

國立政治大學英國語文學系碩士班碩士論文

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一位在台灣教學的宏都拉斯籍英語教師的語言投資：質性個案研究

Language Investment of a Honduran English Teacher in Taiwan:

A Qualitative Case Study

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中華民國一〇九年四月

April, 2020



Language Investment of a Honduran English Teacher in Taiwan: A
Qualitative Case Study

A Master's Thesis

Presented to

Department of English,
National Chengchi University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Yu-ze Jheng

April, 2020



To Professor Chin-chi Chao

獻給我的恩師招靜琪教授





ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my mentor and advisor, Dr. Chin-chi Chao, for her continuous support. Without her guidance, I would never be able to finish this thesis. When I had hard time working on this thesis, she kept encouraging me and giving me strength to carry on. She inspired me, and I feel more than lucky and grateful to have her as my advisor. Also, I greatly appreciate Professor. Yi-ping Huang, Professor. Li-yuan Hsu, Professor. Jie-yu Yeh, and Professor. Ming-i Tseng to kindly offer me directions to refine my thesis.

Second, I want to extend the gratitude to my participant, Ronaldo, for his generosity sharing his precious language learning experiences, which provided me materials to portray this thesis. His story kindled me so many ideas on both thesis and language education. On the other hand, I would like to thank my friends who are always being there for me, especially Howard, Brad, and Mandy; your unconditional supports get me through so many down times.

Third, I want to thank my parents and grandparents for their financial and emotional supports. You are always caring and kind to me, and I am very blessed to have you around me. You are the reason that I am so determined to finish this thesis, and I love you.

Last, throughout my M.A. time, I have met so many people in National Chengchi University. Thank you all for taking part at the stage of my journey, it is an excitement and a bitter-sweet experience to me.



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國立政治大學英國語文學系碩士班

碩士論文提要

論文名稱：一位在台灣教學的宏都拉斯籍英語教師的語言學習投資：質性個案研究

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論文提要內容：

英文作為世界語言，在全球掀起學習熱潮。本研究目的主要在探索一名來自宏都拉斯的英語老師如何建構他的語言投資，包含他的語言學習跟教學經歷以及他對於英文在台灣的地位與影響之看法。本研究採用兩種方法：敘事訪談及半結構化訪談，來收集口述資料。研究參與者在敘事訪談中先分享自己的英文學習投資歷程，再接受關於語言學習投資的半結構式訪談。資料分析使用 Darwin 跟 Norton (2015) 的語言投資架構，研究發現該名教師認為：研究參與者的文化資本在台灣可以成功地轉換為經濟與社會資本來輔助他的生活與中英文學習，然而在台灣的意識形態下，讓他儘管長期居住台灣並擁有一半的台灣血統，卻無法完全融入台灣社會。最後，根據研究分析觀察結果提供教學上的建議與未來的研究方向。

關鍵詞：外籍英語教師、語言投資、個案研究

ABSTRACT

English is used as a lingua franca; people all over the world are learning this global language. The purpose of the study aims to explore a Taiwanese Honduran's language investment and his observation as to how English is perceived in Taiwan. In this qualitative case study, data collection was conducted through in-depth narratives and follow-up semi-structured interviews. Data analysis were conducted with Darwin and Norton's (2015) language investment model as the theoretical framework. The findings revealed that in the participant's perception, his cultural capitals would transfer into economic and cultural capitals to afford his language investment; however, they also kept him from fully integrating Taiwanese society despite having Taiwanese ethnicity and living in Taiwan for a long time. Pedagogical implications and suggestions for further studies are provided at the end of the study.

Keywords: foreign English teachers, language investment, case study

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

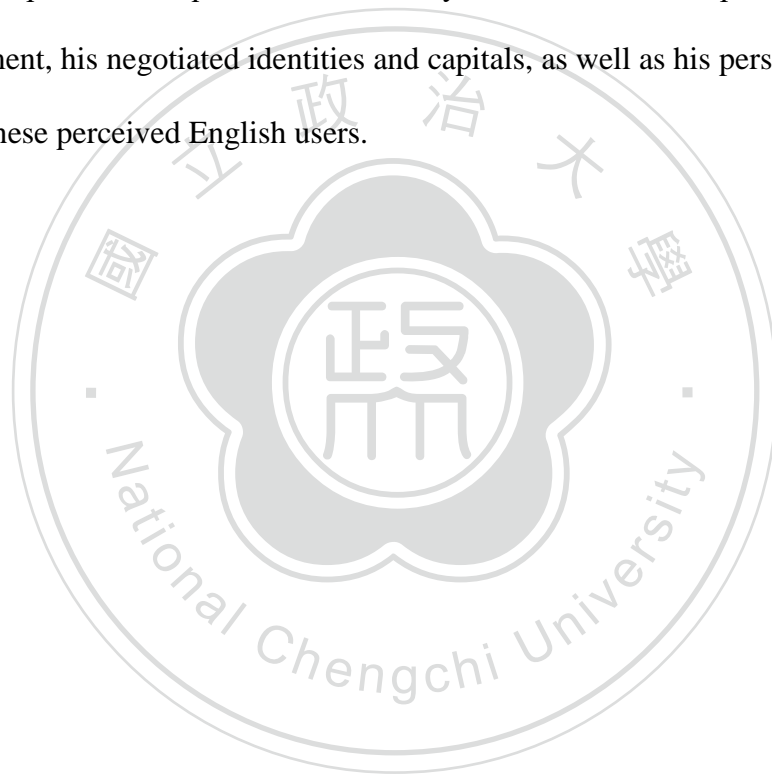
English has been regarded as a *Lingua Franca* (ELF) for decades due to ecopolitical and historical reasons (Jenkins, 2007). People from different backgrounds utilize English to communicate for the academic and business purposes. English thus is highly valued and set as the required subject for the senior high school and college entrance exams in Taiwan. Aside from Taiwanese English teachers, a considerable number of foreign English teachers are also working here. However, not all of the foreign teachers are native speakers; some of them came from European or Latin American backgrounds. Still, they are all here to teach Taiwanese people English. There are plentiful resources for Taiwanese to learn English; however, language learning and investment are complicated.

As Darvin and Norton (2015) put it, “if learners invest in a language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power” (p. 37). To understand why English learners invest in this global language, Norton (2011) revealed in her study on a female Ugandan student, who had very limited capitals in her community. For her, the access to English and the Internet was the bridge to connect to the world. Although she was keen to gain resources to develop English capability and digital literacy, the systemic patterns of control such as the poor technological infrastructure around her still stood as obstruction to her investment in these areas. She positioned herself as being inadequate and lacking knowledge. In recent years, the studies in terms of language investment in the EFL

context are obtaining more attention and explorations; English mania is prevalent and influential in Taiwan as well (Hsu, 2008).

To explore language investment in Taiwan, the participant of this study is a Taiwanese Honduran who works as a foreign English teacher in a cram school in Taiwan. Although he possesses Taiwanese ethnicity and speaks fluent English and Chinese, he has still been regarded as a foreigner since he came to Taiwan.

Employing Darwin and Norton's language investment model (2015) as the theoretical framework, the purpose of this qualitative case study was to examine the participant's language investment, his negotiated identities and capitals, as well as his perspectives as to how Taiwanese perceived English users.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the literature review covers three topics. Firstly, English learning and investment in Taiwan is discussed. Secondly, the merits and challenges of non-native English teachers are explored. Thirdly, Darwin and Norton's Language Investment Model (2015), which is served as the theoretical framework of this study, is addressed.

English Learning and Investment in Taiwan

Investment in learning English is a prevalent phenomenon in Taiwan. This is understandable. After all, English has been the most authoritative “global language” due to the socio-politic power and economic hegemony of United States of America (Crystal, 1997). Having a proficient English ability is the symbol of decent education and cultural richness. As Lan (2011) puts it, “the English language as a cultural product or capital involves not just the capability to speak a language but also the symbolic images associated with the language” (p. 1682). In addition to studying abroad, there are numerous cram schools and bilingual schools for Taiwanese to learn English. In these language institutes, foreign teachers are often fancied by most Taiwanese, not local teachers (Lan, 2011). Since English is a foreign language, it is particularly ideal to learn this foreign language from foreign teachers. However, Lan (2011) argued that the linguistic capital of English is highly racialized; it is most often connected to white skin and only particular accents such as North American and British English can be regarded proper and valuable in the global socio-linguistic context. This is the case in Taiwan as well.

