Behavioral Culture in the Chinese Language Classroom

THESIS

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Abstract

Viewing the goal of language teaching as preparing learners to communicate successfully in the languages and cultures being studied, this thesis adopts the Performed Culture Approach, which expands the meaning of “culture” and integrates the acquisition of behavioral culture with the learning of the target language. This study addresses in-school behavioral culture as one of the primary and fundamental microcultures in language teaching. The assumption is that since schooling is considered a process of socialization and enculturation, the behavior patterns and social norms in teacher-student and student-student interactions have implications for language teaching and learning.

With this assumption, this study conducted a questionnaire survey among college students and teachers in American and Chinese cultures. The purpose of the survey is to explore how students of the two cultures behave in the perceived course of transactions with their teachers and classmates, and what the expectation of the teachers in the two cultures are with respect to how students in the teachers’ culture are expected to behave in these transactions. Five transactions were examined in the survey: greeting one’s teacher, expressing different opinions from one’s teacher, dealing with a problem in a study group, responding to compliments from other classmates, and returning a favor to a classmate.
Comparisons between the results of the American student respondents and those of the Chinese student respondents indicate differences in terms of the perception the student respondents of the two cultures have as to how they would do things in these transactions. The results of the teacher survey reveal that the ways that the students from the two cultures would be most likely to behave were recognized and accepted by members of their own culture. In addition, the results of the survey virtually confirm the researcher’s preliminary observations. This indicates that the perceived course of these transactions and the actual transactions between the teacher and the students are largely parallel. The findings of this study indicate it would be beneficial to introduce the behavior patterns of Chinese students (which can be widely applied to other interactions in various contexts in Chinese culture) into the Chinese language classroom. Furthermore, for American learners of Chinese language, to behave in ways that are acceptable in American culture cannot ensure that students will behave in culturally appropriate ways in a similar situation in the target culture. This further indicates the necessity for American language learners to learn how to do things in school that would be appropriate in Chinese culture.

The significance of in-school Chinese behavioral culture entails incorporating the school saga as a primary saga into Chinese language teaching and learning in K-12 and university language classrooms. Using the performance-based approach, this thesis discusses the design of the pedagogical materials which embody the support that teachers can provide for compiling the school saga. The results of the survey also contribute to the development of pedagogical materials for the language classroom.
Dedication

This document is dedicated to my loved ones.
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Chapter 1: Culture and Language Learning: a Performed Culture Approach

1.1 Language and Communication in Culture

According to Pike (1954), language is central to but not a determinant factor in human behavior. In tune with Pike, Tyler (1978) maintains that language is merely one among a range of cognitive expressive behaviors (Tyler 1978). Besides speech, nonverbal behavior, noise, manipulation of silence, and other aspects of behavior all contribute to the construction of meaning (Bridwhistell 1954, 1970; Franke 1964, 1968; Christensen and Warnick 2006). That is, communication can occur without processing the linguistic code, but the linguistic code is not adequate to communicate (Agar 1994). It is also possible, actually rather common, according to Shepherd (2005), that language learners who develop certain levels of competencies with the fundamentals of the linguistic code still frequently fail in communicative interactions with native speakers of the target language. There is a large amount of meaning that is not explicit in the linguistic or “revealed” code, itself. Consequently, language learners need to become aware of the “hidden” code found in culture in order to “locate the meaning between the lines” (Shepherd 2005, 181). In addition, the same utterance can have different meanings in different contexts: the meaning of the
utterance depends on when and where it is produced, who the audience is, who the speaker is, who the listener is, and what kinds of relationship the interlocutors have with one another. (Goffman 1959). There is no way to determine the meaning of combinations of linguistic codes, unless we know the contexts in which they occur.

It is culture shared by a group that creates contexts, which in sequence provide meanings (Tomasello 1999; Walker 2000). Culture can be viewed as a framework within which speech and behavior can be situated and interpreted (Hymes 1968). Culture thereby constrains the potential meanings that can be associated with the speech or behavior (Tyler 1978). Awareness of culture offers non-natives a foundation for predicting the possibilities for what to expect when interacting outside their native environment, thus fostering their comprehension of events and increasing their ability to participate those events.

Furthermore, to make a communicative event successful, individuals need to establish their intentions and interpret others’ intentions within the same cultural framework. Searle (1983) espouses that language is derived from intentionality. Both performer and audience are intentional agents (Cole 1996). People interact with intended goals, and language is a tool or vehicle through which they convey their intentions. However, as Ochs and Schieffelin (1990; reprinted in Duranti 2001) argued, the ability to express intentions is individual, but it is culture that determines which intentions can be expressed and how to express those intentions. Therefore, in order to correctly establish acceptable intentions and accurately assess others’
intentions within the target culture, one must behave and interact with members from the target culture in culturally appropriate ways, and must negotiate meanings that fit into that culture’s shared frameworks of meaning (Cole 1996; Brunner 1986, 1990; Turner 1982, 1986, 1987; Schank 1990; Walker 2000; Shepherd 2005).

From this perspective, learning a language is actually part of the larger process of developing cognitive expressive behaviors. Learning to communicate in another culture goes far beyond learning that culture’s linguistic code: it entails the development of the ability to establish and interpret intentions in the foreign culture.

1.2 A Performed Culture Approach

As foreign language teachers, if we see that our goal is for learners to successfully communicate and participate in the languages and cultures being studied, we need to teach them far more than linguistic codes: it demands that we teach our students how to establish and interpret intentions in the foreign culture and how to behave in ways that are acceptable in various contexts of daily life in the target culture. The traditional linguistic approach and a number of other pedagogical approaches of foreign language teaching fall short of achieving this goal.

Walker (2010) and others have proposed Performed Culture Approach, a pedagogical approach to language in culture, which sets enabling learners to establish and interpret intentions and communicate in the target language in a culturally appropriate way as its pedagogical goal. By “performed culture,” Walker (2010) refers to how communication occurs in culture, which is comprised of performable
elements, and how speaking a particular language cannot be done without an operational knowledge of the culture to which that language belongs. In other words, “[t]he language exists in the doing of the language” (Walker 2010, iv). This approach puts emphasis on the behavioral culture and integrates the acquisition of the behavioral culture with the learning of the target language. It reflects the belief that language and communication cannot be separated from cultural contexts in which they occur, and to learn how to successfully participate in a specific target performance is the approach to learning. This approach focuses our attention on the significance of cultural contextualization and authenticity as well as the performative aspect of language learning.

As Shepherd summarized, “The term itself carries with it inherent assumptions about learning, language, culture, and the operations of mind and memory” (Shepherd 2005, 144). The following sections discuss the theoretical framework of the Performed Culture Approach with respect to culture, performance, games, and the compilation of cultural memory.

1.2.1 Behavioral Culture

Culture is an exceptionally complex concept. This probably partially explains why a large number of language teachers focus their attention only on language, “as if language and culture have only an incidental relationship” (Walker & Noda 2000, 188). However, language and culture are indeed intertwined so intimately in learning to use a language to communicate, that they are not able to be separated in effective
language teaching. Therefore, it is necessary to divide culture into more manageable categories, so that language pedagogues and learners can devote their limited time and energy to the main aspect of the culture according to the primary needs of learners at different levels in language learning and instruction.

A widely used distinction made is “Big-C” culture and “Little-C” culture, which stems in part from the pioneering work of Brooks (1968). “Big-C” culture refers to “high” culture, the artistic and literary achievements of a civilization, such as art, classical music, literature, and architecture. “Little-c” culture consists of the culture of daily life, including food and eating practices, transportation, fashions, values, beliefs and behavioral norms. It is true that the acceptance of the concept of “Big-C” culture and “Little-c” culture represented a progress in language instruction, in that a large amount of cultural components that had previously been excluded from curricula was potentially included into language instruction. However, this distinction is insufficient with respect to language learning and teaching, for it is too broad to offer specific information, such as what people do, how people do things, as well as how learners should behave when in the target culture, which holds culture at a distance from learners (Christensen & Warnick 2006).

Compared with the division of “Big-C” and “Little-C” culture, the categorization proposed by Hammerly (1982) is more applicable to language learning and teaching. In Synthesis in Second Language Teaching, Hammerly divides culture into three categories: achievement culture, informational culture, and behavioral
culture. Achievement culture refers to the hallmarks of a civilization, the artistic and literary achievements of a society. Corresponding to “Big-C” culture, examples of Chinese achievement culture include Beijing opera, Chinese calligraphy, the Forbidden City, and Confucianism.

