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Chineseness as a moving target Intermediate report for the HERA Project, Tilburg Case Study

by

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Preface

This report is written in the context of the HERA project and in the research programme *language and globalization*. The project, *investigating discourses of inheritance and identities in four multilingual European settings* (IDI4MES) is coordinated by Adrian Blackledge at the University of Birmingham and involves, besides Tilburg University, also partners at the Universities of Copenhagen and Stockholm; see <http://www.heranet.info/idi4mes/index>.

The report consists of six sections. The first section introduces the history of Chinese migration in the Netherlands, the Chinese language and sketches the research sites. The methodology of the research is discussed in section two. The section 3, 4 and 5 present the data collected in and around the Chinese school and the relevant analysis on the broader Chinese community. Section 6 draws conclusions.

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1 Introduction

1.1 History of Chinese migration in The Netherlands

The Chinese are one of the oldest established immigrant communities in the Netherlands, and they form one of the largest overseas Chinese populations in continental Europe. In July 2011 the Chinese community celebrated its centennial: one hundred years of Chinese in the Netherlands (Wolf 2011). The first Chinese immigrants were seamen who settled in harbor cities like Rotterdam, Amsterdam where they built Chinatowns. Later, Chinese immigrants and their children spread all over the country. Figures of the number of Chinese residing in the Netherlands vary a lot depending on the source and on the definition of 'Chinese'. According to the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, there were around 78,500 Chinese, (i.e. persons who were born or one of whose parents were born in mainland China, Hong Kong) in the Netherlands in 2011. Among them, 51,000 are first generation. In official statistics third and subsequent generation migrants are invisible and are registered only in terms of citizenship and country of birth).

Until 1990, Hong Kong people were the largest group within the Chinese community. However, this has been changed since the 1990 because of the political and economic changes in China. In the period of 1991-2000, people from mainland China, especially from Zhejiang province has increased dramatically to over 50 percent (CBS, 2011:4). After 2000, more and more Chinese students came to the Netherlands to study. From this period onwards, Chinese immigrants originated from all over China. This increase of diversity in the Chinese diasporic population meant a dramatic change of the status of Cantonese from main language of the diaspora, to only one of the dialects. The Chinese variety of the north, Mandarin or *Putonghua* steadily gained importance, both in China itself (see Dong 2009; Dong 2010) as well as in the diaspora (J. Li & Juffermans 2011).

The history of Chinese immigration to the Netherlands happened *grosso modo* in three stages. The first stage took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when Chinese pioneers began to immigrate to the Netherlands for a variety of reasons. As a push factor, there was the Taiping Rebellion against the ruling Qing dynasty between 1850 and 1864, a civil war that cost the lives of 20 million people. As a pull factor, there was the economic opportunity of being hired by Dutch shipping companies to break the Dutch seamen's strike of 1911 (Pieke 1992). The Chinese pioneers who came directly from mainland China to the Netherlands were mainly from the provinces of Guangdong and Zhejiang. More precisely, the majority of them came from the Wenzhou and Qingtian districts in Zhejiang and the Bao On district in Guangdong (Pieke 1988; Pieke 1992; M. Li 1999).

This initial flow was followed in a second stage in the 1950s to 1970s by Chinese of various ethnic and regional backgrounds that had previously migrated to Java, Sumatra, Suriname, Vietnam, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. These double-migrants were mostly engaged in the catering business, i.e. in running Chinese restaurants thereby introducing Chinese-Indonesian (*Chinees-Indisch*) cuisine to the Netherlands. After the Second World War, there was an economic rebirth in the Netherlands. In 1947, there were only 23 Chinese restaurants in the whole of the Netherlands (Chen

1991). Towards the end of the 1970s, the total number had reached about 2000. Business was excellent for almost everyone. They were so popular that there were shortages of cooks and workers. During that time, China was undergoing political and cultural turbulences. i.e. the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, and had strict control of emigration. So it became very difficult for the Chinese settled in the Netherlands to bring over worker directly from their hometowns in mainland China. So in order to augment their manpower, the restaurateurs had to look for workers in areas outside mainland China. As a result, the Hongkongnese became the largest Chinese immigrant group in the Chinese immigrant community in the Netherlands. Until the 1990s therefore, Cantonese was the dominant language of the Dutch Chinese diaspora. The Hong Kong people became the largest group of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, representing 70 percent of the Dutch Chinese until the 1990s (CBS, 2010:6). Some Zhejiang restaurateurs commented that, because the only workers they could recruit were Hon Kong people, the Zhejiang restaurateurs had to learn Cantonese to be able to communicate with their employees. Li (1999) documented that in the same period, the Chinese immigrants who re-emigrated from Southeast Asia, like Singapore and Malaysia formed another labour source for the Chinese catering business in the Netherlands. Also in the same period, another re-emigrated group included Peranakan Chinese from Indonesia and political refugees from Indochina. Also between 1975 and 1982, the Dutch government accepted about 6,500 Vietnamese as political refugees. Among them, about one-fourth were ethnic Chinese (Li, 1998).

A third stage in the history of Chinese migration to the Netherlands is marked by a sudden rise of immigration from Mainland China after 1976 and more distinctly since the 1990s. The reason behind this third wave was the political and economic transformation in mainland China, of the People's Republic of China (PRC) where the social position of emigrants had shifted from being "betrayers of the motherland" to one of admiration (Li, 1999). Since the pursuit of material well-being was no longer considered taboo in mainland China and since the Chinese government had softened its severely defined emigration policies in the late 1970s. Many mainland Chinese migrated to western countries. As a result, in the final quarter of the twentieth century, the Chinese emigration was far greater than anything experienced during the first three-quarters of the century. This third stage is also characterized by the so-called *liuxuesheng*, i.e. Chinese students abroad and their dependants.

In short, the flow of Chinese migration to the Netherlands is multi-layered and highly diverse in terms of the place of their origin, individual motivations and personal or family trajectories. And the demographic changes in the constitution of Chinese diaspora and their linguistic changes have far-reaching consequences for people's language and identity repertoires, which is the theme of this research project.

1.2 The Chinese language

According to Ethnologue (2009), there are 292 indigenous *languages in China*. Ethnologue recognises Chinese in their list of languages of China not as a language, but as a macrolanguage, i.e. ‘multiple, closely related individual languages that are deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language’. As a macrolanguage, Chinese has thirteen ‘member languages’, listed alphabetically as Gan, Hakka, Huizhou, Jinyu, Mandarin, Min Bei, Min Dong, Min Nan, Min Zhong, Pu-Xian, Wu, Xiang and Yue.

The official discourse in China, however, is that there is only *one Chinese language* that comprises variation in the form of many *fangyan* or dialects. However, this variation only exists or is supposed to exist on the level of spoken language varieties. Chinese is unified by a homogeneous writing system that enables communication across a wide geographical area and among speakers of widely varying and mutually largely unintelligible vernaculars. This unification has a long and complex history, dating back to 246 BC. Qinshihuang, the first emperor of unified China, is a pivotal figure. After unifying China, he and his advisor passed not only a series of major economic and political reforms, but also cultural reforms. One of them is the script unification in China.

Further, since 1913, considerable means have been invested in creating a standard or common spoken language based on the northern, Beijing variety of Chinese (see Dong 2010). This standard was spoken by officials and the educated elite in China during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties (Coblin 2000), and is internationally still referred to as Mandarin, but is in China itself, currently known as Putonghua (‘common speech’).

Linguists traditionally divide Chinese *fangyan* into seven or eight major language/dialect clusters. DeFrancis (1984, : 67) recognizes eight ‘mutually unintelligible regionalects’ that make up Chinese and Ramsey (1987, : 87) identifies seven ‘dialect groups’. These include Mandarin (官) as the language/dialect of the north (also the most widely spoken language/dialect) and Wu (吴), Yue (粤), Xiang (湘), Hakka (客家), Gan (赣) and Min (闽) as languages/dialects of the south and coastal southeast. Shanghainese and Wenzhounese are varieties of Wu. Yue is often used interchangeably with Cantonese, the language/dialect spoken in Hong Kong and the Guangdong province. Min – the *fangyan* of Fujian, Taiwan and Hainan – is the entity with the largest internal variation and is sometimes split up in two or more varieties using the cardinal directions east and west and/or north and south.

In mainland China, the new standard (Putonghua) coupled with simplified characters and a new romanization, *pinyin* (‘phonetic writing’) have been promoting by the government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) nationwide for decades. Prior to the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party had set up a committee to reform the Chinese Language. The simplified Chinese characters are now officially used in mainland China and Singapore.

The political, economic and linguistic changes in China in the last three decade have transformed the composition of the Chinese population and linguistic situation in the Chinese communities in the Netherlands. Before 2000, Cantonese was taught in Chinese heritage schools and used as the *lingua franca* in the Chinese communities. Today, Putonghua is taught. In the period of

2000 to 2010, we witnessed a process of linguistic transformation in the Chinese communities. Almost all of the Chinese community schools have gradually changed the lessons from Cantonese to Putonghua, from traditional to simplified script curriculum, and from Cantonese speaking to Putonghua speaking teachers.

1.3 The city of Eindhoven and Chinese in Eindhoven

The Chinese sites for this study had been chosen to be in Eindhoven, the largest city in the Dutch province of North Brabant with a total city population of 330,152 in 2011 and together with its neighboring regions, it has nearly 750,000 inhabitants. Eindhoven was once a small village, but it has grown to one of the biggest cities in the Netherlands, much of its growth is due to Philips and DAF Trucks. The population of Chinese immigrants in Eindhoven is sizable.

Unlike the traditional Chinese communities in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and The Hague that have concentrated *Chinatowns*, Eindhoven has an ‘unconcentrated Chinatown’ due to the historical development of the city. Eindhoven was a small village in an economically backward and mostly agricultural area. Cheap land, cheap labor and the existence of pre-industrial home-sourcing (*huisnijverheid* in Dutch) made Eindhoven an attractive area for developing industries. Eindhoven has been a migrant city attracting internal and transnational migrants. During the 19th century, Eindhoven grew into an industrial town with factories for textile weaving, cigar manufacturing, match making and hat making. Most of these industries disappeared again after World War II.

The major driver for growth of Eindhoven in the 20th century has been the presence of Philips. It attracted and spun off many hi-tech companies. In 2005, a full third of the total amount of money spent on research in the Netherlands was spent in or around Eindhoven. A quarter of the jobs in the region are in technology and ICT, with companies such as FEI Company (once Philips Electron Optics), NXP Semiconductors (formerly Philips Semiconductors), ASML, Toolex, Simac, CIBER, Neways, Atos Origin and the aforementioned Philips and DAF. The city therefore presents an interesting case in studying demographic changes as a result of more recent forms of globalization in the composition of the Chinese community. According to the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, the Chinese population counts 3,000. Traditional and new Chinese immigrants are engaged with cultural transmission. Changes in concepts of Chineseness are likely to be more visible in Eindhoven than in the older Dutch Chinatowns. The Eindhoven Chinese community is younger than the Chinese communities in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and The Hague and has a slightly different social-demographic make-up in the sense that many Eindhoven Chinese are students or so-called knowledge migrants that are attracted to Eindhoven by the High Tech Campus, the Eindhoven University of Technology and the various multinational high-tech companies.

1.4 Chinese schools in the Netherlands and in research sites

In all major cities in the Netherlands there is at least one Chinese school focusing on teaching Chinese as a community language. The *Stichting Chinees Onderwijs Nederland* ‘Foundation Chinese Education The Netherlands’ lists more than forty schools. These schools are community run and self-

financed. The traditional population of those schools was children of Cantonese background. However, the political, economic and linguistic changes in China in the last three decades have transformed the composition of the Chinese population and linguistic situation in the Chinese communities in the Netherlands, together with the geopolitical repositioning of China, Chinese schools now attract people from all kinds of ethnic, linguistic, cultural backgrounds. The Chinese school now is a site of immense diversity.

The research reported here takes place mainly in and around one Chinese school in Eindhoven. For triangulation purposes we also visited two other Chinese Schools, one in Utrecht and one in Tilburg. The Chinese school Eindhoven was one of two oldest Chinese schools in The Netherlands. It was established in 1978 by the Chinese Protestant Church of Eindhoven and provided Cantonese lessons to children of Cantonese origin in a café restaurant. There were only about twenty students at that time. At the time of this research in 2010, the school had around 280 students and the number of students has increased to more than 310 in 2011.

Like many other Chinese community schools, the Chinese school in Eindhoven also rents classrooms from a Dutch mainstream secondary school for four hours per week on Saturdays when students and teachers are free from their daily education and/or work, and when the school premises are available to be rented. Classes in the Chinese school in Eindhoven start from 9.15 to 11.45 a.m. and include a 20 minute break, during which there are regular staff meetings for the teachers. The school has classes starting from kindergarten and progressing to level 1 through level 12. The lower grades typically have up to twenty pupils whereas the higher grades usually have less than eight pupils. There is also one Taiwanese mandarin class for the children whose parents are expatriate staff and temporarily residing in The Netherlands. The Taiwanese children go to the international English school from Monday to Friday. In addition, in the school there are four levels of adult language classes offering to non-Chinese speakers who wish to learn Chinese. There is also a Dutch class for people of Chinese origin that is attended, among others, by teachers that are not yet proficient in Dutch.

Students in the school are mainly from the area of Eindhoven, but some students also travel considerable distances to attend the school, including from towns across the border in Belgium. Altogether there were 25 teachers, including teachers for calligraphy, music and Kong fu. Many of the teachers are long-term residents in the local area. Both teachers and students at the School come from a wide range of social and linguistic backgrounds. Some of the teachers are well-paid professionals working at the High Tech Campus or for one of the hospitals in the city. Others are housewives or househusbands or work in the catering business, managing or working for a Chinese restaurant. Yet others are researchers or doctoral students who recently arrived in the Netherlands from Mainland China. Recruitment of teachers is mainly from the community through personal introductions, and the school website. Student recruitment, likewise, is through word of mouth, the website, and advertisements in local Chinese supermarkets and restaurants.

With the changing composition of Chinese immigrants in The Netherlands in the last decade, lessons have gradually shifted to Mandarin. And since 2006, there are only Mandarin classes left, the

school no longer employs textbooks prepared in Hong Kong and Taiwan but by Ji Nan University in Mainland China for the 12 grades class. The textbooks, provided by the Chinese embassy in The Netherlands, were originally targeted for children of overseas Chinese in the United States and Canada. Therefore, the language of instruction in the textbooks is English. In our fieldwork sites, some teachers speak English in addition to, or sometimes instead of Dutch, and flexibly switch between Chinese, Dutch and/or English in the classroom (cf. A. Creese & Blackledge 2010, for similar findings in UK complementary classrooms).

The shift in the school is not just linguistic, it also includes a shift towards what we could call 'Chinese core values'. One incident from our field notes can illustrate this.

Data example 1: Teacher's annual staff meeting (Fieldnotes August 2010)

It is the annual staff meeting of the new school year (2010-2011). This year the meeting is held at the Qingfeng Tearoom. Many teachers just came back from their holidays in China. Some old teachers are chatting about their encounters in China this summer, the culture shock they have experienced. Mr. Wu, the chairman of the school went to China as well this summer and has brought a box of "Analects of Confucius" along with him to The Netherlands. In the meeting, he is handing out the books to the teachers and gave a talk to express his concerns about the unharmonized and problematic contemporary Chinese society, especially the concerns for the impolite Chinese kids. According to him, the children are too spoiled and have no respect for their parents and elders. The traditional Chinese core values, like Confucianism, have disappeared in China. He asked the teachers to pay more attention to these issues and teach pupils some "Analects of Confucius" as well.

2 Methodology

2.1 Research design

This case study is a multi-site ethnography. The fieldwork starts from the institutional context of the Chinese language and culture classroom at the Chinese school Eindhoven, but we also see the school as deeply situated in a wider context, and as a non-autonomous sociolinguistic space. Thus we move from the classroom to wider Chinese communities, ethnographic observations made both in offline Chinese communities (Qingfeng tea-room, Chinese restaurants and other organized community celebrations and activities such as Tai qi and Ping Pong activities as well as in online cybercommunities (Asian and proud forum, Gogodutch, Facebook)

The ethnographic perspective thus includes on the one hand the ‘traditional’ objects of ethnography (sound recordings, observation of situated events, interviews), but it adds to this two other dimensions: (1) attention to visibility in the field of language (language in public space, multimodal analysis); (2) attention to macro-sociolinguistic aspects influencing and constraining micro-events. In this section, we will begin by presenting the access gained to the research sites Chinese school Eindhoven, and also the access to the other two Chinese schools in Tilburg and Utrecht for research triangulation purposes.