In Lan's study (2011), the participant was an African American who had taught English in Taiwan for nine years. He confessed that he once encountered discrimination during job-seeking in Taiwan. After he sent his resume online and phone-talked with a cram school manager, he was asked to attend a face-to-face interview. Nonetheless, once he walked in, the manager looked surprised and said "you didn't tell me that you are black on the phone" (p. 1682). This case may be one of the reasons that foreign English teachers are mainly white in Taiwan; linguistic capital is racialized and inseparable to its cultural capital and perceived as ideology in the local and global contexts.

Sommers (2005b) contended that English teachers in Asia are cultural workers who are utilized in the industry which sells language as a cultural product. English mania in East Asian is widely spread and the relevant studies in terms of English hegemony and white privileges in the EFL context are also widely discussed (Chen, 2006; Lan, 2007, 2011; Tseng, 2019). When scholars have advocated that English is connected to its strong cultural, socio-economic, and political powers in the global scale, few studies focused on the influence of other linguistic and cultural capitals in the EFL context, which is one of the purposes of this study (Lo, 2020).

The Merits and Challenges of Non-native English Teachers in Taiwan

Based on Arva and Medgyes (2000), there are three different facets in terms of teaching between native (NETs) and non-native English teachers (NNETs): use of English, general attitude, and attitude to teaching the language. When NETs prefer more flexible teaching methods such as free activities and authentic materials, NNETs tend to employ more controlled excises such as grammar translation and guided drills in accordance with textbooks. However, comparing to NNETs having more specific

expectations to students' learning outcome, NETs are usually less pledged to student learning. Thirdly, NETs focus more on students' colloquial fluency and lexical comprehension; NNETs emphasize learners' grammatical accuracy and formal register more.

In Liaw's study (2012), Taiwanese college students regard NETs with better cultural capitals and fluent speaking skills; NNETs are expected with more test-preparing and grammatical techniques. Nevertheless, as more and more language learners concentrate on spoken competence, NETs have prevalently become the favorable option in Taiwan (Wu & Ke, 2009). English learning institutes in EFL Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand often advertise and promote their language programs by employing NETs (Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009). In Shao's study (2005), Chinese parents, students, and school administrators favor NETs with Caucasian appearances; some assume that only white people speak and use the "real and proper" English (Amin, 1999).

Several studies in Taiwan have explored the merits and challenges of NETs and NNETs (Liaw, 2012; Wang & Lin, 2013; Wu & Ke, 2009). However, there is barely any shred of research concerning the NNETs who are native Arabic, French, or Spanish speakers (Lo, 2020). They speak fluent English and work as foreign teachers in Taiwan, but English is still a foreign language to them. What are their merits and challenges? This study expects to fill the gap to comprehensive scope.

Darvin and Norton's Language Investment Model (2015)

According to Darvin and Norton (2015), language investment is a dynamic process consisting of identity, ideology, and capital; it is changing across time and space, from local to global, and from individual to the sociocultural level. It is "the

socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their ambivalent desire to learn and practice it” (Norton, 2013, p. 6). Learners expect to gain positive returns on their investment, hoping that the cultural capital that they have accumulated will offer them access to “hitherto unattainable resources” (p. 50). While looking into language learners’ investment, their identity, the capital they possess, and the circumstance of ideology they are under can be observed. Darwin and Norton (2015) proposed that identity, capital and ideology interact with one another and is influential to learners’ investment; their model below shows the relationship inside the language investment (see Figure 2.1).

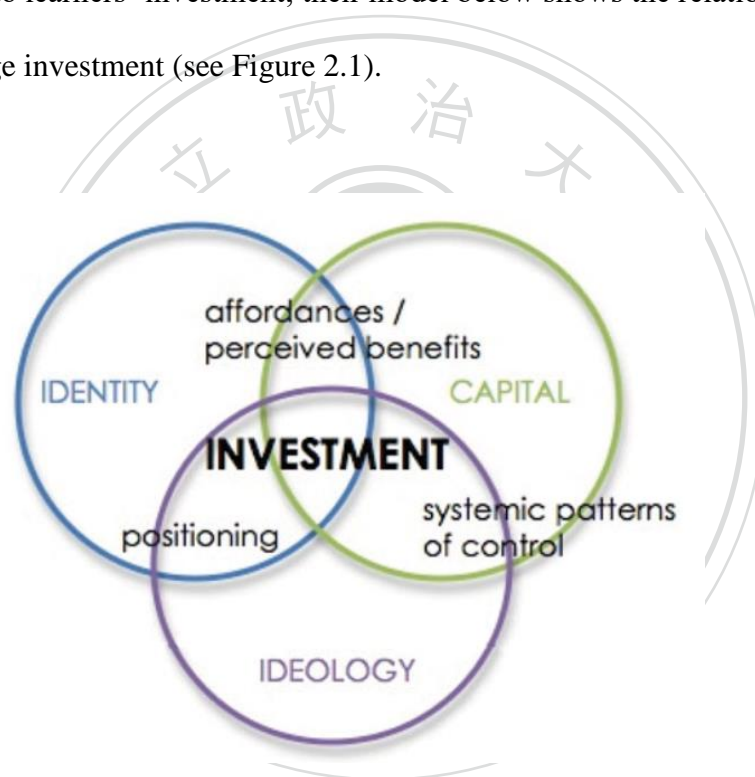


Figure 2.1 Language Investment Model (Darvin & Norton, 2015)

Ideology.

Darvin and Norton (2015) defined ideologies as “dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion and the privileging and marginalization of ideas, people, and relations” (p. 44). On the other hand, ideology in language learning is often discussed as to how

language is an ideologically defined social practice. “The valuing of languages, the establishment of language policies, and the construction of ethnolinguistic identities” are all entailed under the concept of language ideology (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 43). In Chen’s study (2006), she found out that there was a particular fascination in Taiwanese society; Taiwanese feel cool to talk to white people in English on streets because speaking fluent English is regarded as a crucial cultural capital which symbolizes a decent education, the ticket to a better job, and higher social status. English hegemony and White privileges are, in fact, the language ideologies ingrained in Taiwanese society.

Capital.

Capitals are referred to as the whole of an individual’s symbolic resources (e.g. knowledge and skills) and material resources (e.g. goods), including the learners’ accessibility to and resources in their language investment (Gordon, 2018). Bourdieu (1986) categorized all capitals into three types: *economic*, *cultural*, and *social* capitals, which are introduced as follows:

- 1.) Economic Capital: money or anything that possesses monetary value which is quantifiable such as individual’s wealth, property, and income.
- 2.) Social Capital: connections to social networks of power (e.g. friends or colleagues having high social status)
- 3.) Cultural Capital: education, knowledge, and appreciation of specific cultural forms such as appreciation towards arts and music.

Three capitals seem to be clear categorized into different sorts; in fact, they are not isolated. A case study focused on a male Filipino Canadian’s learning investment

(Darvin & Norton, 2014a). The participant was a 16-year-old boy who was born and raised in a very well-off emigrant family in Vancouver. His father had multiple businesses in Philippines; every member of his family possessed at least two digital devices such as smart phones and laptops. Role-modeled by his father, the participant voluntarily registered an online course on currency trading where he could have online discussions with adult professionals. Here, the participant's economic capital was affluent enough to support him to enroll the online course. In that program, he met professionals in the financial field and had discussions with them to gain more professional knowledge in terms of currency trading. In this case, his economic capitals converted into his social capitals to eventually exalt his cultural capitals.

Identity.