Informational culture deals with the information and facts that are widely known and valued in a culture, including information about history, geography, population, industry, and political systems. For Chinese culture, examples include the dynastic cycle, the location of Mount Tai, China’s economic reforms, and Chinese marriage customs.

The third category, behavioral culture, refers to the knowledge that enables a person to navigate in daily life, such as eating habits and manners, how to order a meal in a restaurant, how gifts are exchanged, and how one treats relationships such as parent-child, teacher-student, or boss-employee. It also involves the things that an individual does to negotiate a variety of events and situations in society. In addition, behavioral culture refers to the common daily practices and beliefs that define an individual and behavior in a specific society. For example, a Chinese host insisting that his guests eat or drink in a banquet asking “Chī le ma?” (“吃了吗？”, “Shall we eat?”), or sometimes acquaintances greeting each other by asking “Chī le ma?” (“吃了吗？”, “Did you eat?”), and Chinese students greeting their teacher at the beginning of a class. This type of cultural behavior is usually identified as “the way the Chinese are.” Furthermore, Hammerly (1982) particularly emphasizes the importance of
behavioral culture in foreign language programs because he considers this form of culture to be the most important to successful communication.

Hammerly’s categorization of culture, specifically, the proposal of and emphasis on the concept of behavioral culture, has had a significant impact on language pedagogy. It not only provides a more comprehensive description and a more specified division of culture, but also directs language learners and pedagogues’ attention to a crucial aspect of culture – behavior, which, however, is often ignored in the description and instruction of culture. It is knowing how to behave and how to do things in a culture instead of knowing the achievement or informational culture that is the basis of participating in a culture. For instance, some American learners of Chinese are quite familiar with Beijing opera and the economic structure of China, but they do not know how to properly address their Chinese teacher, or they have no idea how to behave in a Chinese banquet, and hardly understand why their Chinese roommates sometimes do not say thanks for a simple task they performed for them.

Failure to be aware of the behavior expected in the target culture or failure to behave in a culturally appropriate manner results in misunderstanding, embarrassment, and personal frustration and hinders successful communication in the target culture and language. In this sense, learning how to communicate in a foreign language is actually learning how to behave in the culture. According to Walker and Noda, this results in no one really being able to “learn” a foreign language, but rather, to “learn
how to do particular things in a foreign language; and the more things we learn to do, the more expert we are in that language” (Walker and Noda 2000, 190).

Given the primary status of behavioral culture, it is advisable for language learners from the early stages of a language learning career to begin with the learning of behavioral culture, “the knowledge that enables the learner to create sufficient comfort to encourage natives to maintain the long-term relations necessary for accumulating experience in the culture” (Walker 2000, 232). The knowledge of behavioral culture enables learners to build relationships with the people in the target culture, thus facilitating their learning of informational and achievement culture.

For purposes of language instruction, behavioral culture is further divided into revealed culture, ignored culture, and suppressed culture (Walker 2000). Revealed culture refers to those aspects of culture that members of the target culture are aware of, proud of, and willing to share with others; it includes “what natives perceive as good or desirable traits, practices, and behaviors” (Christensen & Warnick 2006, 13). An example of revealed culture can include the respect with which the Chinese treat their seniors.

Ignored culture, also known as “hidden” or “covert” culture (Edward Hall 1959, 1966, 1976), refers to behaviors, practices, or customs that natives are unaware of, until they encounter someone from another culture who behaves differently under the same situation. For instance, it is not difficult for an American person who visited China to notice some of these differences between his own and Chinese people’s
behaviors. Chinese people would more likely talk with each other from a distance that is considered to be too close by American standards. Not every Chinese native is likely to say “Sorry,” when they step on someone’s toes. Moreover, Chinese people tend to talk about personal issues that Americans may feel uncomfortable to discuss outside of close relationships. And only when Chinese people see many Americans hand something to an individual of a higher status using one hand, might they begin to realize that it may not be universal to hand in things to one’s superiors using two hands. As for suppressed culture, it is cultural knowledge or behavior that members of that culture are not eager to share with foreigners. In the context of Chinese culture, suppressed culture includes public spitting, talking in a loud voice in public, and reckless pedestrian crossing of a road.

While all three aspects of behavioral culture are important, it is the ignored culture that is most valuable to learners, because in those situations that are so common in life, natives take it for granted that everybody behaves the way that they do, and behaving contrary to natives’ expectations will probably offend the natives and leave the impression that one is impolite, arrogant, or inconsiderate. Therefore, Christensen and Warnick (2006) argued that such issues or situations may cause misunderstandings among those learning the Chinese language. Nevertheless, ignored culture can rarely be found in textbooks and classroom lectures. Revealed culture, instead, occupies the prominent position in the presentation of the target culture.
In addition, though novices are inclined to be interested in suppressed culture, it is not the focus of language instruction on functional grounds.

As discussed above, among the three categories divided by Hammerly, behavioral culture, rather than achievement or informational culture, is the most important cultural aspect for language learners at the beginning and intermediate levels. For one thing, communication depends much on behavior, both linguistic and nonlinguistic. For another, behaving in a culturally appropriate way enables learners to develop and maintain relationships with members of the target culture, which promotes their learning of achievement and informational culture. Walker’s further division of behavioral culture into revealed, ignored, and suppressed culture specifies and accentuates the core parts of behavioral culture in the beginning and intermediate levels of language instruction, that is, the ignored culture. Thus, the complex and all-inclusive concept of culture is simplified by these two divisions, which clarify the main focus for the beginning and intermediate levels of language instruction.

1.2.2 Performance

Incorporating the multiple meanings of “performance” from theater studies, linguistics, sociology, and cultural anthropology, the Performed Culture Approach includes “the ideas of a ‘staged’ event, of observable behavior rather than abstract categories of behavior, and of situated knowledge in contrast to essential or idealized knowledge” (Walker 2000, 226). That is, all of the events that occur in specific contexts and all of the behaviors situated in particular settings are performances. In
this sense, behavioral culture, which refers to the “actions people take in order to get things done in daily life,” can be seen as a performance (Yu 2010, 179). Therefore, “throughout a day, people of all cultures enact a series of social events that we call performances” (Ekeberg 2004, 23). Such events can be greeting an acquaintance, asking a passerby for directions, ordering food in a restaurant, doing self-introduction in a conference, requesting a favor from classmates, refusing your friend’s invitation, making a suggestion in a discussion with colleagues, or negotiating a disagreement with customers.

There are five specified elements that define a performance: “1) place of occurrence, 2) time of occurrence, 3) appropriate script/program/rules, 4) roles of participants, and 5) accepting and/or accepted audience” (Walker 2000, 277-78). These five elements set up a performance frame, a context, for us to situate our behavior. Context permits us to understand not only what was done, but also when or where it was done, who did it, how it was done, and why it was done (Burke 1969). If the behavior is verbal, the performance frame determines not only what is said, but also how it is said. Obviously, we speak differently at home and at the office, the first time we meet a classmate versus when we have been together for three years, with close friends versus with a professor, if the audience is a group of colleagues or if the audience includes strangers. For a performance, all of the five elements need to be specified, since the ways we speak and behave will greatly differ according to variations in the context. The change of even one element may result in a completely
different performance. Taking greeting in the office as an example, Meng (2007) argues that if the roles were changed from colleagues to supervisors and subordinates, the way they greet each other must change; if the roles were not changed but the place they met is changed, the way of greeting may also change.

It is a specific culture that provides the possible performances for us to situate our behavior, so that we can understand the intentions behind people’s specific behaviors (Walker & Noda 2000). Culture, as a shared cognitive framework by a group that informs, enables, guides, and constrains the behavior of group members (Goffman 1974; Tyler 1978; Bruner 1986, 1990; Shweder 1991; Cole 1996; Walker 2000; Walker & Noda 2000; Shepherd 2005) and offers available meanings, intentions, goals, and roles for members of the group (Schutz 1945; Goffman 1974; Goodman 1978; Bruner 1986; Shweder 1991; Walker 2000, Shepherd 2005). The shared frameworks, however, vary from one culture to another. As Walker proposed, “Culture is the source of meaning and conversations in a particular language require communication in the frame of a particular culture” (Walker 2000, 229). If Chinese language learners interpret a conversation from their base culture when communicating with Chinese native speakers who decipher the conversation from Chinese culture, misunderstanding will eventually occur. Therefore, to successfully interact with native speakers in Chinese culture, learners need to have the ability to play the roles available in Chinese culture and to perform within the framework of Chinese culture.
Walker points out the impossibility for language teachers to perfectly represent culture or cover the target culture in its entirety, but they can be expected to stage performable “chunks” of the cultures they teach, which can be rationalized within a coherent concept of culture (Walker 2000, 226). Beginning with meaning, the Performed Culture Approach guides learners to see the big picture first by providing a specific context (five elements of the performance) for them, then paying attention to how the linguistic code fits into the context of the communicative situation, and eventually practicing using language in realistic and authentic communicative situations. The Performed Culture Approach is a top-down approach in which the linguistic code helps learners to access the meaning in the culture and participate in it more fully (Walker 2000).

