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Balanced Bilinguals' Unique Emotional Expressiveness

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By

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Abstract

In the contemporary globalized world, with diverse situations of language contact emerging, bilingualism is taking on dynamic new forms, yielding a new kind of bilinguals: balanced. Adopting a stance of resistance to the monolingual bias and with a view to refining the frameworks applied to the study of bilinguals, this research examines how balanced bilinguals process and express their emotions in each of their languages. This is a qualitative study that incorporates narrative inquiry and uses the narratives and autobiographical memories of five balanced bilinguals, of different language pairs and age/gender groups to better understand how these balanced bilinguals perceive their emotional processing and expression through their language socialization experiences. The findings suggest that identity is a crucial factor in determining balanced bilinguals' emotional expression which varied from being ideal in the first language, in the second language, and in both. The implications call for independent, bilingual-specific models when studying the basic relations of the bilingual self, and more emotionality in L2 curricula.

KEY WORDS: Bilingualism, Balanced Bilinguals, Emotion, Narrative Inquiry.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Prologue

Standing in an administrative office at a faculty of medicine in a major university in Moscow, Ali received the unfortunate news. The secretary, amazed with his non-accented Russian, sighed and said warmly, "You understand you are only one month away from getting your residency here, but if your embassy doesn't extend your student visa, sadly there is nothing that we can do to help you." As a result, after a decade of academic and professional investment in Russia, he had to go back home. He had wholeheartedly regretted signing that government scholarship contract with the government of his home country, tying him to returning and working for the government for twice the number of years as was to be studied in Russia. He had managed to prolong the duration of his studies with the hopes of acquiring residency, thus opening up so many options to him compared to what he had in his current limited situation. At a time when Internet was not yet introduced in his country, he had been seeing his family for about a month every few years and had been speaking to his mom on the phone. He was hoping there would be a loophole, a way to turn the situation around. Sadly, all his efforts had been in vain.

Returning home was a real case of reverse culture-shock. His little brother, who was an infant when he left for Russia, was now a teenager. It felt awkward and unnatural to have to be close to him . . . so much to get to know and to get used to. He would always compare various entities to Russia: "This is what this word means in Russian." "Russians eat this dish a lot." He would go on and on about Russian history and its lifestyle. It was as if he occupied a Russian "lifeworld" in which he was still very much invested. His family members would listen with interest, but at

the end of the day they would go about their usual lives in their country. A few months passed and something snapped . . . with the very harsh words of "I don't love you. You mean nothing to me," he exploded. Past and present lives clashing; the disappointment of investment and lost dreams marked a dark chapter in his life and in his family's life.

Somewhere in those ten years, something might have changed for Ali, or something might have changed in him, or he might have simply just changed. Having gone back, he no longer dealt with everyone in the same manner. Was the Russian language or culture leaking into his everyday interactions and methods of expressing himself? What did those ten years do to him? What did Russian do to him? What changed Ali? I want to know because he is so dear to my heart.

Ali's story inspired my interest in bilingualism and emotion. While I cannot conduct a case study on him, I am interested in similar bilinguals who are bicultural and strongly proficient in their two languages. The closest term I could find and have chosen to describe these bilinguals is *balanced bilinguals*. I will be using this term with a focus on the interchanged balance of language and culture rather than the balance of linguistic abilities. In other words, those bilinguals who have the cultural and linguistic components balancing one another for each of their languages, in addition to each language balancing the other (See Chapter 2- section III for further elaboration on the use of this term).

1.2   The Background and Rationale to the Study

There is an unprecedented dynamic in the works of the bilingualism phenomenon in 21st century societies. Globalization, migration, mobility, and new technologies have shaped and continued to have an impact on bilingualism and its economic and social dimensions (Byrd Clark, 2009).

Economically, the number of corporations and NGOs branching out globally has exploded and has facilitated international career mobility. In addition, changes in social demographics, health care, and climate, as well as the influence of media and popular culture, have further provided opportunities to learn and master one or more languages, especially in metropolitan and capital cities. At the same time, the world's social demographics have been undergoing change, dating as far back and as early as colonialism. These demographics are heavily tied to issues of mobility for various reasons, such as higher rates of intermarriage, diversity, and migration. A product of intermarriage, diversity, and migration is described as bilinguals who are bicultural and maximally proficient (Dewaele, 2011) in their two spoken languages. However, with this proliferation of people with multiple languages comes a range of new issues. In the context of intermarriage, immigrants, sojourners, and people returning home after spending extended periods of time abroad, many challenging social, emotional, and economic issues are raised with and through language. Given this situation, it is worthwhile to examine the impact that having more than one linguistic repertoire can have on the expression of people's emotions, feelings and thoughts.

In response to the aforementioned changes and issues, this research will focus on "the emergence of a new bilingual, even multilingual elite. This elite builds a position which marginalizes both those bilinguals whose linguistic resources do not conform to the new norms, and those who are, simply, monolingual" (Heller, 1999, p.5). In other words, I have chosen to focus on bicultural balanced bilinguals who are equally (Cook, 1992; Hamers & Blanc, 1989), or almost equally (Pavlenko, 2005; Grosjean, 1998), proficient in their languages. The focus is mainly on these bilinguals as individual language users and less on them as language learners or how they have reached this level of bilingualism. In terms of second language (L2) research, when L2 learners

are considered as legitimate L2 users, a more holistic view of these learners is attainable. At a larger level,"[a]n awareness of the psychological research on individual differences [. . .] may help to get rid of the monolithic view of the prototypical faceless learner" (Dewaele, 2005, p. 2). This consideration acknowledges the identity or identities of each individual, which is closely tied to the essence of language. According to Dewaele, this identity is dismissed when participants are grouped homogenously as language learners.

When studying bilingualism, a few considerations have to be noted. First, bilingualism is recently seen as a socially constructed set of resources and as a social and linguistic discourse (Pennycook, 2010; Heller, 2007; Byrd Clark, 2009). Also, according to Pavlenko (2006) bilingualism is "a unique linguistic and psychological phenomenon" (p.1), a complex, independent, and unique system of and by itself that has to be examined using tools and approaches as complex and rich as the elements that constitute it (Hamers & Blanc, 1989). Second, most of the literature on bilingualism focuses on the linguistic aspect of language learning/acquisition. Language, however, is a multifaceted phenomenon and is linked to the very identities of an individual. Chin & Wigglesworth (2007) maintain that the linguistic element has been the most prominent element when attempting to define bilingualism:

> [T]hough the discussion of how bilingualism should be defined has often centred on the issue of language competence, this focus overlooks other socio-cultural and cognitive factors which are just as relevant when discussing the performance of bilinguals. . . . the impact of social, psychological and cultural variables on the bilingual individual is ultimately central to the experience of being bilingual (p. 3)

Considering the psychological and emotional aspects of bilingualism would diversify the dominant linguistic methodologies and epistemologies (Dewaele, 2005). Therefore, this research aims at highlighting the emotional side of bilingualism.

Another consideration of bilingualism is the relation of language to the self. Christoph Harbsmeier (as cited in Wierzbicka, 2004) maintains that language influences our own being and feelings. Consequently, Wierzbicka maintains that looking at multilingualism through the lens of emotions guarantees a deeper understanding of this phenomenon. She gives an example of how languages have differing vocabularies reflecting concepts for emotions. The absence of one does not entail the absence of the other. Moreover, if a certain concept is missing, this does not mean the emotion behind it is also missing. In addition, Wierzbicka (2004) emphasizes that the subjectivity of a bilingual's perspective on emotions enriches the field of multilingualism and emotions. This subjectivity is often considered a limitation in research on language that has been mainly dominated by the monolingual yardstick (Grosjean, 1998), which emphasizes the homogeneity of linguistic, cultural, and social norms and leads us to overlook the individuality associated with learning and using a language as well as the power an individual experiences and how this experience holds different values in different contexts. This subjective experience is vital to understanding the self (Levy, 1984), and particularly to see if a bilingual is only "performing" an emotion to achieve a certain purpose, be it humour, etc., and whether he or she is performing an emotion differently in different contexts and different languages.

A third consideration that makes bilingualism an interesting field of study is that speaking languages is like living in different emotional worlds. "A key issue is how the experience of being bilingual can alter a person's perceptions of their social environment. . . . . In addition, bilinguals are also affected by how speakers from outside the bilingual community perceive them" (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 107). Thus, a bilingual is always crossing the boundaries of cultures and emotions and sometimes misinterpreting others as well as being misinterpreted. Evidently, languages, under the large umbrella of culture, and emotion are inseparable; as

Wierzbicka notes, "[a] language is not a code for encoding pre-existent meanings. Rather, it is a conceptual, experiential, and emotional world" (2004, p. 10). In addition, Wierzbicka argues that language, particularly how we use language, acts as a filter for our "raw feelings", thus orienting and shaping them. While the current emphasis in brain-based approaches has led to important advances, a full understanding of bilingualism also requires that we study the expression of emotions. Such a focus can help in issues of second language curricula and the well-being of not only children of intermarriage, but also of immigrants and sojourners.

The importance of this emotional dimension of bilingualism has been recognized in research in L2 education and Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Dewaele (2005) suggests that incorporating psychological and emotional SLA research into L2 textbooks enhances L2 learners' sociocultural competence. This competence stems from the experience of expressing one's self in different languages, where the various norms associated with a language are followed (Mougeon, Nadasdi, & Rehner, 2010). These psychological and emotional aspects are often missing from L2 curricula. In addition, Dewaele maintains that more words that convey emotion should be incorporated in L2 curricula, and L2 learners should be able to expand on the range of emotional words and topics to use in a typical L2 class. As a result of current L2 teaching practices and curricula, L2 learners do not use many of these words, and this practice distances them from L2. Consequently, Dewaele proposes that SLA research should step outside the classroom and into the streets to examine the actual use of L2. Focusing on emotions in SLA will help L2 learners better identify emotions in L2 and how they are expressed, which might be different from their first language (L1). However, an impediment in the implementation of emotion words in L2 classes is the use of profanity and sexual words because of pedagogical and ethical considerations and negative attitudes of some students toward L2 culture and values

(Dewaele, 2010). According to Dewaele, the learning objective should be primarily for language learners to understand these words rather than use them in class.

This section has briefly examined the dynamic nature of bilingualism and the emerging new category of balanced bilinguals. In addition, the complexity and uniqueness of bilingualism calls for various research methods to explore its diverse aspects. Finally, researching emotions in relation to bilingualism serves to show the multidisciplinary nature of bilingualism and the uniqueness of bilinguals that would be undermined by comparing them to the monolingual model which they do not fit.

1.3   Goals and Significance of the Study

One of the main objectives of this study is to gain insights, through balanced bilinguals' narratives, about what it is like to be culturally and linguistically invested in two languages and to move back and forth across linguistic and cultural borders (Heller, 1999). The motivation behind this study is that the monolingual person has been used in researching different fields of study more than the bilingual (Grosjean, 1998). Another motivation is the lack of research on non-linguistic aspects of bilingualism and the need to examine the already important implications of language on other aspects of life through the lens of bilingualism. Specifically, I am interested in the implications of this investment and crossing on emotional stylization (Pavlenko, 2006), in the sense of how balanced bilinguals process and express their emotions in relation to these

investments.[1] Researching emotion in relation to bilingualism serves as a reminder that emotional intelligence is equal in value to cognitive intelligence (Salovey et al, 1995).

The significance of this research lies in not only complementing the often-researched linguistic aspects of bilingualism, but also in linking bilingualism to other fields of study, such as psychology, anthropology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and psychoanalysis. Considering the bilingual variable would enrich these fields and serve to show the holistic nature of bilingualism as opposed to the common conception of two monolingualisms. Another contribution of this research seeks to generate findings that will be relevant to the future work of researchers in these fields. In addition, when bilingualism is examined through the different angles of the aforementioned fields of study, a more holistic view of the bilingualism phenomenon is attained. Such an holistic view is vital and can have practical impacts for different fields, especially multilingual/(L2) education, where L2 curricula tend to pay little attention to the emotional dimension of language use (Dewaele, 2005; Pavlenko & Driagina 2007).

Further on the note of significance, this study seeks to examine how the use of emotion in language relates to the very lives of bilinguals and their well-being. For example, Wierzbicka (2004) describes a dialogue she would frequently have in Polish with her bilingual Polish-English daughter as one in which her daughter would become annoyed with her. Anna would use the expression "*Nie gniewac´ sie*" that would correspond in English to "don't be angry", but the Polish expression literally means "don't have bad feelings". The daughter would become angry because of her dominant Anglo culture. In Anglo culture, it is preferred that emotions (in this

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[1] A term introduced and used by Norton Pierce (1995) and Byrd Clark (2009) that goes further than the term motivation in that it captures the learner's processes of social identity construction in relation to language acquisition.

case, anger) not interfere with the "reason" of an argument, whereas in Polish they often serve as an element of sincerity. Consequently, the mother and daughter often disagreed in dialogues. Thus, my aim in talking and listening to bilinguals and examining their emotionality serves to highlight specific problems that can be solved and avoided later.

1.4   Research Questions

The questions addressed in this study are situated within a narrative framework, adopting a "storytelling approach" (Webster & Metrova, 2007, p. 103), in order to investigate how language is used by bilinguals to express emotions, focusing on participants' personal and complex experiences of bilingualism. The research questions are as follows:

1. What can we learn from the stories of experience told by balanced bilingual persons in terms of the way they describe processing and expressing emotions in each of the languages they speak?

2. What do these stories suggest about these balanced bilinguals' emotional regulations and intensities in each language they speak?

1.5   Investment and Positioning in the Work

My investment in the work stems from my own status and experiences as a bilingual who has learned her languages in a mostly monolingual and monocultural context. Growing up close to fully bicultural bilinguals (balanced) has inspired me to examine the experiences and processes that help shape and accompany the lives of such people, especially the social dimensionality. As a bilingual researcher, focusing on bilingualism and working in a complex and inter/multidisciplinary field, I have to "play an active sociopolitical role and provide the much needed rational arguments to overcome prejudice and fear" (Dewaele, Housen & Wei, 2003, p.

2), a prejudice that Pavlenko (2005) describes as the monolingual bias. This bias reigns in the studies of language in relation to other disciplines. As Pavlenko notes, "theories of the relationship between language and emotions continue to privilege the one speaker, one language viewpoint, exhibiting an implicit assumption that whatever applies to monolinguals will also apply to bi- and multilinguals" (2005, p. 4). And regarding the fear towards bilingualism, it is a reflection of the monolingual privilege/bias in that, according to Pavlenko (2005), in different fields in social science, students are advised not to choose bilinguals as their research participants as "their competencies are deficient, their minds function in mysterious ways, or simply because they are not representative of their communities" (p. 3).

1.5.1   Locating the Researcher in the Research

As no research is objective, identifying and keeping an eye on my biases in the research helps make and justify informed decisions in the study, as well as give an insight into how my experiences serve, shape, and limit the research. I acknowledge that all the balanced bilinguals with whom I interacted in childhood and adolescence have had people negatively describing these bilinguals' experiences when it comes to expressing their emotions in either of their languages. For example, not being able to completely express a certain emotion in one of their languages and, therefore, coming across as lacking which oftentimes results in an unpleasant social experience. This shapes my assumptions in such a way that I anticipate negative narratives from my bilingual participants when asking them to relate their experiences in processing and expressing emotions in their languages. As a consequence, I will practice wakefulness and thoughtfulness, the "ongoing reflection" in narrative inquiry, while I am listening to participants' stories and resisting the temptation to, as Clandinin & Connelly note, "give in to comfort and a

sense of ease within more stable forms of inquiry" (2000, p. 184) and acknowledge criticism but not necessarily always embrace it:

> [T]he blurred conception of narrative inquiry runs the risk of encouraging low quality research. This is particularly so because of the appeal and sense of comfort ascribed to narrative inquiry, sometimes resulting in it being seen as an easy kind of research, disregarding its complexities (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007) (p. 219).

1.6   Assumptions

My main assumptions are that a bilingual is not the equivalent of two monolinguals (Grosjean, 1982; Hamers and Blanc, 1989; Cook, 1992; Pavlenko, 2011), and that some bilinguals "may derive enjoyment from hybridity and relativity of their existence and others may feel that they inhabit distinct and at times incommensurable lifeworlds and experience pain and anguish over this condition" (Pavlenko, 2006, p.29). Pavlenko further cites illegitimacy, "not having a language identity", as one consequence of measuring bilinguals against the monolingual model, "haunting those who do not neatly fit into the monolingual mold" (p. 25). This special positioning for bilinguals has impacts on their emotion lexicon and how they process and express their emotions.

Another assumption is that, although many people are expected to express their emotions better in their mother tongue, this is not always the case as subsequently-learned languages can serve as emancipatory tools, relieving the speakers of the constraints of a certain environment in which they grew up (Heinz, 2001; Pavlenko, 2006). Also, certain emotions can be easier to discuss in an L2 because of the potential emotional distance an L2 provides (Bond & Lai, 1986). This includes swear words and embarrassing topics.

A third assumption is related to memories and their relations to language and place. In an immigrant context, Pavlenko (2006) contends that each language activates memories of the events that took place in that language. Furthermore, emotion and language are an integral part of memories (Schrauf & Durazo-Arvizu, 2006). Therefore, in formulating my interview questions, I sought to elicit autobiographical memories.

Another assumption is that bilinguals are often compared to monolinguals. Due to this dominant monolingual prejudice (Pavlenko, 2005; Block, 2003; Pennycook, 2010), balanced bilinguals are likely to report negative experiences regarding their bilingual emotional expressiveness because they are possibly always comparing themselves to "idealized", "prescribed", and "normal" monolinguals.

An important factor to consider in this self-report-data based study is representation. Schrauf (2000) contends that a person's self-representation springs from and is communicated through language. However, he problematizes this relationship by pointing to the multiplicity of the self and its representations, leading to "constructed selves" as a more accurate term to use (p. 24). This multiplicity of representation is considered when examining my participants' narratives. In other words, the study examines how balanced bilinguals perceive their emotional regulations and intensities in their languages represented through a co-constructed interpretation of my participants' narratives. These narratives are the participants' perspectives on their life events.

1.7   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have included a prologue for three important reasons: to motivate the research questions, to reflect on my assumptions regarding the research questions and to compare to my participants' stories. In addition, I have also discussed the background and rationale of the study,

as well as its significance. I then presented the research questions and my investment in and assumptions about the research.

Finally, I organized this thesis into five chapters: the first introduces the research and situates the researcher; the second contains the theoretical framework I am adopting and a review of the literature; the third describes my methodology and methods; the fourth presents my findings; and the fifth presents a conclusion that summarizes the thesis.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1   Theoretical Framework

I am adopting an interpretive view for this study – namely, that "people differ from inanimate natural phenomena and [. . .] from each other" (Cohen, et al., 2011, p. 5). Because researchers are part of the researched world, I am embracing the critical realist approach to science and a perspective that fully acknowledges researchers' subjectivity and reflexivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Also, I see reality as socially constructed and take an idiographic approach, in the sense that, to understand an individual's behaviour, emphasis has to be placed exclusively on the individual (Cohen et al, 2011). In light of these considerations, a narrative framework, centering on human experience and its complexity (Webster & Metrova, 2007), provides a fitting lens to understand this study's questions.