Based on Norton's contention (2013), identity is "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how that person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 45). She argued that "identity is constituted in and through language. When language learners use the target language with others, they are also "reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. As much, they are engaged in identity construction and negotiation" (p.14). Identity is regarded as a relationship which is constructed through interaction where there are inequivalent power relations (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013).

In Zacharias's study (2012), thirty TESOL major students described their thoughts on response journal. "Although the participants were active users of English, they were all aware of the effect of English on their identities as Indonesian nationals" (p.242). In terms of using English in public spaces, some of them felt "sense of self-

enhancement” (Kramersch, 2009, p. 63), well-educated, and “part of the elite” (p. 4); nevertheless, to secure the cultural identities, many participants perceived that they needed to “contain their English use in certain places to be accepted in Indonesian society” (Zacharias, 2012, p. 242). Again, as Norton’s argument (2013), identity is how people perceive their relationships to the world, and it is constructed and negotiated through language. When language users capitalize on the language, they are simultaneously organizing a sense of who they are.

Systemic patterns of control, affordances, and positioning.

Based on Darwin and Norton’s definition (2015), while systemic patterns of control include policies, codes, or institutions which may cause learners more difficult to invest and acquire certain capital (p. 47), affordances refer to learners’ possessed capitals and perceived benefits which are able to afford their learning and transform into something valuable in new contexts (p. 45). In the previously mentioned female Ugandan student’s case (Norton, 2011), she zealously endeavored to gain the access of the Internet in hope for switching it as the affordance to promote her digital literacy and to communicate to the world. However, the poor infrastructure and resources in her community were huge systemic patterns of control to interfere her learning investment.

On the other hand, the Filipino Canadian student had an economically affluent family and lived in a highly industrialized city (Darvin & Norton, 2014a). His affordances for learning, comparing to the Ugandan female’s, are much more. Both participants have strong desires to invest in learning; however, the outcomes of the two cases are different. “Positioning is a notion that introduces a dynamic conception of identity, understanding identity as a position of the individual regarding a social

representation, making sense of the self and his or her experience” (Beltrán Tovar, 2017, p. 60). Due to the insufficient learning affordances and numerous systemic patterns of control, the Ugandan female positioned herself “inadequate and not sufficiently knowledgeable”; by well utilizing the capitals as learning affordances, the Filipino Canadian male positioned himself as a “legitimate participant and contributor in the different affinity spaces he occupies online” (Norton & Darvin, 2015, p. 49-50).

A number of Taiwanese scholars have explored the relationship between English hegemony and language investment in the EFL context from either Taiwanese or foreigners’ perspectives (Chang, 2006; Chen, 2016; Ho, 1998). However, in this qualitative case study, the participant has two ethnical backgrounds; he is half Taiwanese and half Honduran. The author hopes by looking into his language learning experience, several new insights will emerge for exploration. In the following chapters, the author addresses the two research questions:

1. How has the participant invested in language learning and teaching across time and contexts?
2. What kind of ideology shifted the participant’s language learning investment?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative case study utilizes interviews and narratives as the sources of research data. Case study is an in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the viewpoints of the participant involved in the phenomenon (Gall & Borg, 2003). The lens of case study has facilitated the researcher to better understand the essence of the participant's language learning experiences (Duff, 2012). In this section, the details of the participant and the research context, data collection, and data analysis are discussed.

Research Context and Participant

The participant, Ronaldo, is a Taiwanese Honduran who works as a full-time foreign English teacher in Taiwan and has been living here for eight years. He and the researcher were college classmates, both of whom majored in English Literature at a university in Taichung, Taiwan. The participant was chosen due to two reasons related to the theme of the study:

First, his parents have different ethnical backgrounds; his father comes from Taiwan (East Asia) and his mother is from Honduras (Latin America). His social and cultural capitals have granted him the privilege of a bilingual speaker; he has the experiences of learning languages in both of his parental countries. As a result, he currently speaks fluent Spanish and Chinese.

Secondly, he is a proficient EFL learner. With years of learning English, he is able to communicate with people from different backgrounds and fulfill the basic survival needs ordering food and buying groceries. In academic context, he is capable of making formal presentations in English and has reached the highest level in TOEIC

(Test of English for International Communication). Nevertheless, he did not have any experience of living in English-speaking countries. These features fulfilled the needs and met the purpose of this study.

The participant spent all his time in Honduras before coming to Taiwan; he moved to Taiwan with his father when he was 19 years old. He was the researcher’s classmate in college; during the four years, we took a few courses together and occasionally hung out playing video games. After college, we still met each other on regular basis. Thanks to the close and long-term relationship with the participant, the researcher could obtain access to interviewing him and exploring his language learning and teaching journeys. During the interviews, the role of the researcher is an observer, making the participant freely express his thoughts. To protect the identity of the participant, the name “Ronaldo” is used as his pseudonym. Table 3.1 shows the background information of the participant.

Table 3.1
Background Information of the Participant

	Gender	Father’s ethnicity	Language spoken	Years living in Taiwan
Ronaldo (aged 27)	male	Taiwan Honduras	Spanish, English, Chinese	8

Data Collection

Following the tradition of qualitative research, the current study capitalized on two data collection methods, oral narratives and in-depth semi-structured interviews.

The time for collecting data was from April, 2018 to July, 2019; the collected data were all audio-recorded and later transcribed verbatim. The language used when collecting data was mostly English along with occasional Mandarin Chinese; during the process, the participant could freely use the languages he preferred at any given moment. There were total three meet-ups in data collection; the first was on April 30th, 2018, the second was on May 27th, 2019, and the last was on July 25th, 2019. Some brief descriptions on how the data was collected in each meet-up are presented below:

The first interview.

The first interview includes the participant's oral narrative and semi-structured interview. Ronaldo was requested to tell his English learning story. The length of this interview was sixty-two minutes. The statement used as a prompt was "*please describe your English learning experience from childhood to adulthood.*" Then, he was offered adequate time to narrate his story and freely expressed what he would like to say. At some given moments, the researcher would probe into the issues of importance and influence of family, school, and society as guidance to elicit the participant's deeper and more specific memories. The collected narrative data contained Ronaldo's English learning experience from very young age to graduating from college.

After the oral narrative was given, the follow-up semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to cover the width and depth of the data as well as obtain adequate details. With semi-structured interview, the researcher collected data to answer research questions while providing flexible room for the participant to express his opinions and thought (Brinkmann, 2014). The interview questions were prepared in advance (see Appendix A) to collect a thorough and solid research-grounded data

(Becker, 1970). The collected data covered Ronaldo's English learning during his college time as well as a few follow-up questions raised from the first interview.

The second interview.

After transcribing the first set of research data, the researcher considered the collected data insufficient to derive findings; therefore, the second semi-structured interview questions were prepared to enrich data (see Appendix B). This interview also includes his oral narrative and semi-structured interview; the length of this interview was twenty-one minutes. Since at that moment Ronaldo was in Honduras, this interview was conducted via LINE, a popular online voice-chatting application widely used in Taiwan. The researcher used a laptop computer to video-interview the participant and recorded all the audio file with a mobile phone. The goal of this semi-structured interview was to understand Ronaldo's Chinese learning process and assemble more detailed information as to his English investment.

The third interview.

The third interview was conducted at the participant's apartment in Taiwan. The length of this interview was thirty-three minutes. The researcher recorded the whole process with a mobile phone. The purpose of this interview was to provide more resources to derive findings, emphasizing how people around him have perceived him in his language learning journey (see Appendix C).

Data Analysis

After all the data had been collected and transcribed verbatim, the researcher analyzed the transcription of one narrative and three interviews using the holistic-

content analysis approach (Lieblich et al, 1998). This approach helped generate themes from the texts and assist the researcher in categorizing similar concepts in the collected data and forming assertions to address the research questions. To apply holistic-content analysis, these five steps adopted from Lieblich (1998) were employed:

1. read the texts multiple times until a pattern emerges
2. document the preliminary overall impression
3. note down the foci or themes in the text
4. color code the themes
5. keep a record of the themes as they occur in the text

(pp. 62-63)

With the holistic-content analysis, the researcher managed to organize thematically coded data to present findings. Employing the notion of Darwin & Norton's language learning investment model (2015) as theoretical framework (e.g. ideology, capital, identity) as a way to interact with the data, the results are presented in Chapter 4, while the research questions are addressed in Chapter 5.



CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Having two national identities is complex, especially when there are huge cultural and linguistic differences between the two. Identities are often displayed as demographic features such as gender, ethnicity, and nationality (Hjerm, 1998); nonetheless, here, the researcher differentiates two terms, “identity” from “ethnicity.” While “ethnicity” is defined as a racial background of a person (e.g., European Asian, African American, etc.), “identity” is defined as a person has a great amount of understandings and approval of his or her culture and language.

This chapter discusses how Ronaldo’s Taiwanese identity emerged through studying abroad in Taiwan and later found conflicted with his Honduran identity; eventually, two national identities coexisted in him. The negotiations between Ronaldo’s two national identities and how he positioned himself in different stages are presented below.

Background Information of Ronaldo

Within the eight years in Taiwan, Ronaldo finished a one-year Chinese program and acquired a B.A. degree in English Literature from a university in the west central part of Taiwan. He also obtained Taiwanese nationality and served a one-year mandatory military service. He shared the reasons why he grew up in Honduras, not Taiwan.

My dad went all the way from Taiwan to Honduras to open a small company, and that was how he met my mom. They had the family here, and I am the youngest of two. I grew up in Honduras but not in Taiwan because my mom

didn't want to leave her country. So, my dad ran his small company and we grew up there (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Bilingual Schools from Kindergarten to Senior High School in Honduras

Ronaldo's father ran a company in Honduras, importing a number of Taiwanese goods like shoes to Honduras for business. His family was able to afford Ronaldo's bilingual education.

At that time, my parents were wealthy enough and said that I should learn English and be bilingual, so I entered a bilingual school to study. Honduras was not a wealthy country; there were much more poor people than middle-class and high-class people. But luckily, my family were in the middle class, so we were able to afford private schools (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Ronaldo received bilingual education (English and Spanish) from kindergarten to senior high school. Every single year of his school life in Honduras was always bilingual; it was English and Spanish, but more English. In bilingual schools, only when in Spanish and social studies class were students allowed to speak Spanish (L1). The other classes such as English, math, and science were all conducted in English. Even up to these days, Ronaldo appreciates this regulation; he believes this English-only class policy facilitated him to develop a considerable amount of English vocabulary.

If you spoke Spanish during class, teachers would take away your points or send you to the director's office, and you might get blamed or thirty-minute detention.

So, I always spoke English to keep out of trouble. Although when I was a kid, I complained why I couldn't speak Spanish. I understood the teacher's point was to make me practice and develop my language skills and pronunciation (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

After years studying in bilingual schools, Ronaldo's English became more fluent. He loved learning English and was grateful for his parents, paying expensive tuition, giving him opportunity to learn. It was regular for him to use English on a daily basis, and he felt like English was his second mother tongue.

I felt really strong about English. I felt blessed that my mom and dad paid for me to be in bilingual schools to learn English, because English is one of the most useful things you could learn. It's a great language. I was happy to learn it and wanted to develop it better (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Besides improving English, Ronaldo also had a wonderful childhood in bilingual schools. He made many friends and had a good time in school together. After class, they played video games, watched American TV series and movies in English; Ronaldo considered that these entertainments assisted him greatly to improve English. While developing English and friendships at schools, as a half Taiwanese and half Honduran, Ronaldo's appearance combined the features of East Asian and Hispanic. At school, his friends gave him a nickname, "Chino", which meant "Chinese" in Spanish.

Everybody called me “chino”. They called me Chinese and squeezed their eyes to shape them narrow lines. But friends were like that, we joked. I had some friends who are black, and I called them “negro”, which meant “black” in Spanish. We called them like that, but it didn’t mean that we’re discriminating or being racist. They’re our friends; we called them like that in a cute, close, and friendly way. In my country, it’s not a big deal calling this type of things to friends (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Despite not being disadvantaged having two ethnicities in Honduras, the facts that Ronaldo got the nickname “Chino” among friends and was asked frequently whether he was an Asian formed his Taiwanese identity. At the moment, he identified himself as a Honduran with Taiwanese ethnicity and invested in Spanish and English in bilingual education. In Honduras, a number of different ethnic groups such as white, Hispanic, black, and yellow live well together. When I asked Ronaldo about his feeling toward his nickname “Chino”, he said:

I liked it. For me, it’s my nickname. I am a Honduran with a different face, because I’m half Asian and half Latin American. If you were Asian or half Asian, no matter which Asian country you came from, you’re going to be “Chino”. Hence, they called me “Chino”. Many Honduran first saw me and tried to know me; they always asked me like “hey, you’re Asian, right?” and I always said “yeah, I’m half Asian but I grew up in Honduras” (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

After graduating from senior high school, Ronaldo originally planned to major in advertising in a Honduran national university. While waiting for five months before

the university started, Ronaldo took a part-time job in a clothing shop to help his mother support the family. Since he was eight years old, his parents divorced. And, his family's financial status drastically changed.

After my parents divorced, my dad, went back to Taiwan alone, leaving my mom, my big brother and sister, and me in Honduras. The four of us started struggling with money, so my mom had to work from morning till night to support us for private schools. She always spent her time outside, and me and my siblings needed to cook and feed ourselves. Those years when my dad was absent my mom was always there for me (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Decided to Leave for Taiwan

In the five months waiting for college, Ronaldo worked in that clothing shop for around two months during the Christmas times. From the early December to the end of January was a busy season in Honduras, because people bought things and prepare for the holiday. Every day after work, Ronaldo felt overwhelmingly tired, and a thought came up to his mind. He craved to search a better life and future, not studying in Honduras. One day, he was determined to make a change and called his father in Taiwan.

I asked my dad, "Is there a way you can support me, if I went to Taiwan studying and lived with you?" My dad answered me that "let me check and I'll call you tomorrow." Next day, my dad told me, "Yes, you could come and study here. No problem, you can stay with me." I thus decided not to study in university there, but going to Taiwan (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

After obtaining his father's confirmation, Ronaldo discussed with his mother about going to Taiwan, and she answered "yes" without hesitation. His mother told him not to consider her when making decisions for his future. She knew the struggle of living in Honduras; there were lots of crimes, drug problems, and poverty. Understanding moving to Taiwan was the best choice for her children, Ronaldo's mother encouraged him to do it.

I was worried if I moved to Taiwan, I was going to leave my mom alone here. But she told me "Don't worry about me, it's okay. One day, I'm not going to be here either. Just think for yourself!" And that's when I realized that my mom, no matter how far apart we are, she only wants the best for me (interview, July 25, 2019).

In Honduras, if one has the opportunity to study or live in another country, that is one of the best things in life. People want to move to other countries for better future. Ronaldo had the chance that not everybody had, and his friends told him that he should seize this opportunity. This made him realize that he should not take his ethnicities for granted.

Everybody wanted out, and I had the way out. When my friends were talking about this, they always told me like "you have a big shot that not everybody has, so you should take it, don't waste it." They wanted something that they didn't have, and I had it so easy (interview, July 25, 2019).

In Honduras, Ronaldo barely spoke any Chinese and had zero knowledge about Taiwanese culture; his double ethnicities did not influence him significantly until when he entered high school. His peers started to consider positively toward his Taiwanese ethnicity, and this made Ronaldo re-identify his ethnical background and further ignited him to move to Taiwan and learn Chinese. He started to believe that being a person of two countries, having two nationalities, and living in another country were highly advantageous. As he grew older, the way he positioned his ethnicity changed as well.

In the beginning, I never thought about being mixed. But after entering high school, I started to realize how other people saw me. Not ahead of them, but I had something extra. And this made me realize that I should not waste this opportunity. I was going to Taiwan to learn Chinese for one year, and then went back to Honduras, using my Spanish, English, and Chinese to find a good job like translating. That was my original plan (interview, July 25, 2019).

