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Communicating emotions in L2 Chinese: Talk in the dorm during study abroad

Abstract: Communication of emotion is at the heart of human interaction. For second language (L2) learners, the ability to communicate one's emotion is crucial, especially in the context of study abroad when they are in frequent contact with native speakers. The aim of the case study is to investigate how an American sojourner Puppies and her Chinese roommate Kiki (both pseudonyms) participated in conversational narratives in the dormitory to construct emotions, and how the contextualized interaction facilitated Puppies' development of a linguistic repertoire for the expression of emotion in Chinese. Informed by Vygotskian sociocultural theory, the study followed the genetic method in tracing the history of Puppies' Chinese emotional repertoire across the semester, thereby elucidating the language developmental processes in the situated oral interaction. Audio-recorded everyday interaction in the dorm is triangulated by Puppies' responses to the pre- and post-Mandarin Awareness Interview and interviews with Puppies and Kiki. Analysis revealed that the contextualized dorm talk provided abundant L2 resources for Puppies to develop a L2 emotional repertoire, especially fear-related emotion expressions. A discrepancy in the product of development as gleaned from the Mandarin Awareness Interview, and the process of development as seen in the naturally occurring dorm talk, suggests that Puppies' use or non-use of local emotional expressions could be mediated by her partial understanding of the forms and the speech style and identity she wished to assume.

Keywords: Chinese as a second language, emotion, narrative, sociocultural theory

1 Introduction

Communication of emotion is at the heart of human interaction (Fussell 2002). However, in second language (L2) education, with emphasis on language as

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information transmission, emotion-related language is much neglected (Maynard 2005). Emotion in L2 research has primarily been filtered through psychological factors, such as motivation and foreign language anxiety, predicting L2 gains (Pavlenko 2013). The current study construes emotion from a linguistic perspective as the verbal communication of emotion in contextualized oral interaction. The chapter explores how an American sojourner and her Chinese roommate communicated emotions by participating in conversational narratives in the dorm, and how the situated oral interaction provided opportunities to enhance the learner's emotional repertoire in Chinese over the semester abroad. The chapter begins with a brief literature review to justify its focus on informal interaction and L2 emotion.

1.1 Informal interaction in study abroad

From quantitative examinations of the efficacy of time and living arrangements abroad (e.g. Freed et al. 2004; Di Silvio et al. 2014) to narrative inquiries into students' perceptions of experience (e.g. Wilkinson 1998), informal contact between sojourners and expert speakers is often referenced as an important explanatory factor or a site for language learning. Inquiries into the "*qualities* of informal contact" (emphasis in original) (Kinginger 2009: 145) are hence a key avenue for study abroad research to resolve unanswered questions: what everyday interaction actually looks like, and how this seemingly mundane activity is the locus of learning. By incorporating recorded interaction and assuming the theories of language socialization or Vygotskian sociocultural theory, this line of research presents advantages for resolving mysteries put forth by previous research.

Approaching qualities of informal interaction through discourse patterns, contextualized local practices, and linguistic indices of speech style, formality and gender, existing research has found that study abroad has the unique potential to facilitate language development outside the constraints of classroom discourse and to present the complexity of authentic social interaction, including opportunities for classroom learners to face pragmatic consequences (Kinginger 2009), by engaging sojourners in semiotic practices in contextualized interaction. DuFon (2006) and Kinginger et al. (2016a) examined the socialization of taste during mealtime conversations at Indonesian and Chinese homestays respectively, which introduced students to local beliefs and values of food (DuFon 2006), as well as the aesthetic, moral, and health-related dimensions of taste (Kinginger et al. 2016a). Cook (2006) revealed the socialization power of everyday storytelling between American students and Japanese hosts, who

challenged and co-constructed folk beliefs and negotiated understanding of each other's culture. Lee and Kinginger (2016) investigated a common practice in study abroad homestay – authentication – in particular moments when students' linguistic and cultural performances are appraised by their hosts as "authentic" Chinese, reflecting ideologies associated with specific semiotic resources while also ascribing identities of insiders and outsiders.

Despite its rich affordances, informal contact does not promise effortless access to local practices, full participation in meaningful communication, or acquisition of local linguistic repertoires. Researchers examining discourse patterns within homestays found influence from prior socialization in classrooms pervasive. Hosts and students relied heavily on the IRE structure (initiation, response, evaluation) typical in classrooms and assumed pedagogical roles (Wilkinson 2002), and hosts often raised display questions that restricted the development of conversations (Pryde 2014).

