice to marginalised or silenced people 285
6.3.2 Significance of the research design...285
6.3.2.1 Narrative inquiry as a powerful and insightful complementary approach to language and literacy research..286
6.3.1.2 Layers of narrative analysis 287
6.4 Limitations of the research and directions for future research.......................................289

APPENDICES 293
Appendix A: A sample of Sumiko's primary data in Japanese 293
Appendix B: Satoko's written autobiographical narrative texts in Japanese 296
Appendix C: Sample transcripts of dialogues during writing sessions.................................305
Appendix D: Sample transcripts of follow-up interviews 312
REFERENCES…………………………………………………………………………..315

LIST OF FIGURES

Diagram 1 Layers of narrative construction and analysis in the thesis…p.89, p. 287

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I investigate the nature of change that two adult language learners/users have experienced in learning to become bilingual through the mediation of autobiographical narrative writing.

The major purposes of the thesis are to identify the nature of change that adult language learners/users have experienced in learning and using plural languages through the mediation of autobiographical writing in L2, and to examine the usefulness of narrative inquiry as a complementary research approach to understand the complexity of language and literacy learning from the learner's perspectives.

To this end the following research questions have been posed.

1. What can learners' stories tell about the long-term processes of language and literacy learning?
2. What role can written autobiographical narrative play in processes of language learning?
3. What is the potential contribution of narrative inquiry to research in the field of language and literacy learning?

In addressing these questions, I have drawn on socio-cultural and narrative theory to undertake a longitudinal study of two language learners/users – Satoko, a young Chinese-Japanese woman, and myself. Thus, the study comprises Satoko's biographical study and my own autobiographical study, in which I am simultaneously the subject and the object of inquiry.

I have analysed how processes of becoming bilingual for both of us were represented in autobiographical narratives, and, in turn, how the act of writing autobiographical narratives mediated ways in which we learned to become bilingual. By utilising narrative inquiry, I have attempted to broaden the locus of research into language and literacy learning from language development to learner development.

A feature of the research design implemented in the thesis is its layered approach to narrative construction and analysis. This approach has enabled me to provide detailed insights into the complex interrelationships between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of language learning. In particular it has enabled me to highlight the multifaceted nature of learners' change and the significance of affect, social relations, and transformation of identities as learners work between two languages. It has also enabled me to address ways in which learners' engagement with written narrative impacted both their linguistic and non-linguistic development.

Outcomes from the research suggest that complex processes of language and literacy learning can be profitably examined through the notion of becoming bilingual, which entails continuous translation across languages – hence the use of the term *becoming bilingual* in the title of this thesis.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: EXPLORING LANGUAGE AND LITERACY LEARNING THROUGH THE LENS OF NARRATIVE

1.1 Why becoming bilingual?

In this thesis I investigate, through narrative inquiry, the nature of ‘change’ that adult language learners/users have experienced in learning to become bilingual. It is a basic assumption of education that learning entails change (Chappell et al., 2003a; Katznelson et al., 2001; Leki, 2000). Learners are expected to emerge different, either explicitly or implicitly, in some way from their initial state through the learning experience (Chappell et al., 2003a). They become “more ‘knowledgeable’, ‘skilled’, ‘motivated’, ‘assertive’, ‘creative’ or ‘critical’, depending on the particular aim (and success)” (Chappell et al., 2003a, p. 27) of the educational program. Thus, identifying what counts as change is a central issue in much educational research. Much of second language and literacy research has investigated language learning in terms of the change in learners’ linguistic knowledge and skills in the target language. While developing control of linguistic codes of the target language constitutes an important part of learners’ change, other aspects of learners’ change remain relatively under-researched and under-theorised.

In this thesis I wish to make an argument for a shift in focus in ways of investigating and theorising learners' change. My central argument is that in language education, where the main focus is on the development of linguistic knowledge and skills, it is also important to adopt complementary research perspectives to focus on language learners' lived experiences. This is because learning more about the learners' experiences can enhance our understanding of language learners and their learning processes. Better understanding of learners will ultimately contribute to better theorizing of language and literacy development, which in turn leads to better teaching practices. In this thesis theory building thus involves a recursive relationship with analysis of learners' practices. To this end, I draw on two theoretical perspectives. One is sociocultural theory of learning to bridge between interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects of change, and the other is narrative theory to investigate people's meaning-making of their lived experiences. Through the analysis of learners' autobiographical narratives, my study aims to contribute to better understandings of the multifaceted nature of learners' change where linguistic, social and affective aspects are necessarily entwined.

The notion of *becoming bilingual*, highlighted in the title of the thesis, needs some explanation here. In this study I adopt the notion of "multi-competence" (Cook, 1992, 1999, 2002) to investigate the development of learners' control of multiple linguistic resources. Multi-competence refers to "the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind" (Cook, 2002, p. 10). Thus the focus of my study is not solely on the acquisition and use of second language, but on the inter-play between learners' first and subsequent languages and their configuration as a whole.

My central focus of research is on the ways in which learners change over time, rather solely on the development of their language(s). By utilising narrative inquiry as a research tool, I attempt to broaden the locus of research into language and literacy learning from ‘language development’ to ‘learner development’. The term *becoming bilingual* rather than *second language development* thus better describes my research objective. In addition, as I explain later in the thesis, the term *becoming bilingual* is significant for capturing my own progression as a research student, studying and writing in a second language, while also researching the complexities of ‘learner development’. I should also emphasise that my understanding of the term bilingual does not imply equal proficiency in two languages. Rather, it refers to the processes whereby learners engage in regular use of more than one language (Baker, 1996; Grosjean, 1995; Pavlenko, 2003a). Since my research addresses learners’ engagement with two languages, the term *bilingual* is highlighted here; however, the issues and outcomes of the research are not restricted to the learning of two languages. For this reason, I sometimes use the terms *bilingual* and *multilingual* interchangeably. I should also note that, in line with Cook (2002), I have adopted the term *language user*. However in recognition of the lifelong processes involved in language learning, in the thesis I have modified the term to *language learner/user*.

1.2 Origin of this study

My research started as an attempt to reflect on, and to theorise about, my own life-long transition as a language learner/user as well as a language teacher/researcher. In this sense, as Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 121) suggest, narrative inquiry, is “always strongly autobiographical. Our research interests come out of our own narratives of experience and shape our narrative inquiry plotlines”. My research is no exception. In what follows, I briefly describe the connections between my research and my autobiography, although a more detailed account of my autobiography is provided in *My story* section in Chapter 4.

As a language teacher, researcher and a language learner, I have been interested in ‘change’ on the part of language learners through their experiences of learning and using “languages other than, or in addition to, their mother tongues” (Casanave, 2002, p. 181). My particular interest has been the consequences of learners’ *border crossing* experiences across geographical, sociocultural and linguistic borders (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Kramsch, 1998, 2002; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). The term *border crossing* as I am using it in this thesis refers to continuous movements across various borders. As will be seen, this is a concept which has considerable importance in my research. At a concrete level, border crossing refers to physical movement of individuals across geographical, particularly national borders, as migrants and sojourners. At a more metaphorical level, it also refers to crossing time and space to narrate one’s life story while working across different languages, modalities, and genres.

My interest in learners’ change originated from my first overseas experience as an exchange student in an American high school in the early 1970s. While I was in the United States, I experienced an identity crisis, and started to question whether people change when they move into a different culture, or whether they remain basically the same. This prototypical question led me to study anthropology, psychology and linguistics in higher education to develop a deeper understanding of ways in which people change. More than thirty years has elapsed since my first overseas sojourn. Although my life has been through a number of different phases, my basic interests in people's change remain relatively constant. Hence, at the most fundamental level my first overseas experience led me to the present PhD research and to an investigation of people's transitions resulting from linguistic and sociocultural border crossings.

My interest in learners' change took shape in various ways. My major interest at one time was learners' cognitive processes and their evolving linguistic rules as researched in the field of second language acquisition (SLA). I took an interest in, and had been working within an SLA research orientation, while I was undertaking my master's degree in applied linguistics in the late 1980s. I found SLA research liberating because it had helped researchers and language teachers move away from reliance on the prescription and speculation of what and how teachers should teach language, to a description and explanation of what and how learners actually learn. For instance, SLA researchers reconceptualised the notions of 'error' from the failure of learning to the manifestation of creative processes by which learners construct a mental grammar of the second language (Corder, 1967). In this respect I concluded that SLA research assigned a more active role to language learners, in particular to their cognitive domain.

However, my research interests and perspectives shifted from learners' cognition to their lives, and, as a result, I have gravitated towards more socially-oriented research. This is partly because of my growing concern with socio-political issues of second language learning and teaching in Japan, and also because of my growing interest in the role of historical and social contexts in shaping language learning and learners. While I do not suggest that cognitive approaches are irrelevant, I wish to stress that language learning is both cognitive and social, and that privileging cognitive-only approaches at the expense of others has a danger of leading to "theoretical distortions and to undesirable practices" (Sfard, 1998, p. 4). My research interest has become then to find ways to approach second language and literacy learning from a more socially-oriented perspective that conceptualises learners and their change more broadly.

My current interest in this thesis is to explore the complexity of language and literacy learning experiences through the lens of narrative. This means that I investigate how language learners perceive and articulate their changes by reflecting on their border-crossing experiences through writing personal narratives in their second language (L2). My interest in the research topic and research approach originated from my experience of moving between two different academic communities and languages as a research writer. After having established myself as an experienced language teacher and a research writer in my first language (L1) context, Japan, I became a mature international research student in an English-medium university in Australia. This meant that on the one hand, I was considered as an old timer or an expert in the Japanese academic community; on the other hand, I was a novice research writer in the Australian context. My dual role in two different academic communities and in two different languages has shaped my research perspectives and practices, and has led me to reflect on the complex identity transformation task of becoming a bilingual research writer. This experience has also led me to research language learners' transitions from the perspective of language learners. In other words, my interest lies in studying language learners' stories from inside, and, in particular, from the perspective of their/my own experiences. My particular emphasis on writing, and the role of autobiographical narrative in becoming a bilingual writer, arose in part from my personal experiences and interests, but, as I will indicate later, also from the potential offered by written narrative to mediate processes of language learning and to enable self reflection on change.

Besides my autobiographical study, I also wanted to learn from other people's experiences of learning and using multiple languages in their lives. Thus, I conducted biographical research with other language learners/users about their transitions accompanied with border crossings. In this thesis I draw on the experiences of a research participant named Satoko (pseudonym), who came to Japan from China in her childhood, and became a bilingual speaker of Chinese and Japanese. I had been interacting with her through writing-related activities for several years. Satoko spontaneously started writing her life story in her second language (L2) in collaboration with me, while she was going through an important life transition. In the course of co-constructing her autobiographical narrative and through dialogic interaction about writing, Satoko has undergone a significant change to transform her bilingual and bicultural identities. This has made me question why she turned to narrative, and what potential narrative, and in particular written narrative, has as a mediational artifact. At the same time, in the course of researching and writing about Satoko's life story, I also experienced significant transitions as a research writer. This collaborative writing experience reinforced my interest in written narrative. This thesis has thus developed out of my efforts of re-storying language learning from language development to learner development, and through narrative writing experiences and meaning-making of these experiences.

1.3 Research questions

The major purposes of this thesis are two-fold. The first purpose is to identify the nature of change that adult language learners/users have experienced in learning to become bilingual through the mediation of autobiographical narrative writing in L2. To investigate this issue, learners' change is analysed at two different levels: learners' life-long transitions that are represented in their autobiographical narratives; and learners' change that has been brought about through the mediation of writing autobiographical narratives. The second purpose of this thesis is to examine the usefulness of narrative inquiry as a complementary research approach to understand the complexity of language and literacy learning from the learners' perspective. In line with the purposes of the thesis mentioned above, my three main research questions are:

1. What can learners' stories tell about long-term processes of language and literacy learning?
2. What role can written autobiographical narrative play in processes of language learning?
3. What is the potential contribution of narrative inquiry to research in the fields of language and literacy learning?

The research questions are addressed through a longitudinal narrative inquiry of two language learners/users: one is a research participant, Satoko, and the other is a researcher, myself. My central aim in the longitudinal studies is to explore, in a wholistic way, the nature of change that two bilingual persons have experienced in learning to write their autobiographical narratives collaboratively in their second languages. I explore how the processes of becoming bilingual are represented in autobiographical narratives, and, in turn, how the act of writing autobiographical narratives has mediated the learners' transition of becoming bilingual.

1.4 Theoretical framework of the thesis

I stated earlier that my study is grounded in sociocultural perspectives and uses narrative theory to gain a deeper understanding of the complexity of language and literacy learning processes. In this section, I elaborate that statement by outlining the theoretical parameters of my research. As indicated, in the thesis I seek to propose a complementary approach to studying language and literacy learning from learners' perspectives. I begin this section by arguing why there is the need for a complementary approach that focuses on language learners and learners' change. I then move on to an elaboration of the relationship between sociocultural perspectives and narrative theory. This section thus provides the context for my more detailed discussion of narrative in the following chapter.

1.4.1 Why the need for a complementary approach to studying second language and literacy learning?

In the field of second language and literacy research, two major research orientations can be distinguished in terms of identifying what counts as change. One focuses on language learning and the other on the language learner (Ellis, 1994). According to Ellis, mainstream SLA research, with its emphasis on the search for universal characteristics of L2 acquisition, has tended to focus on language learning rather than the language learner (Ellis, 1994, 2001). Where SLA researchers have focused on the learner, their major interest has typically been in individual learner differences, such as age, aptitude, cognitive style and personality in relation to their contributions to learning outcomes (Ellis, 1994). Thus, within the mainstream tradition, learners' change was predominantly researched in terms of changes in their linguistic knowledge and skills in the target language. Even though the linguistic outcomes of second language learning have been well documented, the research literature on non-linguistic outcomes, such as changes in learners' affective and social domains, has been relatively sparse (Katznelson, Perpignan, & Rubin, 2001). Thus, it would be fair to say that while SLA research has contributed to the development of theories of language, and theories of language learning, "theories about learners" (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 116) have been relatively underdeveloped.

Additionally, until recently, learners' voices and learners' experiences told by themselves have been underrepresented in second language/literacy research. Leki (2001, p. 17-18) provides a very clear argument for more representation of learners' voices in research:

> The task I set myself for this chapter was to review the professional literature looking for instances of those "hidden transcripts" of second language (L2) students' experience in their L2 English writing courses. I wanted to hear their voices talking about the problems and successes they encountered in their writing classes and their interpretation of why things went as they did. I hoped to find research studies that used in-depth case study, longitudinal, multiple interview, and /or observational methods focused on L2 students with names who would tell us in their own voices what happened to them for better or worse in L2 writing classes. I was not interested in public transcript of what they did, how they did it, or whether a particular teaching method or technique improved their writing. Instead I hoped to learn how they reflected on what they did and how they did it, what they understood from their experiences, how they constructed what was happening to them in L2 writing classes, what they said amongst themselves.
>
> Given the explosion of research on L2 writing since 1990, I found many

> examples of the public transcript, studies documenting a wide range of aspects of L2 writing classes: students' writing processes, their preferences for teacher feedback, their behaviors during peer review sessions, their revision practices, drafts of texts, analyses of texts, performances on writing exams, selections of writing exam topics -- a great deal of this sort of things. Although much of this material is very helpful in illuminating what goes on in L2 writing, I was struck by the fact that so many of these studies talked about the students but never gave evidence that the researchers spent any time talking to the students, never asked them one on one what all this (whatever feature of L2 writing was under study) meant to them. No doubt those conversations sometimes did take place but for some reason they did not end up in the public record in any detail (Leki, 2001, pp. 17-18).

The gap in research described by Leki is also identified by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000). They argue that the main reason for this gap in the literature is that there has been a tendency to undervalue the first-person account as being less reliable and less valid when compared to the third-person account that is favoured in dominant positivist research traditions.

Within psycholinguistic research perspectives, language learners have also been under-represented, and have also been constructed in particular ways (Breen, 2001; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; R. Mitchell & Myles, 2004). Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) argue, for example, that SLA research tended to "peel away the multiple and complex layers that constitute real individuals", and reduce people's identities to those of "a 'learner' and/or a 'non-native speaker' of a given language" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 141). Moreover, these notions such as native speaker and non-native speaker have been taken to be unproblematic and uncontested. Learning outcomes have been centrally assessed by the degree of approximation to the target language rules, which are defined by native speakers' standard. L2 learners are often contrasted with native speakers of the target language, and their language is characterised in terms of deficiency and deviation from the native-speaker's norm. The conception of the language learner is then one of a "deficient communicator struggling to overcome an underdeveloped L2 competence, striving to reach the target competence of an idealized native speaker" (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 285). If not deficit, language learners are often viewed as culturally 'different' from native speakers of the target language. A number of researchers have criticized the danger of essentialising and labeling of L2 learners (Cook, 2002; Kubota, 1997, 1999, 2001a; Spack, 1997; Zamel, 1997). Cook (2002, p. 276), for example, argues that "L2 users were often seen as having a fixed set of characteristics as part of the group of L2 users, not as having control over themselves, responding to the pressures around them and having multiple group memberships". The major problems with this 'culturally different view' are the static and homogeneous views of culture, often conflated with nation, and consequently treating L2 learners as "an undifferentiated group" (Pavlenko & Piller, 2001, p. 18).

There is a need to find ways to approach second language learning from a perspective which conceptualises learners differently. Such an approach is needed to elucidate "a comprehensive picture of language learners as thinking, feeling and acting persons in a context of language use that is grounded in social relationships with other people" (Breen, 2001, p. 172), rather than treating them solely as language learners, or non-native speakers.

In recent years there have been attempts to broaden the scope of research not only to learner language, but also to the language learners (e.g. Benson & Nunan, 2005; Casanave, 2002; Leki, 2001; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 1998; Toohey, 2000). For instance, research interest in language learning and learner's identity has been growing (Block, 2006; Harklau, 2000; McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Toohey, 2000). Also research literature in exploring L2 learners' lived experience and personal history has been steadily increasing (e.g. Bell, 1997; Casanave, 1998; Hirvela & Belcher, 2001; Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko, 1998, 2001b). The common thread of these studies is the call for developing second language and literacy research incorporating the "subjective and the social dimensions of language learning and teaching along with the linguistic aspects"(McGroarty, 1998, p. 592). These studies have shown that language learners' experiences are richer and more complex than allowed for in traditional accounts. Such studies have also helped alter views about language learners. Learners have been increasingly understood as complex social beings, not just as deficit communicators of the target language (McKay & Wong, 1996). In arguing against a deficit view of L2 learners, Cook (1999, 2002) presents an alternative notion of "multi-competent language users", who have a unique status as standing between two languages and cultures. Multi-competent language users differ from monolingual native speakers in their knowledge in L1 and L2, and in some of their cognitive processes. Cook claims that L2 learners should be considered as speakers in their own right, not as failed native speakers. My own study is informed by such arguments and I take the view that L2 learners are complex social beings (McKay & Wong, 1996), multi-competent language users (Cook, 1999), and that their learning takes place "through activity-with-others" (Russell, 1997, p. 231). I therefore locate the learner at the centre of inquiry into language learning and development.

Notions of learners as social beings and as multi-competent language users who learn 'though activity-with-others" (Russell, 1997, p. 231), foreground sociocultural theories of learning. In the following sections I elaborate the role of sociocultural theories in my research and the place of narrative within my theoretical framework. I begin by clarifying the sociocultural perspective within which my research is located. Then I introduce narrative theory, which is utilised both as theoretical and methodological framework for this study. These theoretical foundations serve as bases for exploring learners' identity transformation. I explain why identity is an issue in language learning, and how it is approached in this study. Since my emphasis in the research is on written narratives, as opposed to oral narratives, I elaborate the ways in which I have theorised second language writing.

I have organised my discussion of the theoretical framework of the thesis in relation to the following questions:

1. Why sociocultural theory?
2. Why narrative?
3. Why identity?
4. Why written narratives (as opposed to spoken narratives)?

1.4.2 Why sociocultural theory?

The advantage of taking sociocultural theory as a theoretical framework for studying language learning is that it allows me to broaden the scope of my research toward more learner-sensitive, culture-sensitive perspectives, with an emphasis on the importance of the historical context of the learner. Sociocultural theory helps frame the locus of learning, the role of language learners, and the view of language. More specifically, sociocultural theory enables me to view language learning as a socially mediated joint activity in which learners learn through dialogic interactions with others situated within a specific sociocultural environment (Wells, 1999). Thus, language learners in this thesis are seen as social beings with histories, and with learning taking place “through activity-with-others” (Russell, 1997, p. 231). Language is conceived as, first and foremost, a social phenomenon rather than a faculty of the individual mind (Hakuta & Bloom, 1986).

Fundamental tenets of sociocultural approaches to learning include the argument that higher mental functions develop out of social interaction, and that this external activity is transformed into mental functions through the process of internalization, in large part, by language (Vygotsky, 1978). Two important claims are distinguished here: first, the claim that “higher mental functioning in the individual derives from social life” (Wertsch, 1991, p. 19), and second, that “human action, on both the social and individual planes, is mediated by tools and signs” (Wertsch, 1991, p. 19).

The first claim regarding the social origin of higher mental functions is based on the assertion that development occurs first in the interpersonal domain and is then transformed into the intrapersonal domain through the process of internalization. Vygotsky (1978, p. 57) explains the process of internalization as following:

> An interpersonal process is transformed into an intrapersonal one.
> Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, *between* people (*interpsychological*), and then *inside* the child (*intrapsychological*). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals.

> [….]
> The internalization of socially rooted and historically developed activities is the distinguishing feature of human psychology.

Vygotsky (1978) differentiated between higher and lower mental functions. Lower functions are genetically inherited, whereas higher mental functions, such as rational thought and logical memory, do not develop innately but are internalised from social interaction. In other words, "social interaction constitutes the prerequisite for the emergence of higher forms of consciousness"(Johnson, 2004, p. 117). Within this theoretical perspective it is argued that all humans share a common biological endowment, but that individual development cannot be understood without reference to the social and cultural context within which it is embedded. For Vygotsky, "the mechanism of individual developmental change is rooted in society and culture" (Cole & Scribner, 1978, p. 7). Hence, cognitive development is fundamentally a socio-culturally mediated process (Dicamilla & Lantolf, 1994).

Claims regarding the social origin of human mental processes have important implications for language development and also for my research. Language development, it is argued, initially starts with a child's interaction with peers or adults for the purpose of communication, but is later internalized into a means of the child's own thinking and becomes a way of controlling his/her activity (Vygotsky, 1978).What follows from this argument is that social interactions play an important role in language development. If this claim is applied to L2 learning, then L2 learning can be understood as a "process of learning to participate in socioculturally important activities" (Doehler, 2002, p. 26). L2 learning can be discussed in terms of learner's social participation or language socialisation (Ochs, 1988; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Poole, 1992; Rampton, 1995; C. Roberts, 2001; Willett, 1995) rather than knowledge accumulation in an individual's head. Likewise, the learner has to be seen as a social being (Mitchell & Miles, 2004), who actively engages in learning with people around him/her.

The second claim in sociocultural theory, which has had considerable impact on language learning research, and which is central to my research, is that of 'mediation'. Lantolf and Thorne (2006, p. 79) describe the concept of mediation as follows.

> Mediation is the process through which humans deploy culturally constructed artifacts, concepts, and activities to regulate (i.e. gain voluntary control over and transform) the material world or their own and each other's social and mental activity. With respect to symbolic artifacts, language activity, speaking and writing, is the primary, though not exclusive, mediational means humans deploy for thinking. ...
> It is essential to keep in mind that languaging activity is not construed as the equivalent of thinking; rather it is a means of regulating the thinking process.

Vygotsky drew on Engel's concept of human labor and tools as the means of transforming nature, and he extended this concept of mediation to include the use of symbolic tools, or signs such as language, writing, number systems (Cole & Scribner, 1978). Both physical and symbolic tools are “artifacts created by human culture(s) over time and are made available to succeeding generations” (Lantolf, 2000a, p. 80). Symbolic tools are internally directed at organizing and controlling our mental activity. Among other symbolic tools, language is the most important for mediating our thoughts, feelings, and behaviours.

Important here is that the role of language is considered, “in addition to fulfilling its communicative function", to serve "as a means of organizing mental activities" (Johnson, 2004, p. 111). This function is typically evident in the emergence of children's private (egocentric) speech. Vygotsky argued that speech begins for others and then eventually is directed toward oneself (Vygotsky, 1978). Young children often engage in private speech, that is, talking to, and for, themselves to regulate their own behaviour, rather than for external or communicative purposes. In Vygotsky's words, "Aspects of external or communicative speech as well as egocentric speech turn 'inward' to become the basis of inner speech" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57). Thus, the main function of language is "to serve as a mediator between two planes: the interpersonal (between people) and the intrapersonal (within the individual)" (Johnson, 2004, p. 111).

Notions within sociocultural theory of the place of social interaction and mediation are central to the way in which narrative is conceptualised in my study, and I turn now to a brief discussion of narrative and its relationship with sociocultural theory.

1.4.3 Why Narrative?

Narrative is seen in this research as sitting within the broader theoretical umbrella of sociocultural theory, and conceptualised as a sociocultural mediating artifact (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1998) which people use "to language" (Swain, 2006a) their experiences, to make sense of themselves and the world, and also to transform selves. I draw on sociocultural theory, in particular, on notions of mediation and *languaging* (Swain, 2006a) as an explanatory framework to consider the contributions of narrative to learners' change.

Why study narratives in particular? This is because narrative is one of the primary means that people use to make meaning of experiences. Thus, narrative is particularly suited to study people's experience. Important here is that narrative is not simply representation of experience, but rather narrative is a mediational means in the production of meaning of experience. In other words, making-meaning of experience is often achieved through narrating. Thus, "experience itself becomes intelligible to humans only when they narrate it" (De Fina, 2003, p. 17).

In articulating the relationship between narrative and mediation, I have found the notion of *languaging* by Swain (2006a) to be useful. Languaging is defined "as the use of speaking and writing to mediate cognitively complex activities" (Swain & Deters, 2007, p. 822). It is "the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language" (Swain, 2006a, p. 98). Drawing on Smagorinsky (1998), Swain argues that "[l]anguaging serves as a vehicle through which thinking is articulated and transformed into an artifactual form" (2006a, p. 97), either in speaking or writing, that is shareable with ourselves and others. "Through speaking, thought is externalized. Externalized as an utterance, it becomes an object. As an object it can be scrutinized, questioned, reflected upon, disagreed with, changed, or disregarded" (Swain & Lapkin, 2002, p. 285). In other words, *languaging* is a "process which creates a visible or audible product about which one can language further" (Swain, 2006a, p. 97).

To apply the notion of *languaging* to narrative, it can be argued that narrative, either spoken or written, is one of the major ways of languaging lived experiences. Thus, telling and writing narrative can serve as a means of meaning-making and reshaping past experience. Narrative, as understood in this study, can thus be described as a sociocultural mediating artifact (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1998) which people use "to language" (Swain, 2006a) their experiences, to make sense of themselves and the world, and also to transform selves. This argument is further developed in Chapter 2.

1.4.4 Why identity?

The 'social turn' (Block, 2003; Gee, 2000), evident in second language research in recent years, has resulted in a growing literature on language and identity, and its relation to second language learning (Block, 2006, 2007; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Norton, 1997, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Conceptions of identity in this literature differ from earlier studies within a social psychological framework, where features of social identity, including race, ethnicity and gender, were viewed as the fixed property of the individual (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In contrast, recent studies take a more dynamic view of identity and foreground the role of language "as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity" (Norton, 2000, p. 5). Norton explains the close link between language and identity as follows:

> Every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation (Norton, 1997, p. 410).

Similarly, when language learners write, they are conveying not only ideational content, but also the representation of the self (Hyland, 2002; Ivanič, 1998; Pavlenko, 2001b, 2003b). The sense of who we are, as Pavlenko (2003b, p. 177) claims, is "extremely relevant to how we write and what we write about and that, every time we write something, we put our own selves on the line". Thus, writing can be seen as an act of identity (Ivanič, 1998).

Here language is understood not simply as "a neutral carrier of our understanding but [as] fundamentally implicated in the construction of meaning", and as such, it is centrally involved "in the ways we negotiate, construct and change our understanding of our societies and ourselves" (Hyland, 2002, p. 57). Thus language is not simply "a linguistic system of signs and symbols" (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 115); but also "a complex social practice in which the value and meaning ascribed to an utterance are determined in part by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks" (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 115). If we accept that language and identity are inextricably linked, language learners are not only learning a linguistic system, but they are learning to take up new identities in the second language (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Thus the link between language and identity must be seen as a major issue in language learning research.

In my research I approach learner's identity from a narrative perspective, in which narrative is considered a resource for making meaning of our experience and for constructing our relationship with others (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001; De Fina, 2003; Kroger, 2000; McAdams, 1999; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). As will be argued, a major reason for adopting narrative approaches is that narrative inquiry has the potential of shifting the research focus from what is being learned to what kind of person a learner is becoming. Narrative approaches enable a shift from a focus on language learning as the acquisition of knowledge and skills to a focus of identity transformation of language learners. A major aspect of change through learning is this transformation of learners' identities. Wenger (1998) explains the relationship between learning and identity as follows.

> Because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity. It is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming - to become a certain person, or, conversely, to avoid becoming a certain person. We accumulate skills and information, not in the abstract as ends in themselves, but in the service of an identity. It is in that formation of an identity that learning can become a source of meaningfulness and of personal and social energy. (Wenger, 1998, p. 15)

Narrative approach to identity is premised on the notion of "self as a storyteller" (Bruner, 1990, p. 111). This means that people tell who they are by telling their life stories. As Ricoeur (1992, p. 246) puts it, "To answer the question Who? …is to tell the story of a life." Thus, in short, the act of narrating is considered an act of constructing identity. Self-narratives help organize our sense of who we are, and also develop, maintain and transform a sense of self (McAdams, 1999; Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). Important to note here is that the self is not something to be discovered through narrative, but in fact it is something to be imagined and constructed through narrative (Brady, 1990). Narrative does not show people just as they were, rather "it expresses what they believe themselves to have been and to be" (Brady, 1990, p. 43). Thus, narrative does not just help people make sense of their past experience but serves as one of the primary means by which identities may be fashioned (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). It is this "self-formative power" (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992, p. 1) of narrative that makes it important. Narrative can thus be seen as a "mediating artifact" (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1985) which people use to make sense of themselves and the world, and also to transform selves.

An important point about narrative identity construction with regard to sociocultural theory is that a person's identity formation is not solely individual property, but rather the result of interplay between personal and social. Although identity formation through narrative appears to be an intrapersonal process, it does not occur in a purely individualistic sense. Rather, people create narratives about their own selves and the world in vital co-operation with others in their social world (Burr, 1995). Narrative construction of self occurs dialogically on a social, inter-personal plane in a specific sociocultural context. Culture provides both resources and constraints for the construction of individual narratives. In this sense narratives are jointly authored both by the person and the culture within which the story is embedded (McAdams, 1999). Thus, narrative identity formation can be seen as a "psychosocial construction" (Kroger, 2000, p. 22), where personal and social closely interact. Additionally, since narrative is a way of using language (Bruner, 1990), narrative approaches to identity stress the role of language in mediating identity formation and transformation.

1.4.5 Why written narratives (as opposed to spoken narratives)?

My particular emphasis in this research is on written narrative, and on the role of autobiographical narrative in becoming bilingual. Specifically, I investigate the ways in which two language learners/users, including myself, underwent various changes both through writing autobiographical narratives in our second languages and in dialogic interaction about our writing. Although we utilised both spoken and written modes to narrate our life stories, a major concern in both life stories was writing autobiographical narratives in L2. As explained earlier, my research focus arose in part from my personal experiences and interests, but also from my desire to better understand the potential of written narrative to mediate the process of language learning, and to enable self reflection on change and on identity formation. So at this point is it necessary to explain the way in which second language writing is theorised in this research.

In theorising second language writing I draw on two major notions. One is the notion of mediation within a sociocultural framework, and the possibility of theorising writing activity as mediational means, and the other is Cook's notions of "multi-competence" (1992, 1999, 2002) to highlight the learner's control of multiple linguistic resources in writing in L2.

● Mediation within a sociocultural framework

As previously indicated, within sociocultural theory, language is seen as a powerful symbolic artifact that can mediate humans' physical and mental activities. In a study of the role of autobiographical narrative in language learning, the mediational function of language is of particular importance. The advantage of taking a sociocultural perspective to mediation is that it allows me to understand writing in three distinctive yet inter-related ways: writing as cognitive activity; writing as product; and writing as mediational means (or mediating artifact).

First, writing as a verb is an activity. In the process of producing a written text, it utilises written language as a symbolic tool. Second, writing is also a product of writing activity and produces a written text. In other words, it is a cultural artifact. Third, writing serves as mediational means. Written language is a symbolic tool that mediates writing activity.

Additionally, an act of writing mediates the writer's cognitive activity. In the process of writing, the writer is engaged in a cognitive act of meaning making. Wells (2000) has suggested, for example, that it is through the effort of writing that a writer is able to reach a fuller and clearer understanding of a concept or argument. Furthermore, 'what was written' becomes an object that can be explored further by the writer or others, and can then possibly mediate further action (Swain, 2006a). In this sense, writing is both an object (and an outcome) and mediational means. Thus, humans can deploy writing as a culturally constructed artifact to regulate their own and each other's social and mental activity (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

Traditionally, L2 writing research has focused on writing as an outcome of an activity. Thus the focus of investigation addresses the ways in which written texts change. However, within the perspective of sociocultural theory, writing is not just an outcome of writing activity, but is also a psychological tool or mediating artifact to regulate and facilitate mental process and behaviour (Block, 2003; Wells, 1999). As a result of learning, not only the writing as artifact changes, but also the learner's higher mental processes are modified so that "the ways in which he or she perceives, interprets and represents the world" change (Wells, 1999, p. 137). Moreover, "there is a transformation of the situation in which the learner acts which, to a greater or lesser degree, brings about change in the social practice and in the way in which the artifact is understood and used by other members of the culture" (Wells, 1999, p. 137). In other words, writing mediates more than the writer's developing control of linguistic codes. The implication here for my research is the emphasis on writing as mediational means and the possibilities this opens up for understanding how writers make use of writing to transform themselves and their relations to others and to the social context in which they live. To this end, the notion of artifact mediation provides a promising explanatory framework.

- **Multi-competence**

As indicated earlier, I have adopted Cook's notion of "multi-competence" in my research for the purpose of investigating the complexity of language learners' use of multiple linguistic and cultural resources in writing in L2. Cook (1992, 1999, 2002) introduced the term 'multi-competence' to refer to "the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind" (Cook, 2002, p. 10). He claims that multi-competent language users stand between two languages, "even when apparently using only one, having the resources of both languages on tap whenever needed" (Cook, 2002, p. 5). Cook's claim has important implications for my research. What matters are the relationships between two or more languages in the L2 user's mind and how these change.

There has been a tendency in second language research and instruction to overlook the linguistic resources, prior knowledge, life history and identity already possessed by the language learner (Hirvela & Belcher, 2001). However, a multi-competence perspective enables researchers to view the learner's first language as well as his/her prior knowledge, identity and experience rooted in L1 as an important resource for learning.

A multi-competence perspective enables me to investigate ways in which bilingual persons negotiate and make choices between L1 and L2. This perspective became particularly relevant when the writers in my research chose to write about their

L1-based experiences in L2. Within a multi-competence perspective, the act of writing in L2 can be seen as working across languages, not just working solely in L2. This perspective thus enables me to acknowledge the place of L1 in the processes of becoming bilingual.

1.4.6 In conclusion: The role of sociocultural and narrative theory in my research

I conclude this section with a brief review of the theoretical parameters of my research. The tenets of sociocultural theory that have been discussed in this section have important implications for my research. First, they highlight the role of social interaction in learning, thereby allowing me to study language learners' change "in a context of language use that is grounded in social relationships with other people" (Breen, 2001, p. 172). Second, through an emphasis on the role of cultural tools, most notably language, in mediating learning, they enable me to focus on ways in which language (in my case, writing autobiographical narrative) mediates language learning. Third, through an emphasis on historical perspectives, they enable me to investigate learning over time, and to conceive of the study of language learning as learners' life-long development – a perspective that is particularly compatible with narrative theory and with the use of autobiographical narrative as an approach to research.

My interest in written (rather than spoken) narrative arises in part from personal experience, but more specifically, from the possibility offered within sociocultural theory of theorising writing as culturally constructed artifact that can be deployed to mediate social and mental activity. In combination with the notion of multicompetence, in this thesis I focus on written narratives as a means both of supporting learning and as a way of gaining insights into processes of becoming bilingual.

To this point I have introduced the theoretical framework within which my research is located. I have also introduced narrative theory within this framework. However, the term narrative has a second meaning in my research – that of narrative inquiry. I turn now to a brief discussion of the way in which narrative inquiry has shaped the research design of the thesis.

1.5 Research design of the thesis

The term *narrative* has a second meaning in this thesis – that of narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry refers to a subset of qualitative research designs in which narrative is used to describe and interpret people's lived-experiences (Bell, 2002; Bruner, 1986, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995; Polkinghorne, 1988). In narrative inquiry, the term narrative refers to both object of research and method of research (Carter, 1993; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Goodfellow 1998; Lieblich et al., 1998). Thus, narrative researchers typically examine people's first-person narratives as data (object of research) and interpret the meaning of their experiences through the framework of narrative analysis (method of research). Besides being an object and a method of study, narrative, as a form of discourse, also frames the way of writing a research text. Research outcomes from narrative inquiry are often presented as a form of people's stories in research text. Thus, within narrative inquiry the term narrative can be used simultaneously as an object, a method, and a product of research.

A major tenet of narrative inquiry, according to Connelly and Clandinin (1990), is that "the study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world" (Connelly & Clandinin 1990, p. 2). The main claim for the use of narrative inquiry is that learners' experiences need to be studied in their own right, and the most valuable way of studying experience is through the ways stories are told (Denzin, 2000; Freeman, 1997). Narrative inquiry seeks a comprehensive understanding of human experience through the mediation of storytelling. Thus, first-person narratives of learners allow researchers to access and to study people's lived-experiences. As outlined earlier, humans use narrative not only to describe past experience, but also to make meaning of that experience. Humans have "desire for meaning" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 18), and they live "to give meaning to one's life" (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001, p. 49). This general notion translates into the view that learning is explained by changes in the way learners experience the world and make meaning of their experience. Hence, learners' struggles to make meaning through narrative can be seen as a mediator of learning (Breen, 2001).

The relevance of language learners' narratives in the study of language and literacy research is well summarised by Casanave (2005, p. 28):

> L2 writing research is inevitably about people who write, even if our main interest is in textual analysis. Narrative is fundamentally about how people construct meaning over time in their lives, including sociocultural and sociohistorical influences on their writing (Pavlenko, 2002). Learning more about people who write from the stories they tell of themselves and their experiences can only enhance what we know about L2 writers and the challenges and processes they experience when writing.

As Casanave argues, narrative study can “help break down narrow stereotypes of who L2 writers are and what constitutes L2 writing” (Casanave, 2005, p. 17).

My rationale for utilising narrative inquiry to investigate processes of becoming bilingual lies in its potential to bring about two major shifts in research perspectives. One is a shift away from a language-focused to a learner-focused research approach, and the other is a shift from notions of language learning as the acquisition of knowledge and skills to the idea of identity transformation of language learners. In other words, narrative inquiry has the potential to shift the research focus from what is being learned to what kind of person the learner is becoming. Furthermore, the concept of narrative informs the notion of identity construction. As argued earlier, personal narratives, that are first-person stories we tell about ourselves, organize our sense of who we are (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). We “discover ourselves, and reveal ourselves to others, by the stories we tell” (Lieblich et al., 1998, p. 7). In this sense, “narratives provide us with access to people’s identity” (Lieblich et al.1998, p. 7).

In this thesis, I utilize narrative inquiry to present an in-depth longitudinal qualitative study that investigates the life-long development of two adult language learners/users. Specifically, I present first-person narratives of two individuals: One, Satoko (pseudonym) is a research participant, the other is my own narrative as a researcher. Thus, this thesis comprises a study of Satoko’s biographical study and my own autobiographical study.

As mentioned earlier, this research began as an autobiographical study to reflect on and to theorise my own life-long transition as a language learner/user as well as a language teacher/researcher. Thus, one of the characteristics of my research is my position both as subject and as object of inquiry simultaneously.

Satoko is a bilingual speaker of Chinese (L1) and Japanese (L2), yet she experienced difficulties in reading and writing in both languages. Satoko and I had been interacting through writing-related activities for several years. The highlight of our collaboration was our joint literacy experience of producing Satoko's autobiographical narrative at a time when her life was at a crossroad. Through narrative analysis, I have examined how Satoko's bilingual identities were negotiated through the mediation of autobiographical narrative writing in L2. I have also focused on ways in which my experience of analysing and writing about Satoko's story as a research text in L2 has helped shape my own professional identity as a bilingual research writer.

A feature of the research design of the thesis is its use of progressive layers of construction and analysis of data. The first layer consists of the construction of learners' first person accounts of learning and using plural languages. The second layer draws on these first person accounts, as primary sources of data, to construct participants' narratives, including my own. In this layer, through constructing learners' narratives, I investigate our longitudinal transitions of learning and using plural languages, and our sense of self with regard to our plural languages. The third layer then utilises primary data, as well as the constructed participants' narratives, as main data to analyse and abstract key issues and the recurring themes, and to address their broader implications for understanding the nature of language and literacy learning. Thus, constructed participants' narratives, which were themselves the product of the first level of construction and analysis, became an object to be further analysed. In addition, I investigate how the act of writing autobiographical narrative impacted on learners as mediating artifact. These different layers of narrative analysis have enabled me to work systematically from the specific details of Satoko's and my own stories to a more generalised and abstract account of the significance of these learners' narratives for understanding what it means to become bilingual. Further details of the nature and relationship between these layers of construction and analysis are provided in Chapter 3.

1.6 Contributions of the thesis

This thesis seeks to make a contribution in two ways.

The thesis offers a detailed account, from a learner's perspectives, of what it means to learn and use plural languages. At a theoretical level, this account seeks to contribute to better understandings of the multifaceted nature of language and literacy learning, wherein the linguistic, affective and social aspects are intertwined. Additionally, through the combined perspectives of narrative and sociocultural theory, it attempts to provide insights into the role of written autobiographical narrative as mediating artifact in learners' processes of language and literacy learning and identity transformation.

The thesis also seeks to make a methodological contribution. Through its use of narrative inquiry, it exemplifies a complementary approach to research in the field of language and literacy learning. The methodological contribution of the thesis lies first in its attempt to create an alternative and complementary research approach (although a number of researchers have previously written participants' narratives as research products and have undertaken various kinds of thematic analysis). More importantly, the contribution lies in its attempts to make processes of narrative analysis more systematic and explicit. As a number of researchers have pointed out, narrative inquiry has sometimes been criticised as being overly descriptive (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Casanave; 2003; 2005; Singer, 2004). The research design developed in this thesis attempts to address this criticism through its development of a multi-layered level system of narrative construction and analysis. These layers enable construction of narratives as well as systematic and abstract analysis of data. The research design developed in the thesis, and in particular its approach to narrative analysis, thus offers a way forward in the implementation of narrative inquiry.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 orient the reader to this research project, and develop the theoretical and methodological framework for narrative and narrative inquiry. Chapters 4 and 5 are the heart of the thesis, and present the two bilingual participants' narratives and the analysis of narratives. The final chapter, Chapter 6, summarises the research findings, and addresses the significance and implications of research outcomes.

CHAPTER 2 THEORISING NARRATIVE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING LANGUAGE LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I presented an overview of this thesis and briefly outlined the theoretical and methodological framework for this study. As I explained in Chapter 1, the major informing theories in my research are sociocultural theory of learning and narrative theory. In this chapter I further develop the theoretical understanding of narrative theory, and its relation to sociocultural theory.

Narrative approaches have been utilized widely in the field of language and literacy education as complementary to more traditional empirical approaches. Important questions here are why and how narrative has acquired the legitimacy for studying language learning experiences, and what kinds of knowledge claims narrative makes. These questions need to be discussed in relation to the conceptual background to the study of narrative in the social and human sciences, because a proliferation of narrative studies is evidenced not solely in the field of language and literacy research, but also more broadly in the social and human sciences, of which language learning studies form a part. Language and literacy learning, like other interdisciplinary studies in social and human sciences, came under the influence of narrative studies.

I begin Chapter 2 by conceptualising the term ‘narrative’ with an intention to clarify the meaning and to delineate the scope of its use within social and human sciences. I trace the philosophical underpinnings and historical foundations of narrative, and explain how these theoretical understandings have influenced language/literacy learning research. The second section of the chapter addresses more directly the issues emerging from narrative inquiry into language learning. By reviewing relevant research literature, I explain how narrative approaches frame my study. I then present my own perspective of narrative theory and its location within a sociocultural framework. I conclude this chapter with a list of major theoretical points about narrative in terms of its applications to my study.

2.1 Conceptualising narrative

2.1.1 Locating conceptions of narrative historically

The central theme of this section is the historical shift of conceptions of narrative from a literary form to an organizing structure of human experiences. In accordance with this shift, approaches to narrative also have shifted from formalist approaches with major emphasis on linguistic analysis of narrative texts to more interpretive approaches. This broad movement encompasses a range of disciplines, and is strongly marked by interdisciplinary cross-fertilization (Andrews et al., 2000; Nicolopoulou, 1997). As a result, the term narrative has been employed by researchers with a variety of meanings and emphases. Particularly important is the emergence of narrative inquiry in which narrative becomes a way of understanding human experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In what follows I demonstrate how narrative studies have extended their focus from narrative as text structure to narrative as a way of knowing.

2.1.2 Etymology of narrative: Narrative as both telling and knowing

Beginning with the etymology of narrative, the word ‘to narrate’ derives from “both telling (*narrare*) and knowing in some particular way (*gnarus*)” (Bruner, 2003, p. 27). Here two key functions of narrative can be identified: ‘to tell’ and ‘to know’ or ‘to understand’ in a specific way. These two key functions are inseparable, as seen in Bruner (1996, p. 132), “I found it impossible to distinguish sharply what is a narrative mode of thought and what is a narrative 'text' or discourse. Each gives form to the other, just as thought becomes inextricable from the language that expresses it and eventually shapes it”. Thus, narrative can be seen as both a mode of telling and a mode of knowing. As Richardson (1990, p. 118) puts it, “narrative is both a mode of reasoning and a mode of representation. People can apprehend the world and people can tell about the world narratively”. These key functions of narrative provide important starting points in exploring the different meanings of narrative and the development of narrative studies.

In accordance with the dual functions of telling and knowing of narrative, two major emphases in narrative studies can be identified. One is narrative as a text structure particularly in literary studies and linguistics, where the emphasis is on narrative as story-told or product of narrating. The other is narrative as meaning-making device, where the emphasis is on the process of narrating rather than the product. As will be seen, narrative studies have extended their focus from narrative as product of narrating to narrative as process of narrating and way of knowing.

2.1.3 Formalist approaches to narrative: Narrative as literary text

Narrative studies originated in literary theory tradition. In this research tradition, the term narrative referred to literary texts. Literary study of narrative closely drew upon linguistic theory and methods of analysis. Traditional literary theorists approached narrative as a literary expression, and examined individual narrative as manifested in spoken and written fictional stories (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 71). However, in the twentieth-century, literary theorists moved away from their exclusive focus on the interpretation of individual literary works, and began to investigate the formal aspects of narrative, such as the structure of stories, and the development of the plot.

Representative early studies include Propp's (1928/1968) *Morphology of the folktale,* a study within the tradition of Russian formalism. Russian formalism approached literary texts to identify the components and their functions through formal linguistic analysis. As the title of Propp's study suggests, *Morphology of the folktale* analysed a corpus of Russian folktales to identify the basic components of story structure and their relationship to each other and to the whole. The significance of his analysis is that he demonstrated that a limited number of narrative functions and roles could be combined in different ways to generate an almost infinite number of stories, just as a limited number of linguistic units can be combined according to a fixed set of rules to generate well-formed sentences.

In the 1950s, a structuralist-led field of narrative study emerged from French structuralism (e.g. Lévi-Strauss, 1958/1963) and Russian formalism. This field is often referred to as “narratology” (Bal, 1985). Narratologists, under the influence of Saussurean structuralist linguistics, attempted to study narrative as an object of rigorous scientific inquiry. According to Prince (1997, p. 39), “[i]f structuralism generally concentrates on the *langue* or code underlying a given system or practice rather than concentrating on a *parole* or instantiation of that system or practice, narratology specifically focuses on narrative langue rather than narrative paroles”. The major concern of narratology was to identify the universal properties of narrative. Specifically, narratology investigated “what all and only possible narratives have in common as well as what enables them to differ from one another qua narratives, and it aims to describe the narrative-pertinent system of rules governing narrative production and processing” (Prince, 1997, p. 39). Thus narratologists sought to uncover an abstract level of stories, out of which diverse surface structures of stories are generated (Toolan, 2001) by utilising hypothetical-deductive procedures as their method of inquiry (Barthes, 1977). Structuralist-led narrative studies played a significant role in the 1960s and 1970s, but they also had certain limitations. Structuralist models were criticised as reductionistic and static, and it was claimed that structuralists neglected the sociocultural contexts in which narratives occur (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). As a consequence, an increasing part of today’s literary narrative study has distanced itself from structuralist approaches (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001).

2.1.4 Transition from narrative as literary text to narrative as an organizing structure of personal experience: Labovian sociolinguistic analysis

In the late 1960s, a sociolinguistic approach to the study of narrative began with Labov and Waletzky’s (1967/1997) analysis of the generic structure of oral personal narratives.

What distinguishes Labov and Waletzky's work from previous structuralist literary study of narrative is the subject matter of analysis. Labov and Waletzky studied naturally-occurring oral narratives of personal experience, whereas literary theorists have primarily focused on fictional written literary narrative. Thus, Labov and Waletzky's work extended the scope of narrative studies from fictional stories to everyday people's personal experiences as a legitimate object of inquiry.

The purpose of Labov and Waletzky's analysis was two-fold: to identify the internal structure of oral narratives, and to relate formal linguistic properties to their functions. They found that a fully formed oral narrative has a six part structure: *abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution*, and *coda*. *Abstract* is a statement of the general theme or point of the story. *Orientation* sets up the scene "to orient the listener in respect to person, place, time, and behavioural situation" (Labov & Waletzky, 1997, p. 27). The main body of a narrative usually comprises a series of events termed the *complication*. *Evaluation* gives significance and focus to the story. *Resolution* is the result of a story. It describes the result or resolution to a conflict in the narrative. Many narratives end with a *resolution* section, but others have an optional element called the *coda*. A *coda* is a "functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment" (Labov & Waletzky, 1997, p. 35).

Labov and Waletzky also attempted to relate formal structural properties of narrative to their social functions, and they identified two basic functions of narrative: *referential* and *evaluative*. The *referential* function is a means of recapitulating experience in the same order as the occurrence of the original events. The *evaluative* function is "to communicate to the audience the meaning of the narrative by establishing some point of personal involvement” (Cortazzi, 1993, p. 44). Thus, narrative has a point, tellability, or something worth telling. It became evident that narratives are “highly spontaneous and at the same time highly organized texts” (De Fina, 2003, p. 6). Narrative invites and promotes people’s involvement and participation in telling their lived-experiences. Yet at the same time, these spontaneous narrative texts prove to be highly organized and constrained. These characteristics of naturally-occurring personal narratives inspired many narrative researchers and led to the further development of narrative studies.

Labov and Waletzky’s study contributed not only to the field of sociolinguistics but more importantly, served as a springboard for emerging field of narrative studies in social human sciences (Bamberg, 1997). Labov and Waletsky’s seminal work initiated the tradition of socially-situated narrative studies. It also gave recognition to the significance of people’s personal experience within a broad framework of narrative research. Labov recognised the interrelationship between narrative form and function, in that narrative organises the narrator’s personal experience, and also personal experience can be effectively shared with the audience using narrative form. These insights facilitated bridging between literary studies of narrative and later psychological studies of narrative, which emphasise narrative as an organizing structure of personal experience.

2.1.5 Significance of Narrative turn: Epistemological shift

Since the mid-1970s a proliferation of theories and research centred on narrative has been evidenced in a wide range of disciplines as diverse as literary theory, history, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, cognitive science and education. This shift is often referred to as a “narrative turn” (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, p. 10; Brockmeier & Harré, 2001, p. 39; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997, p. xiii; Riessman, 1993, p. 1). Narrative studies have crossed disciplines and extended to extra-literary domains. This movement has carried narrative studies well beyond the province of the literary theory and set forth the exploration of the role of narrative in social and psychological domains (Mitchell, 1981; Riessman, 1993). Representative studies that have used narrative approaches and concepts can be found in fields ranging from literary theory (Derrida, 1981), history (Carr, 1986), philosophy (Ricoeur, 1984-6), linguistics (Toolan, 1991) to psychology (Bruner, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988; Sarbin, 1986), cognitive science (Rumelhart, 1975), psychotherapy (Payne, 2000; White & Epston, 1990), sociology (Denzin, 1989; Riessman, 1993), anthropology (Turner & Bruner, 1986), and education (Carter, 1993; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Conle, 1997). As a result of the narrative turn, the term ‘narrative’ has acquired a broader meaning than its traditional reference to literary texts. The term narrative is now used to refer to many different concepts, such as literary genre, a particular type of discourse, a way of knowing and understanding, cognitive frameworks, and cultural artifacts.

The term ‘narrative’ has thus come to be understood as ways of knowing and understanding, rather than just as literary form. Many researchers became interested “not just with story as story, but with storied forms of knowledge” (Kreiswirth, 2005, p. 379), and they extended the scope of their research by adopting narrative “as a central analytical framework” (Carter, 1993, p. 5) to investigate the meaning of human experiences. Thus, the main claim for the use of narrative in social and human sciences is that the study of narrative is the study of the ways human beings experience the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). This shift from ‘study of narrative structure’ to ‘study of storied nature of human understanding' (cf. Sarbin, 1986) is an important epistemological shift emerging from the narrative turn. The new concept of narrative posits that "it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand, and make sense of the world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities" (Somers & Gibson, 1994, pp. 58-59).

The significance of the narrative turn lies in its epistemological claim that narrative is a legitimate form of knowledge (Bruner, 1986; Lyotard, 1984), and that narrative inquiry is a legitimate research approach in human and social sciences. Brockmeier and Harré (2001) well capture the significance of narrative turn and its theoretical underpinnings as follows:

> Over the last two decades narrative has become the subject of a great number of new investigations. Many of them share the view that at stake is not just a new empirical subject of research – the stories children tell, dinner party discussion in different social settings, recollections of illness and of travels abroad, the rhetorics of science, autobiographies and other self accounts - but a new theoretical approach, a new genre of philosophy of science. The increasing interest in the study of narrative suggests the emergence of another strand to the post-positivist paradigm and a further refinement of interpretive methodology in the human science. It seems to promise more than a new linguistic, semiotic, and cultural model. In fact, what has been called the discursive and narrative turn in psychology and other human sciences is to be seen as part of larger tectonic shifts in our cultural architecture of knowledge following the crisis of the modernist episteme. In most disciplines the positivist philosophy that led to serious misunderstandings of science has been sharply criticized, opening up new horizons for interpretive investigations which focus on social, discursive and cultural *forms of life*, as opposed to a futile search for universal laws of human behavior. In the wake of these changes, the forms and genres of narrative have especially attracted attention (e.g., Polkinghorne 1987; Bamberg 1997; Hinchman & Hinchman 1997). (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001, p. 39)

Many factors can be said to have contributed to the narrative turn. The emergence of interest in narrative has been strongly influenced by the general trend in social and human sciences of moving away from the positivist toward more interpretive research paradigms. Bruner (1986), one of the advocators of narrative psychology, describes the shift of research perspectives away from positivism as follows:

> By the mid-1970s the social sciences had moved away from their traditional positivist stance toward a more interpretive posture: meaning became the central focus - how the word was interpreted, by what codes meaning was regulated, in what sense culture itself could be treated as a "text" that participants "read" for their own guidance (Bruner, 1986, p. 8).