Challenges of Settling in Taiwan

For the purpose of enhancing his linguistic competence, Ronaldo moved to Taiwan to learn Chinese. By immersing himself in the authentic context, he drastically improved his Chinese within a short period of time. Ronaldo invested to learn Chinese and studied in his father's homeland, Taiwan, where Chinese was predominantly spoken. He was surrounded by Chinese and was exposed to tons of opportunities to capitalize on Chinese; this language investing method to learn a language as natural as possible is known as in-country immersion. It was considered one of the most effective ways to learn a foreign language.

After coming to Taiwan, Ronaldo lived with his father in a suburban area of a central western city of Taiwan, where most of the residences only spoke Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese. For Ronaldo, this was a bitter-sweet situation that he first encountered. The positive part was that he did immerse himself in a Chinese only context; nevertheless, the negative part was that he barely knew Chinese. In spite of his half Taiwanese ethnicity, he did not know how to speak Chinese because his father never spoke Chinese to him.

Since I grew up, my dad never talked to me in Mandarin. Because he wanted to practice his Spanish, that's what he told me. So when I came to Taiwan, I just knew five or six words in Taiwanese and three or four words in Mandarin, such as “謝謝 (/xie xie/; thanks)”, “你好 (/ni hao/; hello)”, “你 (/ni/; you)”, “他/她 (/ta/; he or she)”, and “我 (/wo/; I)”. Then nothing (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Hence, language barrier was the first challenge that Ronaldo needed to deal with. He suffered a while, but this situation in turn provided him with the opportunity to use English in an authentic context. In Honduras, he received bilingual education, but he used English only at school because Honduras was a monolingual country where Spanish was used in most of the occasions. Taiwanese people do not speak Spanish. Since Ronaldo did not speak any Chinese at the moment, English was the only way that Ronaldo could employ to express himself.

After graduating from high school, I didn't use English; I always spoke Spanish. At that time my English wasn't as fluent as I wanted it to be, because I didn't

practice it that much. When I came to Taiwan, Spanish had no use and I didn't know Chinese back then. So, I used English all the time, and that when was my English went back again like to my high school level. I was in Taiwan, and I had to use English because that was the only thing I could use (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Aside from linguistic barriers, the cultural perspective to integrate into Taiwanese society was another big challenge for Ronaldo. After moving to Taiwan, Ronaldo lived with his father. Under the roof of his father's house, Ronaldo's grandparents, uncles, and aunts were living together. The big family was quite traditional, holding heavy Chinese perceptions such as generational hierarchy and valuing group over individual. These Chinese perceptions were hugely different comparing to Ronaldo's Latin American perceptions which held little gaps between generations and valuing more individual. Although there were perceptual differences, Ronaldo's family did show him a warm welcome and live in a pleasant harmony.

My family was traditional. We had different cultures, but my family took them very well. They understood that I was not like them; I had a different background, and my thoughts and actions were different from theirs. Although they were very traditional, they were very welcoming so that I could feel like at home. They didn't make a big deal out of me being a foreigner, not having any special manners toward me, just kept going with their lives like I was one of them. So that was really good, I felt part of the family right away. I didn't feel like a stranger, an outsider (interview, July 25, 2019).

One-year Chinese Program

Ronaldo is not solely another study-abroad student who learns a new language and forms a brand-new identity; he is ethnically related to Taiwan. By studying in a language program and for a college degree in Taiwan, he not only gained linguistic knowledge, but also gradually obtained a sense of self Taiwanese identity. After settling down, Ronaldo applied for a one-year Chinese program in a university to study Mandarin Chinese. In that year, Ronaldo had plentiful bitter-sweet experiences. He was excited and held high expectation of learning Chinese.

I was happy to learn Chinese, because I really wanted to learn it. My dad is Taiwanese, and I am a half Taiwanese; the least I could do is to learn the language of Taiwan. I have to learn it; it's a duty of being Taiwanese, to learn its language (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Being excited about learning a language is one thing; learning a language is quite another. Soon, Ronaldo realized that Chinese is a completely different type of language. The two languages he spoke, Spanish and English, are alphabetic languages; each grapheme represents a phoneme or a combination of phonemes. Chinese is a logographic language, in which each word represents a morpheme. Simply put, people can pronounce words once knowing every alphabet in that given language; however, in logographic languages, each word contains its own meaning and sound. Not knowing the word, people may be not able to understand nor pronounce the given word. In addition, there are plenty of similar words between English and Spanish. So, when Ronaldo was learning English, he dealt with relatively fewer linguistic difficulties. As for learning Chinese, Ronaldo did suffer a lot while learning it.

Chinese is totally different from English and Spanish; it's painful to learn Chinese. Just by mentioning Chinese characters; that's always a headache. The first month of studying Mandarin was cool and pretty interesting; but since the third month, I was stressful. Because for me, Chinese characters were like images. Every single Chinese character had different meaning, sound, and strokes. As interesting as it was, it's really stressful to learn Mandarin. Still, I wanted to learn more. I was living in Taiwan, so I had to speak this language. But, it's one of the most stressful things I had in my life (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

Ronaldo came to Taiwan with the purpose of learning Chinese. He studied intensively and immersed himself in the environment where he could listen, speak, and read Chinese. He had a beautiful experience learning a new language in the country where people spoke it.

My experience of learning Chinese was pretty good. Because it was full Chinese, and I was surrounded by Chinese language. I used it every day, and my Chinese improved a lot. It was pretty rewarding (interview, May 28, 2019).

Time flew, the one-year period of learning Mandarin swiftly passed, and Ronaldo was about to go back to Honduras to seek a job. A few weeks before departure, Ronaldo's father proposed that he should stay in Taiwan and study in university.

My dad told me that I knew you're planning to go back, but how about staying here studying in university in Taiwan? It would be better for you to study here than in Honduras (oral narrative, April 30, 2018).

In Honduras, people always fancy those who graduated from a foreign university. There are two prestigious universities in Honduras, but still one who has a college degree from another country prevailed one who graduated from Honduras. Eventually, Ronaldo decided to stay here studying for a college degree while learning Chinese. Few months later, he entered the English department of the same university where he learned Chinese.

Four-year English Major in College

There were two reasons why Ronaldo decided to major in English: scholarship and his linguistic limitation. Ronaldo didn't want to impose financial burden on his father, so he applied a scholarship from that university. The university offered him a four-year scholarship under one condition: he could only choose one from foreign language departments. In that university, there were only two foreign language departments: English and Spanish.

I got the scholarship, so my dad didn't have to worry about tuition. That was the big help for him. And I wanted a diploma of English more than Spanish. Spanish is my native language; I am not going to have a title in Spanish. It's better for me to major in English, so I could develop my English more and have a certified title of English. Even if I chose other majors in college, the courses were going to use Mandarin; it would be really hard for me (interview, April 30, 2018).

When the semester began, Ronaldo found that the courses were different from what he had thought. First, his classmates were mostly Taiwanese. In the previous year when he was in the Chinese program, his classmates were all foreigners. And second of all, the quality of the courses did not meet his expectations. He thought the teacher selection and teaching did not meet his expectation.

To be honest, as soon as I started studying I realized the courses didn't help me a lot. Studying English in this university was not good at all; some teachers were not great. I'd met some really good teachers, but there were other teachers who taught there just because they were associated with church, sister teachers. Some sister teachers were not qualified people to teach; instead, they were just native speakers and worked in church. For me, I expected more, especially from a private university (interview, May 28, 2019).

Ronaldo recalled his college class, and he considered his university was just like the extension of high school. The teaching style and the ways that people talked were just like in high school. He particularly pointed out one sister teacher's class. For university students, her teaching was like for elementary school kids. It didn't develop anything for him. On the other hand, there were still some good teachers who were keen to teach new things.

There were bad teachers, but there were awesome teachers who tried to extend my vocabulary, to broaden my critical thinking, and who thought about how students could develop sentences, paragraphs, and structures better. They did not

just tell you to read stories, recite, or make presentations; anybody could do that.

If you spoke English, anybody could do that (interview, May 28, 2019).