In terms of the works aligning with this framework, Pavlenko (2006) cites numerous psychoanalytic studies showing the links between language, memories, and emotions. She elaborates on how words spoken in a language can bring up the memories associated with that language. At a higher level, confidence, self-image, and attitude can be reflections of a bilingual's experiences in each language he or she knows that surface when speaking that particular language. Koven (1998) reports that languages associated with monolingual contexts often create separate repertoires for bilinguals in terms of culture, emotions, and verbal behaviour; he gives an example of Portuguese-French bilinguals born to rural Portuguese immigrants in France. These second generation immigrants perceived themselves differently in Portuguese and French, more rural in the first and urban in the second. This contributes to their

language learning contexts, where parents have a rural Portuguese background and the children socialize in French in urban France. This segregation is considered when examining the narratives of participants who speak a language associated with a monolingual culture.

In addition, reprimand and taboo words impact late bilinguals in L1 more than in L2. In Pavlenko's (2005) study, her Turkish-English late bilinguals stated that reprimands had a greater impact in their L1. Some of them reported that they kept hearing family members in their minds saying such reprimands. The effect of learning languages early in childhood shows how powerful taboo words and reprimands are in those languages. On the other hand, subsequently-learned languages carry a sense of detachment when processing such words (Pavlenko, 2005).

Edwards (2003) points to how speaking a language is associated with belonging to a certain community and this may, to a certain extent, impact the speaker's character (p. 30). However, in a bilingual context, power relations affect the degree to which a bilingual belongs to one community or the other. Furthermore, Edwards maintains that a bilingual's linguistic and social performance is likely to be unique since each language has its own linguistic patterns and social norms. However, this variability may result in a psychological tension. Consequently, Edwards argues that the nature of most bilinguals' problems is social rather than linguistic. However, a significant asset of being bilingual, according to Edwards, is sensitivity to and an awareness of others, as bilinguals are "borderers" between cultures and languages and have a "heightened cultural sensitivity that may be denied to their counterparts in the heartland" (p. 36).

When bilingualism is coupled with immigration, a new set of dynamics is at work. Javier, Barroso and Muñoz (1993) describe the complexity of the ongoing process of language learning and acculturation with the bilingual immigrant:

As conceptual representations in one cultural context (the homeland) are challenged by second-language acquisition and acculturation in another culture (the "new culture"), they may interact in a number of ways. Older conceptions may co-exist with new conceptual representations, they may shift in scope and amplitude in the direction of new cultural dimensions, or they may converge towards wholly new representations different from both the first and second language/cultures (p. 9)

In the context of bilingual emotional expression, balanced bilinguals can resort to their second language (L2) to protect themselves from traumatic, painful memories in their first language (L1) or to avoid the intensity of some emotions (Aycicegi & Harris, 2004; Bond & Lai, 1989; Tiemann, 1999). Similarly, previous research states that the L1 is the emotional language of bilinguals through which they can better express emotions (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990). In addition, Dewaele (2004) found similar results in relation to processing and expressing swear and taboo words. According to Dewaele, it is more fulfilling to express swear and taboo words in L1, with greater impact compared to L2. However, the case is reversed if L1 is not the dominant language. These studies illustrate that L1 is the language of emotional expression, while L2 is the language of emotional distance.

While seeking to understand bilingualism and emotion, it is vital to note that an individual's subjective experience is vital to understanding the self (Levy, 1984). Part of this subjective experience is a reflection on one's characteristics and the subsequent organization of one's behaviour. There is a reciprocal influence between a person's subjective experience and his or her characteristics (Markus & Kitayama, 1994).

To further understand an individual's experience, Bakhtin (1981) in his notion of dialogism refers to the ongoing tension and interaction among the multiple individual voices of the present and the past through which an individual's present behavior can be understood. Therefore, an individual cannot be predicted by his or her social resources as he or she transforms them in a

way that makes meaning to him or her rather than just following these resources. For example, this dialogism affects how I perceive my participants.

To conclude, my theoretical framework embraces an interpretive, narrative paradigm, thus focusing on the subjective and reflexive experiences of my balanced bilingual participants. The above-mentioned studies emphasized the interconnectedness of language, emotion, and memory and the impact of these multiple aspects on one's identity. They also serve to highlight the uniqueness of a bilingual person and some of the issues associated with having dual linguistic and cultural repertoires. One aspect of this uniqueness is emotional expression, where the L1 is argued to be the optimal medium and the L2 provides a safe emotional distance. However, it is vital to consider the complex, individual experience as it can confirm or challenge the previous literature.

2.2   Literature Review

This study is situated at the intersection of bilingualism, psychology, and linguistics. In order to engage with my research questions, it is necessary to review a number of key concepts and findings from the literature on bilingualism, emotions, and autobiographical memories.

2.2.1   Bilingualism

This literature review on bilingualism will briefly cover some definitions of and views on bilingualism and its different categories and implications. Both Pavlenko (2005) and Grosjean (1998) contend that there are more studies and research on monolingualism than bilingualism. Thus, it is vital to shed more light on bilingualism as an independent field of study as well as in relation to other disciplines. As Chin & Wigglesworth (2007) observe, "often what we read in

the literature about how bilinguals should be defined are views of experts which may not reflect the views of speakers themselves" (p. 3).

2.2.1a Definitions:

Hamers and Blanc (1989) highlight the distinction between bilinguality and bilingualism. They state that "[b]ilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication", while bilingualism "refers equally to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction" (p. 6). The authors underscore that definitions and measures of bilingualism are not precise because of the rich variety of contexts and factors influencing language proficiency. This hybridity associated with defining bilingualism (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007) is something I had to make peace with when I was selecting my balanced bilingual participants.

Pavlenko (2005) maintains that, traditionally, studying bilingualism entails examining the "competence and performance of people who speak two or more languages" (p. 5). Pavlenko also distinguishes between a layperson's perception of bilingualism as being equally proficient in two or more languages since childhood and the more academic definition of using two or more languages daily with various levels of proficiency. Another interesting distinction Pavlenko makes is regarding "elite bilingualism", mostly in Europe and among the upper and middle class, versus minority and immigrant bilingualism. Pervasive beliefs have tended to associate the first with prestige and the second with "mental retardation, moral inferiority, split identity, and linguistic shortcomings" (p. 24).

When attempting to define bilingualism, Grosjean (1998) underscores the variables that require careful attention when one is studying bilinguals. The "complementary principle" (p.2) illustrates the fluidity of language use according to the different contexts and purposes in which the different people with whom bilinguals use their different languages. Similarly, Hamers and Blanc (1989) maintain that a bilingual's linguistic performance varies when dealing with monolinguals and bilinguals. Evidently, bilinguals have different mastery skills in their languages, and these skills are subject to change as the environment and circumstances change. Grosjean also notes a number of factors that must be considered in the study of bilinguals, such as their language acquisition history (how long they have known a language); the relationship between these languages; the cultural context(s) in which they have learned and used their languages; language use (how often and when they use their languages); and language stability, function, purpose, and mode (time spent speaking with monolinguals and bilinguals).

In defining bilingualism, Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) illustrate the hybridity of the term and choose to identify the descriptors that go into the making of bilingualism instead of giving a concrete, comprehensive definition of it. These descriptors include degree of competence, context, age, domain, and social orientation, all yielding different categories and subcategories of bilingualism. What Chin and Wigglesworth emphasize is that the cultural, social, and psychological factors are often overlooked when examining bilingualism, even though they are at the centre of the bilingual experience.

In summary, this section has focused on the different definitions and variations of bilingualism, stressing the multidimensionality of this field as it consists of numerous variables. While attempting to better understand the bilingualism phenomenon it is important to consider its complexity and constant growth and evolution.

2.2.1b Views:

Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) focus on the cultural aspects of being bilingual and argue that bilingualism entails biculturalism. However, they maintain that this process is not always at work but that "it is commonly accepted that such a process does require a synthesis of the cultural systems the bilingual is exposed to. This has been known to have varying effects ranging from a sense of anomie, of not fitting in anywhere, to a successful creation of a blended culture" (p. 248). Consequently, this makes identity in the context of bilingualism an interesting phenomenon to study.

One view on bilingualism with a focus on what makes it distinctive is that of Dewaele (2010), who emphasizes the need to avoid comparing bilinguals and multilinguals to monolinguals. He contends that, with such comparison, multilinguals will fall short since they show different metalinguistic judgements and patterns of pronunciation from those of monolinguals who, according to Pavlenko, include "a slower rate of lexical processing, and more sophistication and creativity in speaking and writing" (2005, pp. 9-10). Examining the less-researched emotional aspect of language acquisition, Dewaele (2010) underscores the importance of such an examination because, according to him, misunderstanding the emotionality of a word can "be far more embarrassing than phonological, morphological or syntactical errors" (pp. 6-7). To explore the intricate and rich field of language emotionality, Dewaele emphasizes the need to draw insights from various fields of study such as "neurobiology, psycho-evolutionary theory, cognitive psychology, social and cultural psychology, anthropology, cognitive linguistics and various areas of applied linguistics and multilingualism research, pedagogy, didactics and literary research" (p. 14).

An important view on bilingualism is that of Cook (1991) regarding the multicompetence associated with bilinguals, defined as "the compound state of a mind with two grammars" (p. 112). However, this is not to say that a bilingual is two monolinguals in one body (Hamers & Blanc, 1989; Cook, 1991; Grosjean, 1998; Pavlenko, 2011). Furthermore, Hamers and Blanc (1989) emphasize the importance of age and context of language acquisition as they have cognitive, psychological, and sociocultural impacts on a bilingual's development.

Regarding the general scepticism and fear about raising children bilingually, Dewaele, Housen and Wei (2003) argue, to the contrary, that bilingualism results in cognitive, economic, social, and psychological benefits at the individual level. H. Baetens Beardsmore (2003) lists the possible fears parents might have when facing the decision of raising their children bilingually. Among these fears are that children might have fewer "emotional ties" with one or more of their respective cultural or linguistic communities, weaker "linguistic and cultural allegiance" and potential to deviate from their parents' community values in the case of immigrants (p. 13).

To conclude, this section has provided some of the views in the literature on bilingualism. These views sought to demonstrate how bilingualism at its core is biculturalism and that bilinguals are not the same as monolinguals. In addition, being bilingual entails having a multiplicity of skills because of the two language systems bilinguals possess which should remove the fear about raising children bilingually.

2.2.1c Categories:

Bilingualism has numerous categories of which I selected language learning sequence, culture, and mastery. In terms of sequence, Schrauf (2000) distinguishes between simultaneous and consecutive bilinguals. The former learned their languages at the same time in childhood,

whereas the latter learned their languages during different time periods. Schrauf also remarks that subsequently learned languages can serve as a shield in the mechanism of repressing memories. He links language to culture and self-representation, thus arguing that bilinguals have multiple self-representations.

From the standpoint of cultural categories, bilinguals can either be monocultural, bicultural, or decultured (Hamers and Blanc,1989). Bentahila (1983) elaborates on the contribution of socio-economic status to the extent to which someone can be bicultural, showing that the more cosmopolitan and upper to middle class a bilingual, the easier it is to be bicultural. Bentahila gives the example of Arabic-French traditional Moroccan bilinguals who struggle to negotiate the division between the two cultures and feel as though they belong to neither. In the Middle East, and Morroco specifically, French is considered the language of power as a result of the former France colonisation to parts of the Middle East. However, French culture is quite different from Middle-Eastern/Arabic culture, thus the tension that Bentahila's Arabic-French Moroccan bilinguals experienced.

Socioculturally, bilingualism can be additive if both languages are valued, since only then is a child able to enjoy all the cognitive benefits bilingualism has to offer. On the other hand, bilingualism can be subtractive when a child's L1 is socioculturally not valued, resulting in a substantial delay in his or her cognitive development (Hamers and Blanc, 1989).

An interesting category of bilingualism is that of de Mejia's (2002) 'elite' bilinguals. She cites several scholars' definition of elite bilingualism as "the privilege of middle-class, well- educated members of most societies" (p. 40). Elite bilingualism is parallel to 'elective' bilingualism in the sense that these people choose to learn another language, even in the context that this language is

considered foreign (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994). De Mejia also refers to similar kinds of bilingualism as "prestigious", "privileged", and "optional", because they all share the element of choice in learning languages for a variety of reasons, such as social and economic mobility (p. 43). However, de Mejia observes that there is a debate concerning the term 'elite', in the sense that not every elite bilingual is an elective bilingual (one who has learned the language by choice) or has a high socio-economic status. Another definition of elite bilingualism is provided by Baetens-Beardsmore, who describes it as "that which has been entered upon as a conscious option by parents from stable, middle-class backgrounds who are in a position to support the educative process with back-up involvement" (2003, p. 17).

In terms of mastery, Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) categorize bilinguals into limited, passive/recessive, dominant, and balanced. Limited bilinguals, who mainly involve minority children, lack proficiency in both L1 and L2 due to socio-political and economic reasons. An important distinction Chin and Wigglesworth emphasize is that the cause is the environment and not bilingualism itself, and that a monolingual would also lack proficiency in his or her L1 in such an environment. Passive bilinguals are those who are undergoing attrition in one of their languages. Examples include immigrants who do not have enough opportunities to use their L1. Dominant bilinguals are proficient with various degrees of mastery in their languages. Proficiency does not cover all domains, and such examples include social, professional and academic domains.

This section focuses on balanced bilinguals, the category that is of particular interest for the present study. Much debate has surrounded this category and has been dominated by two contradictory views. Pavlenko (2005) and Grosjean (1998) maintain that balanced bilinguals are never equally proficient in their languages and tend to be dominant in one language or aspect of

that language, while Lambert et al. (1959), Hamers and Blanc (1989) and Cook (1992) contend that balanced bilinguals have equal knowledge of their languages. For the purpose of this study, I am adopting both views and focusing on Fishman's consideration of balanced bilingualism. Fishman (1972) maintains that bilingualism is complementary, in that a bilingual person is better at one language for a certain topic or context than the other language. For example, academically, a bilingual person would be more proficient in writing in the language that his or her academic journey has taken place. In addition, Fishman argues this complementary nature of use in bilingualism ensures the continuation of this phenomenon. He states that if a bilingual was equally proficient in all aspects of both languages, then he or she does not need to be bilingual as sociolinguistically he or she will not have to express himself or herself bilingually in all aspects of life. Fishman argues that if this situation existed, then bilingualism would not exist. In addition, despite its contentious nature, I chose the term 'balanced' because I want to refer to the state of being culturally and linguistically invested in two languages. I am using 'balanced' in the sense of language balancing culture in both a bilingual's languages, and the two languages with similar levels of mastery balancing each other.

2.2.1d Implications:

Bilingualism has various implications across a variety of social and academic contexts. Pavlenko (2011) discusses a range of views on bilingualism and its relations to and implications on thinking and cognition. She presents various hypotheses on how language influences one's worldview and manner of thinking. In doing so, Pavlenko cites historical conceptualizations of bilingualism, such as Epstein (1915), who contends that bilingualism translates negatively in terms of cognition and slows down and confuses the thinking process (p. 12). She also cites Jespersen (1922), who wonders if "any bilingual child ever developed into a great artist in

speech, a poet, or orator" (p. 13). On the multimodal implication of being bilingual, Kellman (2000) discusses the emancipatory detachment of bilingualism and how it can provide for translingual writers another linguistic and cultural dimension of self-expression free from the conventions and restrictions of their native languages.

Regarding implications in a classroom context, learning to become bilingual is influenced by each individual's character. Dewaele (2012) maintains that while it is not always feasible to successfully deal with all varieties of leaners' personalities, it is effective to create an encompassing positive emotional environment where values of hard work are fostered for successful foreign language learning.

Kramsch (1997) tries to replace the monolingual privilege with a "non-native speaker privilege". Interestingly, Pavlenko (2011) refers to the impact of monolingual privilege on bilinguals, with the majority of balanced bilinguals claiming they are not completely competent in any of their known languages. Hamers and Blanc (1989) elaborate on the origin of the monolingual privilege/bias by stating that "monolinguality is more commonly found in economically dominant groups whereas the members of minority or subordinate groups tend to be bi- or multilingual. Minority does not necessarily imply numerical inferiority, but refers rather to a subordinate status in the community" (p. 13). Grosjean (1998), as stated earlier, contends that a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one body; rather, he or she is a unique speaker with a complete linguistic system that is more dominant in one of his or her languages, no matter how proficient or balanced.

2.2.1e Conclusion:

The review presented here of the previous literature shows some of the definitions, views, and implications of bilingualism. This review sought to show how bilingualism has emerged over the past forty years as an independent field from monolingualism with its own criteria, contexts, and variables. It is recognized that interdisciplinary studies relating to language have to separate bilinguals from monolinguals in order to give bilingualism a fair and thorough representation. Dewaele (2009) maintains that a bilingualism researcher should be equipped with the theoretical and methodological knowledge coupled with the personality and comprehension of relevant fields to bilingualism. Also, bilingualism has many different varieties associated to it and varies in degrees of language mastery. Measuring bilinguals' relative proficiency in their languages is rather complex and should be carefully conducted when choosing research participants for bilingualism research.

2.2.2 Emotions

Since this study seeks to examine the emotionality of a selected few balanced bilinguals, it is important to provide a review of some of the literature on emotions. Accordingly, I will present and discuss some definitions, distinctions, and issues in the emotion literature as well as the relationship between emotions, language, culture, an individual's personality, and the combinations of each. Emotional processing and expression and some influencing factors in general as well as in a bilingual context are also discussed.

In the emotion literature, a general consensus seems to exist on the distinction between feelings and emotions. The term 'feeling' refers to a primarily biological state, while an 'emotion' denotes a link between the body and mind and has cultural and linguistic associations

(Wierzbicka, 1999; Schrauf & Sanchez, 2004; Wilce, 2009). On the importance of emotion studies, Darwin (1872/1965) maintains that the processing and expression of emotions are parts of our biological heritage.