Mixed results were found concerning sojourners' access to and development of linguistic repertoires rich in social meanings, such as speech style, formality and gender. Cook (2008) attested to the key role homestay interaction played in the sojourner's development of the plain and polite speech style in Japanese through implicit and explicit socialization. Brown's (2013) study on the Korean honorific system showed that only one speech style (namely the half speech used between intimate age-rank equals or subordinates and children) was available to the sojourners because of their foreign identity. Fernandez (2016) also found sojourners' exposure to Spanish informal language rather limited in their conversations with age-peer language partners. In one case, Analía, a local Spanish teacher, relied heavily on formal features when meeting with Kaelyn the American student, who also chose not to speak informal Spanish in order to sound "neutral" and prepare herself to be a Spanish teacher. Also investigating a linguistic feature common in everyday conversation but not emphasized in classrooms, Diao (2016) highlighted Mandarin sentence-final particles that index affect, gender and youth in peer interaction in a residence hall. Sojourner Ellen and her Chinese roommate Helen used the particles to mark a "cute style" in their reported speech of other girls at the dorm. Li, a male student from North China, frequently enjoined Tuzi, an American who lived in Southern China for six months, not to use particles because they made Tuzi sound "gay" or "like a girl". Mac and Fang mostly communicated in English as the latter thought that one should not expect too much from a "study abroad student" and therefore no such socialization occurred. The study illustrates how peer interaction affords participation in gendered linguistic practices and socialization into or out of the locally-relevant linguistic repertoire. These results show that language learning

in informal contact is very much mediated by how sojourners and expert speakers position themselves and others, their identities, and relationships.

1.2 Emotion in a second language

There is a limited but growing number of L2 studies examining emotion from a linguistic perspective by investigating emotion identification (e.g. Lorette and Dewaele 2015), language choice and perception of emotionality (e.g. Dewaele, 2010), and the acoustics (e.g. Jian 2015), lexical items (e.g. Pavlenko and Driagina 2007) and discourse of emotion (e.g. Rintell 1990). Particularly relevant are studies that examined emotion in the context of narratives. Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) scrutinized emotion lexis in summaries of a film by English and Russian monolinguals and advanced learners of Russian. Russian monolinguals framed emotions as verbs and activities whereas English monolinguals preferred adjectives and states, and L2 learners demonstrated acquisition of the Russian pattern but still differed from monolinguals in some aspects. Other researchers examined the discursive and rhetorical devices L2 speakers deployed in narratives of emotion. Rintell (1990) compared emotional narratives by non-native and native speakers of English and discovered that L2 speakers' stories were less elaborate, lacked explicit emotional response, and used fewer rhetorical strategies such as reported speech. Nevertheless, these studies present limitations with only elicited and cross-sectional data (Pavlenko 2013). This chapter aims to fill the gap by examining how Puppies communicated emotions in spontaneous interaction, and how she developed an emotion repertoire in Chinese.

2 The current study

2.1 Theoretical framework

The paper takes up the theoretical framework of Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory to elucidate language developmental processes in contextualized interaction. The theory's fundamental tenet is that human's higher mental functions are mediated by culturally organized tools that are physical (e.g. chopsticks) or symbolic (e.g. language) (Lantolf and Thorne 2006). Higher mental functions originate from the social or interpsychological plane, and are internalized into the individual or intrapsychological plane (Vygotsky 1987). Communicative

interaction is the primary site in which mediational means are made available and relevant to the current joint attentional activity, and is "the source and driver of development" (van Compernolle 2015:35).

Internalization or development is conceptualized as changes in mediated forms from object-regulation, other-regulation, ultimately to self-regulation (Lantolf and Thorne 2006). It is realized through the quality and quantity of interaction that is "attuned to a learner's potential ability" (Lantolf 2012: 57) or one's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), defined as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky 1978: 86). Within individual's ZPD, learners imitate from the communicative interaction what they can understand but cannot perform independently at the moment (Chaiklin 2003). Imitation, as a key mechanism that leads to internalization, is inherently creative and transformative rather than rote copying (Lantolf and Thorne 2006). Internalization is not a smooth process, may move "in fits and spurts," and lead to unanticipated learning outcomes (Lantolf and Thorne 2006: 157). In other words, development is by no means linear or composed of "steady quantitative increments," but rather qualitative, dialectical and "fundamentally 'revolutionary'" (Wertsch 1985: 19).

As internalization originates from the interpsychological plane, development is historical, genetic, or "in the process of change" (Vygotsky 1978: 65). To observe such changes, Vygotsky (1978) advanced the genetic methods. Relevant to the current discussion are microgensis, or "short-term formation of psychological process" (Wertsch 1985: 55), and ontogenesis, or "life history of an individual" (Kinginger et al. 2016b: 41). Microgenetic analysis of contextualized interaction traces the history of particular linguistic resources in a short period of time, which in turn influences the ontogenesis of participants' emotional repertoire and experience.