As seen above, ‘meaning’ and ‘interpretation’ became the key notions in newly emerged narrative studies.

The emergence of narrative turn can be seen as part of the broader “social turn” (Block, 2003; Gee, 2000), that represented a shift “away from a focus on individual behaviour and individual minds toward a focus on social and cultural interaction” (Gee, 2000, p. 180). According to Gee, such movements include, besides the narrative turn, the revival of socio-historical/sociocultural approaches with an allegiance to Vygotsky (Wertsch, 1991), cultural psychology (Cole, 1996), discursive psychology (Harré, 1995), and the new literacy studies (Barton, 1994; Gee, 1990; Street, 1995). These movements are characterised as “reactions against the behaviourism of the early part of the twentieth century and the ‘cognitive revolution’ of the 1960s to 1970s that replaced behaviourism, both of which privileged the individual mind” (Gee, 2000, p. 183).

2.1.6 Narrative as a mode of knowing

As seen above, the narrative turn is marked by a "widening in acceptance of alternative epistemologies or ways of knowing" (Clandinin, 2007, p. 1). In 1986, Bruner published *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*, in which he presented two different modes of thought: logical-scientific (paradigmatic) and narrative, and "attempted to restore equity" (Murray, 1995, p. 188) between them. Most narrative researchers take Bruner's notion of two modes of thought as a point of departure. Bruner (1986) acknowledges that scientific and narrative knowledge are not in either-or relation, but rather complementary, and that both scientific and narrative knowledge are needed for proper understanding of human beings.

Bruner has helped popularise a conception of narrative as one of two basic universal human cognition modes (Egan, 1993). As indicated, Bruner (1986) argues that human beings understand the world in two very distinctive ways: a paradigmatic (or logical-scientific) mode and a narrative mode. The paradigmatic mode operates in a formal, mathematical system of description and explanation by recognizing elements as members of a category. The narrative mode operates by interpreting the meaning of elements and combining them into a story form. Bruner (1996, p. 39) writes:

> There appear to be two broad ways in which human beings organize and manage their knowledge of the world, indeed structure even their immediate experience: one seems more specialized for treating of physical "things," the other for treating of people and their plights. These are conventionally known as *logical-scientific* thinking and *narrative* thinking.

These two modes differ in a number of ways. “Each mode provides a distinctive way of ordering experience and constructing reality; each has its own operating principles and criteria of well-formedness, and each has radically different procedures for verification” (Richardson, 1990, p. 118). “The logical-scientific mode looks for universal truth conditions, whereas the narrative mode looks for particular connections between events. Explanation in the narrative mode is contextually embedded, whereas logical-scientific explanation is abstracted from spatial and temporal contexts” (Richardson, 1990, p. 118).

However different in quality, Bruner (1986, p. 11) emphasizes the irreducibility and complementarity of these two modes of thoughts:

> There are two modes of cognitive functioning, two modes of thought, each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality. The two (though complementary) are irreducible to one another. Efforts to reduce one mode to the other or to ignore one at the expense of the other inevitably fail to capture the rich diversity of thought.

Although these two modes of thought are assumed to be complementary, they are not always treated equally. Bruner (1996, pp. 39-40) notes, “They [the two modes of thought] have varied modes of expression in different cultures, which also cultivate them differently. No culture is without both of them, though different cultures privilege them differently”. Western scientific research tradition has particularly privileged logical-scientific mode, which “leads to a search for universal truth conditions” (Bruner 1986, p. 12). Bruner (1996, p. 123) remarks, “It has been a curious habit of Western thought since the Greeks to assume that the world is rational and that true knowledge about that world will always take the form of logical or scientific propositions that will be amenable to explanation". In a rationalist tradition since Descartes, knowledge gained by way of reason was framed as the privileged way of coming to know the world, and considered to be superior in terms of progress to human understanding. Although "knowledge could be gained by human beings in a number of ways, including via the imaginative and emotional spheres" (Chappell et al., 2003a, p. 34), Cartesian rationalism rejected other ways of coming to know the world, regarding them as inferior to rationality. Thus, narrative mode was placed "in opposition to fact and in subordination to science" (Rhodes, 2001, p. 22). The significance of Bruner's emphasis on two modes of thought is to redress the dominance of the logical-scientific mode over the narrative mode. Thus, Bruner's contribution, as evaluated by Polkinghorne (1995, p. 9) , is to expand ways of knowing beyond a singular epistemological tradition, and to include the narrative mode as "a legitimate form of reasoned knowing".

This epistemological shift has led to a transformation of research perspectives and practices in social and human sciences. Polkinghorne (1988) writes as follows:

> I find that our traditional research model, adopted from the natural sciences, is limited when applied to the study of human beings. I do not believe that the solutions to human problems will come from developing even more sophisticated and creative applications of the natural science model, but rather by developing additional, complementary approaches that are especially sensitive to the unique characteristics of human existence. (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. x) (emphasis added)

As natural science methods prove limiting for understanding human beings and social world, narrative provided one of a number of complementary ways of doing research. The main claim for the use of narrative in research was that “the study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world” (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). This is because human beings are storytellers (Bruner, 1990), and a primary way in which humans make sense of experience is “by casting it in narrative form” (Riessman, 1993, p. 4). The notion of narrative has become an “organizing concept” (Hinchman & Hinchman, 1998, p. ix) or “organizing principle” (Riessman, 1993, p. 1) to understand human cognition and activity in various fields of study. Narrative provides a viewpoint or a lens to understand ways in which human beings make sense of themselves and the world.

2.1.7 Interpretive approaches to narrative

In accordance with the shift of conceptions of narrative from a literary form to a way of knowing, approaches to narrative also have shifted from formalist to more interpretive approaches. Philosophically speaking, interpretive approaches are influenced by hermeneutic and interpretive traditions (Gadamer, 1975; Heidegger, 1962; Ricoeur, 1984-6). They are meaning-centered, and acknowledge a central role for interpretation in their explanatory framework (Bruner, 1996; Ezzy, 2002; Freeman, 1997).

Although there are considerable differences among disciplines and researchers in conceptualising and researching narrative, fundamental and common tenets of interpretive approaches to narrative can be summarised as follows. Interpretive approaches view narrative as an analytical framework with which to investigate the meaning of human experiences, and they focus on what narrative does (the function/role of narrative) rather than what narrative structure is ("the internal structuring of narrative as a genre" (Baynham, 2000, p. 101). While literary studies analyse produced narrative (such as stories written or told), interpretive approaches are concerned with "narrative process" (Conle, 1997, p. 206) of people's telling and retelling of their lived experiences. In other words, interpretive approaches are concerned with the "study of 'words in their speaking' as distinct from the study of systems of 'already spoken words'" (Smith, Harré, & Langenhove, 1995, p. 8). The unit of analysis also differs. In literary studies, the unit of analysis is text, whereas in interpretive approaches it is human beings (Ezzy, 2002). Thus researchers typically examine people's life stories as data to analyse the meaning of their lived experiences.

- **Narrative as a meaning-making device**

Resonant with Bruner's (1986) narrative mode of thinking, Polkinghorne (1988) in *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* describes narrative as a "form of meaning making" (1988, p. 36). Here narrative is considered to be not just the recount of what happened in the past, but an important meaning-making device of human experiences. According to Polkinghorne, "[t]he narrative scheme serves as a lens through which the apparently independent and disconnected elements of existence are seen as related parts of a whole" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 36). This suggests that a primary way of framing experience is in narrative form (Bruner, 1990). Or in other words, "events become meaningful only insofar as they are interpreted within the frame of a narrative" (Ezzy, 2002, p. 149).

Through narrative, people interpret and re-interpret the meaning of their past experiences, as well as those of others, to make better sense of themselves and the world. People negotiate and renegotiate meanings to re-story their past experiences “by the mediation of narrative interpretation” (Bruner, 1990, p. 68). Narrative interpretation occurs as a process of emplotment in which disconnected temporal actions and events are transformed into a unified story with a point or theme (Polkinghorne, 1995). The plot functions “to transform a chronicle or listing of events into a schematic whole by highlighting and recognizing the contribution that certain events make to the development and outcome of the story” (Polkinghorne, 1988, pp. 18-19). Thus, emplotment is selective. Instead of recalling their past experiences in a chronological order, people foreground certain events, while others are backgrounded, or omitted, to make a coherent story. The act of emplotment, therefore, foregrounds a particular interpretation, despite other possibilities. This leads to the potential of altering the plot to make alternative stories. Thus, as pointed out by Bruner (1987, p. 31), “a life is not ‘how it was’ but how it is interpreted and reinterpreted, told and retold”. Narrative is not something pre-given or static, rather it is constantly in revision.

- **Narrative as a mediator of identity construction and transformation**

Meaning-making through narrative thus has important consequences for mediating identity construction and transformation. Narrative’s meaning-making function translates into the view that narrative can have “transformatory potential” (Bradbury & Sclater, 2000, p. 197) for personal identities. In this respect, narrative can be seen as the mediator of identity construction and transformation. Researchers in narrative studies acknowledge the close link between narrative and identity, and argue that people can construct and reconstruct their identities through the process of self-narration. This process can be described as follows. When we are asked the question of who we are, we tell our life stories. To answer the question of ‘who’ is to tell the story of a life (Arendt, 1958; Currie, 1998; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Ricoeur, 1992). Thus, our sense of identities takes shape in the stories we tell about ourselves. Narrative approach to identity highlights the constructive role of language in the formation and transformation of self and identity (Crossley, 2000). It recognises that “individuals understand themselves through the medium of language, through talking and writing, and it is through these processes that individuals are constantly engaged in the process of creating themselves” (Crossley, 2000, p. 10).

As argued earlier, narrative is more than the recount of past events, but a “critical element in the search for and construction of meaning in human experience” (Brady, 1990, p. 43). Thus, telling our life stories requires us “to select key events which characterise us and organize them according to the formal principles of narrative” (Currie, 1998, p. 17). As such, a story cannot be treated simply “as an exact record of what happened nor is it a mirror of a world ‘out there’” (Riessman, 1993, p. 64). Rather, stories are products of an interpretive process that is shaped by the impulses of the teller and also by the social discourse (Carter, 1993). People construct stories that “support their interpretation of themselves, excluding experiences and events that undermine the identities they currently claim” (Bell, 2002, p. 209). Also social discourse shapes what is sayable and what is not (Riessman, 1993). However, no matter how fictionalised, all stories reveal people’s understanding of themselves. Personal narrative does not necessarily show people just as they were. Rather “it expresses what they believe themselves to have been and to be” (Brady, 1990, p. 43). Thus, people’s identities are not something to be discovered through narrative; they are in fact “something to be imagined and constructed” (Brady, 1990, p. 43) through narrative. As such, narrative does not just help people make sense of their past experience but serves as one of the primary means by which identities may be fashioned (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). It is this “self-formative power” (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992, p. 1) of narrative that makes it important.

Narrative researchers are also concerned with processes of identity transformation through narrative. The mechanism of transformation can be explained in the following way. Human beings have the capacity to reflect on the past to alter the present, and also “to alter the past in the light of the present” (Bruner, 1990, p. 109) with the mediation of narrative. At a personal level, narrative self-(re)construction typically happens when people encounter new experiences, and are led to reinterrogate the narratives by which they have previously made sense of their lives. Under such circumstances, people often feel “tension between fragmented, decentered, and shifting identities… and their desire for meaning and coherence” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 18). In order to resolve tension, people utilise narrative for reviewing their past experience, reinterpreting it, and organising it into an alternative story that accommodates the new experience. In this way, people can alter the past through changing the story, although the actual past events did not change in any objective sense. As Polkinghorne (1998, p. 182) puts it: “[o]ne’s past events cannot be changed….However, the interpretation and significance of these events can change if a different plot is used to configure them”. As a consequence of changing one’s self-stories, a person’s identities are in a constant revision. Polkinghorne (1988, p. 150) writes as follows:

> We are in the middle of our stories and cannot be sure how they will end; we are constantly having to revise the plot as new events are added to our lives. Self, then, is not a static thing nor a substance, but a configuring of personal events into a historical unity which includes not only what one has been but also anticipations of what one will be.

In this way, narrative plays a powerful role as mediating artifact as people undertake to transform their identities (Lantolf, 2000b).

Recent development in narrative approaches to identity have stressed the role of social interaction in a process of identity construction and transformation (De Fina, 2003). While identity formation and transformation through narrative appear to be intrapersonal processes, they do not occur in a purely individualistic sense. Rather, people create narratives about their own selves and the world in vital co-operation with others in their social world (Burr, 1995). For this reason in my research I draw on sociocultural perspectives to conceive of narrative as a social and relational activity.

2.1.8 Emphasis on a sociocultural perspective: Narrative as a social and relational activity

Sociocultural perspectives have shaped much current theory and research in narrative. It is claimed that narrative is not purely an individual production, but by its nature, narrative is “social and relational” (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 5). On one hand narrative can be seen as a psychological framework for organising one’s experience, while on the other hand, it is a dialogue co-constructed with others (Hermans, 2001). This implies that narrative can be best understood as a ‘psychosocial construct’ (Andrews et al., 2000; Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Kroger, 2000) with both inter-mental and intra-mental functions. Although narrative inquiry within this framework explores an intrapersonal process within individuals, it does not view people's lives in isolation. Rather its emphasis is on ways in which people are situated in time and space in relation with other people. It holds the premise that narrative is dialogically constructed in social interaction, and that storytelling is situationally and interactionally accomplished. As Riessman (2002, p. 697) maintains, narrative is a "relational activity that encourages others to listen, to share, and to empathize. It is a collaborative practice". When shared with others, narrative becomes a dialogical meaning-making space, where meaning making is "not private and subjective… but public and shared" (Gergen & Gergen, 1993, p. 192). This suggests meaning-making through narrative occurs not solely within an individual, but is simultaneously situated in social interaction.

Narrative is also situated in sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts, and "powerfully shaped by social, cultural, and historical conventions" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 214). Therefore, "narratives cannot be separated from the sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts from which they emerged" (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 5). In this sense, "[a] narrative approach is being recognized as a means of examining the ways in which individuals make sense of their lives within a changing sociohistorical context" (Phinney, 2000, pp. 27-28). It is this sociocultural orientation to narrative that has shaped my own understanding of narrative and the research perspective in this thesis.

2.2 Using narrative in language and literacy learning research

Having reviewed the historical development of narrative studies in social and human sciences in the previous section, I now turn to the field of language and literacy learning to clarify the uses of narrative within this field, and also within my thesis.

In recent years, narrative has played increasingly important roles in the field of language and literacy research. This is evidenced in the substantial number of recent publications that have used narrative as data and narrative analysis as methodology for investigating language and literacy learning, and teaching experiences. The research literature encompasses diverse research interests, such as discourse analysis of oral and written narratives of various types (Baynham & De Fina, 2005; Polanyi, 1989; Tannen, 1982), the development of oral and written narrative skills in L1 and L2 (Bamberg, 1987; Kang, 2003; Verhoeven & Stromqvist, 2001), teachers' and learners' narratives of their experiences of teaching and learning languages (Bell, 1997; Benson & Nunan, 2005; Casanave & Schecter, 1997), and also identity transformation of language learners through narrative (Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko, 1998, 2001b) among others. This diversity indicates that the term narrative has been employed by researchers with a variety of meanings and emphases. These multiple uses of narrative in language and literacy research suggest the potential richness that narrative has to offer to this research field, but at the same time suggests "some ambiguity to be associated with the term" (Polkinghorne, 1995. P. 5). Thus I begin this section with an attempt to clarify the uses of narrative in the field of language and literacy research.

2.2.1 Overview of the uses of narrative in the field of language/literacy learning

As language/literacy learning is an interdisciplinary field encompassing linguistics, psychology, and education amongst other, the use of narrative in this field has been shaped by many different research traditions in the social and human sciences. Along with the long-standing literary and linguistic research traditions of studying narrative as a form of discourse, language and literacy research has also adopted interpretive approaches to studying language learning experiences through narrative inquiry. In a broad picture, two categories of the use of narrative can be distinguished here. These are narrative as a form of discourse, and narrative as an analytical framework. However, this distinction is not clear-cut, and there are many overlaps because, as seen in the previous section, narrative itself is both the form of discourse and way of knowing. Thus, it is more appropriate to say that this distinction lies in degree of emphasis.

The first category is studying narrative texts as an object of research. Many of these studies are derived from literary and linguistic traditions, and focus on formal aspects of narrative, such as the structure of narrative, the development of the plot, or various linguistic aspects of the narrative (e.g. Rothery & Stenglin, 1997; Schiffrin, 1996). This line of research investigates how learners learn to tell or write narratives, and how linguistic aspects of their spoken or written texts change over time (e.g. Bamberg, 1987; Kang, 2003; Minami, 2008).

The second category is narrative as an analytical framework. While in the first category researchers study narrative texts as an object of research, in the second category, narrative is analysed as a means for studying other questions, such as identity transformation of learners/teachers, affective and social aspects of language learning, individual learner differences, or cultural-specific notion of literacy (Armour, 2004; Bell, 1997; Belz, 2002; Casanave, 1998; Kanno, 2003; Murphey, Jin, & Li-Chi, 2005; Pavlenko, 2001b). Although narrative is used as research data, these studies address narrative as a means of understanding the meaning of language learners' and/or teachers' lived experiences, rather than narrative text as evidence of language development per se. Thus, learning outcomes are described more in non-linguistic terms (Benson, 2005). This approach has been widely used in the field of education (e.g. Chappell et al., 2003b; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), although its application to the field of language and literacy is relatively recent. Casanave (2005), for instance, describes the application of a narrative approach to L2 writing research as follows:

> a narrative approach to the study of writing does not centrally concern textual analyses of narratives or how students learn to write narratives and stories, but how researchers, teachers, and students deal with conflicts and find meaning in the events and actions that make up the activities of studying, teaching, and engaging in writing. (Casanave, 2005, p. 17)

The uses of narratives in the field of language and literacy parallel the historical shift of narrative studies in social and human sciences as outlined in the previous section. Thus within language and literacy study there is an extension from narrative as text structure to narrative as a way of knowing. My study is in line with the second category, that is, utilising narrative as an analytical framework to explore language and literacy learning in relation to learners' lived experiences.

The status of a narrative approach to language and literacy research is described by Duff (2002) as follows:

> The personal accounts and narratives of the experiences of language teachers, learners, and others, often across a broader span of time, space, experience, and languages, have now become a major focus in some qualitative research. Evidence of this are first-person narratives, diary studies, autobiographies, and life histories of developing, teaching, or losing aspects of one's language, identity, and affective orientation (e.g., Bailey and Nunan 1996; Kouritzen 1999; Schumann 1997); studies now examine individuals using language in and across social contexts that were investigated to a lesser degree in the past (e.g., in professional or academic settings [Spack 1997], in the home/family, community, workplace, and other social institutions).
>
> While interesting and compelling in many cases, the newer approaches are not necessarily supplanting existing ones but rather complementing them and providing alternatives to traditional approaches, topics, genres, analyses, and conclusions, and notions of authenticity and legitimacy (Edge and Richards 1998). (Duff, 2002, p. 19)

As Duff (2002) suggests, a narrative approach is not meant to replace existing research approaches; however, first-person narratives of learners and teachers have been utilised more widely in the field of language and literacy research as a means of understanding their language learning and teaching experiences. Important questions then are why and how narrative inquiries have acquired legitimacy in studying language learning experiences, and what potential narrative inquiry has to offer as a research approach to language and literacy learning.

In response to the questions, *why narrative, what is the potential of narrative,* and to elaborate my discussion in Chapter 1, I would argue that the major reason for increasing interest in narrative has much to do with the rise of learner-focused research - a relatively recent trend in second language/literacy research (Benson, 2005; McKay & Wong, 1996). In relation to this, I would also argue that narrative inquiry has the potential of shifting research from a focus on the language that is learned toward the diachronic view of development of learners within a changing sociohistorical and sociocultural context.

As I have previously pointed out, narrative inquiry relies on first-person accounts of learners' experience as main source of data for research into language and literacy learning. What is at stake is "the status of knowledge, and what counts as legitimate data for research" (Nunan & Benson 2005, p.150). As briefly argued in Chapter 1, until recently first-person narratives of learners have generally been undervalued and under-represented in second language and literacy research (Leki, 2001). The main reason for this gap, as Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) argue, is that there has been a tendency to undervalue the first-person account as being less reliable and less valid when compared to the third-person account that is favoured in dominant research traditions.

With growing recognition in social and human sciences of the value of narrative as a legitimate way of knowing (Bruner, 1986), first-person narratives have also been utilised within language and literacy research as major source of data for researchers to gain better understanding of learners' experiences of learning and using second language. As argued earlier, this is because narrative serves as an organising structure of personal experience. Recognition of narrative as way of knowing has given more prominence to learners' accounts of their experiences. In other words, there has been a shift from an interest in *etic* to an interest in *emic* perspective (Firth & Wagner, 1997). First-person narratives offer thick descriptions of learners' knowledge, decision-making processes, and affective states from an insiders' view (Casanave, 2005). As Pavlenko (2001a, p. 167) claims, they can provide a "glimpse into areas so private, personal, and intimate that they are rarely - if ever - breached in the study of SLA, and that are, at the same time, at the heart and soul of the L2 socialization process." Thus, narrative approaches to language and literacy learning help shift the research focus from what kind of linguistic knowledge is being learned to what kind of person the learner is becoming.

2.2.2 Review of representative narrative studies in the field of language and literacy learning

In the previous section I have attempted to establish narrative and narrative inquiry as legitimate approaches to research within the field of language and literacy learning. In this section, I review a number of representative narrative studies in the field of language and literacy learning, and I discuss the ways in which these studies have influenced my research.

Narrative inquiry utilises first-person narrative as a major source of data for research into language and literacy learning. First-person narrative is defined as "[a] narrative in which the narrator tells a story of personal experience referring to himself or herself in the first-person" (Herman, Jahn, & Ryan, 2005, p. 173). In such research, there are two major strands of collecting and analysing learners' narratives (Benson, 2005; Block, 2007). The first strand is an autobiographical type of research, in which the researcher analyses her or his own experiences 'autobiographically'. Thus, the researcher and subject are one person. The second strand is a biographical type of research, in which the researcher analyses first-person narrative provided by others through, for example, interviews (Benson, 2005). The major difference between these two types of research is that first-person narrative is analysed “either by the subject of the research (autobiographically) or by another researcher (biographically)” (Benson, 2005, p. 21).

However, this distinction is not always clear-cut, and the boundaries can become blurred. For instance, some researchers insert their own narratives when reporting research participants’ stories (e.g. Casanave, 2002). It is also often the case that, as the research proceeds, narrative inquiry becomes a shared narrative construction involving both the researcher and the participants (Goodfellow, 1998). Thus the outcome of narrative inquiry becomes “a joint product of the teller and the told” (Bruner, 1990, p. 124). As Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 60) suggest, it is not only the participants’ stories but also the researchers’ stories that “are open for inquiry and retelling”, because researchers own stories “come to light as much as do those of participants” (p. 62) in the course of narrative inquiry. This issue becomes relevant to my own research and I discuss it in further detail in Chapter 3. However here I use the two categories of autobiographical study and biographical study to understand how narrative inquiry is utilized for exploring language learning experiences.

2.2.3 Autobiographical studies of language learning

In the first strand of studies, a number of researchers have researched and written about their own language and literacy learning experiences in autobiographical narratives

(Belcher & Connor, 2001; Bell, 1995, 1997; Canagarajah, 2001; Casanave & Vandrick, 2003; Connor, 1999; Danquah, 2000; Kaplan, 1994; Kroll, 2001; Kubota, 2001b; Li, 1999; Lu, 1987; Lvovich, 1997; Ogulnick, 1998; Pavlenko, 2003b; Shen, 1989; Verity, 2000). In these studies the subject becomes the object of study in order to gain insights into language learning from the learner's point of view.

Early studies of autobiographical research date back to diary studies in 1970s to 1980s (e.g. Bailey, 1983; Schmidt & Frota, 1986). In these studies, the researchers as language learners kept diaries of their own language learning experiences, and engaged in introspection about their learning process as well as their relationship with their teachers and other learners. The focus of diary writing was both on the cognitive and affective aspects of learning (Bailey, 1983). The value of these studies is that they drew attention to the complexity of the interactions that took place in the language classroom through the eyes of the language learner (K. Jones, Martin-Jones, & Bhatt, 2000). However, these diary studies had a relatively narrow scope of focus on "the initial stage of acquisition of linguistic structures, primarily in the classroom" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2000, p. 156) within a relatively short time frame. What distinguishes more recent narrative research from earlier diary studies is that it is more socially oriented. According to Block (2003, p. 131), the research focus has shifted from "seeing outcomes of encounters with languages only in linguistic or meta-cognitive terms to seeing them in sociohistorical terms". Benson (2005) also suggests that there has been a shift from language-based approaches to ethnographic approaches.

> The language-based longitudinal case study of the late 1970s has thus evolved gradually into a more 'ethnographic' form, in which the description of language learning experiences and their non-linguistic outcomes play an

> increasingly important role. (Benson, 2005, p. 15)

As an example of relatively recent narrative research, Bell’s (1995, 1997) autobiographical study of her Chinese literacy learning experience illustrates what first-person narrative has to offer. This study provides good evidence that narrative inquiry can elucidate social aspects of literacy from individual learners’ perspectives. Bell (1997) reveals her intention of utilizing first person narrative as follows. “What was needed, I felt, was an intensive learner study that would consider more than simply observable behaviour but would try to document the learner's story from the inside…..the kind of data I wanted could be best gathered through an autobiographical study” (p. 89). Bell illuminates her learning process in which she became more aware of the unconscious assumptions she held about her English literacy practices through her attempt to learn literacy in Chinese. She experienced tension and conflict between her and her Chinese tutor, or between two different culturally specific values placed on literacies. She tried to resolve these tensions by reflecting on her own literacy autobiography. Her struggle to make meaning appears to have contributed to her learning process. Bell concludes that a narrative approach “acknowledges the life history of the research participants and fits particularly well with cross-cultural endeavors” (1995, p. 691).

In recent years several publications, which feature a collection of personal accounts of the literacy experiences of highly successful academic writers, have become available. These include: Belcher and Connor’s (2001) *Reflections on Multiliterate Lives*; Casanave and Vandrick’s (2003) *Writing for Scholarly Publication;* and one of the chapters of Kroll's (2003) *Exploring the Dynamics of Second Language Writing*. These narratives are not necessarily in a research format, and are named in a variety of ways, such as language learning memoirs, literacy autobiography, language-learning autobiography, linguistic autobiography, and learning histories. Many of the contributors are multilingual scholars, who write and publish in English as the second language (e.g., Kubota, 2001; Connor, 1999; Canagarajah, 2001; Kroll, 2001; Pavlenko, 2003). These recent publications indicate researchers' growing awareness of choosing "to write more transparently about their own identities, agendas, and processes" (Casanave, 2002, p. 235).

Apart from academic writers' narratives, there are a wealth of publications based on professional multilingual writers' border crossing experiences (e.g. Danquah, 2000; de Courtivron, 2003; Hoffman, 1989; Lvovich, 1997; Mori, 1997). In these personal narratives, one of the major themes is the relationship between language and identity in L2 learning. A number of bilingual writers discuss the process of identity change involved in learning a second language (Danquah, 2000; Hoffman, 1989; Lvovich, 1997; Mori, 1997), many of whom experienced border crossing as migrants or sojourners. For example, Eva Hoffman, an author of the well-known autobiography *Lost in Translation,* speaks in her interview about her incentive to write about the relationship between language and identity:

> I started to realising [sic] that what I actually wanted to talk about was not just language but the conjunction of language and identity, and that to do that I needed a case study - and the case study I knew best was myself. It needed to be done from within a subjectivity since it was so much about subjectivity (Hoffman, 1998, p. 18).

Some of these multilingual writers' narratives have become sources of data for researchers such as Pavlenko (Pavlenko, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2002) to investigate the issue of language learning and identity in biographical studies.

2.2.4 Biographical studies of language learning

In the second strand of studies, first-person narratives written or told by language learners/users are analysed by the researchers and reported in research texts. Such studies include analysis of published autobiographies of professional bilingual writers (Besemeres, 2002; Granger, 2004; Morrow, 1997; Pavlenko, 1998, 2001b; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Schumann, 1997); analysis of experiential narratives and autobiographies of people involved in language learning, teaching and research (Armour, 2004; Casanave, 2002; Kramsch & Lam, 1999; Lam, 2000; Soliday, 1994; Vitanova, 2005; Zamel, 1997); diary/journal studies of second language users (Norton, 2000); and interview-based case studies of multilingual writers and learners (Kanno, 2003; Casanave, 1998).

As indicated earlier, one of the major themes of narrative inquiry is the relationship between language learning and identity. A number of biographical researchers have used first-person narratives as data to study the process of identity transformation involved in learning a second language. Among them, Norton's diary study is a good example of elucidating the social aspect of language learning experiences.

Norton (2000) conducted a longitudinal study of newly arrived migrant women in

Canada to investigate changes in their social identities. After having taught them in an ESL course, Norton asked five female participants to write diaries to keep records and to reflect on their second language learning experiences in the home, workplace, and community. Research participants wrote diary accounts of social interaction with target language speakers, many of which highlight the frustrations and humiliations experienced by them as immigrant women. Norton also held diary study meetings with research participants, where the participants were encouraged to share extracts from their diaries with each other. In a safe space, these migrant women collaboratively engaged in highly reflective literacy activities. For Norton, "the diary study was a particularly important source of data on identity and language learning" (Norton, 2000, p. 147).

In undertaking my own research I have been informed in particular by three writers: Kanno, Casanave and Pavlenko. These studies share several common features, which are also applicable to my study. They are:

1) all three researchers used narrative inquiry as a conceptual and methodological framework;
2) they all researched longitudinal processes of learning to become bilingual/bicultural, rather than growing up as bilingual;
3) their central focus is on language learning and identity transformation;
4) one of their central themes is transition.

- **Kanno**

Kanno (2003) investigated the longitudinal development of bilingual and bicultural identities of four Japanese returnee students (*kikokushijo*), who spent a number of years in English-speaking countries during their adolescence and returned to Japan to attend university. By following the same research participants for years, Kanno attempted to focus on "how adolescent ESL learners gradually evolve into bilingual and bicultural young adults and decide where to position themselves between multiple languages and cultures" (p. 7). Thus, her primary focus was not on second language acquisition per se, but rather on becoming bilingual and bicultural persons. Through the analysis of these students' life stories, she argues that "they grow more skillful at striking a balance between the two worlds and become more confident about their hybrid identities" (p. 134), and that "this change was accompanied by their increasingly sophisticated skill at participating in multiple communities" (p. xi). The issue of transition is central to her study. In one sense, it refers to the transition that learners experienced as they crossed linguistic and cultural borders; in another sense it also refers to learners' life changes. Their transition from adolescent to adulthood was "superimposed on" (Lieblich, 1993, p. 121) their transition to the different language and culture. Kanno elucidates how these two are intertwined within individual learners.

Kanno's research is characterised by an in-depth longitudinal study from the language learners' point of view. Her emphasis on the importance of studying long-term changes of research participants is particularly relevant to my study. Like Kanno's, my study explores the long-term changes of potential bilingual persons with border crossing experiences. However, one of the differences is that my study emphasises the role of writing in two languages in relation to the identity transformation, whereas in Kanno's study writing is not a central concern.

- **Casanave**

As cited earlier, Casanave (2005) makes a case for narrative as a legitimate research tool in the field of second language writing. She claims that “narrative approaches can help break down narrow stereotypes of what L2 writing research consists of, and thus contribute to an expanded understanding of L2 writing and writers” (2005, p. 17). Casanave’s work thus explicitly focuses on the writer and his/her identity transformation. For example, in “Transitions: The balancing act of bilingual academics” (Casanave 1998, also 2002), she explores the identity transformation of bilingual Japanese scholars through academic writing activities. As the title suggests, the concept of transition is central to her study. Casanave conducted interview-based research on the transitions of bilingual Japanese scholars, from the writing life of graduate students in the United States to the writing life of university faculty members in Japan, in order to explore how they established identities as scholars in two different linguistic and cultural environments. Casanave (1998) describes the transitions of these bilingual writers as follows:

> A more accurate portrayal of the bilingual academic writers in this project might be one of people struggling within a multicontextual and multicultural world to develop several interrelated identities that could be juggled and balanced as needed to their best advantage. Viewed this way, the transition to the life of a professional bilingual academic does not mean choosing life A or life B; rather, it means recognizing and then accepting the heterogeneity of their writing lives and learning techniques of flexible perspective-taking. Specifically, it means coming to understand how to manage the competing and sometimes conflicting demands of writing in two languages within a variety of institutional and disciplinary contexts, most of them very local and contingent indeed. (Casanave, 1998, p. 196)

As seen above, Casanave's central concern is how bilingual academics position themselves in relation to their writing activities in two different languages and academic communities. In so doing, she explores the potential of narrative inquiry in research into writing by interrogating "what roles writing plays in their lives" (Casanave 1998, p. 197). In other words, her claim appears to be that the writers' meaning-making processes - what writing means to them – constitute a legitimate research agenda in research into writing.

Casanave's work informs my study in a number of ways. In particular, her claim that "L2 writing research is inevitably about people who write" (2005, p. 28) is the backbone of my study. Also informative is her bilingual perspective as seen in her research on bilingual academics. Rather than calling these people second language writers, Casanave claims that they are bilingual academic writers in a sense that they are learning to write in two languages and also learning to position themselves between two different academic communities. Viewing a bilingual writer's linguistic repertoire as a whole, rather than separating out each language is important because, as Cook argues, "looking only at the L2 part of the L2 user is inadequate; they are complete people" (Cook, 2002, p. 275). Lastly, Casanave's comment on the impact of storytelling is noteworthy. She touches on, although briefly, what kind of impact the act of narrating has on bilingual academics' transitions.

> The act of storytelling, particularly when young scholars are making the transition from the life of a graduate student to that of a practicing academic, seemed to me to help the storytellers clarify and re-view complex and contentious issues concerning what it means to write professionally and to help them express and understand their own transitioning identities. (Casanave, 2002, p. 215)

While Casanave's comment refers to the spoken mode of storytelling, in my research I take up this issue and attempt to further explore the impact of narrating in written mode.

- **Pavlenko**

Pavlenko (1998, also Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000; 2001b) studied the self transformation process of professional bilingual writers such as Hoffman, Lvovich, Novak, and Mori, through utilising their autobiographical narratives as data. These autobiographic narratives were chosen, according to Pavlenko, because the memoirs of these bicultural, bilingual writers "constitute a rich, compelling, and informative source of evidence about the process of adult second language learning" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 156). These bilingual writers, having experienced border crossings (both national and linguistic borders) and learned their L2 after puberty, successfully attained high levels of proficiency in L2 to become professionals.

Pavlenko suggests a new way of looking at their processes of second language learning. In addition to focusing on the mastery of the target language's linguistic code, Pavlenko focuses on the transformation of a self as a consequence of border crossings. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000, pp. 162-163) suggest that the self-transformation process moves through stages of loss to stages of gain and reconstruction as follows.

The initial phase of loss can be segmented into five stages:

- loss of one's linguistic identity
- loss of all subjectivities

- loss of the frame of reference and the link between the signifier and the signified
- loss of the inner voice
- first language attrition

The phase of recovery and (re) construction encompasses four critical stages:

- appropriation of others' voices
- emergence of one's own new voice, often in writing first
- translation therapy: reconstruction of one's past
- continuous growth 'into' new positions and subjectivities.

The first stage is marked by "the weakening of one's linguistic system as a tool not only for social interaction, but as a tool for mediating one's own thinking processes, including above all one's inner voice" (Lantolf, 2000, p. 23). The latter stage is characterized by creation of one's new narrative in a new language. This stage starts with appropriation of others' voices, reconstruction of one's past, and eventually leads into new positions and subjectivities.

Of particular relevance to my research is Pavlenko's analysis of the role of written language. Pavlenko suggests that new voices are first captured in writing rather than in speech - "emergence of one's own new voice, often in writing first" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 163). Thus, writing in a new language seems to play a critical role in a creation of one's new voice, and also in the transition from stages of loss to stages of recovery. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000, p. 162) suggest, "[o]ur analysis demonstrates that the narratives of the bilingual writers in themselves represent a space where identities are reconstructed and life stories retold in the security of the double displacement granted by writing in a second language”.

Elsewhere Pavlenko (2001b, p. 325) explains the roles of writing as follows:

> both private and public writing allows individuals to regain control over the self, world, and their own life story narrative. For many authors, written texts, such as diaries, journals, or memoirs, represent uniquely safe spaces in which new identities can be invented and new voices tried out. For some, writing in the midst of the turmoil of budding bilingualism allows them to accomplish linguistic transitions.

Pavlenko’s analysis provides highly informative insights into the process of second language development and of the transformation of language learners through the mediation of writing.

Despite the relevance of Pavlenko’s work to my research, several questions remain. First, given that writing in L2 played a critical role in self-transformation for the people considered in Pavlenko’s study, is it because they are professional writers and writing is particularly important for them? Or does it apply to other L2 learners/users as well? Evidence from other researchers suggests that L2 writing, in particular writing personal narratives, plays an important role in language learners’ identity transformation (e.g. Kramsch, 1999; Kramsch & Lam, 1999; Lam, 2000; Soliday, 1994; Zamel, 1997). Kramsch (1999), for example, comments on Norton’s (1997) diary study by pointing out the mediational role of writing for identity change on the part of second language learners/users. Lam (2000), in her study of migrant teenagers engaging in computer network communication, highlights the “reflective and generative power of writing” (p. 460).

The second question concerns the status of L1 of the bilingual writers in Pavlenko's analysis. The ongoing nature of the relationship between L1 and L2 in the lives of these bilingual writers is not clear. The majority of writers in Pavlenko's study are "successful middle-class individuals who had successfully acquired English" (Pavlenko, 2001a, p. 140), who moved into L2 speaking countries permanently. A linguistic shift took place from L1 to L2, and they became professionals using their L2. However, what happened to their L1? Has L1 become lost in translation? The relationship between their L1 and L2 is not clear.

My study has been informed by Pavlenko's claim of the self-transformative power of personal narrative writing in L2. Like Pavlenko, I argue for a greater emphasis on written language in second language learning research. However, while sharing some commonalities, my study differs from Pavlenko's study in a number of ways. First, my study focuses on the longitudinal transitions of potential bilingual writers, who are characterised by a constant move between languages and cultures. It is this dynamic bilingual aspect that I wish to portray in my research. Second, one of the research participants in my study experienced difficulty in both L1 and L2 literacy. Yet, she attempted to write her life story in L2. The question of what made her turn to narrative writing is one of the major issues to be explored in my study. Another important difference between Pavlenko's study and my study is the type of data. Pavlenko's study utilised the written product of narrative. However my research utilises both the written product and actual writing process as data. Thus, co-construction of autobiographical narrative in social interaction is one of the key points in my research.

2.2.5 Conceptions of narrative and narrative inquiry within my study

Having explored major perspectives of narrative and discussed a number of representative narrative studies, I am now able to revisit and further clarify the conceptions of narrative and narrative inquiry that were introduced in Chapter 1, and that shape my research. The conceptions of narrative in my study can be summarized as follows. Narrative is understood in this study as a sociocultural mediating artifact (Lantolf, 2000a; Wertsch, 1998) which people use "to language" (Swain, 2006a) their experiences, to make sense of themselves and the world, and also to transform selves. Key points in my conceptions are a sociocultural perspective and 'languaging' (Swain, 2006a).

- **Sociocultural perspective**

As I explained in Chapter 1, narrative is seen in this research as sitting within the broader theoretical umbrella of sociocultural theory. These two major informing theories in my research, namely sociocultural theory and narrative theory, share important theoretical understandings regarding the relationship between social and individual.

In sociocultural theory, learning is considered as both a social and an individual process. Knowledge is not individually owned but exists in relation to a particular sociocultural context. Bruner (1990) claims "a person's knowledge is not just in one's own head, in 'person solo'….Coming to know anything is both situated and distributed" (p106). McDermott (1993) describes learning from socially-situated perspective as follows: "learning is not in heads, but in the relations between people. Learning does not belong to individual persons, but to the various conversations of which they are a part" (p. 292). Thus, knowledge is viewed as distributed across members of a social group rather than being localized exclusively in an individual (Linehan & McCarthy, 2000).

Like sociocultural theory, narrative theory considers meaning making to be social and individual at the same time (Ochs, 1988). Both theories recognise that humans learn through social interaction via the mediation of cultural tools, such as language. For both, the focus is on the role of sociocultural context in shaping human activity. Both theories emphasise the importance of historical development to understand the present circumstances (Gillette, 1994). Lantolf and Pavlenko (1995, p.116) point to the consonance between these two theories as follows: "[s]ociocultural theory is also in tune with the hermeneutic tradition adopted from the human sciences by current discursive approaches to psychology and sociology; as such, it is removed from the nomological tradition and its objectification of individuals and search for causality". The literature on narrative and sociocultural theory provides us with an insight into how people construct, maintain and change their narratives in a particular sociocultural context through social interaction with others.

The literature which I cite most frequently is that of Jerome Bruner because of his contributions as a psychologist to both narrative and sociocultural theories. Bruner, strongly influenced by Vygotsky's works in the 1960s, claims that narrative is one of the important cultural artifacts, which mediate human experience (Bruner, 1990). He also emphasises the socioculturally situated nature of narrative development of children (Bruner, 1990). Bruner's work locates itself at the nexus of narrative theory and sociocultural theory; thus I find it particularly relevant to the theoretical orientation of my study. I also draw on sociocultually oriented narrative studies such as Baynham (2003), Belz (2002), Kramsch (2000), Martinez-Roldan (2003), Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000), Verity (2000), and Wertsch (1998) among others.

- **‘Languaging’**

As mentioned earlier, key functions of narrative are both ‘to tell’ and ‘to know’ or ‘to understand’ in a specific way. These two functions of telling and knowing are inseparable in the act of narrating. In order to tell their experiences, people need to bring their unarticulated experiences to the level of conscious thought (Brady, 1990) and shape them through language. Yet, in reverse, making-meaning of experiences is often achieved through telling stories.

This mutual inter-relationship between telling and understanding is best understood in terms of Swain’s (2006a) notion of “languaging” derived from sociocultural theory. Although this term was briefly introduced in Chapter 1, in what follows I elaborate the notion of languaging, and its relation to narrative. To recapture, languaging is defined “as the use of speaking and writing to mediate cognitively complex activities” (Swain & Deters, 2007, p. 822). It is “the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language” (Swain, 2006a, p. 98). Within this process, Swain has focused on the role of verbalization in the process of language learning (Swain, 1985, 2000, 2006a; Swain & Lapkin, 2003). Although her emphasis is on the production of language, languaging is much more than output. “The act of producing spoken or written language is thinking in progress and is key to learners’ understanding of complex concepts” (Swain & Deters, 2007, p. 822). To put it another way, in the effort of saying or writing, a speaker/writer frequently has the feeling of reaching a fuller and clearer understanding for him or herself (Swain, 2000, p. 102; Wells, 2000, p. 74). This “coming-to-know-while-speaking phenomenon” (Swain, 2006a, p. 97) captures what languaging does to the human mind. Furthermore, through languaging, Swain (Swain & Deters, 2007, P. 822) argues, “learners articulate and transform their thinking into an artifactual form, and in doing so, make it available as a source of further reflection”. As such in a language learning context, “languaging about language is one of the ways we learn language” (Swain, 2006a, p. 98).

The backbone of Swain’s notion of languaging is Vygotsky’s insight into the mediating role of language as a symbolic tool in the development and functioning of human higher cognition. As explained in Chapter 1, Vygotsky (1978) argues that the higher forms of human mental activity are mediated both by physical and symbolic tools (or signs). Among other symbolic tools, language is one of the most important mediating tools of the mind. Important here is that the role of language is considered as a means of organizing mental activities, rather than that of conveying pre-existing thought. As Vygotsky (1986, p. 218) writes, "Thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them". Thus, in a sociocultural theory of mind, language activity, speaking and writing, is “conceived of as a tool that enables changes in cognition” (Swain, 2006b, p. 100). It is the primary “mediational means humans deploy for thinking” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 79).

Another important aspect of languaging is that it is a process of creating a “visible or audible product about which one can language further” (Swain, 2006a, p. 97). The emphasis here is that languaging can be looked at “as simultaneously process and product" (Wells, 2000, p73). It allows us to focus "not only on 'saying' or 'writing', but on 'what is said' or 'what is written' "(Swain, 2006b, p. 108). Swain explains the two aspects of languaging by citing Wells as follows: "Wells suggest that it is frequently in the effort of 'saying' that a speaker has the feeling of reaching a fuller and clearer understanding for him or herself. Furthermore, 'what was said' is now an objective product that can be explored further by the speaker or others" (Swain, 2000, p102). Swain (Swain & Deters, 2007, p. 822) thus argues that "[t]hrough languaging – a crucial mediating psychological and cultural activity – learners articulate and transform their thinking into an artifactual form, and in doing so, make it available as a source of further reflection." The significance of artifact is that "it allows ideas to be retained and held up for inspection by the self and others; it allows ideas to move between people" (Swain, 2006b, p. 101). As an artifactual form, our thinking becomes "available as an object about which questions can be raised and answers can be explored with others or with the self" (Swain, 2006a, p. 97). Therefore, in summary, the significance of the notion of languaging lies in incorporating the complex process of making meaning through, and with, the production of language.

Although Swain does not explicitly refer to narrative as an application of 'languaging' in her studies, I argue that it is possible to extend the notion of languaging to narrative for the following reasons. As explained earlier, the basis of Swain's notion of languaging is Vygotsky's insight into the relationship between thought and language; that is, "thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 218). If Vygotsky's insight is applied to narrative, it can be said that experience is not merely expressed in narrative; experience comes into existence through narrating. This means that narrative is not simply representation of experience, but rather narrative is a process of making meaning and (re)shaping experience. The following quote from Brockmeier and Harré (2001) cogently explains the relation between experience and narrative in parallel with thought and language within sociocultural theory.

> Following both Wittgenstein's (1953) and Vygotsky's (1987) warnings against the view that language could be understood as a kind of transformation, or even a translation, of prelinguistic meanings into words and sentences, narratives should not be conceived as presenting an external version of some particular mental entities floating in a kind of presemiotic state. To present something as a narrative does not mean to "externalize" some kind of "internal" reality and to give a linguistic shape to it. Rather, narratives are forms inherent in our ways of getting knowledge that structure experience about the world and ourselves. To put it another way, the discursive order in which we weave the world of our experiences emerges only as *modus operandi* of the narrative process itself. That is, we are primarily dealing not with a mode of representing but with a specific mode of constructing and constituting reality, as Bruner pointed out (1991). To study this mode, we must look carefully at the ways in which people try to make sense of their experiences. And they do so, among others, by narrating them (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001, pp. 49-50) (emphasis added).

Based on the argument presented above, what languaging and narrative have in common is the process of "comprehending and reshaping experience" (Swain, 2006b, p. 110) through the use of language activity. For narrative, making-meaning of experiences is often achieved through telling stories. In other words, "experience itself becomes intelligible to humans only when they narrate it" (De Fina, 2003, p. 17). This is precisely what languaging does to the human mind.

Thus, it does not seem to be stretching Swain's notion of 'languaging' too far to suggest that narrative is one of the powerful ways of ‘languaging’ to make meaning of one’s lived experience through and with the production of language. To apply this notion of “languaging” to narrative, it can be argued that narrative, either spoken or written, is understood as one of the powerful mediational cultural artifacts that people use for languaging their lived experiences and giving meaning to these experiences.

Summary of Chapter 2: Major theoretical points about narrative

To conclude this chapter, I summarise the major theoretical points about narrative that have emerged from literature review, and show how they have shaped my theoretical perspectives. Contemporary narrative studies can be seen as a site of multiple methodologies and research practices. The term narrative has been used with a variety of meanings and emphases by researchers in different disciplines, with the result that these multiple uses have caused some ambiguity. One of the major purposes of this chapter has been to clarify the meaning of narrative by exploring historically the different ways in which the concept of narrative is understood and studied. In doing so, I sought to explain under what historical conditions the current prevailing interest in narrative research has developed. In section 1, I described the historical shift of conception of narrative in the social and human sciences from a literary form to an organizing structure of human experience. In accordance with this shift, I have argued that approaches to narrative also have shifted from formalist approaches (literary study, structural linguistic analysis with major emphasis on how narrative texts are linguistically structured) to more interpretive approaches. This broad movement has occurred as a result of a narrative turn. I argued that the significance of the narrative turn lies in a “widening in acceptance of alternative epistemologies or ways of knowing” (Clandinin, 2007, p. 1), and I have cited Bruner’s (1986) argument that narrative is a legitimate form of knowledge that is equally important as natural scientific knowledge. Within a framework of interpretive approaches to narrative, I have suggested that people use narrative to interpret and re-interpret the meaning of their past experiences as well as those of others to make better sense of themselves and the world. Identity formation and transformation became one of the important research topics within this framework. Although identity construction through narrative seems to be an intra-mental process, I have argued that narrative is best understood as a psychosocial construction because narrative is, by its nature, social and relational and plays interactional functions. It is this sociocultural orientation to narrative that has shaped my own understanding of narrative and the research perspective in this thesis.

In section 2, I focused more directly on the uses of narratives in the studies of language and literacy learning. I have argued that the uses of narratives in the field of language and literacy have been extended from narrative as text structure to narrative as a way of knowing in parallel with the historical shift of narrative studies in social and human science as outlined in the previous section. I have also argued that increasing interest in narrative as a way of knowing has much to do with the rise of learner-sensitive research, which emphasises the learners’ lived experiences as a legitimate object of inquiry. A number of both autobiographical and biographical studies have utilised first-person narratives of language learners as a major source of data to investigate their learning processes embedded in their lives.

After reviewing major representative narrative studies, I revisited and elaborated the conceptions of narrative used in my study that were introduced in Chapter 1. Narrative is understood in this study as a sociocultural mediating artifact (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1998) which people use “to language” (Swain, 2006a) their experiences, to make sense of themselves and the world, and also to transform selves. Major properties about narrative within this sociocultural perspective can be summarised as follows:

- narrative as a legitimate way of knowing
- narrative as mediational means to language one’s experience
- narrative as a meaning making device
- narrative as a social and relational activity
- narrative as the mediator of identity construction and transformation
- narrative as a socio-historically developed cultural tool

In the following chapter (Chapter 3) I explain the use of narrative as a research tool.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: NARRATIVE AS A RESEARCH TOOL

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the specific research design that was used in this study. The previous chapter (Chapter 2) explained the conceptions of narrative: WHAT narrative is, and WHAT narrative does. However, as indicated in Chapter 1, the term narrative has a second meaning in this thesis - that of narrative inquiry. Thus, the focus of this chapter is on WHY and HOW narrative is utilised as a research tool.

This chapter is structured as follows. In the first section, I explain the connections between the aims of the research, the theoretical underpinnings, and the methodology. I begin by outlining the criterion used to select a suitable research methodology, then proceed to an analysis of the nature of narrative inquiry, including its characteristics and benefits, as well as limitations in order to justify my choice of narrative inquiry as research methodology. In the second section I describe the specific research design that was used in this study, and the actual research process in terms of data collection, participants, and analysis. In the final section I discuss some of the challenges of narrative inquiry emerging from my study, including validation of research, ethical considerations, and the complexities of translation to present someone else's stories in another language.

3.1 Narrative inquiry: What and Why

3.1.1 Selecting the research methodology

In choosing a research methodology for this study, the most important criterion was the compatibility between the research goals and its methodology. A number of researchers maintain that the essential criterion for choosing methodology is its relevance, and appropriateness to the research goals (Flowerdew, 2005; Lieblich, et al., 1998). For instance, Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998, p. 165) maintain as follows:

> Most important is the concordance between the research goals and its methods, yet practical considerations and personal preference have their own impact on this complicated decision process.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the principal methodological aim of this thesis is to propose a complementary approach to studying language and literacy learning from learners' perspectives. My major claim is that in order to have a better understanding of language learning processes, it is important to investigate not only learners' language but also learners' lived experiences derived from language learning. To this end, finding a way of conducting more learner-sensitive research that enabled me to investigate learners' longitudinal change in a wholistic way was a necessary and important element of my research design. In Chapter 1, I provided some explanation why narrative inquiry was selected as a suitable research methodology for this study. Here I elaborate the theoretical justification for the research methodology.

3.1.2 What is narrative inquiry?

As Chapter 2 has demonstrated, the term narrative has multiple meanings. Narrative inquiry also encompasses multiple methodologies and research practices. Narrative inquiry is a perspective rather than a unified methodology. It is more accurate to say that "[i]t rather names a theoretical and methodological orientation that aims at examining the nature and role of narrative discourse in human life, experience, and thought" (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, p. 9).

In this study narrative inquiry is understood as a subset of qualitative research designs in which narrative is used to describe and interpret people's lived-experiences (Bell, 2002; Bruner, 1986; Clandinin, 2007; Clandinin& Connelly, 2000; Hatch & Wisniewski 1995; Polkinghorne, 1988, 1995). The tenet of narrative inquiry is, according to Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p. 2), that "the study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world". The main claim for the use of narrative inquiry is that learners' experience needs to be studied in its own right, and the most valuable way of studying experience is through the ways stories are told (Denzin, 2000; Freeman, 1997). Thus, narrative inquiry seeks a comprehensive understanding of human experience through the mediation of storytelling.

Narrative inquiry, as I have interpreted it in this thesis, has several defining features that characterise the nature of research.

First, as seen in Chapter 2, philosophically speaking, narrative inquiry is influenced by hermeneutic and interpretive traditions (Gadamer, 1975; Heidegger, 1962; Ricoeur,

1984) in its fundamental methodological approach. It is meaning-centered, and acknowledges a central role for interpretation in its explanatory framework (Bruner, 1991, 1996; Ezzy, 2002; Freeman, 1997). Bruner (1991, 1996) explains how the hermeneutic tradition influences narrative inquiry as follows. Hermeneutics is an art of interpretation. He contends that interpretation is a circular process, in that the parts of a text depend for their meaning upon the whole and the whole upon the parts. He refers to this process as the 'hermeneutic circle' where "[t]he events recounted in a story take their meaning from the story as a whole. But the story as a whole is something that is constructed from its parts" (Bruner, 1996, p. 122). In other words, "parts and wholes in a narrative rely on each other for their viability" (Bruner, 1991, p. 8). The objective of narrative analysis, therefore, is to provide a convincing and non-contradictory account of the meaning of the story as a whole in the light of the constituent parts (Bruner, 1991, 1996).

Second, narrative inquiry emphasizes a wholistic approach. This is the case in two senses. Firstly, narrative inquiry attempts to view each individual as a whole person, and seeks to study individuals "as a unified totality" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 102) and resists fracturing (Riessman, 1993). In the second sense, narrative inquiry concerns individual human lives situated in a sociocultural, socio-historical context. While narrative inquiry focuses on the individual life, it does not view people's lives in isolation, but situated in time and space in relation with others. In this sense, narrative inquiry is historical in orientation and is culturally inclusive.

Third, narrative inquiry is idiographic in orientation, and the primary unit of analysis is the individual life (Freeman, 1997). Narrative inquiry seeks to understand and interpret an individual life story, rather than looking for general principles over a wide range of people or making universal claims. An advantage of narrative inquiry is that it explores idiographic aspects of self-stories in specific sociocultural contexts.