Emotions can be categorized according to language and culture, and some emotion categorizations are culture-bound, while others are universal (Russell, 1991; Wierzbicka, 1992). For example, Wierzbicka (1992) gives the example of the Polish word *tęsknota,* which approximately means " 'sadness caused by separation' " (p. 125), and which Wierzbicka traces back to the division in Poland in the late eighteenth century that resulted in the 'Great Emigration' wave. However, Wierzbicka argues that having no equivalent to certain culture-specific feelings in English does not mean that the average American does not experience those emotions; it merely shows that these emotions "are not sufficiently salient in American culture to have merited lexicalisation" (p. 124). The different emotion words are semantically tied to each language, and basic emotions such as anger can vary greatly in meaning across languages (Heelas, 1986). However, Russell maintains that instead of focusing on the dichotomy of universal versus specific natures of emotion, we should focus on "the precise nature of the universal core of communication and the precise role played by culture" (p. 13). Russell notes that emotion words represent categories of events rather than one event, stating that "Because there are no Munsell chips for the emotions, one must examine categorization of emotions indirectly, and much of the evidence necessarily involves words. Words express concepts by means of which people can categorize a part of their personal and social reality" (p. 2). An example Russell gives is the word "anger".

According to Russell (1991), one precarious issue in the study of emotion is that some emotion words in a language have no equivalent in other languages. However, even if a language lacks a

certain emotion word, this word can still be expressed through metaphors and nonverbal communication; there is no language or culture that hinders the comprehension of another's practices.

Regarding the debate on whether language influences peoples' thinking processes, it is worthwhile to mention the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in contrast to that of Pinker's (Pinker, 1994). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis claims that language impacts the way we think, resulting in differences in how people think across cultures. Specifically, this hypothesis argues that each language has a distinct set of categories in its system, each of which impacts the person's view of the world. However, Pinker provided a scientific argument against the previous hypothesis, finding an adult without a language who grew up as a feral child yet was able to count. After training, this adult was able to communicate through sign language. Therefore, Pinker concludes that language does not completely determine thought as that aforementioned languageless adult was intelligent and able to count before he learned a language.

Another assumption regards the personality of these balanced bilinguals. Dewaele's and Van Oudenhoven's (2009) dominant-in-two-languages personality tests showed Israeli participants were far more open-minded, slightly more culturally diverse and significantly more emotionally unstable than monolinguals. Therefore, personality in relation to bilingualism and the bidirectional relation between both is a variable to consider in data analysis, based on how participants report on their personalities.

On emotions in relation to language, King (2011) argues that one's emotional language is the language in which emotional memories took place. King maintains that most emotional memories come from childhood; therefore, the mother tongue is most likely to be one's

emotional language because of the special caregiver-child relationship. Exceptions occur when one becomes more fluent in a second language.

One concept researchers have used in the study of emotions is Trait Emotional Intelligence (Trait EI) which reflects how individuals control, express, and adapt to their emotions (Dewaele, Petrides, & Furnham, 2008). Trait EI differs from one individual to another. Individuals with a high Trait EI can manage their emotions and stress more efficiently. The context of language acquisition is a significant variable in Trait EI; for example, it affects how individuals perceive and express love and profanity. Most importantly, the multilingual's dynamic linguistic situation, which is always evolving, is an important variable in the study of bilingualism and emotions.

In the context of different cultures, Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) maintain that individualistic, independent cultures tend to use verbs and nouns to express emotions, while interdependent cultures typically use more emotion verbs (verbs designated exclusively to express emotions). For example, the emotion of anger (Сердитвс) is expressed in the form of an adjective in English, while it is a verb in Russian. Additionally, within the study of bilingualism and emotions, Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) contend that not all words in a language are translatable to other languages and that narratives (especially oral ones) best illustrate language use in context.

Distinguishing between independent and interdependent cultures, Markus and Kitayama (1991) claim that the Western (independent) lens sees the individual as autonomous and having unique characteristics that determine his or her behaviour. However, in interdependent cultures an individual's existence and behaviour is determined by his or her relations to others and he or she is therefore more likely to be sensitive towards others' needs. Culture and self-view, whether

independent or interdependent, influence emotion processing and expression. The authors distinguish between two kinds of emotions: *ego-focused* and *other-focused*. Ego-focused emotions relate to the individual characteristics of a person, such as pride, frustration, and anger. People with independent selves are more likely to experience and express ego-focused emotions than those with interdependent selves. Other-focused emotions are directed toward others and their needs and include shame, empathy, and interpersonal communion.

Moving to emotion processing and expression, Schrauf & Sanchez (2004) elaborate in detail on the implications of emotion processing on expression, including subtleties such as word choice. Schrauf & Sanchez use two theories as a basis for their study. First, the theory of *affect-as-information* maintains that experiencing negative emotions yields a detailed process of interpreting these emotions. Positive emotions, by contrast, tend to be processed and expressed in a more general way. Second, in the theory of *affect-complexity,* emotional processing and expression are facilitated by age.

In emotion processing there are two separate cognitive processors for positive and negative emotions (Schrauf & Sanchez, 2004). One operates in a top-down manner and is activated in safe and/or desirable environments. The other is bottom-up and functions in dangerous environments. The authors maintain that emotion vocabulary differs in size and range from one language to another. The lexicon of old and young adults contains a majority of the negative emotion vocabulary. One hypothesis the authors propose is that, cross-linguistically, negative emotion terms will outnumber positive ones. Having more negative emotion labels does not imply that people have more negative emotion experiences than positive ones. Culture, for example, influences the cognitive processing of emotions when responding to external stimuli. Also,

society's structure (such as rural, urban, hierarchical or egalitarian) and politics (such as peace or war) may influence emotion processing.

An important element of emotion processing and expression is the 'working emotion vocabulary' which Schrauf & Sanchez (2004) claim to be larger for negative emotions than for positive emotions, both cross-generationally and cross-culturally. They define working emotion vocabulary as those terms that serve to describe an individual's emotional experience and constitute a small percentage of the overall 'language emotion vocabulary'. Emotion words are words describing feelings, and these may be positive or negative (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2008). Interestingly, the authors maintain that, in spite of all the various losses that aging brings, older people have a more diverse emotion vocabulary than younger people and use more positive emotion words.

People regulate their emotions differently. Important factors influencing the differences in emotion regulation are personality traits and culture (Matsumoto, 2006). Matsumoto maintains that, on a broader scale, cultural differences can be plausibly explained by reference to the distinct personalities of the individual members of specific cultural groups. Some consider personality a product of culture, though this is much contested now. Cultural differences are affected by region, genes, and migration. Consequently, personality traits can be one factor contributing to differences in emotion regulation. Second Language Acquisition studies regard the L2 learner's characteristics as shifting and context-dependent (Dewaele, 2012). Dörnyei (2005) further elaborates on the changing attributes of an L2 learner by relating them to biology and environment which is off the limits of applied linguists. However, the influence of the learner's surrounding --the environmental factor -- can be investigated as a cultural/linguistic variable.

The previous section has discussed emotional processing and expression in general, not taking language into consideration. The processes involving emotion are influenced by several factors such as age and culture. However, this system of emotions is further complicated by having two linguistic repertoires functioning simultaneously or consecutively.

Regarding expression of bilingualism and emotion, Marian & Kaushanskaya (2008) argue that bilinguals express emotions differently in their languages. The authors' study showed that Russian-English bilinguals expressed more emotions in English than in Russian and that their Russian narratives were shorter and contained more negative emotion words than positive ones (speaking about immigration, which is traumatic in nature, might have contributed to this). Possible justifications for different emotion expression among English and Russian were mainly cultural; in individualistic cultures people are more emotionally expressive. Also, the participants' English narratives were longer than the Russian ones. The authors explain that bilinguals feel they have to add more emotion words when speaking their L2 to make up for the emotional distance effect, which contributed to the added emotionality of English narratives of these Russian-English bilinguals. Marian & Kaushanskaya conclude that, generally, a bilingual's emotional language is the language of preference and not necessarily that of proficiency.

A prediction is that the emotional attachment rather than proficiency determines the emotionality in using a language. Marian & Kaushanskaya (2008) predict that the earlier the age of immigration, the more positive emotion words are used in the L2 narratives. Variables affecting the emotional expressiveness of bilinguals are type of emotion, language proficiency, language preference, and age. Marian and Kaushanskaya define language proficiency as the "fluency of expression, richness of vocabulary, and absence of grammatical errors" (p. 5).

The specific sociocultural element of each language impacts access to emotion vocabulary. In addition, language and emotion have a reciprocal relationship, where each influences the other. Thus, language, with its linguistic and cultural intricacies, impacts emotions, and emotions influence language as they can also be expressed by non-linguistic means.

In short, a basic foundation in the literature of emotions and bilingualism is the inextricable bond among emotions, language, and culture. Individual differences and specific circumstances and environments also add layers to the world of emotions. In relation to my proposed study, all the different factors involved in and influencing emotion processing and expressing will be considered when data are analyzed.

2.2.3   Autobiographical Memories

Since this study seeks to examine some aspects of bilingualism and emotion through a narrative lens, autobiographical memories are a relevant and significant field to scan and better understand. This section provides a brief definition of an autobiographical memory and discusses two proposed hypotheses of how autobiographical memories work. It also elaborates on the multimodal nature of these memories and situates them in a bilingual context.

To start with, I found Schrauf's (2003) definition of autobiographical memories to be most encompassing. According to him, an autobiographical memory is

> "an 'on-line' mental reconstruction of a personal past event that integrates various kinds of information in memory: spatial and sensory imagery, emotion, language, and narrative coherence. Autobiographical memory is organized hierarchically, and includes (from the general to the more specific) memory for lifetime periods, generic repeated events, extended events, and specific "one-moment-in-time" occurrences" (pp. 5-6).

Schrauf (2003) proposes two models of autobiographical memories. The first is the *Context-plus-Index Model,* where the memory takes place in a context, i.e., school, and is retrieved with the help of an index, i.e., a time when you were ambitious at school. The second is Find-A- Context-Search- And-Verify Model, where retrieval is effortful. This model may result in full, partial, or failed retrieval. These models are described as cyclic since they involve a number of cycles of processing and retrieving information, and they result in retrieval or failure. The sense of "reliving" is crucial in autobiographical memories. Retrieval of memories involves imagery, language, emotions, and concepts. Memories are not only restricted to the linguistic realm, as human experiences can be shaped by many factors, including not only linguistic, but also cultural factors. Another aspect of autobiographical memories that make them particularly relevant to the study of bilingualism and emotions is that they tap into the realm of identity, which is at the core of language and being (Perez Foster, 1998; Schrauf, 2000).

2.2.3a Multimodality of Memories

Experience is the stuff of memory and is encoded through the medium of language and is then categorized for an easier recall (Vygotsky, 1962). This categorization is assumed to make it easier for the experience to be retrieved. However, events can also be encoded through a non-linguistic, perceptual categorizing system (including the senses). Bucci (1985) cites memories of emotional reactions that represent an example of how an event is categorized perceptually. However, according to Javier et. al.(1993), a non-linguistically categorized event can be articulated through the medium of language, but with varying degrees in success. Thus, the medium of language can describe an experience in a multidimensional way -- symbolically, sensorily, and perceptually -- all nonlinguistic means of categorizing experience. However, experience encoded nonlinguistically can be retrieved linguistically. This adds complexity to

what a word represents (symbolic as well as sensory and perceptual associations) (Javier et al., 1993; Javier & Marcos, 1989; Marcos & Alpert, 1976).

2.2.3b Bilingual Autobiographical Memories

Having understood the workings of a memory monolingually, Bucci (1985) queries what happens when there are two languages as the medium of encoding experience. Citing several studies, Javier et. al. (1993) report that there are three models for bilingual memory: the independent model, the interdependent model, and the interdependent-dependent model. How a bilingual learned his or her language (the kind of bilingual he or she is: simultaneous or consecutive) would determine his or her relevant bilingual memory model. Furthermore, memories are encoded in the language in which the recalled event took place (Buxbaum, 1949). The language of memories elaborated in the same language as the language of the experience is richer and the intensity of the emotions is more preserved (Javier, Barroso, & Muñoz, 1993).

The previous brief review of literature has provided a definition of autobiographical memories and two hypotheses on how these memories are processed. This review also sought to capture the multidimensionality and multimodality of autobiographical memories and how this complexity is furthered at a bilingual level.

2.3   Conclusion

In summary, in this chapter I have stated my theoretical framework and attempted to briefly provide a review on some of the pertinent aspects of bilingualism, emotion, and autobiographical memories in relation to my study. These respective fields share reciprocal relationships among each other and are multidimensional and multimodal. Most importantly, processes in language, emotion, and autobiographical memories operate at a different level when possessing

bilingualism as a variable. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind the bilingual shift in each of these fields while examining bilingualism and emotion.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

In this chapter, I outline the qualitative methodology and methods I have selected and elaborate on why Narrative Inquiry (NI) is a most fitting approach to answer the questions I posed to explore the realm of bilingualism and emotion.

3.1   Interest in Narrative

I developed my interest in narrative as early as childhood when I became attracted to stories and fairy tales, and this interest further crystalized in high school when I chose a literary route to a baccalaureate rather than a scientific one. Ultimately, my passion for stories led me to studying English literature in university. Additionally, interesting stories of the successes and failures of relatives and friends have always fuelled my interests in the journeys that lead to such outcomes.

Having balanced bilingual neighbours and relatives growing up, and the interesting stories behind how they have come down this unique path through intermarriage and migration, is a further inspiration. I have always been fascinated by experiences to the extent that they represent one of my core values. Learning through others' experiences can offer many insights about one's self and others. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) argue that

> ...narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience. It is collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieu. An inquirer enters this matrix in the midst and progresses in this same spirit, concluding the inquiry still in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling, the stories of the experiences that make up people's lives, both individual and social. Simply stated… narrative inquiry is stories lived and told (p. 20).

Having embarked on this journey of narrative inquiry, I have also begun a journey of self-rediscovery, reflecting on my own assumptions and bilingual journey, as well as others' bilingual journeys.

3.2   Research Questions

The questions follow a narrative framework that adopts a "storytelling approach" (Webster *&* Metrova, 2007, p. 103) to explore the bilingual realm of language and emotion, and to focus on participants' personal and complex experiences of bilingualism. I wish to understand how bilingualism as a process, phenomenon, and social construction has shaped each participant's life. The research questions are as follows:

1. What can we learn from the stories of experience told by balanced bilingual persons in terms of the way they describe processing and expressing emotions in each of the languages they speak?

2. What do these stories suggest about these balanced bilinguals' emotional regulations and intensities in each language they speak?

3.3   Why Narrative?

NI as a multilayered, multidimensional form of qualitative inquiry has been used across different disciplines of social and, more recently, natural science (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). A common field for narrative research is education, with teachers learning experientially from their personal and professional practices (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). NI is more of a quest to investigate the emotional and intellectual property of any given topic since the complex, personal human experience is at its very core of investigation. This duality of investigation makes NI a

unique methodology (Conle, 2000) as it can be used across disciplines and fields, adding or enhancing a multidisciplinary nature to research.

Since the research topic represents the field of bilingualism and emotion focusing on language socialization and life experiences, NI is a fitting methodology for this purpose. Both NI and the field of bilingualism and emotion pay attention to the intricacies of individuals and the contexts influencing these individuals. Taking into account the complexity and uniqueness of bilingualism and the subsequent need to use methods accounting for this complex and unique nature (Hamers & Blanc, 1989), NI, as a paradigm and methodology, seeks to capture the unique nature of people's experiences. Accounting for this uniqueness, Spector-Mersel (2010) lays out the kinds of diversity and complexity NI encompasses: "cognition, emotion and motivation (Birren, 1996); uniqueness, culture and universality (Ruth & Kenyon, 1996); a dual landscape of action and consciousness (Bruner, 1987); past, present and future (Freeman, 1993)" (p. 211-212)**.** Accounting for all of these influencing factors encourages a holistic view of the individual that matches the bilingualism phenomenon and the bilingual journey of my balanced bilingual participants.

The core of NI is the understanding of experience through story (Connelly & Clandinin, 1985; Conle, 2000). Stories structure people's way of thinking, allowing them to make sense of their experiences (Bruner, 1986). This knowledge gained from storied personal experience is influenced by culture (Polanyi, 1958). The culture layer is transparent to one's own eyes, making it vital and enriching to get another perspective (from one's own culture and others') on one's story. The culture element that is diffused in stories is an integral part of being bilingual. Studying bilingualism inevitably entails studying cultures, as language and culture are

intertwined. Therefore, NI intersects with bilingualism in the accounting for culture as an important factor and variable.

In addition to NI being a suitable methodology, it fills a methodological gap in the literature as most of the dominant studies on bilingualism and emotion use mixed method designs (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2004; Dewaele, 2010; Pavlenko, & Driagina, 2007). Having NI as a method, as well as a methodology, further serves the purpose of this study. Interviewing participants and probing their narratives of autobiographical memories align with the objective of examining bilingualism and emotion through the language socialization lens.

The epistemology on which NI draws derives from our own understandings and interpretations of the world around us. This process is subjective and culturally-dependent (Spector-Mersel, 2010). To *think narratively* is to focus on the narrated experience, which is the object of analysis, so that it can be better understood and interpreted. Throughout this process, both the participants and the researcher learn a lot about themselves, each other and the world in which they live (Clandinin, Murphy, Huber, & Orr, 2010). Individuals make and express meanings of the world through telling stories; they shape meaning in a narrative form (Mishler, 1986).

3.4   NI's Methodology and Methods

NI data are stories contextualized within time, place, and perspective**.** Spector-Mersel, (2010) distinguishes between stories derived from observation or told in interviews. The latter are produced in the context of a research interview and influenced by the researcher's presence and the participant's understanding of the topic and intent of what message she/he wants to deliver.

Through NI methods, stories are collected, and through the process of analysis, the 'storied' human experience can be examined. When considering this storied phenomenon of experience,

the crucial factors are time, place, and context. These factors affect the participants' emotional experiences in their different languages. In certain contexts, it is easier and more natural to use one's first language (L1) than his/her second language(L2) and vice versa. NI aims at making participants' voices heard and shared with the researcher so that all gain new insights on the topic investigated. (Clandinin, Murphy, Huber, & Orr, 2010).

In the narrative paradigm, the researcher-participant dynamics are the core of NI. Both the researcher and the participant are inseparable from the stories under study. The participants' stories are influenced by the researcher and the research context. This inseparability and interchangeable influence are further highlighted in analyzing and interpreting the data when the researcher's "values, images, stereotypes, inclinations and personality traits" are mirrored in his or her partial representations of reality (Spector-Mersel, 2010, p. 216-217). In narrative research, control and power are shared between the researcher and the participant. For example, this qualitative research study sought to empower participants. This is done by making their voices heard and reducing the power distance. To achieve the latter, a narrative researcher collaborates with these participants in the analysis and interpretation stages and uses a literary writing style, aiding in reducing the power distance as it produces a different effect from an academic style of writing (Creswell, 2007). Presenting my participants' accounts in a narrative form gave them the comfort that comes with having their biographies written by a narrative researcher who cares and is sensitive about how to represent their stories. Without narrative, my participants would have been highly self-conscious and would have felt their stories were scrutinized by a "cold-hearted" researcher who would be digging for the "faults" in their stories in the quest of being critical. In a biography, one is comfortable to weave in the different events and stages to present his or her story from his or her perspective. Furthermore, while writing of the research report participants

are contacted for a re-interview to debrief and share interpretations gained during previous contact (Spector-Mersel, 2010; Beattie, 1995a; 1995b; 2001; 2004b). I will further elaborate on the negotiation of power relations in Chapter Four.