In contrast, Structurally Based Approaches are bottom-up approaches. These start with structure, having learners memorize vocabulary and patterns, then place the individual parts into the whole, and finally move toward more communicative instruction. However, learning vocabulary, patterns, or sentences without cultural contexts does not necessarily enable learners to know how to use that language or how to behave in culturally appropriate ways.

Therefore, Walker suggests, “As a subject of study, language which is framed in culture and inextricably commingled with action demands performance as a pedagogical necessity rather than inviting it as an option” (Walker 2000, 227). Performance offers learners the personal experience of doing things in a certain
contextualized situation, which they can draw upon in the social flow of the target culture when encountering a similar context. Thus, in a language classroom, teachers need to provide sufficient opportunities for learners to learn the target language by performing in specific contexts of the target culture. Nevertheless, in actual communicative events, there is barely time to retrieve the memory of previous performances practiced in the classroom: the ability of automatically responding to the changing contexts is needed. Such ability can be developed through the conscious repetition of appropriate behaviors—or practice.

Seeing culture as performance offers learners a metaphor with which to further segment culture in to learnable bits. These “staged” events can be models of actual or ideal behaviors in the target society, and it is the program designer’s and the language teacher’s responsibility to select, analyze, and present the cultural events to be performed by the learners (Walker 2000). In terms of performance selection, for one thing, the performances should be the typical and culturally accepted ones of Chinese culture; for another, they need to be those that the learners are most likely to experience when they actually have a chance to interact with people from or in Chinese culture in the future, as well as those that serve as preparation for their future experiences. For instance, not every learner has an opportunity to study in China. However, it is still imperative for a language teacher to select and present performances that involve an interaction between a Chinese student and a Chinese
teacher (other Chinese students) to learners, for these performances can prepare them for other performances in which they may engage in their future.

A challenging task for language teachers who are native speakers is to stage the performances that are appropriate to Chinese culture, because for most Chinese natives automatically do things in their native language and culture without thinking about why they expect people to act a particular way. In most cases, we are not likely to notice the ignored behavioral culture that is almost invisible to us, unless we notice the inappropriate behaviors of others (Walker & Noda 2000). However, it is these performances that those language teachers are supposed to select, analyze, and present to learners. Furthermore, language instructors need to get learners to be aware of the differences in ways the base culture and the target culture handle particular contexts.

1.2.3 Compiling Cultural Memories

In the pedagogy of Performed Culture, learning to communicate in a second language is learning a second culture. Learning a second culture is constructing a long-term memory of one’s experiences in that culture, that is, compiling a memory of that culture (Walker & Noda 2000). With respect to how memory is recorded and structured, Bruner (1990) maintains that memory is structured in narrative form. Echoing Bruner, Schank (1990) argues that memory is story-based: “Memory is memory for stories, and the major processes of memory are the creation, storage, and retrieval of stories” (Schank 1990 16). The Performed Culture Approach sees “story” as the basic unit of memory of a second culture (Walker and Noda 2010).
Hence, for learners to have sufficient ability to participate in a culture, language teachers need to prepare them by helping them develop a usable cultural memory in the classroom that can be drawn upon when interacting with members from the target culture in their future. Teachers need to present stories of having done something in appropriate ways in the target culture, as well as provide chances for learners to participate in these stories.

Walker and Noda (2000) also address four levels of “knowing” a story: (1) don’t know you don’t know; (2) know you don’t know; (3) know you know, and (4) don’t know you know. At the beginning level, students don’t know they don’t know large bodies of stories, particularly those without obvious cultural characteristics or those that underlie extended and prolonged communication. Through presenting a demonstration of the performance and analyzing the constituent elements, language teachers can direct learners’ attention to the differences between their base culture and the target culture.

When they become aware of these differences, learners reach the second level, “know they don’t know.” The way that leads them to the next level is enactment and role-play activities, through which they will gain personal memories of the performances, i.e., the stories. In the classroom, after repeated practice of simulation, learners can move on to the next activity, improvisation, which expands the repertoire of stories they possess. The learners repeat such improvisation until they are able to
respond to changing contexts automatically. At that time, they get to the highest level of knowing: “they don’t know that they know.”

According to Walker and Noda (2000), learning stories is part of a larger process of compiling the memories that will support their future performances in the target culture. That is to say, in order to achieve the highest level of “knowing” a story, it is imperative for learners to go through this compilation cycle, time and time again. As shown in Figure 1.1, the cycle, which reflects the continuing spiral of interaction between agents, activities, and memories, starts with persona, the personal information that the learner is willing to commit to the learning experience. Different from the personality of an individual, the persona can change quickly and significantly from one learning environment to another. Adopting an individual persona, learners come to the second step, culture knowledge and language knowledge, their memories of information about culture and language.

A large part of pre-existing culture knowledge and language knowledge that learners bring to their foreign language classroom reflects their native cultures and languages, and learners, especially beginners, tend to use language in base culture. However, this is not what is expected of a course or program, where the goal is to have learners function successfully in the target culture. For this kind of course or program, to achieve this goal, it is the target culture that should be created in the classroom, it is the target cultural knowledge that should be the focus of the class, and it is communication in the target language that should be assessed. With cultural
knowledge and language knowledge, learners get to the next step, *performances* and *games*.

As discussed previously, the vital role that cultural performances and games play in learning a foreign language and culture entails that they should be the focus for both learners and instructors. Language instructors not only need to be able to identify, present, and analyze the most commonly encountered performances and games, but they also need to incorporate a game approach into their teaching approaches. Having participated in a performance or a game, learners take away a personal memory of that experience, which is the fourth step, *story*.

Then, the individual stories that learners acquire is added to their memories by putting the new story together with other stories they know, in order to build or expand schemas. This process is *compilation*, which can be assisted through the structure of the curriculum, the design of pedagogical materials, the design of assessment instruments, and classroom activities. While compiling the memory, stories can be categorized into *cases* and *sagas*. The new development in the science of learning suggests that students need to organize knowledge in ways that facilitate retrieval and application (National Research Council 2000). Clustering a series of stories about doing something in a culture (*cases*) and a series of stories about a specific set of people or a specific location (*sagas*) can be viewed in such way that helps to simplify our management of memory and support efficient retrieval and application.
Cases involve what you know of the world and what you can do in it, comprised of notions and functions. Examples of cases include greetings, requests, complimenting, shopping, getting around a city, and so forth. To promote the compilation of cases, teachers can directly present, extract elements from dialogues and narratives, and combine these elements with previous knowledge that students have acquired. Shepherd (2005) likens sagas to a television series or a soap opera to elucidate some difficulties that face culture learners: people get lost when jumping into a saga in midstream because they have no idea what is going on and what has happened. The construction of a saga, however, is helpful for learners to recognize the roles in a particular group, relationships between individuals in the group, and the interaction patterns of the group, thus, enhancing learners’ performance in the target culture.

As Walker and Noda have noted, people tend to perform better socially in familiar surroundings and with people they know (Walker and Noda 2000, 204). This requires language teachers to provide opportunities for learners to build sagas with regard to repeated communicative situations they are likely to encounter, such as a classroom saga, a dormitory saga, a restaurant saga, and a workplace saga. A saga can be created by using a narrative (both in print and in video), as well as textbooks that follow particular characters or that offer extensive treatments to particular settings. In terms of the measure of the value of a particular saga, Walker and Noda (2000) also
point out that the criteria should be the applicability of the content to successful communication in the target culture.

Ekeberg (2004) mentioned another category as an organizational strategy, that is, *themes*. A theme is a cultural worldview. Zhu (2008) defines cultural themes as the behavioral norms shared among members of a society in their pursuit of certain cultural values. The compilation of themes, which recur throughout cases and sagas, can deepen learners’ understanding of Chinese culture. Meng (2007) proposes that “themes can be explicitly presented in the culture part of the textbook or implicitly through multiple stories” (Meng 2007, 34).