As shown above, narrative inquiry offers promise. However, every methodology has not only strengths but also limitations. Narrative inquiry is not an all-purpose research methodology. Rather, it is “one approach, not a panacea, suitable for some research situations but not others” (Riessman, 1993, p. 70). It may be argued that narrative approaches “run the risk of providing descriptive rather than explanatory accounts” (Singer, 2004, p. 440), and thus remain limited in their ability to produce general theory. There is a tension between close attention to particularities, on the one hand, and, generalization on the other (Riessman, 1993). Furthermore, narrative research is not suitable for large-scale studies because it requires time and “close collaboration with participants” (Bell, 2002, p. 210). Sample size is inevitably small, and “cases are often drawn from unrepresentative pools” (Riessman, 1993, p. 70), which make generalisation difficult. However, it can be counter-argued that making generalizations is not the goal of narrative inquiry. Rather, the goal of narrative inquiry is an in-depth understanding of the whole person in specificity, thus it is typically rooted in time, place, and personal experience (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Riessman, 1993).

Additionally, it may be argued that narrative inquiry tends to be “detailed and descriptive but apolitical story telling” (Casanave, 2003, p. 95). However, although narrative inquiry centrally involves idiographic aspects, it should not result simply in a collection of stories that are personally meaningful only to the researcher and the participants (Casanave, 2005). Rather, narrative researchers need to make connections between personal experiences and social significance, otherwise their research can be criticized as "idiosyncratic and narcissistic" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 121). In Clandinin and Connelly's words, "[w]e need to make sure that when we say 'I', we know that 'I' is connecting with 'they'" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 123).

3.1.3 Why do narrative inquiry? Justification for narrative inquiry

The choice of narrative inquiry as an approach to research is particularly appropriate for my research purposes. Firstly, narrative inquiry is both learner-sensitive and context-sensitive, as previously discussed in its defining features, because, with its interpretive tools, it is "designed to examine phenomena, issues, and people's lives holistically" (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004, p. viii). Secondly, as narrative inquiry relies on the first-person accounts of phenomena, it has a participant-relevant, emic perspective, which elucidates idiographic aspect of meaning-making in a specific sociocultural, historical context. Thirdly, autobiographical narrative by its very nature is an account of longitudinal change of individuals. Narrative inquiry thus enables unique insights into longitudinal change of individuals, and also "social histories that influence identity and development" (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004, p. viii).

Some may argue that it could have been possible to undertake this research by other qualitative research methodology such as ethnography or case study. However, what distinguishes narrative inquiry from other types of qualitative research methodology is its central focus on the role of narrative as mediating human experiences. Kanno (2003, p. 8) explains the characteristics of narrative inquiry in comparison with other qualitative research methodologies as follows.

> Qualitative researchers in general are interested in understanding human experience from the actors' own point of view. However, those of us in the narrative inquiry tradition (see Bell, 1997; Conle, 1992; 1995; Dalley, 1989; X. Li, 2002, for other examples of narrative inquiry on issues of SLA) pay particular attention to the role of narrative in the meaning-making process of human experience. Compared with other qualitative approaches (e.g., ethnography), the focus is on individuals and how they live their lives. We are interested in what connections individuals make between separate events, how one experience leads to another (Dewey, 1938/1963), and what identities they express in the telling of their stories (Kanno, 2003, p. 8).

As Kanno (2003) argues, narrative inquiry is particularly suited to studying an individual's meaning making of his /her experience and his/her identity construction. This potential of narrative inquiry is particularly relevant to my research goals.

3.2 Research design of this study

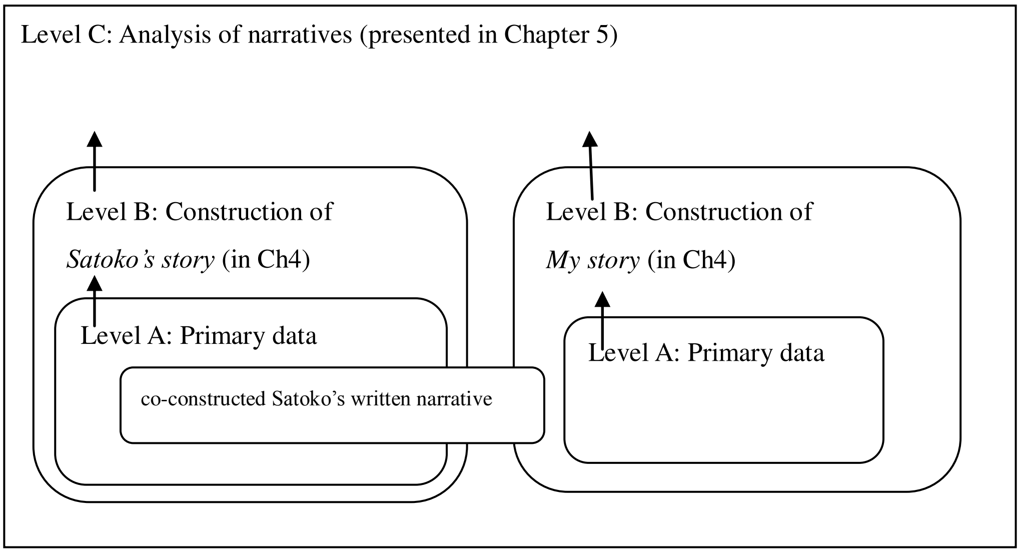
This research is an in-depth longitudinal qualitative study utilizing narrative inquiry, which investigates two adult language learners'/users' processes of becoming bilingual. Two language learners/users in this study include a research participant, Satoko (pseudonym), and the researcher, myself. Thus, the study comprises my own autobiographical study and a biographical study of the research participant. The research participant, Satoko, and I conducted a series of interactive writing sessions, through which Satoko produced her written autobiographical narrative in her second language. I also wrote my autobiographical narrative in my second language, and subsequently wrote Satoko's story for the research text based on her first-person accounts and my longitudinal observation. I, then, investigated the impact of autobiographical narrative writing experiences on both Satoko and myself.

In developing the research design for this study, I sought to make connections between the theoretical understanding of narrative and its methodological consequences.

3.2.1 Layers of narrative construction and analysis

Narrative inquiry in my study has involved several layers of construction and analysis. The relationship between the various layers of construction and analysis is schematically represented in the diagram below.

Diagram 1: Layers of narrative construction and analysis in the thesis


Level C: Analysis of narratives (presented in Chapter 5)
Level B: Construction of *Satoko's story* (in Ch4)
Level A: Primary data
co-constructed Satoko's written narrative
Level B: Construction of *My story* (in Ch4)
Level A: Primary data

In the diagram, there are three different layers of narrative construction and analysis indicated as Level A, Level B, and Level C, respectively.

The first layer (Level A in the diagram) represents the primary data that consisted of the construction of various spoken and written first-person narratives by the research participants to reflect on our language learning experiences in our lives. For Satoko, the primary data consisted of interviews between Satoko and me in which she recounted and reflected on her life; my longitudinal observations based on our interactive writing sessions; and her written autobiographical narrative. For myself, the primary data consisted of my diary notes, entries in my reflective journals, and my own previous written texts.

It is important to note that these participants' first-person accounts are themselves narratives that were interpreted and constructed by ourselves based on various events that we had experienced in our lives. Thus, these first-person narratives are not merely raw data for the researcher to analyse, but already products of an interpretive process by the participants. In particular, Satoko's written autobiographical texts were the product of collaborative writing sessions with me based on details of her life in China and Japan. Thus for Satoko, primary data at Level A are represented in the diagram by two layers of boxes to distinguish her written narrative as a product of collaborative writing from other data.

In the second layer of analysis (Level B in the diagram), by utilising our various first-person accounts of language and literacy learning experiences as primary sources of data, I, as researcher, constructed our narratives as an outcome of research in order to provide wholistic descriptions of the diachronic development of language learners/uses. Although this process is called 'analysis', the actual process that occurred was a "synthesis rather than analysis" (Goodfellow, 1998, p. 105). This means that although the term 'analysis' might imply dissecting stories into elements, the actual process is the reverse, that is, configuring the elements into a coherent story. These constructed narratives, *Satoko's story* and *My story* respectively, are presented in Chapter 4.

In the third layer of analysis (Level C in the diagram), our constructed narratives, which were themselves product of the previous layer of analysis, became an object to be further analysed. The process of analysis at the third layer was primarily thematic analysis. This third layer of analysis, which appears in chapter 5, utilized both primary data and constructed participants' narratives presented in Chapter 4 as data from which to abstract key issues and the recurring themes, and from which to address broader implications for understanding the nature of language learning and learners' development.

Thus, as seen above, as the layers of analysis progress, the level of abstraction also progresses, so that the object of research (learners' experience) reaches a new level of articulation. These different layers of narrative analysis have enabled me to work from the specific details of Satoko's and my own stories to systematic, but also more generalised and abstract, accounts of the significance of these learners' narratives for understanding what it means to become bilingual.

3.2.2 Research participants

As already mentioned, the research participants of this study are two adult language learners/users, Satoko and myself. Thus, this research comprises my own autobiographical study and a biographical study of Satoko.

- **Combination of autobiographical study and biographical study**

My choice of combining autobiographical and biographical study was motivated by the following reasons. As mentioned in Chapter 1, my study started as an attempt to reflect on, and to theorise about, my own life-long transition as a language learner/user as well as a language teacher/researcher.

My autobiographical study was intended to serve two purposes. The first purpose was to understand my language and literacy learning experience from the inside. In this autobiographical study the researcher, myself, is the language learner/user of English. I, as the language learner/user, wrote about my language and literacy learning experiences. This autobiographical study provides insights that are difficult to observe from the outside, as no one knows better than I what I have done and what I have thought and felt. Through writing my language learning story, I attempted to track the processes I went through to become a bilingual research writer. My particular interest was the ways in which I utilised two languages (Japanese and English) in writing practices to help shape my professional identities: language learner/user, language teacher, and researcher/writer.

The second purpose was, through writing the researcher's narrative, to clarify the researcher's subjective involvement in this research project. Narrative inquiry requires great reflexive awareness on the part of the researcher. The researcher needs to acknowledge and monitor her participation in the construction of the stories of research participants (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). This is because even though the researcher collects and writes about someone else's narrative, the researcher's own narrative constitutes an integral part of narrative inquiry. The researcher's narrative helps to specify who I am and through what kind of lens I am interpreting the research data.

In addition to my autobiographical study, I also attempted to learn from other people's experiences of learning and using plural languages in their lives. This motivated me to conduct a biographical study with a research participant, Satoko, who was also a language learner/user of plural languages.

- **Selecting a research participant**

When I initially planned the research, I had intended working with three participants to conduct biographical studies. At an early stage of research I recruited three research participants. My initial criteria for selecting research participants were that they were subsequent bilinguals; they were constantly using two or more languages; they had interest in writing their autobiographical narratives; and they had strong awareness of writing. The writing proficiency in both L1 and L2 was not the primary concern because, as indicated in Chapter 1, in this research project bilingual refers to the processes whereby learners engage in regular use of more than one language, and does not necessarily imply competence or fluency in both languages (Baker, 1996; Grosjean, 1995; Pavlenko, 2003a). I initially recruited three research participants. These three participants in my research were all female adults with long exposure to L2. Two participants learned Japanese as a subsequent language, and one learned English as a subsequent language. I had been interacting with these people through the act of writing in different ways at school or in a language teachers' circle for an extended period of time.

Although I conducted life story interviews with all three participants, I decided to restrict my research to one participant, Satoko. The main reason for this decision was that the data collection process of this particular participant, Satoko, differed from that of the others. In the course of life story interviews, Satoko began to take an interest in writing her autobiographical narrative with me. Our life story interview meetings gradually developed into a series of collaborative autobiographical writing sessions. Consequently, I worked with Satoko over eight months in co-constructing her life story in her second language (Japanese). On the other hand, I had only conducted semi-structured interviews with the other two participants about their language learning experiences, and about their previously written autobiographical narratives. While these interviews provided me with a rich source of data on their recollections of writing experiences, I found that recollective data alone were not sufficient to obtain multiple perspectives of an individual's writing activity. In contrast, my participation in collaborative writing activities with Satoko provided me with both recollective data, and concurrent data of her writing in progress. With Satoko, I was able to closely observe her writing process and to discuss her written products. As a consequence, I was able to document the ways in which Satoko's written autobiographical narrative unfolded. Moreover, as I will describe in Satoko's story in Chapter 4, writing her life story was closely linked to her life-course decision making, and not specifically written for the research purpose. This enabled me to address the issue of what autobiographical narrative writing meant to her. Therefore, I decided to concentrate on reporting Satoko's story as a single biographical study. Although data from the other two participants are not directly used in the research, insights from my interaction with these participants informed my developing understanding of narrative inquiry.

Here I briefly introduce Satoko, although a more detailed account of her biography is provided in *Satoko's story* section in Chapter 4. Satoko was born in China in 1977, and came to Japan with her family at the age of nine for the purpose of permanent residence. Her migration to Japan involved complex historical relations between China and Japan during and after the World War II, which will be elaborated in Chapter 4. She became a bilingual speaker of Chinese (L1) and Japanese (L2), yet she experienced difficulties in reading and writing in both languages. Satoko and I first met in 1996 in a two-year college where I was teaching. While she was a student of this college, I worked closely with her assisting her academic literacy. For me, Satoko was a pivotal person in my academic life, and my research interest in adult literacy developed through interacting with her. Our relationship as ex-student and teacher continued after her graduation from college. Thus, all together I have known Satoko for more than ten years. This longitudinal perspective has allowed me to observe and document her changes as they happened and as she moved from one life stage to another.

I should comment on why I chose to work with a person with whom I had pre-existing relationships. My contention is that researchers can work more closely with research participants to achieve mutual construction of meaning, if they already know each other well. However, a large part of narrative research uses people's stories told to the researchers for research purposes rather than stories they spontaneously tell each other. In contrast, in everyday situations, "stories are told not to strangers, but told spontaneously to listeners more likely to hear them as a confidants and as a part of everyday coincidence" (Carter, 1993, p. 9). It is only natural to question why we should tell our own stories to total strangers. Thus, the pre-existing relationships between the researcher and the participant facilitate mutual trust in sharing one's story. However, pre-existing relationships are not risk free, and the research process could become unintentionally coercive because of the close relationships. Later in this chapter, I discuss ethical issues of the researcher's relationship with a participant.

3.2.3 The first layer of narrative construction: Primary data and data collection

As primary source of data, I have drawn on Satoko's and my first-person accounts of the processes involved in language and literacy learning that were either told in interviews, conversation, or written in diaries, journals, and autobiographical narratives. Besides our own accounts, I have combined my longitudinal observation of the research participant's life transition, and our writing processes during our interactive writing sessions. In collecting data, I utilized multiple methods including interviews, and participant-observation during writing sessions.

- **Characteristics of first-person narrative as data**

As described above, various first-person narratives were used as data for both Satoko's biographical study and my autobiographical study. For my autobiographical study, first-person narrative was a source of data, and also an outcome of the first layer of construction. Thus, at this stage, it is important to explain the characteristics of first-person narrative. An important point to note here is, as explained earlier, that first-person narratives are not merely raw data, but already products of an interpretive process by the participants. Thus, “[t]hese data are not raw, but ‘cooked’ many times over” (Casanave, 2005, p. 27).

First-person narrative is defined as “[a] narrative in which the narrator tells a story of personal experience referring to himself or herself in the first-person”(Herman, Jahn & Ryan, 2005, p. 173). Telling (or writing) first-person narrative involves two different ‘I’s in two different narrative events. One is a ‘narrating-self’ or a narrator, who is telling (or writing) a story to an audience in the here-and-now of a narrating event. The other is a narrated-self, or a protagonist, in a then-and-there of a narrated event that is referred to by the narrator (Wortham, 2001). This duality requires the narrator to “tell a particular story from at least two perspectives: the then-perspective of the actions of the story, and the now-perspective of the moment of the telling” (Conle, 1997, p. 213). This means that through an act of narrating, the narrator simultaneously relates to an audience in the narrating event, and to the narrated-self in the narrated event.

In the process of telling first-person narrative, the narrator reconstructs past narrated events in the present narrating event. This process is explained by Günthner (2004) as follows.

> In order to reconstruct past events, speakers often make use of narrative genres. Hereby, narrators decontextualize past experiences from their original context and recontextualize them in a new communicative context. In this process of recontextualization, the original experience is getting transformed according to generic conventions, situative constraints, intentions of the narrators, reactions of the recipients, etc (Günthner, 2004, p. 285).

Günthner's analysis calls attention to the interpretive processes that go into the construction of the stories that the narrators tell. An important point here is that the narrator does not simply replicate the past event, but rather transforms it to make an adjustment to the present communicative situation. In other words, the narrator "designs the story" (Bamberg, 2005, p. 446) by making choices about what to tell and how to tell his/her story (Schiffrin, 1996). From this perspective, as stated earlier, first-person narratives as data are not raw but already interpreted by narrators. Thus, narrative analysis, as Riessman (1993, p. 5) maintains, "has to do with 'how protagonists interpret things' (Bruner, 1990, p. 51), we can go about systematically interpreting their interpretations". With this understanding of first-person narrative as data, now I proceed to describe data collection for each research participant.

For my own autobiographical study, primary data consisted mostly of my written products, including my diary notes, entries in my reflective journals, my own previous written texts both academic and personal, such as diaries, letters, e-mails and academic essays. These written data encompassed both what I had written prior to conducting my PhD research, and my concurrent written products and journals in which I recorded on-going changes during my PhD research. Some of the writings mentioned above were private, self-directed writing, such as my diary, and others were more other-directed writing, such as my academic essays. Besides these written data, I used other cultural artifacts such as photos, drawings, books, magazines, and music records/CD that tell stories.

Based on these data, I drafted many different versions of my story by focusing on different topics and different stages of my life transitions. These various drafts also became data from which to analyse my longitudinal change as a research writer. I began by reconstructing my life story that I had carried with me to the research site. This included my upbringing (family, moving places), educational background, my language and literacy learning experience of both L1 and L2, my teaching and research experiences. Drafting my story involved an interpretive process. This is because it involved my present self commenting on my past self. When I re-read my old diary entries, which had been written in the midst of experiences and events, they made more sense in retrospect than they had done at the time of initial writing. Thus I needed to re-story or re-write my original story from the vantage point of the present. (A sample of these texts is included in Appendix A.)

Then I drafted my on-going change as a PhD research writer during and after interactive writing sessions with Satoko. This required me to write about my on-going change in the midst of events and experiences. My story was "constantly being restructured in the light of new events"(Bell, 2002, p. 208). Because of "the 'in-process' nature of interpretations" (Ezzy, 2002, p. 95), I had to keep revising my draft as new interpretations emerged. The multiple layers of interpretations represented in various drafts also constituted a part of my primary data.

For Satoko's biographical study, I drew on multiple data sources including interviews with Satoko in which she recounted and reflected on her life, my longitudinal observations of Satoko's life transition since junior college, my observation of Satoko's writing process during our interactive writing sessions, and her written texts. Additionally, I used other cultural artifacts such as photos, drawings, and reference books used for writing. I listened not only to Satoko's first-person accounts but also third-person accounts of Satoko from her ex-teacher.

The main body of Satoko's data was collected during our collaborative writing sessions conducted at my house in Tokyo, Japan, over a two year period. At the time of data collection, Satoko was a 24-year-old university student living in Tokyo. We had 17 sessions in total over eight months, with approximately a two-month summer break in the middle, during which Satoko visited her home town in China. Each session lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes, and was tape-recorded and transcribed. (A sample of transcriptions of writing sessions is included in Appendix C.) I took notes during the session, and immediately after each session, I wrote my log mostly in Japanese. I made notes on our interaction, on what we did, what and how we talked, on Satoko's reaction, and on my impressions and interpretations.

The contents of writing sessions were not pre-determined, and Satoko was free to choose what and how she would write. It is important to note that she did not write her autobiography in response to my request of "Please tell me your life story". Rather, she took an initiative to decide the genres and the topics on which she wanted to write. As will be described in Chapter 4, Satoko first chose to write a book report of a popular autobiographical novel by a Japanese writer. Within that autobiography, she found parallels with her own school experiences, and her book report writing transformed into an autobiographical writing of her own. Satoko, then, wrote her autobiographical narrative, which consisted of recounts of her childhood experiences in China in 1980s.

One of the important choices that Satoko made was about the language used in writing her story. She chose to write her story in her second language, Japanese, for a

Japanese-speaking readership. Her choice involved narrating past experiences which had been originally experienced in L1 in another language. To put it in another way, she lived her life in one language and wrote about it in another. The significance of re-languaging one's autobiographical narrative became the central issue to be explored in this study.

Each writing session proceeded as follows. Satoko prepared her written draft at home prior to the session. Our writing session began with the reading of Satoko's new draft to clarify her ideas, edit surface errors (grammar, Chinese characters and Japanese orthography, vocabulary) and work on an overall structure, as Satoko aimed to improve her Japanese writing. Satoko redrafted and handed in her revision the following week. I collected and made photo-copies of all of her drafts and the final version of her written autobiographical narrative for data, while Satoko kept her original hand-written texts. All together, she produced fifteen pieces of written text. (A sample of these texts is included in Appendix B.) Upon the completion of our writing sessions, and on Satoko's initiative, we decided to compile her written texts focusing on her childhood memories in China as a booklet titled "An album of my heart" (*Kokoro no arubamu*) with her photos on the cover page taken at her Chinese primary school. We sent out ten copies of her booklet to Satoko's ex-teachers, who had supported her in different stages of her life, to share her life story. Her written narratives then provided the basis for construction of Satoko's story at the first stage of narrative analysis.

The data which I collected during writing sessions were of two kinds: one is the record of observable writing practices, or what was being done, and the other is insider accounts of how participants understood and reflected on what was being done

(Baynham, 2000). These insider accounts provide “a way into the subjectivity of literacy practices, into understanding how participants construct what they do according to which ideologies and values, which historical trajectories, as well as what kind of self-presentation or identity work they are currently engaged in” (Baynham, 2000, p. 100). Satoko’s reflections and her views on writing were collected during writing sessions through our dialogue.

After our writing sessions finished, I conducted follow-up interviews twice to reflect on our collaborative writing experiences. Each interview was semi-structured, and tape-recorded and transcribed. (Excerpts of transcriptions of these interviews in Japanese are included in Appendix D.) The first interview was conducted immediately after the writing sessions at a restaurant in Tokyo. Interview questions included Satoko’s motives for writing autobiographical narrative, her attitude toward writing, her sense of intended audience, what writing meant to her, and her reactions toward the correction and editing of her texts. The second interview was conducted seven months later at Satoko’s house after she had graduated from university and had married. Interview questions addressed her life change (graduation, marriage), choice of her partner, and her reflections on our writing sessions.

In addition to the above-mentioned primary data, supplementary data, which were collected outside the initial data collection period, were also used because they contained important information relevant to Satoko’s life history. As I had taught Satoko for two years in junior college, I was able to recall how she had spent her time as a student. With her permission, I also collected her academic writings from that time. I did not have direct access to Satoko’s experiences prior to her junior college days.

However, I listened to Satoko's retrospective accounts of her childhood memories in China followed by her family's relocation to Japan. I also listened to the story about Satoko from her ex-JSL (Japanese as a second language) teacher in her secondary school. Lastly, Satoko's story is not solely her individual story, but that of her family in a particular socio-historical setting, which caused her migration from China to Japan. In chapter 4, her story is contextualised with reference to relevant historical background information.

3.2.4 The second layer of narrative construction and analysis: Configuring data into a story

The purpose of the second layer of analysis was, based on primary data, to construct, as a form of narrative, wholistic descriptions of the diachronic development of language learners/uses with regard to their long-term engagement with plural languages. In so doing, I sought to identify transitional stages of becoming bilingual and particular key incidents in our learning histories that triggered significant change.

As described earlier, the second layer of analysis involved "the procedure through which the researcher organizes the data elements into a coherent developmental account" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 15). The major part of the research outcome, then, was an emplotted narrative that integrates and gives meaning to the elements of life stories. The configuration of data into a story involved recursive movement from parts to whole that follows the principles of the hermeneutic circle described in section 1. The basic methodological framework of narrative configuration of my study was drawn from the literature of Bruner (1991, 1996), in particular that of the hermeneutic circle, and

Polkinghorne (1995). Polkinghorne (1995, p. 15) describes the purpose and the process of narrative analysis as follows.

> The purpose of narrative analysis is to produce stories as the outcome of the research. The data elements required for this production are diachronic descriptions of events and happenings. Narrative analysis composes these elements into a story. The researcher begins with questions such as " how did this happen?" or "Why did this come about?" and searches for pieces of information that contribute to the construction of a story that provides an explanatory answer to the questions.

The configuration of data into a story took the following steps in my study.

1. The first step was to arrange the longitudinal data elements chronologically. I made chronological tables for both Satoko and me by indicating major life events, formal education, work experience, and also language/literacy learning events.

2. The next step was to make connections between an individual's (auto)biography and language learning history. This involved identifying the sequence of transitional stages from the perspective of language/literacy learning and use, and also identifying key events that triggered change (for instance, migration, study abroad). Special attention was given to the consequence of border crossing experiences, both linguistic and geographical.

3. Turning chronology into narrative

The third step was the writing of the story. This implied turning chronology into narrative. Writing began with the construction of the plot outline. Plot means the storyline of the narrative: in other words, it is the logic that runs through the whole narrative (Somers & Gibson, 1994). Without plot, the story becomes a mere collection of records of past and present events. Narrative researchers "collect descriptions of events and happenings and synthesize or configure them by means of a plot into a story" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 12). Polkinghorne (1995, p. 18) suggests the following process for plot development:

> the configuration process often begins with the story's ending or denouement. By specifying the outcome, the researcher locates a viewing point from which to select data events necessary for producing the conclusion. ….From its conclusion, the researcher retrospectively views the data elements in order to link them into a series of happenings that led to the outcome.

When this process was applied to my research data, our collaborative writing sessions deserve special attention as a major turning point for both Satoko and me. I organized the events of the data along a before-after continuum using collaborative writing sessions as a point of reference. As a result, the story developed a beginning, middle, and end. The beginning part is our life stories and language/literacy learning experiences already possessed prior to the writing sessions, which we had brought to the site of collaborative writing. The middle part is collaborative writing sessions themselves. I wrote a 'writing story' specifically for this literacy event. "Writing-stories" (L. Richardson, 2000, p. 931) are "narratives about the writing process itself", and also "about contexts in which the writing is produced". Finally, the end part is our change as a result of participation in collaborative writing sessions. In this way narrative analysis in my study synthesizes a series of events into stories of how Satoko and I were becoming bilingual writers through collaborative writing experience.

It is important to note that in the process of configuring data into a story, there was a major shift between languages. That is, I collected the data in one language and then analysed and presented that analysis in a different language. In my autobiographical study, my original data sources, such as diaries, were written primarily in Japanese. These L1-based data were configured into my narrative through the medium of English for an English-speaking readership. For Satoko's biographical study, her primary data, such as her written autobiographical narratives, were also written in Japanese. However, Satoko's autobiographical narratives were reconstructions of her experiences that had been originally experienced in her first language (Chinese) through the medium of her second language (Japanese). Based on these data, I wrote about Satoko's story through the medium of a third language (English). Thus, Satoko's narratives have been doubly translated from Chinese to Japanese by her, then to English by me, to appear in the final research text. In other words, Satoko's narratives crossed and recrossed cultural and linguistic borders. This double-translation task often presented challenges, and made me conscious of the role of translation in cross-linguistic research. I discuss the issue of translation later in this chapter.

4. Lastly, I compared and contrasted the stories of Satoko and me to search for similarities and differences in patterns of becoming bilingual.

Outcomes of the analysis described above enabled the construction of the two narratives presented in Chapter 4.

3.2.5 The third layer of analysis: Identifying themes and issues

The third layer of analysis drew on both the primary data and the constructed narratives presented in Chapter 4 to reflect further on what it means to become bilingual. The process of data analysis was primarily thematic analysis (Ezzy, 2002), in which the unit of analysis was the whole life story of an individual, and the focus of analysis was more on the content than on the form of narrative. The processes of data analysis involved reading and re-reading both the primary data and the constructed narratives to search for recurrent themes, topics, and issues concerning what it meant to become bilingual.

The third layer of analysis proceeded in the following way.

1. Firstly I identified important themes for each individual, for Satoko and myself individually. Lists of themes are provided below.

Important themes for *My story*

- Transfer from L2 to L1 of my academic writing skills
- My dual identities in two different academic communities
- Old timer and expert, at the same time novice writer
- Became conscious of L1 literacy background
- Writing become a mediation of social participation and identity construction
- To establish visibility
- Bilingual strategies, reading books in translation first
- Different views of L2 learners by Cook
- Difficulties of PhD writing, difficulty is in feeling comfortable with the self-image with which I wish to identify
- A room without a mirror
- Difficulty of establishing an identity as a bilingual writer
- What is lost in writing in L1, writing bilingually as a positioning strategy

- Bilingual writer’s responsibility
- Code-switcher is a rhetorical power player
- Lost and found in translation
- moving from L1 to L2 ->moving between L1 and L2
- Becoming able to write in English in English speaking context -> becoming able to write in English in Japanese speaking context
- Narrating and reconstructing the self in research and writing

Important themes for Satoko’s story

- I am different
- Either China or Japan / either Chinese or Japanese
- Chinese language/Japanese language
- Reading and writing
- Neither nor
- Both and
- Returnee from China
- Lack of confidence in Japanese
- I don’t know things the average Japanese students do
- Visiting China
- Family, relatives
- Teachers
- Ms O (Satoko’s ex-JSL teacher in junior high school)
- Japanese schools
- Future
- Chinese dumplings
- Childhood memories of China
- Japanese language teaching class (in junior college)
- Marriage
- Child

2. Secondly, I sought common themes and patterns of becoming bilingual across the two individuals.

Major shared themes emerging from two stories

- Co-construction of autobiographical narrative
- Social interaction
- Choice of language
- Continuous translation between L1 and L2
- Significance of writing stories (as opposed to telling stories)
- Identity transformation through narrative
- Prolepsis
- Sense of loss and recovery
- Close connection between life story and language learning story
- What can narrative do?

3. Thirdly, I attempted to identify several categories of learners' change from the shared themes and topics between Satoko and me. My particular interest was to identify multiple aspects of learners' change in terms of learning and using plural languages. After scanning the data several times, I identified four different categories of learners' change: control of language, affect, social interaction, and identity transformation. In addition, three recurring themes were identified: border crossings, translation and the role of written autobiographical narrative.

4. Fourthly, I used different coloured post-it stickers to mark each example for different categories and themes on the page of printed version of two learners' stories. Then I sorted these examples according to the categories with the electronic version of learners' stories.

5. Finally after I identified major themes, I sought to identify an overarching theme of what it means to become bilingual. I found that the metaphor of translation provided a central focus around which all the other themes could be located. It also provided the central 'story' of my research report and the major argument that I developed to account

for multiple aspects of learners' change. Based on the major outcomes from the third layer of analysis, I wrote Chapter 5.

3.3 Challenges of narrative inquiry

Despite the opportunities in my research offered by narrative inquiry, a number of challenges emerged. These include validation of narrative inquiry, ethical considerations, and the issue of telling someone else's story across languages through translation. I elaborate the challenges in the following sections.

3.3.1 Ensuring trustworthiness in narrative inquiry

In narrative inquiry as in other qualitative research, the question of validation has been much debated (Bell, 2002; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Mishler, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 1993). The prevailing conceptions of validation, such as validity and reliability, and procedures for validation are largely based on an experimental /quantitative model, which relies on realist assumptions (Riessman, 1993). However, qualitative researchers have long been aware that this model is largely irrelevant to their concerns and problems (Mishler, 1990; Riessman, 1993). As Nunan (1992, p. 10) contends, qualitative and quantitative approaches "represent different ways of thinking about and understanding the world around us". Thus, "the debate itself is ultimately a philosophical one". The significance of validation, therefore, has come to be recognised as deep-rooted in an epistemological debate, rather than "as a technical problem to be solved by more rigorous rules and procedures" (Mishler, 1990, p. 417).

A number of narrative researchers have opposed the direct application of experiment-based criteria and methods of validation to narrative research because they contradict the epistemological and ontological assumptions underlying narrative research. As argued previously, narrative research draws on the hermeneutic/interpretive research traditions. Hermeneutic/interpretive epistemology argues that knowledge is concerned with interpretation, and meaning, not with generalisation, prediction and control as in natural science model (Usher, 1996). Narrative research rests on the epistemological and ontological assumptions that “human beings make sense of random experience by the imposition of story structures” (Bell, 2002, p. 207), and that “there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of a text” (Lieblich et al., 1998, p. 2). As such, Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 184) argue, “[l]ike other qualitative methods, narrative relies on criteria other than validity, reliability, and generalizability. It is important not to squeeze the language of narrative criteria into a language created for other forms of research”. Nevertheless, it certainly does not imply that anything goes in narrative research. Narrative researchers must still address questions of validity to make theoretical claims through methodology.

In narrative inquiry, as in other qualitative research, ‘trustworthiness’ has become the key concept in validation (Polkinghorne, 1988; Mishler, 1990; Riessman, 1993). Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 290) pose the basic issue as: “[h]ow can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of ?” Focus on ‘trustworthiness’ rather than ‘truth’ makes an important difference (Riessman, 1993). ‘Truth’ assumes an objective reality, whereas ‘trustworthiness’ “displaces validation from its traditional location in a presumably objective, nonreactive, and neutral reality, and moves it to the social world" (Mishler, 1990, p. 420). Polkinghorne (1988) claims that the language of validity should retain its original and ordinary meanings in narrative research. He also argues that validity should be based on a well-grounded conclusion, but it does not presume certainty, only likelihood. Reliability is about the dependability of the data and the strength of the analysis of the data. Significance is not about probability but about meaningfulness or importance (Polkinghorne, 1988, pp. 175-176). In other words, attention needs to be directed to the trustworthiness of the data and analysis.

What procedures then can be used to make claims for trustworthiness? Creswell (1998, pp. 201-203) proposes eight verification procedures often used in qualitative research:

1 prolonged engagement and persistent observation
2 triangulation
3 peer review and debriefing
4 negative case analysis
5 clarifying researcher bias
6 member checks
7 rich, thick description
8 external audits

Creswell (1998, p. 203) suggests that "[e]xamining these eight procedures as a whole, I recommend that qualitative researchers engage in at least two of them in any given study".

In my research, to ensure trustworthiness, the following procedures have been taken.

- Prolonged engagement and persistent observation

I worked with a research participant for eight months with whom I had a pre-existing relationship. This longitudinal relationship allowed me to establish mutual trust, which was of importance in the construction of her life story. Also I was able to observe the participant's change in a longer time span which gave me an insight into the multiple aspects of learner's change in changing sociocultural contexts.

- Triangulation

While the main source of my data were learners' first-person accounts, I combined the longitudinal observation of the same individual's life transition, and our writing processes in progress. I also utilized multiple methods of data collection, including interviews, observation, and interactive writing practice. Data sources were also multiple, as I listened not only to first-person accounts but third-person accounts of Satoko from her ex-teacher. In writing my story, I consulted, as much as I could, any writing I had composed in the past from childhood to the present. I have a boxful of my writings both academic and private, such as diaries, letters, notebooks, assignments, essays, reflection papers, journal articles, just to name a few. These are valuable resources to reconstruct my old memories from the vantage point of the present.

- Member check

Writing sessions with the research participant provided me with opportunities for collaborative meaning-making, and contributed to the refinement of my understanding of her story. This process added rigour to my interpretation.

- Clarifying researcher bias

One of the major purposes of writing my story was to clarify the researcher's subjective involvement in the research process. From the outset I attempted to clarify who I am and through what kind of lens I was interpreting research data.

- Peer review or debriefing

I worked with a narrative researcher, who shared similar research interests and theoretical background, to discuss English translations of my research data. Our discussions on translation provided me with the opportunity to scrutinise my interpretation of research data. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998, p. 173) emphasise the importance of "consensual validation – namely, sharing one's views and conclusions and making sense in the eyes of a community of researchers and interested informed individuals". They go on to say that "the importance of dialogues between researchers as well as being aware of internal dialogues and sharing them" cannot be overemphasized. Our dialogue on translation was a good example of consensual validation. Furthermore, our discussion developed into collaborative inquiry of role of translation in cross-linguistic narrative research in terms of ethics and rigour of research.

3.3.2 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues are the most serious concern in narrative research, due to the close relationships between the researcher and the participants, as well as the personal nature of life stories (Josselson, 2007). Narrative research requires moral and political commitment on the part of the researcher in every phase of research, from data collection to the representation of the participants in the research text (Ezzy, 2002). In what follows, I primarily address two issues: firstly, ethical considerations arising from the close relationship between the researcher and the participant, and secondly, ethics and rigour of writing and translating someone else's story across languages in a cross-linguistic narrative study.

3.3.2.1 Ethical considerations of the relationship between the researcher and the participant

Within narrative inquiry, a principal consideration of ethical conduct is the relationship and responsibilities of the researcher to the research participants (Harrison & Lyon, 1993). As mentioned earlier, I worked with a participant with whom I had pre-existing relationships as a teacher and a student. I understood that the research could be unintentionally coercive because of our close relationship. For example, there was a danger that I tended to make assumptions of Satoko's willingness to cooperate with my research project without asking explicitly what she wanted to do, or more importantly, what she did not want to do. Satoko might find it difficult to refuse or to withdraw from the research project because of our pre-existing power relations as ex-teacher and student. During our interviews and autobiographical writing sessions, Satoko could have experienced some discomfort and uneasiness because of the personal nature of life story. It should not be overlooked that there is the vulnerability of revealing oneself. If not enough care was taken to respect Satoko's decisions and emotions, this research could have harmed our future relationship.

In order to deal with ethical issues emerging from our pre-existing relationship, I made use of my previous experience of being a research participant of narrative inquiry with a researcher whom I had known for nearly twenty years. Although I had acquired knowledge about narrative inquiry through reading books, my first encounter with narrative inquiry was through the experience of being a research participant in PhD research in language education well before I commenced my PhD course. This experience later led me to explore the possibilities of narrative inquiry, and also made me conscious of what is involved in doing narrative research, which included the commitment of the researcher to the participants, and emotional aspects of being researched. Thus, I made use of what I had learned from my experience of being researched when I became the researcher to conduct my own research.

To minimize any risk and in line with requirements of the university ethics committee, I took the following strategies for dealing with ethical issues. Firstly, in seeking Satoko's consent to participate in my research project, I provided sufficient information about the nature of the research, time commitment and required tasks so that she could make informed decisions about participating in research. I explained that I accepted her decision to withdraw from the research project at any point. Also I guaranteed the anonymity of the data being collected from her.

Secondly, as a major part of data collection was conducted during the collaborative writing sessions, I made efforts to create a non-threatening and safe environment for our writing sessions. When Satoko seemed to feel discomfort or become emotional, I avoided sensitive questions, and stopped tape-recording upon her request.

Thirdly, I kept good communication with Satoko during and after the data collection by telephone, as well as face-to-face meetings in order to provide her with opportunities to comment on her data and my interpretation.

3.3.2.2 Ethics and rigour of translating someone else's story across languages

Ethical considerations are of great importance not only in the data collection stage but also during data analysis and the writing of the research text. In what follows, I wish to comment on the ethics and rigour of writing someone else's story. The following discussion involves two issues. The first is ethical considerations of presenting someone else's story to the audience in research texts; the second is presenting someone else's story across languages through translation.

Telling someone else's story as part of research is fraught with problems and dangers (Kinnear & Taniguchi, 2008). It needs to be recognised that "representing other people's lives is a risky and difficult business" (Ezzy, 2002, p. 156) because the researcher creates research participants' representations. Narrative researchers' struggles with interpretation and re-telling participants' stories are cogently noted by Glesne (1999, p. 178) as follows:

> A life as told is a re-presentation of that life; the life and the telling are not the same thing. Rather, the narrative - the telling or the writing- is always an interpretation of other peoples' lives, an interpretation that qualitative researchers struggle with representing.

Furthermore, in the construction of research texts, "[w]riting privileges the creator of the written work over those people being written about" (Rhodes, 2001, p. 3). It is particularly so, if the participants are from marginalised groups, and they cannot access the language that the researcher is using. They will not be able to comment on interview data and the researcher's interpretation. Unequal distribution of knowledge and literacy creates a great divide.

Questions are inevitably posed such as whose story is it? Who determines what the participant's story means, the researcher or the researched? These moral and political questions have been at the forefront of my mind as I have engaged in the data analysis and writing in this study. In my view, the research narrative is the researcher's construction because writing is an act of constructing meaning (Ezzy, 2002). Thus, in this study, I, the researcher have responsibility for representations of the participant and her story. Throughout the analysis and writing process, I as the researcher have struggled with the responsibility to respect what I perceive to be the participant's meanings.

The complexity increases when the researcher collects data in one language and then analyses it and presents that analysis in a different language (Kinnear & Taniguchi, 2008). Ethical and linguistic issues complicate the process of presenting data to an audience. However, although the ethics of writing other people's stories has been addressed by some narrative researchers (e.g. Glesne, 1999; Ezzy, 2002) as previously quoted, it has not been adequately addressed in regard to the translation of other people's stories for research purposes. Translation has rarely been problematized as a part of research practice in narrative inquiry.

In my research, translation became a major issue. For one thing, for both Satoko and me, writing our stories in L2 was an act of translation, as we re-languaged our L1-based experiences in L2. For another, I have been struggling with translating Satoko's written texts into English, which had been already re-languaged across languages and modalities. Through my translation, Satoko's narrative has been doubly translated, from Chinese to Japanese, then to English. This double-translation task made me conscious of translation as an ethical issue. I found it difficult to know how I should retain Satoko's original intentions and her voice as an L2 writer of Japanese, and at the same time make it readable for an English speaking audience. The reader of this thesis has no access to the research participant who initially wrote her story. Thus the researcher, as a translator, has an intellectual and ethical responsibility to maintain the integrity of her work.

While undertaking this cognitively demanding task, I was able to work with an expert, Dr. Penny Kinnear, who was a bilingual researcher (in English and Japanese), and who was also working with Swain's (2006a) notion of languaging. In the process of translation editing, we negotiated our understanding of the Satoko's texts, oral and written. Both Satoko's original texts and my English translation, both of which were produced in our second languages, became objects to be analysed. Penny and I engaged in continuous languaging to make meaning of Satoko's intentions and to make her meanings accessible to English-speaking audience. This collaborative meaning-making process, I believe, added rigour to my study.

Our major challenge was to keep a balance between representing Satoko's developing control of her L2 literacy to the readers, and respecting her work and integrity as an individual capable of communicating that depth of meaning to the readers. We had to make choices based on our understanding of Satoko's intentions and intended meanings as perceived from what she had written, my conversations with her, and our own experience with novice writers. We came to realise that a new or different narrative is produced when Satoko's text is translated from Japanese to English, and yet again when my initial English translation is polished or edited to reflect the rhythm and usages of oral English or the 'rawness' of the writer's emerging writing skills. Thus, translation itself needs to be treated as the object of ethical consideration and a matter of research rigour rather than "being treated as a transparent medium" (Bruner, 1990, p. 113). What I wish to address here is a need for a more responsible and considered translation process in order to increase sensitivity to ethics and rigour of narrative research, when someone else's stories are re-languaged across languages for research purposes (Kinnear & Taniguchi, 2008).

Summary of Chapter 3

In this chapter, I have focused on narrative as research tool, and its application to my research project. This chapter has been written in three sections. In section 1, I provided theoretical underpinnings of narrative inquiry, and argued for the justification of adopting narrative inquiry to my research. The overall purpose of this thesis was to provide insights into what it means to become bilingual. For this purpose, I adopted narrative inquiry to conduct an in-depth longitudinal qualitative study that investigated the life-long development of two adult language learners/users.

In section 2, I described the specific research designof my study in terms of participants, data collection, and analysis. In developing the research design for this study, I sought to make connections between theoretical understanding of narrative and its methodological consequences. This attempt has been realised in progressive layers of narrative construction and analysis, which reflects the understanding of narrative as a meaning-making device and also its product. The first layer consists of the construction of the learners' first person accounts of learning and using plural languages. The second layer draws on these first person accounts, as primary sources of data, to construct participants' narratives, including my own. The third layer then utilises primary data, as well as the constructed participants' narratives, as main data to analyse and abstract key issues and recurring themes, and to address their broader implications for understanding the nature of language and literacy learning. Through the use of multiple layers of narrative construction and analysis, I have analysed language learners' experiences at different levels of abstraction.

In the third and final section of the chapter, I have discussed some of the challenges of narrative inquiry emerging from my study, including trustworthiness in narrative research, ethical considerations of the relationship between the researcher and the participant, and the challenges of translation in analysing and presenting the narrative data collected in a different language.

Outcomes from the various layers of narrative analysis are presented in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER 4 TWO LIFE STORIES: LEARNING TRAJECTORIES OF BECOMING BILINGUAL

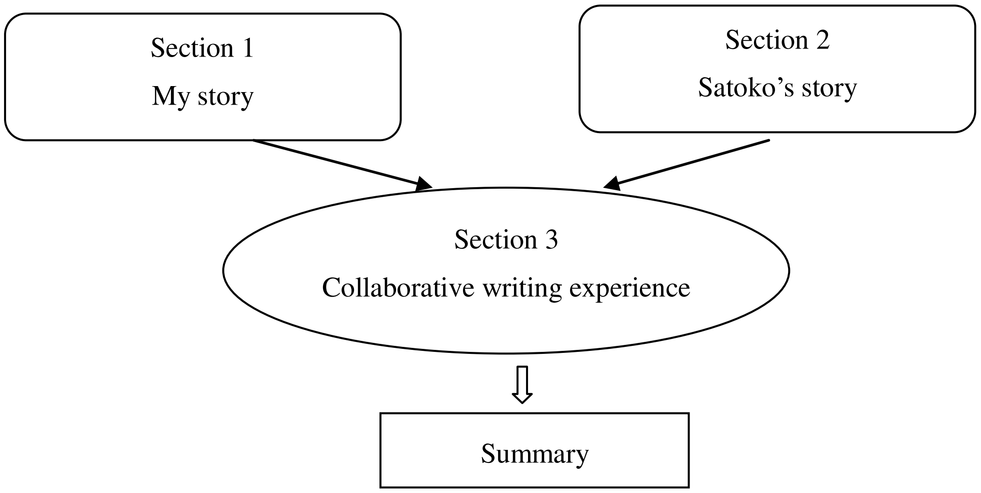
Introduction

In this chapter I draw on learners' first-person accounts of the processes involved in our language/literacy learning as primary source of data, and reconstruct our life stories as narratives. In presenting these narratives I focus on our transitional stages of becoming bilingual with regard to our engagement with plural languages and with regard to our sense of self. The narratives presented in this chapter represent Level B in Diagram 1 (presented in the previous chapter).

This chapter is structured as follows. In section 1, I begin with my own story of becoming a bilingual research writer. As explained in Chapter 3, my story serves two purposes: first, as a language learner’s narrative to document my language/literacy learning experiences, and second, as a researcher’s narrative. My story as a researcher aims to specify who I am, and through what kind of lens I am interpreting and writing a story of Satoko. Producing Satoko’s story as a research text inevitably involved me in the reconstruction of her story through my interpretation and editing. Thus, I decided to introduce my narrative first. After presenting my story, I then move to Satoko’s life story which appears in section 2. Her story reveals the process of interruption and recovery of her language and literacy development caused by migration, and highlights her attempt to regain control over herself as a bilingual person.

In terms of the structure, *My story* in section 1 and *Satoko's story* in section 2 parallel each other in general outline. Both sections begin with a brief overview of transitional stages we went through. The main body of the section presents the sequence of transitional stages focusing on language/literacy learning and use, which are closely connected to our life trajectories, and also certain key points in our learning histories that triggered significant change. In Section 3, I describe our collaborative autobiographical narrative writing experiences. In this section, the two individual life stories presented in sections 1 and 2 intersect as a result of Satoko and my collaborative writing sessions. Section 3 presents an overview of the context and the process of our collaborative writing sessions, and also the impact of collaborative writing experiences on each of us. In closing the chapter I summarise similarities and differences between Satoko and myself, as revealed in our narratives in regard to our processes of language learning. The structure of the chapter is summarised in the following diagram.

Structure of Chapter 4



4.1 My story

This first section documents my transitions in becoming a bilingual researcher/writer in Japanese and English. I focus here on the ways in which I have utilised two languages, particularly in writing practices, to help shape my professional identities: language user, language teacher, and researcher/writer. I attempt to explore the kinds of transitional experiences I had, and my perceptions of the role of writing in my academic life.

Overview of my transitional stages

From the perspective of language/literacy use and of my sense of self, my autobiography can be divided into six stages. In the first stage I was a monolingual speaker of Japanese. Japanese was the only language that I knew and used. The second stage began with my contact with English as a foreign language in secondary education. The third stage involved an intensive exposure to English in the United States as a high school exchange student. The fourth stage led to the state of Japanese dominance but with constant use of English in study and research. The fifth stage was becoming a second language learner /user in Australia as a result of undertaking a Master's program in adult education. The sixth stage involved my conscious effort of becoming a bilingual research writer through undertaking PhD research in an Australian university. These stages will be discussed under the following headings:

Stage 1	Japanese monolingual
Stage 2	Contact with English as a foreign language
Stage 3	First sojourn: an intensive exposure to English in US

Stage 4	Japanese dominant but constant use of English in EFL context
Stage 5	Second sojourn: becoming a second language user in Australia
Stage 6	Conscious effort to becoming a bilingual research writer

In what follows I elaborate details of each stage of my narrative.

4.1.1 The first stage: Japanese monolingual

In this stage (from my birth to 12 years old), Japanese was the only language that I knew and used. I was born in 1952 in a suburb of Osaka, Japan’s second largest city. I grew up in an extended family with three generations. My father was working in a trading company and he often went to Middle Eastern countries. My grandfather taught Japanese calligraphy. Every Sunday morning I used to sit with elder students in his calligraphy lessons since I was in a pre-literate stage. When I think back to my early days, I realize that I was always surrounded by Japanese letters and Chinese characters. The smell of ink and the kinaesthetic sense of a brush used for Japanese calligraphy were closely associated with my early L1 literacy.

I entered primary school at the age of seven, and formally started reading and writing lessons in Japanese. However, as is often the case with many Japanese children, I was able to read and write Hiragana, Katakana and some Kanji before starting primary school. I was not taught reading and writing formally at home, but learned naturally in everyday life. Even though I was sitting in my grandfather’s calligraphy lessons, they were immersion experiences rather than systematic lessons. Akita and Hatano (1999, p. 229) write that “Though Japanese mothers rarely teach letters systematically during young childhood, they never neglect their children's literacy acquisition. They have cultural beliefs that literacy is very important for mental development and as a basic learning skill." (see Japanese writing system[1])

When my father was stationed in a Tokyo office in 1961, my family moved to the Tokyo area, leaving my grandparents in Osaka. I was in year 3, nine years old, then. I had to adapt myself to a new dialect and culture. I felt uprooted because moving from one school to another and having to join in a new children's group speaking a different dialect was a big challenge for me even within the same country. However, quite soon I was able to shift to a new accent, while maintaining an Osaka accent at home. I visited my grandparents often during the school holidays and kept contact with people in Osaka. In a sense, I became a bi-dialectical speaker of Osaka and Tokyo dialects.

---

[1] The Japanese writing system consists of three different scripts, 'kanji' (Chinese characters), and two 'kana' syllabaries, known as 'hiragana' and 'katakana'. Kanji, which was originally introduced from China in the fourth or fifth century, is "logographic" (Taylor, 1998, p. 225), representing meaning and sound. Whereas 'kana', which was developed by simplifying Chinese characters around the ninth century, is phonetic, representing sound only. Each kana letter corresponds to one syllabic unit (vowel or consonant + vowel). Standard Japanese texts are usually written with a combination of these three scripts. 'Kanji' is used for content words, such as nouns and the stem of verbs and adjectives. 'Hiragana' is used for function words and inflectional affixes. 'Katakana' is used to indicate foreign loan words other than of Chinese origin, names of places and people of foreign countries, onomatopoetic expressions, and also to make a word stand out. Japanese texts are written either vertically (from top to bottom in right-to-left columns) or horizontally (from left to right). Words are not separated by spaces from one another.

4.1.2 The second stage: Contact with English as a foreign language at school

The second stage was my contact with English as a foreign language in secondary education. I went to a private girls' junior high school for three years and a co-educational public senior high school for three years, with one extra year as an exchange student in the US. Although I liked studying foreign languages, I did not have many chances to use them for communicative purposes until I became an exchange student. Until then, they were additional languages, and existed separately from my L1.

When I entered a junior high school in Tokyo in 1965, I began to study English as a foreign language. I had English lessons for four or five hours per week. The grammar translation method was predominant, as it was almost the only methodology in English classrooms in Japan. I did not have much experience using English for communication in and outside of the classroom, except on a few occasions.

In my junior high school, one American female teacher came to the class occasionally to teach English conversation with 50 students. Because it was almost impossible to teach conversation in such a large class, what she did was to provide students with a chance to practice question and answer exchanges with a native speaker of English. There was one incident, which I still remember clearly with strong emotion after 35 years. The teacher asked a question "which do you like better apples or oranges?" to each student, and each student was supposed to answer, "I like apples /oranges better." When she approached me and asked the same question, I did not know how to answer. It was not because I did not understand the question, nor how to form an expected answer. The difficulty was I liked both apples and oranges, but I did not know the word “both” at that stage. I was thinking how to form a sentence. I kept silent and she repeated her question again. She gave me a model answer, but that was not what I wanted to say. I did not feel comfortable just repeating what I did not mean to say. I felt embarrassed, uncomfortable, and almost angry with the teacher and myself. This feeling has stayed with me for a long time and keeps coming back, especially since I started teaching Japanese.

This episode illustrates the discrepancy between language classroom conventions and a learner’s agenda. I received the message that in language classroom, particularly with the grammar translation method, the purpose of exchange is to practice grammatical forms, irrespective of a speaker’s intentions. But when will a student learn to speak what she really wants to communicate? If I could have tried harder to communicate to the teacher that I was searching for a word “both”, and if she had used more imagination to interpret the student’s silence, it could have been the most appropriate moment to learn and to teach the expression “I like both”, although “both” was not included in the teaching syllabus. As a result of this small incident, now when I encounter a student’s silence, I try to give thought to one more possible interpretation of the silence. Also as a researcher, in retrospect, the lesson I learned from this episode is that the seemingly silent learner is neither passive nor disengaged, but is actively involved in an intrapersonal interactive process. In order to understand language learning processes, not only overt verbal behaviour but also what is going on within an individual needs to be examined from the learner’s perspective.

During junior high and senior high school, learning English meant learning grammatical rules. I felt that it was not too different from studying mathematical formulae. We memorize formulae, put some numbers in, calculate, and get an answer. Forming a subjunctive sentence or a relative clause seemed to require the same mechanical operation. I had an English composition class in high school. It was only translation exercises or grammar focused exercises at a sentence level. I did not have any experience of writing a paragraph or composing a text.

Although language learning was very much form focused, I liked studying English. I worked diligently, memorising grammatical rules, vocabulary, and model sentences. As a result I always received good marks in English classes. My parents encouraged me to study foreign languages because, as mentioned earlier, my father was working for a trading company and often went overseas. In senior high school days, I went to English language school after regular school and also studied French outside of school.

Although I liked studying English as a school subject, the words and sentences in school textbooks did not appeal to me. What I wanted to appropriate was not in the textbooks, but in the lyrics of rock music. I listened to records repeatedly, wrote the lyrics neatly on a sheet of paper, memorized the words during the class hours. These words became a kind of database for me. I still can retrieve many phrases, expressions from my good old rock 'n' roll database. I did not do it for the sake of studying English. I did it simply because I liked it and it was fun. In fact it was a very effective language learning device and turned out to be useful in later days.

4.1.3 The third stage: First sojourn: Intensive exposure to English in the United States

The third stage saw a major change. I went to the United States as an exchange student in high school, and was intensively exposed to the English language. This experience turned out to be an important event in my life because it shaped the future course of my study and language teaching career. However, although important, it was not an easy year for me. I found myself a foreigner and a stranger in an English-speaking country, and felt alienated from the English language and the speakers of English. I experienced an identity crisis, questioning who I was, which was intensified in an unfamiliar culture. As I briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, this experience of my first sojourn led me to the present PhD research at the most fundamental level, that is, to investigate people's transitions that resulted from border crossings. In what follows, I will elaborate on the significance of my first overseas experience.