Although the school courses did not facilitate Ronaldo in learning English, Ronaldo had many opportunities to practice his English and Chinese outside of school with his classmates and friends. In the beginning, Ronaldo tried hard to keep up with conversations in Chinese, but it was still very hard for him. Fortunately, his classmates were English major students, and most of them were willing to speak English with him. The conversations between Ronaldo and his friends were often mixed in English and Chinese. While Ronaldo aimed at practicing Chinese, his classmates were practicing their English at the same time. In these four years, Ronaldo attended school events, met lots of friends, and improved his Chinese and English. When the time he was about to graduate from college, he had already visited many places in Taiwan.

Being able to travel over Taiwan without worrying was the best experience I had in college. I was still not mastering Chinese, but I could defend myself in Chinese when traveling anywhere and not having big problems. I'd traveled to so many places, met so many good people and friends. The best experience in college was the journey of learning languages and traveling in Taiwan (interview, May 28, 2019).

Ronaldo felt himself special in Taiwan, because people often showed interests in him. Taiwanese really wanted to know foreigners; people often asked him where he came from, and why he came here. Ronaldo enjoyed that. This kind of experience

always exists, not just in the beginning. Ronaldo also often feels welcome and friendliness of Taiwanese and even confessed to receive “foreigners’ privileges” such as free treats from food stalls and extra cares from Taiwanese.

One time, I went to a store to buy some cups. The owner of the store was an elderly, around sixty-five years old, and he tried to have a conversation with me in Chinese. When he asked me where I came from, I told him I was from Honduras. He had no idea where the country was, which made me realize that Taiwanese people’s geography was not that great, but I was happy to speak Chinese to him and to realize how much he wanted to learn about my country (interview, July 25, 2019).

By communicating with lots of Taiwanese, Ronaldo used Chinese in authentic contexts. Having conversations with different people, he gradually improved his listening and speaking skills and meanwhile understood the cultural knowledge of Taiwan. More importantly, having conversations with friends made him re-identify himself his Taiwanese background.

My friends asked me questions like “why did you choose Taiwan?” and “what’s special about Taiwan that made you come here?” Honestly, I’d never thought about it. I came here because of the opportunity to study, but I never thought deeply. When I started to think about that, there were so many things that made me come here. Not only for a better life, a better university, better opportunities for work. No, because it’s something new for me (interview, July 25, 2019).

Being a Honduran English Teacher

When studying in Taiwan, Ronaldo took another proposal from his father: to apply for Taiwanese nationality. So that, he could all have the benefits as a Taiwanese citizen such as the health care and working qualification. On the other hand, he was also obliged to serve the duty as a Taiwanese male citizen: serving the one-year mandatory military service. Ronaldo did not enjoy the experience, and he commented it this way:

The time in military had improved my Chinese a lot, because it's a Chinese-only place. Although I hated every second of it, it did help me improve Chinese. So, it was a waste of time, but not a 100% (narrative, April 30, 2018).

After serving the military service, like a typical Taiwanese, Ronaldo needed to find a job. His ideal job was to be a film director or a script writer. Ronaldo was always interested in films. He loved to watch documentaries, movies, and TV series, and even cast his interest into practice. In college, his class entered an English drama competition and he wrote the whole drama script for his class to perform. In the end, his class won the first place. However, the reality was cruel. In Taiwan, to seek for a job in film industry is difficult, especially for those non-film-relevant graduates. At the same time, he happened to have some problems and desperately needed money. He reluctantly went for a job interview at an English cram school, and he succeeded.

Being an English teacher was never my plan; there were people offering me such jobs, but I always said no. I wanted to be a director or a script writer for films, cinematic industry. But because of some personal problems, I had to get a nicely

paid job as soon as possible. Being an English teacher was one of the jobs that was easier for me to get. My foreign look and backgrounds were advantages, especially in Taiwan. Taiwanese people loved to accept foreigners, to embrace world diversity. And I took the job because the pay was pretty good, so I could have a nice living and moved into the city (interview, May 28, 2019).

With the privilege of being a foreigner in Taiwan, getting an English teaching job was not hard for Ronaldo. At first, he taught English only for financial purpose; however, after teaching for a period of time, he changed his preconception regarding teaching English per se. In this job, he had cultivated relationships with his colleagues and students, obtained a sense of achievement, and improved his English.

Teaching English is not as bad as I thought. It is great to know that I am helping people learn and make progress. Besides, it is interesting to see the purposes of why people wanted to learn English. Some want to study abroad, to travel, to get promoted in their jobs, and some are just forced by their parents to sit there learning another language. Just like me learning Chinese I was going to live in Taiwan, so I needed it (interview, May 28, 2019).

Understanding students' reasons to learn English was crucial. Ronaldo keep good relationships with his students, and his teaching focused on conversations, particularly listening and speaking skills. Some students even ask to change to Ronaldo's class, which encourages him to teach better. In the eyes of Taiwanese students, Ronaldo undoubtedly looks just like other Western teachers; however, his half Taiwanese ethnicity is the perfect ice-breaker in his every single class. He often

uses his Taiwanese identity as an ice-breaker in the first class by telling his students that he is half Taiwanese, and this could shorten the distance between them, lower students' anxiety, and encourage them to initiate conversations with him.

Most of the teachers in my cram school are foreigner, so students are not surprised seeing foreign teachers. But their reactions changed when I told my students I came from Honduras, not USA, Canada, or England, those very famous places where a lot of foreigners came from (interview, July 25, 2019).

Ronaldo told his students he came from Honduras, his students often felt special, never seen or heard before. When Ronaldo told his students that he is a half Taiwanese, that was when they started to ask a lot of questions. They wanted to know more like how he came here and why he had connections with Taiwan. His Taiwanese ethnicity could always be the best aid to initiate conversations and to encourage his students to use English to talk and ask questions.

Ronaldo's job responsibility is to engage students in English conversation as much as possible. Nonetheless, some Taiwanese students are prone to stay silent when speaking English to foreigners, perhaps owing to being introverted, shyness, unwillingness to make mistakes, or risks of losing their face. Once a beginner who learned foreign languages, Ronaldo could comprehend the concerns of his students. When teaching, Ronaldo knew that students did not want to have conversations because they were afraid of making mistakes. With experiences of learning English and Chinese, he always patiently encouraged his students to talk and practice more in English.

I tried to put myself in their shoes. When teaching, I liked to speak Chinese in a really bad and funny way. I made mistakes speaking Chinese and students laughed; they would feel that making mistakes was not that bad. By making mistakes and getting corrected, they improved (interview, May 28, 2019).

Not only did students make progress, Ronaldo felt his English improved as well when preparing lessons. Although Ronaldo received English education since little and finished the four-year English B.A degree, he is after all not a native English speaker. During teaching, he found that he had some wording accuracy problems as well as grammatical errors, which he did not really pay attention to before. However, as an English teacher now, he certainly did not want to transmit the wrong usages to his students. He, therefore, spent time on further educating himself the correct usage of English vocabulary and grammatical knowledge prior to every single class.

My students pushed me to be better, because lots of them asked me a lot of questions and were curious about where words came from and how sentence structures worked. They helped me prepare and learn more things about English, so we helped each other. While teaching, I developed ways to use English correctly. Being a teacher made me broaden my English and became more professional (interview, May 28, 2019).

Ronaldo stated that he had learned a lot more English when teaching in the cram school. Because he was also more involved with English native speaking teachers; he had conversation with them in the office. Overall, it was a decent environment, where Ronaldo could learn new slangs and grammatical rules that were not common.

Reflection on the Language Learning Journey

After living eight years in Taiwan and having a stable job now, Ronaldo improved his English a lot and is able to communicate with fluent Chinese. Although he confessed that he was still not able to understand news in Chinese nor to discuss some complicated topics, he had no problems listening and speaking daily-life Chinese and reading Chinese signs and menus in restaurants. For him, language learning is an ever-lasting process, and he will never stop learning.