2.2 Some conceptual tools

The research reported in this paper is strongly influenced by the work on language and superdiversity performed in the context of the INCOLAS consortium (International Network on Language and Superdiversity), focused on how superdiversity spawns new and complex sociolinguistic environments, demanding new analytical tools (e.g. Blommaert & Rampton 2011). The guiding assumptions underlying this work can be sketched as follows:

1. In the context of superdiversity, we need to look at the actual ‘bits’ of language and other semiotic means gathered in complex repertoires, and we need to see them as flexibly deployed in relation to imagined ‘standards’ and to specific communicative targets. We thus focus on the actual resources people deploy in communication, and we prefer ‘linguaging’ over ‘language’ (Jørgensen 2008; A. Creese & Blackledge 2010; Juffermans 2010).
2. We also consider these resources to be tied to communities in new and unpredictable ways. ‘Speech community’ is a troubled notion when it is read as a sedentary community of people maximally sharing the linguistic, cultural and social conventions associated with a ‘language’ (Rampton 1998). Instead, we see mobility as a key feature of contemporary sociolinguistic economies, with resources being made for mobility and ‘exported’ and ‘imported’ by mobile groups of users; contemporary communication technologies obviously play a massive role in these processes (Blommaert 2010; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Pennycook 2010).

3. We see identity work as proceeding by means of intricate semiotic work in which even the smallest features of language or other semiotic resources – ‘accent’ – can acquire crucial values as an indexical identity diacritic (Rampton 2006; Agha 2007).
4. The mobility of semiotic resources leads to several analytical implications. In general, we see people operate in a polycentric sociocultural environment, in which they need to orient to a variety of orders of indexicality prevailing at different intersecting scales in communication (Blommaert 2005; Blommaert 2010). The three core terms of this proposition warrant further clarification.

Social arenas for identity work are by definition polycentric, in the sense that at any moment, actors in communicative events are facing more than one ‘centers’ from which norms can be derived. Such ‘centers’ can be institutions of a formal as well as of an informal kind. Formal ones could include, for instance, the school, church, the state; informal ones can include peer groups, role models, popular culture icons and so forth. In any act of communication, participants can orient towards any of those centers for templates of ‘good’ versus ‘bad’ forms of communication. Thus, in a classroom, both the teacher and the classmates can be seen as ‘centers’, and what counts as a ‘good’ answer in relation to the teacher can be simultaneously understood as a ‘bad’ one by the classmates.

The ‘norms’ emanating from such centers have varying degrees of solidity – the norms of a formal institution typically being more solid than those of e.g. a peer group. And norms need to be understood here as orders of indexicality: social and cultural values attached to specific resources in an ordered, non-random way, so that they begin to structure communication in relation to specific emblematic templates for social action (Blommaert 2005; Agha 2007). The choice of resources – or the use of resources by absence of choice – thus provoked non-random, culturally and socially scripted interpretations.

Polycentric environments offer several such orders of indexicality, but they are rarely equivalent: the social and cultural ‘order’ is stratified and operates at different scales – different ranges of cultural and social recognizability, of recognition/recognizability and scope of use. Again, the scale of formal institutions such as the school would typically be higher than that of an informal peer group, even if some subcultural groups – think of groups oriented towards hip hop, or communities of online gamers – operate at extremely high, global scale levels.

By means of this analytic vocabulary, we are able to see the tremendous complexity of communication in superdiverse contexts, and of the identity work and effects such communication involves. The high level of unpredictability implied in this framework compels us to a momentous methodological choice: we can only investigate these complex processes ethnographically.

2.3 *Gaining access to the field sites: my linguistic auto-ethnography*

Before entering the field as researcher, I was a teacher of the Eindhoven Chinese school giving the course practical Chinese to Dutch adults. The access to the research site 'Chinese school' was therefore not problematic. After four years' deep hanging out in the school as a language teacher, I was regarded as a member of the teaching staff and a member of the Chinese community. I observed much regularity in the school, attended numerous teachers' meetings and had many conversations with various teachers, students, administrators and parents regarding the school information, identity, Chinese language teaching in the Netherlands. In the period of my master study in Intercultural Communication, I took the course 'Ethnography' and as a migrant myself, I have been very interested in language and identity. In what follows, I will illustrate the access I gained to the fieldwork sites, Chinese teaching activities where I got to know other members of the Chinese schools and the ethnographic observation I made.

As a former language teacher in the Chinese School Eindhoven, I participated in two-week training programmes for overseas Chinese teachers organized and sponsored by the Ministry of Overseas Chinese Affairs in different cities in China (Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wenzhou, Jiujiang, Xiamen, Daliang) in July 2006 and 2007. For two weeks overseas teachers from all over the world are given the opportunity to take advanced Chinese language courses (Putonghua for teachers, Multimedia for teaching, Pedagogy for teaching young children, etc.). I attended the Putonghua course in Shanghai Normal University in 2006 and the Multimedia course in Daliang Normal University in 2007. With various classes of forty participants going on at the same time, there were over a hundred overseas Chinese teachers with whom a social programme was shared. This was an opportunity to get to know the worldwide network of Chinese heritage schools and to get acquainted with language teachers working within them. Thus, contacts were established with Chinese teachers from diverse parts of the world, including Canada, USA, Norway, Germany, Britain, Luxembourg, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Singapore... and also from the Netherlands. In Shanghai, I got to know Mrs. Deng, the grade 8 teacher from the Utrecht Chinese school that I later observed her class.

Every year around Chinese new year, the IOC (*Inspraakorgaan Chinezen* 'Chinese participation organisation'), the umbrella organization of Chinese associations and community-based organizations in the Netherlands, and the Dutch organization for Chinese language teaching (*Landelijke organisatie voor Chinees taalonderwijs*) organize a new year party in Amsterdam to celebrate the Chinese new year with all the heritage Chinese school teachers. I joined the party three times from 2007 to 2009. This was another occasion to get to know the Dutch national network of Chinese complementary schools and to get acquainted with fellow Chinese language teachers. Thus, contacts were established with Chinese teachers from diverse parts of the country, including Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Rotterdam, Groningen, and Zwolle... At one of these occasions, I

met Mrs. Liu, the head teacher of the Chinese school in Utrecht,¹ whom she later met again in a preparatory meeting for the 2007 Overseas Chinese Teachers Training in Utrecht.

In 2008, I started writing a personal blog (in Chinese) about my experiences as a teacher of Chinese and about my personal experiences of being an immigrant woman in the Netherlands. It also contains reflections about my present work as a researcher. Through this blog, contacts with various Chinese women in the Netherlands and world-wide were created. Some contacts or friendships that emerged out of this blogging activity were with Mrs. Xie who migrated to the Netherlands one and a half year ago. Originally from Beijing, she has become a teacher at the Chinese school Utrecht. She is an avid follower of my blog and frequently writes back about her own teaching and migration experiences. The other contact that I have established from the blogging activity was with Jessie, a former Cantonese language teacher at Eindhoven Chinese school from 1999 to 2003. In the section 3.1, more detailed information about the background of the teachers is presented.

In the early 2000s, Chinese is being introduced as an optional language subject for students in selected secondary schools across the Netherlands. Around the same time colleges (HBOs) around the Netherlands also begin to offer courses in Chinese for special purposes (e.g., business) in their curricula. There soon appears to be a shortage of Dutch-speaking qualified teachers for Chinese. In response to this, in 2006 the IOC begins to co-ordinate a training programme to prepare Chinese language teachers teaching in the complementary school system for jobs in the mainstream secondary and tertiary education system. I participated in the second time this programme. Here, I met Mrs. Lin who was a teacher at one of the Chinese schools in Rotterdam. On the basis of my contact with Lin and the experiment I conducted in the school, I felt that it ought not be very difficult to gain access to the Rotterdam school again. The school, however, appeared to have a very strict school director who was unfavourably disposed towards welcoming researchers in her school. Her reply to a recent e-mail sent by me in which contact with the school was sought.

Data example 2: E-mail from school director Rotterdam Chinese school

锦玲女士：	<i>Mrs. Jinling:</i>
我很真诚地告诉你：每所学校都会有自己学校内部的资料，我们是不方便公开的。	<i>Hereby I inform you sincerely that every school has its own private information. Danhua school is a regular school, classroom observation is not possible. This is to protect the students and parents' privacy.</i>
你也应该了解丹华学校是比较正规的学校，任何老师都不可以随便让朋友来听课和调查等等。我们有安全规则，也要保护学生资料	<i>I'm sorry, I can only let you know that there are about 550-600 students at Danhua school. We have 23</i>
和为学生家长着想。	<i>classes. For any other questions or enquiries, we have</i>
对不起！我只能告诉你：丹华学生人数是	<i>the right to keep them confidential.</i>
550---600 左右，我们有 23 个班级。其它问题	

¹ Chinese schools in the Netherlands typically have a head teacher, who is responsible for the overall class and teacher arrangements, a director who is responsible for the administration (students and teacher's admissions) and is superior in the organisation to the head teacher, and a chairperson (chairman) who is the sponsor and the highest in the hierarchy. In case of a conflict, the chairman finds a new director rather than the director finding a new chairman.

的了解，我们都无权保密。

The tone of this e-mail is clear. No research possibilities in the Rotterdam school. To avoid Lin from getting into trouble with her school director, it was therefore decided to leave the Rotterdam school out of our research. The Chinese school in Utrecht was approached instead. The response of Liu, the head teacher whom I had met four years ago at the New Year's party in Amsterdam, by contrast, was much more friendly and welcoming.

Data example 3: E-mail from the head teacher Utrecht Chinese school

锦玲女士：

我很真诚地告诉你：每所学校都会有自己学校内部的资料，锦玲：你好，没问题，看看我们学校在哪方面能对你的研究有帮助，我们都积极配合！

http://www.acsu.nl/files/2010_2011.pdf 这个网页是我们学校的日程表，你要到学校来，提前打个电话，便于我们安排。

Mrs.Jinling:

Jinling: how are you? It's no problem to observe the classes. If there are any things we can help, we would very happy to cooperate!

http://www.acsu.nl/files/2010_2011.pdf this is the school agenda. Just give me a call before you come, so we can make relevant arrangements.

The tone of this e-mail is equally clear. The Utrecht school promised a much more conducive environment for our comparative field visits. The school is established in 1981 and has around 500 students in 2011.

I made a phone call to Mrs. Liu at the same day and informed Mrs. Liu about my visits with Kasper and thank Mrs. Liu for her cooperation and kindness. A few hours later, I received an email from Liu that she wrote to the teachers about our visit.

Data example 4: E-mail from the head teacher Utrecht Chinese school

各位老师好：

本周六，李锦玲，提尔堡大学文化学院的博士生。正在做一项关于欧洲周末学校的研究，会到你们班级听课，请给与配合和支持，谢谢！
祝好！

Hello teachers:

This Saturday, Li Jinling, a PhD student from Tilburg University, will pay a visit to our school for her research regarding complementary education. She will come to your classes, please be supportive and cooperative, thank you!

Best wishes!

On our visit to the Utrecht school, an elderly assistant teacher whom we met on the bus informed us that there were only two schools (one in Amsterdam, one in Rotterdam) in the Netherlands that are still offering Cantonese classes among the more than forty Chinese schools in the Netherlands. According to her, even there the numbers of Cantonese learners are decreasing. She believed that Eindhoven also still provided a Cantonese class. But we knew that the last Cantonese class in

Eindhoven stopped in 2006. This seems to be different from the situation in the UK as we read in the literature.

We have similarly been welcomed in the Chinese school in Tilburg. I had met with the chairman of this school, Mr. Deng, in the City Park of Eindhoven, which is located at a five-minute walk of my house. The chairman of the Tilburg school is the instructor of the Tai Chi lessons that are organized all year around on Sundays in the Eindhoven City Park (as well as in the Chinese school of Tilburg). I had participated a few Tai chi sessions in the park in the autumn of 2010. This is where I met with chairman Deng. Official contacts with the Tilburg Chinese School have thus been established at various fronts and like in Eindhoven and in Utrecht we are also welcome to do our fieldwork in the Tilburg school. The Chinese School in Tilburg is a relative young, small scale weekend school. Located in the Tilburg city centre, the Tilburg Chinese School rents the classrooms from a local secondary school for Saturdays. The building is shared by a Japanese weekend school on Saturdays as well. Founded in in the spring of 2006 by the local Chinese community and a number of Chinese students from mainland China, who were studying at the University of Tilburg, The school now has around 90 students grouped from level one to level six. I observed the two highest grades in November 2010. The age of the students fluctuated from 8 to 11. The population of the students is significantly younger than that of Eindhoven (and Utrecht).

3 The polycentric classroom

Traditionally, the Chinese school taught Cantonese since the majority of students were from Hong Kong, and Cantonese areas of China. However, in the last two decades, due to the increasing mobility of PRC citizens and the changing place of the PRC in the globalized world system, Mandarin gradually superseded Cantonese as the predominant language in Chinese schools in the Netherlands. Consequently, we witness the Chinese school under going a transformation, both linguistical and cultural. Linguistically, Cantonese classes are replaced by Mandarin classes. As a result, Cantonese teachers are facing the situation to either give up their teaching position or retrain themselves to meet the new demand, while Mandarin speaking teachers are becoming a major force in the school. Contestations and conflicts on normativity and authenticity of Chineseness from different centers have emerged. Culturally, since the school does not provide Cantonese lessons, the teaching materials provided by the PRC, in the curriculum, we witness a collaborative memory of Chinese history and culture. In this section, I will document and analyse these processes which the school has been undergoing.

3.1 *The backgrounds of the teachers*

Intuitively, many people see the teacher in a class context as the repository of the target knowledge, as a stable figure whose input would always be directed towards the focus of the class activities, the curricular knowledge s/he is supposed to transfer.

In the context of our research, however, we came to see the teachers as a highly heterogeneous, ‘unstable’ group of people. The reason for this is twofold. One: the teachers themselves have a complex repertoire and a complex sociolinguistic biography, involving sometimes dramatic and traumatizing language shift during certain phases of their lives, and in some instances in the process of ‘learning’ the target language resources – Putonghua and its scripts – themselves at present. The consequence is that language teachers themselves are, in actual fact, language learners. The second reason is that teachers from the PRC arrive with a teaching style and a set of language-ideological assumptions that are often at odds of those of the learners. This results in mutual frustration and in incidents over class activities and interpretations of tasks.

To start with the first reason: teachers have a chequered sociolinguistic biography and a complex repertoire, and are thus in no way ‘stable’ repositories of simple and singular language norms. And they are facing students with very similar, complex and dynamic repertoires. Consider the following fragment from an interview with Jessie, a teacher from the Chinese school Eindhoven in the year 1999 to 2003. The interview was conducted in the summer of 2011.

Data example 5: Interview with Jessie, a former teacher of Chinese school Eindhoven

1.	Jessie	我大概是 7 岁的时候因为父母工作的调动和父母一起搬到到广州的。	I moved to Guangzhou with my parents at the age of 7 because of my parents' job.
2.	JLi	然后 7 岁的时候随父母工作调动到广州	Ok, so you started your primary school in Guangzhou. Did the teachers use Putonghua or Cantonese at school.

		的。你那时到了广州上小学，学校上课是用普通话还是广东话？	
3.	Jessie	我们的小学是这样子，上课是用国语，但同学们之间的交流都是广东话。我刚去的时候听不懂。那时候广东人都是看香港台，都不看大陆台。但是上课老师虽然普通话很蹩脚，但还是讲普通话的，除了像体育呀。这样的课。她那普通话我刚去的时候听不懂。所以我可以说是外来移民。	In our primary school, the teaching was in Mandarin, but the pupils communicated among each other in Cantonese. I couldn't understand when I just arrived there. Guangdong people also watched Hong Kong TV channels, they didn't watch mainland's channels. But in the class, even though the teacher's Putonghua wasn't that fluent, but they did use Putonghua, except for subjects like gymnastics. I could barely understand the teacher's Cantonese style Putonghua. I was a migrant in Guangdong.
4.	JLi	后来就要学会广东话？	So you had to learn Cantonese?
5.	Jessie	我刚到广东的时候可害怕了，街上全是讲广东话，我去读小学的时候，就是说除了学校和家里的环境可以讲讲普通话之外，你要走在街上你不会讲广东话，你要丢了，家都找不到，特别是小孩。所以非常害怕，要努力学，努力学。看电视，那时候还不好意思开口讲，因为你一讲，有口音嘛，给人笑。我读小学的时候呢我一般不敢开口讲，很自闭的。我读初中后，因为没人认识我，不知道我是外来的，我就是以一个完全会讲广东话的人出现。没人质疑我是外来的。但是发现到了初中很多人都不说广东话了。	It was very scary when I just moved to Guangdong. You could only hear Cantonese on the street. School and home were the only two places where you could speak some Putonghua. If you got lost on the street and couldn't speak Cantonese, then you were not able to find your way home. So it was very scary if you were just a little kid. So I had to learn Cantonese very hard, by watching TV as well. At that time, I was also very shy to speak, because once you opened your mouth, you had an accent in your Cantonese, so people laughed at you, so I dared not to speak and had autism until I went to secondary school, because there no one knew that I was a migrant. And I found in the secondary school not so many people spoke Cantonese anymore.
6.	JLi	就一下子都不说了？	Just all of a sudden people stopped speaking Cantonese?
7.	Jessie	后来我中学考的比较好到了重点中学，到了重点中学就更没人说广东话了，交流都不讲广东话。大家交流都是讲普通话。这是我的心理。一个普通话讲不好的人，一定没受过什么好的教育，特别是要考过高考的话，没有一个好的语言教育，你是考不过那些试的，所以从语言上可以判断一个人的教育程度。到了大学反而又换过来了，到了大学呢，大家因为没什么压力了，又开始讲广东话了。	I went to a key secondary school and people didn't speak Cantonese at these schools, even among each other. I had a feeling, if people couldn't speak Putonghua well, then they didn't have much education, especially for those who had experience with school exams. If your Putonghua is not very good, you won't be able to pass all the exams. So you can judge one's educational level from their language use. But once you got into the university, things changed again, because we didn't have so much pressure, so we started to speak Cantonese again.
8.	JLi	好，我们现在回到荷兰。你以前在安多分的中文学校教过书。	Ok, now let's go back to the Chinese in the Netherlands. You had been teaching Chinese in the Chinese school in Eindhoven?
9.	Jessie	教过，教粤语，教过4年。从99年开始。	Yes, I taught Cantonese for 4 years since 1999.