2.2 Setting

The research site was an American study abroad center in Shanghai assigned the pseudonym China Study Center (CSC). The center is housed at a nationally renowned China University (pseudonym) in Shanghai. The typical length of study at CSC is a semester. The program offers Chinese language instruction in the morning and elective courses on issues related to Chinese culture, economics and politics in the afternoon. Students in the intensive language track, as the

case in focus, take four hours of Chinese Monday to Thursday, and are assigned a tutor to meet weekly and a one-on-one teacher to meet Monday through Wednesday. Three accommodation options are available: Chinese homestay, Chinese roommate and CSC roommate.

2.3 Data

Data include everyday interaction in the dorm audio-recorded by the student, responses to the pre- and post-Mandarin Awareness Interview (MAI), interviews and observation. During the semester, the American student was equipped with a digital audio recording device and asked to make a minimum of one recording per week of casual interaction with the roommate. The focal student recorded 19 conversations adding up to 448 minutes. The MAI is an instrument designed for this research that elicits performative and metapragmatic data on students' ability to recognize and communicate emotions in Chinese. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the author's university, and informed consent was obtained from all participants.

2.4 Participants

Puppies was among the 25 U.S.-based students who participated in the larger dissertation project. 20 years of age, Puppies was a junior in International Relations at a private university in Pennsylvania. Growing up in suburban Philadelphia, she was born of an African American father and a Jamaican mother. Her family language is primarily English, and her mother also speaks Patio or Jamaican Creole in the house. Puppies learned Spanish as a foreign language and became very fluent. Deeply bored by European languages, Puppies then shifted her focus to Chinese. Having learned Chinese in high school and college for two years each, Puppies was placed in Third Year Chinese class in Shanghai. She chose to live with a Chinese roommate at the international student dorm on campus of China University.

Puppies' roommate Kiki was a junior in Software Design at China University. Originally from Taipei, her family moved to Jiangsu province with her father's company ten years ago. Living with an American roommate the second time, Kiki was motivated by the opportunity to learn English and American culture, make American friends, and eventually "blend in" with Americans.

2.5 Analysis

The aim of the study is to understand how Puppies and Kiki participated in conversational narratives (Ochs and Capps 2001) to construct emotions, and how the contextualized interaction facilitated Puppies' development of a linguistic repertoire for the expression of emotion in Chinese. Data analysis featured discourse analysis and followed the genetic method in tracing the history of Puppies' Chinese emotional repertoire across the semester. The audio recordings were transcribed into Chinese characters and English translation in single quotes. Code switching into English was italicized. Adapting the discourse transcription convention from DuBois et al. (1993), features relevant to the current discussion were transcribed (Appendix). This chapter addresses the following research questions:

1. What linguistic devices did Puppies and Kiki use when communicating emotions in conversational narratives?
2. How did Puppies develop her emotional repertoire of Chinese in conversational narratives with Kiki?

2.6 Findings

Puppies and Kiki's dorm talk, according to Puppies, was mainly about their day-to-day lives such as what they had done that day, classes and homework. Audio recording of their daily interaction also reveals a wide range of topics from their everyday experience, such as a Korean boy band that Puppies loves, an annoying classmate, cross-cultural comparison of, for example, dating practices, and social issues, such as gun violence in the US, poverty in China, and homosexuality. Despite her intention to practice English, Kiki followed the Chinese roommate rule, always spoke Chinese with Puppies, and took my advice to discuss American language and culture in Chinese with Puppies. Describing Kiki as "nice" and "helpful", Puppies attributed a significant portion of her linguistic gains to her interaction with Kiki.

They both positively evaluated their relationship. Puppies in the last interview characterized their time together as "very comfortable" and the thought of leaving made her want to cry. Kiki at first found it difficult to blend in with Americans and moving a "light" relationship into a close one, given the different lifestyle, her limited English and Puppies' limited Chinese proficiency. Later in the semester, however, Kiki discovered more similarities with Puppies, such as not caring for drinking unlike "a typical American,; and being polite and courteous.

In the end-of-semester interview, Puppies shared her learning of Chinese emotion as mostly occurring in naturalistic contexts with Kiki, and her methods of recognizing emotion as identifying a key metaphor and listening to the prosody. Puppies summarized Kiki's often-used emotion lexical items as 恐怕 'afraid', 害怕 'fear' and 讨厌 'hate', and reported receiving extra exposure by overhearing people talking on campus. Puppies also demonstrated her growing understanding of a key metaphor in Chinese emotion 心 'heart' (Yu 2009): 'heart is in all the words ... worry (担心), hurt feeling (伤心), in one's heart (心里) ... when I see heart I understand its meaning, and interesting (有意思), in the 意 and 思 they both have heart in it ... heart is about a person's feeling.'