Since Ronaldo could speak fluent Chinese, I asked him about his current identity. With half Taiwanese ethnicity and fluent Chinese speaking ability, I wondered if he felt being a Taiwanese. He answered me this way,

When Honduran saw me, they always asked me like “hey, you’re Asian, right?” And it was really funny because when I came to Taiwan, I was thinking like “In Honduras, people looked at me and thought I was Asian, so maybe when I came to Taiwan, Taiwanese would not think I was a foreigner.” But the thing is when Taiwanese look at me and say “hey, 外國人 (/wai guo ren/; foreigner)” So, I am like “oh man, I don’t have a country. I am a kid without a country; I am a foreigner wherever I go” (interview, April 30, 2018).

Although Ronaldo’s face does not look entirely Asian or Hispanic, he feels very proud of his heritage of being half Honduran and Taiwanese. When I further asked him as to whether it was easy integrating into the Taiwanese society, Ronaldo held the firm stance that he did not feel integrated into Taiwanese society because Taiwanese

kept calling him “外國人 (/wai guo ren/; foreigner)” and this label built an unpassable wall for him from blending in.

I already served my military service and have been living here for eight years. My blood is half Taiwanese and I speak Chinese, but I don't feel Taiwanese at all. Because I didn't grow up here, all my thought, cultures, and characteristics were molded in Honduras. My native language is Spanish, so I don't feel Taiwanese at all. Even though I have an ID that shows I am Taiwanese. But to be honest, I feel 100% Honduran (interview, April 30, 2018).

In summary, Ronaldo's learning journey covered the language investment that he has made and the interactions among capitals, identities and ideologies. The clash between his two ethnicities and cultures, the changing financial status, and the shift from a student to a language teacher all influenced how he has invested his language learning.



CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter aims to answer the two research questions: (1) how has the participant invested in language learning and teaching across time and contexts? (2) what ideologies shifted the participant's language learning investment? Hereby, Darwin and Norton's Language Investment Model (2015) is employed as the theoretical framework to discuss the participant's language investment journey. The three main concepts in the model: identity, capital, and ideology are utilized to guide the discussion while the other three concepts: positioning, affordance, and systemic patterns of control are served to reveal more detailed perspectives in the discussion.

Research Question 1:

How has the participant invested in language learning and teaching across time and contexts?

By looking into Ronaldo's language learning narratives and employing the theoretical framework of Darwin and Norton's Language Investment Model (2015), there are a number of changes and interactions observed in this study. First, if people's appearance look foreign, Taiwanese tend to speak English to them. Ronaldo has been living in Taiwan over eight years and speaks fluent Chinese; however, most of Taiwanese he meets still speak English to him. His Honduran cultural capitals sometimes curb him from practicing Chinese and blending into Taiwanese society. As a matter of fact, being a person who has multiple cultural backgrounds is highly advantageous and has more space to create opportunities. Language and culture are inseparably intertwined. While a person is learning a foreign language, the culture and socioeconomic power of the language must be simultaneously taken into

consideration (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Either to be a language teacher or to develop another language skill, Ronaldo has capitalized on his cultural and linguistic capitals well to gain tremendous economic and social capitals in Taiwan. This suggests that creating opportunities of linguistic and cultural exposure is conducive to language learning. By possessing different cultural capitals, learners may have more access and resources to engage in the language and be equipped with linguistic competency and cultural literacy.

Ronaldo's identities and capitals as well as ideologies that he is under are all influential to how he affords his investment and positions himself. These concepts interact and change over time. His Taiwanese and Honduran identities were formed through his experiences under different national ideologies. His two ethnicities have respectively bestowed him capitals which most of his local peers did not possess. Given that, he has had cultural capitals to afford his language learning. Although systemic patterns of control once hindered his Chinese learning, he eventually positioned himself a Honduran knowing Taiwanese identity well and is a trilingual user (e.g. Chinese, English, and Spanish). Table 5.1 shows the interactions between the transcribed narrative data and Language Investment Model (Darvin & Norton, 2015). The themes used for coding are included with their definitions and the examples from the data in this study.

Table 5.1 Language Investment Model

Theme	Definition	Examples of this study
Identity (Norton, 2013)	The way a person understands his or her relationship to the world. How that relationship is structured across time and space. How the person understands possibilities for the future.	Taiwanese, Honduran, foreigner
Capital (Bourdieu, 1986)	Power extends from the material and economic to the cultural and social. Its value is determined by ideological structures which continually negotiated in different fields.	linguistic and cultural capitals
Ideology (Darvin & Norton, 2015)	Dominant way of thinking that organize society while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion. The privileging and marginalization of ideas, people, and relations.	English as symbol of high status
Positioning (Darvin & Norton, 2015)	Governed by different ideologies and varying levels of capital. People position themselves and are positioned by others in various fields.	Self-positioning as a Honduran who knows Taiwanese cultures well
Affordance (Darvin & Norton, 2015)	The old capital that people have already had and regarded as something valuable in different fields.	Non-native English speaker with foreign backgrounds
Systemic Patterns of Control (Darvin & Norton, 2015)	Solidify certain ideology and make it difficult to invest in certain capital.	Preconception to speak English to foreigners

Research Question 2:

What kind of ideology shifted the participant's language learning investment?

In Taiwan, ideologies toward foreigners are welcoming, friendly, and open (Lan, 2011). According to Gordon's research (2018), her European participants who studied abroad to New Zealand receiving the warm embrace by the locals, and this target cultural ideology could be positive to the foreign students, further boosting their language learning as well as their willingness to engage with the target context. Study abroad is often promoted as "a venture of self-discovery"; students are assumed to go through a process of "self-re-identification", as they figured out who they are in relation to a new context and culture (p. 114). Those study-abroad students formed new identities by interacting with the local people and environments. Just as chunks of previous research discussing how national identities emerge in study abroad contexts.

The merits of being a foreigner in Taiwan have reinforced Ronaldo to be more invested in learning Chinese and Taiwanese cultures; this positivity of Taiwanese ideology is advantageous for his language investment. However, a coin has two sides; behind the welcomeness and friendliness, Western privilege and English hegemony can also be seen and cause a number of obstacles Ronaldo's language learning. In this section, Western privilege and English hegemony will be discussed to better comprehend the interaction between the ideologies and Ronaldo's investment in Taiwan.

Western privileges.

Western privilege in Taiwanese context is often known as "white privilege" and regarded as a form of "positive racism" (Lan, 2011). White foreigners here are often

positioned as “global talents and superior others who can benefit the economic development and cultural enrichment of the country” due to the solid power and historical influence of United States toward Taiwan (p. 1679). English has high symbolic and linguistic values as well as being racialized in Taiwan (Jenkins, 2007; Lan, 2011). To be specific, the competence of speaking English symbolizes being in the circle of global elites and having decent education, while white-people English, especially North American English, is widely viewed as the standard English in Taiwan.

For Ronaldo, English is not his native language but Spanish. However, he could still develop a career as an English foreign teacher in the cram school because he speaks fluent English and looks Westerner in Taiwanese eyes. Ronaldo has Taiwanese father and a half ethnicity; his appearance and background under the ideology have granted him privileges. He then turned the symbolic and cultural capitals into economic capitals. While he is teaching English, he has met the other native-speaking foreign teachers in his work place. By engaging in conversations and interacting with his native-speaking colleagues, the social capital has benefited his English ability. On the other hand, when preparing and teaching lessons, Ronaldo realized his English accuracy and grammar ability needed to improve and refine. Hence, he spent time self-educating and making his English more accurate in order to provide his students the correct linguistic use and knowledge.

Ronaldo’s symbolic capital converted into economic capital while his social capital transformed into linguistic capital under the ideology. With fruitful rewards in his English investment, his symbolic capital however has created a systemic pattern of control hampering his investment in Chinese. Ronaldo came to Taiwan with the purpose of learning Chinese. Although he gained satisfying results in the academic

context, most of the Taiwanese he met speak English to him in order to show off or practice their English. His symbolic capital hence became a systemic pattern of control to limit his opportunity to practice Chinese. In fact, not all foreigners speak English; like Ronaldo, lots of international visitors came to Taiwan with the purpose of learning Chinese. The ideology in terms of international visitors speaking English is racialized and could discourage Chinese learners from practicing the language in Taiwan.