10.	JLi	那时中文学校粤语班多吗？	Were there many Cantonese classes?
11.	Jessie	有好几个，学校都是以说粤语为主。	Quite a few. Cantonese was the dominant language.
12.	JLi	现在中文学校都没有粤语班了，都是普通话班。	There is no Cantonese class anymore in the Chinese school.
13.	Jessie	就是，早就该没粤语了。	Yes, should have done that earlier.
14.	JLi	Hmmm	Hmmm
15.	Jessie	知道吗，我那时候教得很痛苦。书是繁体字，教简体字。	You know, it was very painful for me to teach at that time, because the textbooks were in traditional characters but you had to teach the children simplified character writing.
16.	JLi	怎么有这种？	How come ?
17.	Jessie	因为当时也可以教繁体字，但有些班里学生家长的意见，他们觉得简体字比繁体字有用。当时我们的课本都是台湾提供的，没有简体字的课本。	Because some parents requested for simplified character teaching, they thought it was more useful. But our textbooks were provided by the Taiwanese government, so had no simplified characters.
18.	JLi	所以当时中文学校的课本都是台湾提供的。	So the teaching materials were provided by Taiwan.
19.	Jessie	是，以前我们都是 10 月 10 号台湾的国庆节，我们都是去台湾的大使馆吃饭。有很多这样的活动。	Yes, We also celebrated the Taiwanese national day on the 10th of October by going to the Taiwanese embassy to have a meal there.
20.	JLi	这些年的变化很大。	Things have changed in the last decade.
21.	Jessie	是，我们以前教的都是广东，香港移民的孩子。现在都是大陆那边的。我以前没有接触香港那边的教材，其实台湾那边的教材用广东话教是教不出来的。有些国语的音用广东话教是教不出来的。所以教得很痛苦，用的是台湾的教材，教的是粤语的发音，写得是简体字。	Yes, my students were all Guangdong and Hong Kong origin. But now the students are from all over China. I didn't have experience with the textbooks provided by Hong Kong. What I experienced is the teaching material provided by Taiwan couldn't be used to teach Cantonese, because some pronunciations in these textbooks couldn't be pronounced in Cantonese. For instance, rhymes in the Mandarin poetry don't have the same effect in Cantonese. So it was very painful for me to teach Cantonese pronunciation while using the Taiwanese textbooks and teaching simplified character writing at that time.

Jessie underwent traumatic language change in her own lifetime: the forced transition towards Cantonese left her intimidated and scared ("it was very scary when I just moved to Guangdong"). Community pressure marginalized her as a speaker of Putonghua and accented Cantonese. Yet, the school exam system pushed her peers towards intense efforts in Putonghua, because "if your Putonghua is not very good, you won't be able to pass all the exams". And then, when she started teaching, she saw herself confronted with the strong polycentricity of 'Chinese': Cantonese had to be taught using Taiwanese textbooks, raising linguistic and literacy issues that she found hard to manoeuvre, the more since the parents demanded the teaching of simplified script to their children.

Her teaching experience dated to a decade ago, probably the very early stage of the process of language shift we currently see in full force. Right now, Jinling observes a conflict between old and new styles of teaching, due to the fact that the PRC sends teachers and teacher trainers to the West to streamline Chinese teaching (in the Netherlands, often performed by the Confucius Institute of Leiden University).

This brings us to the second reason: different teaching styles. In the school, differences between ‘old’ teachers and newer ones directly from the PRC were striking. While the older generation of teachers tended to have a rather relaxed and tolerant attitude during teaching sessions (and were themselves sometimes struggling with Putonghua, see below), new arrivals from the PRC displayed an outspokenly ‘native’ teaching style, with emphasis on rigor, discipline, and monological teaching. It is interesting in this respect to refer to the research report by Wang (2011) on Chinese teachers in the UK. Wang interviewed a number of Chinese teachers who became employed in the UK as an effect of the ‘stampede towards Chinese’ currently underway in schools in the UK and elsewhere. Many of the teachers, she demonstrated, were frustrated because of what they saw as a lack of commitment from their pupils, and a lack of support for their efforts from the school and the parents. Chinese, however, was a minor subject in the programs in which they were deployed, and pupils experienced the demands set by their Chinese teachers as exaggerated and out of proportion with the relatively minor weight of the subject in their program. Teachers tended to emphasize hard work, intense exercise and great effort to learn Chinese, and their pedagogy and didactics were strongly axed on reproduction and learning by heart. These modes of instruction, evidently, clashed with more interactive teaching approaches, emphasizing students’ initiative and creativity rather than submission and submersion. We observed very similar phenomena in our schools.

The point of these observations is that the ‘input’ given by teachers during the Chinese classes is in itself a conflict-ridden and polycentric feature: not always without contradictions and contestation, and not always unambiguous in terms of learning. The teachers themselves bring along a baggage of complex sociolinguistic biographies, matching the complexity of those of their students. The classroom episodes regarding these contestations are presented in section 4.1.

3.2 The range of language and literacy practices of Chinese-Dutch youth

The languages used and their occurrences in the classrooms vary in individual classes according to teacher’s proficiency in Dutch, cultural background, personal experiences and language pedagogy awareness. The Chinese school in Eindhoven offers courses in Chinese; in practice at least three languages (Chinese, Dutch and English) and various dialects appear in the daily conduct of business. The three languages (Chinese, Dutch and English) are used in the classroom context. In the 300 emails I received from the head teacher and a few from other colleges in the last four years, more than 70% of the emails is written in Dutch, 25% in English and Chinese altogether. Cantonese is practiced at the level of administration. And Wenzhounese and Cantonese are used by the parents chatting because the large population is from Wenzhou and Guandong area. The data presented here are essays written by students of grade 12 that were obtained as voluntary homework. There

were officially nine students registered for the class (Table 1): Wendy, Tongtong, Esther, Xiaoxia, Dan, Hua, Weimin, Wah and Xian and one regular class teacher, Mr Zhou (all pseudonyms), but the actual number of attendance fluctuated each time. At the time of our research at the end of the school year 2009/10, the class consisted of five students: Three of the students and the teacher were of Cantonese and the other two students of Wenzhounese background. We had observed this class and discussed the general purpose of our research with Mr. Zhou. In a conversation with him, the idea emerged to ask the students to write their personal experiences with learning Chinese in an essay. The teacher supported the idea because this way the students could practice writing in the form of voluntary homework while at the same time providing useful data for our research.

Zhou's class is ethnolinguistically very heterogeneous. Key information about this class is provided in Table 1 below. Two of the students present, Esther, Wah, were of Hong Kong Cantonese background, one Wendy of Wenzhounese background, and Tongtong had a mixed Guangdong and Hongkong background. According to Zhou, there are also students from Fujianese and Malaysian Chinese backgrounds in his class. Seven of the nine students attended mainstream Dutch medium school, the two Malaysian students attended English-medium international school from Monday to Friday. Six of the students in Zhou's class were born in the Netherlands, one in mainland China and two in Malaysia. In sum, Mr Zhou's class is made up of students with highly diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds.

Table 1: Grade 12 class of Eindhoven Chinese school (June 2010, school year 2009-2010)

role and name	sex	age	place of birth	(parents') home town	home language	mainstream education
students						
Wendy	F	17	Netherlands	Wenzhou	Wenzhounese	Dutch-medium
Tongtong	F	17	Netherlands	Guangdong/Hong Kong	Cantonese	Dutch-medium
Esther	F	17	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Cantonese	Dutch-medium
Wah	F	18	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Cantonese	Dutch-medium
Xiaoxia	F	18	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Cantonese	Dutch-medium
Dan	M	18	Netherlands	Fujian	Fujianese	Dutch-medium
Huan	F	17	China	Nanjing	Mandarin	Dutch-medium
Weimin	M	16	Malaysia	China, Guangdong	Cantonese	English-medium
Xian	M	18	Malaysia	China, Guangdong	Cantonese	English-medium
teacher						
Mr Zhou	M	50s	China	Guangdong	Cantonese	

Three of the nine students returned their essays to Mr. Zhou who passed them on to me. Copies of the essays were made and the originals were given back to the students. Wendy was the first to hand in her voluntary homework. Tongtong and Esther handed in theirs a few weeks later, just before the summer holidays. Esther, however, wrote her essay not about her experiences with

learning Chinese but about what she wanted to become later in life. The other two students in this class, Xiaoxia and Weimin choose either not to write or not to hand in their homework. With Wendy and Tongtong contact was continued outside the school, also after their graduation (online on the social network sites Facebook and Hyves, but also in the 'real world' – see Varis, Wang & Du 2011/forthcoming, for a critique of a reality vs. virtuality opposition). With the other three students in class, no further relation was developed. Here, we will focus on Wendy and Tongtong's essays and compare their experiences with learning Chinese.

Let us start by introducing Wendy's essay in its original version on the left accompanied by a translation in English on the right.

Data example 6: Wendy's homework

周温蒂	Zhou Wendy
我学汉语的经历	My experience of learning Chinese
<p>因为我的父母都是在中国出生，所以家里都会说家乡话。可是，用家乡话不能跟每位华人沟通。所以我六岁的时候，爸爸妈妈每个星期六都会辛辛苦苦地送我到中文学校学普通话。刚开始学中文，我什么都听不懂，一个字也不会说，不会读，不会写，真的不喜欢去中文学校。曾经我想停止，因为妈妈的坚持，我一直坚持到现在。如今，每个星期六我都是带着兴趣去中文学校学习。</p> <p>我在家里每天努力地学习，做作业。不懂的问题就问妈妈，直到我明白为止。这样，我的中文水平渐渐提高了。现在中国经济飞速地发展，中文越来越显得重要。不只是在这里出生的中国孩子学中文，全世界各地不同的人都喜欢学中文，所以我觉得我不能不学中文。</p> <p>在中文学校我学会了很多，所以我要感谢每位教过我中文的老师。谢谢你们！</p> <p style="text-align: right;">290 个字</p>	<p>My parents were born in China, so we speak home dialect at home. However, by speaking home dialect we are not able to communicate with all the Chinese immigrants. So when I was about 6 or 7 years, my parents sent me to the Chinese school to learn Putonghua.</p> <p>In the beginning of learning Chinese, I could not understand anything. I could not speak a word, could not read and write. I really disliked going to the Chinese school and even thought about quitting. But my mum insisted on sending me to the Chinese school. And now, I start to like going to the Chinese school.</p> <p>I study very hard every day and do my homework carefully. If I encounter difficulties in learning Chinese, then I would ask my mum until I understand completely. So, my Chinese is getting better and better.</p> <p>Nowadays, the economy in China is growing very fast, and Chinese is becoming more and more important. Not only are the children of Chinese immigrants learning Chinese, but also people from all over the world like to learn Chinese. Therefore, I cannot stop learning Chinese.</p> <p>I have learned a lot at the Chinese school, so I want to thank every teacher who has taught me.</p>

The text, in simplified characters, is superscribed with Wendy's name and a title and is organised in five paragraphs of three sentences each and one paragraph of two sentences. From a normative, schooling perspective, Wendy's style is clear, well-structured, grammatically transparent, but rather colloquial and is exempt from complex stylised lexical items.

The first paragraph identifies Wendy's parents as first generation immigrants from China and as dialect speakers, and mentions the limit of using dialect in the Chinese community. So she was sent to the Chinese school to learn Putonghua at the age of 6 or 7 by her parents. The second paragraph is about her initial experience with and (negative) feelings about learning Chinese, and the parental pressure to continue, and her present (positive) attitude toward her complementary schooling. The third paragraph is about the efforts she makes in learning, the help she gets from her mum and the results obtained so far. The fourth paragraph is about the changing position of China and Chinese in the world as a motivating factor for to continue learning Chinese. The fifth paragraph is the coda of the story and expresses gratitude to her teachers.

Let us now introduce the second essay, by Tongtong. Again, the original is on the left and our translation on the right.

Data example 7: Tongtong's homework

我學漢語的心路歷程

我从四岁开始就学中文。一开始我学了两年粤语，后来我妈妈把我转到国语班了。我一开始还真的不喜欢国语，因为我一句也听不懂。我从小在家里就说广东话，对国语的了解也很少。我妈妈会说一口流利的国语，以前我妈妈说国语的时候，总觉得她是在说另外一个语言，这让我对国语有了好奇心。从我学国语的那一年，我妈妈就开始教我拼音，还叫我怎么发音。一开始是真的很难，我还觉得我会永远学不会，因为我每星期只上一堂中文课，而且练习的机会也不多。大概从六年前开始我的国语进步的特别快，因为那一年我妈妈把家里的唯一说广东话的电视台 TVB 删了，而中文台只剩凤凰卫视，也就是只说国语的电视台。这样的话，如果我想看中文电视，就只能看说国语的电视台。本来我真的很不习惯，后来慢慢的听，慢慢的学，我的国语开始进步了。那一年中文学校也换了学习教材，而因为这个新的教材，让我特别想学中文。新的教材的内容特别丰富，比以前的好多了。以前那些书本只会教你怎么写生字，怎么发音，而词语的意思和怎么运用就没有教。现在这些书本除了教你怎么写之外，每一课还有学不同的文章，所以学到很多关于中国的历史、地理和文化。这对我们生长在国外的中国子弟很重要，因为可以学到很多关于祖国的事以及让我更了解我的父母成长的地方。除了这些以外，现在的课本也教怎么运用词语，怎么造句，反义词，作文。。。因为内容丰富的教材让我更有恒心地学习中文。这么多年的学习让我会听会说国语，而且更会写中文。慢慢的我也开始看中文报纸，而且也看中国和台湾的电视剧。就这样让我的国语进步神速。

2006 年我和中文学校的几位同学参加了回中国的夏令营，接触了真正的中国文化，还有跟中国的青少年交流，2007 年我还参加了朗诵比赛，虽然当年没有的任何名次，但经过这次的朗诵比赛，让我学习到朗诵的技巧。参加了这些活动也让我了解了很多中国的文化。

现在每当有关于中文的测验和比赛我都踊跃参加，因为我想让我的中文更好。

My experience of learning Chinese

I started to learn Chinese when I was four years old. I had two years of Cantonese lessons in the beginning, and then my mum sent me to the Mandarin Class. At first, I really did not like Mandarin, because I could not understand anything. At home, we speak in Cantonese, so I do not know much about Mandarin. My mum speaks Mandarin fluently. In the beginning, when my mum spoke in Mandarin, I got the feeling that she was speaking a foreign language, which made me curious about Mandarin. In the first year of learning Mandarin, my mum taught me *pinyin* and the pronunciation. At first I felt it was very difficult and thought that I would never master it, because I only had Chinese lessons once a week and I did not have much chance to practice. ♦ About six years ago, my Mandarin started to make remarkable progress, because my mum deleted the Cantonese television channel TVB, there was only Phoenix channel left, so there was only a Mandarin channel. In this way, if I wanted to watch television, I could only watch Mandarin channel. I was not used to it at all, but later on, I listened slowly and learned constantly, my Mandarin started to make progress. ♦ In the same year, the school textbooks were also changed. The new textbooks made me really want to learn Chinese. The content of the new textbook is much richer than what we had before. The old ones only emphasise how to write characters, how to pronounce the words, but no explanations for the words and the context of using the words. The new textbooks not only teach us characters and the pronunciation, but there were also different articles in which I learn about Chinese history, geography and culture. This is very important for those Chinese children who grow up in foreign countries, because we can learn a lot about China, and also the place where my parents grew up. Beside this, the new textbook also teaches us how to use the words and how to make sentences and how to write compositions... Because of this textbook, I want to continue with Chinese learning. ♦ After so many years of learning, I can understand Mandarin and even more importantly, I can write Chinese. As time progresses, I can also read Chinese newspapers and watch Chinese and Taiwanese televisions. In this way, my Mandarin progresses remarkably.