The compilation of cases, sagas, and themes contributes to *second-culture worldview construction*, the compilation of stories into the knowledge of learned culture. Having experienced a number of performances, and compiling the associated cases and sagas, learners’ worldview will have been changed and they will have a new set of behaviors. For one thing, it changes the way they approach a new culture and language knowledge. For another, the new worldview can cause changes in the learners’ persona.

The classroom memory learners are expected to construct consists of both the compilation of a target culture worldview and the process of compilation itself. In the limited classroom hours of a foreign language course, learners are not able to, and should not be expected to build a memory for social interaction in the target culture as complex and rich as that in their base culture. However, “they can still develop an
extensive memory that will allow them to begin to participate in the target culture and
then continue to improve their abilities by learning from the new situations they
encounter” (Ekeberg 2004, 26). It is the memory of the process of compilation that
enables learners to continue learning Chinese language and culture as a lifelong task
after they leave the classroom. Performance by performance, learners can build such a
classroom memory.
Chapter 2: In-School Behavioral Culture for Language Teaching and Learning Purposes

2.1 Schooling as a Process of Socialization and Enculturation

The Performed Culture Approach introduced in the last chapter has made a significant impact on the Chinese as a foreign language field in the United States. It expands the meaning of “culture” and integrates the acquisition of behavioral culture with the learning of the target language (Yu 2010). Nonetheless, behavioral cultures are still “enormous conglomerations,” as noted by Shepherd (2005). Therefore, Shepherd suggests adopting Cole’s (1996) notion of microcultures, that is, the subunits of cultures, which comprise cultures. According to Shepherd, “Microcultures are associated with places and groups of people who generate patterns of behavior based on repeated interactions” that provide smaller and more manageable units for language learners to study (Shepherd 2005, 7). The question then arises, what can be a primary and fundamental microculture for K-12 and university learners studying in the language classroom.

Researchers in different fields have been highly concerned with and have widely studied the functions of school and schooling from various perspectives. Two terms, “socialization” and “enculturation,” are frequently employed when addressing
functions of school and schooling. The term “socialization” is typically associated with psychology and sociology, and the term “enculturation,” with anthropology.

Socialization is described by Hess as “the patterns of antecedent variables which shape behavior and tie it to the social system in which an individual lives” (Hess 1970, 457). According to Ember and Ember, socialization is “the development, through the influence of parents and others, of patterns of behavior in children that conform to cultural expectations” (Ember and Ember 1988, 402). “Enculturation” is defined by Harris as “partially conscious and partially unconscious learning experience, whereby the older generation invites, includes, and compels the younger generation to adopt traditional ways of thinking and behaving” (Harris 1975, 145). Segall et al. (1990) insists that enculturation is the process of implicit knowledge passed on indirectly through observation and inference that helps younger members learn culturally acceptable behaviors. The above definitions of “socialization” and “enculturation” indicate that in general, the two terms refer to the same idea. That is, “individuals learn the patterns of behavior that are appropriate for the culture of which they are members” (Chick and Barnett 1995, 46). In other words, both socialization and enculturation are processes that describe how individuals learn culturally appropriate behaviors.

A large body of literature emphasizes the important role that school and schooling play in socializing children. Aries argues that schools become institutions for the young, which aim to provide children with “training for life” (Aries 1973, 397).
Parallel with Aries (1973), Hill views schooling as “one of the three key sites of positive socialization along with families and peer groups, by which children can become committed to society’s values and their specific roles within society’s structure” (Hill 1997, 119).

Hess also discusses the role of schools in socialization. He points out that schools serve a major function as socializing agents, which “pattern experiences for young children in ways that are presumably consistent with the dominant values and norms of the society” (Hess 1974, 286). He further explains how schools fulfill their role in children’s socialization. According to Hess (1974), schools socialize children through filtering, arranging, and reinforcing stimuli to which the young are exposed. Patterns of behaviors are selectively emphasized; thereby children learn to recognize some as more salient than others. Hess states:

> It is this selective emphasis of filtering, of patterning positive and negative reinforcements that makes the child aware of what is good and what is bad, what is to be sought and to be avoided, what is to be monitored and what is to be ignored. This information about the way the world is viewed by the adults and institutions around him interacts, of course, with his own experience and developing comprehension of the world. (Hess 1974 286-287)

In this way, schools shape and produce desired behaviors in young members, fulfilling their responsibility for socialization.

Bruner (1996) notes the culture-transmission function of schools. He elaborates that an important function of a school is to transmit and explicate its sponsoring culture’s ways of interpreting the natural and social worlds. From the perspective of cultural psychology, Bruner (1996) describes schooling as part of the
continent of culture rather than an island. “School can never be considered as culturally ‘free standing.’ What it teaches, what modes of thought and what ‘speech registers’ it actually cultivates in its pupils, cannot be isolated from how the school is situated in the lives and culture of its students” (Bruner 1996, 28). Furthermore, Bruner (1996) argues that schooling is regarded as an entry of culture, a major embodiment of the way of life in a particular culture, not just a preparation for it. As one of life’s earliest institutional involvements outside the family, schooling cultivates the way a child thinks, feels, and speaks by providing culturally specific criteria according to which the child’s performance is judged. Ultimately, schooling shapes “self.”

In line with Bruner, Spindler and Spindler (1990) believe the culture of school fits the culture of our larger society. There are specific structures into which teachers are responsible for fitting children. Spindler and Spindler also analyze “how the school may act as a cultural transmitter and the teacher as a cultural mediator” (Spindler and Spindler 1990, 58).

Through examining the classroom culture and society in an elementary school, Johnson (1985) observed the conditioning effect of the process of schooling on children. He claims that schooling is the most powerful vehicle for children’s social and cultural conditioning. He states: “One must begin in classrooms, the workplace of the educational system. It is there that the important sociocultural conditioning of
students takes place, relevant to their eventual participation in American culture and society” (Johnson 1985, 4).

Johnson (1985) further explains the meaning of “social conditioning” and “cultural conditioning.” By “social conditioning,” he means when children go to school, they become part of society. Thereby, they are expected to share a common language and to adhere to a set of shared customs as a society. By “cultural conditioning,” he means when children go to school, they are pressed to adopt the way of life of the classroom, that is, the classroom culture, as their own. More specifically, they are supposed to adopt a fairly persistent patterned interaction of distinctive behaviors and ideas. Therefore, school life is not merely for learning how to read, write, and do arithmetic; more significantly, school life presses children to adopt particular norms for behavior, important cultural values, and core social goals. Additionally, through his observations on everyday classroom life, Johnson (1985) notes the fact that teachers have a choice about what student behaviors to reinforce and negate, and what behaviors to label good and bad, which further makes evident the norm and value system at work in the classroom.

Moreover, a number of researchers examined the formation of social norms and behaviors of students through schooling. Todd (1941) finds that group pattern is persistent through schooling. One’s early life and experience in schools are influential in forming behaviors, attitudes, and values, and schools influence students toward socially desirable behaviors, attitudes, and values. When analyzing campus culture,
Kuh and Hall (1993) also mention that the socially shared rules and norms on campus define the way things are done and determine acceptable behavior for students and teachers.

In sum, school is a crucial institution that fulfills the function of maintaining and transmitting the culture where the school is situated, and schooling is a process of socialization and enculturation (Spindler and Spindler 1990). As Goffman (1961) points out, there is a specific set of prescriptions in terms of how to appropriately behave within institutions. School is a more noticeable institution. In schools, students are expected to function according to a set of prescribed rules and norms which are essentially in line with the behavior and interaction patterns, as well as social norms acceptable in the culture where the schools are situated. Therefore, in addition to the role that schools play in academic instruction, a vital role of schools is in socializing individuals (Tobin et al. 1989; Spindler and Spindler 1990; Goodman 1992). It is in the process of schooling that students learn culturally acceptable forms of behavior.

The implication for language teaching and learning is that for a foreign language learner, the patterns of behavior and interaction in school in the target culture are important to learn, because they are not just useful for the construction of appropriate behaviors in a foreign language classroom. More importantly, they lay the foundation for learners’ future performances in many other contexts.

As for Chinese language teachers, Chinese behavioral culture in school is one of the primary and fundamental microcultures in language teaching. Then the
questions at hand are as follows: How do American students interact with their teachers and classmates? How do Chinese students behave in teacher-student and student-student interactions? What are the primary differences in behavior between American students and Chinese students? What are the prominent patterns of behavior and social norms of Chinese students, which can be included in Chinese language teaching or pedagogical material design? With these research questions, a large body of related literatures has been reviewed.