3.5   Issues in Narrative

3.5.1   Ethical Issues

Josselson (2007) elaborates in detail about critical ethical dilemmas faced by narrative researchers while interviewing participants, writing up the narrative report, and analyzing the data. A primary duty of any narrative researcher is to honour his or her participants by protecting their "privacy and dignity" (p. 1). While the quest of embarking on any research is knowledge, the price comes at intruding into participants' lives when conducting NI. A consequent duty is an added humility to the process of respecting, representing, and analyzing these participants' experiences. In a narrative interview, the narrative researcher juggles between being a close friend with the participant and a professional carrying out a project. This dual role of the researcher impacts the relationship he or she has with the participants and the dynamics of rapport. Consequently, the data (stories) are influenced by the dual role a narrative researcher has and "the subtle interpersonal cues that reflect the researcher's capacity to be empathetic, nonjudgmental, concerned, tolerant, and emotionally responsive as well as his or her ability to contain affect-laden material" (p.3). As a result, the degree to which participants open up will correlate with the aforementioned characteristics. In my interviews, I felt I was successful when both the participant and I enter a journey of rediscovery that ends with covering the structured interview questions, adequately elaborating on unstructured questions without exhausting the participant or having him or her repeat him- or herself and with the participant feeling

accomplished about reflecting on his or her life on both general and specific levels. On frequent occasions, participants asked me during the interviews if they were giving me the desired answers. Further, some asked if they were answering correctly. Practicing to what Josselson referred (being tolerant, concerned and nonjudgemental to name a few) helped convince the participants I was interested in their experiences the way they would like to present them. In addition, the current postmodernist approach to truth as being hybrid, multiple, and relative further complicates the ethical duties of the narrative researcher (Josselson, 2007). Consequently, it is important that a narrative researcher takes full responsibility for his or her interpretations, representations, and limitations.

I addressed these ethical issues during the interviews by ensuring that I build a relationship with my participants to put them at ease and build trust. This was achieved by presenting a genuine, honest, and open attitude, leading to each participant being able to open up during the middle of the first interview and disclosing personal memories. Given the intimate topic of bilingualism and emotion in the context of socialization and memories, the narratives were very personal. I empathized with each participant during each stage of the interview, and at some points during the interview I gave reflexive feedback, showing the bond and, when available, the similar experiences I shared with the participants. For example, when Dino articulated, very carefully, how he felt being the only non-native ESL teacher at his workplace makes him stand out in a way that is non-privileging, I disclosed my identical work experience of being the only non-native ESL teacher among a group of British, American, and Canadian ESL teachers, and how I grew accustomed to my "other" position. In addition, to further protect the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, I changed the names of places as well as other details in the narratives.

3.5.2 Artistic and Social Scientific Nature

Narrative inquiry has an artistic as well as a social scientific nature (Blumenfeld Jones, 2006). Most importantly, the critical nature of narrative methodology sets it apart from merely telling stories (Iannacci, 2007). Therefore, a narrative researcher can be seen as an artist working on a piece of art (the participant's story), shaping it in various ways, while continuously accounting for aesthetics. Dewey maintains that aesthetics are incorporated within both science and art (1934). However, the aesthetics incorporated in NI do not aim at reaching an objective truth or assigning a right or wrong status to things and people. Instead, aesthetics are used to portray reality in a way that other disciplines do not. However, this artistic nature of NI can pose challenges within issues for verisimilitude (or the believability of narratives) or trustworthiness (Blumenfeld-Jones, 2006). Moss (2004) defines trustworthiness as a science as well as an art, with tension arising from the continuously blurring line between the two. She defines fidelity as understanding participants' struggles and recognizing the researcher as a "co-struggler for the the cultural-political identity" (p.1).

A pressing issue in the artistic field of telling stories is that life events are always undergoing construction and reconstruction whether they are told by the original teller (the participant) or the researcher (the interviewer). Here, the question of the stories' 'reliability' can be raised. However, narrative research is not concerned with the 'validity' or 'truth' of a given story; instead, it aims at providing a snapshot of a particular moment in time. This snapshot is an attempt to explore what is going on with the participants, and this may inform the understanding of others. NI does not claim to provide the right or the only answer to any research problem (Webster & Metrova, 2007).

Another issue to note is that stories told in a narrative research interview are the co-construction of both the participant and the researcher and are influenced by the dominant cultural, social, and political discourses in that context. Moreover, when telling a story, the participant is already reconstructing the story and reinventing him- or herself to deliver a certain self-presentation. This process involves telling, editing, and suppressing events. Consequently, "[n]arrative inquiry is an artificial endeavor existing within layers of intention and reconstruction" (p.28, Blumenfeld-Jones, 2006). It is the events in the narratives that shape reality and to which the narrative researcher should pay attention.

3.6   Methods

3.6.1   Participants and Recruitment

Recruitment

Participants were recruited through a series of processes. First, advertisements, in the form of posters and emails, were used (see Appendix G). Emails were sent to the faculties of a medium-sized Ontario university, with the permission granted in the ethics approval (see Appendix C). Via informal emails, respondents were then screened through follow-up communication and initial interviews were used to determine the eligibility of potential candidates. Eligible participants completed the questionnaires and I interviewed them twice using semi-structured interviews.

A very pressing issue was the criteria used to define "balanced bilinguals". The literature has used two main definitions: balanced bilinguals are those equally (Cook, 1992; Hamers & Blance, 1989), or almost equally (Pavlenko, 2005; Grosjean, 1998) proficient in two languages. I have

embraced both definitions and relied on self-report -- what the participants identify and describe as being true -- as my criterion for determining the eligibility of potential participants. Specifically, when defining balanced bilingualism, I relied on strong proficiency in both languages and bicultural affiliation. Another criterion was having a family member, particularly a spouse, who shares a language with a participant. I focused on the speaking skills in the second language (L2) and required that the participant speak it frequently. My main questions were as follows: i. Are you *strongly* proficient in two languages? ii. Do you consider yourself Canadian and some other cultural identity? One issue was the reliability of self-report in determining language proficiency (especially for L2). This was overcome by learning more about the participant's language history and demographic information during the initial interview.

The Participants

My five balanced bilinguals vary in age and gender and come from different backgrounds. As for language sets, outside of English, French and Spanish constitute the L1 or L2. Given that the study was conducted in Canada, French and Spanish are representatives of strong dominant language communities (Quebecers, French-Ontarians, and growing number of Latino communities). I will elaborate more on my participants by introducing each in a separate thumbnail sketch in Chapter Four (Findings).

Table 1   The Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	L1	L2	Nationality	Country of Origin	Occupation
*Jean-François	M	50-55	English	French	Canadian	Ontario-Canada	Faculty Member
Dino	M	35-40	Spanish	English	Nicaraguan-Canadian	Nicaragua	ESL Teacher
Marta	F	25-30	Spanish	English	Mexican	Mexico	Graduate Student
*Sarah	F	25-30	French	English	Canadian	Quebec-Canada	Graduate Student
Avery	M	18-19	French	English	Canadian	Ontario-Canada	Undergraduate Student

Participant picked his/her own pseudonym.

3.6.2   Data Collection Methods

Given that the study was conducted in the English-speaking area of Canada, semi-structured interviews are the primary source of data; questionnaires and researcher diaries are secondary. Using a variety of data sources helps achieve triangulation of data sources which is a powerful tool to strengthen qualitative research and ensure validation of the findings. Therefore, a qualitative narrative research interview was chosen as a primary data source since it tackles the lives of the participants and their perspectives on it. The focus is on the participants' understandings of their lives that are going to be described and represented later (Kvale, 1996). As for the secondary sources of data, the questionnaire provided a foundation on which I could construct narratives with thick descriptions. The section on bilingualism and emotion in the questionnaire was a warm-up for each participant right before the first interview which helped him or her start to reflect on the topic. The researcher diary included all the steps I have taken in conducting the research, such as data collection and data analysis, and notes about the

interviews; how they went and how I felt during them; and observations about each participant. Also, my diary included my initial thoughts and interpretations of the interviews.

3.6.3   Narrative Interviews Process

Two semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant, with a week in between each interview. All interviews took place on-campus at a quiet seating area in a university building or the office of a faculty member. As stated in the letter of information (see Appendix A), all interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. I conducted ten interviews totalling 412 minutes. The notes taken while conducting interviews helped format my unstructured questions. After each interview, I immediately began the transcription, and on those occasions when I was unable to completely finish the transcription, I was always able to listen to the full recording before the second interview. In addition to the notes, listening to the interview recordings and transcribing them helped orient my thinking and my formatting of the unstructured questions for the second interview. In one case, I contacted a participant -- Jean-François -- to elaborate on one answer through which I had interrupted half-way. After each interview, I thanked each participant for his or her time and effort, and at all times encouraged him or her to contact me by phone or email for any inquiries or comments. To verify what each participant said, I sent the completed transcripts to each one for member checking (Josselson, 2007).

3.7   Data Analysis

An easy trap into which I found myself falling was the simplistic "cause and effect" principle (Conle, 2000). I tried to overcome this trap by having an open-ended mindset and letting the data speak and not lead it where I wanted it to go (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). I

caught myself desperately wanting to have the perfect match of connections and meaning-making out of the narratives I have. I felt embarrassed; however, listening to the interview recordings multiple times widened my perspective and enriched my interpretation of the data. The repeated listening of the recordings helped me to visualize metaphors and notice recurrent themes. I was able to weave the different research texts (the transcripts, the researcher's diary, participants' reflections when available, and questionnaire) and the theoretical framework to see what was missing. While writing the narratives, the past and the anticipation of a certain future shaped the narratives interchangeably (Conle, 2000). I am also aware that my unstructured interview questions came from a specific reflection at a particular moment during the interview, and that they necessarily influence participants' responses.

This section outlines important issues and concepts to be aware of before embarking on the analysis procedure:

To begin, a distinction has to be made between "analysis of narratives", which involves analyzing previously gathered narratives, and "narrative analysis", which involves constructing narratives through the different sorts of data available, such as descriptions of events (Polkinghorne, 1995). I am following a narrative analysis framework, constructing, reconstructing, and co-constructing the participants' narratives. In addition, I am following a thematic analysis because it focuses on people in relation to their contexts, and it suits more focused data shaped by the focused questions in the semi-structured interviews (Bold, 2012). My structured interview questions aimed directly at bilingual emotional expression and the comparison between the two languages. Also, emotional expression is highly contextual; therefore, a thematic analysis was most fit.

Prior to embarking on analysis, it is vital to construct 'thick descriptions'(Geertz, 1988) of the participants, as well as reflect on the researcher's positioning (Kendall, 1999) in the research, as doing so helps achieve verisimilitude, the believability of narratives. Once engaged in the process of constructing narratives, I have to be aware that telling one's story is, at the same time, reconstructing one's self (Barone, 2000). In other words, my construction of my participants' stories is a reconstruction of who they are. In particular, metaphors help achieve that understanding.

I am also adopting Lieblich's (Lieblich, et. al, 1998) holistic-content reading by first carefully reading the transcripts multiple times until I noticed a pattern. During this process, I was very empathetic and confident that the data would eventually reveal itself to me. Next, I noted my initial thoughts and observations of any "contradictions or unfinished descriptions" (p. 62). Then I identified the themes suited for the study and the research questions. To help me do that, I used recurrences, long elaborations, and repetitions of the potential themes as relevant indicators. I created mind maps with clusters while listening to the recordings and, after I identified each theme, I wrote it on a separate index card and put all these cards to one participant around each other and wrote the metanarrative for this particular participant. After I finished doing the same process of identifying themes and writing the metanarrative for all participants, I put the clustered index cards next to each other to select the overall metanarrative and the counternarrative.

Narrative interviews can portray a metanarrative out of the participants' stories. Once this metanarrative is identified, a narrative researcher would look for the counter-narratives -- the stories that have not been told. However, the parameters of this study did not permit me to explore the counternarrative of my participants's stories.

In the process of narrative analysis, it is important to recognize three voices while conducting and writing narrative research: the researcher's voice, the theoretical framework's voice and the researcher's reflexive voice that monitors the first two voices (Lieblich, et al., 1988). Bakhtin (1981) terms this multiplicity of voices 'heteroglossia' -- the diversity and stratification of voices where multiple styles, genres can be found in a text. To help recognize and account for these voices, narrative researchers acknowledge their past stories and bring them out in the open (Iannacci, 2007). In Chapter One I have provided a prologue that illustrates the story in which I am interested, and in Chapter Four I employ reflexivity when interpreting the themes that emerge out of my participants' narratives. Agar and Hobbs (1980) argue that the process of interpretation mirrors the researcher's overall knowledge of the participants as well as a more specialized knowledge from reading the literature on the topic researched. These interpretations also spring from the researcher's own representations of what constitutes common-sense and deems certain standards appropriate.

An important procedure in narrative analysis is 'nesting', that is, bringing together the different research texts (in the context of this study, these include interview transcripts, questionnaires, and the researcher's and participant's co-constructed narratives) as well as the theoretical framework. In addition, external influencing factors are considered in nesting, such as the larger cultural, political and economic discourses. The combination of the different research texts and the external factors help identify initial themes. In addition, examining the relationships between these texts and factors motivates additional interpretations that strengthen understanding and leads to the creation of a complete study (Iannacci, 2007).

Finally, it is vital to observe the swaying movement between 'yielding' to stories and reflecting on them, that Dewey suggests is operating in an art work (1934). As I allow the stories to flow naturally, I will reflect on why I am writing them this way.

3.7.1 Data Analysis Procedure:

Following NI's analysis of meaning, I transcribed the interviews verbatim. Next, I looked for a metanarrative in each participant's data. The data I used were interview transcripts, a questionnaire and my (researcher) diary. Then I shared this metanarrative with each participant and incorporated his/her feedback. After that, I looked for an overarching metanarrative across all five metanarratives. Weaving together my understanding and interpretation gained from the questionnaire, diary, and interview transcripts, along with the participants' feedback on my interpretations, I looked for any inconsistencies that may lead to the identification of a counternarrative -- a narrative that does not fit with this overarching metanarrative. Throughout the process of constructing, reconstructing, and coconstructing narratives, themes of emotional language, emotional distance, and identity were noted and identified (see Chapter Four, section for more details). One of my participants, Sarah, wrote their own reflective pieces in the form of fictionalized narratives. These were then merged into my reflective narrative and together they formed a research text (a co-constructed narrative) for further interpretation and analysis (Clandinin, et al., 2010).

I will elaborate on a few steps during data collection and analysis. During interviews, I occasionally used 'active listening' as a method of analysis (Kvale, 1996), although McCracken (1988) warned against it. Kvale calls this technique 'condensation and interpretation of meaning', where the interviewer verifies what the interviewee means by sending back the

meaning, asking what the interviewee meant and withholding interpretation until he or she has confirmed or disconfirmed the interviewer's interpretation (p.189). Below is an example of how I applied Kvale's condensation and interpretation of meaning.

> 403 Jean- François: In English it feels , in English it . . . I'm thinking of an emotional
> 404memory that's associated with a situation in . . . I think of couple, I think of one
> 405where the communication was going on in English and another completely different
> 406 where it was going on in French. I find though, that the, the nature of the situation is
> 407 a bit different. Ah, telling it, telling somebody about it in English, ah, you know, I
> 408 could do it with, I guess with better precision in terms of, in terms of the words I use,
> 409 the words I find, in this one situation, you know, that took place when English was
> 410 being used, ah, you know, describing, ah,
> 411 Maya: So your emotions feel precise?
> 412 Jean- François: Yeah, they kind of feel precise

While constructing both the initial metanarratives and the overarching one, resonance (Frye, 1982) defined as including reflection on the metaphors noticed in the data that led to narrative creations, and their connection to the researcher's stories and the participants' stories, is an important process in analysis.

Throughout the analysis, I was aware of the theoretical framework's influence, the influence of my own stories, and my personal biases. These, I will acknowledge prior to writing the findings. Below is an elaboration on the secondary sources of data and how they were used in the analysis.

3.7.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered prior to the interview. In addition to identifying each participant's approach to the topic, the questionnaire helped me gather demographic and biographical information that helped me 'situate' and fit the stories I collected within my participants' lives. The questionnaire had a demographic and biographical section and another on the topic of emotionality in different languages. Therefore, the demographic and biographical

information sections helped me gather a specific sort of datum, in the event that this sort of datum is not completely discussed or brought up during the interview. Most participants talked about where they were from, how their parents raised them, and other autobiographical information. However, they focused on certain aspects of their lives. The two sections on demographic and biographical information granted me a wider and a more holistic approach.

3.7.3   Researcher Diary

During May and June, my reflective diary writing took place before analyzing the data and after fully transcribing the interviews. The researcher's diary allowed me to track my evolving understanding and insights and placed where my participants' stories resonate or depart from my own. To assist me with recognizing recurring themes, I consulted my diary during the analysis of the narratives to examine my assumptions at the time before going back to the literature.

3.8   Limitations of the Study

Because of the exploratory nature of qualitative research that fits a topic whose variables are hard to account for (Creswell, 2009), a qualitative approach to research was chosen. This qualitative study looks in depth at the experiences of five participants at a single institution. It is not intended to be generalizable to larger populations. Rather, through verisimilitude and trustworthiness, the goal is to share experiences of individuals that may serve to inform the thinking and dialogue for current and future research on emotion and bilingualism.

Another important note is that any given narrative encompasses multiple truths (Josselson, 2007). Heikkenen, Huttenen, and Jajjorri (2000) argue that the representation of events in narratives leads to a constantly-changing "truth of being". However, no one story will capture the whole truth. The multitude of stories serves to enrich the understanding of the world and the

human being. Ultimately, this enhanced understanding will lead to a better life (Josselson, 2007). Following on this idea of narrative truth, Eisner (1997) maintains that reality is fluid and hybrid and cannot be captured in its entirety; all that we have available are interpretations of reality. We have to be comfortable with the thought of never being able to reach the absolute complete truth of reality. Once this comfort level is reached, a better judgement of the interpretations of reality at particular moments through individual experiences can be attained. Searching and allowing for alternate interpretations serve to give more validation in the quest to describe reality (Eisner, 1997).

Furthermore, I wanted to give a snapshot of the realities of my five participants' lives through narrative inquiry because I strongly believe in and resonate with this approach and because the main studies on bilingualism and emotion have a mixed method approach (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2004; Dewaele, 2010; Pavlenko, & Driagina, 2007). Therefore, the participants' perspectives on the questionnaires and interview questions, as well as my perspectives on data analysis, constitute one answer to the research questions. However, it is not the "only" or the "right" answer. Also, in addition to self-report regarding language proficiency and memories, my limited knowledge of the participants at the time is another limitation in terms of how much they opened up to me when answering very personal questions. Furthermore, while taking notes, my observations of the participants were not noted in the researcher diary at the time but were instead transformed into themes and questions. Listening to the recordings multiple times helped me relive the interviews, and using this along with my unstructured questions, I wrote my diary.