In 2006, my classmate from the Chinese school and I participated in a summer camp to China, and communicated with the Chinese youth in China. In 2007, I participated in a reading contest. Even though I did not win, because of the contest, I learned the reading skills. All these activities make me know more about the Chinese culture.

Nowadays, I participate in all the Chinese tests and contests that occur, because I want my Chinese to be excellent.

今年是我学中文的第十三年了，也是我在中文学校毕业的最后一年了，虽然很开心但也有舍不得。开心的是我终于不用每星期六早上起床上学，舍不得的是我会想念中文，因为在荷兰用中文的机会太少了，如果不接触就会生疏。不过现在中国的经济起飞，会说国语也对以后的工作很有帮助，就在这一点我就不用愁啦!!

This year is my thirteenth year of learning Chinese, which is also my last year at the Chinese school. I am happy about it but at the same time I am also reluctant. I am happy because finally I do not need to get up so early every Saturday. I am reluctant because I will miss Chinese, because there are not so many chances to speak Chinese in the Netherlands. If I do not practice it, my Chinese will be less fluent. However, the economy in China is growing very fast; Speaking Mandarin will be very helpful for my job later, so I do not have to worry on this point!!

Tongtong's text, also in simplified characters (however with the title in traditional characters)², is also presented on a single A4-sized page, but is about three times as long as Wendy's essay (852 vs. 290 characters). Her style is, like Wendy's rather colloquial and indexical for a hardworking Chinese-speaking learner of Chinese outside of China.

The long first paragraph can be divided in four blocks. The first block is about Tongtong's earliest period of being a learner of Chinese. Tongtong mentions that she started learning Chinese at the age of four and describes that she has undergone a shift from Cantonese to Mandarin education after two years of learning Chinese. She also writes about the initial difficulties as a result of this shift. She also names her mum as a key agent in her learning process ('my mum sent me to Mandarin classes', 'my mum speaks Mandarin fluently', 'my mum taught me pinyin and the pronunciation', 'my mum deleted the Cantonese television'). The second and third blocks provide explanations for what she describes as 'a remarkable progress' in her learning about six years ago (i.e., at the age of 11). The first explanation for this sudden progress is ascribed to her mum deleting the Cantonese television channel so that she was exposed more to Mandarin. The second reason is the changes in textbooks and teaching and learning style from a traditional grammar and pronunciation-based approach to a more socio-cultural, contents and usage-based approach. In the fourth block she concludes with the observation that the results obtained so far are satisfactory (although not complete, as she emphasises progress and a continuous learner identity). The second paragraph recounts two events that further motivated her learning and improved her Chinese, i.e., participating in a summer camp and in a reading contest. The third and final paragraph reflects with a sense of ambivalence on the fact that her Chinese education has come to an end: she fears that her Chinese may become less fluent without routine opportunities to practice, but puts this in perspective with the prospect of a job for which proficiency in Chinese may be an asset.

Table 2: Wendy and Tongtong's metalinguistic lexicon

Wendy's metalinguistics

² The title of Tongtong's home work is 我學漢語的心路歷程; in simplified characters this would be 我学汉语的心路历程, whereby the second, third, fourth and eighth characters have fewer strokes than in the traditional version. Simplified Chinese is used in mainland China since the language reform of 1956, while traditional characters continue to be used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau and by some of the Chinese communities overseas. The use of traditional characters indicates that Tongtong has been exposed to Cantonese and traditional Chinese through schooling and Cantonese/Taiwanese television that is often subtitled.

汉语	<i>Hanyu</i>	‘Han language’	1x	In the title.
家乡话	<i>Jiaxianghua</i>	‘home language/ dialect’	2x	In the first paragraph, with reference to her parents and the home situation.
普通话	<i>Putonghua</i>	‘common speech’	1x	In the first paragraph, with reference to the language of instruction in the Chinese school, in contrast with ‘home dialect’.
中文	<i>Zhongwen</i>	‘Chinese (language)’	7x	From paragraph 2 onwards. In collocation with ‘learning’ and ‘school’ (Chinese school is <i>Zhongwen xuexiao</i>). Used independently in paragraph 3: ‘my Chinese’.
Tongtong’s metalinguistics				
汉语	<i>Hanyu</i>	‘Han language’	1x	In the title.
粤语	<i>Yueyu</i>	‘Yue language’ (Cantonese)	1x	In the first paragraph, in collocation with ‘lessons’, thus referring to Cantonese as school language.
广东话	<i>Guangdonghua</i>	‘language of Guangdong’ (Cantonese)	1x	Here used in collocation with ‘at home’, thus referring to Cantonese as home language.
国语	<i>Guoyu</i>	‘national language’ (Mandarin)	14x	Occurred 13 times in the first and once in the third paragraph, with reference to the language of instruction or as (national) variety of Chinese.
中文	<i>Zhongwen</i>	‘country’s language’ (Chinese)’	16x	Occurred 9 times in the first paragraph; 3 times in the second paragraph; 4 times in the third paragraph. Used in collocation with ‘learning’, ‘channel’, ‘school’ and ‘newspaper’.

We will now comparatively analyse the two essays with a focus on the metalinguistics of Chinese, i.e. on the ways of speaking about and referring to ‘Chinese’ in relation to identity and education in the two texts described above. Wendy uses three different terms for ‘Chinese’, *Jiaxianghua* (家乡话), *Putonghua* (普通话) and *Zhongwen* (中文) and uses a fourth term, *Hanyu* (汉语), in the title of the assignment. The title was literally copied from how the class teacher formulated the assignment and not part of Wendy’s personal narrative. Her education is presented as a struggle (‘really disliked’, ‘thought about quitting’, ‘my mum insisted’), but with a harmonious and satisfying result in the end (‘and now I start to like going to the Chinese school’). The trajectory takes her from nothing to something, i.e. from not understanding anything and not being able to speak a word, to a positive self-identification as a speaker and learner of Chinese (‘my Chinese is getting better and better’). The satisfactory results of her education are brought in connection with the rapid economic developments currently undergoing in China and its changing geopolitical position in the world.

What is metalinguistically remarkable about this short text, are the changing terms of reference for Chinese. In the first paragraph, Wendy constructs an opposition between (an unnamed) 'home dialect'/'*jiaxianghua* and *Putonghua*, an opposition that is resolved by her education. We know that her parents are from Wenzhou and that their home dialect/language is *Wenzhouhua*, but this is not explicitly mentioned in the text. She chooses to leave the respective dialect/language unnamed and to contrast this with *Putonghua* only once. From the second paragraph onwards, Wendy no longer uses the term *Putonghua* for what she is learning, but uses the generative *Zhongwen*. *Zhongwen* is made synonymous with *Putonghua*. She simply refers to the object of her education as *Zhongwen*. The unnamed (Chinese) dialect that she speaks at home is thus disqualified as being *Zhongwen*/Chinese.

This is not a discursive construction made locally and individually by Wendy here, but is something that also exists on a higher scale level. Wendy's disqualification of the home dialect as being (a part of) Chinese, has of course much to do with the micropragmatics of the word for Chinese school (中文学校 *Zhongwen xuexiao*), which carries *Zhongwen* rather than *Putonghua* in its name. To an important extent, Wendy voices a larger Chinese ideology of language that sees the Chinese language as an exclusive, monoglot, homogeneous entity, and discards the diversity existing underneath it.

Tongtong in her essay uses four different terms for 'Chinese', i.e. *Guangdonghua*, *Yueyu*, *Guoyu* and *Zhongwen*, and a fifth term, *Hanyu*, in the title given by her teacher. She starts using the term *Zhongwen* in the first sentence of the text. In the second sentence she divides the term *Zhongwen* into two: *Yueyu* and *Guoyu*. *Yueyu* is the dialect/language spoken in Guangdong Province and the Hong Kong and Macau special administrative regions in the south of China, and is used as a synonym for *Guangdonghua* and is usually referred to as Cantonese in English, after the old name for the province and the capital, Canton. (Yue is, like Han, an ethnonym and is also the one-character identification for the Guangdong Province, e.g. on car number plates.) *Guoyu* literally means 'national language' and was used until 1949 to refer to the standard northern variety of Chinese, but is now associated with the Republic of China (Taiwan) since the new Maoist government proposed a language reform and introduced *Putonghua* ('common speech') as a name for the and standard variety of Chinese spoken. Both *Guoyu* and *Putonghua* (and *Huayu*) correspond to 'Mandarin' in English.

Tongtong's trajectory of learning starts from learning *Yueyu* (Cantonese) to a struggling with learning *Guoyu* (Mandarin) and the trajectory ends with an enthusiasm in learning Chinese ('Participate in all the Chinese tests and contests', 'will miss Chinese'). In the beginning of her learning trajectory, she considered *Guoyu* as a foreign language, i.e., 'really did not like Mandarin', 'could not understand anything', 'a foreign language', 'very difficult', 'thought that I would never master it'. She mentions her home language is *Guangdonghua* (Cantonese) in the fourth sentence, and she did not know much about *Guoyu*. In her learning trajectory, her mum is the crucial factor ('my mum sent me to the Mandarin class', 'my mum deleted the Cantonese television channel').

From a metalinguistic point of view, Tongtong starts using the term *Zhongwen* in the first sentence as the object of her education. From the second sentence onwards in the first paragraph, she constructs an opposition between *Yueyu*/*Guangdonghua* (Cantonese) and *Guoyu* (Mandarin). *Zhongwen* corresponds with *Yueyu* in first years of Tongtong's Chinese education. Then, after two years, *Zhongwen* is synonymous with *Guoyu*. The object of her education has shifted from Cantonese to Mandarin. From the second paragraph onwards, Tongtong no longer uses the term Cantonese, but uses the term *Zhongwen* and *Guoyu*. The satisfactory result of learning *Guoyu* is mentioned in the end in connection with the fastly growing economy in China. Tongtong's learning trajectory goes through a few stages, marked by different metalinguistics.

The text written by Tongtong reflects more than a local and individual discursive construction, but voices a discourse at a higher, institutional scale level. In an interview with Tongtong's mother, who has been educated in China and has worked as an editor at a television station in Guangzhou before her emigration in the late 1980s, she stresses the importance of speaking Putonghua for educational and general success in life. Data example 3 is a classroom episode from Tongtong's class.

Data example 8: Tongtong correcting Mr Zhou's accent (classroom observation, 22nd May 2010)

1	Mr Zhou	你们造句也行把荷兰文的意思说出来也行，“本质”。	You can make sentences or say the meaning in Dutch: “property” [běn zhí].
2	Tongtong	本质 [běn zhí] ? 某某东西的本质 [běn zhí] eigenschap van ()? eigenschap.	Property? Something's property? Property of ()?
3	Mr Zhou	eigenschap.	Property.
4	Tongtong	不是本质 [běn zhí] 吗?	Should it not be běn zhì? [with falling tone]
5	Mr Zhou	((looks at the book again)) 本质啊，应该读第四声啊，对不起。	Běn zhì ah, should be pronounced with the fourth tone ah, sorry.
6	Mr Zhou	下一个，“比较” [bǐ jiǎo]。	The next one, “comparing”.
7	Tongtong	比较 [bǐ jiǎo]? 比较 [bǐ jiào] 嘛?	Bǐ jiǎo? Should it not be bǐ jiào?
8	Class	((all four students correcting his pronunciation))	
9	Mr Zhou	((nods in agreement, repeats the corrected pronunciation)) 比较啊，也读错了。	bǐ jiào ah. I made again a mistake.
10	Class	((students look at each other and laugh))	

Mr Zhou is an earlier migrant from Guangdong province and is a speaker of Cantonese. The day when Zhou and I arrived in the classroom, he greeted and chatted with the students in Cantonese. When the lesson started, Zhou switched from Cantonese to Mandarin as the language of instruction. During the lesson, Zhou and the students were practicing synonyms in the HSK exam exercise for level 5. The HSK test is the Chinese equivalent of the TOEFL and IELTS tests for English. It is a Chinese language

proficiency test designed and developed by the HSK (*Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi*) Center of Beijing Language and Culture University to assess the Chinese proficiency of non-native speaking foreigners and overseas Chinese. HSK has in total six levels ranging from elementary level 1 to advanced level 6. What is interesting is that the term for Chinese in the name of the test is Hanyu (汉语) – the language of the Han, the majority nationality (zu, 族) in China. In practice this means Putonghua.

The classroom was organized in rows. All four students sat in the middle row. Wendy and Hil wah were in the middle of the first row in the classroom with Esther and Tongtong sitting in the row behind them. There was a whiteboard in the front of the classroom and the teacher sat between the whiteboard and the students. The researcher took position in the back of the classroom, making notes and video recording at selected moments while audio recording the entire lesson. Before the start of the lesson and during the break, JLi interacted with the students (and the teacher) about her research, each others' language and educational backgrounds, learning Chinese and sociolinguistic life in general.

The classroom episode presents a serious deviation from the traditional Chinese language class where the teacher has all the 'knowledge' and is assumed to be a model language user, with respect to vocabulary, grammar, orthography and also pronunciation. However, in this classroom, we see another scenario. The language teacher's pronunciation is corrected by his students. From a traditional educational point of view, one might raise doubts about Mr Zhou's qualification as a teacher of Chinese. Is he a qualified language teacher?

In order to answer this question, from a sociolinguistic point of view, we need to look at what happens outside the classroom. Schools as institutions are non-autonomous sociolinguistic spaces and are deeply situated in a wider societal context (cf. Blommaert 2011). Chinese heritage schools are situated at the intersection of two or more different political, social, economic, linguistic and sociological systems or regimes. Our analysis sets out from a sociolinguistic perspective that involves different scale-levels. Different scales organize different patterns of normativity (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005b; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005a). The analysis of our classroom interaction requires a processual epistemology in which the classroom interactions at one level of social structure need to be understood in relation to phenomena from another level of social structure. Time and space are the two key concepts in understanding of what is happening here.

For a long time, Cantonese was taught at Chinese school overseas. Mr Zhou is a first generation migrant of Cantonese background, who started his voluntary teaching career as a Chinese language teacher teaching Cantonese but had to reeducate himself to teach Mandarin. His reeducation is self-taught, but also partly taken care of by his students as could be seen in Extract 1 above.

The point here is not about the pronunciation of *ben zhi*, but to document the emergent and problem-ridden transition from one language regime to another. This little classroom episode reveals big demographic and geopolitical changes of global Chineseness – i.e., changes in spatial configurations: (1) the language teacher becomes a language learner; (2) the school surrenders the old language regime to capture a (new) audience; (3) the traces of worldwide migration flows impact on the specific demographic, social and cultural dynamics of the Chinese presence in Eindhoven

(migration makes communicative resources like language varieties and scripts globally mobile and this affects the normativity in the diaspora classroom); (4) the Chinese philosophy of cultural, political and sociolinguistic 'harmony' is not strongly enforced in the diaspora, but is brought in – with force – by new immigrants from the PRC; and (5) on the whole we witness a geopolitical repositioning of China: the emergence of PRC as new economic world power.

3.3 Language shift in comparative perspective

Francis, Archer and Mau (2009) in their article on UK Chinese complementary school pupils' perspectives on the purposes and benefits of complementary schools, report that pupils they interviewed "overwhelmingly considered the learning of the Chinese language to be the primary purpose of Chinese schooling" (534), in contrast to findings in the USA for instance where Chinese schools are described to be primarily focused on "improving mainstream educational performance" (and seen as supplementary rather than complementary to mainstream schooling) (534). They explain that Chinese complementary schools in the UK focus principally on teaching in Cantonese rather than Putonghua and that their primary or sole purpose is "to perpetuate the Chinese spoken and written language in younger generations" (520). This leads Francis et al. to conclude that Chinese schools may therefore be seen as "'mother-tongue' institutions", although systematically writing 'mother tongue' between inverted commas. After a long and extremely interesting discussion of pupils' articulations of the various benefits of learning Chinese for economic and identity reasons, at the end of their paper, they present a counter-discourse of learning Chinese (Cantonese) as a pointless exercise, a discourse voiced by the pupils that positions Cantonese as "archaic and 'under threat'; as the property of an older generation, irrelevant to younger generations in both social and economic terms" (533). Such discourse, they claim "stands in opposition to those of Chinese as fundamentally relevant in its constitution of Chinese identity, as well as those of Chinese language as capital" (Francis, Archer & Mau 2009). There is a flaw in the argument of Francis et al., i.e. of speaking about "the" Chinese language throughout their paper and of equating Chinese complementary education with mother tongue education, which it clearly is not given the complex relation between the tongue and the script and the diversity of vernaculars (*jiaxianhuas*) or *fangyan*/dialect that is assembled under the umbrella of Chinese both in China and in Chinese diasporas. In the Netherlands, the shift from Cantonese to Putonghua has already taken place. It may be the case, however, that, due to the long colonial connection of Hong Kong and Britain (until 1997), the British Chinese community is more conservative than other European Chinese diasporas that diversified earlier bringing together Chinese persons of various regions (and their communicative practices) which has accelerated the shift from Cantonese to Putonghua or Mandarin as the language of the Chinese diaspora.