2.2 Related Studies of Teacher-Student and Student-Student Interactions

A number of researchers have focused their attention on the study of students’ behaviors and their interactions with teachers and among themselves. With different aims and purposes, sociologists, anthropologists, linguists, psychologists, educators, and scholars from other disciplines have all engaged in and made contributions to the field.

The ethnography study of classroom communication owes a debt to *Functions of Language in the Classroom* (Cazden 1972). In a thorough introduction, Hymes claims that, “Our perspective on language in the classroom should be that of communication as a whole” (Hymes 1972, xxvii-xxviii). He also insists that to start with context is the key to understanding language in context. The statement of Hymes as well as all the articles in this collection direct researchers’ attention from the structure of children’s language to children’s use of language in the context of school, and its effects on teacher-child relationships.
The book addresses three general topics: nonverbal communication, language varieties and verbal repertoires, and varieties of communicative strategies. The first section focuses on nonverbal communication such as eye contact, tone of voice, and facial expression. It reveals that Puerto Rican children, black children, American Indian children, and Chinese children have different ways of expressing respect, interest, and cooperation. The third section consists of papers that investigate the behavior of teachers and children in classrooms.

Mischeler’s (1972) study analyzes teacher-pupil conversations in the classroom, arguing that the speech styles of different teachers with reference to how they structure the world. The other three articles respectively written by Boggs (1972), Dumont (1972) and Philips (1972) present ethnographic data collected in Hawaiian, Sioux, and Cherokee classrooms. Analysis of the data shows conflicts between teachers’ and pupils’ communicative strategies and accounts for the reason why pupils’ classroom behavior confuses and frustrates white teachers. That is, the behavior does not fit into the Anglo-American expectations of how pupils should behave.

Delamont (1976) reviews the literature on the teacher’s role, pupil subcultures, and teacher-pupil classroom interactions, adopting a symbolic interactionist approach. She focuses on the strategies used by the teacher and pupils to define the situation in the classroom. The study implies that pupil strategies are restricted by what the teacher wants. Parallel to Delamont (1976), Woods interprets school life from the
“interactionist” perspective that concentrates on “the small-scale detail of interpersonal relationships, what people do, and how they react to each other, the patterning of behaviors, the ebb and flow of everyday life” (Woods 1983, xi). He establishes focusing concepts – contexts, perspectives, cultures, strategies, negotiation, and careers – at the beginning, which form the structure of the book.

There is also a large body of educationally oriented research on social interactions in the US classroom (e.g., Bales 1951; Bellack et al., Flanders 1970; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Orsolini and Pontecorvo 1992). Special attention has been given to the social interactions among student groups. Kumpulainen and Wray (2002) observes that in peer interactions, students were not only provided with opportunities to actively initiate and organize the topics to be investigated, but were also offered chances to practice various social skills when they jointly worked out problems and co-constructed knowledge. Barnes and Todd (1977, 1995) note that students who are responsible for managing their discussions with their peers must negotiate how, when and who talks, and assess the relevance and quality of communication. King (1989) and Cohen (1994) identify specific forms of interaction that seem to promote learning, including asking appropriate questions and exchanging ideas. Moreover, Webb and Farivar (1994) stress the importance of using supportive communication skills such as giving encouragement.

These studies provide an understanding of teacher-student and student-student interactions from different perspectives. However, few studies have been conducted in
regard to the transactions between the teacher and the student and among students
themselves in contexts other than the learning situation, such as greeting one’s teacher
in the hallway, or responding to a compliment from one’s classmates after class.
Moreover, there have been fewer intercultural studies that explore the patterns of
behavior and social norms in teacher-student and student-student interactions for
language teaching and learning purposes. To fill this gap, the current study conducted
research on in-school interactions to this end.
Chapter 3: Comparisons of Behaviors in the Perceived Course of Teacher-Student and Student-Student Integrations between Chinese and Americans

3.1 Introduction

This study aims to explore how American and Chinese students behave in the perceived course of transactions with their teachers and classmates, and what the expectation of the teachers in the two cultures are with respect to how students in the teachers’ culture are expected to behave in these transactions, and especially the behavioral patterns and norms of Chinese students in their perceptions. A questionnaire survey is designed to examine the ways that participants from the two cultures would handle similar situations in teacher-student and student-student interactions. The methods and procedure of the survey are presented in Section 3.2, and the information of the subjects can be found in Section 3.3. Then Section 3.4 provides the results of the survey, and Section 3.5 discusses the major findings.

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Rationale

Determining the differences of behavior in perception between American and Chinese students entails comparisons of how they would behave in some identical
transactions. That is to say, corresponding data from both cultures is needed. In an intercultural study, a questionnaire survey is a practical way to collect a large amount of data in a relatively short time. In addition, the researcher is able to control variables such as the participants’ occupation and location.

3.2.2 Design

This survey is distributed to students and teachers with two questionnaires, in Appendix A and Appendix B, respectively. Both forms are translated into Chinese for the Chinese students and teachers (Appendix C and Appendix D). There are five context descriptions with seven questions in the students’ form. (The second and fifth contexts contain two questions.) The last context and the two related questions are not included in the teachers’ form, for the context in that question is so personal between the two students that it is beyond the teachers’ scale of consideration. Other contexts in both forms are similar, but the perspectives of the questions are different. The questions in the students’ form intend to investigate how students would behave in those transactions, whereas those in the teachers’ form attempt to examine the teachers’ expectations of behaviors that the students would enact in similar situations.

The questionnaires (Appendix A and Appendix B) were developed to cover a range of classroom interactions between the teachers and students, as well as among the students themselves. Five transactions are included: two involving teachers and students, and three involving students with other students, presenting various interactions from a simple greeting to more difficult social interactions such as
dealing with a problem (see Table 1). In addition, the context and question are specified for each transaction.

| Interaction                | Question Number | Transaction                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------|********************************|
| Teacher-Student Interactions| Question 1      | Greeting                      |
|                            | Question 2-1    | Expressing different opinions  |
|                            | Question 2-2    |                                |
| Student-Student Interactions| Question 3      | Dealing with a problem         |
|                            | Question 4      | Responding to compliments      |
|                            | Question 5-1    | Returning a favor              |
|                            | Question 5-2    |                                |

Table 1 Transactions covered in the questionnaires

All of the situations are designed to take place in the college where the participants are studying (or teaching). Nevertheless, the specific contexts vary from one to another. Despite the fact that the place where most of the interactions take place is the classroom, the contexts of these interactions are not limited to the contexts of teaching and learning in classes, as most of the classroom-interaction research has done. In only one context, the time is in a class, whereas in other contexts, the time is set up either during the break between two classes or after class. The transactions in teaching and learning settings include both expressing different opinions in a class, and dealing with a problem after class. Others are concerned with responding to compliments, returning a favor, and greeting.
What are presented in the questionnaires are communicative events in the continuous flow of interactions between teachers and students, as well as among the students themselves in their everyday school lives. The selection of these transactions and contexts is based on participant observations of the author beforehand in programs in Qingdao Technological University in Qingdao, China, and those at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, as well as in the summer intensive Chinese Flagship program in Qingdao, China, which consists of undergraduate or graduate American learners of Chinese from a variety of programs around the United States. It is noted that the five transactions with similar situations frequently occur in the flow of everyday school life. Moreover, there may be differences in ways of handling the transactions in these contexts between American and Chinese students.

3.2.3 The Pilot Study

There are two versions of the questionnaires: the original version was used in the pilot study, and the finalized version (Appendices A, B, C, and D) was utilized in the main study. The original version for students was piloted on a sample of 10 American students at the Ohio State University and 10 Chinese students at Qingdao Technological University, while the questionnaires for teachers were piloted on a sample of 5 Chinese and 5 American teachers at both universities. The questions in this version were designed as either multiple choice- or multiple response questions. However, the analysis of the data obtained revealed that the answers of the respondents were limited to the options which overlooked many other possibilities.
The pilot study offered implications for a more reasonable design of the questionnaires for both the students’ and teachers’ forms, with one exception. Question 1 still kept the options in the form of the multiple response question, while options for all other questions were removed, modified to open-ended questions in the finalized version of the students’ form. The questions in the questionnaire for teachers were still in the form of the multiple choice questions or multiple response questions, but all of the options were based on the categories of the results in the student survey, examining whether the teachers consider the students’ behaviors as inappropriate.