3.9   Trustworthiness or Validation, Verisimilitude or Truthfulness

In a worldview that sees truth as being multiple and reality as being socially-constructed, 'trustworthiness' and 'verisimilitude' are qualitative, narrative-compatible, forms of validation (a term created by Mishler, 1990) for any research adopting this paradigm. Mishler defines trustworthiness as "the degree to which we can rely on the concepts, method, and inferences of a study, or tradition of inquiry, as the basis of our own theorizing and empirical research" (419). Verisimilitude, the believability of narratives, can be achieved through three means. First, the narrative researcher has to resonate with the stories he or she hears and relate to them. Second, the stories have to be plausible. Third, using a critical event approach, sorting the events into 'like' and 'other' events will demonstrate if the stories are plausible or not. Agar and Hobbs (1982) describe three criteria to verify the coherence of narratives: global coherence, local coherence, and themal coherence. The first uses the participant's overall narrative as a model against which to compare. The second compares utterances within each other. The third compares utterances to the overall participant's worldview.

Having aesthetically compelled storied accounts of experience supports verisimilitude and trustworthiness. In addition, continuously and critically reflecting on verisimilitude and trustworthiness helps maintain 'criticalness' which is vital to establishing 'wakefulness', and not giving in to a sense of ease in conducting NI (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000).

Another concept enhancing verisimilitude and trustworthiness is fidelity. Fidelity is not the same as truth; rather, it springs from and is shaped by the researcher-participant relationship (the participant being honest and the researcher respecting the participant's report) and the context of the research. Fidelity combines the objective truth (in the positivist sense) and the subjective

interpretation (Blumenfeld-Jones, 2006). Having been constantly empathetic, sensitive and reflexive helped me with achieving fidelity by not pressing the participants to further elaborate on sensitive topics.

As for verisimilitude, I have resonated with each of my participant's stories. For example, I resonated with Jean- François' decision to become bilingual. In fact, I had become bilingual around the same age as he did (early twenties). Other examples include the longing for the L1 emotionality, as in Dino's story; the attachment to family, as in Marta's story; and the occasional feeling like a 'fraud' in her L2, as in Sarah's story.

3.10   Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced NI as the methodology used for this research and situated and linked it to the larger qualitative research umbrella under which it lies. In addition, I described different NI methods used, the limitations of NI, some issues and concerns faced while conducting a study with NI, and the different constructs of validity used in NI: verisimilitude and trustworthiness.

Chapter Four: Findings

In this chapter, I present my balanced bilingual participants and data in the form of narratives that I co-constructed with my five participants. I also seek to identify the themes and patterns in each narrative, highlighting any complexities in the experiences of processing and expressing emotions as well as the impact of such experiences on my five balanced bilinguals' identities. In the co-constructed narratives some participants took more of a lead, such as Marta and Jean-François.

Before I proceed, I have to acknowledge that the knowledge I have acquired from my participants' experiences has become part of my knowledge and experience (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). In addition, these experiences have become part of my life and have shaped my perspective and assumptions on the topic.

4.1.   Sarah

Sarah is a Quebecois in her mid-twenties who lived in Quebec her whole life before she moved to Ontario for graduate school. She started learning English when she was ten years old. While growing up in Quebec, Sarah discovered that she preferred the American school of thought over the French one, so she attended a small English college in Quebec and worked in English-speaking environments for her summer jobs. For her graduate studies, Sarah moved to Ontario with her boyfriend to further pursue her education in English. The funding opportunities and presence of a family member in Ontario (her aunt lives there) caused Sarah to make this decision. She has been living in Ontario for two years.

Sarah enjoys that she can reach more people by being bilingual. She loves the sense of "competence" and "mastery" she derives from her bilingualism; it makes her so proud and boosts her self-esteem. Being bilingual is also convenient for Sarah and has made her more independent. For example, she sees other Quebecois people in Ontario who possess limited proficiency in English who must hire interpreters to accompany them to the physician and feels grateful, as a result, that she does not have to engage in such practices. Particularly, Sarah's mastery of English helped her start and successfully complete her psychological therapy in English.

When I asked Sarah how she felt about being bilingual, her response was pride. Sarah is proud how through motivation and determination she has been able to master English and conduct her graduate degree successfully in it. Looking back at her past, Sarah is especially proud of her mastery given that she was born and raised in a strictly French-speaking environment in a small town in Quebec and that she conquered all these obstacles hindering her use of English to

become a balanced bilingual. Currently, Sarah is pleased to see her bumpy bilingual journey culminate in successfully pursuing her graduate studies in English. When Sarah observes this storyline, she feels proud and content about her increasing competence in English and the linguistic and cultural resources, such as knowing when to use a certain expression, with which English has equipped her.

Nevertheless, Sarah feels she is experiencing attrition in French, especially in writing. She observes this attrition when she switches to English to express a word or thought she cannot find in French. For example, Sarah uses the word "accountable" while she is speaking in French as she "… can't find anything in French that really has that [snaps her finger] crunch like the word 'accountability'". According to Sarah, *"Il faut que tu sois"* is not enough for her. She is not happy about this attrition but believes that it is reversible; she feels that if she devotes enough time and effort to refreshing her written and formal spoken French, she will once again be equally competent in both French and English.

Regardless, there are elements of Sarah's bilingualism that do not appeal to her. She wishes she was more fluent in English. She even goes as far as to say that she is only a very competent English speaker and not a real or true bilingual! Sarah also does not appreciate how people do not always understand her English. Her two examples included an episode of slight intoxication and another involving public transportation. Once, the bus driver did not understand her question about directions and simply ignored her; Sarah panicked and felt lost. Accordingly, realizing that she never had this vulnerability in Quebec has partly resulted in her decision to settle there in the future.

Sarah is generally solid at socializing with people, but she feels that her "non-perfect" English is a barrier. She passionately wonders about why French is so "undignified" in Ontario. She was shocked to discover that all of her roommates actually spoke excellent French. They could have all spoken in French, but never did. Sarah concludes that English is simply higher in the linguistic market and has more social capital, but she still questions why French has a lesser status than that of English. Moreover, she feels excluded in monolingual English circles. When people whisper and tell jokes in English, Sarah cannot always understand them. She gets annoyed when people do not understand her when she occasionally speaks with an accent. When Sarah socializes with bilingual friends from Quebec, she feels a bond. She realizes that they all share English as a second language, thus making the overall social scene more enjoyable.

Sarah admits that generally she is not very good at expressing her emotions and traces this back to her childhood and belonging to CAS (Children's Aid Society). However, Sarah's emotional expression has been improving because of her newly-gained confidence, shaped by therapy. Sarah prefers discussing emotional topics in French and doing so feels spontaneous. While living in Ontario, she switches to French when she wants to console or swear at someone. Swearing in French feels natural, but Sarah still uses one English word -- the "F word" -- because it is so powerful and concise in English, and she cannot find any equivalent to that in French. Sarah also exclaims any feelings of euphoria in French. She is amused at random peoples' reactions in Ontario when she speaks French. For example, if she sees a dog, to express how cute it is, she states "*chien, tu es mignon*". While expressing emotions in French does not require Sarah to devote much attention to the form or thoughts of her expressions (often leading her to regret what she says later), expressing emotions in English requires more thinking. This expression is more thought-out, more structured, and planned. English emotional expression feels clear for

Sarah, and she later gains a high sense of achievement. She believes her English emotional expression has taken this form because her therapy training was conducted in English. During the interview, Sarah realized that there is a gap between what she says and how she feels when expressing her emotions in English, about which she is indifferent. However, she often wonders how she might use this distance in the future to her advantage.

Overall, Sarah notices distinct experiences in both languages with different people. With French monolinguals, Sarah completely removes English from conversations and enjoys the mental workout provided by purely speaking in French. She constantly feels the bond with these monolinguals, in addition to feeling at ease and like an authentic rural Quebecois. Sarah views English monolinguals as assistants and role models. Because her attention is focused on thinking and translating into English, leading to less focus on the emotion itself, Sarah feels the emotional experience is not hers when she speaks with such monolinguals. With French bilinguals, however, Sarah feels a bond as both she and they have chosen English to be their second language. However, when communicating with these bilinguals, what social class they are becomes a focus of Sarah. On the other hand, with bilinguals who do not speak French but share English with Sarah as a second language, she feels there are more layers to penetrate when communicating with them. She maintains that the bond she shares with these bilinguals arises from speaking English and having them as colleagues and workmates. Ultimately, Sarah maintains that the main bond is that neither she nor these bilinguals will ever be native English-speakers. According to her, she and they will all remain unable to completely express their feelings in English.

Sarah specifically elaborates on the emotion of anger. When she expresses anger in French, she feels she *is* anger itself. She literally feels the heated emotion and may present herself in a

vicious manner. She fights and argues in French with her Quebecois boyfriend. Conversely, when she expresses herself in English, Sarah rarely becomes angry. Indeed, when she expresses her anger in English she tends to think more in order to translate and search for the right words and expressions. As a result, she feels more disconnected from the present. Overall, because Sarah feels she does not have the linguistic resources to maximally express her emotions, she feels vulnerable. Recently, Sarah's boosted confidence has been helping her feel less vulnerable.

Altogether, Sarah feels that she is tactful and precise when she expresses her emotions in French, whereas in English, she feels her emotions are disabled and often come across as brash and with less precision. In other words, Sarah's emotions appear vague to others when expressed in English, resulting in Sarah's feelings of vulnerability. Consequently, because of her unease with English emotional expression, Sarah often negotiates whether it is worthwhile to express those emotions or to keep them to herself. Despite wanting to settle in Quebec, Sarah's resolution while in Ontario is to demand more time of people -- mainly of her close friends -- so that she thinks through her emotions more thoroughly and expresses them more accurately.

Regarding personality, Sarah describes herself as introverted, intuitive, enthusiastic, and intellectual. Sarah's perception of herself changes with the language she speaks and the level of formality of each language. When she speaks proper formal French, Sarah feels articulate and smart; when she speaks her vernacular French, she feels like a tough, authentic rural Quebecois. Overall, Sarah feels *real* and *true* when she speaks French, whereas she does not feel she has mastered the formal register of English but does feel *cool* when speaking informally.

Sarah's memories come to her in the language in which she is going to report them. Her internal voice and dreams are often in French.

After a re-interview and a reflective writing, Sarah concludes that she was hiding behind language as an excuse not to face and deal with her emotions. She admits she was driven by fear while making many of her decisions, leading to the desire to escape into a new world by linguistically and culturally investing in English, thus taking her mind away from all the trauma and issues in Quebec. Not only has Sarah been overcoming her painful past, she has also been learning to bravely feel and express her emotions in both languages. More specifically, while emotional expression in French is becoming more tactful, it remains assertive, in contrast to previous outbursts with no direction, which Sarah oftentimes regrets. In English, she feels that the gap between her and her emotions (created by the thinking and translating stages) are dwindling, and this she attributes to her current residency in Ontario and her robust adaption to her surroundings.

Sarah describes her bilingual journey as that of a butterfly, though maybe not a "flamboyant" one. She was a cocoon in Quebec, "accumulating various skills and experiences" for a long while and she slowly broke out of her cocoon and eventually developed into a butterfly that is ready to take off into the world with confidence.

4.1.1 Themes

4.1.1a Cultural & Linguistic Investment: Escape

Sarah emphasized her background growing up in a small town in Quebec where English is not spoken. To become a balanced bilingual in such an environment required a lot of determination, motivation and effort. Sarah described her bilingual journey as having defied all obstacles, thus making her proud. She was born in a French monolingual environment, and, because mastering a language includes both a commitment to and an investment in the linguistic and cultural

dimensions of language, Sarah consciously made the decision to become bilingual. Since Sarah had a tough and traumatic childhood, becoming a balanced bilingual was one way to escape her painful past. The time and effort that goes into becoming such a bilingual liberated her from her past haunting memories and allowed her to relive her life differently and reinvent her identity. Sarah's escape through English aligns with the research accounting for the second language (L2) as a means of escape from painful memories in the first language (L1) (Bond & Lai, 1989; Tiemann, 1999, Schrauf, 2000, Aycicegi & Harris, 2004)

In this respect, bilingualism has been emancipatory for Sarah. When I asked her in the re-interview if she thought it was also therapeutic, she answered no. Therapy itself helped, and it coincided that it was also in English. However, deciding to become a balanced bilingual and starting a bilingual journey has helped Sarah enhance her life.

4.1.1b Bilingual Emotional Expression

Sarah confessed that she originally was not skilled at expressing her emotions: more specifically, identifying the emotion, processing it and verbally expressing it. Nevertheless, her emotional language is French which supports the studies on the first language (L1) being the emotional language of bilinguals (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990; King, 2001). Although Sarah has come a long way with emotional processing and expression, she still notices differences between her emotional experiences in French and English. Emotions are expressed more naturally and spontaneously in French, with more intensity (sometimes over-intensity). Sarah mainly elaborated on the emotion of anger, saying she *was* anger; her anger intensity was maximal in French. Moreover, Sarah has more control over the form of her expression in French and, consequently, does not perceive that there is much thinking assigned to it, resulting in a

smoother, almost automatic flow of expression. In contrast, Sarah feels a shift when expressing emotions in English because of the additional required thinking. Because of the techniques Sarah learned through therapy, she notices that they seep into her general emotional expression, making it more structured and planned. However, Sarah is not certain if this structuredness results from English itself being structured or from psychological therapy having been conducted in English. For instance, Sarah perceives English to be more direct and less wordy than French. However, in general, psychological therapy teaches one to organize his or her thoughts in a more precise manner, leading to more control over his or her emotions.

4.1.1c Emotional Distance

Sarah experiences a distance when expressing her emotions in her L2 (Marcos, 1976), English. She compares this distance to having some sort of disability in that she can neither feel her emotions to the fullest nor own her emotional experience. In other words, while Sarah is juggling between identifying and expressing an emotion on the one hand, and finding the appropriate English words and expressions on the other, the experience itself is lost. Not being able to fully express emotions and feel fulfilled afterwards makes Sarah feel vulnerable. This vulnerability impacts confidence in her English skills and generally reflects on her linguistic identity as a balanced bilingual. This results in denial of such identity and the claim that she is merely a good English-speaker rather than one of full-bilingual status. At a higher level, the constant comparison of bilinguals to monolinguals results in bilinguals feeling self-conscious and doubting their linguistic competencies (Pavlenko, 2011).

4.1.1d Bilingual Socialization

To begin, Sarah generally enjoys socializing with people. However, she believes that having native-like linguistic abilities in a second language are inseparable from having exceptional social skills. Therefore, doubting her English skills, Sarah maintains that she is not as skillful at socializing in English as she is in French. Consequently, she feels her English competency is negatively impacting her social experience which reflects what Edwards (2003) maintains about bilinguals' problems being social rather than linguistic since bilinguals possess a unique combination of the patterns and social norms of their two languages. This can best be exemplified by noting her feelings of exclusion in certain contexts where she misses the intricacies of English of certain jokes or whispers. Sarah does not elaborate on whether people are aware that they are excluding her in such contexts or whether they are purposely excluding her.

4.1.1e Attitudes & Bonds

Sarah is very passionate about English and French but questions the different power relations between the languages. While being pleased about French and the status and prestige it occupies globally, she wishes it were more of a dominant language in Ontario. This shows the sociolinguistic dimension to bilingualism, where balanced bilinguals side more with either language politically, culturally, and/or socially (Edwards, 2003). Regarding people's attitudes, Sarah only experienced surprise as a common reaction from people when they learned she is a native French speaker.

Sarah is very passionate and loyal to her linguistic bonds, which aligns with Edward's (2003) contention about the link between speaking a language and belonging to this language

community. With Quebecois French monolinguals, the bond of sharing the Quebecois variety and culture of French is unbreakable for Sarah. Having Quebecois French as a minority French variety globally makes that bond even stronger. In contrast, a weaker bond is the one shared with other-bilinguals, with the only commonality being English as a second language.

4.1.1f Identity

Language and language variety are tied to self-image and, ultimately, identity. Consequently, bilinguals can have multiple self-representations (Schrauf, 2000). Sarah relives her Quebecois rural tough identity when she speaks to a monolingual Quebecois from a rural working class background. In an academic English setting, she sometimes feels she sounds unprofessional because she does not think she has fully mastered formal English. In addition, Sarah feels urban when she speaks informal English. Consequently, speaking a language or a language variety is investing in one or more identities to be associated with this language or language variety. The main motivation behind this linguistic and cultural investment (Norton Pierce, 1995; Byrd Clark, 2009) is the need for belonging and affiliation (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2001).

4.2. Marta

Marta is a Mexican in her mid-twenties. She left Mexico to do her undergraduate studies in the US, moved to the UK for a few semesters, and then came to Canada for her graduate studies.

As early as kindergarten, Marta started travelling the bilingual path. Her parents, who had big ambitions for Marta, first enrolled her in a bilingual kindergarten, and later, in a bilingual primary school and a bicultural high school. Indeed, Marta's parents raised her far differently from the mainstream Latin American style. She describes her upbringing as more Americanized. Her parents raised her to be outgoing and independent and not hesitate to ask them about anything, including sexuality. Consequently, Marta's parents did not raise her to think of sex as a taboo. In fact, they bought her an American book directed towards children that discussed sex, and they discussed this topic with her. They made sure she understood that sex was something that followed "the course of nature". When Marta had her first period, she did not feel the shame she claimed most Latin American girls usually experience. Surprisingly, her dad bought her first pads, unlike other Latin American fathers who would consider this a job for the mother. Marta describes her upbringing as unique and that many people in Mexico disapproved of it. Later, they disapproved of her life choices, such as leaving home and living alone as a single female abroad. Nevertheless, Marta is very proud of how she was raised and very grateful for the choices made by her parents.

Marta's bilingualism culminated in travel to the countries of her second language: English. Throughout her undergraduate and graduate degrees, she has been to the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada, where she currently resides. Time-wise, Marta spent more time in the

United States, and this shows in her comparisons of culture and styles of living. The American lifestyle is predominant in her mind.

Now that Marta is fully a balanced bilingual, she reflects on what bilingualism has done to her life. She describes her overall bilingualism experience as complex and different, opening many doors to her and expanding her social life. She believes that she would not have befriended the people she now has if she had not been a bilingual. Marta also feels that any linguistic and cultural barriers that existed before she reached her current level of bilingualism were subsequently removed. Most profoundly, she would not have been able to gain the kind of wisdom and knowledge offered by a different language if she was not a bilingual. Ultimately, Marta wants to become a citizen of the world.