This leads us to a few remarks about the notion of "Chinese community". In popular and scholarly discourse, this notion is used both on a national scale ("the Chinese community in the Netherlands") and on a regional scale ("the Chinese community in Tilburg", "the Chinese community in Eindhoven", "the Chinese community in Utrecht", etc.). There appear to be close links between

the Chinese communities in Tilburg and Eindhoven in particular, and also on a higher, national level, justifying a notion of “a Chinese community in the Netherlands”. However, obviously not everyone within this community knows each other, but teachers (or cooks, practitioners of kung fu or tai chi) invariably have contacts beyond their city within a professional network with a shared sense of community. Also, young people participate in a wider social networks online. The Asian and Proud hyve discussed in section 5.2 is a case in point. So, is there *a* Chinese community in the Netherlands, or are there several Chinese communities in the Netherlands?

Tao, a student from the Chinese school in Eindhoven we interviewed on 20-11-2010 comments in the following way:

Data example 9: Interview with Tao, 20-11-2011

Er zijn verschillende groepen Chinezen in NL die weinig tot niet met elkaar omgaan, door taalverschil, en verschillende “文化水平”. Bijvoorbeeld: universitair opgeleiden geboren in 60’-70’ en restaurant eigenaren. . .	There are different groups of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands who have little or no contact with each other because of the difference in language use and educational level. For instance, university graduates who were born in the year of 60s and 70s and restaurant owners...
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The idea of there being one Chinese community is too simplistic to address the complex social reality of “the” Chinese community (as probably any other community). As much as there are uniting factors (being/acting Chinese, speaking Chinese, eating Chinese, learning Chinese, going to China, etc.) there are also dividing factors in terms of ethnolinguistic, regional and migration background.

4 Negotiation of inheritance and identity in and outside the classroom

In the previous section, I have shown language and literacy practices in Mr Zhou's class in relation to the changing hierarchies in Chinese language varieties. Observations in other classes reveal that the languages used and their occurrences in the classrooms vary in individual classes according to teacher's proficiency in Dutch, cultural background and language pedagogy awareness. Besides looking at the language practices in the classroom, in this part, I examine the teaching of language and culture, and in particular the use of folk stories and national fairy tales as curriculum in Ms. Sun's Class, and in 4.2 I look at the activities observed outside the school context in relation to the pupils' identity work.

4.1 Negotiation of inheritance and identity in the classroom: teacher-pupil interactions on a national fairy tale and a folk story

As mentioned in section 1.4, the Chinese school uses textbooks provided by PRC for overseas Chinese children. A glimpse of the whole series of curriculum, many folk stories and national fairy tales appeared in the curriculum. Prinsloo and Baynham (2008, p.2) argue that literacy "as situated practices embedded in relations of culture and power in specific contexts" (Prinsloo & Baynham 2008). This indicates that literacy practices, their teaching and learning are situated in their social, cultural, political and historical contexts. In this sense, literacy education is often an ideologically laden process.

Drawing on ethnographic observation data from Sun's class, I examine in this section how the social and cultural knowledge embedded in textbooks for literacy education in the Chinese complementary school, and through a focus on one classroom genre i.e folk stories and national fairy-tale to investigate how teachers and students use these stories to organize their identity work.

The following extract is from the literacy event teacher-led discussion on a curriculum text. In Ms. Sun's class, the literacy event started routinely with 1) review of homework done in previous week. 2) Teaching of a new word list for upcoming reading. 3) Reading text from a new chapter. 4) Teacher-led discussion on the new text context. 5) Homework announcement. The classroom discussion text in this section was written in 1959 during China's Great Leap Forward. The author uses the metaphor of a little brook to describe the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China to praise hardworking and achievement. The text as printed in the textbook is reproduced below, followed by a transcription of a classroom episode discussing this text.

Data example 10: The song of the little brook



小溪流的歌

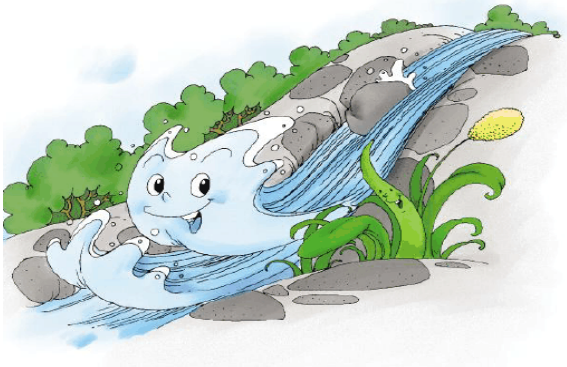
小溪流有一支歌，是永远也唱不完的。

一条快活的小溪流哼唱，不分日夜地向前奔流。太阳出来了，太阳向着他微笑。月亮出来了，月亮也向着他微笑。小溪流一边奔跑，一边玩耍。他一会儿拍拍岸边五颜六色的卵石，一会儿摸摸沙地上才伸出小脑袋的小草……有巨大的石块拦住他的去路，他就轻轻跳跃两下，一股劲儿冲了过去。什么也阻止不了他的奔流。他用清亮的嗓子歌唱，山谷里总是不断地响着他歌唱的回声。回声也是清脆的，叫人听了就会忘记疲劳和忧愁。他来到一个拐弯的地方，那里有一截枯树桩，还有一片枯黄的草。他们看着活泼可爱的小溪流奔流过来，觉得很奇怪。枯树桩劝小溪流歇会儿，枯黄的小草请小溪流留下来。可是小溪流看着他们笑了笑，说：“为什么呀？就不！不能够停留！”转眼小溪流就把他们抛在后面了。他又不停地往前奔流。

小溪流就这样不知疲倦地奔流，奔流，渐渐又有些别的

小溪流来同他汇合在一起，小溪流长大了，长成一条小河。

小河欢快地歌唱着，不分早晚地向前奔流。他兴致勃勃地推送着木排，托起沉重的木船向前航行，什么也阻止不住他的前进。前面有石滩阻碍他，他就大声吼叫着冲过去。乌鸦看见小河总是这样活跃，这样匆忙，觉得很奇怪，就对小河说：“嘿，还是停下来吧，前面没有什么好玩的！”小河没有忘记自己原来是小溪流，他笑了笑，又不停地往前奔流。



小河不知疲倦地奔流，奔流，先后又有些别的小河同他汇集在一起，小河长大了，长成一条大江。

大江以洪亮而低沉的声音歌唱着，争分夺秒地向前奔流。他变得十分强壮，积聚了巨大无比的能量。他沉着地托起巨大的轮船，帮助他们航行。他负担着许多，可是他并不感觉有什么负担。那些被波浪卷起，跟随大江行进的泥沙却感到累了。他们催大江歇口气。大江轻轻地笑了笑，说：“为什么？不行！不能停留！”

泥沙带着怨恨，偷偷地沉下去了，可是大江还是不停地奔流。他经过了无数繁华的城市和无数富足的乡村，为人们做了无数的事情。

大江不知疲倦地奔流着，奔流着，永远向着前方，最后终于来到了大海。

于是，无边无际的蓝色海洋在欢乐地翻腾着，唱起雄壮的歌。在海底，生了锈的铁壳沉船早已不耐烦这无休止的晃动了，悄悄地问大海：“你可以休息了吧？你可以休息了吧？”海洋用和小溪流一样清亮的嗓子回答：“休息？为什么？那可不成！”

他那无穷无尽的波浪就这样不停地翻腾着，没有头，也没有尾。月亮出来了，月亮向着他微笑。太阳出来了，太阳也向着他微笑。他不断涌起来，向上，向前，向着四面八方。

巨大的海洋唱着小溪流的歌：

“永远不休息，永远不停止！”

小溪流的歌就是这样无穷无尽，永远也唱不完。

生字

shuǎ	huàn	lán	gǔ	zǔ	yōu	kū	zhuàng
耍	卵	拦	股	阻	忧	枯	桩
huà	bó	hōu	cōng	hēi	míng	cù	xiù
汇	勃	吼	匆	嘿	秒	催	锈
ké							
壳							

词语

kuàihuó	nǎodai	zǔzhǐ	nénggòu	tíngliú	píjuàn
快活	脑袋	阻止	能够	停留	疲倦
chénzhòng	zǔ'ài	huóyuè	cōngmáng	fùdān	
沉重	阻碍	活跃	匆忙	负担	



Translation of the Song

<p>The little brook has a song that never runs dry.</p> <p>A happy little brook sings, running day and night without stopping. The sun comes out smiling towards him and the moon does it as well. The little brook is playing and running. He is patting over the colorful pebbles and also touching the little young grass on the way..... If there is a big rock in the way, he jumped lightly over it. Nothing can stop him from running. He sings high and clearly all the way and the valley echoes his high and melodious song which makes people forget weariness and anxiety. He arrives at a bend and there are a dead branch and dry grass who are surprised to see the little lively brook running and they try to persuade him to take a rest. But the little brook looks at them and says: "why? I will not stop running." Very quickly, the branch and grass were left far behind.</p> <p>The little brook runs without stopping and gradually some other brooks join him and they form together a little stream.</p> <p>The little stream sings and runs day and night. Nothing can stop him. If there are stones, he rushes over them, overcoming all the resistance and obstacles. The crow feels strange that the little stream is so invigorated and in such a hurry and therefore says to him: "hey, stop running, there is nothing interesting in this road". The little stream doesn't forget that he was a little brook and smiles to the crow, but continues running.</p>	<p>The little stream runs indefatigably. Successively, there come are other streams joining him, together, they become a big river.</p> <p>The big river sings with his sound and deep voice cherishing every second to rush. He becomes very strong and has an enormous amount of power.</p> <p>The mud and sand sink silently and grudgingly to the bottom, but the big river rushes along. He passes by many bustling cities and prosperous villages, helping many people on the way.</p> <p>The big river runs and runs and finally he flows into the sea.</p> <p>The boundless happy blue sea sings majestically. At the bottom of the sea, there is a rusty iron boat that is tired of the vigorous sea and says to him: "Why don't you take a rest? Why don't you take a rest? Like the little brook, the sea answers him high and clearly: "Take a rest? Why? I shall not do that."</p> <p>His endless waves billow forth, never stopping. The moon comes out smiling to him, and the sun also does. He rushes forth and forth and in to all directions.</p> <p>The large ocean sings the song of the little brook: "never stop to take a rest, never stop running!"</p> <p>The song of the little brook is infinite, and never runs dry.</p>
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[Field Recording JLi_ 2010-10-16-Yang; 48:01]

1	MS Sun	这样一篇文章，大家有什么感受？涛	Such a text, what do you think of it? Tao,
2		涛，你有什么感受？	how do you feel about this text?
3	Tao	我没有什么没感受。	I don't have any feeling.
4	MS Sun	没有感受？没有 <i>gevoel</i> ？它这样一篇	No feeling? No <i>feeling</i> ? Such a text, what
5		文章讲的是什么意思？	does it tell us?
6	S Xin	没意思。	Nothing.
7	MS Sun	没意思啊？他用，就用东西写成人	Nothing? He personifies things,
8		啊，拟人化，对吧？拟人，然后写小	personification, right? He personifies the
9		溪流呢，他非常努力。从不休息，从	brook, the brook works very hard, never
10		不停留，直奔大海。其实写得，其实	takes a rest, running straight to the sea. In
11		写得，跟人的一生差不多，是吧？你	fact, it is just like the life of people. From the
12		自从你生下来到你死，经历地就跟他	moment you were born until you die, the
13		经历地差不多。懂吗？	experience of our life is just like the brook,
14			understand?

15	Tao	不一定。	Not necessarily.
16	MS Sun	不一定？他讲的要一生努力，直到你	Not necessarily? He tells us that people
17		闭眼睛的那一天，就这意思。不可以	should always work hard until the day you
18		停留，懂吗？	die. Do not stop, understand?
19	Tao	我不那个[I don't[
20	MS Sun	[不 <i>mee eens</i> ? Hehe...不同意	[don't <i>agree</i> ? Hehe....don't agree
21		我的意见，ok, 那你讲你的意见。	with me, <i>ok</i> , then tell us about your
22			opinions.
23	Mei	[×××] ((In Dutch))	[×××] ((In Dutch))
24	MS Sun	<i>Ja</i> , 你要什么样的生活？你想像荷兰	Yea, what kind of life do you want? You just
25		人一样，舒舒服服的？	want to be like the Dutch, have a
26			comfortable life?
27	Tao	你做你想做的事。	You do what you want to do.
28	MS Sun	((Smiling)) 那小溪流也是做想做的	The brook also does what he wants to do;
29		事，想去大海。他跟你意思不一样	he wants to go to the sea. Doesn't he mean
30		吗？	the same?
31	Tao	不一样。	Not the same.
32	MS Sun	怎么不一样？它想去大海。他的目标	Not the same? He wants to go to the sea.
33		很明确。他只是把它拟人化。	The goal of his is very clear. He is just being
34			personified.
35		看，看，看，他是能去大海。我们	Look, look, look, it is going to the sea. But
36		不知道我们往哪儿走？	we don't know where we are going.
37	MS Sun	对，那就更难，那就对你来说更难，	Yes, so it is even more difficult, even more
38		但是他有一点就是要不断努力，不断	difficult for you, but one point to be stressed
39		探求，不断探索。这才是你的一生，	is that you should always work hard, pursue
40		对不对？	and explore. This is how you should lead
41			your life, right?
42	Qiang	但那个小溪流呢，一个朋友都没有，	But that brook, he doesn't have a single
43		走个不停，不能停下来去玩。	friend. He flows without stopping. He can't
44			stop to play.
45	MS Sun	谁说没有？他把大小的小溪流都	Who says that he doesn't? He meets various
46		拢在一起，变成河，然后把河又拢成	brooks and together they form a stream,
47		江。他讲的是志同道合的朋友，懂不	and then various streams go together, they
48		懂？	form a river. He talks about these friends
49			who have the same interests, cherish the
50			same ideals and follow the same path, do
51			you understand?
52	Qiang	没有，只是他自己。	No, he has only himself.
53	MS Sun	在人生道路上，志同道合，就分开	In our life, those who don't share the same

54		了。其实讲的很像。他是你一段打篮球的朋友，他跟你真正意见不统一的时候，跟你兴趣爱好不一样的时候，他早晚就走的。懂不懂？	interests and do not follow the same path will eventually split up. Just like your basketball friend, if he holds a different opinion than you, and has different interests and hobbies than you, he will eventually leave you, do you understand?
55			
56			
57			
58			
59			
60	Qiang	不会的 ((Sighing))	It's not like that ((Sighing)).
61	Tao	((sighs in agreement))	((sighs in agreement))
62	MS Sun	朋友就永远是朋友, 是吧? 这是一个人的思想写在这里面, 是吧?	Once a friend always a friend, right ((smiling))? One's thoughts are written in this story, right?
63			
64			
65	Mei:	他没有朋友.	He has no friends.
66	MS Sun	有朋友啊, 小溪, 大河, 大江都是他的朋友啊!	He has friends; brooks, streams and rivers are all his friends!
67			
68	Mei,	不是他的朋友!	Not his friends!
69	Qiao&S Tao		
70	Qiang:	他很大, 就没有朋友了。	When he is too big, he has no friends.
71	Tao	假说就写你在某个公司打工, 就是你的 <i>carrier</i> 。你在最下面开始, 就是小溪嘛, 就一直慢慢往上爬, 一直在努力, 爬到大海, 爬到最顶上, 还是得努力。对, 是不是?	Let's put it in this way: you work at a company, your <i>carrier</i> . You start from the bottom and you are the brook, you climb up, work and work, then you become the sea, you climb to the top, and you still need to work hard. Right?
72			
73			
74			
75			
76			
77	MS Sun	对, 一生努力。	Yes, Should work hard in your entire life.
78	Tao	但在这种情况下呢, 就有比如说小溪, 大河, 大海都是他自己, 就是他自己那个]	But in this case, the brook, river and sea are all himself, so he is]
79			
80			
81	MS Sun	[但是你要和别人合作,	[But you need to
82		你没发现? 跟别的小溪流合作, 你才能够生长。	cooperate with other people, don't you know? Cooperate with other streams, so that you can grow.
83			
84			
85	Hong :	<i>Je moet niet vast houden om te winnen.</i>	<i>You shouldn't stick to win.</i>
86	MS Sun	他只是讲他的 meaning, he.	He only talks about his opinion, he.
87	Tao	对, 对, 对, 但比如说那些小鱼, 小虾那些, 就把他给丢了, 没跟上。	Yea, yea, yea, but the fishes and shrimps couldn't catch up, and then they will be forgotten.
88			
89			
90	MS Sun	对呀, 是被社会淘汰了, 被环境淘汰了。常常是这样的呀, 对吧? 所以说你不够努力你就会被淘汰。	Right, they are dropped off by society, by environment. Things are often like that, right? So if you do not work hard, then you
91			
92			