Below, I examine Puppies and Kiki's verbal repertoire of emotion, and the genesis of Puppies' competence in verbally communicating emotions in L2 Chinese. A prime emotional theme that emerged from the recorded dorm talk is that of fear, as signaled by emotion expressions of 害怕 'fear', 可怕 'scary', 恐怖 'horrifying' and 怕 'fear'. I first present the Mandarin Awareness Interview (MAI) data as the product of Puppies' language acquisition, and then the naturally occurring conversations with Kiki as the process from which the development originated.

2.7 Product of development: Mandarin awareness interview

The MAI was repeated between Puppies and me on October 8th and December 6th. One of the tasks was to compose a sentence using the word 害怕 'fear'. Puppies' responses in the pre-MAI (Excerpt 1) and post-MAI (Excerpt 2) as supplemented by her explanation (Excerpt 3) demonstrated the outcome of her language learning during the semester.

Excerpt 1: October 8th.

1	Puppies:	哦
		'oh'
2		我听到在一个地方在中国里面
		'I heard in a place inside China'
		他们有 一 个 *glass* 的 *bridge*
		'they have a *glass bridge*'
		((eight lines omitted))
4		他们有 一个 <**F** 非 =**F**> 常高的 *bridge*
		'they have an very high *bridge*'
5		它 uh 可是 *the glass* uh 坏
		'it uh but *the glass* uh bad'

6 Researcher: unh
7 Puppies: *uh like crack*
          所以很多人害怕因为如果
          'so many people scared because if'
9   他们 *fall* 怎么办
          'they *fall* what to do'
10 Researcher: 哦
          'oh'
11 Puppies: 差-
          'al-'
12   我觉得他们 uh 死了
          'I think they uh dead'
13   所以这是一个不好的 *thing*
          'so this is a bad *thing*'

Excerpt 2: December 6th.
1 Puppies: 所以我的我告诉我的
          'so my I tell my'
2   等一下
          'wait a second'
3   unh 可以说告诉可以说
          'unh (I) can say tell can say'
4   uh 我告诉我的同屋
          'I tell my roommate'
5   我看到一个蛇在草里面
          'I see a snake inside the grass'
6   她说 喔 好 <@ 怕 害怕啊 @>
          'she says: "oh so sca-scared"'
7   因为她的
          'because her'
8 Researcher: 真的
          'really'
9 Puppies: 不是不是真的
          'not not real'
10   只是一个句子
          'just a sentence'
11   可是
          'but'
12 Researcher: @@
13 Puppies: 哦 她真的害怕 uh 蝴蝶还有

　　　　　　　　　‘oh she is really afraid of butterflies’
14　　　　　　　别的非常小的动物
　　　　　　　　　‘also other very small animals’
15　Research:　哦
　　　　　　　　　‘oh’
16　Puppies:　她觉得他们很可-很漂亮
17　　　　　　　‘she thinks they're very cu- very beautiful’
　　　　　　　　可是我害怕它们碰我 <@ 所以 @>
　　　　　　　　　‘but is afraid of them touching me so’

Puppies' post-test response showed qualitative progress from that of the pre-test. In the pre-MAI, she relied on code switching, described people's emotions on the scene with only the emotion word (line 8) and the cause (lines 8, 9, 12), and issued a general evaluation (line 13). Contrastively, in Excerpt 2, she narrated solely in Chinese, adopted reported speech, appropriately used 害怕 'fear' in three syntactical structures (lines 6, 13, 17), modified the emotion term with adverb 好 'so' and sentence-final particle 啊 (line 6). Intensifiers and sentence-final particles in Chinese are two productive linguistic devices to mark emotion. 好 'so' displays overt emotional involvement in spoken register specifically narrative discourse (Lim and Hong 2012). Sentence-final particles index high affectivity (Wu 2004) and are associated with femininity, youth and a cute speech style (Diao 2016). Puppies' repair from 怕 'fear' to 害怕 'fear' (line 6), synonyms that may differ in register and style (Liu 2007), responded to the task prompt and suggests that she had parsed the components of 好怕啊 'so scared' rather than memorizing it as a chunk. While the incident in Excerpt 1 was a news event that Puppies read online, the hypothetical situation in Excerpt 2 came directly from her experience with Kiki. The distinction implied that Puppies became familiar with Kiki's emotional style, and their daily interaction appears to have fostered Puppies development in the post-MAI.