3.3 Subjects

The sample for this investigation consists of 60 students and 20 teachers. Half of the students and half of the teachers are at the Ohio State University, and half are at the Qingdao Technological University. The participants were asked about their nationalities. The students and teachers are the Ohio State University are all Americans, and those at the Qingdao Technological University are all Chinese. For students, age and major are requested for background information. The ages of the American students range from 19 years old through 26 years old, and those of the Chinese students range from 19 through 23 years old. The students who major in any foreign languages are not recruited as participants, as one’s behavior could vary to a large extent with long-time exposure to another language and culture. The students participating in this survey vary in their majors: the major fields of study represented are Business Administration, Arts and Sciences, as well as Engineering. The teachers
in this survey are also from these fields, with none of them teaching foreign languages.

Besides nationality, they were asked about how long they have been teaching. The
American teachers in the survey range in years of teaching experience from 7 years to
40 years, and the Chinese teachers, from 5 years to 36 years.

Subjects for the survey of students are identified as undergraduate students,
because they are young adults who have just experienced 12-year schooling in their
elementary-, middle- and high schools, and are still in the schooling process in college.
From the cultural perspective, after 12-year socialization and enculturation in schools,
certain behavioral patterns and norms have been cultivated, and particular cultural
values have been instilled. Moreover, as they enter colleges, in most cases they still
play the role of students, which means they have been practicing the existing
behaviors, norms, and values, while also adding new skills to their repertoires.

Compared with elementary-, middle-, or high school students, generally speaking,
undergraduate students tend to have developed relatively more adequate cultural
knowledge involving how to behave in teacher-student and student-student
interactions, and how to deal with their relationships with teachers and classmates
within the framework of their cultures. On the other hand, interactions among
undergraduate students and those with their teachers may not be as complex and as
special as teacher-student and student-student interactions of graduate students
because of a multitude of overlapping roles both graduate students and their teachers
play. This justifies the identification of the subjects for this survey.
3.4 Results

3.4.1 Greeting (Question 1)

Question 1, the only multiple response question in the students’ form, is concerned with the way(s) students greet their teacher when they come across him in the hallway during break, given that the American students know the teacher’s name is John Carter and the Chinese students know the teacher’s name is Zhāng Lipíng (张立平). Student respondents are required to choose all of the way(s) they have never used. (The multiple response questions in this survey instruct the participants that they can choose more than one answer.) The options and the Chinese translation for the Chinese students are presented as follows:

A. “Hi, Mr. Carter!”
   “张老师好！”
   “Zhāng Lǎoshi hǎo!”

B. “Hi, John!”
   “你好，立平!”
   “Nǐ hǎo, Lìpíng!”

C. “How are you?”
   “你怎么样?”
   “Nǐ zěnmeyàng?”

D. “Hello!” (Simply saying “Hello” without addressing him.)
   “你好！”(只问好，不加称呼。)
   “Nǐ hǎo!” (Zhī wènhǎo, bù-jiā chēnghu.)

E. “Mr. Carter!” (Simply addressing him.)
   “张老师！”（只称呼。）
   “Zhāng Lǎoshi!” (Zhī chēnghu.)

F. I have used all of the above ways of expression.
   以上方式都曾用到过。
3.4.1.1 Results of the Student Survey

Figure 1.1 illustrates that the American and Chinese students responded to this question in a very different manner with little overlap between their answers. Among the 30 American student participants, none of them chose Options A (“Hi, Mr. Carter!”), C (“How are you?”), or D (“Hello!”), which means all of them have used the three expressions to greet their teachers. All of the Chinese students indicated they used the expression in Option A as well. However, most of the Chinese student participants reported that they never asked their teacher “Nǐ zěnmeyàng?” (“你怎么样”, “How are you?”), or simply said “Nǐ hǎo!” (“你好”, “Hello!”) without addressing the teacher by name. In addition, 5 (17%) of the American respondents stated that they had never greeted their teacher by addressing him by his first name, while none of the Chinese respondents indicated they had do so. Another distinct contrast lies in the choice of Option E (“Mr. Carter!”/ “Zhāng Lǎoshi!” “张老师！”). According to the American students participating in this survey, nearly no one had simply addressed their teacher by his name as a way of greeting, whereas based on the answers of the Chinese students-- all of them had used this way of expression.
### Survey Options for Question 1 (Greeting) in the Student Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>American Respondents</th>
<th>Chinese Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Hi + Title + Family name</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Hi + First name</strong></td>
<td>5 17%</td>
<td>30 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. How are you?</strong></td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>21 70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Hello!</strong></td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>25 83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E. Title + Family name</strong></td>
<td>29 97%</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F. Have used all of the above ways of expression.</strong></td>
<td>1 3%</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 Students’ negative responses to the expressions of greeting their teacher

![Bar Chart](image)

Figure 1.1 Students’ negative responses to the expressions of greeting their teacher

### 3.4.1.2 Results of the Teacher Survey

In the survey of teachers, the teachers were asked in this situation, which way(s) they regard as inappropriate for their students to greet them. Similar to the
results of the student survey, the American teachers provided answers that were
different from those of the Chinese teachers in many ways. Table 1.2 shows that the
ten American teacher participants, nine (90%) of them indicated that all of the ways
were fine, with one (10%) of the American participants who had problems with being
addressed by their first names. For the Chinese teacher subjects, all of them reported
that they could not accept students calling them by their first names. Moreover, six
(60%) of the Chinese respondents stated that they did not regard simply saying “你好!”
(“Hello!”) as an appropriate way of greeting one’s teacher, while four (40%) of the
Chinese participants indicated that they were unwilling to be greeted by “你怎么样？”
(“How are you?”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Options for Question 1 (Greeting) in the Teacher Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Hi + Title + Family name</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Hi + First name</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. How are you?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Hello!</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Title + Family name</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. All of the above expressions are fine.</td>
<td>9 (90%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2 Teachers’ negative reactions to expressions of greeting by students
3.4.1.3 Comparisons between the Results of the Student Survey and Those of the Teacher Survey

The analysis of the choices of the student participants and those of the teacher participants indicates that there is a stronger correlation between the results of the Chinese students and those of the Chinese teachers: the Chinese students’ preferences are mainly in agreement with the Chinese teachers’. Additionally, a large proportion of American teachers reported that they were flexible with how students should address and greet them, and American students indicated that they tended to greet their teachers based on their own preference.
3.4.2 Expressing Different Opinions (Question 2-1)

Question 2 examines how the participants deal with the situation that their teacher is voicing an opinion with which they don’t agree in class. Actually, two questions are contained in it. The first one, Question 2-1, asks about what the participants usually do in this case; if respondents choose any options indicating they would let the teacher know their opinion, they are further asked Question 2-2, that is, how they would express their opinion. When analyzing and discussing the data of Question 2-2, the responses of the students who answered that they would not let the teacher know their opinion in Question 2-1 were excluded.

As mentioned before, in the main study, except for Question 1, the questions for the students were revised to open-ended questions. Based on the results of both the pilot study and the main study among the students, the teacher’s form was also adjusted, but still kept the form of multiple choice or response questions. Although the original options that appeared in the version used in the pilot study were removed, to facilitate comparison with the results of the survey for the teachers, answers of these questions were still categorized into 4 groups through analysis, as follows:

A. I prefer not to let my teacher know my opinion.
B. I prefer to point out the part I disagreed with immediately during class.
C. I prefer to wait until the end of the class, or find another chance to have a private conversation with my teacher to tell him my opinion.
D. Others.
3.4.2.1 Results of the Student Survey

The results of Question 2-1 in the student survey are shown in Table 2.1 and illustrated in Figure 2.1. The most obvious differences in the responses to this question between the American students and the Chinese students lies in Option B (I prefer to point out the part I disagreed with immediately during class.) and Option C (I prefer to have a private conversation with my teacher to tell him my opinion.). Thirteen (43%) of the American students reported that they would point out the part they disagreed with during class, while five (17%) of Chinese students showed this intention. Many more Chinese students (11) stated that they would rather express their opinion to the teacher after class or find another chance to have a private conversation with the teacher than did American students (4). Overall, among the students who reported that they did not intend to let the teacher know their disagreement, the number of Chinese participants is three more than American participants. In addition, six (20%) of the American respondents and four (13%) of the Chinese respondents chose “others,” indicating there are many other possibilities that they would choose with regard to how to deal with this situation.
### Table 2.1 Student survey answers to question 2-1 (expressing different opinions) in the student survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of the Survey Answers to Question 2-1 (Expressing Different Opinions) in the Student Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. I prefer not to let my teacher know my opinion.</td>
<td>7 23%</td>
<td>10 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. I prefer to point out the part I disagreed with immediately during class.</td>
<td>13 43%</td>
<td>5 17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. I prefer to have a private conversation with my teacher to tell him my opinion.</td>
<td>4 13%</td>
<td>11 37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Others</td>
<td>6 20%</td>
<td>4 13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Students’ responses to the ways of expressing different opinions

![Figure 2.1 Students’ responses to the ways of expressing different opinions](image)

Figure 2.1 Students’ responses to the ways of expressing different opinions
3.4.2.2 Results of the Teacher Survey

The American teachers and the Chinese teachers were provided with the same context, but Question 2-1 asks what teachers prefer the student to do. In the teachers’ form, the question is designed as a multiple response question. Four options are paralleled with the four categories for the answers of the survey of students:

A. I prefer that he never lets me know his opinion.

B. I prefer that he points out the part he disagreed with immediately during class.

C. I prefer that he waits until the end of class, or finds another chance to have a private conversation with me to give me his opinion.