93			will be eliminated.
94	Tao	我觉得不够努力就会被淘汰，我觉得	I think if you do not make great efforts you
95		这个写得不是特别好。因为每个人应	will be eliminated, I think this is not very
96		该自己决定自己想做什么，不是每个	well written. Because every individual
97		人都要，冲到，往上冲，每个人都要	should decide what he wants, not everyone
98		赢，因为最后大多数人是要输的，就	wants to, wants to rush to the top, to win,
99		个别赢，不是每个人都想，很多人都	because most of the people will fail, only a
100		要赢，就有人不幸福了。这样输得他	few can come to the top, then the people
101		们就会不幸福，是不是？而输的又怎	who fail will be very unhappy, is it? So if you
102		么，你输了就输了。	fail, let it be.
103			
	
215		[Students chat with each other in	
216		Dutch]	
217	MS Sun	讲中文！	Speak Chinese!
218		((Bell rings))	

Let us first take a look what is happening. The classroom episode is taken from the literacy event, teacher-led discussion on a new text. At the moment of the research, there were eight students present, ages 17 to 20. Four students, Ming, Xin, Qiang and Dan were university students at Tilburg University or the University of Technology Eindhoven. The remaining four, Tao, Mei, Hong and Yuan attended Dutch VWO³ secondary school. Ethnolinguistically, like Mr. Zhou's class, Sun's class is also very heterogeneous. Key information about the class is provided in Table 2 below. Xin, Mei and Qiang, are of third generation Hong Kong Cantonese background; their home language is mainly Dutch. Hong, Yuan and Ming are of Wenzhounese and Fuzhounese background respectively. Tao, who is the central character in this classroom discussion, of Mandarin background; his parents came to the Netherlands in the late 1980s to pursue postgraduate university education and settled in Eindhoven after they completed their study. They worked as researchers at the High Tech Campus Eindhoven. Table 2 below summaries the educational and ethnolinguistic diversity in the classroom at the moment of our research.

The class teacher, Ms. Sun has been engaging in teaching at the Chinese school Eindhoven for more than ten years in various classes. Born in Fujian in the late 1950, Sun experienced the political turbulences (the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution) and later the economic reform in the 1970s in China; she completed her university study in Beijing in the mid-1980s and moved to The Netherlands in the early 1990s with her husband. Like Jessie, Ms Sun also has a complex sociolinguistic biography.

³ There are three levels of Dutch secondary school. The highest level is the pre-university school (VWO), and which is followed by two types of general high school (HAVO and MAVO). After secondary school students can apply for an MBO (lowest level), HBO (medium level), or university (highest level) education.

In the first day of the new school year, she made the announcement that “students are to speak only Chinese in class and ask and answer questions only in Chinese”. The students seem to be very interested in learning Chinese. They listen very carefully and write notes translanguagingly in Chinese and Dutch, and ask questions at the right moments (classroom observation 11th Sept. 2010 JLi). The peer talk in the classroom, during the break and outside the school, is exclusively in Dutch.

Table 2: Grade 12 class of Eindhoven Chinese school (October 2010, the school year 2010-2011)

role and name	sex	age	place of birth	(parents') home town	home language	mainstream education
students						
Tao	M	17	Beijing	Beijing	Mandarin	Dutch-medium
Ming	M	18	Fuzhou	Fuzhou, Zhejiang	Fuzhounese/Mandarin	Dutch-medium
Xin	F	20	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Dutch	Dutch-medium
Mei	F	17	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Dutch	Dutch-medium
Qiang	M	18	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Dutch	Dutch-medium
Dan	M	19	Netherlands	Fujian	Fujianese	Dutch-medium
Hong	F	17	Netherlands	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Wenzhounese	Dutch-medium
Yuan	F	17	Netherlands	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Wenzhounese	Dutch-medium
Teacher						
Ms Sun	F	50s	Fujian	Beijing	Mandarin	

The classroom episode started with a question raised by teacher Sun, expecting the students to tell their own understanding of the story. However, the students showed little interest in the assignment (“I don’t have any feeling”). The teacher did not give up, continued to ask the students about the implication of the story. The second attempt was confronted with little interest again (“nothing”). In the next turn, the teacher explained the context and moral implication of the story. Tao contested the teacher’s point of view again. Contestations and negotiations on the interpretations of the story ran through the whole discussion (for detailed description see Li, Jinling. “My way of thinking is Dutch”: Constructing Chinese-Dutch identities through classroom talk.)

While the teachers believed that teaching ‘language’ and ‘culture’ by folk stories was a means of reproducing ‘Chinese’ identity in the young people, the imposition of such identities was explicitly challenged and re-negotiated in the classroom. The students assertively considered themselves Dutch nationals fully participating in Dutch culture and society, but in the process they also displayed a thorough understanding of contemporary China and Chinese culture. The teaching of ‘heritage identity’ through national fairy tales and folk stories was often contested and subverted. For Chinese students in the UK, Creese, Wu and Blackledge (2009) conclude that folk stories are globally circulated distant literacies that are productively taken up in complementary schools and viewed by teachers and staff as “iconic, culturally authentic artifacts” that are “symbolic footprints of a culture and community” and useful resources to “endorse traditions, values and beliefs, and to invoke features of the collective memory of community.” By the young people they are often used to

“question some of these notions, including their central messages of authority and acceptance of elders”.

Rather than assuming that young people’s identities would necessarily be ‘dual’ or ‘fragmented’, we consider that people articulate a whole repertoire of inhabited and ascribed identities and that they do so by means of a complex display and deployment of cultural resources. The learning of Chinese language and literacy in the complementary schools generates a particular enregistered set of resources, allowing the organization of different micro-identities. Thus while the teacher sees the classroom as a site to introduce and reproduce the traditional Chineseness to the young people, the students contested the teacher’s imposition and upscale the traditional Chineseness into a higher scale level.

Data example 11: Essay by Tao, “My experience of learning Chinese” (25-2-2011)

The following data example is Tao’s essay, written in English. In addition to classroom observation, I also observed the language use of the key participants outside the classroom, as well as in a virtual context. While chatting online, Tao used mostly English and Dutch. During an online chat with Tao, I asked him whether he was interested in writing an essay on his experience of learning Chinese. And he could choose the language he feels most comfortable to write in. I received the following essay from him per email in English in the winter 2011.

My first memories of studying Chinese date back to when I was six. I was sat behind a small desk and copied endless amounts of 生字 on sheets with little boxes to write the characters in. At first I did not like studying Chinese at all. The characters were rather difficult to write and there were too many characters to learn. My parents were the only reason why I studied Chinese.

At the age of 8, I enrolled at the Eindhoven Chinese school. Around this time, I did not mind studying Chinese as much anymore, because I got accustomed to the characters and I had an easier time learning those. Also, the lessons.

Now, studying the Chinese language is tug-of-war game between my parents and I. My parents constantly tell me that studying Chinese is a must, because the Chinese language is a vital part of our cultural heritage and Chinese language skills will be extremely important in my future career. I do acknowledge the importance of studying Chinese, but often cannot be bothered to make the homework for the lessons at the Chinese school or study for the HSK. After finishing the coursework for regular school, I often don’t feel like doing any more homework for Chinese, which I secretly deem slightly less important. Also, I feel that the study material does not target my age group at all; the texts we read in class are rather childish. Luckily my parents don’t really push me anymore now I am a little grown up; I should be able to decide what is best for me on my own now.

Even though I hardly put any effort in studying Chinese, I always keep telling myself (in vain probably) that I am going to study seriously in after the exams in May. And even though I do not enjoy studying the Chinese language much, I do like Chinese culture and Chinese food. In order to enjoy both of these in China, I do need to study hard and be proficient in Chinese.

The following data is from the classroom observation in Ms. Sun's class during the literacy event, a discussion on a new text.

Data example 12: Ma Liang and his magic brush

The story is based on a folklore story written in the 1950s. There was a boy called Ma Liang. He liked drawing and worked very hard, but he was too poor to afford a drawing brush. One day, an immortal gave him a magic paintbrush that could turn everything painted real and asked him to use it to help poor people. From that day on, Ma Liang used the brush for poor peasants. Once, a greedy official summoned him, forcing him to paint a mountain of gold. Ma Liang agreed and drew a golden mountain, but he also drew a big ocean around it. After the officer and his servants sailed across the sea, Ma Liang waved his brush and the officers sank into the water. After that, he was free to paint things the laboring people needed.

Below, the text is reproduced as printed in the textbook used in the highest grade of the Chinese school in Eindhoven. Following the scans from the textbook is the transcribed episode from the classroom in which the story of Ma Liang and his magic brush is discussed.

2 神笔马良

从前有个孩子，名字叫马良。马良喜欢画画儿，可是他家里很穷，连一支画笔也没有。他去山上打柴时，就拣一根树枝当笔，在沙地上画空中的飞鸟。他到河边割草时，就把草根当笔，在河滩上画水中的游鱼。他看到什么就画什么，画得很认真，画得很刻苦。可是他仍然没有一支笔。

一天晚上，有位白胡子老爷爷走来对他说：“马良，我送给你一支笔，去给穷人画画儿吧！”马良高兴极了，接过画笔，就在墙上画了一只大公鸡。真奇怪，大公鸡从墙上飞下来，“喔喔”地叫起来。原来，老爷爷给他的是一支神笔。马良有了这支神笔，天天给村里的穷人画画儿。一天，他看见一个老农民和一个小孩子拉着犁耕地，因为泥土硬，拉不动。马良拿出神笔，给他们画了一头老牛，只听“哞……”的一声，老牛就下田拉犁耕地了。

有个大官听说马良有一支神笔，就把他抓了去，要他画金子。马良不画，大官就把他关进监狱里。到了半夜，看守监狱的士兵睡着了，马良用神笔在墙上画了一扇门，马上打

开门，带着关在里面的穷人们逃出去了。大官听到报告，派人去追，又把马良抓了回来。

那大官很生气，命令手下人抢走马良的神笔，交给一个画师，要他在墙上画棵摇钱树。摇钱树刚画好，大官就急不可待地扑上去，只听“砰”的一声，他的头撞在墙上，额头上立刻起了一个大疙瘩。大官明白了，那支神笔是属于马良的，它离开马良就成了一支普通的笔了。大官只好把马良放出来，对他说：“好马良，你给我画幅画儿吧！”马良为了夺回神笔，就答应了。大官把神笔还给马良，叫他画一座金山。马良真的给他画了一座金山，只见金山上金光闪闪，满

山都是金子。大官高兴得直跳。马良接着在金山四周画了一片大海。大官说：“快画一只大船。我要去金山运金子。”马良就画了一只大船。大官跳上船去。马良又画了几笔风，桅杆上的白帆就涨满了风，直向金山驶去。大官还嫌船慢，便挥动着拳头，大声叫喊：“唉！风再大些！”马良又加上粗粗的几笔风，大海骤然翻滚起来。大官心里害怕，叫着：“风够了！风够了！”马良不理他，还是一个劲儿地画风。风更猛了，浪更大了，大船翻了，大官沉到海底去了。

马良又回到了穷人那里，给穷人画画儿。



生字

抹	割	滩	胡	耕	监	狱	看
mǎ	gē	tān	hú	gēng	jiān	yù	kàn
额	属	杯	胀	嫌	唉	骤	
é	shǔ	bēi	zhàng	xián	āi	zhòu	

未——拼

词语

耕地	泥土	监狱	士兵	属于	四周	拳头
gēngdì	nǚtǔ	jǐanyù	shìbīng	shǔyú	sìzhōu	quánou

1	Ming	老师这是给小孩子讲的故事吧？	Teacher, is this story for kids?
2	Ms Sun	对，没错！你们都不是小孩子啊	Yes, right! You all are not kids.
3	Ming	那，那这个故事里有什么人生大道理	So, are there any life philosophies in this
4		呀？	story?
5	MS Sun	当然有了。	Of course.
6	Ming	那有什么道理啊？	So, what kind of life philosophies?
7	MS Sun	我觉得你们自己要理解啊。	I think you should figure it out by yourself.
9	Ming	理解不出来。	I can't figure it out.
10	MS Sun	夏，你说你理解了没有？这个故事。	Xia, do you understand? Do you
11			understand this story?
12	Xiaxia	Hmmm, [Pause] 就是.....不可以贪心？	Hmmmm, [Pause], is.... not to be greedy?
13			
14	MS sun	这也是一个意思，另外一个意思呢，就	This is one aspect of the story, and other
15		是你要 勤奋，努力 ，就会感动上帝。人	aspects are, you should work hard, be
16		家，神仙就会给你一个笔，给你个幸	diligent , then God will be moved by you.
17		福，懂吗？是不是？有这意思吧？所以	And He, the God will give you a magic
18		鼓励你们要努力学习，做好事情，对	brush, and you will get happiness, do you
19		吧？还有一个呢，里面讲马良心眼好，	understand? So it encourages you to work
20		关心穷人，对不对？那个大官呢，就	hard and have good deeds, doesn't it?
21		是，就跟金鱼的故事一样，太贪心，最	Furthermore, Ma Liang has a kind heart.
22		后死了，太贪心。这个故事当然有意思	He is concerned with poor people, isn't
23		了。中国的故事都有寓意在里头。明白	he? And the official just like in the story of
24		了？	the Golden Fish, too greedy, and die
25			eventually, he is too greedy. There are
26			sure moral implications in this story. All of
27			the Chinese stories have implications, do
28			you understand?
29		[Silence....]	
30	Ming	可不可说呢这个马良表面上是一个好	Can we say that Ma Liang is a good person
31		人，但内心里呢，也有杀人之心呢？	from the outside, but in reality, he is a
32			killer?
33	MS Sun	哈哈，杀人之心，呵呵呵呵.....就是这	Haha...A killer? Hehehe....Let's put it this
34		么说呢，你在这儿长大的，这个概念可	way; you grew up here, so your concepts
35		能不一样。在中国的概念里头，对好人	might be different. In China's perception,
36		要好心，对坏人不可以好心。Ja, 你这	people should be kind to good people, and
37		种想法是错的。我们学过东郭先生，对	shouldn't be kind to bad people. Yeah,
38		吧？我们学过东郭先生，他是很好心，	your way of thinking is wrong. We have

39		他对蛇都好心，最后蛇把他咬死了，对	learned about Mr. Dongguo, right? He had
40		不对？就教你，中国的故事都教你，对	a kind heart, even kind to snakes. And in
41		坏人不可以好心。	the end, the snake bites him to death,
42			right? The Chinese stories teach you that
43			you shouldn't be merciful to bad people.
44	MS Sun	我们现在回到马良来说。呃，欣，我提	Let's go back to Ma Liang. Xin, I have a
45		个问题，马良是怎么学画画的呀？那个	question for you, how did Ma Liang learn
46		老爷爷为什么给马良一支神笔呢？	to paint? Why did the old grandpa give Ma
47			Liang a magic brush?
48	Ming	他多做了一支笔。	He made an extra brush.
49	MS Sun	呵呵，他多做了一支笔，呵呵呵，我发	Hehe, he made an extra brush, hehehe. I
50		现你这人的思维跟别人都不一样，还是	find that your way of thinking is different
51		存心逗我们笑呢？	from others, or do you just want to tease
52			us?
53	Ming	是真的	I mean it.
54	MS Sun	那是你自己想的，文章里头是什么意思？	That's your own imagination. What does
55			this text tell us about?
56	Ming	如果卖了他可以赚嘛。	He can make money if he sells the brush
57	MS Sun	我跟你说文里头是怎么说得？认真点	I'm asking you what the text tells us about.
58		啊。我并不问你自己想象啊。	Be serious, he. I didn't ask you to use your
59			imagination.
60	Ming	[Pause]	
61	MS Sun	为什么呀？	Why?
62	Ming	[Pause] 真不知道	I really don't know.
63	MS Sun	你还假不知道呢！	Don't you really don't know!