　　Following her response in the post-MAI, Puppies provided elaboration on her report of Kiki's emotional style, further lending support to insights gleaned from Excerpt 2, meanwhile adding some complexity to Puppies' learning trajectory.

Excerpt 3: December 6th.
1　Puppies:　恐 uh 可怕 害怕
　　　　　　　‘afra- uh scary are what she usually says’
2　　　　　　　这这个她常常说
　　　　　　　‘this this she often says’
3　　　　　　　因为我常常告诉她美国的新闻[所以]
　　　　　　　‘because I often tell her American news’

4   Researcher: **[@@]**
              然后她会怎么 说
              'then what will she say'
6   Puppies: 好可 <**F**怕**F**> 啊
              hǎo kěpà ā
              'so scary'
7   可 <**F**怕**F**> 啊
              'scary'
8   Researcher: 她说可- 什么
              'she says what'
9   Puppies: 恐恐怕**?**
              'afra-afraid'
10 Research: 恐怕 **[unh]**
              'afraid unh'
11 Puppies: **[**害**]**怕
              'fear'

Puppies demonstrated awareness of Kiki's emotional repertoire, often-used linguistic devices (i.e. adverb 好 'so' and sentence-final particle), and association of fear with news from the US. However, Puppies seemed to confuse the two emotion words of similar pronunciation: 可怕 (kěpà) 'scary', and 恐怕 (kǒngpà) 'afraid.'

Comparison of Puppies' performances in the MAIs provided strong evidence of her development across time. Now we turn to her everyday interaction with Kiki in the dorm to trace the history or the genesis of Puppies' development of her Chinese emotional repertoire of fear.

2.8 Process of development: Informal conversation in the dorm

In Excerpt 4, Puppies explained to Kiki why she disliked a movie theatre at home, which laid the foundation for possible microgenesis of her acquisition of Chinese repertoire of fear-related expressions.

Excerpt 4: October 10th.
1   Puppies: 我知道一 次
              'I know one time'
2   很多电影院有一个很大的问题因为
              'many movie theatres have a very big problem because'

3   unh 有的 *news reporter*
'because unh some *news reporter*'

4   不知道怎么说
'don't know how to say'
((10 lines omitted))

5   所以这个人 uh
'so this person uh'

6   这个人 <**X**知道**X**> 有的电影院有
'this person knows some movie theatres have'

7   很旧很旧的玉米 什么
'very old very old corn what'
((five lines omitted))

8 Puppies: 所以他们常常放他们的旧爆米花
'so they often put their old popcorn'

9   在他们的^新爆米花所[以**X**]
'in their new popcorn so'

10 Kiki: [<**F**呀 = =**F**>]
'yuk'

11 Puppies: 对 所以他们可以 uh 花他们的食品
'right so they can spend their food'

12 Kiki: 嗯
'yes'

13 Puppies: 我觉得 <**F**非 =**F**> 常不好
'I think (it's) very not good'

14 Kiki: 我也觉得非常不好
'I also think (it's) very not good'

15 Puppies: 因为你的原因你不 uh 知道这个因为
'because of your reason you don't know this because'

16   你看一个电影的时候
'uh when you watch a movie'

17   uh 有的XX uh知道你的味道
'some XX know your taste'

18 Kiki: unh

19 Puppies: 不一样
'not the same'

20 Kiki: 哦
'oh'

21 Puppies: 我觉得很有意思
'I think (it's) very interesting'

22 Kiki: **@<@ 好[好可]怕哦@>**
          'so so scary'
23 Puppies: **[所以]**
          'so'
24   嗯 所以我们不喜欢这个电影院
          'unh so we don't like this movie theatre'

Puppies set the affective key (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989) as negative with an emotion-laden word 问题 'problem' (line 2). After seeking assistance from Kiki (lines omitted), Puppies described the condemnable behavior, although her utterance was grammatically inaccurate without the 把 'ba'-construction (lines 8–9). Kiki, at this point, displayed her understanding and emotional intersubjectivity by uttering an elongated and louder interjection, indexing a strong emotion of disgust (line 10). Puppies subsequently confirmed that Kiki's emotional reaction was appropriate (line 11). She then issued a general evaluation of the behavior with prosodic emphasis on the first syllable of adverb 非常 'very' (line 13), and Kiki showed her affiliation (Couper-Kuhlen 2012) by repeating the exact wording (line 14). Puppies closed the story by showing her emotion with an epistemic phrase 我觉得 'I think', intensifier 很 'very', and emotion phrase 有意思 'interesting' (line 21). When asked about 有意思 'interesting' in the MAIs, Puppies considered it only appropriate when used positively and distinguished it from its rough equivalence in English "interesting". In this excerpt, her use of the phrase in a negative scenario implies that her first language (L1) was mediating her emotional concept (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006), and her metalinguistic knowledge had not transformed into performance. Kiki, when displaying her emotional reaction to the narrated event, responded with the highly affective intensifier 好 'so', emotion lexical item 可怕 'scary', and sentence-final particle 哦 'oh' (line 22), which modeled for Puppies a more affective and specific emotional response, namely fear, to the narrated scenario. Puppies did not take up Kiki's expression, but confirmed with 嗯 'unh' (line 24), implying that she could infer the negativity in the expression.