Marta was so passionate about describing her different cultural and social experiences in Spanish and English. Being bilingual has allowed her to take on a different stance when describing different cultures and social norms. She discussed in detail the different values and social norms between Latin America and the US. From the beginning, Marta acknowledged that she respects these cultural differences and does not want to label a country's people or generalize everyone. Rather, she is going to describe her observations from her long stay abroad. Marta has noticed that a Latin American culture does not put much emphasis on education or athletics. Growing up, not only was she an honours student, but she also possessed an interest in basketball and competed nationally. Unfortunately, she was bullied throughout her primary and high school years for being an honours student and for focusing on basketball. Marta thinks that peers pressured her to be less serious about life and to enjoy it more. She always felt different, to the extent of feeling *foreign*, in Mexico. In the US, however, she felt more appreciated for her values of hard work and passion she had for sports than in Mexico. Her excellent English skills

helped her pass as a quasi-native in the States, and she let go of her defensive barriers she once possessed back home. She felt right at home in the US – indeed, a reversal of identities. However, when it comes to social conventions, Marta had a hard time adjusting to American social norms. She would shake hands and kiss on the cheeks -- the Latin way -- but the constraints of American personal space did not allow for that; instead, she just hugged. However, she was able to acculturate some of her American friends to her Latin greetings, and they embraced them, while others did not.

Marta appears vibrant and outgoing. She ties being strong, hardworking, and responsible to the way her parents raised her and to living abroad. She especially puts on a stronger image in Latin America because she does not want to be perceived as an outsider. That may have been a reaction to childhood bullying and the majority of people in the Mexican community not approving of Marta's lifestyle, such as living by herself as a single girl. Additionally, being an only child strengthened Marta, making her extremely attached and closer to her parents and friends who she thinks of as brothers and sisters. Surprisingly, Marta does not maintain any relations with her extended family. She now perceives herself to be the same when expressing herself in English and Spanish. She thinks that this feeling has developed with age. However, Marta feels more like herself in an English-speaking country, more specifically Canada, where she currently resides.

As Marta has an extra attachment to friends, regarding them as brothers and sisters, friendship has a special place in her life. Her best friend in Latin America, Lila, has always respected Marta's life choices. She would throw parties around times that were convenient for Marta because she was focused on her basketball training. Lila is very different from Marta; she is not as ambitious a student and is rather conservative. A close friend in Canada is Rory. She is also

Mexican, is working on her English and trying not to cluster herself exclusively with the Latin American community. In Marta's new life abroad, she finds that her best friends are bilinguals who belong everywhere.

Marta's internal voice sways between Spanish and English depending on where she is. However, some experiences are exclusive to one language. An Adidas commercial saying "Nothing is impossible" stood out to Marta, and she would repeat this in English before her basketball games.

Marta recalls memories in the language in which they took place, and they feel the same when she relates them in either language. She gave the example of her grandmother passing away. The shattering news came in Spanish, and the realization of her first family loss was also in Spanish. Marta fell into a depression after that and received support from the staff and students at the American boarding school she was attending. Therapy, support, and healing were all in English, as well as the associated memories.

When it comes to Marta expressing her emotions in English and Spanish, she highlighted three basic emotions: anger, love, and sadness. Regarding anger, Marta has been able to adapt the North American method of expressing anger into Spanish. She describes it as being 'prudent', having a distance between herself and her anger, and as preventing things from escalating. She maintains that the Spanish culture fosters a lot of passion in the anger emotion. She learned to be prudent about her anger from her dad, who always emphasized this. Marta's mother is more passionate but has also become more prudent over the years with the influence of Marta's father.

Expressing love is Marta's favorite aspect about the Latin American culture. She describes this expression as being more attached and passionate. She feels like a Latina whether she expresses

love in English or Spanish and even acculturated some of her North American friends to her Latin American means of expressing love, such as the kiss on the cheek and the passion in the hugs. Unfortunately, some people do not accept this means of expression. Regardless, Marta feels "I love you" is overused in Latin America. She likes the variety of ways one can describe his or her affection: *me gustas,* "I like you"; *te quiero,* "I like you a lot"; and *te quiero mucho,* "I care for you". While in English the distinction seems to lie between "I like you" and "I love you", Marta prefers what she perceives to be more respect for the word "love" in an American social context. This word is mainly reserved for parents and a significant other, which is the case with Marta.

Sadness feels the same for Marta in Spanish and English. Likewise, expressing emotions feels the same to Marta in English and Spanish. The crucial factor is to whom she is expressing an emotion. Marta only opens up to certain people: those who will not betray her and are trustworthy. Otherwise, she will keep her emotions to herself no matter how much she needs to let them out. However, when Marta is expressing her emotions in Spanish, she feels more sensitive, emotional, and attached.

Marta dreams in both Spanish and English. The language of the dream depends on the person in the dream. Dreams about Marta's parents are always in Spanish while the rest are in English.

Ultimately, Marta had to go on an internal journey of self-discovery while participating in this research. She reports that, in terms of her identity, she is a citizen of the world. While telling her story, she stressed multiple occasions in which she fits better and feels she can be herself in an English-speaking country; this is not the same in Mexico or Latin America.

So, just who is Marta? She was an honour's student and a great basketball player. To avoid judgement, however, she was also someone who avoided revealing her identity while growing up. Ever since she left home, she has been "a shooting star" as her father has always dubbed her: fiery, colorful, passionate, always travelling (I then asked her "unstable?" And Marta's response was "No, dynamic .") and *rare*. Indeed, Marta *is* a *rare* person.

4.2.1   Themes

4.2.1a Bilingual emotional expressiveness

Marta feels the same when she expresses her emotions in Spanish and English. However, she feels that American and Latin American cultures influence certain emotional expressions, such as anger and love. Consequently, Marta possesses unique features in her emotional expression due to the dual set of linguistic and cultural resources that being bilingual offers (Edwards, 2003). Marta emphasizes that her expression of anger in both Spanish and English is done in a rather American style which she describes as being "prudent". Her father raised her to be prudent about her anger, to distance herself from this emotion and be rational. Marta stands out with her anger expression in Latin American culture where this emotion quickly escalates. When it comes to expressing love, Marta does it in a Latin American style regardless of what language she is speaking. She regards the verbal and physical expressions of love to be the best features of the Latin American culture.

4.2.1b Biculturalism

Marta is so entrenched in both Latin American and American cultures that aspects of both cultures have seeped into Marta's identity. She rationalizes her anger in an American style and

passionately expresses her love like a Latina. As an immigrant bilingual, Marta's unique blend of Latin American and North American cultural concepts serves to show that a bilingual's two cultures can co-exist as a result of immigration (Javier, Barroso & Muñoz, 1993)

4.2.1c Identity

Marta would not describe herself as a Latina or an American. Instead, she aspires to be a citizen of the world, to fit and blend in with her surroundings wherever she goes. Marta emphasized in the interviews that she does not fit in with Latin America, indicating that she has probably undergone an identity shift. On occasional interpersonal communications, Marta stated she would visit twice a year to see family and friends but would not feel comfortable if she stayed for more than a month. She is certain she would not settle there. Thus, one may conclude that Marta is culturally hybrid as a result of the hybridity being bilingual offers (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007).

4.3. Jean-François

Jean-François is a Canadian from Ontario in his early-fifties who learned French in Canada before he travelled to France and did his PhD in French. Jean-François decided in his early teens to become bilingual. He wanted to experience the world in French. Part of his world back then was hockey and, as a teenager, he visualized how one day he would be able to announce hockey commentary in French. Having had a great French teacher at high school inspired Jean-François even more to master French. The motivation, inspiration, and effort culminated in Jean-François becoming a balanced bilingual in his early twenties and pursuing his studies in French, travelling to France, and obtaining a PhD. Travel was the main factor that contributed to Jean-François reaching this level of bilingualism. Living in France, socializing, making lasting, strong friendships and the emotional attachment that comes with such investments solidified Jean-François' French.

Having become bilingual, Jean-François feels he now has a different perspective on the world and that he occupies "different mental spaces" when speaking English and French. In fact, he feels as a different person in those two languages. In English, he is natural, playful and spontaneous; in French, he can also be playful, but during a conversation his attention is focused in a different manner. He is more "absorbed" when speaking French, to the point of sounding over-intellectual. Jean-François feels "transported" to another place every time he speaks French.

In the realm of bilingualism, Jean-François experiences both enjoyment and dissatisfaction throughout his bilingual experience. He is delighted that through being bilingual he has been able to connect with people and make friends with those whom he "would not have been able to otherwise". He prefers the easier, translation-free access to history and culture offered by being

bilingual. Jean-François also enjoys how people are impressed by his balanced bilingualism. However, he becomes impatient with people who express excessive wonder at his process of becoming bilingual, those who have judgemental attitudes towards varieties of English and French, and those who are simply envious. As such, Jean-François takes care not to offend such people. He is also displeased that he is not always able to fully understand or express himself bilingually in all contexts and at all times. He attributes feelings of fatigue as a factor among others that interfere with an optimal language expression experience. Consequently, Jean-François feels like a native French speaker on occasions where his interlocutor, the context, and how much it is relaxed reinforce this native-French mood.

As a balanced bilingual, Jean-François possesses certain linguistic tendencies such as accommodating his French variety with different French communities. When doing so, he is interchangeably perceived as an insider and outsider in these various communities (such as Quebec, Ontario, and France). He is an insider as he has an easier access into a community by ascribing to its linguistic norms, nevertheless remaining an outsider as he does not perfect all the intricacies of these norms. At a moment of reflection, Jean-François does not perceive himself as a balanced bilingual and maintains that, overall, his English is better than his French, and that when expressing himself, he is more spontaneous in English. Speaking in English requires less thinking and less effort and means an easier access to words. However, speaking in French is pleasurable and feels as a cognitive exercise for Jean-François. He can also be spontaneous in French, but the level of spontaneity depends on the topic and the person. If the topic is familiar, the spontaneity gap diminishes; if it is too technical (outside his personal or professional knowledge), the gap widens.

Whereas expressing emotions in English feels more spontaneous and simpler for Jean-François, in French it can feel more intellectualized and theatrical. Jean-François gives the example of anger which feels staged to him in French as he does not truly feel anger while following the French norms of expressing it. This distance in anger, for Jean-François, is liberating from social constraints and can be fun and humorous. Jean-François likes how expressing anger theatrically in French means he can take himself less seriously. However, he does not like that this performance can sometimes come across as inauthentic and insincere.

For Jean-François, expressing emotions in French is impacted by the type of emotion, the level of intensity, and the kind of person Jean-François is addressing. Also, throughout this experience, he has "a different focus of attention". Furthermore, Jean-François elaborates on how he expresses certain basic emotions in French. While expressing most emotions feels the same to Jean-François in French as it does in English, there are subtle differences in French. Anger feels theatrical, while happiness feels more genuine and is characterized by a confident, smooth flow of expression. Disgust feels lighter and more amusing in French than in English. Surprise also feels more amusing and makes Jean-François feel as another person.

Jean-François describes himself as a quiet, non-manipulative person. While mainly being introverted, solitary, and reticent about expressing his emotions, he is occasionally free and open about expressing them. This includes when he opens up to people he sincerely trusts.

Bilingualism is not only apparent in Jean-François' socialization and emotional expression but also manifests in a bilingual internal voice, memories, and dreams. Jean-François' internal voice takes on the language of use. Interestingly, Jean-François can activate a third or a fourth language in his internal voice, as he is to a lesser degree a multilingual, to keep his languages

active through self-talk. However, he maintains that English is his default internal voice language as well as the language of least effort. As for memories, Jean-François recalls them in the language in which they took place. It feels more precise to do so and would otherwise feel disingenuous. Some expressions in certain English songs feel inexpressible in French to Jean-François. As such, he would not connect with an English song's lyrics in French. Bilingualism taps into the subconscious world of dreams of Jean-François. Assuming a dream has a linguistic component to it, a key factor influencing which language he dreams is if he is in Canada or France.

Ultimately, bilingualism has shaped Jean-François' identity in a unique way. Even though he perceives himself to be an Anglophone through his body language and general demeanour, he cannot identify one identity space that he occupies. Instead, Jean-François is always moving across multiple identity spaces. He describes this experience as being a "not so invisible" chameleon:

 I feel that I take on a different external identity when I shift from one language to another and I even tend to accommodate different dialects according to my interlocutors. This dialect shifting has become a habit and I enjoy it. I say "not so invisible" because I don't always completely blend in with my linguistic surroundings, and I stand out against the background, particularly in French, despite being highly proficient and accommodating to the context of communication. Why a chameleon? A chameleon changes its outward appearance according to its surroundings, but remains what it is despite taking on such different "identities". I don't see labels of ethnic or linguistic background as really defining who I am.

4.3.1   Themes

4.3.1a Attitudes & Judgment

Jean-François is aware of the different attitudes toward bilingualism and languages. He is annoyed with such attitudes as envy, excessive wonder, and judgement of French varieties, particularly those attitudes that do not consider Quebec French a legitimate variety of French. This observation serves to show the implications of power relations among language varieties, with certain varieties preferred over others because of socially constructed assigned power (Heller, 1999, 2007) as Quebecois do not recognize Franco-Ontarian French as a legitimate variety.

4.3.1b Bilingual Emotional Expression

Jean-François expresses his emotions differently in his languages (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2008). His emotional expression is better in English and he perceives it to flow more naturally, spontaneously and easily, making his L1 (English) his emotional language (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990; King, 2001). In French, emotions can also flow in a similar fashion to English, but this is dependent on the context, including the person, the emotion, and the situation.

Jean-François' first language is his emotional language (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990; King, 2001) and his second language is his theatrical language. This suggests that Jean-François is not so aware of the gap that exists between the two emotional experiences in English and French. For this reason and because Jean-François is in his early 50s, it is tempting to conclude that age facilitates emotional processing and expressing and it helps diminish the emotional gap as Schrauf's and Sanchez' (2004) theory of *affect-complexity* suggests.

4.3.1c Theatre

French serves as a tool for humour for Jean-François as he uses it to escape social conventions and enter a lighter mood in which he does not take himself too seriously. The theatrical experience in French emotional expression is entertaining, especially for the emotions of anger, disgust, and surprise. He is able to achieve this theater of emotional expression by maintaining a certain amount of distance from French. This distance helps Jean-François be less self-conscious about his performance in French and gives him the flexibility to alter his performance to achieve the desired level of humour.

4.3.1d Identity

As a balanced bilingual, Jean-François occupies Anglophone and Francophone identity spaces. He switches between these spaces as he switches languages. However, the borderline is not quite clear-cut and the switch is not always complete. In certain situations, Jean-François "stands out" when speaking French, and so he is perceived as an Anglophone. In other situations, he blends in well with the Francophone communities in Ontario, Quebec, and France. This shows the relation of language to identity construction (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2001) and the hybridity of bilingual identity at the balanced bilingualism level.

4.4. Dino

Dino is a Nicaraguan in his mid-thirties who lived in Nicaragua until he was 12 years old then had to immigrate to Canada with his father and brother. Dino stated that he doesn't regard himself as a native speaker. Even at work, he feels as an outsider -- the Latin American ESL teacher who is there to add diversity -- adding additional pressure to his day. Linguistically, he feels more at ease speaking English, but deep down he knows that he maintains a distance with it. He also maintained that 'Canadians' born outside Canada try to have the 'persona' to fit in; yet, according to Dino, this is fooling one's self into that role because eventually immigrants go back to accepting their origins. He describes this experience as a humbling one, elaborating on how immigrants struggle to fit in even though they will never be accepted.

Dino believes that as an immigrant, he should be an active participant and not a passive actor. Regarding his identity, he describes himself as a hybrid, using the words the "new Canadian".

Dino first started learning English when he was ten years old. He used to go to a church where he would practice English with missionaries who would speak Spanish to him. When he was 12 years old, he immigrated to Canada with his father and siblings. When Dino arrived in Canada, he was surprised by his proficiency in English. He only needed to attend ESL classes once a week at his Canadian school. However, Dino had always felt different in his non-ESL classes. He would ask his Canadian classmates grammatical questions about English, and they looked puzzled. So he stopped. Even as an adult, Dino still feels different, asserting that he finds Ontario to be pretty monolingual.

Bilingualism has shaped Dino's life in terms of career choices. He is an ESL teacher and believes he does a good job partly because he can empathize with his students. Moreover, by

working as an interpreter at a local Canadian church and being the family's main interpreter at the time of immigration, bilingualism has given Dino a sense of status and responsibility.

Dino loves the flexibility of being able to cross from Spanish to North American culture and language. While being bilingual and socializing bilingually helped him develop rich linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge, bilingualism has also given Dino a better understanding of both his "adoptive" and "original" cultures.

On the other hand, Dino does not quite feel proficient in either English or Spanish. He has an accent in English and is experiencing a gradual attrition in Spanish. He does not like how his English accent makes him conspicuous at his workplace where he perceives favoritism towards native ESL teachers. Dino also does not like that he occasionally switches to English while speaking Spanish to search for a word. He occasionally struggles to find Spanish words, which never happens to him in English. However, he loves how he lets go of his self-consciousness when speaking English with Spanish bilinguals, as he has fun code-switching and playfully exaggerating his English accent. He finds that he is not judged in doing so, and he enjoys it; it is a freeing experience.

Leading his life bilingually, Dino feels like he lives in two different social and emotional worlds. Having been born and raised in Nicaragua, Dino feels more spontaneous and fun when he socializes in Spanish. He can be as funny as he wants and tell as many jokes as he desires. In Latin American culture, people frequently make fun of each other and of themselves. However, with time, Dino is gradually feeling acculturated into the North American norms of socialization and expression, even when speaking in Spanish. In English, he feels socializing comes easily because of his proficiency, but this experience is not as humourous as socializing in Spanish. He

feels he is more restricted by the North American social norms, which limit his humourous and informal styles of socializing. Socializing with Spanish bilinguals (who speak English) is far easier for Dino. He perceives that Canadians are more serious than Latin Americans.

When considering expressing his emotions, each of Dino's two languages has taken a different role. Despite mixing it with English, Spanish is the emotional language that he uses with his family; English is his rational language, in which he is not as emotionally engaged as in Spanish. English is an extension of Dino, and he uses it as a tool. He notices a gap between what he says and how he feels in English. This observed distance when he uses English makes him feel dishonest at times, but he perceives it to be beneficial in the sense that he can withdraw from an emotional experience more easily than in Spanish. This distance is an attribute also experienced by Dino's Spanish bilingual friends.

Love is a predominantly Spanish emotion for Dino. For him, expressing it is more poetic, more binding, and more internalized. In English, love, as with other emotions, is distant. Dino has to accompany his words with a physical touch to create an optimal emotional English expression. This distance allows him the freedom to lie and express "love" to anyone without feeling unpleasant about it. However, in Spanish, he genuinely has to experience love towards someone in order for him to express it. This emotional variation between English and Spanish is further exemplified through Dino's marriage to a Latina Portuguese-speaking woman.