4.2 Negotiation of inheritance and identity outside the classroom

How do Chinese-Dutch youth identify themselves? I have chosen four key participants from grade 12 (the highest grade of the school) from HT school to observe their language use outside of their classroom and their identity work. Two of them, Wendy and Tongtong were from the previous grade 12 in the school year 2009-2010. After initial five times of observation on six different grades before the summer holiday 2010, I found out that the age group of the twelfth graders was more in line with our research target group. Observation regarding language practices outside of the School, and topics as identity, belonging, feeling at home were brought up with the key participants. I chose the key participants on a voluntary basis, and informed them about the project at the beginning of the observation. Below is the demographic detail of the key participants.

Key participants from the Chinese school in Eindhoven

Name	Age	Gender	Father's origin	Mother's origin	Parents' profession	Place of birth	Age at arrival	Education	Home language
Wendy	17	F	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Employees at a Dutch company	Netherlands	--	VWO	Wenzhou-nese
Tongtong	18	F	Hong Kong	Guangzhou	Restaurant owners	Netherlands	--	HBO	Cantonese
Tao	17	M	Beijing	Beijing	Scientists	Beijing	3	VWO	Putonghua
Ming	18	M	Taizhou, Zhejiang	Taizhou, Zhejiang	Restaurant employees	Taizhou, Zhejiang	5	University	Taizhou-nese

In 2010, I have followed them in different social contexts, in their real life as well as in virtual communities. During an outing with Wendy and Tongtong, the language we used was Dutch. In the beginning, I greeted them in Chinese, but soon when Tongtong started to introduce a Dutch dish, she switched to Dutch. The conversation in the rest of the evening was in Dutch. Regarding the identity construction, Tongtong said the following:

Data example 13: Interview with Tongtong, 24-11-2010

Ik denk zelf dat ik Nederlander ben. Ik ben in Nederland geboren. Ik weet eigenlijk meer van de Nederlandse cultuur dan van de Chinese. Maar in hun ogen ben je toch een buitenlander. Je hebt een ander gezicht. Je hebt een Nederlands paspoort, je praat Nederlands. Ze zien je als Chinees, zeggen 'Ik heb een hele goede vriendin, een Chinees meisje. Wie je bent en hoe mensen naar je kijken zijn vaak niet hetzelfde. Ik voel me als een mango, geel van de buitenkant en vlees, wit in de pit.	I think that I am Dutch. I was born in the Netherlands. I know Dutch culture better than Chinese culture. But in friend's eyes, I'm still a foreigner. You look different from them. Even though you have Dutch passport, you speak Dutch, they perceive you as Chinese and say 'I have a very good friend, a Chinese girl. Who you are and how people perceive you are often not the same. I feel like a mango, yellow from the outside and the flesh, but white in the core.
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The other social space I observed is at *Qingfeng tea-room* (清风茶馆, abbreviated as QF tea-room here). QF tea-room is located on the second floor of a local Chinese supermarket in the centre of Eindhoven. The annual teacher meeting of the Chinese school Eindhoven 2010 and 2011 had taken place at QF tearoom. Opened in August 2010 by Mr. Wu, the chairman of the Chinese school in Eindhoven, QF Tearoom is a space to practice Chinese culture by providing tea ceremony classes, Chinese cookery classes, and there is also computer class for the elderly Chinese immigrants. Unlike

the Chinese school in Eindhoven that borrows the space from a local Dutch secondary school, and where is not allowed to change the classroom layout and make any decoration of classrooms, QF tearoom is a space that cultural practices can be fully observed and “Chineseness” is present in many Chinese cultural artefacts, e.g. the Chinese calligraphy and Chinese paintings on the wall, and the space is furnished with the Chinese style.

John, from the cookery class in the *Qingfeng Tearoom*, also expressed the same feeling in a conversation after the class:

Example 14: Conversation with John, 24-11-2010

Sommige vrienden van mij zijn hier geboren en denken dat ze Nederlanders zijn, maar ja, in de ogen van Nederlanders, ze zien je nog steeds als Chinezen door je uiterlijk.	Some friends of mine think they are Dutch. But in the eyes of Dutch people, they think you are still Chinese because of your appearance.
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Besides observing the language use and literacy practices outside of the school at group level, I also carried out internet ethnography, observing the youth language use and literacy practices. Tao has mentioned to me online about his Chinese class:

Example 15: Online chat with Tao, 20-11-2010

我们班上经常会讨论到中国社会和荷兰社会的区别。荷兰人经常会比较随意，跟中国人不同。老师的观点和我们的观点还是有些不同。虽然她在荷兰生活了许多年，还是受到了中国教育，观点比较传统。我的同学们可以算是荷兰人了。	We often discuss the difference between Chinese and Dutch society in our class. Dutch people are quite different from Chinese. The opinion of our teacher on the two societies is different from us. Even though she has been living in the Netherlands for many years, but because of the education she had in China, her attitude is very conservative. My classmates can be considered as Dutch.
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Example 16: Interview with Tao, 20-11-2010

Er zijn verschillende groepen Chinezen in NL die weinig tot niet met elkaar omgaan, door taalverschil, en verschillende “文化水平”. Bijvoorbeeld: universitair opgeleiden geboren in 60'-70' en restaurant eigenaren, etc...	There are different groups of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands who have little or no contact with each other because of the difference in language use and educational level. For instance, university graduates who were born in the year of 60s and 70s and restaurant owners.
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In an interview with Tao, he said that they have no contact with the Chinese group that work in the catering business, and there are different groups of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. This also

reflects the complex composition of the Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands in terms of linguistic, history of migration and socio-economic position.

However, there are also other voices that can be heard.

Example 17: Interview with Ming, 11-11-2010

<p>我以后肯定是会回中国的。每次我都是说回中国，不是说去中国。我的根是在中国嘛。虽然我在荷兰长大，但你长的就是和荷兰人不一样，看上去就是不一样，总是很特殊，在中国就不一样,长的不会那么特别。</p> <p>11-11-2010</p>	<p>I will definitely return to China in the future. Every time I say return to China, not go to China. Because for me, my root is in China. Even though I grow up in the Netherlands, but I look different from Dutch which makes me quite peculiar, but it will be different in China. I will look not so much different from the rest.</p>
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5 The school within the broader Chinese community

5.1 The social, cultural and linguistic significance of the Chinese school in Eindhoven

The Chinese school is a space which not only provides Chinese courses but is also an important space for Chinese-heritage people at various age, young and old, students and parents to socialize as a Chinese-heritage group in the Netherlands. Jinling often observed parents sharing experiences and exchange information on child-rearing, community activities, and handling technology such as computers and mobile phones. For the students, the Chinese school is a space where they can meet other Chinese-heritage youth, and build an identity that is different from the mainstream school identity. Furthermore, at the community level, the space that the Chinese school borrows from the local secondary school for once a week on Saturday morning is also becoming an importance place for the members of various other Chinese associations to socialize, meeting each other and practicing cultural activities. The school website also illustrates this phenomenon:

Data example 18: description of the school on the school's website, www.hantang.nl

De rol van de Eindhovense Chinese School in het culturele leven van het Chinese gemeenschap in de omgeving van Eindhoven wordt ook steeds belangrijker. Zo gebruiken de Vereniging van de Chinese Ouderen, de Chinese Vrouwengroep Eindhoven, de Chinese Sportvereniging, de Chinese Dansschool, onze locatie Eckart College voor allerlei zaterdagse activiteiten.	The Eindhoven Chinese school is getting more and more important in enriching the cultural life of the Chinese Community in the region of Eindhoven. The Chinese Elderly Association, Chinese Women Group, the Chinese sports association, Chinese Dance school all use our location at Eckart College for all kinds of Saturday activities.
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5.2 Chinese-Dutch youth identities in social media

Social network site Hyves is the Dutch alternative for Facebook and MySpace and is tremendously popular among youngsters and almost everybody else using the Internet in the Netherlands. According to the official figures provided by Hyves itself, the social network site had 10.6 million members in 2011 (of which 9 million in the Netherlands, i.e. more than half of the population or three quarters of those using the Internet). Hyves started in the same year as Facebook, in 2004, but stayed local and did not expand to become a global medium like Facebook which now has 600 million users, i.e. close to ten per cent of the world's population. In the Netherlands, Hyves still has a bigger market share than its global competitors Facebook and Twitter. Like Facebook, Hyves is an onymous (non-anonymous) site and provides a virtual forum to create and articulate identities and engage in networks of friends that are partly – or greatly – overlapping with one's real-life identities and networks. Varis, Wang and Du (2011/forthcoming, 2) explain that "Virtual' reality is quite a misnomer, because what is 'virtual' is very 'real' in the lives of many people, especially when identity processes are concerned'. For most of the personal profile details, you are given the choice to fill

them out or to leave them blank and to set restrictions on who is able to see the information (only friends, friends of friends, Hyvers, everybody).

Through students of the Chinese school in Eindhoven we found out about the Asian and Proud community on Hyves (<http://asian-and-proud.hyves.nl/>), which is described as 'The place to be for all proud asians ;p'. This network of Asian-Dutch was established on 21 July 2007 by the then 13-year-old 'Wingy' who also moderates the community together with 'Vietpride'. Wingy is a Cantonese-speaking Chinese-Dutch girl who studies Chinese (Mandarin) in complementary education in Amsterdam. One of the most important corners of activity on the Asian and Proud hyve are the discussion forums that are both playful and serious. The forum we have focused on is *Welk Chinees dialect spreken jullie?* (Which Chinese dialect do you speak?). Within the Asian and Proud community, this forum is a bit more exclusive than some of the other forums as here Asian identity is narrowed down to Chineseness, thereby creating a sub-community of Chinese speakers within the Asian and Proud community. This particular forum was introduced by Leon on a Sunday night in April 2008 with the post in Fragment 2 below. Selected fragments are reproduced here.

Data example 19a (opening of the forum by Leon, 20 April 2008, 21:37)

Ik ben zelf kantonees 😊 ksit op chinese school in eindhoven, ik moet Sinas leren van me ouders -.- ,,	I'm cantonese myself 😊 im going to chinese school in eindhoven, I have to learn [Chinese] from my parents -.- ,,
Maja kvind mandarijns moeilijk xD! kan het wel beetje verstaan maar kan het niet spreken >.< stomme klanken 😊	But yeah I find Mandarin hard xD! can understand it a little, but can't speak it >.< stupid sounds 😊
Maja vul hieronder maar in of je mandarijns bent of Kantonees of Wentonees etc. etc	But yeah just fill out down here if you're mandarin or Cantonese or Wenzhounese etc. etc
^^ kanto rules~ xX	^^ <u>canto rules</u> ~ xX

Data example 19b (Leon, 3 June 2008, 19:10)

Chinese school = 1 woord,,: IncredibleSuperDuperBoring =/	Chinese school = 1 word,,: <u>IncredibleSuperDuperBoring</u> =/
ik ben de oudste van de klas,De op een na oudste is 13 O_- ksit in een klas vol met kinderen tusse 5 en 13 -.- xD ksit bij hun in de klas omdat ik de basis niet ken, + i Suck @ mandarijns ;\ kheb kantonees/nederlands accent XD stel je voor hoe ik Ni hau ma? zeg :}	I'm the oldest of the class,The second oldest is 13 O_- im in a class full with children between 5 and 13 -.- xD im with them in class because I dunno know the basics, + <u>i Suck @</u> mandarin ;\ ive got cantonese/dutch accent XD imagine how I say Ni hau ma? :}
Achja kheb nog vrienden op school daar dus,, kan me nooit vervelen tijdens de pauze =]	Well yeah i still got friends at school there so,, i can't get bored during the break =]

Data example 19c (Lisa, 28 November 2008, 16:17)

ik spreek een dialect wat uit suzhou komt 😊 (nooit van gehoord zeker 😊) kan mandarijns verstaan en beetje spreken ook met canto kan ik verstaan maar nog niet echt spreken. heb een paar jaar op chinese school gezeten maar vond het niet leuk dus gestopt, maar ik moet weer op school in amsie van me moeder 😊	I speak a dialect which comes from suzhou 😊 (never heard of I guess 😊) can understand mandarin and speak it a little also with canto I can understand but not really speak it. have been to the Chinese school for a few years but didn't like it so quitted, but I have to go back to school in amsie from my mother 😊
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Data example 19d (Ellen, 17 June 2009, 17:40)

Chaozhou(hua) , bijna niemand spreekt dat whuahha, voel me echt dom, iedereen spreekt van die standaard talen kom ik aan hoor. En ik kan een beetje mandarijns en viet verstaan ^^	Chaozhou(hua) , hardly anyone speaks that whuahha, I feel really stupid, everybody speaks those standard languages and then there's me. And I can understand a little mandarin and viet ^^
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Data example 19e (Chris, 27 December 2009, 02:59)

Kantoow van mijn ouders, dus ik kan wel gewoon kanto praten en verstaan. Manderijns kan ik niet dus volg ik lessen in Arnhem met allerlei kindjes van 4, 5 lol xd	Cantoow from my parents, so I can of course speak and understand canto. Mandarin I don't know so I'm taking classes in Arnhem with lots of little children of 4, 5 lol xd
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Data example 19f (Onki, 6 October 2008, 20:43)

Cantonees 😊 (ben daar geboren en gebleven tot mijn 6e dus..<3) Ik kan een beetje Manderijns verstaan en spreken maar echt ver kom ik er niet mee -.-' Ojaaaa ik probeer het ook zelf te leren schrijven en lezen sinds ik in niemandsboerendorp woon is de chinese school vet ver hiervandaan zucht XD	Cantonese 😊 (was born there and stayed there until my 6th..<3) I can understand and speak a little Mandarin but it doesn't get me really far -.-' O yeah I also try to teach myself to write and read it <u>since</u> I live in a nobody's provincial village the Chinese school is bloody far away from here sigh XD
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Data example 19g (Seline, 21 April 2008, 00:04)

Yeah Ik spreek zelf ook cantonees.. Ik ben zelfst opgevoed ermee omdat mijn ouders ook cantonees spreken.. Ik zat op chinees school in utrecht..maja nu allang niet meer..Too busy of everything.. Ik zou wel mandarijns willen leren want het is belangrijk voor later als je iets wilt bereiken in china	<u>Yeah</u> I speak cantonese myself too.. I'm even raised with it cuz my parents also speak Cantonese.. I went to Chinese school in Utrecht..but not anymore for a long time now.. <u>Too busy of everything</u> .. I would wanna learn mandarin cuz it's important for later if you wanna achieve something in china
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Data example 19h (Hexue, 10 December 2008, 23:10)

Mandarijns n_n Ik dacht erover na om naar Chinese school te gaan in weekend fszeu... maar nahhh ik heb 't al druk genoeg met middelbare XD	Mandarin n_n I thought about going to Chinese school during the weekend or so... but <u>nahhh</u> I'm busy enough already with secondary XD
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Data example 19i ('Pui, 12 October 2009, 20:01)

Canzhou? o.0 [mam canto -hk-, pap wenzhou] maar ik ben dus canto opgevoed :3, ooit moest ik manda leren @chinese school in ehv ;>.> ik snapte er niks van en ging eronderuit [a.]	Canzhou? o.0 [mum canto -hk-, dad wenzhou] but I was brought up canto :3, once I had to learn manda @chinese school in ehv ;>.> I didn't get it and got out of it [a.]
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Data example 19j ([»Sara«, 17 June 2008, 15:43)

whuhahaha, ik kan alleen vietnamees verstaan, niet spreken, maar wel een klein beetje mandarijns praten.. 😊 Verbaast me niet als mijn ouders schamen voor mij 😡	whuhahaha, I can only understand vietnamese, not speak it, but do speak a little bit of mandarin.. 😊 Doesn't surprise me if my parents are ashamed of me 😡
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Data example 19k (Lisanne, 14 March 2010, 17:15)

wtf iedereen kan hier wel ietss van chinees spreken 😊. kom ik aan met me niks 😊	<u>wtf</u> everybody here can speak some chinese 😊. and there I am with my nothing 😊
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On the basis of detailed ethnographic analysis of these posts and others we argue that knowing Chinese in the Netherlands can mean a plurality of things. First of all, for the young people on the Asian and Proud hyves it invariably also means knowing Dutch. The Chinese-Dutch hyvers studied here come together in the context of a broader Dutch-Asian virtual network, the vehicular language of which is Dutch, not Chinese. All members are highly proficient in Dutch, especially in what we call 'netnolectal Dutch', in ways that makes them undistinguishable from indigenous 'native speakers' of Dutch. Ethnicity (being Chinese) or the 'mother tongue' (Chinese, Wenzhounese) therefore is not a valid criterion for determining native-speakerness in this context. The sub-community of Chinese-Dutch youth within the Asian and Proud community is eventually a community of native Dutch speakers-and-writers.