Excerpt 4 suggests that Puppies, despite some linguistic difficulties and ambiguity in meaning, was able to frame the story in negative emotionality. Meanwhile, her emotion expressions were not native like and lacked sophistication with L1 influence of word choice and overly general evaluations. Kiki provided timely linguistic assistance attuned to Puppies' ZPD, strong emotional response and affiliation, and modeling of a local emotion lexical items along with linguistic devices indexical of emotionality. Her use of the fear-related expression in the popcorn scenario that does not usually invoke fear could be her rhetorical means to show affiliation and intersubjectivity. The joint attentional storytelling thus

afforded contextualized and locally relevant linguistic resources for developing a Chinese emotional repertoire.

Two days after Excerpt 4 was recorded, Puppies for the first time used the emotion lexical item 可怕 'scary' to characterize a story she was going to tell. Immediately before the excerpt, Puppies and Kiki were discussing American politics and the resulting inequality between the rich and the poor.

Excerpt 5: October 12th.

1	Puppies:	这个是一个真的 例子
		'this is a real example'
2		很可 <**F**怕**F**> 的例子
		'very scary example'
3	Kiki:	哦
		'oh'
4	Puppies:	我可以告诉你这个
		'I can tell you'
5		在美国 uh 最我们的百分之一
		'the most our one percent'
6		最 uh 有钱的人
		'unh the most richest people'
7		他们 uh 他们要全部的美国钱
		'they uh they want all of American money'
8		百分之九十九
		'ninety-nine percent'
9	Kiki:	对对对对对
		'right right right right right'
10	Puppies:	所以别的人
		'so other people'
11		我们都有百分之一
		'we all have one percent of'
12	Kiki:	对啊
		'exactly'
13	Puppies:	美国的钱
		'America's money'
14	Kiki:	嗯
		'yes'
15	Puppies:	我觉得为什么为什么为什么
		'I think why why why'
16		啊 *just*
		'ah *just*'

Puppies prefaced her narrative by emphasizing the truthfulness (line 1) and characterizing the emotional nature of the story as 很可怕的 'very scary' (line 2). Unlike Kiki's model in Excerpt 4 好可怕哦 'so scary', Puppies used 可怕 'scary' with an associative 的 to transform it into an attributive adjective to modify 例子 'example'. Her usage was an example of deferred imitation, an often-observed phenomenon that allows learners to analyze language "off-line" (Meltzoff and Gopnik 1989: 38; cited in Lantolf and Thorne 2006: 107). The imitation was creative and operated within what she could analyze and understand (Chaiklin 2003). After describing the story, Puppies displayed her emotion through repeated uttering of 为什么 'why' (line 15), an interjection 啊 'ah' and English *just* (line 16). Excerpt 5 demonstrates Puppies' creative imitation of the use of 可怕 'scary' that transcended (Poehner 2007) to a new story with a new scenario, implying her emerging control over this aspect of her linguistic repertoire (van Compernolle 2010). Puppies' use of 可怕 'scary' to describe the income gap scenario that does not typically invoke fear could be attributed to her perception that Kiki often associated fear with news in the U.S. (Excerpt 3).

Towards the end of semester, Puppies and Kiki engaged in a horror and murder story marathon. Kiki had been repeatedly displaying her feelings towards the stories with emotional words associated with fear, such as 可怕 'scary' and 恐怖 'horrifying'. Excerpt 6 presents one of the stories that Puppies told, following Kiki's telling of a tragedy involving a couple.

Excerpt 6: November 29th.
1   Puppies: 我听说一个韩国的故事
                'I heard a Korean story'
2   Kiki: unh
3   Puppies: 也是一个男生男朋友女朋友
                'also a guy boyfriend girlfriend'
4   Kiki: unh
5   Puppies   他们分- 分分开
                'they pa-par-parted'
6   Kiki: 嗯分开
                'unh parted'
7   Puppies: 他们分开的时候
                'when they parted'
8   这个男生<**F**非　=**F**>常非常生气
                'this guy (was) very very mad'
9   然后他的女生女uh以前的女朋友去
                'then his girl girl- uh previous girlfriend went to'