In 1970-1971, when I was 18 years old, I spent one year in the United States as an AFS exchange student[2]. It was my first overseas experience and also my first time living away from my family. I stayed in a suburb of Chicago, Illinois, with a population of 30,000 people almost all white middle-class. There were only a handful of visible minorities. I must have been the only Asian background student in the high school. I could not project the image of a melting pot or salad bowl to this community. Nor could I hardly believe that this community was a part of the US, which was still fighting in Vietnam. Although I was not a strong activist, anti-war movement and demonstrations were part of my everyday life in Tokyo. To my surprise, this middle class suburban community looked so peaceful and quiet. I felt the gap and wondered, "Where is America?"

---

[2] AFS stands for American Field Service. "AFS is an international, voluntary, non-governmental, non-profit organization that provides intercultural learning opportunities to help people develop the knowledge, skills and understanding needed to create a more just and peaceful world" (AFS intercultural programs, 2008). International exchange programs started in 1919, and since then more than 300,000 people have participated as exchange students. (http://www.afs.org)

Soon after I moved into this community, I became self-conscious about my difference. My physical appearance looked different, my language sounded different. I felt that I was displaying my difference all the time, and then I felt I was being observed. Or in another view, sometimes I felt that I was invisible to people's eyes, being not worthy of attention. I felt the sense of loss in many ways. Firstly, I lost words. Though I had spent 5 years studying English at school, it was useless. I had to relearn the four skills from scratch. In spite of the loss of words, I was expected to tell people around me what kind of person I was through words. It was as if "In America I was approached with words, and expected to communicate fully with words" (Kamani, 2000, p. 100), because I was a total stranger. People kept telling me "Say something", when I was sitting quietly in a car, at the dinner table, or in the classroom. I was expected to make a decision instantly, or to tell my preferences immediately, when being asked. I thought that I had something to say, but when I tried to open my mouth, I found that I had nothing to say. Although I was physically close to the American people, I felt that I did not get to know them, as I thought that English proficiency determined one's place in the new community. I had neither competence nor confidence in English proficiency. Thus, it was only natural that I was placed as an outsider. I could not gain membership to fit into the US high school. Instead of striving for acceptance, I slipped into silence and non-participation.

“[B]etween two languages, your realm is silence” (Kristeva, 1991, p. 15).

In conjunction with the loss of words, I experienced an identity crisis. I felt that I lost a grasp of who I was in a different culture. Having lived for 17 years in Japan, I thought I had created a kind of self-image, and people around me had some sense of what kind of person I was, although their image might not have been the same as my self-image. I believed that there must be something stable, unchangeable in my identity across time and place. If I brought myself to a new environment, people around me would take me as I was. However, in the US, I found my presupposition totally groundless. I felt that I had nothing to tell about myself. “Be yourself.” I was told this many times from different people. However, if I didn’t know who I was, how could I be myself? I considered my personality as sociable, outgoing and friendly in Japan, but where had that sunny side of myself gone, which I wanted to believe as the real me? I lost self-confidence all together. My prototypical enquiry began from there: do people change or are they basically the same, when they move into a new culture?

To illustrate my self-image at that time, I quote from my self evaluation sheet submitted to an AFS office at the end of the program in July 1971. (Original spelling and grammar have been preserved here.)

> Personal experience: How have you, as an individual, been influenced by this year’s experience?
> *“This is the year of real experience. I didn’t expect only happy experience. And it was true. I had a very hard time, too. I have become more aware of myself. I found so many bad point. I hated myself. I could not be 100% myself fin this country. I don’t want to be said Americanized. I tried not to change myself. I tried too much, sometime”*

My answer above presented a rather negative self-image as an exchange student. The possible interpretation is as follows. I had a kind of image of an ideal international exchange student: a self-assertive person with flexibility trying to understand an unfamiliar language and culture, overcoming one culture shock after another until gaining a membership in the new community, and becoming happy. However, I thought that I was not qualified to these criteria, because I failed to participate in the new communities (such as family and school). This sense of failure created negative effects on my self-perception. I considered my silence and non-participation as my personal failure. I wrote elsewhere, "*We (my host sister and I) didn't get along too well. That is my fault. I just could not be myself.* "

I attributed my failure to be a good international exchange student to various factors. At an early stage, I attributed my discomfort to my language problems, which created communication breakdowns. Gradually, I added other factors to my list: race, ethnicity, and culture. When I observed other international students from different parts of the world, some of them appeared to be happier and better adjusted to American life. Most of them were from Europe, Oceania and South America. I considered that the determining factor was their proximity to the mainstream American culture, although I was unable to define precisely what the mainstream culture was. I thought that their Caucasian appearance did count to place them closer to the mainstream and to make them blend well. However, as a counter example, I also found some Japanese or Asian students who were excellent exchange students, despite their language and cultural background. Thus, I concluded to attribute my failure to my own inadequacy. It was my personal problem, and it was my failure.

The AFS website says, “Students return home with improved abilities to navigate across cultural boundaries” (AFS intercultural programs, 2008). I did not think that I was able to do this. I did not return home with an understanding of myself. Rather, I felt that I came back with a huge assignment. I started exploring who I was, and whether I was basically the same or whether I easily became different when I moved into a new culture.

- **Re-storying my experience**

My AFS experience has not finished. It is still ongoing. After returning home, I worked as a volunteer for an AFS Japan office as a university student, and later as a liaison person. We hosted a Thai student for a month in our family. My daughter also went to Australia as an AFS student and stayed with a host family, whose mother and one of her host sisters went overseas as AFS students. After all these years and experiences, I look at international students from many different angles: as a returnee, a mother, a host family, and an official support person, and I have kept thinking back and rewriting my AFS story. Obviously what happened in 1970-1971 cannot be changed. However, the meaning and interpretation of experience have been constantly in revision (Polkinghorne, 1988).

I came to understand that the age factor plays a critical role in intercultural student exchange at the high school level. In one’s high teens, one tries to search for who she is, and this search is accelerated in a different culture. The search for self is an age specific phenomenon that happens whether a young person is at home or overseas. However, the difficulty increases when she is in a different culture, where the vague image she has of herself does not work. She has to create or re-invent one. Thus, high school exchange students have to cope with difficulties that go with their developmental stage, and with acculturation.

In more recent years, when I have read research articles about ESL students' and minority students' experiences in a host community and a host school (such as Cummins, 1996; Kanno, 2003; McKay & Wong, 1996; Toohey, 2000), I began to identify myself as one of them. This is a new re-storying of my experience. For instance, in Kanno's (2003) longitudinal study of Japanese returnees from Canada, one of the research participants' comments on being an ESL student echoed my voice. This person regarded herself and other ESL students as "second-rate citizens who had no place, no say in their adopted society" (Kanno, 2003, p. 36). She viewed English as the key to success. From her point of view, "whether or not one arrived in a new school already equipped with full English proficiency determined one's place in the community: if you did, you were bound for the centre; if you didn't, you were forever on the margins" (Kanno, 2003, P. 36). For her, race and language were "so inextricably intertwined as to be almost indistinguishable" (Kanno, 2003, p. 36). "At the core of this group were Anglo-Saxon Canadians, who owned the language and culture of Canadian society. All the rest were allowed in by virtue of their cultural and linguistic proximity to them" (Kanno, 2003, p. 36). The way in which this ex-ESL student describes her place in Canada is similar to my sense of positioning in the hierarchy of the United States. I started to view success and failure of acculturation not as attributes solely of individuals, but "as specialized social and institutional arrangements" (Lave, 1993, p. 10). I could have tried harder to participate, but I stopped blaming myself.

Another important change is that, although I felt the sense of loss in many ways such as loss of words and subjectivity, I realised that there was also a sense of gain. The skills and knowledge that I acquired then, and that I still use often, are typing and academic writing. I received explicit instructions of how to write academic papers at US high school, which included how to conduct library research, making notes on cards, sorting out the cards and making an outline of the paper, the idea of paragraph, how to connect one paragraph to another, the overall structure of the paper, referencing and the concept of plagiarism. These explicit academic writing instructions assisted my further study as will be described in the subsequent stage. Thus, as Hodges (1998, p. 288) commented, “It is in the power of telling this ‘story’ now, retrospectively, that I have the hindsight to reread the experiences this way. ” The significance of re-storying past experience is one of the contributions of narrative to an understanding of my own trajectory as a language learner.

4.1.4 The fourth stage: Japanese dominant but with constant use of English in study and research

Following my return to Japan, I undertook undergraduate and postgraduate studies in Japan, and worked as a Japanese language teacher. Although the dominant language was Japanese, I used English constantly for study and research.

I went to a private university to study sociology, then after two years, I transferred to another private university to study linguistics and social anthropology. My major academic interest was intercultural communication, which had originated from my experience in America. I also studied teaching methodology of English and Japanese for my future career. In the second university, the medium of instruction was both in Japanese and English. Thus, the requirements of reading and writing assignments in English were rather heavy. I utilised academic writing skills I had learned in America when writing my essays for assignments, not only in English but also in Japanese, because I had received little instruction in academic writing in Japanese at school. Japanese teachers seemed to assume that students should know how to write research papers without explicit teaching. However, this was obviously a false assumption. I was fortunate to receive explicit and structured instruction and training in writing before I started my higher education. This experience assisted me to develop my thinking, research skills and my ability to organise writing tasks, which are crucial regardless of language. Thus, my academic writing skills and knowledge developed first in L2 (English) through the explicit instruction I received in US, and then transferred to L1 (Japanese). Although, transfer is generally assumed to be from L1 to L2, my experiences show the reverse is also possible. That is, my experiences provide evidence of "effects of L2 on L1"(Cook, 2003), "bidirectional transfer" (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002) – issues that are addressed in more detail in the following chapter.

After graduation I started teaching Japanese as a second language. I got married and had a child at the age of 26. When my daughter was 18 months old, I started a part time teaching job at a Japanese language institution administered by Stanford University, where the majority of students were post-graduate students from prestigious North American Universities. This institution aimed to provide advanced Japanese courses for research students and also for professionals. I developed my teaching skills and also study skills while teaching in this institution. For instance, I learned critical literacy through reading Japanese texts with these students.

I worked in this institution for eight years, and during this time I undertook a master's program in applied linguistics in late 1980s. My research interest then was in learners' cognitive processes as researched in the field of second language acquisition (SLA). I wrote my master's thesis in English on the negotiation of meaning processes between native and non-native speakers of Japanese. Writing in English was not my choice, but a requirement of the faculty. Although I struggled with thesis writing in English, the major difficulties I perceived here were linguistic ones. It seemed to me at that time that the English language simply provided a means to transmit ideas that I had already developed in my first language. In other words, I was not conscious then of the complexity of choice of language and of issues in translation between languages. My experiences in researching and writing this PhD thesis have made me much more aware of the complexity of such issues.

While writing my Master's thesis, I was fortunate to be able to work with an ex-student of the institution mentioned above, who was conducting ethnographic research on Japanese education for her PhD. We conducted exchange lessons. She proofread my thesis and I helped her with research related to Japanese literacy, such as writing letters to Japanese schools, designing interview questions, and writing summaries. I found it helpful working with someone who was also writing a thesis.

After completing my master's degree, I started working as a full time lecturer in an intensive Japanese program at a national university for science and technology studies. Being a fulltime university lecturer requires research and publication. I conducted classroom research, published papers in Japanese journals, and presented papers at conferences in Japan. My major research interests still lay in cognitive aspects of language learning, such as reading processes, learning strategies, and vocabulary learning. Japanese was the sole language of my publications, except for short abstracts in English attached to the published articles. Although I did not write my research papers in English, I read books and journal articles in English extensively. Also as mentioned earlier, because my academic writing in L1 developed through the influence of L2, even though I was writing in L1, both L1 and L2 were at work. Other than research and publication, I also started working in the field of teacher education. Gradually I established my career as a Japanese language teacher /researcher /teacher educator.

I moved to a two-year women's junior college in 1993. Although I had taught in Japan for over 15 years, this was the first time for me to teach Japanese-speaking students about the Japanese language. I also started new activities besides teaching at college. One was working as an editor of a bilingual newsletter (Japanese and English) for a language teachers' group for three years. This job involved not only reading articles in English, but also editing, commenting, and communicating with other officers and with contributors in English, most of whom I had not met face to face. This required more inter-personal writing skills compared to academic writing in L2.

I also joined a community-based Japanese language program and taught beginning Japanese to newly arrived foreigners as a volunteer teacher because the city where this college was located had a high percentage of foreign residents. As for research, I became a member of a joint research project of naturalistic Japanese language acquisition of migrant workers from Brazil in Toyota city. These experiences have shaped my understanding of socio-political aspects of second language learning in Japan. As a result, I have gradually dissociated myself from cognitive-focused second language acquisition research.

Another important shift in my research interest was my growing interest in literacy development, which was triggered by meeting and teaching Satoko, the other research participant of this thesis. At the women's junior college I was in charge of a Japanese language program, and worked closely with Satoko on her academic literacy. As indicated earlier, Satoko was a Chinese-speaking background student, who had difficulties in both L1 and L2 literacy. Despite my experience of teaching Japanese for nearly twenty years, I had had little experience of teaching students with limited L1 literacy. Almost all my previous students of Japanese had varying degrees of first language literacy from which they could develop literacy in their second language. I really did not know what to do in Satoko's case where her first language literacy had not been well established. I felt my framework of teaching Japanese was not adequate for her and I started looking for a new framework.

About that time, I had a minor gynaecological operation and spent the whole summer in rehabilitation. I decided to stop working in this college and to go to Australia for postgraduate study of literacy, as few such courses are offered in Japanese universities.

There were academic reasons and personal reasons why I decided to undertake postgraduate study in Australia. For academic reasons, as mentioned above, I felt in need of new input in the field of literacy study for my career development. Until then, I was not particularly interested in literacy research or teaching either in L1 or L2. As I have suggested in Chapter 1, this was partly because the development of written language has not been the main focus of SLA research, which influenced my research interest. This explains why my general attitude toward L2 writing was not very positive. As a researcher, I had not done any research on writing at all. As a language teacher, writing was not my teaching preference, partly because it was (is) very time-consuming.

For personal reasons, I wanted to “reset” my life, to use a computer metaphor. Following my operation and rehabilitation, I appreciated the feeling of recovery. I could do something new each day, for example, I could walk to the post box one day, and the next day I could walk further to the public library, and then to the train station. I was only regaining what I had been doing before. However, in my mid 40’s I did not expect to have any feeling of gain, when the sense of loss was predominant. I still feel proud of myself when I do sit-up exercises at the gym, remembering that I could not lift my head even once when I returned home from the hospital. This positive feeling took control of the course of my life.

Gradually I wanted to try again living in a foreign country - 30 years after my AFS exchange student experience in US. As indicated earlier, I experienced an identity crisis at the age of 18, questioning who I was, which was accelerated in a different culture. Do people change when they enter a new culture, or are they basically the same? I have been looking for the answer since then. Living in Australia was a test for me, to see what kind of person I could become in a new environment. Also I became more aware that time is not unlimited, and that if I was to make a change, it should be ‘now’. My husband had retired from work, my daughter started her university, and my mother was still in a good health. All these external as well as internal factors must be taken into considerations to make a decision. I thought that the time was ripe and that it should not be missed.

4.1.5 The fifth stage: Becoming a second language learner/user in Australia

The fifth stage of my autobiography began when I became a second language learner/user/writer as a result of undertaking postgraduate study in Australia. This experience became a turning point in my professional life.

I spent ten months in Sydney, Australia in 2000 to undertake a Master's program in adult education. My sojourn in Sydney turned out to be very different from my earlier sojourn in the United States in my teens. I did not suffer an identity crisis again. However, I was made conscious of a different aspect of identity, that is, my changing professional identity from an expert to a novice yet mature international student in an academic context, as well as a shift from a native speaker of Japanese to a second language learner/user of English.

- **Becoming an L2 learner/user/writer**

What happens when someone who has developed expertise in one's home academic community moves to another community as a newcomer? This was what I experienced as a mature international postgraduate student in Sydney. I arrived at Sydney airport in February 2000. The most remarkable change I experienced was the change of my social role/status. I had been working as a full time university lecturer and a volunteer teacher at a community-based Japanese language class back home. I had been acting as an educator, researcher, counsellor for international students, committee member of the language teachers' association and more. I was speaking my mother tongue all the time and I could read and write in Japanese quite easily if the task was not too cognitively demanding. I had easy access to the news and information on what was going on in the world and I was familiar with most of the procedures to get things done. Everything changed completely from the day of my arrival. I became a full-time international student, a foreigner, and a non-native speaker of English.

Also I added the new label ‘second language learner’ to myself. I felt that I became an L2 learner of the sort appearing in language learning literature, who was not yet competent in L2 and striving for the native speaker’s proficiency. It was rather strange that I had never thought of myself as a second language learner until then. When I studied foreign languages such as English, Portuguese and Chinese, it did not occur to me to consider myself as an L2 learner in Japan, even though my research interest was second language development. At that time, second language development was something taking place in someone else’s brain, but not mine. When I researched L2 learners of Japanese, there was a clear separation: I was a native speaker of Japanese, and they were L2 learners. However, upon my arrival at Sydney airport, I became and started to live as an L2 learner/user all day and every day, not only my brain, but my whole body had transformed into an L2 user.

When the course work started, I didn’t know anyone and nobody knew me. I had to start from the very beginning in order to gain membership. I had to present who I was, what I was, what I could do, and what I was interested in to the lecturers and other students. Gradually, I began to perceive the role of academic writing as a mediation of social participation as well as identity formation because students' success is most commonly judged by what and how they write. Thus, I attempted to become someone by building up myself through writing.

Hence, a second language writer became a new addition to my identities. However, my general attitude toward writing in English was not very positive. My test scores in TOFEL and IELTS showed that my writing was weaker than other skills. Although I had enough opportunities and experiences to use English as a medium of written communication, I did not feel competent and confident enough to express myself in English. In my first language (Japanese), however, I think I can write well in my familiar genres, such as academic writing, personal recount, manuals, and personal communication. The problem was that I wanted to write and I expected myself to be able to write as well in L2 as in L1. I thought, therefore, that L2 writing was not my cup of tea. Although literacy was my major area of study in Australia, I found myself struggling with academic literacy.

- **Tool mediation, sign mediation**

My early stage of academic life in Australia was somewhat analogous to my new computer. I brought a new notebook computer with me to Sydney. No data had been stored in this computer. It was a 'tabula rasa'. I had been using Mac previously for years, but this new computer was Toshiba PC, windows 98. It was an unfamiliar system for me. I started using this notebook computer for writing assignments in my course work. It was a new writing experience with an unfamiliar device in a second language. Although my computer was tabula rasa, I thought that I was not. However, although I had several publications in Japanese, if people around me could not read what I had been writing in my first language, my previous academic career simply did not exist in Australia. So in one sense, I was tabula rasa, too. Nothing had been inscribed on me. So I started writing in my second language in order to be 'read' in a new community. The use of a new computer appeared to be a tool for mediation, and the use of English was a sign for mediation.

- **I can't check what I write**

Since starting to write in L2, I have found myself desperately in need of help because I could not (still cannot) check what I wrote. It is true that even when I wrote something in L1 for publication, I always sought a good critical reader for feedback and suggestions. However, the kind of feedback I needed was not grammar correction, but at the level of content and text organisation, such as whether my argument was persuasive enough and supported by good evidence. I did not realise then how wonderful it was to be able to monitor what I wrote. On the other hand, in English academic writing, I needed to work with somebody who could proofread and edit any stumbling blocks in my writing from local sentence level to global structure, such as grammatical accuracy, word choice, clarity of contents, and flow of the writing. I needed not just anybody who could read English. My criteria were that they had knowledge of the content area and writing conventions, that they were willing to understand my intentions and respect my voice without erasing or overwriting it, and that above all I felt comfortable, or at least not intimidated, to work with them. I knew that these were very demanding requests.

In an earlier stage, as I was not confident in writing in L2, I was self-conscious sharing my writing with other people. I felt that showing my writing was a face-threatening act. As Tsui (1996, p. 101) explains, “writing is a high-risk, low-gain activity in which students are putting themselves at great risk of getting negative feedback from the teacher”. It might be the case that my implicit assumptions of writing were constraining factors. My implicit assumptions were that writing was a solitary activity, and that collaborative writing was cheating. Another assumption that I had brought with me was a Japanese saying: 文は人なり (bun wa hito nari) or to regard the text as a representation of the author. If this is the case, to challenge the text is to challenge the writer herself/himself. As I was just about to re-establish my expertise through writing in English, I felt my tender bud of self needed good protection. However, the time was pressing, and necessity took over my self-consciousness.

> *I can’t wait until I become perfect in speaking or writing in English, or until I attain native-like proficiency (20 March 2000, from my journal)*

- **Writing is not necessarily a solitary activity: writing support**

I attempted to take every opportunity to improve my academic writing. Fortunately two writing and study skills support centres at the university (one in the faculty of education, and the other across faculties) provided me with good writing support. I took non-credited weekly academic writing courses, attended writing workshops, and consulted with a writing teacher on one-to-one basis. The writing support centre was something new to me because, to my knowledge, it was rarely found in Japanese universities then. I made an appointment with a writing teacher in the faculty of education, and brought my outline and rough draft of an assignment. I was amazed at her professional advice and also at her understanding of the content knowledge. She carefully selected and pointed out only one or two most important points to improve my writing. From my point of view as an experienced language teacher, she was a true expert and she became my role model. Gradually we became good friends and discussed not only my writing, but also writing related practices and politics in higher education, such as the role of writing teachers, and power relations in the institution.

Other opportunities of writing support were from outside of the university but still within Australian academic communities. I have a good relationship with a family living in the outskirts of Sydney, who hosted my daughter as an AFS exchange student in 1996. The husband was a high school principal, and the wife was an educational psychologist, working as a school counsellor and also lecturing in the field of gifted education at a university. She generously offered me her expertise in writing. I did my almost weekly visit to their home with my computer, rough drafts of my assignments, outlines, or just floating ideas to discuss with her. The sense of safe space lessened my inhibition and facilitated my exploration.

My attitude thus shifted from regarding writing as a solitary activity to seeing it as a collaborative activity. The following passage from Russo (1987, p. 83) well captures my new attitude.

> Writing is not necessarily a solitary activity on the part of the author but can be intensely interactive, involving the instructor, other students, and individuals outside of the formal classroom setting.

> Our desire to write also increases as others show interest in what we have written. The desire to write grows with writing.

I came to realise that writing is not necessarily individual work; rather writing is social interaction involving people around me. At the initial stage, I felt more frustrated that I could not complete my writing by myself and I had to ask someone's help every time. However, gradually I felt that even if I worked with someone, it was still my writing and my voice had not been lost.

I wrote the following paragraphs for a classroom research assignment at the end of the first semester. It reflects my shift of attitude toward writing.

> *The writing process can be compared to moving a heavy rock. The first reaction is rejection; I cannot do it. The second is self-persuasion; I have to do it, OK I'll do it. The third step is thinking and planning; how I should do it. Then actual moving comes next. It requires a tremendous power before the rock starts moving. Once it starts moving, the rest of the process gets easier, just keep it moving and checking it is not going in the wrong direction. The most difficult part of writing for me is persuading myself to write and planning what and how to write. I want to get over this psychological resistance. I wonder if this difficulty comes from language problems. It is partly true, but I have the same feeling in writing in my first language. I must admit that this difficulty is not exclusive to writing in a second language, but just a matter of degree. After the Easter break (ten weeks after the class started), I feel that I have overcome the initial stage of moving a rock, and reading and writing in English is becoming less cognitively demanding. Because I am getting used to extensive reading and writing, I have started to develop a 'feeling' for how to write.*

- **Literacy tutoring experience**

The second semester started very smoothly compared to the first one. I already knew people around me, and I felt that they had become more friendly. I felt that I had become visible to other students. Also after five months of being in Sydney, I had become more confident in myself. So I felt it was time to start something new, one of which was literacy volunteer tutoring.

I took a literacy volunteer training course at a local Technical and Further Education (TAFE) college and tutored a migrant woman from Vietnam at her home for five months. This woman had been living in Australia for twenty years and she was relatively fluent in spoken and written English for every day purposes. She was taking care of her father, who was not in good health, her four children and sometimes her sister's baby. This prevented her from attending a regular literacy class.

My literacy volunteer tutoring experience changed my L2 learner’s view significantly. Before starting literacy tutoring, I was hesitant because I thought a native speaker tutor could do better a job than an L2 speaker like me. I was not confident of my role as a tutor. How could I possibly teach English literacy in Australia, where I could not even monitor my English writing? However, from the first meeting, we started talking about families, housework, children's education, and Vietnamese and Japanese customs. We spent quite a long time talking, besides literacy lessons such as working on her diary and letter writing. I sensed that she needed time just for herself to reflect on her life. In order to do so, she needed a specific audience.

I realized that I was not teaching, in a narrow sense, but sharing our experiences as L2 users. We could talk about our frustrations and difficulties as L2 learners and exchange ideas of what to do about them. She always told me nice stories and words of wisdom. For instance, one day in August I told her about my frustrations of academic writing in English. I always needed somebody's help for proof reading and editing, therefore I felt I could never be independent in writing in a second language. She understood my feeling and told me her story: how she built self-confidence in hair cutting. She started by observing an expert's work, practicing with someone's assistance, practicing by herself over and over again, then finally gained confidence. This was an inspiring anecdote. Quite often I felt that I was empowered by talking with her. Although I was teaching Japanese to migrant people, I had not established such a close relationship with them in Japan. What I learned from my tutoring experience is that L2 learners can help each other and learn from each other.

The following is my reflection on the literacy tutoring experience written for an assignment in an experience-based learning class

> *This tutoring experience is different in many ways from my previous teaching experience of Japanese as a second language in Japan. The most important aspect is that I am a non-English-speaking-background tutor in an English-speaking environment. I have become more reflective and critical about my previous Japanese language teaching practice, especially about my positionality. When I was teaching Japanese language in Japan, I was a resource, a model, and a norm for my learners. I have noticed that I was overlooking the unequal power relationship between a native speaker teacher and L2 learners. The knowledge and skills in language gives power to the teacher, whether she likes it or not. Or, put in another way, she is exercising power over L2 learners, whether she is aware of it or not. This realization is what Norton clearly states in her book as "power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (Norton, 2000). I am not currently teaching Japanese language. Increased sensitivity to issues of power and authority is what I have learned from my*

> *non-teaching Japanese experience this year. Learning from non-teaching experience sounds paradoxical, because we usually say learning from doing something. Of course, I did something, but it was not teaching Japanese as routine. I have gained new insights from stopping teaching for a while.*

- **Re-conceptualisation of L2 learners**

Towards the end of my stay in Sydney, the ways in which I saw myself as an L2 learner/user shifted significantly from a “deficient native speaker” to “multicompetent language user” (Cook, 1999, p. 185). Among other factors, I can point out two crucial experiences, both of which promoted my transition. One is my literacy volunteer tutoring experience mentioned earlier. My exposure to adult education and particularly adult literacy made me realise that people’s lives matter, and that the language learner needs to be seen as a whole person. The other factor is reading an article "Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching" by Cook (1999). One has given me a story of lived-experience, and the other a theoretical justification.

One of my Japanese friends suggested that I should read Cook’s article (1999). When I read it, I found it very empowering. Cook summarizes his argument as follows:

> the prominence of the native speaker in language teaching has obscured the distinctive nature of the successful L2 user and created an unattainable goal for L2 learners. It recommends that L2 users be viewed as multicompetent language users rather than as deficient native speakers. (Cook, 1999, p. 185)

According to Cook (1999), there are two different views of second language (L2) users in the research literature. One looks at L2 users as deficient native speakers. In this deficient view, the definition of the second language learner is that of a non-native speaker of the target language who is striving for the unrealistic goal to be like a native speaker. The second view sees L2 users as those with a unique potential. L2 users have their unique status as people positioned between two languages and cultures. Therefore, they should be considered in their own right as 'different', not as 'deficient' (Cook, 1999). In language teaching, the native speaker of the target language is considered to be a model of L2 users. However, language teaching should place more emphasis and value on L2 users, because L2 users differ from monolingual native speakers in their knowledge in L1 and L2, and in some of their cognitive processes. They are successful multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers. I found that Cook’s argument presents a very positive and sound view of L2 users. I decided to take on this view of L2 users as my role model.

- **End state of Sydney**

Toward the end of my stay in Sydney, I started thinking of applying for a PhD program. I approached the lecturer, who taught the literacy subject in the first semester, to discuss the possibility of undertaking research under her supervision. She agreed and we started our discussion of research topics and research approaches. It did not take long to decide on the overall research plan: researching writing experiences from a second language learner’s perspective. As L2 writing became a central concern for me during my Master’s program, I wanted to start my PhD research with an attempt to reflect on and to theorize my own writing experiences in two languages.

Before I left Sydney after completing my Master’s program, I submitted my last assignment entitled “Experience of being a second language user”. In the concluding remarks I wrote the following:

> *After all, I have become more comfortable with being an L2 user and with my self-image. The experience of being an L2 user has had a great impact on me in a cognitive domain as well as in an affective domain. I have become more empathic to L2 users and their positions in society. My next task is how I should keep this perspective and make use of it when interacting with other L2 users in Japan, where I am a native speaker of Japanese.*

This is the end state of my sojourn in Sydney and the awareness that I brought back with me to Japan.

To sum up, my experience of being a mature international student in Sydney 2000 was relatively easier than my first overseas experience in a US high school in 1970s, although I encountered an issue that had to do with my professional identity. Possible reasons are that I had become more mature, and also I had already established myself as a professional language teacher in Japan. In addition to these internal factors, this shift was also a result of external factors, such as sociocultural and socio-historical context of a multicultural city, Sydney in the 2000s, which has a very different demographic profile compared to the suburbia of Chicago in 1970s.

● Return from Sydney

I returned to Japan in mid December and began to reorganize my life. I had known that re-entry and readjustment were difficult, and it was true. “*I managed to bring back myself and my stuff home, but I still don’t know what to do with them”* (my journal

December 2000). I organised my room and bookshelves. Physical re-arranging helped me to prioritize what was important for me. Gradually I regained my space at home, and also I found a teaching position (teaching academic Japanese for undergraduate university students) as a part-time lecturer.

4.1.6 The sixth stage: Conscious effort to become a bilingual research writer

I applied for and was accepted to PhD study in the graduate school in Australia, and embarked on my PhD journey. I was beginning to shift my identities from that of an L2 user/writer to that of a bilingual research writer through conducting new research and writing. In this transitional process, collaborative writing experiences with Satoko, which will be presented in section 3, became a significant event for my identity transformation. What happened to me in this sixth stage, which is characterised by a conscious effort to becoming a bilingual research writer, will be described in section 3. At this point I stop narrating my story, and move to Satoko’s story.

4.2 Satoko's story

Satoko's life is marked by the experience of migration from China to Japan at the age of nine, which created a tremendous chasm in the midst of her life. The experience of dislocation and relocation caused the disruption of her life story, as well as the interruption of her language and literacy development. Thus, the foci of Satoko's story are on changes in her sense of self with regard to her plural languages; the consequences of these changes for the reconstruction of her identities; and the development of interrupted literacy.

Overview of Satoko's transitional stages

From the viewpoint of language use and her sense of self, Satoko's life story can be divided into five transitional stages. The first stage is monolingual Chinese in China prior to migration. The second stage is migration and social and linguistic adaptation to Japan. Her life with two languages started here. The third stage is 'neither L1 nor L2'. In her adolescence she felt herself caught between two languages and ethnicities, and unsure about where she belonged. The fourth stage is striving for 'both L1 and L2'. Satoko made conscious efforts to develop her two languages fully in higher education. The fifth stage is reconstruction of her bilingual identities through writing her autobiography. These stages will be discussed under the following headings:

Stage 1	Chinese monolingual
Stage 2	Migration and adaptation to Japan

Stage 3	Neither L1 nor L2
Stage 4	Striving for both L1 and L2
Stage 5	Reconstruction of bilingual identities through writing autobiography

An overarching theme of Satoko’s story is her sense of ‘being different’, which was derived from her linguistic and ethnic background. The sense of ‘being different’ is pervasive in her narrative, and thus crucial to her sense of identity. She positioned herself, and was positioned, as ‘different’ in relation to native speakers of both Chinese and Japanese. Importantly, in her life course, the meaning of ‘different’ has gradually shifted from ‘deficit’ to ‘unique’, or from a “liability” to an “asset”, to borrow Li’s (1999, p. 54) words. In what follows, I narrate Satoko’s story according to the above five stages, as she moved from being monolingual to becoming bilingual.

4.2.1 The first stage: Chinese monolingual

Satoko was born in 1977 in a small farming village in the north-eastern part of China, close to the border with Russia. She grew up with her parents, two brothers, and step-grandmother. Her family farmed in the countryside. Prior to migration, Satoko spent her childhood as a monolingual Chinese speaker in China, although her ethnic background is a mixture of Chinese and Japanese. Satoko is of Japanese descent, whose grandmother on her father’s side had been displaced in China at the end of World War II. Although her ethnic background is a mixture of Chinese and Japanese, Satoko reported that her sense of ethnic identity was Chinese. Satoko acquired her first language, Chinese, and spent the first nine years of her life as a monolingual speaker of Chinese.

She started her primary school at the age of eight and attended for six months before her family's migration to Japan. Her Chinese literacy had not yet been well developed when she moved to Japan. The time prior to migration was an initial equilibrium state for Satoko, which she remembered and later reconstructed in her autobiographical writing.

4.2.2 The second stage: Migration and social and linguistic adaptation to Japan

In 1986, at the age of nine, Satoko moved to Japan with her family for the purpose of permanent residence. Satoko's initial state of equilibrium was interrupted by migration, and she moved into a disequilibrium state with turbulence and upheaval. To understand the circumstances of Satoko's migration, it is necessary to consider the historical background of Satoko's family. People like Satoko and her family are often called *Chuugoku kikokusya* or "returnees from China", which refers to the Japanese left behind in China at the end of World War II, who later returned to Japan with their Chinese spouses, children, grandchildren and other relatives (Tomozawa, 2001). Most of the returnees had lived as colonists in north-eastern China, where the Japanese-dominated Manchukuo existed from 1932 to 1945. When Soviet troops invaded in 1945, Satoko's grandmother was separated from her family and left behind during the chaos of their escape. She grew up in China, married a Chinese man and her son, Satoko's father, was born in 1950. Satoko's grandmother returned to Japan by herself when the repatriation program restarted in 1953. After the normalization of China-Japan relations in 1972, a large-scale repatriation of war-displaced people and their families began. Satoko's grandmother sponsored her son's family, and they came to Japan in 1986.

- **New social identities**

Since coming to Japan, Satoko has often been called a “third generation returnee from China”, because she is the grandchild (third generation) of a war-displaced Japanese woman. The term “returnees from China” is misleading in this case, because Satoko did not return to Japan. Although her ethnic background is Japanese on her father’s side, her mother is Chinese. Satoko was born and raised in China as Chinese, and spoke and still speaks the Chinese language. The “returnee from China” is a label imposed from outside, and had a tremendous influence on her. The government, schools, and people in general “[took] measures to promote their prompt adaptation as Japanese” (Tomozawa, 2001, p. 137), irrespective of a cultural background rooted in China. Transformation of their social identities started with their names. Satoko’s family adopted her grandmother’s family name and also changed their given names to Japanese names. They started their life in Japan in public housing in a western suburb of Tokyo close to the grandmother’s house.

- **New language**

Satoko and her family did not know any Japanese, either spoken or written, when they arrived in Japan. Acquiring a new language was crucial for their survival. When Satoko started her primary education in Japan with her brothers, they were the only non-Japanese-speaking-background children at school. They received neither formal Japanese as a second language instruction nor first language maintenance education at school. They were taught basic vocabulary and writing skills by the school principal in his office. Following this rather sporadic six-month introduction to Japanese, they were placed in a mainstream classroom with Japanese children. Satoko was enrolled in Year 2, which was one year younger than her grade level due to her limited Japanese language proficiency. She did not talk much at school, because of the language barrier. Even though she acquired basic communication skills, she was unable to make close friends. While gradually acquiring the Japanese language and literacy as L2, Satoko maintained her L1 at home. At this point, Satoko's life with two languages began.

- **Satoko's photo** (From my journal entry)

Satoko showed me her first photo taken in Japan shortly after her arrival. Satoko's first photograph in Japan tells her story of transition. The nine-year-old girl was learning to ride a bicycle. She did not know how to stay balanced. So her bicycle needed training wheels for support. She was wearing pink pants, which she had brought from China, and a red shirt, which was given to her in Japan. The photo seems to portray her period of transition from China to Japan, mixing what she had brought from China with things Japanese, learning something new with necessary support. However, this was not what she found in Japanese schools. She had to learn so many new things, but the necessary support was not adequately provided. Also she had to put aside her Chinese clothes and put on Japanese clothes to conceal her Chinese background in order to look like others.

4.2.3 The third stage: Neither L1 nor L2

At this stage, while studying in Japanese at school and speaking Chinese at home, Satoko felt neither language was fully her own. She felt herself caught between two languages and ethnicities, and unsure about where she belonged. Her sense of identity was dichotomous; she felt that she had to choose either Chinese or Japanese.

Satoko went to a public junior high school, which had a JSL (Japanese as a second language) class. However, she was not eligible to enrol in this class, which was intended for recently arrived students. Although Satoko had been living in Japan for more than four years, her development of academic literacy had never been supported. So, although she was not formally enrolled, she often visited the JSL class and met the JSL teacher, who became her support.

Satoko completed her nine-year compulsory education and went on to a technical high school, not through choice but because she had no other option. According to Satoko at the interview, *"there was not much choice, considering my poor school grades"*.

Throughout primary and secondary education, the impact of the conformist pressures which Satoko encountered in Japanese schools had great consequences for her perception of self. She tried to hide her Chinese background to protect herself from being ignored or bullied by other students. As her physical appearance did not stand out as foreign, she could pass as Japanese. However, she was regarded as 'different' and 'deficit' at school because of her limited academic Japanese literacy and general knowledge about Japan. Throughout her school years, Satoko was frequently discouraged from participating in the classroom community. Her failure to learn was ascribed either to her individual incapacity or to her attribute as 'a returnee from China'. Satoko often felt rejected by other students, as well as by some teachers.

Despite the persistent conformist pressures, Satoko resisted assimilating to the Japanese language only. She maintained her first language, Chinese at home. She had Chinese-speaking relatives nearby, and also Chinese-speaking friends; most of them were also “returnees from China”. They formed a Chinese-speaking community for Satoko. She enjoyed watching Chinese videos and listening to Chinese pop music. However, outside of her Chinese-speaking community, Satoko was reluctant to use Chinese.

Although Satoko used two languages: Chinese and Japanese, she felt that she was really a native speaker of neither. She worried about her future. She wrote:

> *Learning Japanese was difficult and I couldn’t read and write Chinese either. I worried how I could possibly live my life.*

Satoko started to think seriously how she should live a life with two languages during her high school days. She decided to develop her two languages fully in higher education in order to move from the ‘neither-nor’ stage toward a ‘both-and’ stage.

4.2.4 The fourth stage: Striving for ‘both L1 and L2’

Satoko made her decision to develop her two languages fully in higher education. First she studied the Japanese language and culture in a two-year junior college. Then she transferred to a university to study the Chinese language. However, she often felt a sense of alienation deriving from an insufficient command of language and literacy, whether in Japanese or Chinese. She was still trapped in a dichotomy (either Chinese or Japanese), and felt vulnerable revealing her Chinese background at school.

Satoko, after consultations with her ex-JSL teacher, decided to apply to study Japanese language and culture at the two-year junior college where I happened to be teaching. However, Satoko's homeroom teacher in high school was reluctant to send her to junior college, because he thought that she was incapable of studying at that level. In a phone conversation with me, he explained that her Japanese was not satisfactory, her school grades were not good, and she would become a burden for the teachers. It seemed to be an easy extension from 'Satoko has a literacy problem' to 'Satoko is a problem' (cf. Baynham, 1995). I told him my impression of Satoko. She seemed to be well motivated, which was more important than her school grades.

● Junior college days

Satoko passed the entrance examination, and became a new student in the small women's college in April 1997. During the two years of her college life, I closely observed her at school through working with her on her Japanese academic literacy. In those junior college days, Satoko's learning could be characterized as a series of 'unlearnings'. She was unlearning her ways of participation, which had been developed during her primary and secondary schools, to conceal her Chinese background, and to suppress her difference. She began to take the risk of revealing her Chinese background, and to approach and request assistance from lecturers.

As she had difficulties in academic Japanese, several lecturers assisted her in her studies. The major difficulty, according to Satoko, was her lack of foundation and general knowledge about Japanese culture and language. She felt that she did not know what other mainstream Japanese students already knew, and that it was almost impossible to fill the gap. Quite often she felt disappointed, depressed, and shed tears. The lecturers encouraged her to ask questions, if she did not understand. However, Satoko did not readily ask questions. Throughout her primary and secondary school education, Satoko had been discouraged from asking questions of teachers. When Satoko had asked, the teacher had appeared surprised and had said, “Don’t you know such a simple thing?” It had happened repeatedly, and as a consequence, she had learned to shut her mouth. However, when she asked a question of the lecturers in the junior college, their reactions were different. To her surprise, they took an interest and encouraged her to ask more questions. Gradually she started to enjoy her academic and social life. She studied Japanese language related subjects as well as Chinese language and culture, joined a modern dance club and Chinese culture club, and made Japanese and international friends. She spent her time in various places besides the regular classrooms, for instance, in lecturers’ offices, the international students’ room, and also the infirmary, because she sometimes had minor health problems.

There were a few occasions when Satoko experienced a break-through in revealing her language and ethnic background. In her first year, she participated in a speech contest at the school festival, and delivered a speech on her experience of being a returnee from China. She won the special prize, and more importantly, she made her Chinese background public. She had seen the speech contest in the previous year when she had visited the college as a prospective student. Satoko recalled that, at that time, she had not dreamed of standing on the stage to deliver a speech the following year. Only a year before, it had been an unthinkable act for her. This experience gave her a sense of achievement and self-confidence, which contributed to further changes in her attitude.

In her second year in college, Satoko experienced the micro-teaching of Chinese and Japanese in my class. This, she later explained, became a turning point in her attitude toward the Chinese language. I had asked her to do her teaching in two languages, but at first, not wanting to display her difference, she was reluctant to speak Chinese in front of the class. She wrote, "*I felt I was different and hated myself being a Chinese speaker. But I convinced myself that I have to get over this hurdle someday. So I decided to do my best."* Her teaching went well, both in Chinese and Japanese. Her classmates particularly responded positively to Satoko's Chinese lesson, using the direct method without Japanese language. The aim of her Chinese lesson was revealed clearly in her lesson plan: " *to understand the difficulties of learning a target language and to understand the feelings of international students and returnees*". She wanted her Japanese classmates to experience what it was like to be sitting in a classroom, surrounded by a new, incomprehensible language. This was what Satoko had experienced throughout her school life. Even in the seemingly objective writing of this lesson plan, she inserted her voice. Later, in 2002, Satoko said that this teaching experience was one of the turning points for her sense of self. She felt that she had found something she could do, which other Japanese students could not, and she began to have a positive image of herself as a Chinese speaker.

Although her overall attitude toward Chinese was becoming more positive, Satoko still felt vulnerable about revealing her Chinese background. In one of my classes, I encountered Satoko's resistance to recalling and writing about her past experience. Students were working for their research projects on their own, and met in class to do oral presentations of their progress. Satoko came to my office and asked if she could be excused from her presentation. Her project had been to visit the JSL class of her junior high school and interview returnee from China students. Although she had already visited and interviewed the students, it was too painful for her to write her report. The JSL students' experiences reminded her painfully of earlier days. She did not come to the class but handed in her report which gave only a description of the JSL class without mentioning her interviews. Her non-participation was her deliberate choice. Four years later she showed me her field notes, and I realised why it had been too painful for her. The returnee from China students had mentioned their experience of being bullied by Japanese students, being told "Go back to China", being ignored or scolded by teachers. Such experiences she did not want to remember. Writing one's experience can evoke vulnerability and emotional pain and Satoko had not been emotionally ready to write about the other students' experiences, let alone hers.

● Satoko's sense of living between two languages

Satoko often revealed her sense of living between two languages during her junior college days. Having two languages was not a strength, she felt, but a burden. Recurring themes emerging in her story are a sense of 'being different' closely associated with alienation and marginality. A sense of alienation was derived from her insufficient command of language and literacy, whether Chinese or Japanese. Despite her conscious effort to develop both languages, Satoko felt herself caught between two, neither of them fully her own. She revealed what it was like to have two languages.

> *Many students tell me that I am lucky because I can speak Chinese well. I want to ask them "Do you want to swap?" I'll be happy to do it. It's not easy to have two languages.*

She also expressed her feelings concerning her lack of linguistic foundation:

> *Which is my first language, Chinese or Japanese? Or do I even have my first language?*

A sense of marginality was dominant in Satoko's perception of herself as a person with two languages. She was ambivalent in her sense of belonging.

After eleven years of residency, Satoko's family was naturalized as Japanese in 1997 and officially became Japanese citizens. She recalled "*I was the only one in my family who did not want to be a Japanese national. I guess I still hadn't lost my Chinese heart*." Having Japanese passports, however, does not guarantee full membership in Japanese society. Satoko often said: "*When I was in China, I was called Japanese, while in Japan, I am called Chinese. So I wondered which country I belong to*." Her words indicate that she was trapped in a dichotomy and wondered whether she appeared Chinese or Japanese to others. Social identity is to some degree embraced by the self, and to some degree imposed by others (Rubin, 1995). Satoko's sensitivity to others' views about her indicates that her identity seemed to be more other-directed.

Furthermore, Satoko frequently encountered the negative image of Chinese speakers in Japanese society. She felt that Japanese people look down on Chinese speakers, and that the media represents Chinese speakers in an unfavourable way. She was often offended and hurt by the negative stereotypes of Chinese speakers. For example, one day she was talking in Chinese with her friend on her mobile phone. There had been a crime nearby involving Chinese-speaking suspects and the police approached her and started asking questions, simply because she was speaking Chinese. “Is speaking Chinese a sign of criminal?” she recalled angrily. Satoko frequently experienced such unequal power relations among languages and language users in Japanese society. Just as some languages are more valued than other languages, so some language speakers are more valued than others. By the same token, some languages and language users are less valued, or even actively discriminated against.

- **Out of school literacy practice**

Although Satoko was not recognised as a fully-fledged writer at school, she was an active writer outside the classroom. Firstly, she frequently wrote letters and greeting cards to her teachers and ex-teachers to keep contact. Secondly, she was active within her Chinese speaking community as a literacy mediator. In terms of reading and writing, her Japanese was dominant compared to her Chinese. Therefore, she helped her family and relatives with the paper work required for immigration and other practical matters, such as translating letters from school into spoken Chinese. In return, she was assisted by her Chinese speaking members with her Chinese literacy, such as with letter writing and reading. Her family, relatives and friends expected a high level of Japanese literacy of her because she was studying in a higher education institution. Satoko sometimes felt their expectations to be unduly demanding. Once she was asked by Chinese-speaking friends who had been involved in a fight to write a formal letter of explanation and apology to the police. She did not know how to compose such a formal letter and consulted her ex-JSL teacher, Ms. O, with whom she kept close contact. This indicates that she developed certain strategies for gaining assistance with literacy tasks from experts.

- **Transfer to the university**

After graduating from junior college, she transferred to a four-year university to formally study the Chinese language. Here, she met new challenges. She realized that her level of Chinese literacy did not meet the expectations of the Chinese-speaking lecturers. She felt a sense of ostracism reinforced by the native speakers of Chinese. She wrote about her experience of feeling stigmatized as follows:

> *After many hardships, I managed to enrol in A University. Soon after I started the course, I was thrown these words by the lecturers "Why did you come here? I didn't know your Chinese is so poor. Your Japanese is not good enough, either. Why don't you go back and study Japanese?" I felt as if I had been knifed.*

Furthermore, she had a traffic accident, and missed many lectures. As a consequence, she failed one of the core subjects and was unable to graduate. At that point, she felt that all of her efforts had been in vain. She thought of leaving university many times, but she decided to study one more year to complete her degree.

4.2.5 The fifth stage: Reconstruction of bilingual identities through writing autobiographical narrative

The fifth stage is the highlight of Satoko's transition. This included her attempt to write her life story and reconcile her disrupted self-narrative. While she was repeating the core subject at university, Satoko and I had writing sessions over eight months. She spontaneously wrote her life story in Japanese, her second language, in response to dialogues with me, her family and a university lecturer. She accomplished a narrative reconstruction of her past experiences. Her life experience became narratable, and she became the author of her life story. She also made a number of decisions to change her life course, such as completing her undergraduate study, marrying a Chinese husband, settling in Tokyo and raising a bilingual child. I will describe Satoko's transformation process, including her writing process, the written product, and the impact of her writing experiences in the subsequent section under the heading of 'the experiences of collaborative autobiographical narrative writing'.

4.3 The experiences of collaborative autobiographical narrative writing: Intersection of two stories

In the previous two sections I have presented my own and Satoko's life stories prior to our collaborative writing sessions. These stories showed our personal histories of learning and using plural languages in our lives. In this third section, our two individual life stories start to intersect, as Satoko and I undertook collaborative writing sessions. As seen from our stories, Satoko and I had been interacting through writing-related activities for several years. However, the highlight of our collaboration was our joint literacy experience of producing Satoko's autobiographical narrative at a time when her life was at a crossroad. The major purpose of this third section is therefore to present an overview of the context and the process of our collaborative writing sessions, and also to address the impact of collaborative writing experiences on each of us. To make connections with our transitional stages of becoming bilingual, this section comprises

Satoko's fifth stage: Reconstruction of bilingual identities through writing her life story, and my sixth stage: Conscious effort to becoming a bilingual research writer..

An important point here is the co-constructive nature of Satoko's autobiography writing. Although it was Satoko who actually wrote her life story, her story was not solely her own creation. Rather, her autobiographical narrative was jointly produced through dialogues between Satoko and me with the support from her family and her university lecturer. Both Satoko and I had brought our life histories, which shaped our joint writing practices. In turn, the impact of these writing experiences has consequently shaped and altered not only Satoko's self narrative but also my own narrative as a researcher. Thus, composing Satoko's autobiography can be seen as a joint literacy experience where two life stories met and each life story was altered by the meeting. The change was not uni-directional, but bi-directional.

4.3.1 The circumstances of writing sessions

Our writing sessions started when Satoko was in a difficult time of life transition. As mentioned earlier, she had failed one of the core subjects and was unable to graduate from her university. She had to make a decision whether she should repeat the subject one more year, or leave university. I had arranged to meet Satoko after a two year gap on the very day she found out her examination result. It was after I returned to Tokyo from my Master's study in Australia, and shortly after I received confirmation of my PhD candidature. I had been thinking of asking her whether she would be interested in participating in my research. However, on that day, she looked depressed and the mood of our meeting turned out to be distressed. Consequently, I refrained from inviting her to participate in my research, but only suggested that we keep in contact.

We met again in early April just before the beginning of the new university semester. Satoko was still undecided about what to do with her study and I felt that I needed to offer her some moral support as her ex-teacher. I asked her if she would be interested in writing something in Japanese with me. I knew from my literacy tutoring experience with a migrant woman from Vietnam in Sydney that the process of writing could help clarify one's thoughts and emotions. As Satoko expressed her interest and the need of improving her Japanese literacy, we started planning our writing sessions. After long consideration, Satoko finally decided to continue her university study one more year to complete her degree. While she was repeating the core subject at university, Satoko and I had regular meetings at my house on a voluntary basis. I must admit that my role as a researcher played a part in how we arranged our writing sessions. As mentioned earlier, I had been thinking of asking Satoko to be one of my research participants, possibly by interviewing her about her migration and writing experiences. However, it had not been pre-planned to conduct regular writing sessions with her. Thus, our collaborative writing sessions started rather unexpectedly and partly spontaneously. Before starting the writing sessions, I asked her permission to keep records of our sessions for research purpose, and she readily agreed. This was how our weekly writing sessions started. We had 17 sessions in total over eight months, each lasting approximately 60 to 90 minutes, with approximately a two-month summer break during this period.

The writing sessions were not prescriptive and I did not have any definite, pre-planned syllabus. However, I had some guiding principles, which had been developed from two different kinds of writing experiences I had had in Sydney. As indicated previously, one was giving literacy tutorials to a migrant woman from Vietnam, and the other was receiving academic writing tutorials as an international student at the writing centre of university and also from my friends. The following are the principles:

- Creating a non-threatening and safe environment is important because showing and talking about one's writing is sometimes a face-threatening act.
- Writing activities involve a good amount of talking and social interaction.
- It is important to facilitate writers' choices on writing tasks, which are related to their lives and contexts.

After our two year gap, I perceived some changes on the parts of both Satoko and me. I felt that I was better prepared to work with Satoko than previously as a result of my graduate study in adult education in Australia, my experience of literacy tutoring with a woman from Vietnam, and also my experience of becoming a second language writer. Satoko, as a writer, had changed significantly in the two years since she had graduated from junior college. From the outset, she took the initiative to choose what and how she wanted to learn. What Satoko attempted to do was to write her life story, which she said that she had wanted to write for a long time. However she had been unable to do this until our joint writing sessions. It is important to stress that writing an autobiographical narrative was Satoko's own initiative. It was not elicited by me as the researcher. It was not the case that she wrote her life story in response to my request of "please tell me your life story", as is often the case in narrative research. Rather, she spontaneously chose what she wanted to write most. I worked with her primarily as an immediate listener /reader to prompt her story-telling, although I commented on her use of written language when necessary. Thus, my primary role was a facilitator and co-participant in her story-telling. In this way I observed her narrating process as it unfolded.

4.3.2 Post-migration narrative

As mentioned earlier, Satoko's life story was marked by her migration from China to Japan at the age of nine. This migration experience divided her life story into two parts: her pre-migration narrative and her post-migration narrative. Satoko did not narrate her life story from her birth to the present in a chronological order. Instead, she began with her post-migration narrative focusing on her current and immediate past school experiences, then proceeded to her pre-migration narrative, which was her recount of childhood memories in China in the 1980s. In what follows, I describe each stage in the order which they were written.

Satoko's post-migration narrative was written in the midst of emotional turbulence, in which she was confronted by major decision-making about her university study, as she had failed one core subject and was not allowed to graduate. She felt particularly vulnerable telling her school experience, as the events she encountered at school were still painful for her. Thus the major challenge for Satoko in writing her post-migration narrative was the control of her emotion. The way she wrote her post-migration narrative was not a straight-forward first-person narrative account. Rather, she chose to narrate her school experiences by way of writing a book report. She summarised and commented on a well-known Japanese autobiographical narrative titled *Madogiwa no Totto-chan (A little girl at the window)* (Kuroyanagi, 1981), which was a Japanese best seller in the early 1980s. The author of the story, Tetsuko Kuroyanagi, is a Japanese actress, who is also an activist for children's rights in UNICEF. She wrote her recollection of her primary school experience prior to and during the World War II.

Totto-chan's story is written as a third person narrative. The main character, Totto-chan, was expelled from public primary school at Year 1 because of her unmanageable behaviour, transferring to a small private school where she met a wonderful headmaster. Totto-chan enjoyed her school life with her friends and teachers. However, the school was destroyed by fire as a result of the Tokyo air raids in 1945. This book is written in easy Japanese, and is close to a spoken mode.

Satoko had read this story while she was a junior college student. She said that she wanted to read it again and to practice summarising and commenting on the story. Before our meetings, Satoko jotted down her ideas and rough draft in her notebook horizontally, then copied it onto a piece of paper called '*genko yoshi*', or 20x20 square writing paper, vertically (from top to bottom). After reading and checking her first draft, I asked her to clarify some points. I also edited surface errors (such as grammar, Chinese characters and Japanese letters, and vocabulary) and commented on the overall structure to improve her draft. After each session, she redrafted and brought her revision in the following week.