Sadness lingers more in Spanish, almost to the point of masochism. Despite his sadness and grief lasting longer in Spanish, he finds this longevity to be positive because it is a method of processing sadness. Dino also expresses his sadness more effectively in Spanish, and he finds it comforting that a Spanish listener tends to be more patient and generous with his or her time

when Dino wants to complain. Furthermore, because the pace in an English-speaking country is fast and requires one to quickly recoup, sadness in English is practical for Dino and terminates more quickly. Dino's choice of expressing sadness mainly depends on time; if he does not have time, he takes the short- cut English provides him. Otherwise, he grieves in Spanish.

Dino expresses anger better in Spanish. He processes anger in Spanish when he is speaking to himself, and doing so "releases the tension". Meanwhile, Dino uses English to process and express his anger with others and he feels doing so "bottles the frustration".

When Dino is happy, he laughs more loudly in Spanish and experiences the rich sounds he can playfully use, while in English he just smiles a lot.

Dino's memories are fleeting in English because they are mainly adult memories (upon the time of immigration). He is not able to savour the memories in English; something is lost in translation. But in Spanish, memories are more vivid and more intense because they represent childhood. Not surprisingly, these childhood memories arise in Spanish.

Ultimately, Dino feels hybrid: he feels whole with Spanish and English and would feel lost without either of them. However, he feels differently when he carries himself in either language. In Spanish, he is a Latin American: he looks at himself in the mirror and sees it in his features and he smiles more, despite gradually losing his vocabulary. In English, Dino is more business-like, more professional and more comfortable with solitude (which he believes is not very common in Latin America) and he has command of the English vocabulary. So, when does he put on which linguistic/cultural hat? That depends; Dino adapts to the situation. If he is in need of help in Latin America, he is less selective of his choice of people regardless of how familiar

he is with them. However, in Canada, Dino is more selective. His tendency is to choose Latin Americans if he is in need.

Dino admits that bilingualism has changed him and added another layer to his life, even though he cannot imagine himself as a monolingual. Dino feels in between the two sociocultural realms he occupies, and he navigates and moves between these two spaces with ease. He is a hybrid. Bilingualism has opened many doors for Dino and is compatible with his artistic nature. Despite enlarging his social network by obtaining access to both communities, Dino feels excluded from Spanish and English monolingual contexts. He feels that the fact that he has something these people do not have (an extra language) makes them not trust him and regard him as an outsider.

Dino is a meteor that landed on a new surface and adapted to it. With time, vegetation has grown on and around him, and he starts to blend in with the landscape. He has been going through a process of erosion and accommodation, but at the core he is still this meteor that landed 20 years ago.

4.4.1 Themes

4.4.1a Bilingual Emotional Expression

Dino notices a difference in his emotional expressions in Spanish and English (Marian & Kaushankaya, 2008) to the extent of each language serving a certain function, with Spanish being the emotional language and English the rational language. This serves to show that Dino's first language is his emotional language (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990; King, 2001), while his second language is his distant language (Marcos, 1976) .

Dino gives examples of how Spanish is his emotional language, particularly while expressing love, sadness, and anger. Love is deeper, more powerful, and articulated when he expresses it in Spanish, whereas love feels automatic, mundane, and in need of an assisting physical touch when expressed in English. Dino's observation that English does not have as many love expressions as Spanish aligns with Pavlenko's and Driagina's (2007) hypothesis about dependent cultures -- in Dino's case, Latin American culture -- having more verbs exclusive to expressing emotions while independent cultures have more nouns and verbs that can be used for emotional expression. Partly what led Dino to his conclusion that Spanish has more love expressions than English is his comparison of the exclusive emotion verbs in Spanish to their equivalents in English.

Dino's sadness is fulfilled in both Spanish and English but the timeline for processing it is far shorter in English. While anger is not fulfilled in English, it is fulfilled in Spanish. Dino bursts out with laughs when he is happy in Spanish but is more likely to just smile in English, demonstrating the distance he experiences in English.

4.4.1b Distance

Dino describes English as an "extension" of him and a "tool". This description reveals a distance with which Dino battles in English. He also reports a "gap" between his feelings and his emotional expression. Dino feels this "distance" is both liberating and restricting. It is liberating in the sense that it is easier for him to "act" on a certain emotion and not feel guilty about it. This liberation aligns with Pavlenko's (2005) hypothesis about subsequently-learned languages (English for Dino), providing a detachment when processing emotion words in them. Ayçiçegi and Harris (2004) go as far as suggesting that bilinguals can process negative emotions deeper in

their L2 as they do not experience these emotions as strongly as their L1. Furthermore, it makes

withdrawal from unpleasant emotional experiences easier, which is an advantage to Dino.

4.4.1c Identity

The "New Canadian"

Dino devised the identity "new Canadian" to describe himself and other bilinguals who

immigrated to Canada at a young age. Dino describes most "new Canadians" as those trying to

conform to the right "persona" and thereby blend into Canadian society. He maintains that most

of these immigrants embrace their first cultures again and make peace with the struggle to be

"completely Canadian". Dino went through the same process and now embraces both his

"original" and "adoptive" cultures. He described the experience of coming to accept one's roots

as "humbling". Dino's meteor metaphor captures the duality of his feeling as an insider and

outsider in Canada.

Hybrid

Dino experiences a paradoxical hybridity. He does not feel part of monolingual English or

Spanish social circles and perceives that the former does not trust him. He has an English accent

and is experiencing attrition in Spanish. This makes Dino feel "in-between" in terms of linguistic

identity which parallels Chin's and Wigglesworth's (2007) definition of bilingualism as hybrid.

On the other hand, Dino is "whole" with his bilingual identity and cannot imagine himself as

having neither Spanish nor English. He feels his hybrid identity reflects on his self-image in that

he is a smiling Latin American every time he looks in the mirror. Conversely, he feels like an

independent professional every time he speaks English. In other words, as a hybrid, Dino's identity construction is fluid as he moves back and forth in his identity spaces.

4.5.   Avery

Avery is a Franco-Ontarian in his late teens who was born and raised in Ontario to Quebecois parents. He learned French at home and attended an English high school. Avery describes his French as being of an international variety (not belonging to either France or Quebec), and having flawless grammar. While living in Ontario, he mainly speaks French to his family and English to his monolingual Anglophone friends. However, despite being away from his family for undergraduate studies, Avery does not feel he is missing out on using French because he speaks it with them every day.

Avery believes that being bilingual is a great asset; it can be attractive and impressive, and oftentimes can attract girls. He thinks that the romantic and exotic sides of French as a language enhance his bilingualism, making it more attractive. Nevertheless, despite maintaining that he stands out as a balanced bilingual, he does not feel that he belongs to either French or Quebecois cultures. Instead, he feels more like an Anglophone.

Being bilingual makes Avery prefer open-minded people. He has had some unpleasant experiences with some "narrow-minded" Franco-Ontarians whose English and French are both weak. Avery thinks that these French bilinguals chose not to properly master their first language in order to improve in English and assimilate more quickly. He does not want to be like they are and is very proud to be a balanced bilingual.

Avery likes the different views being bilingual provides for him. In addition, the access to different cultures and the "versatility" of speaking to more people associated with bilingualism appeal to Avery. However, he does not enjoy encountering judgements based on the assumptions doubting his proficiency in either of his languages. He encounters this bias in both Ontario and

Quebec, with Ontarians assuming he is a Quebecois with a French accent (though his accent does not sound French) and Quebecois assuming he is a not-so-proficient-in-French Ontarian. This foreignness with how people view him makes Avery feel socially alienated. However, he has learned to accept and embrace this status. In Ontario, he has accepted the line of jokes from his friends about being the 'Frenchie'.

Regarding socializing, Avery makes some distinctions between English and French. In English, socializing is funnier and easier simply because he has done it longer. Because his close friends are mainly Anglophones from Ontario, Avery feels comfortable socializing in English. In French, socializing is natural when Avery is with his family. However, with other French speakers he is more "hesitant" because he devotes more time to thinking about what is appropriate to say. This extra thought arises from the fact that his French is of more of an international variety. With other bilinguals who only share English with Avery, he is very careful about how he chooses his words so that they understand them. Culturally, Avery is more comfortable with Anglophones. For instance, because he was not born and raised in Quebec and was not familiar with the culture, when he went there to study for a year, he felt out of place. Avery concluded Quebec was too "Quebec-centric", which created an unwelcoming feeling. On a larger scale, though, Avery affiliates more with Quebec than France.

When Avery expresses his emotions in French and English, he feels like he is the same person in both languages. Even though expressing emotions in English feels natural to Avery, he is annoyed at the distinction English has between 'I like you' and 'I love you'. He finds it difficult to distinguish between the two. Avery gets around this difficulty by saying *je t'aime* as, according to him, it is easier to do so, and 'sexier'. Furthermore, when it comes to expressing anger, Avery finds English swear words to be simple, direct, and satisfying for him. Because of

its strong impact, he finds the "F word" to be particularly unique to English so that he cannot find a concise and powerful equivalent word in French. On the other hand, expressing emotions in French is elementary for Avery, who prefers to use French to discuss emotional topics. Regarding swearing, French swear words are longer, church-related, and less satisfying for him. He feels that he really needs to be angry not only to swear in French but also to swear long enough to fulfill his anger.

Avery finds the emotion of love easier to express in French. He has only expressed it in French to his family members and no one else. He discusses his first romantic relationship, which was very awkward for him because he put so much pressure and blame on himself for it. He said "I love you" to his other bilingual girlfriend, who became so overwhelmed by the statement that she rejected it because it was "too much" for her. Back then, Avery did not know about the distinction in English between "I like you" and "I love you". When I asked Avery how he envisioned his expression of love in French to someone other than his family, he guessed the two would be equivalent.

Processing and reporting an emotional memory occurs in the language in which Avery will report that memory. Reporting such a memory in the other language makes him "feel like a fraud." However, Avery maintains that English and French are so "mixed up" in his head that sometimes he cannot even recall in which language a memory took place. Remembering the people involved in the memory is often conducive for Avery to determine in what language that memory occurred. On the other hand, Avery finds reporting a memory, especially an unpleasant one, liberating in the other language in the sense that he does not feel he is repeating himself, while the process of translating makes the retelling less mundane. Moreover, it also makes the memory less intense.

Avery describes himself as a nonconformist. In addition, he maintains that he is a funny, indirect, introverted, and reserved person who is more on the thinking side rather than the feeling side. He traces his nonconformity to his cultural background. As a whole, Avery describes himself as belonging to neither the French nor Quebecois cultures, but to a "third culture" in between as far as his French cultural affiliation goes. Overall, Avery reports that he is more of an Anglophone than a Francophone. He embraces being different and is proud of the uniqueness that results from this difference. Avery would always disclose his bilingualism in social contexts. While his internal voice is often in English, it also depends on whom he is addressing. Likewise, the language of his dreams also depends on whom is involved.

4.5.1 Themes

4.5.1a Bilingual Emotional Expression

Avery feels equally comfortable expressing his emotions in both English and French. This equality comes from the clear distinctions of language socialization. While Avery mainly socializes in French with his family, parents and siblings, in contrast, he only socializes in English with his friends. The equal investment in French (L1 and family language) and English (the language affiliated with where Avery was born, is living and has close friendships) makes Avery feel like the same person in both languages. However, since he reported that he preferred to discuss emotional topics in French, one concludes that his emotional language is French. Given that Avery claimed equal comfort in emotional expression in both French and English, it is tempting to also conclude that the special relationship one often has with one's family is why Avery chooses French to discuss emotional topics.

4.5.1b Expressing Love

In the interview, expressing the emotion of love bilingually stood out as a distinctive difference Avery recognizes between English and French. He prefers the French *je t'aime* over the English *I love you*, simply because of the different sociocultural variations of use:

"And when it comes to love maybe it's easier to love in French … Cause there's only one word for it, cause like the jump between "I like you" and "I love you" you know, it's always hard to say when is it right to say it when you can just say *je t'aime*" (lines 189, 191, 192)

Avery finds it is easier to say *je t'aime* in a romantic relationship without being apprehensive about the timeline of the relationship. In English, Avery recognizes a standard awareness of the different stages in a romantic relationship and when it is appropriate to say *I love you.* He learned that, in an English setting, the word "love" is reserved for a later stage in a romantic relationship because the feeling is assumed to develop upon learning about attractive attributes in the other person, which can only develop over time. A possible distinction that Avery was not aware of when discussing this topic is the difference between love and infatuation.

4.5.1c Bilingual Socializing

Avery recognizes three categories for his bilingual socialization: French with family, French with French speakers, and English with friends. With family, socializing in French is natural. Avery mostly discusses emotional topics in French with his family. However, with other French speakers, Avery is not as confident because his French is not one of the standard varieties. While his parents are from Quebec, he claims that his French can be categorized as international.

4.5.1d Bilingual Autobiographical Memories

Avery maintains that he can recall his memories in both English and French because they are integrated in his brain. He can determine the original language of the memory by reflecting on those involved in such a memory. When reporting, however, Avery recalls the memory in the language in which he is going to report it.

Avery's bilingual memory processing shows that he is a simultaneous bilingual, meaning he learned both his languages at the same time (see Chapter 2 for bilingualism categories). To Avery, it feels that he has one linguistic repertoire that encompasses both French and English as he claims to easily make the switch between the two languages without being aware of any in-between translation stage.

4.6.   Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the co-constructed narratives of my five balanced bilinguals and examined the recurring themes in each of their journeys. I have reflected on how each understood his or her journey of bilingualism and the experience of processing and expressing his or her emotions bilingually. I have learned that my participants' experiences have been influenced by the manners in which they were raised, the cultures in which they grew up, their personalities, and their unique life circumstances. Consequently, I have also learned that each participant has a very unique set of identities that resulted from his or her unique combination of personal and captivating experiences.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I return to my research questions to further reflect on the findings from Chapter Four. I then provide a brief summary of the findings from Chapter Four and further elaborate on the recurring themes while linking some of them with the theory and conceptual matter presented in the literature (see Chapter Two). Finally, I elaborate on the significance of this study, the limitations and challenges of doing this kind of research, as well as the implications and recommendations for future research.

This study was set out to examine aspects of bilingualism and emotion. The study also sought to explore how a few selected balanced bilinguals processed and expressed their emotions in each of their languages through their language socialization experiences. The study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What can we learn from the stories of experience told by balanced bilingual persons in terms of the way they describe processing and expressing emotions in each of the languages they speak?

2. What do these stories suggest about these balanced bilinguals' emotional regulations and intensities in each language they speak?

5.1.   Discussion

As presented in Chapter Four, certain themes recurred in the findings: Emotional Language, Emotional Distance, and Identity. Below is a table that summarizes these themes.

Table 2 **Findings Summary**

Participant	Emotional Lang	Emotional Distance	Identity
Sarah	L1 (French)	√	Francophone
Marta	Both	×	Citizen of the world
Jean-François	L1 (English)	N/A	Rejects linguistic/ethnic labels
Dino	L1 (Spanish)	√	Hybrid
Avery	L1 (French)	×	Anglophone

√: Emotional distance exists
×: Emotional distance does not exist
N/A: Not applicable. Emotional distance is not recognized

It is noticeable that the first language (L1) is the emotional language of four out of my five balanced bilingual participants and this supports the literature on the L1 being the language of emotionality (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990; King, 2001). As for emotional distance, the results varied: Sarah and Dino acknowledged a distance in their emotional expressions in their second languages (L2), Marta and Avery did not experience such distance and were able to express emotions equally well in both their languages, and Jean-François did not even notice such a distance -- nevertheless confirming that his emotions feel stronger in his L1 (English).

Ultimately, results also varied when describing the construction of identity. Sarah overall described herself as a Francophone, even though she is well invested in English linguistically and culturally. Perhaps, her complaints about the status of French being less powerful than English shows that she occupies Francophone identity spaces which have a purpose for her, and in this case, excludes any Anglophone elements. Avery, on the other hand, affiliates himself and

has affinity with his L2 (English) as he emphatically describes himself as an Anglophone. Some factors leading to Avery's selected Anglophone identity label are as follows: being born and raised in Ontario, not having a positive experience during his one semester in Quebec, and undergoing some unpleasant social experiences with Franco-Ontarians. In contrast, Marta, Jean-François, and Dino differ in the manners in which they describe their identities. Marta aspires to be a citizen of the world, which she feels would enable her to belong everywhere. She does not affiliate herself with any of her languages' communities. Jean-François goes farther to reject linguistic and ethnic labels which do not holistically describe him. Dino verbalizes his state of in-betweeness as being a "hybrid" and a "new Canadian". It is tempting to want to conclude that the fact that both Marta and Dino were born and raised abroad and that Jean-François's education has had a linguistic focus may have contributed to their non-conformist views, in terms of not taking a strong L1 identity stance. If we look at Avery, on the other hand, we need to consider age as being in his late teens could represent a crucial factor with regards to how he framed his responses. His bilingual identity may or may not develop in the direction he stated during the time of his interview.

The previous results about the construction of identity in this study confirm that identity is not a single entity (Lantolf, 2000) and that identity is socially constructed and influenced by power relations that may shift and change at any time (Byrd Clark, 2009). In addition to identity being hybrid, many factors such as gender, race, and sexuality determine its development.

While re-examining the themes and analyses, a few issues emerge as departing points for discussion on bilingualism:

5.1.1 What Does Being Bilingual Mean? One Person, Two, or More?

There are different views on what describes a bilingual. Sarah, Jean-François, and Dino correspond to Koven's (1998) hypothesis that bilinguals raised in a monolingual context develop separate repertoires for emotions, culture, and behavior. Sarah feels rural and tough when she speaks her informal Quebecois French, while she feels more urban and cool when she speaks informal English. Jean-François feels more intellectual when speaking French and more playful and spontaneous when speaking English. Dino feels more business-like in English and more humorous in Spanish. On the other hand, Grosjean (1988) rejects the notion of two monolinguals in one body to describe a bilingual and argues, rather, that a bilingual is a unique speaker with a complete linguistic system that is also unique. Grosjean's description applies to Avery who demonstrates unique linguistic performances in French and English. Marta, on the other hand, claims she is like a monolingual in Spanish and English. She does not code-switch between her two languages and corresponds to the traditional "language as a system" approach to bilingualism in that she feels she has mastery in two separate linguistic systems.

Ultimately, defining bilingualism remains very hybrid and fluid (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007) and so can bilingual identity be described. Taking into account the multiple self-representations a bilingual can have (Schrauf, 2000) and a bilingual's awareness of the monolingual privilege (Pavlenko, 2011), bilingual emotional expression can be very fluid as well, context-dependent, and influenced by power relations. My findings about my participants' emotional expressions are linked to my interpretations of how they wished to represent themselves to me.