English hegemony.

The other ideology observed from this case is “English hegemony” (Guo & Beckett, 2007). English has been dominant and legitimate through the contemporary influence of United States (Heath, 1981), and its linguistic and symbolic values are regarded as the “key to modernization” and entitled to “political and economic power and control” (Guo & Beckett, 2007, p. 178). In Taiwan EFL context, there are only a limited number of people who speak this global language. With its strong symbolic value, high- and middle-class parents in Taiwan are willing to invest in their children’s English education to become the so-called global elites (Lan, 2006). In addition to the linguistic, economic, and symbolic capitals in this language, the social capital of speaking English symbolizes the connection to world people and the globe, while the cultural values of English are considered elegant, educated, and intellectually rich.

In Ronaldo’s case, over-valuing English however revealed the side effect of this ideology. From the shop owner to his students, most of the Taiwanese he met did not know anything about Honduras when first meeting Ronaldo, not knowing where it is, what continent it is in, what language Honduran speak or not even sure whether it is a

country or not. In Taiwan, American English is set as mandatory education curriculum by the Ministry of Education, and American cultural products such as music, movies, and chained restaurants have already been surrounded in Taiwanese's lifestyle. Hence, some Taiwanese preconceptionally assume white foreigners are American and speak English (Lan, 2011).

English has been monopolized by American or English native speakers; these concepts such as "Ownerships of English" and "World English" are provided with numerous arguments and gain supports by sociologists and linguistic scholars decades ago (Jenkins, 2006; Norton, 1997). When the powerful mainstream American and English cultures seek to colonize other minors, it is factually a form of linguistic imperialism and cultural hegemony, and this situation is happening and widely spreading in many of EFL countries (Lan, 2011; Phillipson, 2012). English educators need to be more aware of English hegemony in Taiwan. When nowadays more and more people value the World Englishes and start to embrace different English use and accents from people all over the world, English educators can encourage students to use English to explore the world and promote their own cultures. While the whole world is using English, people are encouraged to utilize the lingua franca to probe into different cultures and promote their own ones.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This qualitative case study aims to look into a Taiwanese Honduran's English investment. This chapter covers the overview of the study. Also, pedagogical implications are indicated. Limitations and suggestions for further studies are also provided in the end.

The Overview of the Study

Language investment is complicated and multifaceted. The influences between language learners' identity, capitals, and ideologies can be remarkably decisive toward their investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015). There were studies addressing native English-speaking teachers' privileges and difficulties in Taiwan; however, studies on foreign teachers whose native language are not English is still scarce. The purpose of the study is to examine a Taiwanese Honduran's language investment. Through the lens of the participant's ethnical backgrounds and language investing experiences, this study provides a new perspective for readers to observe how English is perceived in Taiwan. Through a foreign teacher's experience, the researcher collected data by employing semi-structured interviews and the participants' narratives; after transcribed verbatim, the data were analyzed with the theoretical framework of Darvin and Norton's (2015) language investment model.

The findings revealed that the participant's two ethnic-cultural capitals served an ample affordance to support his foreign language learning and could also transferred into social and economic capitals. With regard to the ideology, English holds high linguistic value and symbolizes decent education and high-class culture (Price, 2014; Lan, 2011). Hence, in the teacher's perception, the fluent English users in Taiwan are

often admired; they can be granted privileges if with white skin or Westerners' look. However, Western privileges and English hegemony are not the views of World Englishes. In respect of identity negotiation, the participant expressed that he is seen as a foreigner wherever he goes, a person without country. In fact, he is a person with two cultural capitals, which are of high value in this globalized era. Although his appearance has drawn him extra attentions and once formed systemic patterns of control to hinder his Chinese learning, the participant eventually negotiated his identity and positioned himself as a Taiwanese Honduran. All in all, this study contributes to knowledge of foreign language investment in EFL context and offers another viewpoint on how English and foreigners are perceived in Taiwan.

Pedagogical Implications

Based on the findings, pedagogical implications are suggested. Given that Ronaldo's multiple cultural and linguistic capitals, the first pedagogical suggestion is that teachers may immerse students in the culture of the language when teaching the target language. Possessing multiple cultural capitals is beneficial for language learners to learning languages and further transferring to other capitals; with accumulation of cultural knowledge, students can turn knowledge of the target language and its culture into their linguistic and cultural capitals. When students interact with the target language users in the future, those capitals might serve a boost to eventually form social and economic capitals.

The second suggestion is that teachers can encourage students to introduce Taiwanese cultures in English. Employing English to introduce students' own culture is crucial. When Ronaldo introduced Honduran cultures, he not only gained the

opportunities to sharpen his English and Chinese abilities but also make Taiwanese understand more about his Honduran background.

Limitations and Suggestions

Due to time constraint, the study has two limitations. First, there was only one participant. Second, only two data collection methods were employed: narratives and semi-structured interviews. Although this study contains these limitations, it can still be valued and referred in the field of language investment and identity negotiation in EFL context.

With reference to suggestions for future studies, the limitations of this study can serve as the navigation to provide insights. First, more non-native foreign English teachers can be included into studies for comparison. They may share similar situations like Ronaldo but also confront different challenges or obtain different privileges in Taiwan. With more voices from other participants, the study could have more comprehensive analysis and perspectives. The second suggestion is to apply observation to collect data, for example, observing the interactions between non-native foreign teachers and their native-speaking colleagues in language institutes. With these enriched research methods, the researcher may probe deep into the influences of teachers' ethnicities, which is obviously important to the quality of English education provided by all members of the English teaching community, regardless the teacher's ethnicity.



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APPENDIX

1st Interview

The Narrative Inquiry

- Please describe your English learning experiences from the childhood to current adulthood.

Semi-structured Interview Questions

1. Why did you choose English as your college major?
2. In college, what did you learn in the English department?
3. After the four-year college English training, in what aspects of your English do you think have improved?
4. Please describe how often do you use English in Taiwan and under what circumstances?
5. Do you like to make friends with foreigners? Why or why not?
6. What is your purpose of making foreign friends? To practice English or something else?
7. What are the differences between making friends with Taiwanese and with foreigners?
8. As a half Taiwanese and half Honduran, which side is your bigger ethnic identity, Taiwanese or Honduran? Why?

2nd Interview

Semi-structured Interview Questions

1. Please describe your use of English in three periods: before coming to Taiwan, studying as an English college major in Taiwan, and currently being an English teacher in Taiwan.

2. Please describe your Chinese learning experiences and use of Chinese in three periods: before coming to Taiwan, studying as an English college major in Taiwan, and currently being an English teacher in Taiwan.
3. What is the most interesting experience when you were a college student in Taiwan?
4. What is the most difficult class when you were in college?
5. What is the most memorable moment when you were in college?
6. What is the biggest challenge/difficulty outside of classroom when you were studying in Taiwan?
7. What makes you choose to be an English teacher in Taiwan?
8. What is the most interesting experience in this job?
9. What is the biggest challenge/difficulty in this job?
10. What is the most memorable moment do you have in this job so far?
11. What is your proudest moment as an English teacher in Taiwan?
12. What is your most interesting class experience?
13. What is your most difficult class experience?
14. What is your teaching style? (ex. how do you get Taiwanese students learn in class?) And who are your target students? (e.g. age / occupations)
15. If someone wants to be an English teacher in Taiwan, what is your suggestion?
What are the skills and characteristics required for this job?
16. Apart from teaching English, are you still learning and using English and Chinese? If so, how do you learn them and use them? What is your learning strategy?

3rd Interview

Semi-structured Interview Questions

1. Do you have any memorable experiences or conversations with your Honduran family and friends?
2. How do your Taiwanese family and relatives react to you? Do you have the memorable or interesting conversation with them?
3. How do your Taiwanese friends react to you? Is there interesting conversation ever happening to you?
4. What are your students' reactions to you? Are there any memorable or interesting conversations?