Secondly, the Chinese component of one's Chinese-Dutch identity cannot be taken for granted. Breaking it down into its regional variants (Cantonese, Wenzhounese, Mandarin, etc.) does not tell us everything about someone's Chineseness. Equally important is the extent of socialisation into the school-taught variety of Chinese, Mandarin or Putonghua someone has undergone. Someone's respective success in Chinese complementary education determines in important ways someone's identification with his or her Chinese linguistic and cultural heritage.

Thirdly, ethnicity seems no longer solely or even primarily to be determined by one's biological descent (one's 'race'), but is increasingly renegotiable through engaging with other forms

of ethnicity. It becomes evident that ethnicity is not in the first place the property of fixed groups (young) people simply belong to and that researchers may work with as unproblematic taken-for-granted social units (Brubaker 2002). 'Chinese-Dutch' is certainly not the only or best ethnic denominator for all situations. Importantly, the online network studied here is not entitled 'Chinese and Proud' but 'Asian and Proud'. The broad participation of young people of Chinese background within this community suggests that Asianness is at least as productive a marker of ethnic identity than is Chineseness, probably in more pervasive and meaningful ways than was the case for their (grand) parents' generation.

5.3 Linguistic landscaping: Eindhoven's old and new Chinese restaurants

In addition to the school-focused and we also plan a paper about food as cultural heritage that explores the potential of taste for linguistic landscape research. Along with language, food is one of the most meaningful diacritics of transnational experience. Restaurants, prominently visible in a city's landscape, offer useful insight into demographic transformations and shifting diversities. Still in planning stage, the working title of this paper is "Transformations in the 'multiculinary' landscape". In this paper we think about the Asian presence in Eindhoven in terms of an 'unconcentrated Chinatown' (as opposed to Amsterdam and Rotterdam for instance).

A search for Chinese restaurants within its broader South and East Asian context in the online telephone directory resulted in a list of 65 oriental restaurants, including Chinees-Indisch (Chinese-East Indian), Chinese, Indian, Japanese, wok, International-Asian, Mongolian, Thai, Indonesian and Surinamese restaurants. 24 of these are so-called 'Chinees-Indisch' restaurants. Chinees-Indisch is a creolised Chinese-Indonesian cuisine that was imported to the Netherlands after the Independence of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in 1949 by returning Dutch families and Chinese double migrants in the 1950s. Chinees-Indisch restaurants are now almost invariably run by Chinese immigrants without links to Indonesia that continues to offer the Chinees-Indisch food to Dutch clientele. The food was used to and recognized as Chinese food. Under conditions of superdiversity, Chinese food in the Netherlands is being reinvented which is (partly) visible in the landscape. Old restaurants are forced to close down or change their menus, while new ones offering more diversified tastes for a more diversified audience are opening.

We intend to combine a genre analysis of the multilingual, multiscriptal, multimodal (and multilayered) identity discourses displayed on the facades of the Chinese restaurants in Eindhoven with more detailed ethnographic descriptions of selected restaurants and their diverse responses to the challenges and opportunities posed by a diversifying market.

One of these could include a newly opened, centrally located restaurant that presents itself in Chinese characters, Japanese romaji and English (not Dutch) as a seafood restaurant while offering both Cantonese dim sum specialties and Japanese sushi and grill for a predominantly Chinese customers. Another such restaurant is a small Chinees-Indisch family restaurant in the northern periphery of Eindhoven that saw a steep increase in its customers after publishing an alternative, authentic Chinese menu on the online Chinese student and expat forum gogodutch.com

(<http://bbs.gogodutch.com/thread-417227-1-1.html>). The window and the menu of this restaurant are reproduced below.

Data example 20: Shop facade of Lung Hing restaurant in traditional Chinese character (龍興) and Cantonese Pinyin (Lung Hing)



In a view from the outside, three scripts are presented: traditional Chinese characters, Cantonese Pinyin (Lung Hing) and Dutch. Take a close look at the menu on the window, like many other Chinees-Indisch (Chinese-Indonesian) restaurants, Lung Hing offers Indonesian food such as 'Babi Pangang', 'Fu Yung Hai', 'Chap Choi', Saté, etcetera. The linguistic landscape and the menu in detail suggest that this restaurant offered (either to eat in or to take away) for a predominantly indigenous Dutch audience. However, walking into the restaurant, we see a different picture: customers are mainly new mandarin speaking Chinese students and 'knowledge migrants'. The following field note illustrates the transformation.

Data example 21:

The first time I visited this restaurant was one year ago in spring 2010. The restaurant provided exclusively Chinees-Indisch dishes. It was dinner time, but there were few customers. The small restaurant is in my neighbourhood. Every time when I passed by, I noticed it was rather empty and I wondered whether this restaurant like some other Chinees-Indisch restaurants in The Netherlands now faced difficulties in their business. A few months later, I saw many Mandarin speaking Chinese people standing in front of the restaurant, waiting to enter. Through the window I could see it was very busy inside the restaurant. I was puzzled and wondered why this restaurant has become so popular all of the sudden with Chinese people. Were the Indonesian dishes such as 'Babi Pangang', 'Fu Yung Hai' 'Chap Choi' becoming very popular among Chinese people? The question was answered by

entering the restaurant. When I walked into the crowded restaurant to the counter, the owner gave me a new menu with simplified characters and the names of authentic Chinese dishes on it. And I observed that the Chinese customers sitting around the table were all reading the same menu to order. Two teachers from the Chinese school were having dinner. We greeted each other and they were very happy that the restaurant provided authentic Chinese food.

(Fieldnotes, 28-11-2010, JLi)

The next day, I found that the menu was posted on the online Chinese student forum, gogodutch.com for a few weeks already and commented frequently by the readers that this is one of the best Chinese restaurants and some dishes are the most authentic Chinese dishes they have ever had in The Netherlands. Some people even travel for a long distance from other cities to come here.

Data example 22: The menu of Lung Hing (龙兴) restaurant, posted on the forum www.gogodutch.com in simplified characters and offered authentic Chinese dishes

龙兴酒家		
(来一份订餐)		
低价,味美,量足,卫生,新鲜		
冷菜	豆豉凤爪 6.95	蔬菜,豆制品
酱鸭 8.95		鱼香茄子 7.50
口水鸡 7.95		麻婆豆腐 7.50
红油肚丝 6.95		家常豆腐 6.80
蒜蓉黄瓜 5.00		蒜蓉芥兰 8.80
白灼凤爪 5.00		蒜蓉芥菜 7.00
		清炒茼蒿 7.00
		蘑菇炒青菜 6.00
		香菇炒冬瓜 6.00
猪肉类	牛羊肉	
红烧肉 9.50	蚝油牛肉 10.80	
糖醋小排 8.50	黑椒牛仔骨 10.80	
椒盐小排 8.50	红烧牛腩煲 10.50	
鱼香肉丝 8.80	牛肉炒西兰花 9.00	
双拼 8.50		
烧肉 6.95	海鲜类	汤类
叉烧 6.95	葱爆炒龙虾 (提前一天预定)	肉丝豆腐汤 6.00
红烧猪蹄 6.50	25.00	肉片时蔬蛋花汤 6.00
	虾仁炒时蔬 12.50	番茄蛋汤 6.00
	香辣蟹 10.80	酸辣汤 6.50
	葱爆炒青蟹 10.80	蹄膀汤 (提前一天预定)
	油爆虾 9.50	10.00
	椒盐虾 9.80	鸡汤 (提前一天预定)
	海鲜豆腐煲 10.50	10.00
	葱爆炒田鸡 10.50	
	酱爆田鸡 10.50	饮料/杯
鸡肉类	水煮鱼 9.95	Cola 1.00
辣子鸡 8.80	豆瓣鱼片 9.95	Fanta 1.00
麻辣鸡丁 8.80	茄汁鱼 8.50	Ice tea 1.00
宫保鸡丁 8.80	鱿鱼炒时蔬 7.50	咖啡 2.00
椒盐鸡 8.50		
咖喱鸡 8.50		
香菇焖鸡 8.50		
蘑菇炖小鸡 8.50		
联系方式		
QQ: 894989234		
Email: ajbbbxul@hotmail.com		
手机: 0647072299 (10:00-22:00)		
座机: 040-2487110 (15:00-21:30)		
地址: Antwerpenlaan 16, 5628 XE, Eindhoven (龙兴酒家)		
(友情提示: 坐 2 号 BUS 到 Belgieplein 下车既是)		

Data example 23: Online comments on Lung Hing restaurant

Internet Explorer browser window showing the forum post "eindhoven 的龙兴酒家太好吃了" (Lung Hing restaurant in Eindhoven is so good). The browser address bar shows the URL: http://bbs.gogodutch.com/thread-417227-1-1.html.

The forum header includes a banner for "GogoDutch 10 years" and a navigation bar with links: 战斗在荷兰, 荷兰网, AON-CSSNL中国国际学生保险, 新生大礼包申请, 登录, 我的中心.

The forum post title is "eindhoven 的龙兴酒家太好吃了". The post is by user "evil1949" and was posted on 2010-11-13 11:21. The post content describes a visit to Lung Hing restaurant and lists the food items ordered: 酱鸭, 红烧猪手, 糖醋小排, 鱼香茄子, 豆腐汤, 小白菜, 辣子鸡. The user also mentions the price of the meal (42欧) and the quantity of food (enough for 6 people).

The forum interface includes a search bar, a "发贴" (Post) button, and a "回复" (Reply) button. The post is marked as "1楼" (1st floor).

Sidebars on the left and right contain additional information and advertisements. The left sidebar shows the user's profile "evil1949" with a registration date of 2010-11-13 11:21 and a post count of 19. The right sidebar features an advertisement for "AON-CSSNL6周年庆 四重大奖连环抽" (AON-CSSNL6 Anniversary Four-Prize Lottery).

6 Conclusions

The main findings from our team can be summarized as follows.

1. The Chinese diaspora members investigated in The Netherlands are organizing complex identity work at a variety of levels and in a variety of domains. They do so *on shifting ground*: the main foci of orientation – the normative ‘centers’ of their identity work – are shifting and changing rapidly and intensely. Consequently, we can see much of the phenomena we have detected in our research as forms of identity *adjustment* or *catching up*, by a heterogeneous, polycentric community to a surrounding world in which the centers are moving targets for the moment.

2. Consequently, in the case of the Chinese diaspora in The Netherlands, the orientations towards the nation-state are particularly intriguing. The historical diaspora did not accept the People’s Republic of China as a ‘homeland’; the homeland was a *particular region* of the PRC (the South and South-East), Hong Kong and other parts of the wider China region. On the contrary, the social and cultural regime of the PRC was long explicitly and implicitly rejected by the Chinese diaspora. This was emblemized by their persistent use of (mainly) Cantonese and of traditional character writing and non-PRC forms of romanization. The changing place of the PRC in the globalized world system, however, has had important effects, both material and ideological. Materially, the demography of the Chinese diaspora changed because of the influx of large numbers of PRC citizens, both as labor force (elite as well as proletarian), as foreign students (i.e. members of a future elite) and as often affluent tourists. Ideologically, the growing confidence of the PRC as a superpower, and its strong insistence on pride and assertiveness regarding Chinese identity, had an effect on the diaspora: (1) the diaspora is now a far more heterogeneous community, partly resident partly transitory, rich and poor, PRC and non-PRC. (2) The focal point for orientations regarding Chinese identity has shifted from the ‘homeland’ of the past (i.e. a real, ‘organic’ region of origins and descent) to the ‘nation-state’ of the present. This is reflected in the rapid and profound shift towards the use of Putonghua and simplified character writing (annex PRC Pinyin romanization).

3. The way in which this shift from ‘homeland’ to ‘nation-state’ is effected differs from social domain to social domain. In the *school context*, we saw how this shift takes the form of (1) a strong and strict emphasis on Putonghua and Pinyin during teaching sessions, notwithstanding the multilingualism that appears before and after class hours; (2) an emphasis on ‘core’ values and meanings belonging to the new PRC cultural canon: re-emphasis on Confucian values, on ‘hard work’ and dedication to being a ‘true’ Chinese. In the *online contexts*, we could see that pupils articulate far more diverse orientations towards this new (and old) Chineseness, and often express orientations towards *multiple* belongings, including Dutch, PRC-Chinese, regional-Chinese (e.g. Cantonese, Indonesian) and pan-Asian. And in the *linguistic landscape*, we see how the shift towards a more PRC-focused

recognizable identity leads to new forms of layered multilingualism, with 'old' (non-PRC) inscriptions gradually being complemented by new (Putonghua) inscriptions.

4. The dominant image we get from these contexts is that of *intense polycentricity*. Chinese diaspora people organize their identity work in relation to a number of simultaneously occurring but context-specific 'centers' – Dutch, PRC, regional, age, gender, etc. identities. These different centers provoke differing orientations towards normative complexes – 'being adequate' as a Dutch-Chinese is a different thing in class from in the online forum environment, and in each of these spaces, different norms prevail and different openings for legitimate identity work exist.

5. Consequently, 'cross-over' moments, i.e. moments where fragments from various contexts meet and are blended, can and do lead to forms of contestation and conflict. Teachers are corrected by students, and students challenge the fundamental Chinese values contained in a reading task. Similarly, students themselves wrestle with the heterogeneity of their Chinese heritage – which now requires streamlining, or mainstreaming, towards one particular set of emblematic features (those of the PRC). Evidence for this could be found in the variety of terms used to denote the Chinese language in student essays: an old vocabulary can be seen here to be in a stage of gradual transformation towards a new one.

6. One important reason we identified for the conflictual and complex nature of learning in these contexts is the background of the teachers themselves. These backgrounds included often painful and traumatic language shifts, a struggle with teaching resources, and a legacy of older teaching styles that may come into conflict with new and different teaching styles. The sociolinguistic biographies of teachers are complex and not without their problems, turning language teachers sometimes effectively into language learners, thus effacing the distance between themselves and their students required for the authority they need to articulate as teachers. The proficiency of certain teachers in the target language resources – Putonghua, simplified script and Pinyin – is not markedly superior to that of some of their students. This too indicates the 'unfinished' character of the present situation of rapid language and identity shifts among this community.

7. These findings demand innovative forms of interpretation, as widespread metaphors of 'mixed identity', 'growing up in two cultures' etc do not appear to offer the precision required here. What we witness is a dynamic process, operating at a variety of levels and scales and in relation to a range of different foci, each of which is undergoing rapid and fundamental transformation at present. The Tilburg team has developed a framework of 'micro-hegemonies' to capture this dynamic complexity (see Blommaert & Varis 2011). We see how in this complex process judgments are continuously being made about specific, micro-hegemonic features of being and behaviour, ranging from speech and accent all the way to values and explicit acts of belonging. Since we are also addressing a heterogeneous community, part of which has been entrenched in Dutch society for generations

while another part of it is transitory and non-resident (yet culturally and ideologically of increasing influence), the 'rules of the game' are also dissipated over different (and differently organized) units of the 'community' – which now receives scare quotes, because we best see the 'community' not as one social unit but as a polycentric complex that has the capacity to close itself down and focus on a limited range of identity targets (e.g. Putonghua, Confucian values), as well as to open up towards more heterogeneous and fluid forms of mixing and pluriform incorporation and belonging.

Note

A great part of this report and data are used previously in our working papers and as part of Jinling's PhD dissertation:

- (1) Li, Jinling and Kasper Juffermans. 2011. On learning a language in transformation: Two final year students' experiences in Chinese complementary education. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 7. Available at <http://www.tilburguniversity.edu/research/institutes-and-research-groups/babylon/tpcs/>
- (2) Li, Jinling and Kasper Juffermans. 2011. Multilingual Europe 2.0: Dutch-Chinese youth identities in the era of superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies* 71. Available at <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/projects/ldc/LDCPublications/workingpapers/71.pdf>. A version of this paper has been submitted to *Language and Communication*.
- (3) Li, Jinling, and Kasper Juffermans. Ideologies of language and learning Chinese in the Netherlands: The metalinguistics of a polycentric language. Paper presented at ISB7 in Oslo (June 2011). Manuscript in preparation.
- (4) Li, Jinling, and Kasper Juffermans "My way of thinking is Dutch": Constructing Chinese-Dutch identities through classroom talk. Paper presented at EERA in Berlin (September 2011). Manuscript in preparation.
- (5) Li, Jinling and Kasper Juffermans. 2012. Transnational youth identities: The discursive complexities of being Dutch in Chinese and Chinese in Dutch. Manuscript in preparation.

Transcription key

[: the beginning of overlapping turns
bold	: loud
x x x	: inaudible word(s)
(())	: the transcriber's comments
<i>italics</i>	: Dutch
<u>underlined</u>	: English

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