5.1.2 Attrition

A recurring phenomenon in Sarah's and Dino's narratives is attrition: gradually losing one of their languages. Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) categorize bilinguals who do experience attrition as passive bilinguals since they do not have enough opportunities to use their L1. However, I would like to consider this "attrition" as a demonstration of the workings of the complementary nature of bilingualism (Fishman, 1972; Grosjean, 1998). Fishman maintains that being bilingual means assigning one's two languages certain roles and using them in certain contexts which results in not being as proficient when reversing language choice in these specific contexts. For example, a bilingual person would be more fluent discussing academic topics in the language in which he or she has conducted his or her studies. This assigning of roles shows the dynamic nature of bilingualism and ensures its continuity. Otherwise, if one language was necessary for all contexts, one would not need to be bilingual. Further on the complementary nature of bilingualism, all my participants have specific uses for their other-than-English language, and for Jean-François, who is the only balanced bilingual with English as his L1, French is used for work. My other participants use English as they live in Ontario but maintain their L1 use with their families and some friends. Therefore, the need to use a language-other-than-English and the contexts available for such use is what sustained my participants' bilingualism.

5.1.3 Accommodation

An interesting phenomenon Jean-François discussed was accommodation. He maintained that he accommodates his accent and language variety to that of his interlocutor. Sachev and Giles (2004) define accommodation as "convergence" and adapting to the interlocutor's aspects of

speech, including accent and word choice. Accommodation can also include non-verbal language such as body language and not following the interlocutor's language habits.

As I reflect upon the recurring themes, I am reminded again about the importance of using qualitative research when researching bilingualism and emotion through narrative inquiry, as the kinds of data that I was privileged to collect may not have been as in depth or detailed, otherwise. Now I turn to the significance of the study.

5.2.   Significance

The present study has offered insights into the emotional experiences of five balanced bilinguals residing in Ontario, Canada, with French and Spanish as the respective other-than-English languages. The fact that French is the second official language in Canada and Spanish is that of a growing community, representative of Latin America counts as one important significance. Another significance lies in the methodology. Researching bilingual emotional expression through the language socialization lens, using qualitative research and narrative inquiry gave a more human perspective on the individual participants in the study, which cannot be generalized but can be used to better understand one's emotional experience and those of the participants. Most studies on bilingualism and emotion target specific aspects, such as the impact of taboo and swear words (Dewaele, a2008), the emotionality of "I love you" in different languages (Dewaele, b2008) and other aspects. Therefore, I wanted to bring the focus on bilinguals' general emotional experiences and its impact on their lives in order to give a holistic, human perspective on bilingualism and emotion.

One important significance of doing research in the field of bilingualism and emotion is the equal emphasis placed on understanding the processes and experiences involved in expressing

emotions as well as becoming bilingual and living bilingually, which according to Pavlenko, (2006) takes the research in both fields to a multidisciplinary level. Also, this would help raise more interest in bilingualism and emotions and, more specifically, in which language bilinguals choose and when they use it to express emotions (Pavlenko, 2006). Moreover, researching the emotional side of bilinguals serves to illustrate that bilinguals are not an "expanded version of monolingualism" (p. 1, Pavlenko, 2006). They possess unique linguistic, social, and emotional features that are different from monolinguals in both languages. Moreover, researching bilingualism in relation to emotions helps "to put a human face on linguistic and psycholinguistic research" by placing focus and emphasis on bilinguals' experiences as a focus of research (xiv, Pavlenko, 2006). On humanizing research, narrative inquiry also makes research more human-centric and is, therefore, compatible with researching bilingualism and emotion. In addition, seeking to better understand how bilinguals process and express emotions not only contributes to a better understanding of the field of bilingualism but also to other fields such as psychology, anthropology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and psychoanalysis. Furthermore, a better understanding of bilingualism and emotion helps mark how the aforementioned fields intersect with bilingualism and second language acquisition, which results in gaining insights about all respective fields (Pavlenko, 2006).

5.3.   Limitations of the Study

This study examines the emotional experiences of my participants in relation to English, French, and Spanish. My limited knowledge of the participants, my position as a researcher, and how my participants perceived me count in part as limitations in terms of data collection. However, approaching my participants with an open, empathetic, and honest attitude, in addition to their genuine interest in the study and the collaborative nature of the research, has helped provide an

insight into certain points in their lives. For example, Sarah realized the distance in her emotionality in English at the end of the final interview. Also, the interviews brought the issue of identity into light with Dino and made him re-examine who he was as a balanced bilingual.

Another limitation was time and context. I was only able to see my participants for a limited period of time and in one setting – a university campus -- that hosted one-on-one interviews. I did not observe my participants' linguistic practices, and therefore could only see "one way of identifying". Indeed, the presentations and their ways of self-describing tend to give the illusion of one static identity, or their desires to be seen in one way. However, some of their statements – particularly Dino's -- challenge this notion of a static and homogenous identity.

5.4. Challenges

Challenges arose throughout the different stages of this research journey. In the very early stages towards data collection, recruiting participants proved to be challenging. Despite needing only five participants, many potential participants targeted had declined, in addition to those who showed initial interest upon reading the letter of information. Some participants who declined maintained that the topic was too personal and that they could not "risk" revealing personal details. Once I identified potential participants who agreed to be part of the study, determining their eligibility was another challenge. While I did not depend on standardized language tests (such as TOEFL/IELTS for English and DELF for French), I had to be certain that the participants were balanced bilinguals and maximally proficient in their languages (Dewaele, 2011). I overcame a challenge in a critical stage -- that being the selection of the actual participants -- by setting up initial interviews where I would ask the participants about their language history. I relied on two criteria to guarantee whether a participant was a balanced

bilingual. First, having a family member or a spouse, who spoke a language other than English, was one of the criteria because the investment in such a relationship over a long period of time often brings about a native-like proficiency in a language. Second, learning a second language at a young age and/or spending five or more years during teenage-hood in an English speaking country was my second criterion. The reason for adopting this criterion is that living in a native-like environment is an important factor besides other factors, such as motivation and inclination to language learning, to master a second language. Having had five balanced bilinguals as participants, I had a moment of confusion when I looked at their language pairs (French-English, Spanish-English, English-French, Spanish-English, and French-English). I had envisioned I would have a stronger study if the language pairs were more diverse. However, upon a discussion with my supervisor, we had agreed that since the aim was not to generalize findings to all balanced bilinguals, diversity in language pairs among participants was not a strengthening factor to the study nor did it hinder the overall study.

Other challenges occurred while conducting the interviews: gaining the participants' trust and establishing rapport (the major ones). Also, in my proposal, I had envisioned an hour to an hour-and-a-half for each interview, based on a pilot interview with a potential participant who did not participate in the study. I had initially panicked at the shorter duration of the interviews. After reading more on narrative inquiry and the art of interviewing, I realized how interviews in the form of a conversation and a qualitative research method vary in length. Trusting the literature I read, I tried to be true to the conversation form of an interview and was careful to notice when an interview was to end, regardless of the time (upon having finished half of the structured questions and having gained sufficient data from unstructured questions, without the participant starting to repeat him or herself).

Finally, my utmost challenge was that Avery did not respond to me after having conducted the interviews. He had agreed to correspond by email for subsequent member-checking and, later, metaphor choosing, but did not follow through. Consequently, I have tried my best to represent Avery's metanarrative without the co-construction of narrative and metaphor stages. I take responsibility for any errors in representing and analyzing Avery's as well as my other participants' narratives.

5.5.   Implications

Implications for this study are both methodological and theoretical in nature. Methodologically, the type of questions I asked during the interviews influenced the kind of data I obtained. My questions targeted bilingual emotional expressions and demanded examples. Therefore, the narrative lens was instead applied to a more focused, sociolinguistic type of data. Consequently, this data influenced the writing up of the metanarratives which were not as literary as many narratives in the narrative tradition/genre are.

As for the theoretical implications, the findings support the bulk of literature on bilingualism and emotion stating that the L1 is the emotional language (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Guttfreund, 1990; King, 2001), while the L2 is the language of emotional distance (Marcos, 1976), and that emotions are processed deeper in the L1. However, the findings supporting the literature were found in four out of the five participants. Proficiency in L2 and identity development are crucial factors in determining whether L1 or L2 is the emotional language of a bilingual. When proficiency in L2 outweighs that in L1, the emotional language of a bilingual might shift to L2. Nevertheless, bilingual identity development can break the grounds of this formula as in the

cases of Marta and Avery, who identify more with their L2, resulting in a blurred line in terms of which language is their emotional language.

Another theoretical implication regards second language (L2) education, specifically working on L2 curricula that often do not include a wide range of emotion words (Dewaele, 2005; Pavlenko & Driagina 2007). This lack of focus on the emotional expression in an L2 can result in an L2 learner and user not being able to express himself or herself fully. By examining selected balanced bilinguals, this study sought to explore some aspects of the "end product" of an "ideal" L2 education, bilinguals who are maximally proficient in their two languages (Dewaele, 2011) and bicultural. Learning about and from these balanced bilinguals' experiences can give invaluable insights benefiting L2 curricula and L2 pedagogy.

5.6.   Recommendations for Future Research

Forecasting future trends, it would be interesting to see what future research has to say about bilingual emotionality in language pairs that include languages other than French and Spanish. It would be equally interesting to see the findings of research that uses different methodologies, such as ethnography and longitudinal studies, as this would track the emotional expression experience over a longer time span. Also, the findings of the present study indicate that bilingual identity is crucial to understanding each of the participating balanced bilinguals' language choice and use. Therefore, it is worthwhile and of equal significance to seek to better understand bilingual identity and track its formation and constant evolution.

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Appendix A: Letter of Information

Western Education

BALANCED BILINGUALS' UNIQUE EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIVENESS

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Introduction

My name is Maya Salloum and I am a Master's student at the Faculty of Education at Western University. I am currently conducting research into language and emotions and would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to understand how balanced bilinguals (the highly proficient in two or more languages) process and express emotions in their different languages.

If you agree to participate

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to complete questionnaires about your demographics and languages. After that, you will be interviewed twice for 1 to 1.5 hour over the span of 2 weeks at a quiet room on-campus or a preferable, quiet place of your choice. These

interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed in written form. If you are interested, I will send you a copy of the study's results.

Confidentiality

The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. All information collected for the study will be stored confidentially and destroyed 5 years after publication of the results.

Risks & Benefits

There are no known risks to participating in this study. Empathy and reference to appropriate counseling services will be put in place to support upset individuals.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time.

Questions

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Office of Research Ethics, Western University. If you have any questions about this study, please contact Maya Salloum or my thesis supervisor, Dr. Julie Byrd Clark.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

[Signature]

[Signature]

Appendix B: Letter of Consent

BALANCED BILINGUALS' UNIQUE EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE

Maya Salloum- The University of Western Ontario

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name (please print):

Signature: Date:

Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent:

Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent:

Appendix C: Ethics Approval

Western Education

Date:

WESTERN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS - ETHICS APPROVAL NOTICE

Review Number: 1210-1

Principal Investigator: Julie Byrd Clark

Student Name: Maya Salloum

Title: *Balanced Bilinguals' Unique Emotional Expressiveness*

Expiry Date: May 31, 2013

Type: M.Ed. Thesis

Ethics Approval Date: November 28, 2012

Revision #:

Documents Reviewed &

Approved: Western Protocol, Letter of Information & Consent, Advertisement

This is to notify you that the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board (REB), which operates under the authority of the Western University Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects, according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the date noted above. The approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and

monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the study or information/consent documents may be initiated without prior written approval from the REB, except for minor administrative aspects. Participants must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation. Investigators must promptly report to the Chair of the Faculty Sub-REB any adverse or unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected, and any new information which may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study. In the event that any changes require a change in the information/consent documentation and/or recruitment advertisement, newly revised documents must be submitted to the Sub-REB for approval.

Dr. Alan Edmunds (Chair)

2012-2013 Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board

Dr. Alan Edmunds **Faculty of Education (Chair)**

Dr. John Barnett **Faculty of Education**

Dr. Farahnaz Faez **Faculty of Education**

Dr. Wayne Martino **Faculty of Education**

Dr. George Gadanidis **Faculty of Education**

Dr. Elizabeth Nowicki **Faculty of Education**

Dr. Julie Byrd Clark **Faculty of Education**

Dr. Kari Veblen **Faculty of Music**

Dr. Jason Brown **Faculty of Education**

Dr. Susan Rodger **Faculty of Education**

Faculty of Education, Associate Dean, Research *(ex officio)*

Dr. Shelley Taylor	**Faculty of Education, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board** *(ex officio)*
Dr. Ruth Wright	**Faculty of Music, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board** *(ex officio)*
Dr. Kevin Watson	**Faculty of Music, Western Non-Medical Research Ethics Board** *(ex officio)*

The Faculty of Education   Research Officer

Copy: Office of Research Ethics

Appendix D: Bilingual Questionnaire (Adapted from Diaz-Peralta, 2010)

a. Where did you first learn English?

    1. Home _____   2. School _____   3. Other (please, specify) _____

b. In what country did you first learn English? _____

c. How old were you when you first learned English?

    1.   0-5 years old   ____   2.   6-17 years old   _____

    3.   18-22 years old   ____   4.   23 years old and above   _____

d. Where did you learn your second language?

    1. Home _____   2. School _____   3. Other (please, specify) _____

e. In what country did you first learn your second language?

    1. Canada _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

f. How old were you when you first learned your second language?

    1.   0-5 years old   ____   2.   6-17 years old   _____

    3.   18-22 years old   ____   4.   23 years old and above   _____

g. The language I consider my mother tongue is:

    1. English _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

h. I am most comfortable expressing my feelings in:

    1. English _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

i.   I am not comfortable expressing my thoughts in:

1. English _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

j.   When I speak English, I do it mostly with:

1. Family   _____   2. Friends _____   3. Job colleagues   _____

4. School mates   _____   5. Other (please, specify) _____

k.   When I speak my second language, I do it mostly with:

1. Family   _____   2. Friends _____   3. Job colleagues   _____

4. School mates   _____   5. Other (please, specify) _____

l.   I think I make a better impression when I speak:

1. English   _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

m.   The language that I have used most frequently in my life is:

1. English _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

n.   When I am very angry the language that I will first want to use is:

1. English   _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

o.   When I am very happy the language that I first use is:

1. English   _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

p.   When I am very sad the language that I first use is:

1. English   _____   2. Other (please, specify) _____

q.   I would say that on the average I speak English:

1. Less than 50% a day _____   2. More than 50% a day _____

3. Other (please, specify) _____

Appendix E: Demographic Questionnaire

(Adapted from Diaz-Peralta, 2010 & Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, pp. 271-274)

1. Age: _____

2. Sex: Male _____   Female _____   Other _____

3. Marital Status:

    a. single _____

    b. married/living together _____

    c. separated _____

    d. divorced _____

    e. widowed _____

4. Please indicate your ethnicity:

5. Were you born in Canada?

   a. Yes ____   b. No ____

6. If no, how old were you when you moved to Canada? _____

7. Which is the highest level of education you have achieved?

   a. Elementary school _____

   b. High school _____

   c. University/College _____

   d. Graduate professional training _____

e. Other (please, specify) _____

8. Mother's highest education attained:

    a. Elementary

    b. Secondary

    c. Post-Secondary: College

    d. Post-Secondary: University.

9. Father's highest education attained:

    a. Elementary

    b. Secondary

    c. Post-Secondary: College

    d. Post-Secondary: University.

Circle the best answer:

10. What language(s) do you use to speak to your mother?

English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at*

all

11. **What language(s) do you use to speak to your father?**

   English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

12. **What language(s) do you use to speak to your siblings?**

    English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

    Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

13. **What language(s) do you use to speak to your grandparents?**

    English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

    Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

14. **What language(s) did your mother use to speak to you when you were little? (before 12)**

    English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

    Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

15. **What language(s) did your father use to speak to you when you were little? (before 12)**

    English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

    Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

16. **What language(s) do you use with your close friends?**

    English: *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

Other (Please specify: _____): *all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all*

17. **Your other than English language(s)**

   i. Do you read in it/them?

   all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all

   (This includes books, newspapers and magazines)

If applicable, please indicate the typical types of materials you read in your other than

English language(s): _____

_____

   ii. Do you write in it/them?

all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all

If applicable, please indicate the situation(s) when you are likely to write in your other than

English language(s): _____

_____

18. **English**

   i. Do you read English?

   all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all

   (This includes books, newspapers and magazines)

If applicable, please indicate the typical types of materials you read in your other than

English language(s): _____

_____

ii. Do you write in English?

all the time – most of the time – sometimes – rarely – not at all

If applicable, please indicate the situation(s) when you are likely to write in your other than

English language(s): _____

19. **Spoken language** (circle the relevant answer)

    i.   Which language are you more comfortable in when you are socializing with your

       friends?

       English   Other than English (Please specify: _____) Equally comfortable

    ii. Which language do you think you are better at socializing in?

       English   Other than English (Please specify: _____) Equally good

20. **Written language**

    i. Which language are you more comfortable with on a daily basis?

    English   Other than English (Please specify: _____) Equally comfortable

    Why? _____

    ii. Which language are you more comfortable with for academic purposes?

    English   Other than English (Please specify: _____) Equally comfortable

    iii. Which language do you think you are better for academic purposes?

    English   Other than English (Please specify: _____) Equally good

21. **When you have children, which language(s) are you likely to use to speak to them?**

    English   Other than English (Please specify: _____) Both/All

22. **Which language do you think is less important for the future generation? If you had to sacrifice one, which one would it be?**

English   Other than English (Please specify: _____)

Appendix F: Structured Interview Questions

1. Tell me about yourself. What has it been like being bilingual?

2. What do you like about being a bilingual? What don't you like?

3. Do you feel you express your emotions differently in each language? If so, what kind of emotion (anger, love, frustration, etc.) and roughly in what situations?

4. When remembering an incident that took place in one of your language, what language do you use to recall this incident/memory? How does the same memory feel when relating it in each of the languages you know?

5. Do you have a 'nick name'? What nick name do you prefer?

6. Do you project or transfer one language's elements (phonological, morphological, syntactic, etc.) onto the other(s) and vice versa? If so, tell me about an incident where you did.

7. What language(s) do you have dreams in? How often does this happen?

8. In what language is it easier for you to discuss emotional topics?

9. Tell me a story about past emotional incidents where you processed and expressed your emotions in your different languages? What differences about using different languages as means of processing and expressing your emotions did you notice? Thinking back to these incidents now, is there anything different that you notice?

Appendix G: Participants' Recruitment Advertisement

Balanced Bilinguals' Unique Emotional Expressiveness

- Are you equally proficient in 2 or more languages?

- Were you raised speaking different languages at home/school/work?

- Did you spend extended periods of time in different countries (5 years or more)?

- Are you interested in finding more about how you express your emotions in the

  different languages you speak?

Then you may be interested in participating in a research study looking at bilingual people's emotional expressiveness. For more information or if interested in participating in the study please email or call

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