Satoko produced three pieces of writing with a different theme for each. The way she wrote her post-migration narrative shifted from summarising an other's story to authoring her own life story. In what follows I provide Satoko's first and third book reports to illustrate the differences.

(1) *The first book report on Madogiwa no Totto-chan*

I think everyone has various primary school memories. Madogiwa no Totto-chan is a *story about a girl named Totto-chan, who went to a primary school in Tokyo until just before the end of World War II. Totto-chan is a curious, cheerful, and energetic pupil. Totto-chan entered primary school and was enjoying her school time. As she liked standing near the window, the title of the book was chosen.*

Her inquisitive nature caused a big problem at school. One day Totto-chan's mother was called to the school and told by the homeroom teacher, "Your daughter disrupts my whole class. I must ask you to take her to another school." Totto-chan's classroom was on the ground floor, and it was possible to talk to the people passing by outside. The teacher started to explain. Totto-chan opens and shuts her desk hundreds of times. When she gets bored, she goes to the window. She chats with people outside or calls the street musicians, and disrupts the class. And that's not all, because of her, classes are always interrupted. Mother thought while listening to the teacher,' "That's true, that's too much to ask of the other students. Someplace, I should look for another school and move her there. A school where they will understand her and teach her to work with everyone". Her mother thought as she listened to the teacher's explanation that with time, little by little Totto-chan would change, but the decision about Totto-chan's school had to be made.

When I read this, I think expelling a Year 1 pupil is too severe a punishment. I think, compared with other primary students, she requires a lot of attention but she doesn't disrupt lessons because she's malicious, she's just curious. In this case, it was too late to do anything about the reason for moving Totto-chan from her school. I want more than anything for teachers to think of more ways than expulsion to deal with students. What teachers say, what they teach, their decisions can have a big effect on those students' future. I really wish that school teachers should attend to the students more thoughtfully rather than blaming the difficult students.

Satoko's first book report consists of two parts: The first part is the summary of Totto-chan's story, and the second part is her evaluation. In her summary of the story, Satoko takes on a recounter's voice to (re)tell Totto-chan's story. In the last paragraph, Satoko's voice shifts from that of a recounter to that of an active evaluator. Satoko is critiquing Totto-chan's teacher, and her decision of expelling Totto-chan from school as being unfair. However, there is a slight shift from criticising a particular teacher to more general statement: *What teachers say, what they teach, their decisions can have a big effect on those students' future.* On a closer look, although tacitly, Satoko seems to insert her own school experiences in recounting Totto-chan's story here. If I consider Satoko's painful school experiences, it is quite possible that Satoko is implicitly referring to and criticising the teachers whom she had met in Japanese schools, who she felt maltreated her. "I was hurt by so many teachers," recounted Satoko on many occasions. If Satoko has brought her history to the site of writing and projected to Totto-chan's story, it is possible that by way of (re)telling Totto-chan's experience, Satoko is narrating her own school experience with her active evaluative stance. This was made possible as Satoko identified herself with Totto-chan, and linked her own school teachers with a Totto-chan's teacher.

Although Totto-chan's story took place sixty years ago, Satoko was able to identify herself with Totto-chan without difficulty for a number of reasons. First, Satoko and Totto-chan shared similar school experiences. Both of them had a hard time at school as a result of being rejected by teachers. Both of them were seen as difficult students, and became burdens to the teachers. Later, their lives changed for the better as they met supportive teachers. However, their happy days lasted only briefly, and were disrupted by some other forces. Secondly, both Satoko and Totto-chan had a sense of self as being different. As already mentioned, Satoko expressed her sense of being different on many occasions. Totto-chan, too, was conscious of her difference:

> *Totto-chan had no idea then, of course, that she had been expelled and that people were at their wit's end to know what to do. Having a naturally sunny disposition and being a bit absentminded gave her an air of innocence. But deep down she felt she was considered different from other children and*

> *slightly strange.* (Kuroyanagi, 1996, p. 43 emphasis added)

As both of them share the sense of being different, for Satoko, putting on Totto-chan's character was not too difficult. Thirdly, Satoko and Totto-chan share the sense of being unable to make decisions about their own lives. An important decision about Totto-chan's future is being made at the meeting between the teacher and Mother without her. Totto-chan has no say. Similarly Satoko, as a child, had no say in making an important decision such as migration to Japan, which influenced tremendously her life course. Lastly the incident of being expelled from school in Totto-chan's story is somewhat similar to Satoko's situation because, as she failed one subject, she was thinking whether she should withdraw from university or not. Thus, for all these reasons Satoko's own position becomes analogous to that of Totto-chan. Through this analogy, Satoko critiques Totto-chan's teacher as well as her own teachers. In arguing how teachers should treat their students, it seems that Satoko not only refers to Totto-chan's case, but also extends to other 'difficult students', such as language minority students like her. In this first piece of book report, Satoko's own school experience is only suggested, but as she went along, she became able, more explicitly, to link her own school experience with Totto-chan's story.

Now I move to the second text titled "Totto-chan and me", in which Satoko uses the first-person narrative to link her own and Totto-chan's stories. As the title suggests, she weaves two stories - Totto-chan's and Satoko's - together and presents parallels between these two. She foregrounds her own story and refers back to Totto-chan's story and characters when necessary. Compared with her previous book report, in this text, Satoko's own story is given more prominence.

Totto-chan and me

Totto-chan was expelled from her primary school in her first year. I wonder how she felt, as a grown-up, when she looked back this experience. It must have been a heartbreaking experience.

I, also, had my heart broken for a different reason. It happed in my fourth year of university. On 6th February 2001, a list of graduating students' names was released. If your name was not on the list, it meant that you were not able to graduate because you didn't have enough credit. My name was not on the list. I checked with the administration office to find that I failed one subject, Chinese phonology, a core subjects. I talked with this lecturer on the phone. He was not willing to give me any make-up exams or other work.

I transferred to A (pseudonym) University. I heard from other students that Chinese phonology was a difficult subject to pass. In my third year of university, I had a full attendance for this subject , however, I couldn't take the final exam on 19th January 2000. I had a traffic accident on 30th December 1999 on my way home from my part-time job. So I had to miss most of the final exams. All lecturers gave me make-up exams for special consideration, except in Chinese phonology. I asked him to give me the reexamination, he said "You didn't do well in the first semester exam. If you are in your final year, I'd consider giving reexamination, but since you're still in your third year, you might as well study one more year, then I could assure you could graduate next year."

In my fourth year of university I had to go to the hospital frequently because of my traffic accident injury. I tended to miss lectures, however, I tried to attend almost all Chinese phonology lectures and I took midterm and final exams. But all of my efforts were in vain. I couldn't pass the final exam. My score was 10 points below the benchmark. I couldn't get a second chance. I failed only one subject and I couldn't graduate.

I thought of leaving university many times, but I couldn't do it.

I came to Japan from China when I was nine years old. I had attended Chinese primary school for only half a year and I couldn't read and write Chinese. I was enrolled in year

2 in a Japanese primary school, but I couldn't understand any Japanese at all. I had to start from the scratch.

Learning Japanese was difficult and I couldn't read and write Chinese either. I worried how I could possibly live my life. So I had decided to develop my two languages fully, then I decided to transfer to Chinese language department of A University in 1999 as a third year student.

After many hardships, I managed to enrol in A University. Soon after I started the course, I was thrown these words by the lecturers "Why did you come here? I didn't know your Chinese is so poor. Your Japanese is not good enough, either. Why don't you go back and study Japanese?" I felt as if I had been knifed. I tried to get over these hurdles by working hard, then I faced another big problem: I couldn't graduate. If I repeat the subject, I'd have the same lecturer. Also I'd have to pay almost a million yen tuition fee for only one subject.

About this time, I read the book Madogiwa no Totto-chan again. Totto-chan was saved when she met a wonderful teacher in her new school. I felt very worried, in fact, to face the challenge of repeating one more year at university. Mr. T of A University said to me "If you have to repeat one more year, I'll help you in one way or another". My ex-teachers of junior college encouraged me saying, "Life is long. One year is not a long time. I know you will struggle, but why don't you try one more year?" When I heard these words, I suddenly remembered the scene in Totto-chan's story: the school principal of her new school saying "You're really a good girl, you know" to Totto-chan.

Only one word from teachers changed Totto-chan's life, as well as mine. I decided to stay in the university for one more year to complete my course. I go to university once a week. Mr. T is giving me private lessons of translation from Chinese to Japanese, and supports Chinese phonology lessons. I also take Japanese lessons from my ex-teacher of junior college. I'll try my best to develop my Chinese and Japanese language during this year to meet the expectations of teachers who spend their time for me.

Totto-chan and me is structured as follows: At the beginning of the text Satoko comments on Totto-chan's story and makes a move from Totto-chan's story to her own story. Satoko's story starts with the description of her current problem and then moves backward to trace its origin and complications of her problem. Her story then moves forward and returns to her current concern of whether she should leave university or continue. Satoko re-introduces Totto-chan's story and characters, and infuses multiple voices here both from Satoko's teachers and Totto-chan's teacher by using direct quote speech. In the final paragraph, Satoko presents her resolution to study at the university one more year. Here her narrative points toward future.

As illustrated above, in this second text Satoko projected her life experience to Totto-chan's story and wrote her own story. The way she used another's text changed from summarising and quoting extensively from the original to authoring her own story by referring to an other's story. Though this process, Satoko became able to narrate her post-migration narrative. In other words, she appropriated another's story to narrate her own experiences and to release her emotion. Hence, reading and using another's story contributed to her construction of her own story. The significance of appropriation of other's words will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Moreover, Totto-chan's story triggered Satoko's childhood memories, and eventually motivated her to write down her own story based on her childhood memories in China. On our first meeting, when we were talking about Totto-chan's classroom behaviour, Satoko suddenly started telling me about her primary school in China. It happened as I was describing the kind of desk which Totto-chan enjoyed opening and closing repeatedly in her classroom. "*Have you ever seen a wooden desk like this with a top, so you can lift it to open? When I entered primary school, I remember I was using a desk like this*" said I. Satoko answered, "*No, but the desk I used in China was for the use of two persons, made of wood, and ...*" All of a sudden, she started telling me about her primary school in China, not only about the desk she used, but also about the classroom, school building, playground, physical location of the school, school teachers, classmates, and school activities. She talked on and on, one topic after another. I took notes while listening, feeling excited and amazed. Although she spent only six months in her Chinese school, she had very vivid memories. Her words began to pour from her mouth as though a dam inside her had burst. It was as though her memories had been kept in a reservoir inside her. Although I had known her for six years, it was the first time that I had heard about her primary school at length. I sensed that she had become emotionally ready to tell her experience in China, and this must be what she wanted to write. So I checked with her, "*Reading and writing about Totto-chan is just a start. Maybe what you want to do next is to write about your experience in China.*" As she said yes, I suggested that she make notes of whatever she could remember. It turned out that her preliminary oral recount told on the first day took shape as written pre-migration narratives in the following eight months of our collaborative writing sessions.

4.3.3 Pre-migration narrative

Following her post-migration narrative, Satoko wrote her pre-migration narrative, which consisted of recounts of her childhood experiences in China in 1980s. Hence, Satoko's narrative made a move from the here-and-now of Japan to the then-and-there of China. As mentioned earlier, Totto-chan's story triggered Satoko's childhood memories and motivated her to write down her own story. In the process of writing her pre-migration narrative, Satoko produced 12 different pieces of writing, each of which focused on a specific topic or episode, such as village life, A New Year's festival, a school trip and classroom activities. She learned how to organise her text around one specific topic and to compose relatively short passages in a way that was similar to Totto-chan's book. Thus, Totto-chan's story served as a model for her writing.

For Satoko, her initial purpose of writing her childhood experience was to record her precious childhood memories in a written medium, which is more stable and secure than the oral medium. As she commented in an interview:

> *Satoko: My memories of China, my first memories are so deep-rooted. So when I went to a school trip in Japan, I kept thinking this is so different from China*
> *Sumiko: Your first and last memories, so you never wanted to lose, I guess*
> *Satoko: Yes, very very deep*
> *Sumiko: Besides, they were memories of your first experience of school, you wanted to keep them*
> *Satoko: Yes, very precious memories*

She has a very good memory and remembers even very small details of her childhood, although she had not kept her diary. For instance, when I asked her a question "When did it happen?", she often responded with year, month and even an exact date. Even so, she worried, "*I felt my childhood memory is getting vague. It is an old and deep-rooted memory. It's so precious that I don't want to lose it. So I wanted to write it down before it's gone, before it's forgotten".* She expressed her desire to keep her memories alive in her first piece of pre-migration narrative as follows.

Prologue

People don't remember their past well. So I want to write down an album of my heart of nine years in China based on my vague memories and my parents' stories. We remember the important things of each day for only a short time before we let them go and forget. People live different lives depending on where they were born. I was born in E village in

Hei Long Jiang province of China on 17 July 1977. My family farmed in the countryside.
Now I will begin writing down my story of nine years in China.

Thus, it can be seen that Satoko's initial purpose of writing her childhood experience was to preserve her memories for herself in a written medium, so that she could retrieve them in future.

In keeping her childhood memories in a written medium, Satoko had a dilemma concerning the choice between L1 and L2. Since her topic was something that happened in China and which was originally experienced in her L1 (the Chinese language), it felt more natural to her to write about it in the original language, as shown in the following exchange.

> *Satoko: I want to write this in Chinese someday. Writing in Chinese is far better..*
> *Sumiko: Yeah, you don't have to translate, the name of this tree for instance*
> *Satoko: I don't have to describe everything*

Caught between Chinese - the language of her childhood, and Japanese - the language of her present, Satoko chose to write about her L1- rooted memories in L2, Japanese.

Satoko's language choice was interrelated with at least three different factors: her writing proficiency, her sense of audience, and purposes of writing. Firstly, her choice of languages was complicated by the fact that she was not a very adept writer. She felt that her limited L1 literacy constrained her language choice. "*It would be nice and much easier, if I could write it in the Chinese language. Though I can't do it now, I want to write it in Chinese someday*", said Satoko. "*I can talk about it in Chinese, but* *speaking and writing are totally different*". As Satoko reveals, the gap between the spoken and written mode creates a barrier. She could narrate orally her childhood stories in the original language, Chinese, but she was not able to write it in L1, although this was what she wanted to do most.

Secondly, Satoko's language choice was closely related to her sense of audience. If she had been more proficient in her L1 literacy, she would have chosen to write about her memories in the original language. In this case, the readers would have been Chinese speakers. However, as she chose to write in Japanese, this language choice consequently led her to approach a Japanese audience, who knew little about northeastern part of China. The questions arise, who was her intended audience? To whom was she writing? The first and most immediate reader was me. However, in fact, she said that she was addressing a broader audience. *"I'm also writing to people I haven't met yet. I want them to know that there are many different people living on this earth, and many different lives there"*. This means that her audience need not be physically present, but can be imagined. Thus, Satoko was addressing both an immediate and an imagined Japanese audience. Lo Bianco, Liddicoat and Crozet (1999, p. 182) maintain that even seemingly monologic language activity like writing is "dialogic and interactive" because "the imagined audience shapes our pitch, style and content in pervasive ways". In the process of writing pre-migration narratives, Satoko gradually developed a sense of audience and started the dialogue with her imagined Japanese audience.

Thirdly, in accord with the choice of language and audience, Satoko altered the purpose of writing. As mentioned earlier, her original motive of writing pre-migration narratives was to preserve her old memories in a written medium. Thus, the intended reader was

Satoko herself. However, with a Japanese audience in mind, Satoko established a new writing purpose, that is to describe her life experience in China to a Japanese audience with limited background knowledge. She said "*I want to practice writing description. I feel I need to work on description more.*" She realized that her writing purposes were two-fold, both private and public. One was to secure her personal memories in a written medium; the other was to convey her life experience to a Japanese audience. In this way, her writing purpose shifted from writing personal memoirs for herself to describing everyday life in China in the 1980s for a Japanese audience.

A sense of audience and purposes of writing increasingly shaped the ways she wrote. Satoko became more reader-conscious in the process of writing and revision. I take one of Satoko's pre-migration narratives, *Rememberings*, to illustrate this shift. This text was written with the purpose of introducing the setting (time and place) and characters of her narrative world.

Rememberings

My grandfather on my father's side is Chinese, my grandmother is Japanese, my parents are Chinese, and I have two brothers in my family. Before I was born, my grandmother had returned to Japan where my great-grandmother lived, and then my grandfather passed away. We had six members in our family including my father's stepmother. We were living together in a small village in Hei Long Jiang province of China. The village was surrounded by fields and mountains. The village was located in the northern part of China, close to the border with Russia, if we look at the world atlas.

The house was made of grass, clay and timber. The floor was clay.
The summer temperature was above 30 degrees and the winter temperature was 35 to 40 degrees below zero. In winter sometimes the water on the ground froze within a few minutes.

My family had a farm and we had enough food to eat. We didn't eat rice, but we ate corn, potatoes, Chinese cabbages and cabbages almost everyday. Each family made their own bean paste, and prepared lots of pickles with the paste for the winter. We dug deep holes, about two meters diameter and one to two meters deep and put the food and covered it with dirt to prevent the food from freezing. If we didn't have enough space inside the house, we dug holes outside. Chinese cabbages and cabbages were all right for outside storage, because they didn't change the quality much. But potatoes and white radishes must be kept inside, because they spoil when frozen.

Farmers started to manure the fields in April, cultivated the fields in hot summer, then September and October's weather determined the year's harvest. When they had a good harvest, they sold it and made money to buy fertilizers for the next year and clothes, and also paid children's school fees. In China school education was not compulsory, and some children did not attend school because they were not able to pay the school fees. Despite sweating in the fields all year round, some farmers couldn't produce enough food to feed their families. These families borrowed food from other families or borrowed money. My family was rather well off compared with other families in a village, because my grandmother in Japan sent us money.

When the Chinese New Year came, my mother and step-grandmother made our new clothes. It was also a time for a good feast. Once a year we ate rice instead of corn, bread made of flour, meat, fish, fruit, and cakes. These were the kinds of food we couldn't eat everyday. Special New Year's food was Chinese dumplings. I liked Chinese dumplings very much. That's why I always looked forward to the New Year's festival.

Satoko's text, *Rememberings*, was produced after many revisions. Her first draft was quite different from the final version above. Originally she wanted to write about the joy of the Chinese New Year festival, which is briefly mentioned in the last paragraph. However, in order to describe the joy of Chinese New Year, she had to describe the ordinary daily routines of her family to make the contrast explicit. In order to describe her daily life, she had to provide the readers with general information of geographical location and the climate of her village. Being prompted by my request for clarification, Satoko attempted to fill in the gap of background knowledge between the writer and the

Japanese audience.

In order to narrate her L1-rooted experiences in L2, Satoko, as a writer, moved back and forth temporally - between past and present, spatially - between China and Japan, and linguistically -between Chinese and Japanese. However, this was not an easy task either cognitively and emotionally. Friedlander's (1990) study suggests that experiences committed to memory in one language are difficult to write about in another language. Thus, writing about her L1-rooted memories in L2 was a cognitively demanding task. It was not just cognitively demanding but also affectively charged because "all early memories and experiences are stored in the original language" (Lieblich, 1993, p. 126), thus people tend to resist removing them from their original contexts (Lieblich, 1993).

The task of writing about L1-rooted memories also raised the questions about translation. The issue of translation became an important part of our discussions about writing. Satoko said, "*I had thought that writing about my childhood in China was just a matter of translation. If I can translate word by word or phrase by phrase from Chinese into Japanese, that would do. But, in fact, it is not true. Direct translation is impossibl*e." Indeed, translation in this case involved more than transforming L1 text into L2 text. Rather, it was a reconstruction of her childhood memories rooted in Chinese in her second language, Japanese. In other words, it was "languaging personal experience in someone else's words" (Belz, 2002, p. 19). This meant that she had to re-interpret her past experience from the vantage point of the present as an adult.

Satoko undertook this demanding task in collaboration with bilingual support persons such as her family and teachers. While she was composing, she often asked her mother for advice. Satoko’s recollection of the village life must have been shaped by the stories of her parents. She also sought assistance from a university lecturer, who was teaching Chinese, about the specific vocabulary in Chinese. This lecturer had offered Satoko private tutoring of translation exercises from Chinese to Japanese. He provided her with useful resources and suggestions. I worked as her immediate audience to prompt her story telling and writing in Japanese. An illustrative example is found in her text *Rememberings* presented earlier when she attempted to describe how to preserve vegetables in holes during the cold winter in northeastern part of China. As her memory was vague, she asked for detailed information, such as the size of the holes, from her mother. The university lecturer provided her with some photos of farm houses in northeastern part of China. Satoko and I searched for the Japanese equivalent of holes in the kitchen. It is important to note that these support persons did not meet face to face, but rather formed a loosely connected network to assist Satoko in different times and different ways with different languages. From these people, Satoko learned to reconstruct her childhood memories from the perspective of an adult, and also with a bilingual perspective. Satoko’s childhood memories experienced in L1 gradually turned to a bilingual narrative targeting an imagined Japanese audience. Thus, it can be said that Satoko’s autobiographical narrative emerged in part from social interaction.

Satoko’s choice of language has important consequences for her sense of self. In addressing the Japanese audience, although in a private writing space, Satoko made her Chinese ethnicity public. As she had been trying to hide her Chinese background at school, she had not wanted to talk or write about her past experience. She was not emotionally ready, either. However, her attitude had changed and she was ready to present her Chinese background, which was an important part of her present self.

"*Returnees from China students often resist talking about their lives in China. But I think it's good to reveal oneself. Many of my friends don't want to talk about China, but I want them to be proud of where they come from*." Satoko's choice of language and audience seemed to play a vital role to her self-affirmation.

Satoko's pre-migration autobiography writing process reveals a series of border crossings. While writing her childhood memories, Satoko travelled between China and Japan, both physically and symbolically. Symbolically, as mentioned above, she wrote about her childhood memories from a vantage point of the present, by moving back and forth between present and past, between Japan and China, and also between her L1 and L2. Physically, she visited her hometown in China with her family for about a month during summer holidays. Her experience of visiting China impacted on her considerably. Satoko said that she felt that her childhood memories came alive during her stay in her hometown in China. One day she visited her primary school. As it was during the summer holidays, nobody was there. Satoko said, "*I felt my old memories came back. I felt as if I could see myself playing in the playground as a child. I had been there fifteen years ago*".

Another impact of her China visit was a reverse culture shock. After returning to Japan from China, she experienced a reverse culture shock, and felt unsure about where she wanted to belong. The following is the transcript of our conversation during the writing session, in which Satoko expresses her uncertainty about her place.

Satoko: When I visited China, yeah, I felt this is my place. Everyday life in Japan – it's a lot easier. For example, when I go to the post office here, post-office clerks are very helpful, but in China, they always tried to charge me something extra, it *made me angry. But, even so, I really like China better. If I can, I want to live in China.*

Sumiko: How did you feel before you went to China?

Satoko: I really wanted to go to China

Sumiko: Did you kind of expect that you'd feel that way in China?

Satoko: Yes, Chinese people take it easy. When I see busy people passing by in Japan, they make me feel tired. But, at the same time, in Japan, you can get things done by yourself without asking someone else to do it for you. And if you want to live in Tokyo, you can live in Tokyo (register your family in Tokyo without problems)*

....

Satoko: All of my family say Japan is better, but I prefer China, I'm the only one in my family, isn't this strange? I prefer China, I don't fit in Japan. When my family naturalized as Japanese citizens, I kind of resisted, only me

Sumiko: How old were you?

Satoko: The third year in senior high school. I said I didn't want to. I guess I still had my Chineseness. I know living in China it's not easy, and I don't think I can live in China, but every time I hear the Chinese language and things about China, I really feel refreshed, I wonder why.

Sumiko: So after returning to Japan, you haven't adjusted yet?

Satoko: Hmm not re-adjusted, maybe I feel Japan isn't my country, hmm, something I feel something different. So after graduation, I'm thinking of going back.

During our writing sessions, Satoko repeatedly told me about her ambivalent feelings toward China and Chinese people. Although she understood that there were both good and bad sides about life in China, she still expressed her attachment toward China. She was again at the crossroad, and wondering what to do and where to live after graduation. As Satoko mentioned above, one of her options was living in China, which she was considering seriously.

4.3.4 Satoko's story beyond

Our writing sessions took a break again during the New Year holidays followed by

Satoko's final examination at university, for which she worked very hard. In late January she phoned me and said that she was going to China in early February to celebrate Chinese New Year with her relatives. She also told me that she passed the final examination of the core subject and would be finally able to graduate. She added, "*I'm going to stay longer in China. I don't know when I'm coming back.*" This meant that our writing sessions came to an end rather abruptly, just as they started unexpectedly and spontaneously in the previous year. I thought it was a good timing for her to go to China during the Chinese New Year, because Chinese New Year, often called Spring Festival, symbolises rebirth and revival. Now that she has accomplished writing her life story and reconciled with her past, she was ready to explore her future. In fact, she had some future plan in her mind, although she did not mention this at that stage.

Almost three months later after she left Japan, Satoko returned from China and phoned me. Out of blue, she said, "I got married!" She married a Chinese husband in March in her hometown, who was a relative of her sister-in-law. Satoko had heard about him before going to China. After meeting him, she decided to get married in China. After her husband obtained his visa and came to Japan, they started a family in Tokyo. I attended her wedding reception in August in Tokyo, and met her family, including her grandmother, who had been left behind in China, relatives, ex-teachers, and friends. I felt that the characters of Satoko's narrative world came alive. She had a premature birth of her baby in October and became a mother. Her social identities had changed dramatically within a year, from a student to a wife and a mother. These life changes had never been anticipated nor predicted when we began writing sessions only a year before. Therefore, in retrospect, our collaborative writing sessions coincided with her series of decision making processes about her life course, and became a precursor to her actual life transitions. The collaborative writing sessions also influenced my own development as a bilingual research writer and my own life transitions.

4.3.5 My transition: A conscious effort to become a bilingual research writer

Now I restart my story and describe my own transitions in the course of collaborative writing sessions and subsequent thesis writing. The time when Satoko and I undertook writing sessions was a critical time for Satoko, who was facing important life decisions. It was also a time of transition for me. I had returned to Japan after completing my Master's degree in an Australian university, and was in a process of re-settling, and also starting my Australian PhD work while living in Tokyo. I was beginning to re-establish my professional identities through conducting new research and writing.

To understand the nature of my transition, first I describe how I conducted my PhD research and writing, and its consequences. Although I had been enrolled in the same faculty both in my Master's study and PhD study, my way of participation in the faculty has been different. This has been the case in two ways. One is my physical location, and the other is my writing practice. As for my physical location, when I was undertaking my Master's study, I was based in Sydney, and attempting to participate in a new academic community as a newcomer through academic writing in English. Thus, my moving trajectory was 'from L1 to L2'. In contrast, my moving trajectory of PhD study can be characterised as moving between and across L1 and L2. Since I started my PhD, I have been based in Tokyo while teaching in Japanese universities, and I have travelled to the Australian university for supervision once a semester. I began conducting a longitudinal study with Satoko based in Japan, and also began developing my research and writing skills in English away from the immediate and local interactions with supervisors and fellow research students.

With respect to my writing practice, among other differences, the most salient change is my writing environment. This has shifted between writing in English in Australia and writing in English in Japan. Also important is the relationship between the topic of my research writing and the choice of language. I began to write about the collaborative autobiographical writing experiences of Satoko and me, which took place in Japan and in the Japanese language through the medium of English for an imagined English-speaking audience. In other words, the writing task I set for myself for my PhD research was that of writing about an L1 related topic in L2 in an L1-speaking environment for an imagined L2 audience. The relationship between L1 and L2 has not been straightforward but criss-crossed, in ways that parallel Satoko's experience of writing L1-based memories in L2.

Moving between L1 and L2 academic communities involved "the juggling, and the balancing" (Casanave, 1998, p. 198) of my two linguistic resources and affiliation in two academic communities. That was an attempt to develop my expertise between the position of living and researching in a non-English speaking country and the position of continuing participation in an English speaking community. As already mentioned in my story, while I am considered as an old timer and an expert in an L1 (Japanese) academic community, I am a novice research writer in an L2 (Australian) context. Even though I stay in an L1 context, I perform different roles for different language-specific tasks.

Within one day, I teach Japanese academic writing as an expert to international students in a Japanese university, and then I slip into an apprentice role in English academic writing in front of my computer at home. My differing positions as a research writer in two different academic communities have presented me with a complex task of professional identity-transformation. I have faced an on-going challenge in attempting to reconcile my already-established L1 writer's position and my developing L2 writer's position while undertaking my PhD research and writing.

While observing Satoko's shifts between L1 and L2 in composing her autobiography, I gradually became uncomfortable with the notion of L2 learner and L2 writing. As a result of interactions with Satoko, my view of second language/literacy learning and language learners has undergone a significant change. Part of this change is reflected in my use of terminology. I no longer refer to my research participant as being a 'second language learner'. Instead, I use the term 'bilingual person'. This shift has resulted from my search for terminology that reflected how I experienced my own positioning as a subject of research. My perception of this positioning has evolved during my research in the following ways:

Native speaker of Japanese and Non-native speaker of English (Before commencing master's study in Australia)
↓
L2 learner (Early stage of Master's study in Australia)
↓
L2 user, L2 writer (Later stage of Master's study in Australia to early stage of PhD study)
↓
Bilingual writer as researcher and thesis writer (In the course of PhD study)

The changes in terminology, thus reflect changes in perception of myself as subject of research, as well as my understandings of language and literacy development. As indicated above, before commencing my master's study in Australia, I considered myself as a native speaker of Japanese and non-native speaker of English in an EFL (English as a foreign language) environment—in Japan. Japanese was my dominant language for research and publication, although I did extensive reading in English. On the surface, these two languages existed separately in my L1 context. When I commenced my master's study in Australia, I suddenly felt I was a second language learner in a new academic community. In a later stage of my master's study, I adopted the notion of multicompetent second language user following Cook (1999). After commencing my PhD study and joint writing sessions with Satoko in Japan, I became uncomfortable with the notion of 'second language learner/user/writer'. It was then that I appropriated the notion of 'bilingual' in dialoguing with professional research writers both in person and in written texts. Through this changing self-positioning, I sought to develop my expertise across two languages.

Summary of Chapter 4: Life-long transitions of two language learners/users

In this chapter I have presented life stories of Satoko and myself with a view to providing wholistic descriptions of two language learners/users with regard to our engagement with plural languages, and to our sense of self. Our life and language learning experiences highlight some differences as well as a number of important similarities in our processes of becoming bilingual.

Satoko's and my own language and literacy learning trajectories differed, because in many ways our life courses differed. Satoko's life with two languages began with her transnational migration followed by a continuous process of acculturation. Becoming bilingual was not her choice, but was a necessity. When she started learning Japanese as a second language, her L1 (Chinese) literacy had not yet fully developed. She continued to struggle with L1 and L2 literacy throughout her life. On the other hand, my encounter with a subsequent language started with learning English as a foreign language at junior high school at the age of thirteen, when my L1 literacy had already developed. I studied and used English as a foreign language mostly in Japan, except for my two sojourns in English-speaking countries, which were my choice. Thus, Satoko and I differed significantly in terms of our educational background, the positive and negative nature of our experiences with subsequent languages, and our level of confidence in controlling L1 and L2 literacy. Satoko and I also wrote for different purposes in our two languages and we wrote different kinds of genres in both L1 and L2. In this sense, as language learners, we had different language/literacy learning experiences.

Despite these differences, Satoko's and my patterns of becoming bilingual share important similarities. Both Satoko and I began as monolingual speakers, before learning an additional language at some point in our lives. We did not acquire two languages simultaneously from birth, but acquired them successively at a later age. We can thus both be regarded as *subsequent*, rather than *simultaneous* bilinguals (Bialystok, 1991; McLaughlin, 1978; Yip & Matthews, 2007). We have since both continued to live our lives through the means of more than one language. For both of us, the process of becoming bilingual encompassed several stages. Despite differences in our life and educational experiences, the sequence of these stages took a similar path, and in both cases, these stages were intricately interwoven with our life experiences. We then gradually moved with conscious effort, to the stage where two languages became mutually interdependent and transforming of each other. We became more flexible and more able “to perform a balancing act” (Casanave, 1998, p. 198) of moving between two linguistic worlds. For both of us, language learning was not a uni-directional transfer from L1 to L2. Rather, at times, language development occurred first in L2 before impacting on L1. Thus, our learning trajectories can be characterised as ‘moving between L1 and L2’ rather than ‘moving from L1 to L2’.

In sum, while the narratives of Satoko and myself provide evidence of differences between us as language learners, they also highlight important similarities. They point to the importance of historical, social and cultural contexts in which the language learner is embedded for understanding processes of becoming bilingual, and they highlight some of the personal and affective factors that impact language learning. Overall, they provide strong evidence that while developing control of the linguistic codes of second and subsequent languages remains central to processes of becoming bilingual, so much more is involved.

I move now to Chapter 5, where I address more systematically the key issues that arise from analysis of the narratives presented in this chapter. In doing so, I also reflect on the broader significance of my own and Satoko’s development as ‘bilinguals’ for understanding the nature of language and literacy development across multiple languages.

CHAPTER 5 INSIGHTS INTO LANGUAGE AND LITERACY LEARNING

Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented life stories of Satoko and myself with a view to providing wholistic descriptions of our longitudinal transitions with regard to learning and using plural languages. While our narratives revealed considerable differences between us as language learners, they also highlighted important similarities. Differences between Satoko and me were evident in the extent to which our processes of becoming bilingual had been choice or necessity; in our educational backgrounds; in our levels of literacy in first and second languages and confidence in our literacy abilities in both languages; and in the purposes for which we wrote in both first and second languages. Despite these differences the similarities were striking. We were both subsequent (rather than simultaneous) bilinguals; for both of us, becoming bilingual encompassed several similar stages that were interwoven with our life experiences. For both of us becoming bilingual involved moving between two worlds and between two languages.

As I argued at the end of Chapter 4, despite our differences, the similarities revealed in our narratives regarding our overall processes of becoming bilingual point to the importance of socio-historical and sociocultural contexts in which language learners are situated. They also highlight the importance of personal and affective factors in language learning. In addition, the learners' narratives indicate the significance of the role of written autobiographical narrative in key stages of our transition. These similarities suggest that while developing control of vocabulary, grammar, and texts remain central to successful language learning, there is so much more that needs to be taken into account to understand the nature of what it means to become bilingual.

In this chapter, I present the third layer of analysis of narratives (Level C in Diagram 1). My purpose here is to identify key issues emerging from the narratives presented in Chapter 4, and to address broader implications of these issues for understanding the nature of language learning and learners' development. To clarify, the two narratives presented in Chapter 4 now become an object to be further analysed. The analysis in this chapter thus represents a third level of abstraction where the narratives presented in chapter 4 themselves become data for further analysis in chapter 5. The relationship between chapters 4 and 5 enables me to work from the specific details of Satoko's and my own stories to a more generalised and abstract account of the significance of these learners' narratives for understanding what it means to become bilingual.

This chapter is structured around two sections with different purposes. The purpose of section 1 is to abstract key issues from learners' narratives (level B) to understand what is involved in becoming bilingual. That is, the narratives presented in Chapter 4 are further analysed to provide insights into the nature of language learning. The analysis in Section 1 of this chapter addresses issues that emerge overall from the narratives. Section 2 of this chapter then focuses in more detail on the role of written narrative in my own and Satoko's language learning. It addresses ways in which the act of writing autobiographical narrative contributed to the learners and their language development, in particular, as a mediating artifact of language learning. Although both sections utilise learners' narratives to investigate their change, the use of narrative differs in each section. Specifically, Section 1 focuses on narrative as a research tool for uncovering aspects of language learning, whereas Section 2 focuses on narrative as a mediating tool of language learning. In other words, the focus of Section 1 is on the content of narrative, or how learners' change is reflected in their narratives, whereas the focus of Section 2 is on the functions of narrative, or how the act of writing autobiographical narrative mediates learner's change. Section 1 is considerably longer than Section 2. However, because there is a shift in focus from content to function of narrative between the two sections, they are numbered separately.

5.1 What is involved in becoming bilingual? Key issues emerging from learners' stories

The learners' stories in Chapter 4 revealed that our life-long transitions of becoming bilingual are complex and multi-faceted processes that encompass both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. In order to understand the nature of this complexity, I have sought to identify recurring themes that underlie our narratives, and also common patterns in our transitions. These themes and patterns will be discussed under the following headings:

- Border crossings
- Social interaction
- Self-regulation of affect
- Transformation of identities

- Linguistic development and translation

As will be shown, the themes and patterns discussed under these headings are not mutually exclusive, but are intimately entwined with one another.

5.1.1 Border crossings

For Satoko and me, the processes of becoming bilingual encompassed continuous border crossings. As indicated in Chapter 1, border crossings refer to moving across various borders ranging from physical to more symbolic levels. At a concrete level, border crossing refers to the physical movement of individuals across geographical, particularly national borders, as migrants and sojourners. Both Satoko and I engaged in border crossings at this level as we physically moved between countries. Satoko's story is marked by her experience of transnational border crossing as a 'returnee from China'. My border crossing at this level involved studying in America and also in Australia.

For both of us, these physical border crossings had a strong affective dimension that impacted on our sense of self and identity. For Satoko, migration also resulted in a strong sense of dislocation and the disruption of her first language and literacy development. Her attempt to regain a positive sense of self took many years of struggle. In my case, my first sojourn in the United States was characterised by a sense of loss: loss of words and identity. The recovery from my identity crisis also took many years. In my second sojourn in Australia, my professional identity was threatened by the change from an experienced language teacher and a research writer in my L1 context to a novice research writer in the L2 context. Thus our border crossings were interwoven with disjunctions and with a strong sense of loss. A sense of recovery and gain appeared only many years later.

In the move from loss to recovery and gain, Satoko and I have been constantly moving across linguistic and sociocultural borders. Satoko has maintained her first language and culture after migration and relocation, and now constantly moves between L1 and L2 communities both within Japan, and between China and Japan. Satoko and her family represent the kind of migrants, who “travel back and forth between dual societies, inhabit multiple homes, roles, identities, and languages” (Bhatia & Ram, 2004, p. 225). Satoko’s family became naturalized as Japanese citizens; nevertheless, they have close ties with their relatives in China and make frequent visits to each other. Satoko is acting as a translator for her family and Chinese-speaking relatives, which requires working across different cultural practices, assumptions, and values. Satoko and her family’s transnational movements are characterised by bi-directionality, rather than a linear trajectory from one’s homeland to host country. The traditional images of migrants associated with “permanent displacement and a complete break from their homeland” (Bhathia & Ram, 2004, p. 225) do not represent the whole moving populations “in the age of transnational migrations, border crossings and diasporas” (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, p. 297). While unidirectional moving patterns may work for certain immigrant settings, they are certainly not the only cases of border crossings in a contemporary world.

In my case, in my childhood I became a bi-dialectical speaker of Japanese, and constantly moved between two dialects. As I grew up, I regularly used my L1 and L2 for academic purposes, and also moved frequently between L1 and L2 speaking countries as a sojourner. Even if I stay in an L1 context, I undertake different roles for different language-specific tasks within the one day. Our stories provide evidence of constant movement between languages and cultures, and the need for both of us to be able to take up different roles across different sociolinguistic contexts. My argument supports the claim made by Cook (2002) as follows:

> they [contemporary language learners]are simultaneously members of many groups. Everyday language use means one person combining many roles and simultaneously presenting relevant aspects of each; acquiring a language means creating and maintaining all these roles for ourselves within the context of situation. Looking only at the L2 parts of the L2 user is inadequate; they are complete people, some of whose parts are played in one language or the other, some in both at once (Cook, 2002, p. 275).

Furthermore, border crossings at a more symbolic level occurred in the process of linguistic activities, such as writing autobiographical narratives. As I will argue in the subsequent section, for Satoko and myself, autobiographical narrative writing became a site of continuous border crossings, which refer to crossing time and space to narrate our life stories while working across different languages, modalities, and genres. As seen above, the issue of border crossings encompasses multiple aspects of becoming bilingual, including social, affective, identity, and linguistic. Furthermore, these aspects are closely inter-related, and mutually influencing.

5.1.2 Social interaction

The learners' stories presented in Chapter 4 highlight the importance of social interaction in language learning. Both Satoko and I experienced significant change in the social domain, and this change brought about further change in cognitive and other intrapersonal domains. However, it is important to note that social interaction with target language speakers is not necessarily easily available to language learners/users. In some circumstances, despite the proximity to the target language speakers, our opportunities to gain access to social interactions were limited. Thus, the major foci of this section are how social interaction, or lack thereof, had an impact upon our language learning, and also how we sought to gain access to social interaction, and to alter social relationships with other people.

Stories of Satoko and myself demonstrated that language learning is embedded in sociocultural, socio-historical, and socio-political contexts wherein social relationships with other people were grounded. As a consequence of transnational border crossings, both Satoko and I moved to a new sociocultural context as new-comers. In my case, my two sojourns, one in a US high school in the 1970s and the other in an Australian university in the 2000s, differed significantly in terms of social interaction. My first sojourn in the US demonstrated the instances of identity crisis accompanied by emotional turbulence without sufficient social interactions with English-speaking people. Although I lived physically close to the speakers of the target languages, social interaction with them was not readily available. Compared to my first sojourn, my second sojourn as a mature international student was more socially engaged, partly because of my age and life experience, and partly because of sociocultural and socio-historical context of a multicultural city, Sydney in the 2000s. These internal and external factors strongly influenced the ways in which I learned and used L2, my social interaction with people, and my affective state.

Similarly, in Satoko's case, although immersed in the Japanese-speaking environment, she had limited opportunities of social interaction in her primary and secondary schools in Japan. She often felt rejected by other students as well as by some teachers because of her linguistic and ethnic difference. As a result, she frequently felt discouraged to participate in the classroom. As Cummins (1986) argues, school education needs to develop both the cognitive/academic and social/emotional foundation of students. Although conceptually the cognitive/academic and social/emotional factors are distinct, in reality they are closely inter-related and difficult to separate. Thus for Satoko, social relations at school tended to impede rather than to assist her language and literacy development.

Although our language learning experiences seemed to be strongly influenced by external factors, these external factors did not completely determine our lives. Despite these influences, we made choices about what and how we should learn, and we attempted to alter to some extent our relationship to the social situations in which we found ourselves. There are, however, interesting similarities and differences between Satoko and myself in the ways in which we developed and transformed social interactions. In both cases, literacy practices played an important role in mediating our social interaction, although the kinds of literacy differed in each case.

In Satoko's case, she made several decisions to take control over her life and her language learning at certain points in her life. An important point here is that when she wanted to make change, social interaction played an important role to enable her to make such change. The first example is that, in her junior high school years, although she was not officially enrolled, Satoko often visited the JSL class, and met a supportive JSL teacher. Satoko's relationship with her JSL teacher continued after graduation, and she often sought assistance from her. Particularly, when Satoko wanted to study in higher education, she consulted with her ex-teacher, who then made an effort to search for appropriate colleges for her. As this incident indicates, Satoko developed social skills for gaining assistance from experts. In order to do this, she made an effort to maintain social relationships with her teachers and ex-teachers by occasional phone calls, and by sending season's greetings and thank you notes. This informal and personal use of literacy for social purposes helped her sustain her willingness to communicate and develop social interaction.

The second example of the role of social interaction for Satoko's change is our collaborative writing sessions. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Satoko undertook autobiographical narrative writing when she was in a difficult time of life transition both socially and emotionally. In the process of writing her autobiographical narratives, particularly her childhood memories, Satoko engaged in many dialogues with people around her including her family and teachers. Such social interactions contributed to Satoko's recall of her childhood memories as well as her narrative writing process, and, consequently, writing activity transformed her social relations with others, including with an imagined Japanese audience.

Narrative researchers maintain that an act of remembering is “not an individual act but a collective one” (Gergen, 1999, p. 134), in the sense that it is “negotiated with others, distributed between them” (Bruner, 1990, p. 59). As seen in Satoko's story, while composing her pre-migration narrative, Satoko often asked her parents for advice, when her memory was vague. Her recollection of the village life in China must have been collectively reconstructed with her parents. She also sought assistance from a university lecturer about the specific vocabulary in Chinese. He provided her with useful resources and suggestions. I worked as her immediate audience to prompt her story telling and writing in Japanese. Through these social interactions, Satoko learned to "decontextualize past experiences from their original context and recontextualize them in a new communicative context" (Günthner, 2004, p. 285). As a result, Satoko's childhood memories experienced in L1 were gradually transformed into a bilingual narrative targeting an imagined Japanese audience. Thus, it can be said that Satoko's autobiographical narrative emerged, in part, from social interaction.

Additionally, for becoming bilingual, Satoko's social interaction in her Chinese-speaking community should not be overlooked. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Satoko took on the role of literacy mediator, or literacy broker to help her family, relatives, and friends with the paper work required for immigration and other practical matters, such as translating letters from school into spoken Chinese. In return, as her Japanese literacy was dominant compared to her Chinese literacy, she was assisted by her Chinese-speaking community members with her Chinese literacy, such as with letter writing. Frequently Satoko needed to negotiate not only between languages, but also conflicting cultural values, assumptions, and practices between her Chinese-speaking community members and Japanese speakers. An illustrative example is her wedding reception in Tokyo. Satoko's family organized a wedding party to invite their relatives and friends living in Japan. Satoko's major challenge was to estimate the number of guests. When she asked her relatives how many people would attend from each family, their response was "why do you ask?" Their assumption was based on the Chinese wedding practice that people would come, stay and leave as they wish. However, in Japan, it is essential to have an exact number of guests and duration of time for booking a restaurant. Satoko needed to explain the difference, and asked for their cooperation. Her learning to become bilingual was accelerated through continuous negotiations such as this at the site of intercultural social interaction.

Satoko's story indicates that when she decided to make a change in her learning, she took the initiative to create her own community of learning. Her learning community was characterised as "interstitial" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 41), in the sense that it is distinct from full participation in pre-existing official communities, such as school itself. Rather it is characterised by informal, loosely-organised social networks. As seen in the example of the JSL class, although not officially admitted, Satoko participated in this learning community, and extended her learning with teachers and students whom she could not meet in the mainstream classroom. In the case of collaborative writing sessions, she worked with more experienced people of their own field, including her family and school teachers. The members of this learning community did not meet face to face, but rather formed a loosely connected network to assist Satoko in different times and different ways with different languages. With these people, Satoko pursued the writing task, which was relevant to her life. Thus, it can be said that she linked up learning in classroom and learning from informal social interaction involving her teachers to create a new learning community that had not existed previously. In other words, when she wanted to make a change in her learning, she attempted to transform her social interactions, and in turn, social interactions played an important role to enable her to make such change.

An interesting feature of both Satoko's and my narratives is the connection between social interaction and literacy practices. For Satoko, literacy practices, literacy for social purposes in particular, seemed to play an important role in mediating social interaction. Similarly, in my case, literacy practices were important for my professional development through social interaction. Since my second sojourn in Australia, writing for academic purposes has become a mediational means to develop and transform social interaction. The major change that occurred to me was learning to write with other people.

As mentioned in *My story* in Chapter 4, in the course of my post-graduate study in Australia, my attitude toward writing has changed significantly from viewing writing as an individual work to writing as a collaborative activity. What brought about this shift was consultation with writing advisors at the writing and study skills centre provided by the university. In addition I had writing support persons outside of the university (mostly school teachers), with whom I was able to consult in a safe space. As Wells (1999, p. 289) argues, one of the requirements for successful writing is that “the writer must be able to count on the community to give help in accessing textual and other relevant resources and in providing support and guidance as this is felt to be necessary”. The question is where to find such learning communities to give help to the writer. The major difference between Satoko and myself was the availability of, and accessibility to, learning communities. I was able to take advantage of the official support system such as a writing support centre, whereas Satoko needed to take the initiative to create her own learning community.

My own narrative indicates that increasing social interaction through writing activity resulted in a further change in my own cognitive and other intrapersonal domains. In addition to my general change in attitude concerning the collaborative nature of writing, I became more willing to communicate in L2, even in my private writing domain. Specifically, as I had more social interactions with friends and academics, the language of my diary writing shifted from Japanese to English. I began to have specific English-speaking interlocutors in mind when writing my diary. Sometimes I even found myself sub-vocalizing the imagined dialogue in private speech. My private writing functioned as a rehearsal in a secure space before the actual face-to-face communication. Thus, my internalized imagined audience shaped my choice of languages in private writing. It can be said that my “willingness to communicate” (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998, p. 545) grew out of my desire to communicate with specific individuals. It then triggered my language shift in private writing. Hence, the change which started first in an interpersonal domain transformed into an intrapersonal one (Vygotsky, 1978).

The construction of my narrative and, subsequently, my research and thesis writing have involved participating in many ongoing dialogues. Dialogue, according to Vitanova (2005, p. 154), is “a socially embedded, meaning-making process” where meaning making occurs not solely within an individual, but also within collaborative dialogues with others (Breen, 2001). As a result of dialogic interactions around my narrative and thesis writing, several important shifts in my research framework have emerged. For instance, concerning the learners’ moving trajectory, the shift from “moving from L1 to L2” to “moving between L1 and L2” emerged through the dialogue with a PhD student in Australia, who proofread my doctoral assessment paper. Another important shift from “second language learning” toward “becoming bilingual” was prompted by the encounter with a distinguished writing researcher, whom I met at one of the conferences in Japan. The importance of translation in cross-linguistic research emerged from collaborative dialogue with a bilingual researcher from Toronto. As precisely maintained by Casanave (2002, p. 188), “The most rewarding researching and writing experiences happened in interaction with trusted colleagues who themselves were researching and writing”.

In addition to the above mentioned social interactions with professional researchers, my ongoing dialogue with Satoko constituted another important source of social interaction. An important point here is the bi-directional nature of change in expert mediation. On the surface, it appears that the relationship between Satoko and me in writing sessions was that of expert-novice. I, as an expert writer in Japanese, guided a novice writer, Satoko. In expert mediation, it is often the case that “only the learner's capacities are seen as potentially evolving, while the expert's competence in instructing and mediating is treated as unchanging” (Doehler, 2002, p. 27). However, as a researcher, my conceptions of literacy and writing development underwent significant changes through interactions with Satoko in the course of collaborative writing activity. Thus the change was not uni-directional, but bi-directional. As pointed out by Doehler (2002, p. 27), “A definition of mediation organized around the concept ‘to help’ accentuates a unidirectional rapport between expert and novice according to which knowledge or expertise is presented by the one to the other”. Therefore, it should be noted that although mediation through social interaction has to do with closing an information gap (Baynham & Masing, 2000), the notion of expert mediation weakens its explanatory power, when solely understood “in terms of compensation in the case of ability gaps” (Doehler, 2002, p. 27).

To summarise this section, stories of Satoko and myself demonstrated that the question of how language is learned cannot be considered independently of the social contexts and social interaction with other people. Satoko's change and also my change through dialogical interactions are very much in accord with sociocultural theory of learning. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Vygotsky (1978), and those who have extended and developed his ideas (for example, Wells, 1999, Wertsch, 1991) viewed learning as a process of internalization that takes place by way of dialogic interaction. Vygotsky (1978) argued that development occurs first in the interpersonal domain and then is transformed into the intrapersonal domain. Within a sociocultural framework, learning is seen as "the taking over and mastering of cultural artifacts and practices in the course of engaging in joint activities, in which the functional significance of these artifacts and practices is modelled and the learner receives assistance in that use" (Wells, 1999, p. 155). It is also argued that learning always occurs in a larger context within which what is learned has a functional significance for the learner in enabling him or her to "achieve some goal which is personally meaningful and also socially valued" (Wells, 1999, p. 294). Satoko's writing practice supports this view, in that she developed first interpersonally and then she was able to develop intrapersonally in terms of being able to write her own recollections of life in China. For both Satoko and me, learning to write autobiographical narrative in L2 only became possible through vital collaboration with others in the social world. Furthermore, these social interactions helped transform ourselves into agents in charge of our own learning (Pavlenko, 2003a).

5.1.3 Self-regulation of affect

In this section I wish to draw attention to the importance of affect in relation to language learning, in particular to learning to write in the second language. It is commonly held that difficulties and challenges faced by language learners working in a second language are linguistic ones, and that problems can be overcome by becoming more proficient in the control of linguistic code of the target language (S. Jones, 1985). However, stories of Satoko and myself reveal that it is not only linguistic but also non-linguistic factors that may either enhance or inhibit language learning. Affective factors, among others, frequently impacted our learning process. At the same time, we learned to develop better control of affect in the process of language learning.

The significance of affect in language learning was briefly mentioned earlier in relation to the consequences of border crossings. For both Satoko and myself, trans-national border crossings as a migrant and a sojourner had a strong impact on our affective domain. For Satoko, migration created a tremendous chasm in the midst of her life, which caused the disruption of her first language and literacy development, as well as the continuity of her sense of self. As Lieblich (1993, p. 126) maintains, learning a new language is an emotional task in a migrant situation.

> Because all early memories and experiences are stored in the original language, learning a new one is not just a cognitive but a deeply emotional task for the immigrant. Thus difficulties in the process of language acquisition have cognitive and emotional factors in varying proportions in each individual case.

In my case, my first sojourn in the United States was characterised by a sense of loss: loss of words, and identity. In accordance with Kaplan (1994, p. 63), “There is no language change without emotional consequences. Principally: loss”. In my second sojourn in Australia, the loss of the sense of expertise was prevalent. In the phase of recovery from loss to gain, writing activity, writing autobiographical narrative, in particular, played a critical role for developing a positive sense of self. For Satoko and me, affective factors influenced our learning process, in particular on learning to write in a second language, and also how we learned to develop better control of affect in the process of language learning.

Satoko's story demonstrated how writing and its associated affect has both constrained and empowered her life. For her, autobiographical narrative writing was closely related to the control of emotion in two ways. One was the close link between narrative and emotion, and the other was the close link between writing and emotion. These two issues appear to be deeply enmeshed for Satoko. For one thing, she often felt anxiety derived from the difficulty of controlling written language in both Chinese and Japanese. For another, she felt vulnerable in narrating some of her past experiences associated with negative emotions. In this sense, she had been doubly constrained from writing autobiographical narratives. As seen in Chapter 4, Satoko's story demonstrated her ambivalent feeling toward writing about her post-migration experiences. She wanted to write but at the same time she was afraid to write, because some of her past experiences were too painful to remember and to write about. As many narrative researchers maintain, an act of recall is emotionally loaded because the narrator re-experiences the past events associated with strong emotions (Bruner, 1990; Riessman, 1993; Schrauf & Durazo-Arvizu, 2006).

The ways in which Satoko dealt with her vulnerability changed significantly before and after our collaborative writing sessions. She had tended to avoid writing about her experience of marginalization that she encountered in Japanese schools in her junior college days. However, when she attempted to write about her school experiences during our writing sessions, she skillfully managed to control her emotion by using someone else's narrative. As shown in the previous chapter, rather than writing a straight-forward first-person narrative, she chose to appropriate the story of *Madogiwa no Totto-chan* (Kuroyanagi, 1981) to narrate her own experiences. Using other's words functioned as a sophisticated narrative strategy to protect Satoko from suffering too much vulnerability in revealing herself. By way of writing about Totto-chan's story, Satoko was able to distance herself from her personal experience and emotions, and she then finally became able to reveal her experience and release her emotion. Thus, appropriation of an other's story contributed to her taking control of her emotion.

The notion of 'appropriation' developed by Bakhtin (1981) proves useful in understanding Satoko's writing process. Bakhtin's (1981) concept of appropriation views language as communal resources rather than individually owned.

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his word) but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intention: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 293 -294)

As seen in Chapter 2, narrative is one of the cultural artifacts developed socio-historically. As cultural artifact, narrative offers communal resource for the construction of individual narratives. My study has shown that Satoko drew on socioculturally available narrative that had been created by other individual for the creation of her own narratives.