D. Others.

As shown in Figure 2.2, eight (80%) of the American teacher participants preferred the student to point out the part they disagreed with immediately during class. Four Chinese teacher participants said they would like the students to do so, while the other six (60%) said they would prefer the students to bring up their disagreement in a private conversation after class.
Survey Options for Question 2-1 (Expressing Different Opinions) in the Teacher Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Number of American Respondents</th>
<th>Number (%) of American Respondents</th>
<th>Number of Chinese Respondents</th>
<th>Number (%) of Chinese Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. I prefer that he never lets me know his opinion.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. I prefer that he points out the part he disagreed with immediately during class.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. I prefer that he have a private conversation with me to give me his opinion.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Others.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Teachers’ negative reactions to students’ ways of expressing different opinions

Figure 2.2 Teachers’ negative reactions to students’ ways of expressing different opinions
3.4.2.3 Comparisons between the Results of the Student Survey and Those of the Teacher Survey

A comparison between the results of American student participants and those of American teacher participants shows that generally the behaviors which the students indicated that they would be most likely to enact are in accordance with what the teachers expected in the survey. Many American teacher respondents reported that they would like their students to express their differing opinions in class. Correspondingly, more American student subjects stated that they preferred to do so than those who would rather keep their opinions to themselves, or those who would let the teacher know their disagreement after class.

Likewise, more Chinese teachers indicated that they preferred their students to let them know their disagreement after class rather than bringing it up in class, which is in agreement with most of the Chinese students’ preference in the survey. The part where the two results are inconsistent is that all of the Chinese teacher respondents reported that they would like to listen to the different voices from students, yet ten (33%) of the Chinese student respondents stated that they would rather keep quiet.

3.4.3 Expressing Different Opinions (Question 2-2)

3.4.3.1 Results of the Student Survey

Question 2-2 follows up on Question 2-1, asking those who would let the teacher know their opinion what they would say to the teacher. The 23 American
student participants who reported that they would let the teacher know their opinions shared the following three expressions that they most frequently use:

A. “I have a different idea about…”

B. “From my experience, that would be different…”

C. “I don’t think that’s right…”

These three expressions are literally translated into Chinese as follows:

A. “关于……我有个不同观点/想法……”
   “Guānyú……wǒ yǒu bù-tóng guānliàn/ xiǎngfǎ……”

B. “以我的经验（来看），可能不一样……”
   “Yǐ wǒ de jīngyàn (lái kàn), kěnéng bù-yi yíyàng……”

C. “我觉得这(个观点)不对……”
   “Wǒ juéde zhè (gè guānliàn) bù-duì……”

The three expressions most commonly used by the 20 Chinese student participants who stated that they would express their different opinions are as follows:

D. “老师，这个问题我可以这样看吗？”
   “Lǎoshi, zhègè wèntí wǒ kěyǐ zhèyàng kàn ma?”
   (“Teacher, can I think of it this way?”)

E. “老师，我不知道我这样想对不对。……”
   “Lǎoshi, bù-zhīdào wǒ zhèyàng xiǎng duì-bù-duì……”
   (“Teacher, I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct. ……”)

F. “老师，想请教您一下，这个问题能不能这样来看……”
   “Lǎoshi, xǐng qiějiào nín yīxià, zhègè wèntí néng-bù-néng zhèyàng lái kàn……”
   (“Teacher, I would like to ask for your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to think of it this way…”)

All of the expressions provided by the student participants were categorized into these six groups. Those did not fit into the six groups were categorized as group G, “Others”. The results of Question 2-2 in the student survey are shown in Table 2.3
and Figure 2.3. What is important to notice is that among the three expressions A (“I have a different idea about…”), B (“From my experience, that would be different...”) and C (“I don’t think that’s right…”) frequently used by the American student subjects, none of the Chinese student respondents used expressions B and C when answering Question 2-2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of the Survey Answers to Question 2-2 (Expressing Different Opinions) in the Student Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=23)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. “I have a different idea about…”</td>
<td>7 (30%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. “From my experience, that would be different...”</td>
<td>6 (26%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. “I don’t think that’s right…”</td>
<td>4 (17%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. “Teacher, can I think of it this way?”</td>
<td>2 (9%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. “Teacher, I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct. ……”</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. “Teacher, I would like to ask for your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to think of it this way…”</td>
<td>2 (9%)</td>
<td>5 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Others.</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Students’ responses regarding how to express different opinions
3.4.3.2 Results of the Teacher Survey

In the teacher survey, Question 2-2 is in the form of multiple response questions, asking those who expect the student to tell them which way(s) of expression is/are considered to be inappropriate. The six expressions were provided for teacher participants as six options and there was an added Option G, “All of the above responses are fine,” for them to choose from. As shown in Table 2.4 and Figure 2.4, among nine teachers who indicated that they would like the student to express different opinions, six (67%) of the American teacher participants reported that they think all of the six expressions are fine, with only one (11%) of the American
participants having problems with Option A, “I have a different idea about…” and two (22%) with Option C, “I don’t think that’s right…”.

However, none of the ten Chinese teacher participants considered all of these expressions were fine. Especially important to note is that eight (80%) of the Chinese respondents indicated that they could not accept the expression, “I don’t think that’s right…” Nevertheless, none of the American or Chinese teacher participants regarded Options D, E and F as inappropriate in the survey. Six of the Chinese teachers reported that the saying “From my experience, that would be different...” would be inappropriate, and three (30%) of the Chinese teachers stated they would have problems with the expression, “I have a different idea about…”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Options for Question 2-2 (Expressing Different Opinions) in the Teacher Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=9)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. “I have a different idea about…”</td>
<td>1 11%</td>
<td>3 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. “From my experience, that would be different…”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>6 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. “I don’t think that’s right…”</td>
<td>2 22%</td>
<td>8 80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. “Teacher, can I think of it this way?”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. “Teacher, I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct. …..”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. “Teacher, I would like to ask for your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to think of it this way…”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Others.</td>
<td>6 67%</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Teachers’ negative reactions to students’ ways of expressing different opinions
3.4.3.3 Comparisons between the Results of the Student Survey and Those of the Teacher Survey

The analysis of the results of the student survey and those of the teacher survey reveals that many American teacher subjects indicated that they were fine with all of the six expressions used by the American students. However, most of the Chinese teachers participating in the survey reported that they could only accept the ways of expressing a different opinion that the Chinese students most frequently use in the survey. This indicates that the expressions that the students would be most
likely to use are virtually those that were reported to be acceptable by the teachers in their cultures, and this is especially the case for the Chinese students and teachers.

3.4.4 Dealing with a Problem (Question 3)

Starting with Question 3, the survey turns to explore behaviors in student-student interactions. The context for Question 3 is described as follows: “You and your classmates, Ross and Tom (two acquaintances), are working on a project as a group. Ross is responsible for putting your ideas together and writing a paper for your group, which is going to be submitted to the teacher. At a group meeting, after you read the paper written by Ross, you discover that actually Ross is not good at writing.” Student participants were asked what they would do in this situation. Their answers were categorized into six groups:

A. Revise the paper by myself.

B. Write a new paper by myself.

C. Help Ross revise the paper.

D. Revise the paper together with Ross and Tom as a group.

E. Switch roles with Ross.

F. Do nothing. Just let it be.

Several respondents mentioned more than one way.