10   纽约留学我觉得
            'New York to study abroad I think'
11   然后她的同屋找找到她已经死死了
            'then her roommate fou-found her already die-dead'
12   他们不知道为什么
            'they didn't know why'
13   uh *no* 不是这样
            'oh *no* not like this'
14   他们不知道她在 哪儿
            'they didn't know where she is'
15   所以很多很多天我们的警察 uh 在找她
            'so many many days our police uh was looking for her'
16   然后他们找到一个
            'then they found a'
17   uh 我可以看一看
            'I can take a look'
            ((4 lines omitted))
18 Puppies: uh 提箱
            'uh carry case'
19 Kiki: 啊
            'what'
20 Puppies: 提箱
            'carry case'
21   提-提箱
            'carry-carry case'
22 Kiki: 提箱
            'carry case'
23 Puppies: 对 提箱
            'right carry case'
            ((Kiki walks closer))
24 Kiki: 哦 手提箱 手提箱
            'oh suit case suit case'
25   在手提箱里面
            'in (a) suit case?'
26 Puppies: 在在土土土地里 土地下面
            'in in the soil soil soil ground under the soil ground'
27 Kiki: 已经在土地下面啦
            'already under the soil ground'
28 Puppies: 对 所以她的她的她的女女朋

'right so her her her girl- girlfri-'
29   以前的男朋友杀了她
'previous boyfriend killed her'
30   然后把她的身体放在一个提箱里面
'then put her body inside a carry case'
31 Kiki: 这样 **XX**
'like this XX'
32 Puppies: 不是他 *just* **XX**
'not he *just* XX'
33 Kiki: 全部吗
'all (of her)'
34   哦 = =
'oh'
35 Puppies: **@@**
36 Kiki: **(H)**
37 Puppies: **@**<**@**真的 可怕**@**>
'real scary'
38 Kiki: 好可怕啊
'so scary'
39 Puppies: 哦 所以 *oh my goodness*
'oh so *oh my goodness*'

In this excerpt, Puppies demonstrated her competence in collaboratively narrating a coherent and tellable story. Her language was more accurate by using 听说 'hear say' (line 1) rather than 听到 'hear', and 把 'ba'-construction (line 30). She also adopted the Chinese narrative connective 然后 'then' (lines 9, 11, 16, 30) rather than 所以 'so'. With respect to emotion expression, she emphasized the intensity of the murderer's anger by repeating adverb 非常 'very' (line 8). In closing the story, Puppies described the story as 可怕 'scary' modified by adverb 真的 'really' to elevate the intensity of the emotion (line 37). Subsequently, Kiki echoed Puppies' emotion but recast the intensifier into adverb 好 'so' (line 38). Similar to Excerpt 5, Puppies did not use 可怕 'scary' in the exact same way as Kiki often did, but rather creatively imitated Kiki by maintaining the emotion term and shifting the adverb into 真的 'really', although such collocation is ungrammatical.

To summarize, analysis of the naturally occurring interactions reveals the emotional repertoires Puppies and Kiki respectively possessed, and traces the genesis of Puppies' linguistic repertoire associated with fear in Chinese. The linguistic devices Puppies used and developed included emotion-laden words,

simple expressions such as 不好 'not good', prosodic emphasis on or repetition of intensifiers to signify higher emotionality, English-mediated emotion phrase 有意思 'interesting', repetition of why questions, and a newly acquired emotion lexical item 可怕 'scary'. Investigation into the process of language development shows that Kiki the expert speaker provided contingent linguistic assistance to Puppies, emotional responses of high affectivity, emotional affiliation with Puppies' stance, and modeling of local emotion expression immediately after that of Puppies. Meanwhile, Puppies creatively imitated Kiki's use of language, which entailed her "selective attention resulting in reduction, expansion, and repletion of social models" (Lantolf and Thorne 2006: 179). This is why Newman and Holzman (1993) argued that imitation is development because "something new is created out of saying or doing 'the same thing'" (p. 151). Lastly, by participating in the contextualized interaction with Kiki, Puppies gained "access to L2 repertoires that mediates L2 communication *in situ*" (emphasis in original), which she could then creatively restructure to meet her communicative goals (van Compernolle 2015: 84).

2.9 Triangulation of data

As illustrated in the post-MAI (Excerpt 2), Puppies seemed to have developed the ability to narrate a story with higher affective local expressions, although with some ambiguity. In the naturally occurring data, on the other hand, she preferred to frame the emotion fear in other syntactical structures. I propose three explanations for the seemingly conflicting evidence from the two data sets. First, Puppies had not fully mastered the term 可怕 'scary' and the indexical meanings of the intensifier 好 'so', and therefore was hesitant to use them. Second, as Kiki primarily modeled the use of 好可怕哦 'so scared' in a response position, or as a co-teller of Puppies' narratives, Puppies, who was mostly the primary narrator, was sensitive to the role-reversion effect (Tomasello 1998) and therefore avoided using the expression. Third, the identity associated with the emotion expression did not correspond to that of Puppies'.