For Satoko, the act of writing autobiography triggered significant changes in her affective domain. Besides being able to cope with emotional pain associated with her school experiences, she became less vulnerable about revealing her ethnic and linguistic background. Her self-esteem has improved, and Satoko started to see her "otherness as an asset rather than a liability" (Li, 1999, p. 54), which is depicted in her words:

> *"Returnees from China students often resist talking about their lives in China. But I think it's good to reveal oneself. Many of my friends don't want to talk about China, but I want them to be proud of where they come from."*

In this respect, autobiographical narrative writing functioned therapeutically (Wortham, 2001) to release emotion as well as to distance herself from the immediacy of emotionally-loaded experience. However, it is important to remember that Satoko's writing activity was fostered in a safe environment with vital cooperation with other people. What triggered her change in affective domain was, in my view, not only the power of writing or the power of narrative but also the social interactions with others in relation to writing activity, as seen in the previous section. Thus, the close link amongst affect, social interaction, and learning needs to be acknowledged here.

Now I move to my case, which mainly focuses on second language writing and emotion. As already mentioned in *My story*, my general attitude toward writing in L2 had not been very positive. Or more strongly, writing in L2 often tended to be an "anxiety-generating activity" (Tsui, 1996, p. 100). The major reason for my negative attitude was a gap between my self-image as a writer in L1 and in L2. In my first language, I write with more ease and confidence, and I have gained expertise. However, in L2, I was a novice academic writer in English-medium academic communities. The problem was that I wanted and expected myself to keep up the same high standard when writing in L2. Thus, my writing activity in English was often associated with negative emotions such as frustration, fear, uneasiness, anguish and panic.

My major concern in writing in L2, whether academic writing or personal writing, was the kind of image my written products created to an English speaking audience. Written texts convey not only the content information but also much information about the writer herself. When the writer writes, her writing creates a representation of self, which then influences how she sees herself and how she is seen by others (Casanave & Vandrick, 2003). As I still cannot rely on my monitoring skill in English, I become conscious of what kind of representation I am creating for myself through writing in English. I feel difficulty not only in constructing the intended message in L2, but also creating an image of myself as a writer with whom I wish to identify. I feel worried whether my writing might give an impression of being “impolite, clumsy, stupid, or naïve” (Ventola & Mauranen, 1991, p. 459). What is worse is that it is an easy extension that if the text is stupid, then I must be stupid. Unlike spoken language, written language does not disappear without a trace. It stays with errors, mistakes and wrong impressions. Thus, in my view writing is more risky than spoken language due to the very nature of the permanence of written language. My basic assumptions about the written language and its associated affect mentioned above have not changed much in the course of my PhD thesis writing. On the other hand, as shown in the previous section, my anxiety in the phase of sharing, talking about, and evaluating my writing with other people has gradually decreased through writing-related social interactions.

My difficulty in monitoring my self-image as a writer can be compared to staying in a room without a mirror, where I cannot check how I look. I need to ask people around me "Do I look all right?" Or to look at my reflection in someone's pupils as shown in Sartre's play *No Exit* (1976). This inevitably intensified my perception of myself as a novice L2 writer, and resulted in strong frustration, as I could not complete my writing by myself. However, gradually I realised that even if I worked with other people, I made the final decision, thus it was still my writing and my voice had not been lost. As I found people whom I could trust to share my draft, I became more comfortable about collaborative writing activity. As Sampson (1993, p. 106) maintains, by drawing on Bakhtin, "Without the other, our selves would be not only invisible to us but incomprehensible and unutilizable….The argument, in short, is that we gain a self in and through a process of social interaction, dialogue, and conversation with others in our social world." Thus, it has become more important to have good critical readers, who could comment how I look, or how my writing sounds. After all, they were not proofreaders, but became dialogical partners. In this way I developed more self-confidence through writing-related social interactions with people, and became more skilled in managing my emotions.

In closing this section, I wish to emphasize again the importance of affect in relation to language learning, and to argue that affect is worthy of attention equally to cognition. Although it is commonly held that major difficulties of language learning are linguistic, Satoko's and my narratives demonstrate that this is not always the case. Affect is strongly connected with social interaction and language learning, and thus, the regulation of affect constitutes a major part of language learning. In order to portray "a comprehensive picture of the language learners as thinking, feeling and acting persons" (Breen, 2001, p. 172), affect needs to be fully researched and theorized, as to date "few studies have looked at the social origins of affect and its dynamic relationship to cognitive development" (Verity, 2000, p. 181).

5.1.4 Transformation of identities

In this section I address the issue of identity transformation with regard to becoming bilingual. The major focus here is the examination of longitudinal change of Satoko's and my identities that are related to our plural languages and cultures. Specifically, I am concerned with how bilingual individuals position ourselves across plural languages and cultures, and how we incorporate these languages and cultures into our sense of who we are (Kanno, 2003). I begin by summarising similarities and differences between Satoko's and my longitudinal trajectories of identity transformation. As indicated previously, our experiences of transnational border crossings concomitant with crossing linguistic and sociocultural borders had a strong impact on our sense of self and identity. For both of us, border crossings were interwoven with disjunctions of identities, and with a sense of loss. Moving from the sense of loss to the sense of recovery and gain involved negotiating and transforming our identities.

- **Border crossings and identity change**

I begin by focusing on the consequences of transnational border crossings for the transformation of identities. Identity becomes an issue when it is in crisis (Pavlenko &

Blackledge, 2004). For both Satoko and me, the issue of identity became critical when we were confronted with the consequences of border crossings. For both of us, border crossings were interwoven with disjunctions and with a strong sense of loss. As shown in *My story*, my first sojourn in the United States was characterised by the loss of words and identity crisis. I lost the grasp of who I was and where I belonged. My second sojourn in Australia was also characterised by the sense of loss, in this case, loss of expertise, as my professional identity was threatened by the change from an experienced language teacher and a research writer in my L1 context to a novice research writer in the L2 context.

For Satoko, her transnational migration resulted in a transformation of her social and linguistic identities more profoundly than in my case. She experienced discontinuity of her Chinese identity as her family changed their names, and also as they naturalised as Japanese. Her first language and literacy development was also disrupted, although she maintained her spoken Chinese at home. She had an imposed identity as ‘returnee from China’, which consequently developed her sense of ‘being different’. She felt that she was different from other Japanese students because she was born and raised in China, and was using two languages, although not fully competently. She also felt different from monolingual Chinese speakers because of her ethnic background and her limited Chinese literacy. Thus, being different was synonymous with being ‘inferior’, or ‘deficit’, relative to mainstream ‘native speakers’. Satoko had long felt that having two languages was a burden, rather than an advantage. She often felt caught between two languages, neither of them fully her own. Her expression “*When I was in China, I was called Japanese, when I’m in Japan, I’m called Chinese, so I wonder which country I belong to*” indicated her sense of double-displacement.

For both of us, our attempt to gain a positive sense of self took many years of struggle, which involved negotiating and transforming our identities. With regard to her plural languages and identities, Satoko attempted to develop her two languages fully in higher education and also to go beyond her imposed identity of 'returnee from China with literacy problems'. This was her attempt to move from the 'neither L1 nor L2' stage toward a 'both L1 and L2' stage. In her earlier stage she seemed to feel that she had to choose either a Chinese or Japanese identity. However, she gradually moved away from the dichotomous bind and became more flexible to use multiple linguistic and cultural resources to her advantage. As a result, her sense of having two languages shifted from "a liability" to "an asset" (Li, 1999, p. 54).

Satoko's shift of identities is evidenced in the follow-up interview excerpts, which were conducted after the completion of our writing sessions.

Interview 1 (conducted at the end of writing sessions)

Satoko: People don't like to be different from others
Sumiko: You didn't like it before?
Satoko: I didn't like it before
But if I'm different from other people, it's not my fault. There were times that I hated to be different, but if I think sensibly, the kind of different experience I had has shaped me to become what I am now. If I hadn't had my nine years in China, I would have my hometown somewhere in Japan, and I'd never thought of studying Chinese
Sumiko: What prompted that change? How did you come to accept your difference?
Satoko: While I was studying teaching Japanese methodology, I met many different international students from China, Korea, Australia.. I felt ashamed I couldn't do what they could do, Japanese language, for example
But when I taught Chinese in class, I felt I found something that I could do, but

other people couldn't. I was beginning to accept myself

Satoko revealed that her attitude change was triggered by her experience of teaching Chinese in class. She felt that she had something to be proud of, which is her Chinese language. She also started to value her nine years in China, which is an important part of the present Satoko. She has developed her sense of appreciation of her own background. As the above excerpt shows, the meaning of 'being different' had shifted from stigma to asset.

Interview 2 (conducted seven months after the completion of writing sessions)

Sumiko: Do you think Chinese people in your village looked at you differently, because your grandmother is Japanese?
Satoko: When I was in China, I was called Japanese, while in Japan I am called Chinese,I wondered which country I belonged
.....
Sumiko: Did you feel two Satokos inside of you?
Satoko Yes, a sort of
Researcher: Do you still feel the same way now?
Satoko: Now whatever people want to call me, it's OK.

As this second excerpt indicates, Satoko had stopped positioning herself according to the expectations of other people. Previously she had questioned where to belong, either China or Japan. She was sensitive to others' eyes, wondering whether she would appear Chinese or Japanese. Now, as the excerpt indicates, she is saying that it is not an issue how others see her. "Social identity is self-appropriated as well as other-ascribed" (Rubin, 1995, p. 10), but it is not other-determined. She had stopped fitting into "some preconceived identity options" (Pavlenko, 2001b, p. 340), whether Chinese or Japanese, and had begun to see her “otherness as an asset rather than a liability” (Li, 1999, p. 54). If I borrow Guerra’s words, it is redefining “this either-or conflict as a both-and opportunity” (1997, p. 251). She can therefore be seen as taking up new hybrid identities. As will be argued later, for this transition to take place, her autobiographical narrative writing experience played a vital role in helping her negotiate her bilingual identities.

In my case, in the course of my graduate study in an Australian university, my self-definition shifted from that of non-native speaker of English to second language writer, then to bilingual writer. This transition parallels my evolving participation in two academic communities with different languages – English and Japanese. As indicated previously, before commencing my master’s study in Australia, I had considered myself a native speaker of Japanese and a non-native speaker of English in an English as a foreign language environment—in Japan. On the surface these two languages existed separately in my L1 context. When I commenced my master’s study in Australia, I became a second language learner in a new academic community. In a later stage of my master’s study, I adopted the notion of “multicompetent second language user” following Cook (1999). After commencing my PhD study and joint writing sessions with Satoko in Japan, I became uncomfortable with the notion of ‘second language learner/user/writer’. The major reasons were that firstly, the emphasis on L2 undermines the role of L1, and secondly, the term ‘second’ became an emotionally loaded term, which is closely associated with deficiency such as ‘second class citizen’. As indicated in Chapter 1, I then appropriated the notion of ‘bilingual’ (e.g. Baker, 1996; Grosjean, 1995; Pavlenko, 2003a), which encompass “all who live their lives through the means of more than one language” (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 261), irrespective of language proficiency or chronology.

These transitions of my self-positioning were reflected in my thesis writing, and were accelerated by writing practices. In the course of thesis writing, the title of my thesis as well as key terminology changed several times. The major change was the term which refers to the subject of research from ‘second language learner’ to ‘bilingual person’. The changes in terminology reflected my changing self-positioning, as I sought the terminology with which I felt comfortable in my position as a subject of research. As Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998, p. 3) maintain “People tell others who they are, but even more important, they tell themselves and then try to act as though they are who they say they are”. Likewise, I tell others (audience) through the language choices that I make who/what I am. At the same time, I position myself to myself, and try to act accordingly. Thus, the practice of writing autobiographical research has contributed to transforming my identities through telling and acting what/who I want to become.

Parallel to the shift of identity from L2 writer to bilingual writer, there were other changes that took place in my affective domain. I had thought on many occasions, “that’s something others do, not me”. For instance, I had thought that only others are qualified to undertake postgraduate study in a foreign country, to write a PhD thesis particularly in a second language, to become bilingual, to live comfortably in a foreign country, and more. However, gradually a shift took place which allowed me “to picture myself, as at least potentially, one of those people” (Vandrick, 2003, p. 56) who write in two languages. This is what van Lier (2004a, 2004b) calls “prolepsis”, which “consists of attributing intent before its true onset, and capitalizing on incipient skills and understandings as they show signs of emerging"(van Lier, 2004b). It seems that the ability to envision the future direction before its true onset, and to imagine ourselves as potentially successful learners is the pre-requisite for identity change.

- **Choice of language as identity work**

The question of which language to use for specific purposes is an unavoidable part of becoming bilingual. In autobiographical narrative writing in particular, choosing the language in which to write about one's past and one's present became critical, because it raised an important question: whose words we were using to represent ourselves. It is significant that both Satoko and I chose to write our stories in L2. This choice involved narrating past experiences in another language because we lived our lives in one language and wrote about them in another. This disjunction of languages, as Belz (2000, p. 19) puts it, "languaging personal experience in someone else's words", or "rewriting of one's life story in another language" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 168) is the central issue to be explored here. Choice of language created dilemmas and tensions. However, at the same time, having a choice was the sources of creative possibilities. In what follows I consider the significance of our choice of language in two different writing genres: for Satoko, in her personal narrative writing, for me in academic writing of narrative research. My major argument here is that the choice of language is identity work, and that bilingual individuals consciously make choices of language as discursive strategies to articulate and position ourselves in spoken and written texts, which in turn contribute to the negotiation of bilingual identities.

For Satoko choosing the language in which to write about her autobiographical narrative became a critical issue because it raised an important question concerning her bilingual identities. In Satoko's autobiography writing, she was caught in a dilemma between writing in Chinese, the language of her childhood, and Japanese, the language of her present, and finally she chose Japanese. The major reasons for her language choice were, first, her L2 literacy (Japanese) was stronger than her L1 literacy (Chinese), and second, she was motivated to describe her life in China to a Japanese audience. Satoko chose to write in Japanese (L2) about L1 rooted memories for a Japanese (L2) audience in Japan (L2 speaking environment). In other words, she re-languaged her life story in another language. In applying Swain's (2006a) notion of 'languaging' that was introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, Satoko took something that had been languaged once and then re-languaged it for a Japanese audience (Kinnear & Taniguchi, 2008). As a consequence of her language choice, she was constantly engaged in translating her childhood memories originally experienced in her L1 into L2. Assisted by her L1 and L2 resource persons, Satoko successfully reconstructed her lived experiences in another language. Her sense of an imagined Japanese audience also shaped her writing in pervasive ways (Lo Bianco et al., 1999) to make her writing more reader-friendly. In the course of her writing, she positioned herself as a translator or a mediator between two linguistic worlds. In the end, her autobiographical writing allowed her, as Pavlenko (2001b) suggests, to regain control over the self, world, and her life story narrative. Thus, it is possible to say that her language choice facilitated creating her bilingual identity in a written medium.

For many professional bilingual writers, too, choosing the language in which to write about one's past and one's present becomes an identity issue. After reviewing major bilingual writers' autobiographies, Pavlenko (1998) found that a number of professional bilingual writers chose to recount their childhood experiences in their subsequent language, the language of the present. Pavlenko (1998, p. 10) suggests that “the need to recreate and reframe one’s story in another language is not accidental”. She regards recounting one’s past, childhood experiences in particular, as one of the stages in the language socialization process. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000, p. 168) maintain the significance of language choice in writing about one’s childhood experiences as follows:

> Many of the authors write about (or, in effect, rewrite) their childhood experiences in the new language. Elsewhere, Pavlenko (1998) argues that this rewriting of one’s life story in another language represents more than anything translation therapy, the final stage of the healing process, prompted by the need to translate oneself, to ensure continuity by transforming and reintegrating one’s childhood into one’s new past. Without this move, one would be left with an unfinished life in one language, and a life, begun at midstream, in another. The necessity of binding the two halves together prompts the authors to look into their past from a position of double displacement: in time as well as in cultural space.

Here Pavlenko and Lantolf point out the close link between choice of language and self-translation. Pavlenko and Lantolf’s argument well explains why Satoko chose the language of the present. That is, she chose to write about her past experience in the present language to ensure the continuity of life story. Also, the language of the present allowed her to reinterpret her past experience from the vantage point of the present. Therefore, Satoko’s negotiation between two languages contributed to her negotiation of bilingual identities.

Now I move from a personal narrative to academic writing. I foreground my case, and also include testimonies of bilingual academics in published literature. For bilingual/multilingual academic writers, choice of language is of great importance for their professional lives because choosing the language for writing and publication means choosing an audience and also affiliation to the academic discourse communities. Choice of language is highly political, given the dominance of English as an international language for publication. In academic writing contexts, the language of major international journals, international conferences, and electric communication is predominantly English. Viewing language as a sociocultural practice leads to rethinking of the writing practices of non-English speaking researchers when they attempt to write in others' language.

As described in *My story*, my positioning as a research writer in two different academic communities has shaped my research perspectives and practices. Moving between L1 and L2 academic communities and languages involved re-establishing writing-related activities. Casanave and Vandrick (2003, p. 4) point out, "Scholars who participate in local academic writing practices in their home countries develop the local expertise they need to bring their work into print but then must learn new participation practices when they move into a new academic community". They go on to argue, "changing locations as an academic writer involves far more than developing one's writing skills. It demands that writers see the multiple layers of their academic communities, understand the many ways they can strategically participate in different layers of the peripheries, and hone their interactive political skills for finding their ways into and through the layers" (Casanave & Vandrick, 2003, p. 5).

I argue that one of these strategies for participation in new communities is the writers' positioning with the choice of language. As an academic in a new community, I have been writing Satoko's story primarily in English in an English medium institution for an English-speaking audience. I have presented Satoko's story in several different conferences in Australia, Canada, U.K. and Japan, all of them were written and delivered in English (Taniguchi, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005a). The primary reason for writing Satoko's story in English was to reach a wider audience. I experienced that a different language invited different audience when I presented Satoko's story in English at international conferences. I was able to meet well-known academic writers in person, whose writings I had been reading with interest. These were the people I could not have met if I had not written in English. The only way of letting other people know about my work was by writing in a common language, which happens to be English. My intended audience included both native and non-native speakers of English. Through the medium of English, I was able to share Satoko's lived experience with people, who themselves had experienced border crossings as migrants.

How might my biography study of Satoko have been different if written in my L1 and for a Japanese audience? On one occasion, I changed the language from English to Japanese in writing and presenting Satoko's story in Japan. This language choice brought unexpected effects. I decided to present Satoko's story in Japanese for a Japanese audience at an intercultural conference held in Tokyo (Taniguchi, 2005b). The main reason was that as Satoko's case study was conducted in Japan, I thought that it was an appropriate opportunity to present my research findings to the Japanese audience. Also I thought that it was a bilingual writer's responsibility to address both L1 and L2 audiences about my research. At first, I thought that writing Satoko's story in Japanese would be easier than writing in English. Writing Satoko's story in Japanese means, just as the reversal of Satoko's autobiographical writing, writing what I have experienced in L1 in the original language for an L1 audience in an L1 speaking context. The advantages of writing in L1 were that I did not need to translate Satoko's written texts into another language, and also the Japanese audience was already familiar with the historical background of returnees from China. Thus, I did not have to spell out the significance of socio-historical context of Satoko's migration. Needless to say, the control of L1 is much easier and faster, as I have much larger linguistic resources and writing experiences in L1.

Although linguistically less demanding, writing Satoko's story in L1 created side effects. The source of difficulty was not the language itself, but my positioning as a bilingual writer. That is, in writing Satoko's story in my first language, my story as an L2 writer simply did not exist. I lost my footing as a second language writer, and this seems to have created an unforseen distance between Satoko and me. In fact, it was pointed out by a professional non-fiction writer, who read my conference papers both in English and in Japanese, that when I wrote in Japanese, my Japanese voice gave impressions of less empathy and more distancing from Satoko than my English voice. Why was it so that my Japanese voice created distance? The difference between writing Satoko's story in L1 and L2 can be explained as follows. When I write Satoko's story in English, I position myself as a second language writer of English. That is, I, as a second language writer, write about Satoko's experience of writing her story in her second language. In this case, both Satoko and I are second language writers. In this way, I align myself with Satoko, and establish 'inclusive we-ness'. By contrast, if I write about Satoko's experience in my first language, I am not a second language writer anymore. Satoko is still a second language writer, but I am not. Thus, I lose a sense of 'inclusive we-ness'.

By shifting languages from L2 to L1, I have lost the common ground and solidarity as a second language writer. This might be the main reason why my Japanese voice created distance and sounded less empathic.

Hence, to put it the other way round, writing Satoko's story in L2 is an advantage. It is not just because it enables me to reach a wider audience, as I pointed out earlier, but also it gives me opportunities to position myself differently and to create a different voice as a writer. Both L1 and L2 are integral parts of my writer identities. However, choosing one language privileges one aspect of my writer identities over the other. My writing experiences both in L1 and L2 have led me to the view of language choices as identity work; bilingual writers can consciously employ them as discursive strategies to articulate and position themselves differently in written texts. As already seen in Satoko's case, one's story tends to change with the change of language in which it is narrated (Pavlenko, 1998). With the change of language, not only the medium of written communication changes, but other aspects also change, which include content, audience, the purpose of writing (these three are salient in Satoko's case), the writer's positioning, and affiliation and solidarity with others. Thus, it can be said that the different languages offer the writer possibilities of representing the self differently in written texts. Therefore, becoming a bilingual writer requires in one sense becoming more skilled in the choice and control of one's multiple linguistic resources to one's advantage.

My study underscores the point that Casanave (1998, 2002) makes in her study of bilingual Japanese academics (see Chapter 2). Casanave (1998, 2002) researched the transitions of bilingual Japanese scholars from the writing life of a graduate student in the United States to the writing life of a university faculty member in Japan, and how they established identities as scholars in two different linguistic and cultural environments. For them becoming a bilingual academic writer means living symbolically a "two-pronged writing life" (Casanave, 2002, p. 8), or more specifically "writing professionally in two languages for a variety of different audiences in each language" (Casanave 1998, p. 195). This requires writers to "find their way not just into one academic 'home', but into several different kinds of homes, all of which involved writing-related activities" (Casanave, 1998, p. 195). Casanave goes on to say the following:

> A more accurate portrayal of the bilingual academic writers in this project might be one of people struggling within a multicontextual and multicultural world to develop several interrelated identities that could be juggled and balanced as needed to their best advantage. Viewed this way, the transition to the life of a professional bilingual academic does not mean choosing life A or life B; rather, it means recognizing and then accepting the heterogeneity of their writing lives and learning techniques of flexible perspective-taking. Specifically, it means coming to understand how to manage the competing and sometimes conflicting demands of writing in two languages within a variety of institutional and disciplinary contexts, most of them very local and contingent indeed (Casanave, 1998, p. 196).

As seen above, becoming a bilingual writer involves not just becoming skilled in writing in two languages. But rather, it requires, to borrow Guerra's words, "the ability to consciously and effectively move back and forth among, as well as in and out of, the discourse communities they belong to, or will belong to" (Guerra, 1997, p. 258). Choice of language can be seen as one of (re)positioning strategies of the bilingual writer at the intersections of multiple languages and identities.

Several academic bilingual writers resonate with the view of Casanave (1998, 2002), which emphasizes the balancing act of one's multiple languages rather than assimilation to a new language and academic communities. For example, Shen (1989), an academic writer with Chinese background, expresses his struggle with writing in English as "reconciling my Chinese identity with an English identity dictated by the rules of English composition" (p. 466). He recounts, "Looking back, I realize that the process of learning to write in English is in fact a process of creating and defining a new identity and balancing it with the old identity" (P. 466). Thus, learning a new language is not replacing the old with the new, but a balancing act. He goes on to say,

> I feel that I am writing through, with, and because of a new identity. I welcome the change, for it has added a new dimension to me and to my view of the world. I am not saying that I have entirely lost my Chinese identity. ..Any time I write in Chinese, I resume my old identity, and obey the rules of Chinese composition (Shen, 1989, p. 465).

Li's (1999) story, another academic writer with Chinese background, reveals her conflict concerning her cultural and linguistic identity and the eventual awareness she gained by writing in the second language. Although Li prefers to see herself as an insider of both Chinese and American societies, at the same time she is conscious that she is seen by both societies as an outsider. In her words, "I am both us and them…. may be I am neither" (Li, 1999, p. 43). Writing a book *"Good writing" in cross-cultural context* (1996) has helped her gain a new perspective. Li (1999) recounts as follows:

> As a non-native speaker of English who teaches English in an English speaking environment to ESL and native students alike, my cultural and linguistic identity is questionable, and so is my professional credibility. In the last ten years or so, I have been struggling to find a place in a world where

> teaching English is seen by many as the exclusive right of native speakers. I have found, through the writing of *Good Writing*, that hovering between two worlds is not all bad; it is a unique position, which endows me with “a rare double vision, seeing the duality of reality, the truth and untruth in each culture’s claim to universal standards ” (Li, 1996, p. xiii). (Li, 1999, pp. 43-44)

Li attributes her attitude change to her writing practices and also to her encounter with people who saw her “otherness as an asset rather than a liability” (p.54). At a time when she wanted to remove all signs of her foreign accent, she was questioned by one of these people as to why she would want to sound like a US writer: “What makes the piece interesting is your unique accent, a different perspective, and a different style and voice” (p.49). Finally, she positioned herself, as the title of her article suggests, “Writing from the vantage point of an outsider/insider”.

Thus, as seen above, although writing between two languages can create dilemma and tension, at the same time, it can become a source of creativity. Canagarajah (2001) as a multilingual writer/researcher finds his ‘in-betweeness’ enabling rather than problematic.

> I find that being caught between conflicting and competing writing traditions, discourses, or languages is not always a 'problem'. These tensions can be resourceful in enabling a rich repertoire of communicative strategies. The conflicts I have faced as I shuttled between my native community and Western academic community generated many useful insights into the ideological and rhetorical challenges in academic communication. I developed a keener appreciation of the strength and limitations of either discursive tradition. (Canagarajah, 2001, pp. 36-37)

Kramsch and Lam (1999) share the view with these bilingual writers that by maintaining traces of foreign accent, nonnative writers can “stretch the limits of the sayable in the foreign tongue” (p. 61), and achieve a kind of ‘third place’. Kramsch and Lam underscore the potential of written texts as “a catalyst for expressing thoughts and experiences unique to the non-native speaker and to his or her place between native and non-native cultures” (p. 64). A third place, as Kramsch and Lam describe, is an “eminently relational concept” (p. 63): “This in-between place should not be viewed as the static synthesis of what immigrants brought along with them and what they found in the new county, but a constantly maintained sense of difference” (p. 64). By distancing from both one’s native language and the foreign language as it is used by native speakers, “non-native speakers can create to express meanings not usually found under the pen of native writers” (p. 63), which Kramsch and Lam call "textual identities of the third kind" (P. 71). What these bilingual writers’ experiences have in common is that having two languages entails not merely conflict and tensions, but rather “transforming effects” (Pennington, 1996, p. 254), involving transformation of identity and development of ‘multicompetence’. These stories represent very successful cases of bilingual writers not only in the sense that they became professional writers in the second language, but also, and more importantly, in the sense that they transcended the boundaries of each of their languages and attained a third place.

To summarise this section, Satoko’s and my stories both provide evidence that, for us, language learning was inseparable from our identity transformation, and that our processes of becoming bilingual were inextricably involved with identity transformation. Of particular importance in our narratives was the role of written narrative in the construction of our bilingual identities. As Satoko’s and my narratives demonstrate, acts of writing autobiographical narrative in another language contributed to the transformation of learners' bilingual identities. Both our autobiographical writing processes revealed a series of negotiations of meanings between L1 and L2. Our attempts to re-construct and re-present our L1-based experience in L2 to the L2-speaking audience themselves represent a process of negotiating our bilingual identities.

5.1.5 Linguistic development

In the previous sections, I investigated the contributions of non-linguistic factors, such as sociocultural contexts, social interaction, and affect to processes of becoming bilingual. Along with the development of these non-linguistic aspects, linguistic development still remains central to processes of becoming bilingual. In fact, my analysis in the previous sections underscored the close link between linguistic development and non-linguistic factors. For instance, construction of identities in L2 requires developing control of the linguistic codes of L2. Without language it would be impossible to narrate one's story. Thus, the purpose of this section is to investigate more closely the development of bilingual persons' control of the linguistic codes. My major argument presented in this section is two-fold. Firstly there is a need to understand second or subsequent language development as involving development across both first and second languages, and thus uni-directional models of second language development and language transfer needs to be reconceptualised as bi-directional models. Secondly, developing control of the linguistic codes requires moving across not only L1 and L2, but also across spoken and written mode, and across different genres within a language. Thus, in short, developing control of the linguistic codes involves constant linguistic border crossings across different languages, different modalities and different genres (Hammond, 2007). This implies that processes of becoming bilingual entail continuous translation across linguistic borders. The following discussion is organised in relation to these linguistic border crossings. The first subsection deals with linguistic development across languages; the second focuses on the multi-modal nature of language development; and the third focuses on control of multiple genres.

5.1.5.1 Linguistic development across languages

Our longitudinal language learning processes revealed that both Satoko and I experienced significant changes in our linguistic domains. As our narratives reveal, we developed increasing control of our second languages. However, it is important to note that our linguistic changes involved not only developing control of second languages, but also involved further development of our first languages. In this respect the emphasis in my study is on the development across both first and second languages, rather than solely on the development of second language. As explained in Chapter 1, I draw on Cook's (1999) notion of 'multi-competence', which refers to learners' overall language development encompassing both L1 and L2. From this perspective, language development is described in terms of learners' improvement in control of multiple linguistic resources. Also important is the direction of language development. For both of us, language learning was not a uni-directional transfer from L1 to L2. Rather, at times, language development occurred first in L2 before impacting on L1. Thus, our learning trajectories can be characterised as 'moving between L1 and L2' rather than 'moving from L1 to L2'. In what follows, I present evidence from our stories to argue for the development of multi-competence, and bi-directional transfer.

The development of multi-competence was typically evidenced, for both Satoko and myself, in the development of translation skills between L1 and L2. Satoko demonstrated the development of her translation skills in her production of pre-migration narratives. Satoko learned to 're-language' her L1-mediated past events in the present L2-mediated communicative situation by adjusting her narrative to the audience from a different linguistic and cultural background. During this re-languaging process, she not only practiced her L2 literacy, but also developed better understanding of Chinese language and cultural background with the help from experts (namely, her parents and her university lecturer). Thus, although at the surface her products were written in her second language, Satoko's language development occurred not solely in her L2 writing skills, but more importantly in her "ability to consciously and effectively move back and forth" (Guerra, 1997, p. 258) between two languages. In this sense, translation can be seen as an act of linguistic border crossings. Translation, according to Cook (2002), is one of the specific linguistic activities that L2 users can perform, that monolingual L1 users cannot. In this sense, Satoko was able to go beyond the language use of monolingual native speakers and became a translator across languages and cultures.

Translation was also important to my thesis writing. For one thing, writing my story in L2 was an act of translation, as I 're-languaged' my L1-based experiences in L2. For another, I have been constantly engaging myself in translating Satoko's story into another language, English, for an English-speaking audience. Through my translation, Satoko's narrated events have been doubly translated, from Chinese to Japanese, then to English. This double-translation task allowed me to develop the flexibility to use multiple linguistic resources by adjusting my writing to the audience from different linguistic and cultural background with different degrees of knowledge. As I became aware of the expectations of English-speaking audiences by receiving comments from my supervisor and writing advisors, I became more conscious of my writing practices in my L1. When I wrote in Japanese for a Japanese-speaking audience about a Japan-related topic, I subconsciously made an assumption that the Japanese audience would collaborate with me by filling the gaps in my description with their linguistic and world knowledge. However, when I wrote for an English-speaking audience, I needed to make my writing clearer and more accurate, as I could not expect them to fill the gap. As a result, in an effort to explain the significance of Satoko's transnational border crossings to the English-speaking audience, I have developed a better understanding of socio-historical background of the relationship between China and Japan. Also important is that, through writing my story in L2, I have developed a better understanding of my first language and cultural background in the light of the other. By engaging in translations between languages, both Satoko and I have become more 'multicompetent' in both our languages.

The importance of Swain's (2006a) notion of 'languaging' in understanding processes of developing multi-competence cannot be over-emphasized. As Swain (2006a: 98) maintains, "[l]anguaging about language is one of the ways we learn language. This means that the languaging (the dialogue or private speech) about language that learners engage in takes on new significance". Languaging, particularly in dialogue, helped learners "reflect consciously on language use" (Swain & Lapkin, 2003, p. 286), and resulted in a greater awareness of language as a system and an ability to talk about and anlayse language. Just as Satoko worked with experts both from Chinese and Japanese background, I was able to work with a bilingual researcher (in English and Japanese), Penny, who proofread and edited my English translation. Because of the complex nature of translating Satoko's written texts, as they had been already re-languaged across languages and modalities, Penny and I engaged in continuous languaging to make meaning of Satoko's intentions and to make her meanings accessible to English-speaking audience. In these dialogues, both Satoko's original written texts (Level A in Diagram 1) and my English translation (Level B), both of which were produced in our second languages, became objects to be analysed (Level C), which added an extra layer of languaging.

A further aspect of Satoko's and my developing multicompetence as language learners can be seen in our ability to engage in bidirectional transfer between languages. That is, while learning in one language we were able to draw on what we knew in the other language. Significantly, for both of us, this transfer was bi-directional between languages, rather than unidirectional from L1 to L2. Examples of bi-directional transfer were evidenced in my academic writing skills and practices. As mentioned in Chapter 4, my academic writing skills first developed in L2 as a result of my exposure to the explicit academic English writing instruction in the US high school, then later transferred from L2 English to L1 Japanese. Although I was working in one of the languages, the other language was constantly at work. For example, when I wrote in L2, my L1 writing skills and knowledge were assisting my writing and thinking. As Cook maintains,

> Every activity the student carries out visibly in the L2 also involves the invisible L1……..
> From a multicompetence perspective, all teaching activities are *cross-lingual*

> in the sense of Stern (1992); the difference among activities is whether the L1 is visible or invisible, not whether it is present or altogether absent (Cook, 1999, p. 202) (emphasis added).

Moreover, even now when I write academic papers in Japanese, my writing skills developed in L2 are constantly at work. This is in accordance with what Cook (2002) suggests the effects of the second language on the first;

> When speaking their first language, L2 users are still affected by their knowledge of another language- its rules, concepts and cultural patterns. The L2 user stands between two languages, even when apparently using only one, having the resources of both language on tap whenever needed. (Cook, 2002, p. 5)

My language learning narratives provide evidence that "crosslinguistic influence – or the influence of a person's knowledge of one language on that person's knowledge or use of another language" (Cook, 2003; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 1) is bidirectional: both from L1 to L2, and from L2 to L1.This supports the views of "effects of L2 on L1" (Cook, 2003), and "bidirectional transfer" (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). Although crosslinguistic influence has been predominantly investigated in terms of the influence of L1 on the L2 learning process, a reversal, that is, the influence of L2 learning on the development of L1 deserves more attention. Within a sociocultural theory, Vygotsky (1986) noted the effect of foreign language learning on the development of children's L1 as follows:

> The acquisition of a foreign language differs from the acquisition of the native one precisely because it uses the semantics of the native language as its foundation. The reciprocal dependence is less known and less appreciated. But Goethe clearly saw it when he wrote that he who knows no foreign language

> does not truly know his own. Experimental studies fully endorse this. It has been shown that a child's understanding of his native language is enhanced by learning a foreign one. The child becomes more conscious and deliberate in using words as tools of his thought and expressive means for his ideas (Vygotsky, 1986, pp. 159-160)

This is precisely, as I argued in Chapter 1, why it is necessary to take a multicompetence perspective rather than solely focusing on second language development to study language learning.

To summarise, for both Satoko and me, development of multi-competence and bidirectional transfer was evident primarily in the following:

- Improved flexibility in our use of multiple linguistic resources and in our abilities to translate between languages;
- The ability to transfer learning between languages (not just from L1 to L2);
- The ability to adjust our writing to audiences from different linguistic and cultural background and in doing so, to take account of their different needs and expectations;
- A greater awareness of language as a system and an ability to talk about and analyse language (through the layers of languaging that occurred in our narratives);
- A better understanding of our first language and cultural background in the light of what we have learned about the other language and culture

As the discussion in this section demonstrates, linguistic development involves border crossings between different languages that lead to the development of multicompetence in those languages. Linguistic development also involves border crossings between different modes and genres within the same language. These other aspects of linguistic border crossings also constitute the learners' development in the control of the linguistic codes, as shown in the following sub-sections.

5.1.5.2 The multimodal nature of language development

In addressing the multi-modal nature of language development, I draw in particular on Satoko's narrative. For Satoko, the challenge of writing her life story was not only moving between two languages but also moving between spoken and written modes, as she was not a very adept writer in either her L1 or L2. The story of her language development across two languages highlights the nature of border crossing not only between languages but also between modalities within the one language.

For Satoko, literacy in either language was a challenge. This challenge is clearly depicted in her words, *"I can talk about it, but speaking and writing is totally different."* However, her literacy development in her two languages was greatly facilitated by shifts between spoken and written modes, and by the use of visual pictures, where what she learned in one mode supported learning in another. Excerpts from our writing sessions illustrate the multi-modal nature of narrative and the ways in which Satoko developed control of different modes as part of her literacy development. In what follows, I trace the development of a specific written text, which is a description of Satoko's primary school in China, that started first as an oral recount, then became a written text, then drawn in a picture, and finally discussed with meta-linguistic awareness. In so doing, I stress the importance of mutual transformation of narrative among different modalities to enhance the control of languages.

In our collaborative writing sessions, Satoko often orally told her stories first before writing them down. During our first writing session, as described in Chapter 4, being triggered by Totto-chan's story, Satoko started telling me about her primary school in China. Six months later her preliminary oral recount told on the first day took shape as written text. Satoko composed the following piece to describe her primary school. She sought to transform the visual image of her school in her memory into written words.

> *A smiling face of a little girl*
>
> *I grew up in a small village in Hei Long Jiang province. I entered E primary school when I was eight years old, already 15 years ago. My school was surrounded by fields and mountains. The school building was made of wood, clay and grass. The floor was clay. A blackboard is (was) at the front of the classroom. The desks and chairs, for pairs of students, were also made from wood. One basketball net on the left and one on the right were placed on the dirt playground. Ginkoo trees encircled the school. Green (green leaves, green grass, green plants) filled the space around the school. After I started E primary school full of enthusiasm I enjoyed life at school. I will never forget the smiling face of that little girl.*

In our writing session, while I was reading the above text, Satoko asked me "*Can you draw a picture based on my description? I want to see if you have the same image as I do.*" It was as if Satoko was giving me a comprehension check exercise in a reading class, or a task of backward translation from written language to a visual image. I started to draw a picture. While faithfully following what was written in her text, I was also using the visual images of the Chinese film, "Road Home" directed by Zhang Yimou, which contained some of the scenes of a small school in a village. Satoko checked my drawing and seemed to be satisfied with what I produced on a sheet of paper. She started to add some new information about her school by talking and drawing simultaneously.

> *Satoko: Two basket ball somethings, and many trees around, right? What else? Then corn fields and mountains. Then here is a gate, with xxx written, So, something like this?*
>
> *....*
>
> *Satoko: our classroom, looking at it from the back, blackboard there, If I remember right, it was arranged like this – the Year-fours here, the stove just about in the centre*
>
> *Sumiko: Yes, you told me, an important stove to warm up your lunch box*
>
> *Satoko: I can't draw a stove. It had a chimney, I don't remember which way it went, and all around are pupils, only ten of us in pairs like this*

After talking about the content of Satoko's writing, other related episodes, and Chinese movies that featured schools, we began discussing linguistic features of her writing. The following are excerpts from our discussion.

> *Sumiko: So basically my image was OK, I'm relieved*
>
> *Satoko: I thought, what if you drew something entirely different. Is there something missing? Would it be better to add something?*
>
> *Sumiko: Around here, you use the form '~ te imashita' often to describe the state of being, you are doing right,[->focus on form: grammar]*
>
> *Satoko: Yes, but what can I say, I wanted to describe one thing at a time, If I describe desks, then desks, if chairs, then chairs, Here I guess I talked about a desk and chair together, two persons paired up, they are made of wood*
>
> *Sumiko : If you are shooting a film, you take the mountains, then draw closer to the school building, then entering the classroom, then what's next? Desks, basically this is what you're doing when writing, so you're doing right*
>
> *Sumiko: This is to be rigid, this is to surround [->checking and correcting*

Chinese characters]

Sumiko: Good, it's easy to understand the outside of the school, You start from the distance and then come closer toward the school, In the distance are mountains and fields, then the school building, You mean the school building, not the classroom, made of wood, not concrete

Satoko: Look around then move in

Sumiko: Did you realise you'd done it that way or did you do it intuitively?

Satoko: I guess I did it intuitively

Sumiko: If you move backward and forward, for example first talking about a desk made of wood, then next school building was surrounded by the field, I want to say, wait a minute! But what you're doing is moving from outside to inside, Just like a movie, you move from outside to inside the classroom, then now you're staying in the classroom (Yes), When you do that, it feels like the story is about to begin (laugh)

In the excerpt above, besides grammar and Chinese characters, I commented on the overall structure of her writing. In the process of transforming a visual image into a written mode, Satoko needed some kind of structuring principle to organise the many objects contained in her story. She appeared to have employed, so to speak, a strategy to group related objects together. In her words, *"I wanted to describe one thing at a time",* such as objects in the playground in one group, and objects in the classroom in another group. I pointed out, by referring to the camera work of movie making, the spatial ordering (from long shot, to middle shot, then to close-up) that Satoko was intuitively using in her writing. With help from visual image of my drawing and the talk about the movie, Satoko readily understood the way of structuring her written text. As Swain (2006a, p. 98) suggests, "Languaging about language is one of the ways we learn language". This meta-talk provides an illustrative example of how different modalities—spoken, written, and visual image –supported one another to develop the control of written language and meta-awareness of language.

5.1.5.3 Control of multiple genres

The third kind of linguistic border crossings evident in Satoko's and my narratives involved moving between multiple genres. Although both Satoko and I wrote in a narrative genre, we also combined multiple genres and moved back and forward among them. When writing post-migration narratives, Satoko needed to clarify her purposes for writing and the audience for whom she was writing. As she did so, she realised that she needed to improve her ability to write descriptions. Because she chose to narrate her childhood memories to an imagined Japanese audience, who had little knowledge about north-eastern part of China, she found that she needed to describe things that she had taken for granted, such as geography, climate, the flora and fauna of the particular area. Being prompted by my request for clarification, she practiced writing descriptions of her village to provide the reader with necessary information for better understanding of the setting of her story. Thus, descriptions infused in and functioned as constituent elements in her narrative. Her writing entitled "Rememberings" presented in Chapter 4 was the result of her effort to control multiple genres to achieve her goal. An excerpt of her text follows:

> *We were living together in a small village in Hei Long Jiang province of China. The village was surrounded by fields and mountains. The village was located in the northern part of China, close to the border with Russia, if we look at the world atlas.*
> *The house was made of grass, clay and timber. The floor was clay.*
> *The summer temperature was above 30 degrees and the winter temperature was 35 to 40 degrees below zero. In winter sometimes the water on the ground froze within a few minutes. (Rememberings)*

My experience of thesis writing presents another example of the need to control multiple genres – in particular, narrative and expository genres. My control of genres tended to be inconsistent, in part because of initial confusion about my own role as research participant, who tells my own story, and my role as a researcher, who analyses narrative. This confusion is evident in the following sample from my a draft of my thesis:

> *In this chapter I present the life stories of two bilingual writers, Satoko and the researcher,*
> *This section presents My Story, which documents how I learned to become a bilingual research writer to undertake the present research. One of the characteristic of the present research, is the researcher's position as a subject and an object of inquiry simultaneously.*

In the course of writing I also found myself being caught between narrative and expository genres. I tended to mix narrative and expository when I should make an argument. As indicated, the source of this difficulty was that I was caught between my positioning as a narrator who tells a story, and a narrative inquirer who analyses narrative. Thus, in an attempt to make this distinction clear, I introduced the different levels of narrative analysis as described in chapter 3 and as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. In an outer rectangle (Level C), I, as a narrative inquirer, write an analysis of Satoko's and my narratives to the reader in an expository genre, whereas in a mid-rectangle, (Level B), I, as a narrator, write about my own experience in a narrative genre. Hence, my control of genre was closely connected to my self-positioning as a narrative research writer.

To summarise this sub-section, my major argument presented here is that developing control of the linguistic codes constituted a major part of the processes of becoming bilingual. The important point here is that in my study, language development was evidenced in terms of learners' progress in control of their multiple linguistic resources. For this reason, it is useful to adopt multi-competence perspective (Cook 1999, 2001) of language learning, which enables me to study the inter-play between learners' first and second languages and their configuration as a whole. Developing control of the linguistic codes was also observed in other types of linguistic border crossings across different modalities and genres within the same language. However, as I have argued in Section 1 of this chapter, while linguistic development is an essential part of becoming bilingual, it is only one aspect. As Satoko's and my narratives demonstrate, so much more is involved.

5.2 The role of written narrative as mediating tool

In the previous section, I extrapolated key issues from learners' narratives to understand what is involved in becoming bilingual. One of the recurrent themes that appeared in section 1 is the role of written narrative in language learning and learner development. As seen in Chapter 4, both Satoko and I have undergone significant changes in the course of autobiographical narrative writing and through dialogic interaction about writing. Our collaborative writing experiences have led me to question why people turn to narrative, and what potential written narrative has, as mediational artifact, to transform learners. Thus, in this section I address specifically the connection between written narrative and language learning. The purpose of this section is to examine the contributions of written narrative as mediating artifact in the processes of becoming bilingual. As seen in our stories in Chapter 4 and also in the analysis of these stories presented in Section 1 of this chapter, analysis of learners' narratives can provide insights into processes of language learning. In Section 2 of this chapter I shift the focus from analysis of learners' narratives as a source of insight into the nature of language learning, to a focus on the role of written narrative in supporting language learning.

It is important to note that autobiographical narrative writing encompasses two distinctive yet inter-related language activities, namely narrating and writing. My particular interest and emphasis is on written narrative, and on the role of autobiographical narrative in becoming bilingual. While the learners narratives were constructed multi-modally (oral, written, and graphic), the final product was written autobiographical narratives in L2. Thus, the phenomenon under investigation here is specifically the intersection of narrating and writing. As both writing and narrative are activities and cultural artifacts that make use of language, the impact of autobiographical narrative writing can be fruitfully studied by considering the mediational role of writing and that of narrative by drawing on both sociocultural theory and narrative theory. Thus, I begin this section by reflecting on the relationship between the mediation of narrative and the mediation of writing.

5.2.1 The relationship between the mediation of narrative and the mediation of writing

As explained in Chapter 1, I have drawn on sociocultural theory and in particular on notions of mediation and 'languaging' (Swain, 2006a) as an explanatory framework to consider the contributions of both narrating and writing to learners' change. What makes mediation important for this study is the claim that language as a symbolic artifact regulates the learners' social and mental activity. This claim is articulated by Lantolf and Thorne (2006) as follows:

> Mediation is the process through which humans deploy culturally constructed artifacts, concepts, and activities to regulate (i.e. gain voluntary control over and transform) the material world or their own and each other's social and mental activity. With respect to symbolic artifacts, language activity, speaking and writing, is the primary, though not exclusive, mediational means humans deploy for thinking. (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 79)

The advantage of taking a sociocultural perspective of mediation as a point of departure is that a sociocultural approach allows me to understand writing not just as an outcome of writing activity (that is, written text), but also as a psychological tool or mediating artifact to regulate and facilitate the learners' mental process and behaviour (Wells, 1999, Block, 2003). As I explained in Chapter 1, within a sociocultural approach, writing is understood in three distinctive yet inter-related ways: writing as cognitive activity, writing as product, and writing as mediational means (or mediating artifact). First, writing as a verb is an activity, in which people utilise written language as a symbolic tool to produce written texts. Second, writing also refers to a product of writing activity in the form of a written text. In other words, it is a cultural artifact. Third, writing serves as mediational means. Written language is a symbolic tool that mediates writing activity. Additionally, an act of writing mediates the writer's cognitive activity. In the process of writing, the writer is engaged in a cognitive act of meaning making. Wells (2000) has suggested, for example, that it is through the effort of writing that a writer is able to reach a fuller and clearer understanding of a concept or argument. Furthermore, 'what was written' becomes an object that can be explored further by the writer or others, and can then possibly mediate further action (Swain, 2006a). In this sense, within the perspective of sociocultural theory, writing is not just an outcome of writing activity, but is also considered as a psychological tool or mediating artifact to regulate and facilitate the learners' mental process and behaviour (Wells, 1999; Block, 2003). While traditionally L2 writing research has focused mainly on the transformation of the artifact itself, that is, the writer's developing control of linguistic codes appearing in their written products, this study presses further to understand how learners make use of autobiographical narrative writing as mediational means to transform themselves and their relation to others and to the situation. To this end, the notions of artifact mediation provide a promising explanatory framework.

5.2.2 Role of written narrative as mediating artifact

In what follows, I will go through four major roles of mediation with regard to both writing and narrative emerging from this study. First of all, our experience is mediated through language, either spoken or written. Important here is that language is not simply a neutral conduit of our experience but is "fundamentally implicated in the construction of meaning"(Hyland, 2002, p. 57). Thus, "humans have access to the world only indirectly, or mediately, rather than directly, or immediately" (Wertsch, del Río, & Alvarez, 1995, p. 21). As Slobin (2000, p. 107) claims, "The world does not present 'events' to be encoded in language. Rather, in the process of speaking or writing, experiences are filtered through language into verbalized events". The mediational role of language is further emphasized in the following quote from Vološinov(1973, p. 85), "there is no such thing as experience outside of embodiment in signs". Therefore, our verbalized experience is not direct, but mediated, as we interpret and make meaning of our past experience through language. Among other genres, narrative is a powerful mediating artifact (Lantolf, 2000) to make meaning of our experience. Thus, it is not just language per se that mediates our experience, but as Bruner claims, it is rather "narrative that shapes its [experience's] use - particularly its use in self-making" (Bruner, 2003, p. 73). Bruner's claim is relevant to this study, because both Satoko and I spontaneously chose to produce self-narratives to give meaning to our lives. Thus, telling and writing narrative served as a mediational means to shape and reshape our past experience.

Secondly, our experience is mediated by social interactions, through speaking and writing to others. Although mediation appears to be an intrapersonal process, it does not occur in a purely individualistic sense. Rather, people deploy telling and writing narratives as mediational means in order to share their experience with others. This became evident in our collaborative writing sessions, where Satoko and I co-constructed Satoko's life story through collaborative dialogue about writing. In the course of communicating for/to others, our experience tended to be reconstructed by the influence of the audience. This is not restricted to oral communication with a specific audience. As Wells (1999, p. 270) maintains, "[l]ike speech, writing is very much a social mode of communicating and thinking (Bakhtin 1981), and the activities it typically mediates are collaborative endeavours, even though the participants may not be co-present in time and space." This is true with the effect of an imagined audience on Satoko's reconstruction and re-writing of her childhood memories. The sense of an imagined Japanese audience shaped the ways Satoko re-languaged her past experiences in order to make them comprehensible and readable to the audience who did not share her sociocultural and linguistic background. Hence, her experience was socially mediated by others in dialogic interactions through written narrative.

Thirdly, writing narrative as opposed to orally telling narrative has its own significance as mediational means. The crucial difference between a spoken and written mode of narrative is that in writing, our past experience gets doubly mediated, firstly by language itself and secondly by the act of writing. This means that our experience is reconstructed in the process of writing, rather than being simply transmitted from spoken to written medium. Mediation is not just the transfer of information from A to B via C, but rather “the transformation of A into B by means of C” (Baynham & Masing, 2000, p. 194). In this case, mediation involves crossing between two different modes of language. That is, the experience expressed in the spoken language is transformed into the experience expressed in the written language. Important here is that writing is not simply transcription of speech (Olson, 1995; Wells, 1999). The relatively greater abstractness of writing makes writers "reinterpret their experience in the new mode of written language" (Halliday, 1993, p. 109). According to Halliday, “Reconstituting language means reconstituting reality” (1993, p. 109). Thus, our experience written down is not direct but doubly mediated, firstly by language itself and secondly by the act of writing. As Kramsch and Lam (1999, p. 59) suggest, one’s past experience “acquires another logic when it gets languaged” in a written medium. As I previously discussed, when Satoko wrote her autobiographical narrative after having orally told the same story, her experience was reconstructed in the process of writing, rather than being simply transmitted from spoken to written medium. In other words, the act of writing mediated and intensified the re-interpretation of past experiences.

Lastly, written texts mediate our experience across time and space. Our experience can be preserved in a written medium to be retrieved in future, and also to be transmitted to others across time and space. Within a sociocultural framework, Wells (1999, p. 268) argues that the primary function of writing is “to mediate recall and reflection”. Because written language is visible, it has much greater permanence compared with speech (Clark & Ivanič, 1997). Thus, the primary purpose of writing is “to preserve meaning so that it could be recovered in another time or place” (Wells, 1998, p. 268). Thus, through the mediation of written symbols, we can exchange information with people displaced in time and space, and also we can regulate our own actions in the future (Moro, 1999). In my study, the importance of preserving meanings in written texts became evident in Satoko’s motivation of writing her life story. One of the major purposes of writing her childhood experiences was to record her fading memories in a written medium, which is more stable than the oral medium, so as to retrieve them in future.

To summarise, language as a symbolic artifact mediates our experience, and among other genres, narrative is a powerful mediating artifact to make meaning of our experience (Bruner, 2003; Lantolf, 2000). Furthermore, written narrative as opposed to spoken narrative can further mediate recall and reflection (Wells, 1999). Thus, the meaning of experience is negotiated, re-negotiated and transformed when our experience is mediated by means of language, narrative, and writing activity. Furthermore, writing past experience, which was experienced in L1 in another language, requires another layer of mediation, or re-languaging past experience. This process appears to make the learners more reflective and metacognitively aware of their own meaning making.

Summary of Chapter 5

In this chapter I have presented outcomes from Level C analysis of narratives in order to better understand the nature of becoming bilingual. Analysis of our narratives provides evidence that becoming bilingual is a continuously evolving dynamic process, and that the relationship between two or more languages within an individual is not stable but constantly changing. My research findings indicate that learning to become bilingual involves learners' experiences of changes in at least the following four major areas.

- social relations with others
- self regulation of affect
- transformation of identities
- control of multiple languages

The outcomes presented in this chapter demonstrate that these four aspects of learners' change are intimately entwined with each other. In order to construct new identities in L2, learners need to develop control of L2. However, L2 development does not occur in a vacuum. Our stories as learners elucidated the significance of social interaction, the role of affect in L2 development, and the important role of L1 in supporting learners' linguistic border crossings. One of the major findings of my study is the multi-faceted nature of learners' change, and the close inter-relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of learners' change.

I also examined the contributions of written narrative to the language learners as a mediating artifact in the processes of becoming bilingual. The act of writing one's autobiographical narrative helped Satoko and me clarify, understand and express our un-articulated past experiences. Reflecting on our lived experiences and expressing them as narratives was itself a powerful mediational act. I have argued in the chapter that writing narrative as opposed to orally telling narrative had its own significance as mediational means. Writing activity further mediated our recall and reflection, and also regulated our control of affect. Moreover, autobiographical narrative writing activities had the further effect of transforming our social relations, and facilitating development of control of languages.

I turn now to the final chapter of the thesis in which I reflect on the significance of outcomes of my research in relation to the broader literature on narrative and language learning.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: RE-CONCEPTUALISING LANGUAGE AND LITERACY LEARNING THROUGH THE LENS OF NARRATIVE

Introduction

In this final chapter, I summarise my major research findings by responding to the research questions introduced in Chapter 1. I then draw out theoretical and methodological implications based on the findings of this research. Finally, I discuss some of the limitations of this research, and implications for future directions in research.

To recapture, in this thesis I have sought to make an argument for a shift in focus in ways of investigating and theorising language and literacy learning from learners' perspectives. As I outlined in Chapter 1, through the combination of theoretical perspectives of narrative theory and sociocultural theory, this thesis has been an attempt to develop better understandings of what counts as language and literacy learning from learners' perspectives. By utilising narrative inquiry, this study attempted to broaden the locus of research into language and literacy learning from 'language development' to 'learner development'. In this final chapter I reflect on the insights that emerge from my study of learners' narratives, and how they may impact on our understanding of language and literacy development, on theories of learning that guide teaching practice, and on research methodologies through which language learning is studied. Hence, the overall purpose of this chapter, as the title suggests, is to reconceptualise language and literacy learning through the lens of narrative.

I begin by revisiting my research questions, and by reviewing how these questions have been addressed in this thesis. In Chapter 1, I outlined major purposes of this thesis as identifying the nature of change that adult language learners/users have experienced in learning to become bilingual through the mediation of autobiographical narrative writing in L2. A further purpose of this thesis was to examine the usefulness of narrative inquiry as a complementary research approach to understand the complexity of language and literacy learning from the learners' perspective. In line with these purposes, the following research questions were formulated, as introduced in Chapter 1.

1. What can learners' stories tell about the long-term processes of language and literacy learning?
2. What role can written autobiographical narrative play in processes of language learning?
3. What is the potential contribution of narrative inquiry to research in the field of language and literacy learning?

These research questions were addressed through a longitudinal narrative inquiry of two language learners. My central aim in the longitudinal studies has been to explore, in a wholistic way, the nature of change that two language learners have experienced in learning to write autobiographical narratives collaboratively in second languages. I have analysed how the processes of becoming bilingual were represented in autobiographical narratives, and, in turn, how the act of writing autobiographical narratives has mediated learning to become bilingual. The findings were presented in chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, I presented two learners' stories, including my own, in order to provide detailed accounts of our longitudinal transitions of learning and using plural languages in our lives. In order to identify key issues for understanding the nature of what it means to become bilingual, these stories then became data for further analysis in Chapter 5. In this chapter I reflect more broadly on the significance of narrative inquiry to the field of language and literacy learning.

This chapter has four sections. Sections 1 to 3 are organised in relation to three research questions. Each section begins, in response to a research question, with a summary of major findings, and then draws out the broader significance of the findings for theory or methodology. Section 4 then presents a discussion of the limitations of this research, and implications for future directions in research.

6.1 Insights into language and literacy learning

Research question 1: *What can learners' stories tell about the long-term processes of language and literacy learning?*

My first research question addresses the nature of long-term change that adult language learners/users have experienced in learning to become bilingual through the analysis of first-person narratives. As I argued in Chapter 1, learning entails change (Chappell et al., 2003a; Katznelson et al., 2001; Leki, 2000). This research has been an attempt to address what constitutes change in long-term processes of learning and using plural languages from learners' narratives.

6.1.1 Summary of major findings: Nature of learners' change

Our narratives as learners demonstrated the various levels of change, and the way in which they interact. The nature of change in becoming bilingual may be summarised as following.

(1) Becoming bilingual involves life-long change;
(2) Becoming bilingual involves multifaceted change;
(3) Becoming bilingual involves bidirectional change across languages, modalities, and genres;
(4) Becoming bilingual entails continuous border crossings and translation.

In what follows I elaborate each in order.

6.1.1.1 Becoming bilingual involves life-long change

Analysis of our stories provides evidence that language and literacy learning is a lifelong project. It also provides evidence that becoming bilingual is a continuously evolving dynamic process; that the relationship between two or more languages within an individual is not stable but constantly changing over time; and that an individual's sense of self with regard to her plural languages also changes over time.

The two language learners/users in this study, Satoko and myself, are subsequent, rather than simultaneous bilinguals, and we continue to live our lives through the means of more than one language. Although we differ significantly in terms of our educational background, language and literacy learning experiences, and our confidence in controlling L1 and L2 literacy, for both of us, the process of becoming bilingual encompassed several stages, and the sequence of these stages took a similar path. We began as monolingual speakers, before learning an additional language at some point in our lives. In earlier stages, our plural languages existed either separately, or in conflict with each other. We then gradually moved with conscious effort, to the stage where two languages became mutually interdependent and transforming of each other. We became more flexible "to perform a balancing act" (Casanave, 1998, p. 198) of moving across two linguistic worlds.

6.1.1.2 Becoming bilingual involves the multifaceted nature of change

One of the major findings of my study is the multi-faceted nature of learners' change, and the close inter-relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of learners' change involved in becoming bilingual.While becoming bilingual necessarily includes developing control of the linguistic codes of the new language, it involves so much more. My research findings indicate that learning to become bilingual involves learners' experiences of changes in at least the following four major areas.

- social relations with others
- self regulation of affect
- transformation of identities
- control of multiple languages

Important here is that these four aspects of learners' change are not independent, but are intimately entwined with each other.

Learners' stories in this research thus demonstrate that the question of how language is learned cannot be considered independently of the social contexts and social interaction with other people. Both learners in this research experienced significant changes in the social domain, and these changes have brought about further changes in cognitive and other intrapersonal domains. These findings strongly support sociocultural theories of learning that view learning as a process of internalization that takes place by way of dialogic interaction (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991; Wells, 1999). Learners' stories also highlight the importance of affect in relation to language learning, in particular to learning to write in the second language. Affect is strongly connected with social interaction, and thus, the regulation of affect constitutes a major part of language learning. The research findings confirm that affective and social aspects of learners' change are worthy of attention equally to cognition.

Along with these non-linguistic aspects of learners' change, linguistic development still remains central to processes of becoming bilingual, and is closely related to learners' identities. The narratives presented in this thesis demonstrate that becoming bilingual entails continuous repositioning with regard to multiple languages and identities. This means that as bilingual individuals, we learn to position ourselves across plural languages and cultures, and incorporate these languages and cultures into our sense of who we are (Kanno, 2003). Of particular importance in my study is the choice of language as the linguistic means of negotiating bilingual identities in autobiographical narrative writing. Satoko's and my attempts to re-language our L1-based experiences in

L2 to an L2-speaking audience itself demonstrates the processes of negotiation involved in the construction of our bilingual identities. Thus, the thesis provides evidence that processes of becoming bilingual are inextricably involved with identity transformation as well as linguistic development.

These findings are in accord with research findings of Kanno's (2003) and Casanave's (1998) studies, which were discussed in the literature review section of Chapter 2. Kanno's longitudinal narrative inquiry of four Japanese returnee students (*kikokushijo*) revealed that in the course of linguistic and cultural border crossings, these students became "more skilful at striking a balance between the two worlds" (Kanno, 2003, p. 134) and "this change was accompanied by their increasing sophisticated skill at participating in multiple communities" (p. xi). Casanave (1998), who conducted interview-based research on the transitions of Japanese academics who attempted to write in two languages, argues that these people developed "several interrelated identities that could be juggled and balanced as needed to their best advantage" (1998, p. 196). Thus, "the transition to the life of a professional bilingual academic does not mean choosing life A or life B" (1998, p. 196). What these studies have in common is the emphasis on the development of the flexibility of "managing the transitions, the juggling, and the balancing" (Casanave, 1998, p. 198) of two or more linguistic resources in becoming bilingual. My research supports these conclusions.

6.1.1.3 Becoming bilingual involves bidirectional change across languages, modalities, and genres

Analysis of learners' stories in the thesis provides evidence that linguistic development involved bi-directional movement across languages, rather than linear, uni-directional movement from L1 to L2. Important here is the direction of change. Learners' narratives reveal that the ability to transfer learning can work in both directions, not just from L1 to L2, but also from L2 to L1. In either case, what learners learned in one language supported learning in another, because while learning in one language, learners were able to draw on what they already knew in the other language. Even at times, language development occurred first in L2 before having an impact on L1. Thus, what develops in processes of language learning is learners' ability to transfer learning across languages.

This finding confirms the value of the multi-competence perspective (Cook, 1999, 2001) of language learning, which has enabled me to study the inter-play between learners' first and second languages and their configuration as a whole. In my study, language development was evidenced in terms of learners' progress in control of their multiple linguistic resources, rather than becoming more proficient in their separate languages. As I argued in Chapter 5, the development of multi-competence was evidenced primarily in the following:

- Improved flexibility in our use of multiple linguistic resources and in our abilities to translate between languages;
- The ability to transfer learning between languages (not just from L1 to L2);
- The ability to adjust our writing to audiences from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and in doing so, to take account of their different needs and expectations;
- A greater awareness of language as a system and an ability to talk about and analyse language;
- A better understanding of our first language and cultural backgrounds in the light of what we have learned about other languages and cultures.

As this list suggests, the development of multi-competence involved bi-directional and continuous movement across languages. The list also indicates that learning and using a subsequent language does not simply mean adding one extra language to the pre-existing one(s), or having two (or more) sets of monolingual components. Rather, the experience of learning and using two (or more) languages have brought not merely "additive effects" but rather "transforming effects" (Pennington, 1996).

In addition, as argued in Chapter 5, developing control of the linguistic codes required moving across not only L1 and L2, but also across spoken and written modes, and across different genres within a language. Thus processes of becoming bilingual entail constant linguistic border crossings across different languages, modalities and genres (Hammond, 2007).

6.1.1.4 Becoming bilingual entails continuous translation

An overarching theme that emerges from this thesis is that becoming bilingual entails continuous translation across languages. The core of the argument I wish to make here is that becoming bilingual means not only becoming more proficient in two separate languages, but rather, it entails engaging in continual transformation with regard to our multiple languages and identities.

Translation is often assumed to be "the act or operation of transferring a message from one language to another" (R. P. Roberts, 2002, p. 429). However, translation does not simply involve the transmission of a message across languages, but rather it involves transforming or reconstructing meanings in a new language for a different audience. Thus, translation is not replicating the original. Instead, translation is a “rewriting of an original text” (Hyland, 2002, p. 216), “reinvention”(M. Richardson, 1999, p. 272), and “mediation” (M. Richardson, 1999, p. 272). The metaphor of translation also allows me to use the word ‘translation’ not only in a strict sense of linguistic translation as in a book translated from Japanese to English, but also as a metaphor of identity transformation with regard to learning and using plural languages (Besemeres, 2002; Pavlenko, 1998). As Pavlenko (1998, p. 4) maintains, “Translation will encompass making meaning of the new cultural practices and reinterpreting one’s own subjectivities (self-translation), in order to ‘mean’ in the new environment.” This way of thinking about translation allows me to suggest that the nature of language and literacy learning can be profitably examined in terms of learners’ continuous translation across languages.

Translation was typically evidenced in my study in the autobiographical narrative writing practices of both Satoko and me. Satoko’s pre-migration narratives clearly demonstrate that she learned to position herself as a translator, or mediator, between two linguistic worlds to re-language her L1-based experience in L2 to the L2-speaking audience. As mentioned previously, translation, according to Cook (2002), is one of the specific linguistic activities that L2 users can perform, that monolingual L1 users cannot, because translation requires the linguistic knowledge and skills encompassing two languages. In this sense, Satoko was able to go beyond the language use of monolingual native speakers and became a mediator between two languages.

Likewise, my own narrative demonstrates that my identity transformation from L2 learner to bilingual writer was fostered by a two-way process of academic writing practice, which has much to do with translation work. My bilingual identity was shaped in the process of writing about an L1 related research topic in L2 in an L1-speaking environment for an imagined L2 audience. Thus through translation, both Satoko and I developed our ability to consciously and effectively move across L1 and L2 worlds rather than assimilating one world at the expense of another. Also by engaging in translation between languages, both of us have become more ‘multicompetent’ in developing linguistic competence working across languages. In this sense, translation mediated our language and literacy learning, and also identity transformation. Thus, the metaphor of translation can offer deeper understandings of the complexities of language learning processes.

This way of thinking about language and literacy development shifts the focus from a developmental end-state, such as native-speaker-like proficiency in the target language, toward a more process-oriented notion of becoming bilingual, which can better account for situated, negotiated developmental trajectories.

6.1.2 Significance of research findings and theoretical implications

In Chapter 1, I argued that a contribution of my thesis is the detailed account it offers of what it means to learn and use plural languages. Here I revisit that claim and argue that the research findings, summarised above, have important theoretical implications for re-conceptualising the nature of language and literacy learning processes in terms of the interplay among learners’ social, affective and cognitive domains.

6.1.2.1. Interplay among learners' social, affective and cognitive domains

The research findings highlight the complexity of the interplay among social, affective and cognitive dimensions of the learner in relation to language learning. Specifically, language learners are affected by social, affective, and cognitive factors in learning processes, yet at the same time, language learners transform their social, affective, and cognitive domains through learning and using plural languages. Learners undergo many changes across different domains. Learners' changes in one of these domains affect changes in other domains, and then feed back to the original domain. This cycle was evidenced in the multifaceted nature of Satoko's change through autobiographical narrative writing, wherein linguistic, social and affective aspects were entwined. Thus, while developing control of the linguistic codes of the target language remains central to language learning, my research provides insights into other dimensions that need to be taken into account to understand the nature of language and literacy learning. Therefore, "learning is not the special province of a single specialized realm of human functioning such as cognition or perception. It involves the integrated functioning of the total organism - thinking, feeling, perceiving, and behaving" (Kolb, 1984, p. 31). While previous studies have acknowledged the complexity of language leaning processes, and the importance of socio-affective factors in language learning (Katznelson et. al., 2001; Rubin et. al., 2005), the significance of my research is in demonstrating the complexity of language learning processes in terms of the various levels of learners' change and the interaction of these different levels within specific individuals.

6.2 The role of written autobiographical narrative in processes of language learning

Research Question 2: *What role can written autobiographical narrative play in processes of language learning?*

My second research question specifically addresses the role of written, as opposed to spoken, narrative as a mediational tool in the processes of language and literacy learning. I begin my response to this second research question by referring back to the theoretical framework for understanding the role of written autobiographical narrative.

As argued in Chapter 2, narrative is conceptualised in my study as a sociocultural mediating artifact (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1998) that people use “to language” (Swain, 2006a) their experiences, to make sense of themselves and the world, and also to transform selves. My interest in written rather than spoken narrative arose from my own personal experiences and also from the possibility offered within sociocultural theory of theorising writing as a culturally constructed artifact that can be deployed to mediate social and mental activity.

These theoretical underpinnings suggest that language as a symbolic artifact mediates our experience, and that, among other genres, narrative is a powerful mediating artifact to make meaning of our experience (Lantolf, 2000; Bruner, 2003). Both spoken and written narratives serve as a means of meaning-making and reshaping past experience. However, written narrative as opposed to spoken narrative has its own significance as mediational means. As argued in Chapter 5, the crucial difference between a spoken and written mode of narrative is that in writing, our past experience gets doubly mediated, firstly, by the language of narrative itself, and secondly, by the act of writing. This means that our experience is reconstructed in the process of writing, rather than being simply transmitted from a spoken to a written medium. The relatively greater abstractness of writing makes writers "reinterpret their experience in the new mode of written language" (Halliday, 1993, p. 109). Thus, written narrative has the “epistemic function” (Wells 1999: 143) of utilizing writing “as a tool for thinking and developing new understanding” (Wells 1999, p. 143). Furthermore, compared with speech, written language is visible and has much greater permanence; it is also much slower and more deliberate in production (Clark & Ivanič, 1997; Wells, 1999). For these reasons, written narrative as opposed to spoken narrative is particularly suited to mediate recall and reflection (Wells, 1999).

6.2.1 Summary of major findings: The role of written narrative

In the light of the theoretical framework for understanding the role of written narrative, I now proceed to summarise major findings, and draw out the broader significance of the findings.

As seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the act of writing one’s autobiographical narrative influenced the learners in a number of ways. The impact was not limited to the development of our control of written language. Rather the research findings revealed there was a close link between writing activity on the one hand, and learners’ change in cognitive, affective and social domains on the other. In addition, there was a link between narrative writing and identity transformation. The role of written autobiographical narrative in this study may be summarized as follows:

(1) making experiences comprehensible and tellable;
(2) constructing and transforming identities;
(3) facilitating social interaction;
(4) taking control of emotion;
(5) supporting language development through appropriation and metacognitive awareness.

In what follows, I elaborate each in order.

6.2.1.1 Making experiences comprehensible and tellable

Outcomes from my research provide evidence that written narrative contributes to processes of language learning by enabling learners to make their own experiences comprehensible and tellable to themselves and others. The act of writing one’s autobiographical narrative, firstly, helped both Satoko and me clarify, understand and express our un-articulated past experiences, particularly when we were making major life transitions or confronted by the major problems. For Satoko, this occurred when she was confronted with problems at university, and in my case, it occurred when I perceived that my expertise as an established language teacher and researcher was threatened in a new L2 context. We both turned to narrative in times of trouble in an attempt to make better sense of our problems by articulating how they happened, and possibly why they happened. To employ Swain’s (2006a) notion of languaging, written narrative served as a meaning-making device through which experienced events were articulated, externalised, and transformed into an artifactual form, that could be reflected on and languaged further. This meaning-making function of written narrative has much to do with identity transformation.

6.2.1.2 Identity transformation

My research provides insights into ways in which written narrative contributes to processes of transforming learners' identities. As indicated, both Satoko and I turned to written narrative when our identities were in crisis, and when we were in transition phases from loss to gain. The act of writing autobiographical narrative allowed us to re-interpret and re-story our past experiences to produce alternative stories. That is, the act of re-storying enabled us to reconstruct past experiences in the light of the present (Bruner, 1990), and to project to the future. This re-storying had important consequences for transforming our identities. What happened in the past could not be changed in any objective sense. However, as Polkinghorne argues (1988, p. 182), "the interpretation and significance of these events can change if a different plot is used to configure them". Polkinghorne (1988, p. 182) goes on to argue, "The rewriting of one's story involves a major life change - both in one's identity and in one's interpretation of the world". My research supports Polkinghorne's argument, and also supports Lantolf's (2000) claim that written narrative can be said to play a powerful role as a mediating artifact in the transformation of identities.

6.2.1.3 Facilitating social interaction

My research also provides evidence that written narratives contribute to language learning processes by facilitating social interaction. As narrative is a social, relational, and collaborative activity (Riessman, 2002), meaning-making for learners in my research occurred not solely within individuals, but also within collaborative dialogues with others. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, in the process of writing her autobiographical narratives, Satoko engaged in many dialogues with people around her, including her family, teacher, the researcher (myself) and also her imagined Japanese audience. These social interactions contributed to Satoko's recall of her childhood memories as well as her narrative writing practice in L2. Even in the seemingly solitary work of writing, the sense of imagined audience shaped the way she wrote. It was in the effort to make her experience comprehensible and sharable with others through written narrative that she reached a better understanding of the significance of her experience, as well as a better control of written language. Therefore, Satoko's autobiographical narrative emerged, in part, from social interaction, and consequently writing activity facilitated and transformed her social relations with others.

6.2.1.4 Taking control of emotion

A further contribution of written narrative to processes of language learning is by helping learners take control of emotions. The act of writing autobiographical narratives is closely related to the self-regulation of emotion. My research demonstrates two sides of emotional aspects inherent in written narrative. On the one hand, the act of writing autobiography was emotionally loaded because there is the vulnerability of revealing oneself in narrative (C. Ellis & Bochner, 2000). On the other hand, the very act of writing autobiography provided the learner with opportunities to distance herself from strong emotions and to objectify past experiences without being engulfed by emotion. This seemingly contradictory aspect of narrative writing can be explained by the mechanism of ‘distancing’. Bruner (2002) uses the term “narrative distancing”, and argues that “we distance ourselves from the immediacy of events by converting what we’ve encountered into story form” (Bruner, 2002, p. 89). He argues further that distancing is also a characteristic of written language because “by its very nature, the written word, unlike the spoken one, is *not* to be taken as in the here-and-now. We must *distance* ourselves from it somehow if we are to grasp it” (Bruner, 2002, p. 88) (emphasis in original). Therefore, the act of narrative writing is a way of doubly distancing oneself from the immediacy of the past experience, one by narrative and the other by writing. In this respect, one of the benefits of written autobiographical narrative in an affective domain is helping learners take control of emotion by distancing oneself from the immediacy of emotionally-loaded experiences. However, it is important to remember the effect of social factors on the control of emotion. My study revealed the close link between affective and social aspects of learners’ change. What triggered learners’ change in an affective domain was, in my view, not only the power of writing or the power of narrative, but also the social interaction with others in a safe environment. Thus, the effect of social factors cannot be overlooked in considering the contribution of written narrative to learners’ affect.

6.2.1.5 Supporting language learning through appropriation and developing meta-cognitive awareness

As I argued in Section 1 of this chapter, through the mediation of narrative writing in L2, both Satoko and I learned to develop better control of linguistic codes. In this respect, narrative writing supported our language learning in major ways.

In addition, written narratives supported our language learning through developing our meta-cognitive awareness about our own learning processes. The act of writing autobiographical narrative resulted in Satoko's and my becoming more reflective about our learning processes through making meaning of our learning experiences. This occurred in part through appropriation of others' words (Bakhtin, 1981). Satoko, in particular, took ownership of another's story, and incorporated both meanings and language into her own writing. As Wells (1999, p. 288) maintains, reading others' stories provides "models from which the writer gains familiarity with the register and genres that are culturally available for his or her purposes in writing".

By writing and re-writing our stories, and by talking about our stories as we did so, we attempted to make better sense of our learning experiences and what our learning meant to us. We became clearer about what and how we should learn and/or not learn in future, and we became more insightful about 'languaging' (Swain, 2006a) our own language(s). This, in turn, facilitated our meta-linguistic and meta-cognitive awareness. My research thus provides evidence that written narratives contributed to language learning by helping learners reflect on "what they did and how they did it, what they understood from their experiences" (Leki, 2001, p. 17). In this sense, meaning-making through written narrative can be seen “as the mediator in the language learning process” (Breen, 2001, p. 182).

Although my study focused on the role of written, rather than spoken, narrative, I do not mean that only written narrative can facilitate language learning and meta-cognitive awareness. In Chapter 5, I highlighted the multimodal nature of Satoko’s language development where what she learned in one mode supported learning in another. In addition, excerpts from our writing sessions illustrated ways in which Satoko developed control of different modes as part of her literacy development. While I have highlighted the role of written narrative in facilitating meta-cognitive awareness, it is important to note that learners’ narratives in my research were written in the context of spoken collaborative dialogue with others (Breen, 2001). Writing and speaking complemented each other to support our language learning and our developing meta-awareness. My research thus supports Harré and Langenhove (1999) who argue that written and spoken modes are “far from being mutually contradictory poles”; rather they can “interact and support each other” (Harré & Langenhove, 1999, p. 70) in language learning. However, my research highlights the particular contribution of written narrative in facilitating learners’ meta-cognitive awareness.

6.2.2 Significance of research findings and theoretical contributions

Having summarized major research findings concerning the role of written autobiographical narrative, I now reflect on the significance of these findings at a theoretical level to the field of language and literacy learning studies. I also argue that these findings constitute part of the overall contribution of the thesis toward a more detailed understanding of what it means to learn and use plural languages.

6.2.2.1 The notion of artifact mediation

Research findings suggest that the notion of artifact mediation that has been utilised within this study has important implications for understanding the nature of language learning.

Within sociocultural theory, writing is seen not just as an outcome of writing activity, but as a culturally constructed artifact that can be deployed to mediate social and mental activity (Wells, 1999). Through its emphasis on the role of cultural tools, most notably language, in mediating higher cognition, sociocultural theory has enabled me to elaborate ways in which written autobiographical narrative mediates language learning. Traditionally research into writing has focused mainly on the transformation of the artifact itself, that is, the writer's developing control of linguistic codes appearing in their written products. However, this study went further to understand how learners make use of written autobiographical narrative as mediational means to transform themselves and their relation to others. Thus the research outcomes provide evidence that written narrative mediates more than learners' developing control of linguistic codes. It contributes to learners' change in social, affective and cognitive domains as well as in identity transformation.

6.2.2.2 The contribution of written narrative as opposed to spoken narrative

This study, with its specific focus on written autobiographical narrative, provides evidence that written narrative has particular roles to play in processes of language learning. This study thus extends and complements the scope of previous narrative research in language and literacy learning.

Other researchers have used language learners' narratives to address issues of language and literacy learning, and learners' identity transformation (e.g. Baynham, 2003, 2006; De Fina, 2003; Baynham & De Fina, 2005; Kanno, 2003; Casanave, 2002; Pavlenko, 1998, 2001; Pavlenko & Lantolf ,2000; Norton, 2000; Murphey et al., 2005). However, much of narrative research has focused on spoken narrative (Baynham, 2003, 2006; Baynham & De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2003; Kanno, 2003). Research into transformation of identities, in particular, has focused predominantly on oral interactions. While these studies offer valuable insights into the interactional aspects of oral narrative, the potential of written narrative has been under-researched.

Of the relatively few studies that have specifically addressed the role of written autobiographical narrative, Pavlenko's (1998; also Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000) research is most relevant to mine. Pavlenko's research was reviewed in Chapter 2, but it is useful at this point to revisit that research.

To review, Pavlenko (1998, 2001, also Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000) studied the self transformation process of professional bilingual writers utilising their own written autobiographical narratives as data. These bilingual writers learned their L2 after puberty and attained high levels of proficiency in L2 to become successful professionals in their chosen professions. What is particularly relevant about Pavlenko's research is her emphasis on the role of written language in processes of self-transformation.

Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000, p.163) suggest that new voices are first captured in writing rather than in speech. Thus, writing in a new language can become a crucial stepping stone for learners' transitions from stages of loss to stages of recovery in language development.

My research confirms Pavlenko and Lantolf's claims of the self-transformative power of personal narrative writing in L2. Their self-transformation stages (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000) whereby the learner proceeds through losses to gains are applicable to both Satoko's story and my story (as is evident in Chapters 4 and 5). However, while sharing some commonalities, my study differs from Pavlenko's (1998; 2001) research in a number of important ways.

The crucial difference is the type of research participants in terms of the level of literacy. The majority of writers in Pavlenko's study were "successful middle-class individuals who had successfully acquired English" (Pavlenko, 2001, p. 140), who became professional using their L2. Given that writing in L2 played a critical role in self-transformation for the individuals considered in Pavlenko's study, the question arises whether this is because they were professional writers who were already highly literate in L1, or whether the transformative power of written narrative applies to other L2 learners/users as well. As my research demonstrates, Satoko's self-transformation processes revealed important similarities with Pavlenko and Lantolf's (2000) model of self-transformation stages. The significance of my research is that it provides evidence that written narratives can have an equally important role in facilitating second language development for the learner who is not yet confident in L1 (or L2) literacy.

6.3 Contributions of narrative inquiry to language and literacy learning research

Research question 3: *What is the potential contribution of narrative inquiry to research in the field of language and literacy learning?*

My third research question addressed methodological issues regarding the contribution of narrative inquiry as a research tool for providing insights into language and literacy learning processes. To recapture, a principal methodological aim of this thesis was to propose a complementary approach to studying language and literacy learning from learners' perspectives. My major argument was that in order to have better understandings of language learning processes, it is important to investigate not only learners' language but also learners' lived experiences derived from language learning. To this end, finding a way of conducting more learner-sensitive research that enabled me to investigate learners' longitudinal change in a wholistic way was a necessary and important element of my research design.

In Chapter 1, I argued that this thesis made a methodological contribution to research through its attempts to implement an innovative approach to narrative inquiry, and also through its attempts to make processes of narrative analysis more systematic and explicit. Details of the overall approach and its systems of analysis have been explained and illustrated in previous chapters. Here my purpose is to reflect on major features of the approach to narrative inquiry taken in this thesis, and on its possible contribution to the field of language and literacy research. I begin this section with a discussion of major features. My claim is that these features provide evidence of an innovative approach to narrative inquiry.

6.3.1 Contributions of narrative inquiry: Summary of major features

The major features of narrative inquiry in this thesis can be summarized in five points as follows.

(1) It provides a wholistic picture of complex language learning process from an emic perspective;
(2) It provides a longitudinal portrait of individual learners;
(3) It elucidates the close connection between language learning experience and other aspects of individuals' lives;
(4) It highlights the role of sociocultural and socio-historical context;
(5) It gives voice to marginalised or silenced people.

In what follows, I will elaborate on each point in order.

6.3.1.1 Providing a wholistic picture of complex language learning process from an emic perspective

Firstly, one central advantage of narrative inquiry in this thesis was that it offered a wholistic picture of complex language learning processes from an insider, emic perspective – a perspective that was not readily accessible from outside. One of the major characteristics of my research design is the combination of a biographical study of a research participant, Satoko, and my own autobiographical study, in which "the researcher and research subject are one person" (Benson & Nunan, 2005, p. 2). This emic perspective provided me with an insight into the longitudinal transitions of language learners situated within particular sociocultural, socio-historical contexts. The analysis of learners' autobiographical narratives thus enabled me, as researcher, to gain better insights into the multifaceted nature of learners' change wherein linguistic, social and affective dimensions were entwined.

Additionally, the particular value of narrative inquiry in this research lay in making accessible "the learners' struggle to make meaning" of our learning experiences (Breen, 2001, p. 182). That is, ways in which meaning was actively constructed and reconstructed by learners through languaging our learning experiences became visible to me as the researcher, and subsequently to readers of my research. Furthermore, as I argued in Section 2, this meaning-making process was of much importance for the learners themselves, as "the learners' struggle to make meaning can be seen as the mediator in the language learning process" (Breen, 2001, p. 182).

6.3.1.2 Providing a longitudinal portrait of individual learners

Secondly, narrative inquiry in this research offered a longitudinal portrait of language learners, thereby enabling me "to generate insights that are beyond the reach of 'snap-shot' research" (Benson & Nunan, 2005, p. 155). This was made possible in my research by combining the longitudinal observation of the same individuals' life transition, our writing processes in progress, and our retrospective account of language learning experiences. As a result, narrative inquiry was able to elucidate the life-long development of individual learners across different life stages and in changing sociocultural contexts.

6.3.1.3 Elucidating the close connection between language learning experience and other aspects of individuals' lives

Thirdly, narrative inquiry in the thesis shed light on the close connections between language learning experiences and "everything else that is going on in an individual's life" (Benson & Nunan, 2005, p. 154). Both Satoko's and my story revealed that our linguistic and cultural transitions of becoming bilingual were "superimposed on" (Lieblich, 1993, p. 121) our life transitions. In this respect, language and literacy learning was revealed as necessarily woven into the life stories of language learners. Language learners' experiences proved to be richer and more complex than allowed for in traditional accounts of language learners. Thus, narrative inquiry helped in "understanding second language learners as people" (Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001), or in Breen's words (2001, p. 172), "as thinking, feeling and acting persons in a context of language use that is grounded in social relationships with other people".

6.3.1.4 Highlighting the role of sociocultural and socio-historical context

Fourthly, narrative inquiry underscored the role of sociocultural and socio-historical context in which both learners were situated. By highlighting the close connection between Satoko's and my own social interactions, and our social contexts, narrative inquiry proved to be both learner-sensitive and context-sensitive. In this sense, narrative inquiry as demonstrated in the thesis, can be said to have an ecological perspective because it studied human activities in their relations with the environment (van Lier, 2000). It was concerned with how human activity is part of the environment, and at the same time influences, and is influenced by the environment (Barton, 1994). My claim here is that narrative inquiry can make it possible to explore idiographic aspects of the self and to deal with them in specific cultural and historical contexts.

6.3.1.5 Giving voice to marginalised or silenced people

Lastly, narrative inquiry gave voice to marginalised or silenced persons. In my study, the significance of writing autobiographical narrative for Satoko was to assert and create her sense of identity. Writing of autobiographical narrative led her into a consideration of the political context of her life story, and the issues of ownership of languages and voice. Also, as argued previously, the act of autobiographical narrative writing itself can be therapeutic, allowing her to re-language her experience, and perhaps overcome, or counteract some affective and social factors that were detrimental to her language learning. Use of such narratives in research offers opportunities for other marginalized and under-represented persons' voices to be heard (Bradbury & Sclater, 2000; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Riessman, 1993; Yamada, 2000), and ultimately can contribute to knowledge construction in the field of language learning and education (Bell, 2002). In this respect, narrative inquiry can be seen not just as a research tool - a medium of data collection or a framework of data analysis. Rather narrative inquiry can have "transformative possibilities" (Richardson, 1990, p. 128) for the individuals that are involved in it.

6.3.2 Significance of the research design

Having summarised major features of narrative inquiry in my research, I now turn to the significance and contribution that the research design in this thesis may have for the field of language and literacy learning studies.

6.3.2.1 Narrative inquiry as a powerful and insightful complementary approach to language and literacy research

As I have previously stated, a key aim of my research has been to offer a complementary approach to studying language and literacy learning. My aim, in particular, was to design and undertake research that contributed to "theories about learners" (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 116). To this end, I have investigated the nature of change on the part of language learners/users through their first-person narratives.

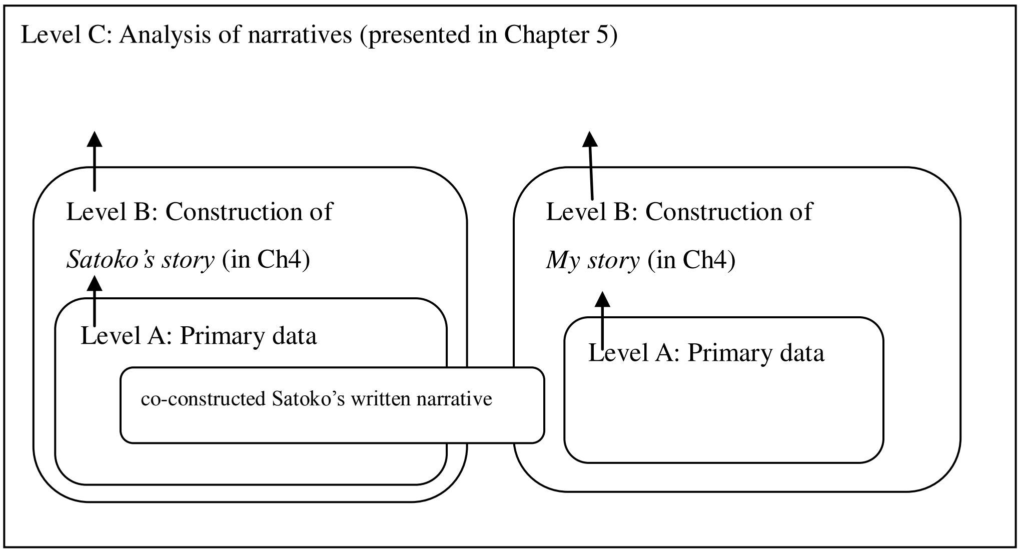
My study, I believe, provides evidence that incorporating learners' narratives in language learning research can make a significant contribution to extending theoretical understanding of the complexity of language and literacy learning processes. By providing an in-depth understanding of the learner as a whole person, my study demonstrates that narrative inquiry can provide a powerful and insightful complementary approach to language and literacy research. Although a narrative approach neither could, nor should, replace existing research approaches, my study shows it can contribute considerably to "theories about learners" (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 116). Better understanding of learners will ultimately contribute to better theorising of language and literacy development, which in turn will contribute to better teaching practices. In this sense, the kind of narrative approach taken in this thesis can be considered "not as a replacement, but as a much-needed supplement" (Freeman, 1997, p. 179) to this field of study.

6.3.1.2 Layers of narrative analysis

In Chapter 1, I argued that one of the contributions of the thesis lies in its attempts to make processes of narrative analysis more systematic and explicit. Here I revisit that claim.

A feature of my research design has been the conceptual links it has made between understanding of narrative as process and as product of interpretation. These links have made possible the development of a multi-layered approach to construction and analysis of narratives. The three major layers of construction and analysis of data and the complex nature of the relationship between these layers were summarised in Diagram 1 (first presented in Chapter 3). To remind the reader, Diagram 1 is re-presented below.

Diagram 1: Layers of narrative construction and analysis in the thesis


Level C: Analysis of narratives (presented in Chapter 5)
Level B: Construction of *Satoko's story* (in Ch4)
Level A: Primary data
co-constructed Satoko's written narrative
Level B: Construction of *My story* (in Ch4)
Level A: Primary data

As Diagram 1 illustrates, the construction and analysis of learners' narratives in the thesis involved several layers. Level A (primary data) represents the research participants' own interpretations of our lived experiences, either told or written. Important here is that the learners' first-person accounts were themselves narratives that were constructed by Satoko and me based on various events that we had experienced in our lives. Level B (constructed participants' narratives) is the product of my (the researcher's) interpretations of research participants' experiences. These constructed narratives were presented in Chapter 4. Level C (abstraction and analysis from participants' narratives presented in chapter 5) represents a further layer of analysis of participants' narratives by the researcher. The two learners' constructed narratives, which were themselves the product of analysis, became an object to be further analysed. The final stage of analysis thus utilized both primary data and constructed learners' narratives to abstract key issues and the recurring themes, and to address their broader implications for understanding the nature of language learning and learners' development.

The use of the diagrammatic representation of layers of narrative analysis enabled me, using this heuristic device, to work from the specific details of our lived experiences to more generalised and abstract accounts of the significance of our narratives for understanding processes of language and literacy learning. Importantly, the heuristic device also enabled me to take a systematic and principled approach to the analysis of narrative. As I pointed out in chapter 1, narrative inquiry has sometimes been criticized as being overly descriptive (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Casanave; 2005; Singer, 2004). The systematic and layered approach to analysis of narrative that is demonstrated in this thesis offers a way of addressing that criticism.

In addition, Diagram 1 enabled me to highlight the issues of translation. As has been seen, Satoko's written and spoken narratives were constructed in her L2 (Japanese) at Level A. Construction of her narrative at Level B required translation of Satoko's narratives from my L1 to L2 so that her narratives could be presented in English for readers of this thesis. Thus, a further layer of interpretation is implicit in the transition between layers A and B. As I have argued earlier in this and previous chapters, continuous translation across languages has emerged as a major theme. The multiple layers of narrative analysis in this thesis have enabled progressively more systematic and abstract insights into what is involved in becoming bilingual.

6.4 Limitations of the research and directions for future research

In the previous sections, I have addressed the possible contributions of the thesis at theoretical and methodological levels. However, there also remain limitations that need to be acknowledged in this study. Thus, in this final section I discuss major limitations of the research and possible directions for future research.

This research was conducted with a very small number of language learners/users in naturalistic settings, one participant and the researcher, who was simultaneously the subject of research. Questions necessarily remain to what extent outcomes from this research can be generalised to draw conclusions and implications about what counts as language and literacy learning. I am aware of the need to be cautious when making claims about what it means to learn and use plural languages for learners other than those studied in this research. Certainly every learner is different in terms of both internal and external factors. What happened to one individual in a specific sociocultural context is not replicable to other individuals in different sociocultural contexts. Nevertheless, I believe that research findings still have relevance for other learners, and other researchers. This is not in the sense that research outcomes are universal across learners, but in the sense that the research findings provide important insights and viewpoints from which to investigate other people's learning experiences. Specifically, this research has highlighted aspects of language and literacy learning that have not traditionally received much attention – in particular, the interplay between linguistic, affective and social factors in language and literacy learning. In my view, these aspects of language learning are worthy of attention, and raise interesting research questions to be explored further. Future research with a wider range of learners from various linguistic, ethnic, and sociocultural backgrounds will provide further depth to our understanding of what it means to become bilingual.

Despite its limitations, this study, I believe, has contributed to language and literacy learning research by offering new insights into the multi-faceted nature of language and literacy learning and into the development of learners' multicompetences. These insights, I believe, have relevance not only for language learning theories but also for language teaching. Although this study has not specifically addressed pedagogical issues, a number of implications can be drawn from the research findings that may be relevant for language teaching.

Pedagogical principles emerging from this study may be summarized in two points.

First, the research suggests that the development of “multi-competence” needs to be seen as a major goal of language and literacy education. Thus, learners’ progress could be judged in terms of their abilities to work across languages, rather than as mastery of an additional language in isolation, and with the ideal native speaker as the ultimate model. Learners would be encouraged to make more use of the multilingual resources at their disposal, and there would be a greater emphasis in classrooms on the vital role of learners’ first language and culture in supporting learning of the second language. While an emphasis on the role of L1 in supporting development of L2 is not necessarily new, my research highlights the importance of framing goals of language learning in terms of multi-competence and the potential contribution of multilingual resources.

Second, the research implies that for language learners to develop their full potential, the affective and social domains should be given the same priority as the cognitive and linguistic in language classrooms. While this argument again is not necessarily new in fields of language pedagogy, my research highlights the central role of affective and social domains in language learning, and their interrelationship with other aspects of language learning. Thus an implication from the research, especially where learners are engaged in border crossings between cultures as well as between languages, is that priority for these domains is not just desirable, but essential for successful language learning. A further implication is that a central role of language teachers is to pay “balanced attention to social, cognitive, and affective aspects that bear on the ways we learn an L2” (Swain & Deters, 2007, p. 831), and in so doing allow space for learners to take up different identities in the classroom.

It is envisioned that further research building on these pedagogical principles in classrooms will be a valuable addition to language and literacy learning and teaching, and to supporting learners in their processes of becoming bilingual.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: A sample of Sumiko’s texts in Japanese (Primary data)
Appendix B: Satoko’s written autobiographical narrative texts
Appendix C: Transcripts of dialogues between Satoko and Sumiko during writing sessions
Appendix D: Transcripts of following-up interviews between Satoko and Sumiko

Appendix A: A sample of Sumiko’s primary data in Japanese

The following texts are a sample of Sumiko’s primary data originally written in Japanese that were used for constructing *My story* in Chapter 4. Original spelling and grammar have been preserved.

From my diary

(written during my sojourn in the United States as an exchange student)
ここがアメリカ？なんかへんな感じ。この一見美しい街並みは実は舞台装置で、一転するとベトナムの泥沼があらわれるんじゃないかという妄想

From my journal

(written during my Master’s study in Australia)
happy to lose my expert status, ex. Japanese language teacher/researcher
日本語教育とは縁を切っていた、シドニー大学のvisitor sessionにいっただけで、教えることはしなかった。交流基金もかなり時間がたってからいった。せっかく日本以外の場所にいるのだから、しがらみにひっかかりたくなかった。そのために、自分の地位を捨てることは全く未練がなかった。

(written during my PhD study)
言語発達
社会学概論で、社会の系統的発達は複雑化すること、分化することだと習ったような気がするが、言語の発達も、白か黒か、好きか嫌いかの二分法から、その中間にある灰色

の部分の色合い different shade についてごちゃごちゃいえるようになることではないか。これもまた which do you like, apples or oranges?の質問に、「どっちも」と答えられなかった歯がゆさから出発してるみたい。

L2 で書くときのフラストレーション
自分の representation がわからない
どんなちぐはぐなかっこうしてるかわからない
よく留学生の書く日本語の文章を評して、頭にはねのついたぼうしをかぶり、水着をきて、ハイヒールはいて葬式にいくような格好とか、私、いうけど、自分が同じような格好をしてるんじゃないか
でもそれがわからない
筒井やすたかの異星人との手紙のやりとり、笑っちゃうけど、あれをやってるんだろうなあ

hospitalisation and L2 writing

My story1 作目をかいたとき、従来の SLA では、入院なんてのが SLA に関わるなんて思ってもみないだろう。と書いたけど、どうかかわりがあるのかわかった。退院後、今まで自分ができたことができなくなって、今まではなにができたのかがやっとわかって（起き上がるのに、戸をしめるのに腹筋がいること）、それを一つ一つまたできるようになるのが回復のプロセスだった。えらく進歩してるみたいだけど、以前できたことがまたできるようになっただけで、それ以上パワーアップしたわけじゃないけど、喪失感のほうが多くなる年代で、この昨日できなかった何かができるっていうのは、貴重だった。L2 で書くことも（シドニーで）、日本語で書く研究者（この言い方、世界の文学の本で、作家紹介のところに、何語で書く作家というのがあって気に入った）をいったんやめて（これは意識的な自発的な決定）、また一から書くことによって自分を創っていく、このプロセスが似てるってことなんだ。

E-mail
（修士課程修了後、3 か月ぶりに博士課程の登録にシドニーを訪れたとき友人に送った e-mail）

「今朝、なんとなく自分がどこにいるのかわかったような気がしたので、書くことにします。いつかおっしゃったように、e-mail は、はなしことばと書きことばの中間のようなおもしろいスタイルなので、かえって自由にかけるように思えます。自分がシドニーに引かれる理由は、自分が第二言語話者として、日本にいるときとは別のアイデンティテイを持つことができるからだということが、やっとわかりました。そして第二言語話者として存在するのに、比較的寛容な場所がシドニーだということです。

去年は、二つ目のアイデンティティをもったなどとは、全く思わなかったし、いったい、1 年間の経験はなんだったのかと疑問に思っていました。ところが、この３月にシドニーにもどってきて、ここにも自分の居場所があるという気がしてきました。かといって、ここで永住権をとりたいとは今のところ、思っていません。きっと２つの都市の間を往復する運動の中で、見えてくるもののほうがもっと多いのだろうと思います。bi-city とはうまくいってくれたものです。」

Appendix B: Satoko's written autobiographical narrative texts in Japanese

The following texts are Satoko's autobiographical narratives originally written in Japanese. These texts are presented in English translation in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4
Section 3 The experiences of collaborative autobiographical narrative writing
4.3.2 Post-migration narrative

The first Book report on Madogiwa no Totto-chan
(1)窓ぎわのトットちゃん　その１

だれにもいろんな思い出があった小学校生活があったと思います。
『窓ぎわのトットちゃん』この小説は第二次世界大戦が終わる直前まで東京にあった小学校とそこに通っていたトットちゃんという女の子の話です。

トットちゃんはとても好奇心旺盛で明るく、元気な小学生です。

トットちゃんは小学校に入学し、小学校生活を楽しんでいました。授業中よく窓のところにいることからこの小説の題名が「窓ぎわのトットちゃん」とつけられました。

トットちゃんの好奇心のせいで学校では大変なことが起こっていました。

それはトットちゃんのお母さんが担任の先生に呼ばれて「お宅のお嬢さんがいると、クラス中の迷惑になります。よその学校にお連れください」と言われたのでした。

トットちゃんの教室は一階にあり、通りかかりの人とも話しが出来るくらいのところにありました。

先生はつぎのように説明を始めました。トットちゃんは一時間目に机のふたを百ぺんくらい開けたり閉めたりします。あきると机から離れて窓のところに行きます。通りを歩いている人と話をしたり、チンドン屋さんを呼び、授業を中断したこともあります。これだけでなくトットちゃんのせいで授業にならないことはしばしばでした。
（たしかに、これじゃ他の生徒さんにご迷惑すぎる。どこか、他の学校を探して移したほうがよさそうだ。なんとかあの子の性格がわかっていただけて、みんなと一緒にやっていくことを教えて下さるような学校に・・）

これらの説明を聞いたお母さんは、このように思いました。時間がたつにつれてトットちゃんも少しずつ変わってくれると思いつず（ママ）、トットちゃんの退学の決心をしなければならなかったのです。

これを読んで私は、小学校一年生で退学という処罰は、あまりにも重過ぎると思います。トットちゃんはほかの小学生に比べると、とても手がかかる生徒の一人ですが、悪気があって授業妨害をしているのではなく、ただ好奇心旺盛なだけだと思います。今回の退学が原因で将来トットちゃんが学校に行けなくなるようなことなどがあった時には、もう手遅れです。このようになる前に退学以外の方法を考えてあげられる教員が増えてくれることを私は一番望んでいます。つまり、教員の一言によって、また教員の一つの決心によっても、その生徒に将来に大きな影響があるということです。
教師が生徒に責任を転嫁するのではなく、もっと生徒と向き合ってほしいと希望します。

The first Book report on Madogiwa no Totto-chan

I think everyone has various primary school memories. Madogiwa no Totto-chan is a story about a girl named Totto-chan, who went to a primary school in Tokyo until just before the end of World War II. Totto-chan is a curious, cheerful, and energetic pupil. Totto-chan entered primary school and was enjoying her school time. As she liked standing near the window, the title of the book was chosen.
Her inquisitive nature caused a big problem at school. One day Totto-chan's mother was called to the school and told by the homeroom teacher, "Your daughter disrupts my whole class. I must ask you to take her to another school." Totto-chan's classroom was on the ground floor, and it was possible to talk to the people passing by outside. The teacher started to explain. Totto-chan opens and shuts her desk hundreds of times. When she gets bored, she goes to the window. She chats with people outside or calls the street musicians, and disrupts the class. And that's not all, because of her, classes are always interrupted. Mother thought while listening to the teacher,' "That's true, that's too much to ask of the other students. Someplace, I should look for another school and move her there. A school where they will understand her and teach her to work with everyone". Her mother thought as she listened to the teacher's explanation that with time, little by little Totto-chan would change, but the decision about Totto-chan's school had to be made.

When I read this, I think expelling a Year 1 pupil is too severe a punishment. I think, compared with other primary students, she requires a lot of attention but she doesn't disrupt lessons because she's malicious, she's just curious. In this case, it was too late to do anything about the reason for moving Totto-chan from her school. I want more than anything for teachers to think of more ways than expulsion to deal with students. What teachers say, what they teach, their decisions can have a big effect on those students' future. I really wish that school teachers should attend to the students more thoughtfully rather than blaming the difficult students.

(2) トットちゃんと私

トットちゃんは小学校一年生で一度学校を退学になりました。

トットちゃんはおおきくなってからこの事実を知った時にどんな気持ちで向き合ったのだろう。きっと心に大きな傷を負ったことだと思います。

私もトットちゃんとは少し違う意味で心に傷をおいました。

それは私が大学四年生の時のことでした。2001 年の 2 月 6 日、成績不足者の発表の日でした。自分の学生番号がなければ卒業単位が不足しているということでした。私の学生番号はなかったのです。成績を確認したところ必修の中国語音声学の一教科がとれていないということでした。

音声学の先生と電話で話してみましたが、課題もなければ、追試を受ける資格さえもないということでした。

私はA大学の第一期の編入生です。入学当時から中国語音声学はなかなか単位をとるのは難しいと聞いていました。

三年生の時は音声学は無欠席でしたが、後期のテストの 2000 年の 1 月 19 日（水）には怪我のためテストを欠席しました。

私は 1999 年の 12 月 30 日にアルバイトの帰り道に交通事故にあいました。

このことが原因で後期のテストにはほとんどの教科を欠席しました。音声学以外の教科では追試か課題がありました。

音声学の先生に追試をお願いしたところ、「前期のテストも悪かったから、今が四年生だったらなんかほかの方法を考えるけれど今三年生だからもう一年間勉強をすれば卒業させてあげるから」ということでした。

四年生の時の私は、交通事故による怪我などで通院していました。授業は休みがちでしたが、音声学だけは、ほとんど休まずに出席し、前期も後期のテストもきちんと受けました。

しかし、この努力もむなしく、後期のテストは 10 数点足りなかったため、追試も課題もなく私は必修音声学の一教科のために留年となりました。

何度も退学をしようと思いましたが、それは出来ませんでした。

私は九歳の時に中国から日本に来ました。中国では半年しか学校にいっていなかったため、中国語の読み書きは全くできませんでした。

私は小学校二年生に編入しましたが、その頃の私は日本語は全く分かりませんでした。なにもかもが一からでした。

九歳から勉強を始めた日本語もなかなか難しく、中国語の読み書きも出来ない自分は、この先どうやって生きていけばいいのか、とても不安でなりませんでした。

その頃から、いつか日本語と中国語の二ヶ国語が出来るような人になりたいと、この夢を追い求めて、1999年2月20日にA大学の外国語学部中国語学科の３年生に編入したわけでした。

やっとの思いで、編入したのに入学早々、私が中国語の読み書きが出来ていないということから、「なんでここに編入したの、こんなに中国語ができないと思わなかったよ。日本語もあまりできてないようだから、日本語学科に入りなおしたら」などという言葉をぶつけられました。

私は深く心に傷をおいました。やっとこれらのことを、乗り越えてきたのにつぎは留年という壁、また音声学は同じ先生、一教科のために年間百万円という学費を払わなければならないという大きな問題がありました。

その頃に私は『窓ぎわのトットちゃん』を再び読み返しました。

トットちゃんは新しい学校で素晴らしい先生と出会ったことによって、救われたように思います。

私も今回の留年という壁と向き合うのは正直なところとても不安です。

A大学にいるC先生が「君が留年したら、私もそれなりにフォローはするよ。」と私に言って下さいました。

短大の先生方も「人生は長いよ、その中の一年なんか大したことないよ、悔しいけれどがんばってみたら」などなどと私を励ましてくださいました。

これらの言葉を耳にした時に新しい学校の先生がトットちゃんに「君は本当はいい子なんだよ」と言っている姿を私は思い浮かべていました。

教員のたった一言がトットちゃんと私の将来に大きく影響しました。

その後、私は学校を続けることにしました。

私は週に一度大学に通っています。C先生には中国の小説の翻訳の指導を受けています。と同時に音声学のほうでも、お世話になっています。

短大のゼミの先生にもこの四月から日本語のほうで指導を受けています。

この一年間で日本語と中国語が少しでも伸びるように、また私のために時間を費やしてくださる先生方の期待にこたえることが出来るようにがんばっていきたいと思っています。

Totto-chan and Me

Totto-chan was expelled from her primary school in her first year. I wonder how she felt, as a grown-up, when she looked back this experience. She must have had a heartache. (It must have been a heartbreaking experience)

I, also, had my heart broken for a different reason. It happened in my fourth year of university. On 6th February 2001, a list of graduating students' names was released. If

your name was not on the list, it meant that you were not able to graduate because you didn't have enough credit. My name was not on the list. I checked with the administration office to find that I failed one subject, Chinese phonology, a core subject. I talked with this lecturer on the phone. He was not willing to give me any make-up exams or other work.

I transferred to A (pseudonym) University. I heard from other students that Chinese phonology was a difficult subject to pass. In my third year of university, I had a full attendance for this subject , however, I couldn't take the final exam on 19th January 2000. I had a traffic accident on 30th December 1999 on my way home from my part-time job. So I had to miss most of the final exams. All lecturers gave me make-up exams for special consideration, except in Chinese phonology. I asked him to give me the reexamination, he said "You didn't do well in the first semester exam. If you are in your final year, I'd consider giving reexamination, but since you're still in your third year, you might as well study one more year, then I could assure you could graduate next year."

In my fourth year of university I had to go to the hospital frequently because of my traffic accident injury. I tended to miss lectures, however, I tried to attend almost all Chinese phonology lectures and I took midterm and final exams. But all of my efforts were in vain. I couldn't pass the final exam. My score was 10 points below the benchmark. I couldn't get a second chance. I failed only one subject and I couldn't graduate.

I thought of leaving university many times, but I couldn't do it.

I came to Japan from China when I was nine years old. I had attended Chinese primary school for only half a year and I couldn't read and write Chinese. I was enrolled in year 2 in a Japanese primary school, but I couldn't understand any Japanese at all. I had to start from scratch.

Learning Japanese was difficult and I couldn't read and write Chinese either. I worried how I could possibly live my life. So I had decided to develop my two languages fully, then I decided to transfer to Chinese language department of A University in 1999 as a third year student.
After many hardships, I managed to enroll in A University. Soon after I started the course, I was thrown these words by the lecturers "Why did you come here? I didn't

know your Chinese is so poor. Your Japanese is not good enough, either. Why don't you go back and study Japanese?" I felt as if I had been knifed. I tried to get over these hurdles by working hard, then I faced another big problem: I couldn't graduate. If I repeat the subject, I'd have the same lecturer. Also I'd have to pay almost a million yen tuition fee for only one subject.

About this time, I read the book Madogiwa no Totto-chan again. Totto-chan was saved when she met a wonderful teacher in her new school. I felt very worried, in fact, to face the challenge of repeating one more year at university. Mr. C of A University said to me "If you have to repeat one more year, I'll help you in one way or another". My ex-teachers of junior college encouraged me saying, "Life is long. One year is not a long time. I know you will struggle, but why don't you try one more year?" When I heard these words, I suddenly remembered the scene in Totto-chan's story: the school principle of her new school saying "You're really a good girl, you know" to Totto-chan.