The first explanation is supported by Excerpt 3, and a short conversation recorded on November 18th. When Puppies did her Chinese homework, one of the questions was to make up a sentence with 设施 'facility' (formal) and 昂贵 'expensive' (formal). Puppies were undecided between设施好昂贵 'The facility is so expensive' and 设施昂贵得不得了'The facility is expensive to the point of impossibility.' When Puppies directed the question to Kiki, Kiki presented a hypothetical scenario: "你跟你的朋友去星月湾,你看到一个东西, 好贵啊"

'when you go to Star Moon Bay (Mall), you saw a thing, so expensive.' In Kiki's example, intensifier 好 'so' is associated with the monosyllabic version of expensive 贵 'expensive' (informal) and sentence-final particle. The short pedagogical conversation suggests that Puppies might understand the intensifier 好 'so' in terms of the degree of intensity but not the register and situation appropriateness. Kiki's explanation did not provide any metalinguistic information, leaving Puppies to infer from the context.

The second explanation may not sustain, as there exist instances when Kiki told stories that would invoke fear and Puppies did not use the expression. For example, on November 29th, Kiki was telling a "horrifying" news story in Taiwan that involved disfiguring with sulfuric acid. Puppies actively participated in the story by supplying the emotional response "God, 糟糕, 已经糟糕了" 'God, very bad, already very bad' when Kiki mentioned "chemical," and actively guessing the exact substance that committed the crime. In displaying emotional response, Puppies opted for English *God* and 糟糕 'bad', an emotion-laden expression that appears in North American Mandarin textbooks rather than the local form that Kiki repeatedly demonstrated.

Lastly, the cute and feminine style invoked in frequent display of fear with highly affective devices might not match Puppies' identity. The intersectionality (Block and Corona 2016) of gender, race and national identity might have given rise to Kiki and Puppies' different perceptions of femininity, and hence their linguistic choices. Language acquisition is profoundly influenced by social factors such as identities associated with the form rather than the frequency (Ochs and Schieffelin 1995). Linguistic failure cannot be simply understood as deficient learning, but "ways in which learners attempted to establish (new) identities and gain self-regulation through linguistic means" (Dunn and Lantolf 1998: 427). Puppies' use or non-use of certain emotional linguistic devices therefore could be a result of her "sociolinguistic agency" (van Compernolle and Williams 2011) through which she decided which style and identity to assume and which linguistic forms to appropriate or not.

3 Conclusion

Puppies and Kiki engaged in everyday conversational narratives to share stories and to achieve emotional intersubjectivity. The contextualized oral interaction provided abundant L2 resources for Puppies to become a more competent narrator in Chinese and develop a L2 emotional repertoire. The complexity of

acquiring a L2 emotional repertoire, nevertheless, should not be underestimated, as it involves internalization of form and concept (Lantolf and Thorne 2006) on levels of lexicon, cognitive appraisal, emotion displays, morphosyntax, discourse, speech acts, narrative construction and the non-verbal channel (Pavlenko 2014: 296–297).

The findings of the study have three major implications for pedagogy and program design. Considering the omnipresence of emotion communication in everyday narrative, L2 curricula can incorporate elements of emotion and narrative. Language educators can also raise metapragmatic awareness on the different emotional modes American and Chinese may engage in. For sojourners and Chinese roommates or host families to become more aware of their interactional practices, study abroad programs can integrate recording of daily conversation and analysis in the classroom.

The study has the following limitations. To reduce intrusion into the participants' private life, the data present only the audio modality, which does not allow investigation into the non-verbal aspects that are crucial for emotion communication. The analysis is from mostly an etic perspective. Future research can involve stimulated recall to study the emic perspectives. The research is a case study and therefore no claims of generalizability can be made. However, despite the many limitations, case study offers a vantage point to explore complex phenomena and trace change over time (Duff 2008; van Lier 2005), and to generate analytical generalizations or insights that advance theories and new avenues for research (Yin 2014). As L2 emotion research is still in its infancy, case study can be an appropriate methodology for the purpose of theory advancement and for tracing future avenues of inquiry.

Appendix: Transcription convention

–	truncated word	< F F >	loudness
[]	speech overlap	< @ @ >	laugh quality
?	appeal	(())	researcher's comment
=	elongation	< X X >	uncertain hearing
(H)	inhalation	X	indecipherable syllable
@	laughter		

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