Only one word from teachers changed Totto-chan's life, as well as mine. I decided to stay in the university for one more year to complete my course. I go to university once a week. Mr. C is giving me private lessons of translation from Chinese to Japanese, and supports Chinese phonology lessons. I also take Japanese lessons from my ex-teacher of junior college. I'll try my best to develop my Chinese and Japanese language during this year to meet the expectations of teachers who spend their time for me.

4.3.3 Pre-migration narrative

(1) 心のアルバム

前書き
人は自分の過去をあまり覚えていないことが多いかと思います。
そこで、私は自分のかすかな記憶と両親などの話をもとに、私が中国で育った９年間 の心のアルバムをかきあげたいと思いました。
一生に大切な一日一日の出来ごと、たとえ今覚えていてもいつかは忘れてしまいます。
人は生まれた場所や国などによってさまざまな生活があります。
私は中国の黒龍江省のＡ県Ｂ村に 1977 年 7 月 17 日に生まれました。
私の家は田舎で農家をやっていました。
私の中国の９年間を今ここにつづります。

An album of my heart

Prologue

People don’t remember their past well. So I want to write down an album of my heart of nine years in China based on my vague memories and my parents’ stories. We remember the important things of each day for only a short time before we let them go and forget. People live different lives depending on where they were born. I was born in A village in B prefecture in Hei Long Jiang province of China on 17 July 1977. My family farmed in the countryside. Now I will begin writing down my story of nine years in China.

(2) 懐かしい面影

私の父方のおじいちゃんは中国人、おばあちゃんは日本人、両親は中国人、そして私は三人兄弟で、お兄ちゃんと弟がいます。

私が生まれる前におばあちゃんは曾おばあちゃんがいる日本に戻り、やがておじいちゃんは亡くなりました。私は父の育ての親のおばあちゃんと六人で中国に住んでいました。

私達は中国黒龍江省A県のある小さな村に住んでいました。回りには畑と山しかありません。世界地図でみると中国の北の方にあり、ロシアに近いところにあります。

家は草と土、木で作られています。床は土でできていました。

夏の気温はおよそ三十度以上で、冬はマイナス三十五から四十度くらいです。庭に水をかけると四、五分で氷になる日もありました。

私の家は農家をやっていましたから、ご飯をお腹いっぱい食べるのは問題はありませんでした。主食は米ではなく、ほとんど毎日とうもろこしのご飯と畑でとれたじゃがいも、白菜、キャベツなどを食べていました。

各家では豆で味噌を作り、その味噌で漬物をたくさん作って冬の食材にしていました。また幅約二メートル、深さ一メートルから約二メートルくらいの穴蔵をほり、食物が凍って変質をしないために上から土をかぶせます。また家の中で場所が足りない時は外に穴蔵をほることもありますが、その時はなるべく変質しにくいもの、白菜やキャベツなどといったものを入れます。じゃがいも、大根は凍ると変質しやすいため家の中の穴蔵にいれていました。

四月から肥料などを準備をし始め、真夏の暑い中で畑をたがやし、九月、十月頃に天気の具合により作物が実るか実らないのが決まります。

食物が多くとれた場合は、それを売り、つぎの年の肥料などまた家族の洋服代や子供の学費にしていました。中国は義務教育ではないため学費が払えず学校に行けない子供もいました。

しかし、一年間必死に畑をたがやして、汗びっしょりになって働いても、一年間分の

ご飯さえも足りなくなる家庭もいました。これらの家庭では、ほかの家から食べる物を借りたり、また借金をしていました。

　私の家は日本のおばあちゃんから仕送りもあり、ほかの家に比べるとゆたかな生活を送っていました。

　お正月になると、私の家では新しい洋服をお母さんとおばあちゃんが手作りで作ってくれていました。それとご馳走がたくさん食べられる時でした。

　ご飯はとうもろこしからお米に変わり、小麦で作ったパン、肉や魚また果物、おかしなどといった、ご馳走がありました。普段あまり口にできないものばかりです。お正月にかかせない食べ物といったら、ギョーザです。私はギョーザが大好きです。だから私はお正月が一番の楽しみでした。

Rememberings

My grandfather on my father’s side is Chinese, my grandmother is Japanese, my parents are Chinese, and I have two brothers in my family. Before I was born, my grandmother had returned to Japan where my great-grandmother lived, and then my grandfather passed away. We had six members in our family including my father’s stepmother. We were living together in a small village in A prefecture in Hei Long Jiang province of China. The village was surrounded by fields and mountains. The village was located in the northern part of China, close to the border with Russia, if we look at the world atlas.

The house was made of grass, clay and timber. The floor was clay.
The summer temperature was above 30 degrees and the winter temperature was 35 to 40 degrees below zero. In winter sometimes the water on the ground froze within a few minutes.

My family had a farm and we had enough food to eat. We didn’t eat rice, but we ate corn, potatoes, Chinese cabbages and cabbages almost everyday. Each family made their own bean paste, and prepared lots of pickles with the paste for the winter. We dug deep holes, about two meters diameter and one to two meters deep and put the food and covered it with dirt to prevent the food from freezing. If we didn’t have enough space inside the house, we dug holes outside. Chinese cabbages and cabbages were all right for outside storage, because they didn’t change the quality much. But potatoes and white radishes must be kept inside, because they spoil when frozen.

Farmers started to manure the fields in April, cultivated the fields in hot summer, then September and October’s weather determined the year’s harvest. When they had a good harvest, they sold it and made money to buy fertilizers for the next year and clothes, and also paid children's school fees. In China school education was not compulsory, and some children did not attend school because they were not able to pay the school fees. Despite sweating in the fields all year round, some farmers couldn't produce enough food to feed their families. These families borrowed food from other families or borrowed money. My family was rather well off compared with other families in a village, because my grandmother in Japan sent us money.

When the Chinese New Year came, my mother and step-grandmother made our new clothes. It was also a time for a good feast. Once a year we ate rice instead of corn, bread made of flour, meat, fish, fruit, and cakes. These were the kinds of food we couldn't eat every day. Special New Year's food was Chinese dumplings. I liked Chinese dumplings very much. That's why I always looked forward to the New Year's festival.

Appendix C: Sample transcripts of dialogues during writing sessions

The followings are transcripts of dialogues between Satoko and Sumiko during collaborative writing sessions. They are presented in English translation in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Section 3 The experiences of collaborative autobiographical narrative writing

4.3.3 Pre-migration narrative

(1)　記憶とそれを書く言葉の関係

サトコ：これはね、いつかは中国語で書きたい 中国語で書いたほうがぜんぜん、
すみこ：翻訳しなくていいからね、この木の名前だって
サトコ：説明しなくていい部分が多いから
…．
やっぱり中国にいたときの最初の記憶っていうのは、記憶としてはすごく深く残って、日本の遠足に行っても、ああ日本とこんなに違うんだ、頭の中で無意識に、自分の中で考えていたっていうか
すみこ：中国で最初で最後だったから、ますますなんていうの、消せない記憶みたいになってんのかもしれない
サトコ：うーん、すんごい深かった
すみこ：初めてだったっていうこともあるけど、それ以上に消さないように消さないようにって、大事にとってきてたような気がするんだよね
サトコ：そうですね、どっかにはすごい貴重なあれだなって気がある
すみこ：でも、とっといてよかったね

Satoko: I want to write this [my story] in Chinese someday. Writing in Chinese is much, much…
Sumiko: Yeah, you don’t have to translate, the name of this tree for instance

Satoko: Lots of things, I wouldn't have to describe

…..

Satoko: Really my memories of China, my first memories are so deep-rooted. Even when I went on a school trip in Japan, I kept thinking this is so different from China, in my head

Sumiko: Your first and last memories, so you never wanted to lose, I guess

Satoko: Yes, very very deep

Sumiko: Besides they were memories of your first experience of school, you wanted to keep them

Satoko: Yes, very precious memories

Sumiko: Isn't it nice that you've saved them

(2) 夏休みに中国に行き日本に戻ってきたときの感想

サトコ: 中国に行ったら、ああ、ここほんとの私の居場所みたい、だからここ戻ってきてなんかへんなんだよね

すみこ：まだ　へん？

サトコ：うん、環境的には日本のほうがぜんぜんいいし、郵便局行ってなんかやるにしても、すごく親切だし、でも、中国に行って、すごい　なんか　あっちこっちでお金とるしさ、もうやることなすこと腹立つことばっかりなんですけど、なんだけど、でもなんか、やっぱり中国のほうがわたしはすごい好き　わたしやっぱり中国にできれば住みたいなって思ってる

すみこ：中国、この夏いくまえは

サトコ：すごい、行きたかった。

すみこ：すごい行きたかった、そうか、いったらさ、そういう気持ちがするだろうなって予測してた？

サトコ：予測してました　なんかね、中国人てすごくのんびりして生きてるのね　日本てなんか、すごい、見ててすごい忙しくて、見てて疲れるんですよ。で、日本で何をするにしても、なんか　ほら　人に頼まなくたって、そんなの荷物も送れるしね

東京で住みたいと思えば、東京のアレでもとれるじゃん［住民登録のこと］

（中略）

サトコ:みんな日本がいいっていってんだけど､わたし一人だけがさ､やっぱ中国だな､日本はわたしにはあわないって思ってる。

すみこ：なに　それ　あの　家族の中で自分ひとり

サトコ：一人だけ、へんだよね(笑)　だから日本国籍も、ほんと親がとるっていったと

きに、私自身は取りたくなかったんですよ

すみこ：うんうん、いくつのとき？

サトコ：高３のとき、あたしはとりたくないっていったのね　やっぱ中国人のき、心が残ってんのかな、なんでだろ　べつに中国が生活しやすいなんて思わないし、中国に行ってあたしが生活できるとも思わないんだけど、でもなんか、中国語とか中国の話をきくと、すごい　新鮮な気持ちになる。ふしぎなことに

すみこ：そうすると、今回いってさ帰ってきて、なんかまだ日本になじめないっていうか

サトコ：なじめない、なんか日本はあたしの国じゃないっていう感じ

すみこ：ああ、ああ

サトコ：うーん、なにかがちがうっていうかんじ　だから卒業したらまた行こうかなっておもって

Satoko: When I visited China, yeah, I felt this is my place. Everyday life in Japan – it's a lot easier. For example, when I go to the post office here, post-office clerks are very helpful, but in China, they always tried to charge me something extra, it made me angry. But, even so, I really like China better. If I can, I want to live in China.

Sumiko: How did you feel before you went to China?

Satoko: I really wanted to go to China

Sumiko: Did you kind of expect that you'd feel that way in China?

Satoko: Yes, Chinese people take it easy. When I see busy people passing by in Japan, they make me feel tired. But, at the same time, in Japan, you can get things done by yourself without asking someone else to do it for you. And if you want to live in Tokyo, you can live in Tokyo (register your family in Tokyo without problems*)

....

Satoko: All of my family say Japan is better, but I prefer China, I'm the only one in my family, isn't this strange? I prefer China, I don't fit in Japan. When my family naturalized as Japanese citizens, I kind of resisted, only me

Sumiko: How old were you?

Satoko: The third year in senior high school. I said I didn't want to. I guess I still had my Chineseness. I know living in China it's not easy, and I don't think I can live in China, but every time I hear the Chinese language and things about China, I really feel refreshed, I wonder why.

Sumiko: So after returning to Japan, you haven't adjusted yet?

Satoko: Hmm not re-adjusted, maybe I feel Japan isn't my country, hmm, something I

feel something different. So after graduation, I’m thinking of going back.

Chapter 5

5.1.5.2 The multimodal nature of language development

Dialogue between Satoko and Sumiko on the production of Satoko’s written text named *A smiling fact of a little girl.*

おさなき笑顔

私は黒龍江省Ａ県のある小さな町で育ちました。今から１５年前、８歳で私はＥ小学という小学校に入学しました。

私の小学校は畑と山に囲まれていました。校舎は木と土と草で作られていました。床は土で出来ていました。教室の前には黒板があります。机と椅子は二人一組になっていて、これも木で作られていました。校庭も土で出来ていて、バスケットネットが右と左に一つずつおかれていました。それと学校の周りはいちょうの木に囲まれ、緑がいっぱいにあふれていました。私はＥ小学に入学してから元気いっぱい学校生活を楽しんでいました。

あの時のおさなき笑顔を私はいつまでも忘れずにいました。

A smiling face of a little girl

I grew up in a small village in Heilong zian province. I entered E primary school when I was eight years old, already 15 years ago. My school was surrounded by fields and mountains. The school building was made of wood, clay and grass. The floor was clay. A blackboard is (was) at the front of the classroom. The desks and chairs, for pairs of students, were also made from wood. One basketball net on the left and one on the right were placed on the dirt playground. Ginkoo trees encircled the school. Green (green leaves, green grass, green plants) filled the space around the school. After I started E primary school full of enthusiasm I enjoyed life at school. I will never forget the smiling face of that little girl.

サトコの書いた文章「おさなき笑顔」についての話し合い

サトコ：あの、私の作文読んで、学校の絵　かいてもらえませんか？
すみこ：え、あたしがかくの？いいけど・・

（すみこのかいた絵をもとに、サトコが説明をしながら他の情報をつけ加えている）

サトコ：バスケットボールのあれが 2 個あって、あと周りに木がいっぱいあるだけなんだよね、あとなんかあったかな　これはだいたいトウモロコシ畑、あとは、これ山でしょ、で、ここに門があって、ここにｘｘｘって書いてあって、こんな感じかな

・・・・

サトコ：で、教室は、これは後ろから見た絵、黒板があって、あたしがいたときはたしかこういう配置になってて、こっちが 4 年生で、で、ストーブがこのまんなかくらいに

すみこ：いってたね、お弁当あっためる大事な

サトコ：ストーブなんてかけないよ、えんとつがあって、どっちにつながってたかわかんないけど、このまわりに全部生徒なのね　10 人しかいなかったんだけど、こんな感じかな、2 人ひと組になって

・・・・

すみこ：じゃ、わりとこのイメージでよかったのね、安心した

サトコ：全然ちがったらどうしようかなと思った

（サトコの書いた文章について）

サトコ：なにか足りないものとか、こういうの付け加えたほうがいいというのありますか

すみこ：ここらへん様子をあらわすので、〜ていました　っていうのが多いよね、ここらへん正しくつかわれていて、なるべくいろいろな形をつかおうとしようとしたのかなと思ったのね

サトコ：はい、というか、いっこいっこの説明をくぎってたんですよあたしは、机だったら机のこと、いすだったらいす、机といすのこと一緒に話したのかなこれは、で、2 人ひと組になって、それは木でできてるんだよっていうのをこういう

すみこ：もし、映画みたいなんだったら、はじめに山とってって、学校にだーっとよってって、で教室ん中入っててさ、で、なに、机とってていうような、そういうふうな、それを文章で書いてるわけでしょ、だからうんいいよ、これで

（文レベルの文法、漢字訂正指摘）

すみこ：おかれていました、ありましたを使うんだったら、おいてありました　（はい）これだとかたまっちゃうから、かこまれたね　［漢字訂正　固->　囲む］

うん、いいよ、学校の外からの様子っていうのがよくわかるし、遠くの景色から学校のほうによってってるんだよね、これ、えーと、遠くが畑と山でしょ

（はい）、で、校舎が、これ学校の建物のことといってた？それとも教室のこと？（校舎）校舎か、建物自体が、コンクリートとかいうんじゃなくて木でできてて

サトコ：まわりからよってってるよね

すみこ：そうそう、そう意識してそうやった？それとも気がついたら自然にそうなってた？

サトコ：気づいたら自然にそうなってた

すみこ：これがさ、いったりきたりすると、机が木でできてて、周りが畑でとかいわれると、ちょっとちょっと感じになるけど、大きいところからだんだん中によってってるから、なんていうんだろ、ほんと、映画かなんかみてるみたいに自然にこう回りのところから中によってって、教室の中にはいってくよね、そうすると、今、よってって教室の中にとまってる感じね、（はい）そうすると、これからなんか物語が始まるっていう感じが（笑）違う？

Satoko: Two basket ball somethings, and many trees around, right? What else? Then corn fields and mountains. Then here is a gate, with xxx written, So, something like this?

Satoko: our classroom, looking at it from the back, blackboard there, If I remember right, it was arranged like this – the Year-fours here, the stove just about in the centre

Sumiko: Yes, you told me, an important stove to warm up your lunch box

Satoko: I can't draw a stove. It had a chimney, I don't remember which way it went, and all around are pupils, only ten of us in pairs like this

….

Sumiko: So basically my image was OK, I'm relieved

Satoko: I thought, what if you drew something entirely different. Is there something missing? Would it be better to add something?

Sumiko: Around here, you use the form '~ te imashita' often to describe the state of being, you are doing right, (->focus on form: grammar)

Satoko: Yes, but what can I say, I wanted to describe one thing at a time, If I describe desks, then desks, if chairs, then chairs, Here I guess I talked a desk and chair together, two persons paired up, they are made of wood

Sumiko : If you are shooting a film, you take the mountains, then draw closer to the school building, then entering the classroom, then what's next? Desks, basically this is what you're doing when writing, so you're doing right

Sumiko: This is to be rigid, this is to surround (->checking and correcting Chinese characters)

Sumiko: Good, it's easy to understand the outside of the school, You start from the distance and then come closer toward the school, In the distance are mountains and fields, then the school building, You mean the school building, not the classroom, made of wood, not concrete

Satoko: Look around then move in

Sumiko: Did you realise you'd done it that way or did you do it intuitively?

Satoko: I guess I did it intuitively

Sumiko: If you move backward and forward, for example first talking about a desk made of wood, then next school building was surrounded by the field, I want to say, wait a minute! But what you're doing is moving from outside to inside, Just like a movie, you move from outside to inside the classroom, then now you're staying in the classroom (Yes), When you do that, it feels like the story is about to begin (laugh)

Appendix D: Sample transcripts of follow-up interviews

The followings are transcripts of follow-up interviews between Satoko and Sumiko conducted in Japanese, which are presented in English translation in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

5.1.4 Transformation of identities

Follow-up interview 1 （writing sessions 終了直後）

サトコ：みんなって人と違う世界をもってるってすごくいやがるじゃないですか

すみこ：いやだった？

サトコ：うん、むかし、いやだった
でもそれは別に、人と違っててべつに悪いわけでもなんでもないし、いやな時期もずいぶんあったけど、でもなんか普通に考えたら、違う人と違う生活を送ってきて、違う自分がいるわけじゃん、だから中国の９年間がなかったら田舎に帰るっても日本のどこかだし、中国語なんか勉強しようなんてぜったい思わないし、

すみこ：中国と日本と２つ世界があるからってさっき言ったけど、それってむかしいやだった？

サトコ：いやだった、短大のときまではいやだったかな

すみこ：人と違っていたくないっていうふうにみせたかったように私には見えた

サトコ：うん、

すみこ：違っていることを肯定的にみられるようになったきっかけは？

サトコ：日本語教育をやっていろんな見方が、中国だけじゃなく韓国とかオーストラリアとかいろんな人が留学にくるのをみて、人ができることを自分がぜんぜんできてなかったから、日本語の遅れとかが、それがすごくいやだったんだけど、でも、自分ができて人ができないっていう、日本語教育で中国語の授業やったけど、あれはだれでもできることじゃなくて、できる学生はほんの数人しかいないから、そういうの考えれば自分自身を受け入れられるようになった

Follow-up interview 1 (conducted at the end of writing sessions)

Satoko: People don’t like to be different from others
Sumiko: You didn’t like it before?
Satoko: I didn’t like it before
But if I’m different from other people, it’s not my fault. There were times that I hated to be different, but if I think sensibly, the kind of different experience I had has shaped me to become what I am now. If I hadn’t had my nine years in China, I would have my hometown somewhere in Japan, and I’d never thought of studying Chinese
…………
There were times that I hated being different, but my different kind of experience has shaped me as I am now.

Sumiko: You mentioned before you have two different worlds, China and Japan. How did you feel about it? You didn’t like that before?
Satoko: I didn’t like it until my junior college days.
Sumiko: You seemed to try not to be different (in junior college)
Satoko: That’s right
Sumiko: What prompted that change? How did you come to accept your difference?
Satoko: While I was studying teaching Japanese methodology, I met many different international students from China, Korea, Australia.. I felt ashamed I couldn’t do what they could do, Japanese language, for example
But when I taught Chinese in class, I felt I found something that I could do, but other people couldn’t. I was beginning to accept myself
Sumiko: Was it toward the end of junior college days?
Satoko: Yes

Follow-up interview 2 **（1回目のインタビューから7ヶ月後）**

サトコ：中国にいるときは日本人ていわれる、日本にいたら中国人ていわれるから、わたしはいったいどこの人って

すみこ：おとうさんの場合は？

サトコ：あまりそういう話はきいてない

すみこ：サトコさん小さかったけど、やっぱり日本人っていわれてた？

サトコ：うん、中国にいけば日本人だし、日本にいれば中国人ていわれてた

すみこ：そうすると、自分の中に二人の自分がいるような感じしてた？

サトコ：うん、そうだね、そういうところはあるね

すみこ：いまもずっと

サトコ：今は、そんなの言いたかったらいえばっていう感じだね

Follow-up interview 2 (conducted seven months later)

Satoko: When I am in China, I am called Japanese, while in Japan I am called Chinese, I wondered which country I belonged to
Sumiko: What about your father?
Satoko: I haven’t heard much
Sumiko: When you were little, you were called Japanese (in China)?
Satoko: Yes, when I was in China, I was called Japanese, while in Japan I was called Chinese
Sumiko: Did you feel two Satokos inside of you?
Satoko   Yes, a sort of
Sumiko: Do you still feel the same way now?
Satoko: Now whatever people want to call me, it’s OK.

REFERENCES

AFS intercultural programs. (2008). Retrieved 20 December, 2008, from http://www.afs.org

Akita, K., & Hatano, G. (1999). Learning to read and write in Japanese. In M. Harris & G. Hatano (Eds.), *Learning to read and write: A cross-linguistic perspective* (pp. 214-234). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Andrews, M., Sclater, S. D., Squire, C., & Treacher, A. (Eds.). (2000). *Lines of narrative: Psychosocial perspectives*. London; New York: Routledge.

Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Armour, W. S. (2004). Becoming a Japanese language learner, user, and teacher: Revelations from life history research. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 3*(2), 101-125.

Bailey, K. M. (1983). Competitiveness and anxiety in adult second language learning: Looking at and through the diary studies. In H. Seliger & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 67-102). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Baker, C. (1996). *Foundation of bilingual education and bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M. M. Bakhtin* (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bal, M. (1985). *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative* (C. van Boheemen, Trans.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bamberg, M. G. W. (1997). Introductory note. *Journal of Narrative and Life Story, 7*(1-4), 1.

Bamberg, M. G. W. (2005). Positioning. In D. Herman, M. Jahn & M.-L. Ryan (Eds.), *The Routledge encyclopedia of narrative theory* (pp. 445-446). Abingdon: Routledge.

Bamberg, M. G. W. (Ed.). (1987). *The acquisition of narratives: learning to use language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Barthes, R. (1977). Introduction to the structural analysis of narratives (S. Heath, Trans.). In *Image, music, text / Roland Barthes: Essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath.* (pp. 20-30). New York: Hill and Wang.

Barton, D. (1994). *Literacy: An introduction to the ecology of written language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Baynham, M. (1995). *Literacy practices: Investigating literacy in social contexts*.

London: Longman.

Baynham, M. (2000). Narrative as evidence in literacy research. *Linguistics and Education, 11*(2), 99-117.

Baynham, M. (2003). Narratives in space and time: Beyond "backdrop" accounts of narrative orientation. *Narrative Inquiry, 13*(2), 347-366.

Baynham, M. (2006). Performing self, family and community in Moroccan narratives of migration and settlement. In A. D. Fina, D. Schiffrin & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity* (pp. 376-397). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baynham, M., & De Fina, A. (2005). *Dislocations/relocations: Narratives of displacement*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Baynham, M., & Masing, H. L. (2000). Mediators and mediation in multilingual literacy events. In M. Martin-Jones & K. Jones (Eds.), *Multilingual literacies: Reading and writing different worlds* (pp. 189-207). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Belcher, D., & Connor, U. (Eds.). (2001). *Reflections on multiliterate lives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bell, J. S. (1995). The relationship between L1 and L2 literacy: Some complicating factors. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(4), 687-704.

Bell, J. S. (1997). *Literacy, culture and identity*. New York: Peter Lang publishing.

Bell, J. S. (2002). Narrative inquiry: More than just telling stories. *TESOL Quarterly, 36*(2), 207-212.

Belz, J. A. (2002). Second language play as a representation of the multicompetent self in foreign language study. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 1*(1), 13-39.

Benson, P. (2005). (Auto)biography and learner diversity. In P. Benson & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Learners' stories: Difference and diversity in language learning* (pp. 4-21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benson, P., & Nunan, D. (Eds.). (2005). *Learners' stories: Difference and diversity in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Besemeres, M. (2002). *Translating one's self: Language and selfhood in cross-cultural autobiography*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Bhatia, S., & Ram, A. (2001). Locating the dialogical self in the age of transnational migrations, border crossings and diasporas. *Culture and Psychology, 7*(3), 297-309.

Bhatia, S., & Ram, A. (2004). Culture, hybridity, and the dialogical self: Cases from the South Asian diaspora. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 11*(3), 224-240.

Bialystok, E. (1991). *Language processing in bilingual children*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Block, D. (2006). *Second language identities*. London: Continuum.

Block, D. (2007). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal, 91*, 863-876.

Bradbury, P., & Sclater, S. D. (2000). Conclusion. In M. Andrews, S. D. Sclater, C. Squire & A. Treacher (Eds.), *Lines of narrative: Psychosocial perspective* (pp. 193-198). London; New York: Routledge.

Brady, E. M. (1990). Redeemed from time: Learning through autobiography. *Adult Education Quarterly, 41*(1), 43-52.

Breen, M. P. (Ed.). (2001). *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Brockmeier, J., & Carbaugh, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Narrative and identity: Studies in autobiography, self and culture*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Brockmeier, J., & Harré, R. (2001). Narrative: Problems and promises of an alternative paradigm. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity: Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 39-58). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bruner, J. S. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research, 54*(1), 11-32.

Bruner, J. S. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry, 18*, 1-21.

Bruner, J. S. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (2002). Narrative distancing: A foundation of literacy. In J. Brockmeier, M. Wang & D. R. Olson (Eds.), *Literacy, narrative and culture*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Bruner, J. S. (2003). *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. New York: Routledge.

Canagarajah, S. (2001). The fortunate traveler: Shuttling between communities and literacies by economy class. In D. Belcher & U. Connor (Eds.), *Reflections on multiliterate lives* (pp. 23-37). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Carr, D. (1986). *Time, narrative, and history*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Carter, K. (1993). The place of story in the study of teaching and teacher education. *Educational Researcher, 22*(1), 5-12,18.

Casanave, C. P. (1998). Transitions: The balancing act of bilingual academics. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 7*(2), 175-203.

Casanave, C. P. (2002). *Writing games: Multicultural case studies of academic literacy practices in higher education* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Casanave, C. P. (2003). Looking ahead to more sociopolitically-oriented case study research in L2 writing scholarship (But should it be called "post-process"?). *Journal of Second Language Writing, 12*(1), 85-102.

Casanave, C. P. (2005). Uses of narrative in L2 writing research. In P. K. Matsuda & T. Silva (Eds.), *Second language writing research: Perspectives on the process of knowledge construction* (pp. 17-32). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Casanave, C. P., & Schecter, S. R. (1997). *On becoming a language educator: Personal essays on professional development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Casanave, C. P., & Vandrick, S. (Eds.). (2003). *Writing for scholarly publication: Behind the scenes in language education*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Chappell, C., Rhodes, C., Solomon, N., Tennant, M., & Yates, L. (2003a). Theorising identity. In *Reconstructing the lifelong learner: Pedagogy and identity in individual, organisational and social change* (pp. 27-44). London and New York: Routledge Falmer.

Chappell, C., Rhodes, C., Solomon, N., Tennant, M., & Yates, L. (2003b). Understanding identity as narrative. In *Reconstructing the lifelong learner: Pedagogy and identity in individual, organisational and social change* (pp. 45-56). London; New York: Routledge Falmer.

Clandinin, D. J. (Ed.). (2007). *The handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossy-Bass.

Clark, R., & Ivanič, R. (1997). *The politics of writing*. London: Routledge.

Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Cole, M., & Scribner, S. (1978). Introduction. In Vygotsky (Ed.), *Mind in Society* (pp. 1-14).

Conle, C. (1997). Images of change in narrative inquiry. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory* *and Practice, 3*(2), 205-219.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2-14.

Connor, U. N. (1999). Learning to write academic prose in a second language: A literacy autobiography. In G. Braine (Ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching* (pp. 29-42). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cook, V. (1992). Evidence for multicompetence. *Language Learning, 42*(4), 557-591.

Cook, V. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 185-209.

Cook, V. (Ed.). (2002). *Portraits of the L2 user*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cook, V. (Ed.). (2003). *Effects of the second language on the first*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Corder, P. S. (1967). The significance of learners' errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 5*, 161-169.

Cortazzi, M. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. London: The Falmer Press.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crossley, M. L. (2000). *Introducing narrative psychology: Self, trauma and the construction of meaning*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review, 56*(1), 656-675.

Cummins, J. (1996). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society*. Ontario, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.

Currie, M. (1998). *Postmodern narrative theory*. New York: Macmillan.

Daiute, C., & Lightfoot, C. (2004). *Narrative analysis: Studying the development of individuals in society*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Danquah, M. N.-A. (Ed.). (2000). *Becoming American: Personal essays by first generation immigrant women*. New York: Hyperion.

de Courtivron, I. (Ed.). (2003). *Lives in translation: Bilingual writers on identity and creativity* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourses*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. (2000). Foreword: Narrative's moment. In M. Andrews, S. D. Sclater, C. Squire & A. Treacher (Eds.), *Lines of narrative: Psychosocial perspectives* (pp. xi-xiii). New York: Routledge.

Derrida, J. (1981). The law of genre. In W. J. T. Mitchell (Ed.), *On narrative* (pp. 51-78).

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Dicamilla, F. J., & Lantolf, J. P. (1994). The linguistic analysis of private writing. *Language Sciences, 16*(3/4), 347-369.

Doehler, S. P. (2002). Mediation revisited: The interactive organization of mediation in learning environments. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 9*(1), 22-42.

Duff, P. A. (2002). Research approaches in applied linguistics. In R. B. Kaplan (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of applied Linguistics* (pp. 13-23). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Egan, K. (1993). Narrative and learning: A voyage of implications. *Linguistics and education, 5*, 119-126.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 733-768). Thousand Oaks: Sage

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2001). The metaphorical constructions of second language learners. In M. P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 65-85). Harlow, Essex Pearson Education Limited.

Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative analysis: Practice and innovation*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal, 81*(3), 285-300.

Flowerdew, J. (2005). A multimethod approach to research into processes of scholarly writing for publication. In P. K. Matsuda & T. Silva (Eds.), *Second Language writing research: Perspectives on the process of knowledge construction* (pp. 65-78). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Freeman, M. (1997). Why narrative? Hermeneutics, historical understanding, and the significance of stories. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 7*(1-4), 169-176.

Friedlander, A. (1990). Composing in English: Effects of a first language on writing in English as a second language. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research insight for the Classroom* (pp. 109-125). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Günthner, S. (2004). Narrative reconstructions of past experiences: Adjustments and modifications in the process of recontextualizing a past experience. In U. M. Quasthoff & T. Becker (Eds.), *Narrative interaction* (pp. 285 - 301). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Gadamer, H.-G. (1975). *Truth and method* (J. Weinsheimer & D. Marshall, Trans.).

London: Sheed and Ward.

Gee, J. P. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. London: Falmer Press.

Gee, J. P. (2000). The new literacy studies: From 'socially situated' to the work of the social. In D. Barton, M. Hamilton & R. Ivanič (Eds.), *Situated literacies: Reading and writing in context* (pp. 180-196). London & New York: Routledge.

Gergen, K. J. (1999). *An invitation to social construction*. London: Sage.

Gergen, M. M., & Gergen, K. J. (1993). Narrative of the gendered body in popular autobiography. In R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *The narrative study of lives*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gillette, B. (1994). The role of learner goals in L2 success. In J. P. Lantolf & G. Appel (Eds.), *Vygotskian approaches to second language research* (pp. 195-213). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Glesne, C. (1999). *Becoming qualitative researchers* (second ed.). New York: Longman.

Goodfellow, J. (1998). Analysing data in narrative inquiry research. In J. Higgs (Ed.), *Writing qualitative research* (pp. 105-119). Sydney: Hampden Press.

Granger, C. A. (2004). *Silence in second language learning: A psychoanalytic reading*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Grosjean, F. (1995). A psycholinguistic approach to code-switching: The recognition of guest words by bilinguals. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 259-275). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guerra, J. C. (1997). The place of intercultural literacy in the writing classroom. In C. Severino, J. C. Guerra & J. E. Butler (Eds.), *Writing in multicultural settings* (pp. 248-260). New York: The Modern Language Association of America.

Hakuta, K., & Bloom, L. (1986). The search for cross-linguistic invariants and variation in language development. In H. Stevenson, H. Azuma & K. Hakuta (Eds.), *Child development and education in Japan* (pp. 273-288). New York: W.H. Freeman

Halliday, M. A. K. (1993). Toward a language-based theory of learning. *Linguistics and Education, 5*, 93-116.

Hammond, J. (2007). *Working with scaffolding: Implications for ESL students in mainstream classes*. Paper presented at the International conference on the language education for children crossing borders: Comparative discussion on teaching practices in Australia and Japan.

Harklau, L. (2000). From the "good kids" to the "worst": Representations of English language learners across educational settings. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*(1), 35-67.

Harré, R. (1995). Discursive psychology. In J. A. Smith, R. Harré & L. V. Langenhove

(Eds.), *Rethinking psychology* (pp. 143-159). London: Sage.

Harré, R., & Langenhove, L. v. (1999). Reflexive positioning: Autobiography. In R. Harré & L. v. Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action* (pp. 60-73). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Harrison, B., & Lyon, E. S. (1993). A note on ethical issues in the use of autobiography in sociological research. *Sociology, 27*(1), 101-109.

Hatch, J. A., & Wisniewski, R. (Eds.). (1995). *Life history and narrative*. London: The Falmer Press.

Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and time* (J. Macquarie & E. Robinson, Trans.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Herman, D., Jahn, M., & Ryan, M.-L. (2005). *Routledge encyclopedia of narrative theory*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hermans, H. J. M. (2001). Mixing and moving cultures require a dialogical self. *Human Development, 44*, 24-28.

Hinchman, L. P., & Hinchman, S. K. (Eds.). (1997). *Memory, identity, community: The idea of narrative in the human sciences*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Hirvela, A., & Belcher, D. (2001). Coming back to voice: The multiple voices and identities of mature multilingual writers. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 10*, 83-106.

Hodges, D. C. (1998). Participation as dis-identification with/in a community of practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 5*(4), 272-290.

Hoffman, E. (1989). *Lost in translation: A life in a new language*. New York: Penguin Books.

Hoffman, E. (1998). Life in a new language. In M. Zournazi (Ed.), *Foreign dialogues* (pp. 17-26). Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press.

Holland, D., Jr., W. L., Skinner, D., & Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hyland, K. (2002). *Teaching and researching writing*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Ivanič, R. (1998). *Writing and identity: The discoursal construction of identity in academic writing*. Amsterdam: Benjamins publishing company.

Jarvis, S., & Pavlenko, A. (2008). *Crosslinguistic influence in language and cognition*. New York: Routledge.

Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2002). *Teachers' narrative inquiry as professional development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, M. (2004). *A philosophy of second language acquisition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jones, K., Martin-Jones, M., & Bhatt, A. (2000). Constructing a critical, dialogic approach to research on multilingual literacies: Participant diaries and diary interviews. In M. Martin-Jones & K. Jones (Eds.), *Multilingual literacies: Reading and writing different worlds* (pp. 319-352). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jones, S. (1985). Problems with monitor use in second language composing. In M. Rose (Ed.), *When a writer can't write: Studies in writer's block and other composing-process problems* (pp. 96-118). New York: Guilford Press.

Josselson, R. (2007). The ethical attitude in narrative research: Principles and practicalities In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *The handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 537-567). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kamani, G. (2000). Code switching. In M. N. Danquah (Ed.), *Becoming American: Personal essays by first generation immigrant women* (pp. 95-103). New York: Hyperion.

Kang, J. Y. (2003). On the ability to tell good stories in another language: Analysis of Korean EFL learners' oral “Frog story” narratives. *Narrative Inquiry, 13*(1), 127-149.

Kanno, Y. (2003). *Negotiating bilingual and bicultural identities: Japanese returnees betwixt two worlds*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kaplan, A. Y. (1994). On language memoir. In A. Bammer (Ed.), *Displacements: Cultural identities in question* (pp. 59-70). Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Katznelson, H., Perpignan, H., & Rubin, B. (2001). What develops along with the development of second language writing? Exploring the "by-products". *Journal of Second Language Writing, 10*(3), 141-160.

Kinnear, P., & Taniguchi, S. (2008, 9 May 2008). *Telling someone else's story* Paper presented at the Narrative matters conference: An interdisciplinary conference on narrative research, perspectives, practices and issues, Toronto

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kramsch, C. (1998). The privilege of the intercultural speaker. In M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Language learning in intercultural perspective: Approaches through drama and ethnography* (pp. 16-31). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1999). Global and local identities in the contact zone. In C. Gnutzmann (Ed.), *Teaching and learning English as a global language: Native and non-native perspectives* (pp. 131-143). Tubingen: Stakuffenburt Verlag.

Kramsch, C. (2000). Social discursive constructions of self in L2 learning. In J. P.

Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (Ed.). (2002). *Language acquisition and language socialization: Ecological perspectives*. London: Continuum.

Kramsch, C., & Lam, W. S. E. (1999). Textual identities: The importance of being non-native. In G. Braine (Ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching* (pp. 57-72). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kreiswirth, M. (2005). Narrative turn in the humanities. In D. Herman, M. Jahn & M.-L. Ryan (Eds.), *Routledge encyclopedia of narrative theory* (pp. 377-382). London and New York: Routledge.

Kristeva, J. (1991). *Strangers to ourselves* (L. S. Roudiez, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Kroger, J. (2000). *Identity development: Adolescence through adulthood*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kroll, B. (2001). The composition of a life in composition. In T. Silva & P. K. Matsuda (Eds.), *On second language writing* (pp. 1-16). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kroll, B. (Ed.). (2003). *Exploring the dynamics of second language writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kubota, R. (1997). A reevaluation of the uniqueness of Japanese written discourse: Implications for contrastive rhetoric. *Written Communication, 14*(4), 460-480.

Kubota, R. (1999). Japanese culture constructed by discourses: Implications for applied linguistics research and ELT. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(1), 9-35.

Kubota, R. (2001a). Discursive construction of the images of U.S. classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly, 35*(1), 9-38.

Kubota, R. (2001b). My experience of learning to read and write in Japanese as L1 and English as L2. In D. Belcher & U. Connor (Eds.), *Reflections on multiliterate lives* (pp. 96-109). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kuroyanagi, T. (1981). *Madogiwa no Totto-chan (A little girl at the window)*. Tokyo: Kodansha.

Kuroyanagi, T. (1996). *Best of Totto-chan: The little girl at the window* (D. Britton, Trans.). Tokyo: Kodansya International.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1963). *Structural anthropology* (C. Jacobson & B. G. Schoeph, Trans.). New York: Basic Books.

Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967/1997). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 71*(1-4), 3-38.

Lam, W. S. E. (2000). L2 Literacy and the design of the self: A case study of a teenager writing on the internet. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*(3), 457-482.

Lantolf, J. P. (2000a). Second language learning as a mediated process. *Language Teaching, 33*, 79-96.

Lantolf, J. P. (Ed.). (2000b). *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lantolf, J. P., & Pavlenko, A. (1995). Sociocultural theory and second language acquisition. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 15*, 108-124.

Lantolf, J. P., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: Understanding second language learners as people. In M. P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 141-158). Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education.

Lantolf, J. P., & Thorne, S. L. (2006). *Sociocultural theory and the genesis of second language development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lave, J. (1993). The practice of learning. In S. Chaiklin & J. Lave (Eds.), *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context* (pp. 3-32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leki, I. (2001). Hearing voices: L2 students' experiences in L2 writing courses. In T. Silva & P. K. Matsuda (Eds.), *On second language writing* (pp. 17-28).

Li, X.-M. (1999). Writing from the vantage point of an outsider/insider. In G. Braine (Ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching* (pp. 43-56). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lieblich, A. (1993). Looking at change: Natasha, 21: New immigrant from Russia to Israel. In R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *The narrative study of lives* (pp. 92-129). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Linehan, C., & McCarthy, J. (2000). Positioning in practice: Understanding participation in the social world. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 30*(4), 435-453.

Lo Bianco, J., Liddicoat, A. J., & Crozet, C. (Eds.). (1999). *Striving for the third place: Intercultural competence through language education*. Melbourne: The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia.

Lu, M.-Z. (1987). From silence to words: Writing as struggle. *College English, 49*(4), 437-448.

Lvovich, N. (1997). *The multilingual self: An inquiry into language learning*. Mahwah, NJ: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge* (G. Bennington & B. Massumi, Trans.). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MacIntyre, P. D., Dörnyei, Z., Clément, R., & Noels, K. A. (1998). Conceptualizing willingness to communicate in a L2: A situational model of L2 confidence and affiliation. *The Modern Language Journal, 82*(4), 545-562.

Martinez-Roldan, C. M. (2003). Building worlds and identities: A case study of the role of narratives in bilingual literature discussions. *Research in the Teaching of English, 37*(4), 491-.

McAdams, D. P. (1999). Personal narratives and the life story. In L. A. Pervin & O. P. John (Eds.), *Handbook of personality theory and research* (2nd ed., pp. 478-500). New York: Guilford Press.

McDermott, R. P. (1993). The acquisition of a child by a learning disability. In S. Chaiklin & J. Lave (Eds.), *Understanding practice* (pp. 269-305). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McGroarty, M. (1998). Constructive and constructivist challenges for applied linguistics. *Language Learning, 48*(4), 591-622.

McKay, S. L., & Wong, S.-L. C. (1996). Multiple discourses, multiple identities: Investment and agency in second-language learning among Chinese adolescent immigrant students. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(3), 577-608.

McLaughlin, B. (1978). *Second-language acquisition in childhood*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Minami, M. (2008). Telling good stories in different languages: Bilingual children's styles of story construction and their linguistic and educational implications. *Narrative Inquiry, 18*(1), 83-110.

Mishler, E. G. (1990). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(4), 415-442.

Mitchell, R., & Myles, F. (2004). *Second language learning theories* (second ed.). London: Arnold.

Mitchell, W. J. T. (Ed.). (1981). *On narrative*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mori, K. (1997). *Polite lies - On being a woman caught between cultures*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Moro, Y. (1999). The expanded dialogic sphere: Writing activity and authoring of self in Japanese classrooms. In Y. Engeström, R. Miettinen & R.-L. Punamäki (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory* (pp. 165-182). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morrow, N. (1997). Language and identity: Women's autobiographies of the American immigrant experience. *Language and Communication, 17*(3), 177-185.

Murphey, T., Jin, C., & Li-Chi, C. (2005). Learners' constructions of identities and imagined communities. In P. Benson & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Learners' stories: Difference and diversity in language learning* (pp. 83-101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Murray, K. D. (1995). Narratology. In J. A. Smith, R. Harre & L. V. Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking psychology* (pp. 179-195). London: Sage.

Nicolopoulou, A. (1997). Children and narratives: Toward an interpretive and sociocultural approach. In M. Bamberg (Ed.), *Narrative development: Six approaches* (pp. 179-215). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409-429.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning*. New York: Longman.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2002). Identity and language learning. In R. B. Kaplan (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 115-123). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nunan, D. (1992). *Research methods in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and language socilization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ogulnick, K. (1998). *Onna rashiku (Like a woman): The diary of a language learner in Japan*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Olson, D. R. (1995). Writing and the mind. In J. V. Wertsch, P. del Río & A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Sociocultural studies of mind* (pp. 95-123). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A. (1998). Second language learning by adults: Testimonies of bilingual writers. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 9*(1), 3-19.

Pavlenko, A. (2001a). "How am I to become a woman in an American vein?" : Transformations of gender performance in second language learning. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 133-174). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pavlenko, A. (2001b). "In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined": Negotiation of identities in cross-cultural autobiographies. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 5*(3), 317-344.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Narrative study: Whose story is it, anyway? *TESOL Quarterly,* *36*(2), 213-218.

Pavlenko, A. (2003a). "I never knew I was a bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in TESOL. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 2*(4), 251-268.

Pavlenko, A. (2003b). The privilege of writing as an immigrant woman. In C. P. Casanave & S. Vandrick (Eds.), *Writing for scholarly publication* (pp. 177-193). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A., & Jarvis, S. (2002). Bidirectional transfer. *Applied Linguistics, 23*(2), 190-214.

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Piller, I. (2001). New directions in the study of multilingualism, second language learning, and gender. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, Ingrid Piller & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 17-52). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Payne, M. (2000). *Narrative therapy*. London: Sage.

Pennington, M. C. (1996). Cross-language effects in biliteracy. *Language and Education, 10*(4), 254-272.

Phinney, J. S. (2000). Identity formation across cultures: The interaction of personal, societal, and historical change. *Human Development, 43*, 27-31.

Polanyi, L. (1989). *Telling the American story: A structural and cultural analysis of conversational storytelling* Cambridge, MA MIT Press.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J. A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life history and narrative* (pp. 5-23). London: The Falmer Press.

Poole, D. (1992). Language socialization in the second language classroom. *Language Learning, 42*(4), 593-616.

Prince, G. (1997). Narratology and narratological analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 7*(1-4), 39-44.

Propp, V. I. (1968). *Morphology of the folktale* (L. Scott, Trans. 2nd ed.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rampton, B. (1995). Language crossing and the problematisation of ethnicity and socialisation. *Pragmatics, 5*(4), 485-513.

Rhodes, C. (2001). *Writing organization: (Re)presentation and control in narratives at work*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Richardson, L. (1990). Narrative and sociology. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 19*(1), 116-135.

Richardson, L. (2000). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 923-948). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Richardson, M. (1999). Translation as a means of cultural transmission. In S. Inaga & K. L. Richard (Eds.), *Crossing cultural borders: Toward an ethics of intercultural communication: Beyond reciprocal anthropology* (pp. 267-286). Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

Ricoeur, P. (1984-6). *Time and narrative* (K. McLaughlin & D. Pellauer, Trans. Vol. 1-3). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ricoeur, P. (1992). *Oneself as another* (K. Blamey, Trans.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Riessman, C. K. (2002). Analysis of personal narratives. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 695-710). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Roberts, C. (2001). Language acquisition or language socialisation in and through discourse? Towards a redefinition of the domain of SLA. In C. N. Candlin & N. Mercer (Eds.), *English language teaching in its social context* (pp. 108-121). London; New York: Routledge.

Roberts, R. P. (2002). Translation. In R. B. Kaplan (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 429-442). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosenwald, G. C., & Ochberg, R. L. (1992). *Storied lives: The cultural politics of self-understanding*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rothery, J., & Stenglin, M. (1997). Entertaining and instructing: Exploring experience through story. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Genre and institutions: Social processes in the workplace and school* (pp. 231-263). London: Cassell.

Rubin, D. L. (1995). *Composing social identity in written language*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rumelhart, D. E. (1975). Notes on a schema for stories. In D. G. Bobrow & A. Collins (Eds.), *Representation and understanding: Studies in cognitive science* (pp. 211-236). New York: Academic Press.

Russell, D. (1997). Writing and genre in higher education and workplaces: A review studies that use cultural-historical activity theory. *Mind, Culture, and Activity,* *4*(4), 224-237.

Russo, G. M. (1987). Writing: An interactive experience. In W. M. Rivers (Ed.), *Interactive language teaching* (pp. 83-92). Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Sampson, E. E. (1993). *Celebrating the other: A dialogic account of human nature*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Sarbin, T. R. (1986). The narrative as a root metaphor for psychology. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct* (pp. 3-21). New York: Praeger.

Sartre, J.-P. (1976). *No exit and three other plays*. New York: Vintage.

Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic construction of identity. *Language in Society, 25*, 167-203.

Schmidt, R. W., & Frota, S. N. (1986). Developing basic conversational ability in a second language: A case study of an adult learner of Portuguese. In R. R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn: Conversation in second language acquisition* (pp. 237-326). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schrauf, R. W., & Durazo-Arvizu, R. (2006). Bilingual autobiographical memory and emotion: Theory and methods. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression and representation* (pp. 284-311). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Schumann, J. H. (1997). *The neurobiology of affect in language*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Sfard, A. (1998). On two metaphors for learning and the dangers of choosing just one. *Educational Researcher, 27*, 4-13.

Shen, F. (1989). The classroom and the wider culture: Identity as a key to learning English composition. *College Composition and Communication, 40*(4), 459-466.

Singer, J. A. (2004). Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of Personality, 72*(3), 437-459.

Slobin, D. I. (2000). Verbalized events: A dynamic approach to linguistic relativity and determinism. In S. Niemeier & R. Dirven (Eds.), *Evidence for linguistic relativity* (pp. 107-138). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Smith, J. A., Harré, R., & Langenhove, L. V. (Eds.). (1995). *Rethinking psychology*. London: Sage.

Soliday, M. (1994). Translating self and difference through literacy narratives. *College English, 56*(5), 511-526.

Somers, M. R., & Gibson, G. D. (1994). Reclaiming the epistemological "other": Narrative and the social constitution of identity. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Social* *theory and the politics of identity* (pp. 37-99). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Spack, R. (1997). The rhetorical construction of multilingual students. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(4), 765-774.

Street, B. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy development, ethnography, and education*. London: Longman.

Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development In S. M. Gass & C. G. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 235-253). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Swain, M. (2000). The output hypothesis and beyond: Mediating acquisition through collaborative dialogue In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 97-114). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Swain, M. (2006a). Languaging, agency and collaboration in advanced second language proficiency. In H. Byrnes (Ed.), *Advanced language learning: The contributions of Vygotsky and Halliday* (pp. 95-108). London: Continuum.

Swain, M. (2006b). Verbal protocols: What does it mean for research to use speaking as a data collection tool? In M. Chalhoub-Deville, C. A. Chapelle & P. Duff (Eds.), *Inference and generalizability in applied linguistics: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 97-113). Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Swain, M., & Deters, P. (2007). "New" mainstream SLA theory: Expanded and enriched. *The Modern Language Journal, 91*, 820-836.

Swain, M., & Lapkin, S. (2003). Talking it through: Two French immersion learners' response to reformulation. *International Journal of Educational Research, 37*(3-4), 285-304.

Taniguchi, S. (2002a). *Exploring second language writing development through autobiographical narrative.* Paper presented at the Second Language Research Forum, Toronto.

Taniguchi, S. (2002b). *Second language writing as a way of negotiating bilingual identities: Case study of a returnee from China.* Paper presented at the Annual JALT Conference, Shizuoka.

Taniguchi, S. (2003a). *Second language writing and mediation of social participation: A case study of a bilingual woman's between word writing practices.* Paper presented at the British Association for Applied Linguistics, Leeds.

Taniguchi, S. (2003b). *When a community of practice is not a community of learning: A migrant woman's story.* Paper presented at the Adult Learning Australia Annual Conference, UTS, Sydney.

Taniguchi, S. (2004). *Narrative inquiry on becoming a bilingual writer.* Paper presented at the Annual congress of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, Adelaide.

Taniguchi, S. (2005a). *From writing development to writer development: Reconceptualising 'change' in language learning.* Paper presented at the Temple University Applied Linguistics Colloquium, Temple University Tokyo.

Taniguchi, S. (2005b). *Narrative o tooshite mita gengo bunka kan ido no imi: fukusuu no gengo o motsu kakite ni naru katei (Exploration of the meanings of linguistic and cultural border-crossings through narrative: the processes of becoming a writer with plural languages).* Paper presented at the Kokusai kenkyuu shuukai kotoba bunka shakai no gengo kyoiku (International Conference on Language Education of Language, Culture, and Society).

Tannen, D. (Ed.). (1982). *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Taylor, I. (1998). Learning to read in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. In A. Y. Durgunoğlu & L. Verhoeven (Eds.), *Literacy development in a multilingual context* (pp. 225-248). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Tomozawa, A. (2001). Japan's hidden bilinguals: The language of 'war orphans' and their families after repatriation from China. In M. G. Noguchi & S. Fotos (Eds.), *Studies in Japanese Bilingualism* (pp. 133-163). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Toohey, K. (2000). *Learning English at school: Identity, social relations and classroom practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Toolan, M. (2001). *Narrative: A critical linguistic introduction*. London: Routledge.

Tsui, A. B. M. (1996). Learning how to teach ESL writing. In D. A. Freeman & J. C. Richards (Eds.), *Teacher learning in language teaching* (pp. 97-120). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, V. W., & Bruner, E. M. (Eds.). (1986). *The anthropology of experience*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Usher, R. (1996). A critique of the neglected epistemological assumptions of educational research. In D. Scott & R. Usher (Eds.), *Understanding educational research* (pp. 9-32). London and New York: Routledge.

van Lier, L. (2000). From input to affordance: Social-interactive learning from an ecological perspective. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 245-259). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van Lier, L. (2004a). *The ecology and semiotics of language learning : A sociocultural perspective*. Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic.

van Lier, L. (2004b). The ecology of language learning. *The University of California consortium for language learning and teaching* Retrieved 15 March 2006, from http://uccllt.ucdavis.edu/events/ULCCTPP/leo.php

Vandrick, S. (2003). Beginning to write at 40. In C. P. Casanave & S. Vandrick (Eds.), *Writing for scholarly publication: Behind the scenes in language education* (pp. 53-60). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ventola, E., & Mauranen, A. (1991). Non-native writing and native revising of scientific articles. In E. Ventola (Ed.), *Functional and systemic linguistics approaches and uses* (pp. 457-492). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Verhoeven, L., & Stromqvist, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Narrative development in a multilingual context*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Verity, D. P. (2000). Side affects: The strategic development of professional satisfaction. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 180-197). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vitanova, G. (2005). Authoring the self in a non-native language: A dialogic approach to agency and subjectivity. In J. K. Hall, G. Vitanova & L. Marchenkova (Eds.), *Dialogue with Bakhtin on second and foreign language learning: New perspectives* (pp. 149-169). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Vološinov, V. N. (1973). *Marxism and the philosophy of language* (L. Matejka & I. R. Titunik, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1986). *Thought and language* (A. Kozulin, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wells, G. (1999). *Dialogic inquiry: Towards a sociocultural practice and theory of education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, G. (2000). Dialogic inquiry in education: Building on the legacy of Vygotsky. In C. D. Lee & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Vygotskian perspectives on literacy research: constructing meaning through collaborative inquiry* (pp. 51-85). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (1991). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (1998). *Mind as action*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wertsch, J. V., del Río, P., & Alvarez, A. (1995). Sociocultural studies: History, action, and mediation. In J. V. Wertsch, P. del Río & A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Sociocultural studies of mind* (pp. 1-34). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York:

Norton.

Willett, J. (1995). Becoming first graders in an L2: An ethnographic study of L2 socialization. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(3), 473-503.

Wortham, S. (2001). *Narratives in action: A strategy for research and analysis*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Yamada, Y. (2000). Psychological meanings of telling and re-telling life stories. *The Annual Report of Educational Psychology in Japan, 39*, 146-161.

Yip, V., & Matthews, S. (2007). *The bilingual child: Early development and language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zamel, V. (1997). Toward a model of transculturation. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(2), 341-352.