3.4.4.1 Results of the Student Survey

The results of student participants for Question 3 are shown in Table 3.1 and illustrated in Figure 3.1. To help Ross revise the paper and to revise the paper together
with Ross and Tom as a group are two of the most common ways that would be used to deal with this issue for both American and Chinese participants in the survey, but the number of Chinese participants who indicated that they would revise the paper as a group is almost twice that of American participants. Another discrepancy lies in the fact that there were five more American participants than Chinese participants who reported that they would switch roles with Ross. In addition, four (13%) of the American subjects would prefer to revise the paper by themselves, while one (3%) of the Chinese subjects would like to do so. What is also noteworthy is that two (7%) of the American students indicated that they would write a new paper by themselves, but none of the Chinese students said they would.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of the Survey Answers to Question 3 (Dealing with a Problem) in the Student Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Revise the paper by myself.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Write a new paper by myself.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Help Ross revise the paper.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Revise the paper together with Ross and Tom as a group.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Switch roles with Ross.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Do nothing. Just let it be.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 Students’ responses to the ways of dealing with a problem in a group
3.4.4.2 Results of the Teacher Survey

A similar context was provided in the teacher survey. In Question 3, the teachers were asked if their students David, Ross, and Tom work as a group in that situation, which action(s) are considered as inappropriate for David to take. Option G—“All of the above responses are fine”—was added. Other options in line with the categories for the students’ answers are listed below:

A. David revises the paper by himself.

B. David writes a new paper by himself.

C. David helps Ross revise the paper.

D. David, Ross, and Tom revise the paper together as a group.
E. Switch roles with Ross.

F. Do nothing. Just let it be.

G. All of the above responses are fine.

Table 3.2 shows that both American and Chinese teacher participants had problems with Options A (David revises the paper by himself.), B (David writes a new paper by himself.), and F (Do nothing. Just let it be.): in the survey, the teachers did not consider David revising or writing the paper over by himself, or doing nothing to be appropriate behaviors in this case. Nevertheless, the Chinese teachers’ disagreement seems stronger than that of the American teachers. Nine (90%) of the Chinese respondents and six (60%) of the Americans believed that David revising the paper by himself was not a good idea. None of the Chinese teachers thought David writing the paper over or doing nothing was acceptable, while eight (80%) of the Americans shared the same opinion. The primary discrepancy between the two parties lies in their attitudes toward Option E, that is, to switch roles with Ross: the number of Chinese teacher participants regarding the behavior as inappropriate was five more than that of American teacher participants.
Survey Options for Question 3 (Dealing with a Problem) in the Teacher Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Option</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Revise the paper by myself.</td>
<td>6  60%</td>
<td>9  90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Write a new paper by myself.</td>
<td>8  80%</td>
<td>10 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Help Ross revise the paper.</td>
<td>0  0%</td>
<td>0  0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Revise the paper together with Ross and Tom as</td>
<td>0  0%</td>
<td>0  0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a group.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Switch roles with Ross.</td>
<td>1  10%</td>
<td>6  60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Do nothing. Just let it be.</td>
<td>8  80%</td>
<td>10 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. All of the above responses are fine.</td>
<td>1  10%</td>
<td>0  0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Teachers’ negative reactions to students’ ways of dealing with a problem in a group

Figure 3.2 Teachers’ negative reactions to students’ ways of dealing with a problem in a group
3.4.4.3 Comparisons between the Results of the Student Survey and Those of the Teacher Survey

The student survey asked about what the students would do in this situation, whereas the teacher survey required the teachers to choose the actions they considered as inappropriate, that is, the actions they did not expect the students to take. Comparisons between the results of the student survey and those of the teacher survey show the tendency that the students’ answers accorded with the teachers’ choices: the actions that the student participants reported that they would rather take were usually those that could be accepted by teachers in their cultures. This tendency is more obvious between the Chinese teachers and the Chinese students. For example, none of the Chinese teachers thought that David writing the paper over by himself was appropriate. Accordingly, none of the Chinese students indicated in the survey that they would do so.

3.4.5 Responding to Compliments (Question 4)

3.4.5.1 Results of the Student Survey

How to respond to a compliment was what Question 4 investigated. The context is that a student represented his group to present their project in class. After class, several students from other groups stopped by saying the presentation he gave was amazing. Specifically, at that time the student was talking to his group members. Question 4 asked what he would say as a response in this situation. A couple of the
respondents employed more than one expression. Basically, there were five types of expressions:

A. “Thank you!”
B. “No, no.”
C. “It was just an OK.”
D. “This is the result of our teamwork!”
E. “Yours was good too!”

The results of the student survey show that all of the American student participants and nine (30%) of the Chinese student participants stated that they would say “Thank you!”. Responses such as “No, no.” or “It was just OK.” would only be used by Chinese subjects in the survey. What is also noteworthy is that the number of Chinese participants who would give credit to everyone in the team was 17, but that of American participants was four. Additionally, 15 (50%) of the Chinese respondents said they would return the compliment, while eight (27%) of the American respondents indicated they would do so.
### Categories of the Survey Answers to Question 4 (Responding to a Compliment) in the Student Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. “Thank you!”</td>
<td>30 100%</td>
<td>9 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. “No, no.”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>4 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. “It was just an OK.”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>11 37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. “This is the result of our teamwork!”</td>
<td>4 13%</td>
<td>17 57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. “Yours was good too!”</td>
<td>8 27%</td>
<td>15 50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Students’ responses to the compliment

![Bar chart showing responses]

Figure 4.1 Students’ responses to the compliment
3.4.5.2 Results of the Teacher Survey

Question 4 for the teacher participants is a multiple response question with a similar context. The teachers were asked to choose the way(s) considered as inappropriate for them. The options were all parallel with the categories for results in the survey for students, except that Option F—“All of the above responses are fine.”—was added. Table 4.2 shows that all of the 10 Chinese teacher participants chose this option, which means all of the above ways were acceptable for them, with six (60%) of the American teacher participants sharing the same opinion. Nonetheless, four (40%) of the American respondents indicated that they had problems with the expression, “No, no.”, as a way to react to a compliment, and one (10%) of the American participants regarded saying “It was just OK.” as an inappropriate response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Options for Question 4 (Responding to a Compliment) in the Teacher Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Who Selected the Option (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. “Thank you!”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. “No, no.”</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. “It was just an OK.”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. “This is the result of our teamwork!”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. “Yours was good too!”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. All of the above responses are fine.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Teacher’s negative reactions to the students’ expressions of responding to the compliment
Comparisons between the Results of the Student Survey and Those of the Teacher Survey

Comparisons between the American students’ answers and those of the American teachers indicate that the two expressions, “No, no.” and “It was just OK.”, which teachers find problematic are also those that the students did not use in the survey. As for the Chinese students and teacher participants, the Chinese teachers reported that they would accept all of these expressions in this situation, and correspondingly, each expression is likely to be used by the Chinese students. This
indicates that the students’ behaviors in the perceived course of interactions are virtually in accordance with the teachers’ expectations reflected in the survey.

3.4.6 Returning a Favor (Question 5-1)

The student participants were provided with the following context for Question 5: “Your classmate, Jack, (who is a friend, but not that close,) has helped several times you with math after class before the final exam. After the final, Jack calls and asks you if you can help him move out of his apartment this weekend, but you have already made plans to go fishing with a close friend of yours.” Question 5-1 investigates what would the student participants do in this situation. Answers for this question are categorized into three groups:

A. I would go fishing.

B. I would help Jack with moving.

C. Others.

Figure 5.1 illustrates notable differences between the American student participants’ answers and those of the Chinese student participants. Up to 23 (77%) of the Chinese respondents said they would help Jack with moving, with only ten (33%) of the American respondents saying they would do so. Nearly half of the American students indicated that they would go fishing, while four (13%) of the Chinese students expressed this intention. In addition, six (20%) of the American participants and three (10%) of the Chinese participants gave other answers such as asking
whether Jack could change moving to another time, or proposing to help Jack after returning from the fishing trip, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of the Survey Answers to Question 5-1 (Returning a Favor) in the Student Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. I would go fishing.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. I would help Jack with moving.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Others.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Students’ responses to the ways of returning a favor

Figure 5.1 Students’ responses to the ways of returning a favor
3.4.7 Returning a Favor (Question 5-2)

Then in Question 5-2, the student participants who indicated that they would help Jack with moving were asked what they would say to Jack. Their answers are divided into two groups according to if they mentioned they already had a plan:

A. “I already have plans, but I can come and help you.”

B. “I can help out.”

There were ten American students and 23 Chinese students who reported that they would help Jack out. As shown in Table 5.2, among the ten American participants, three (30%) of them did not mention they already had plans in their answers, while seven (70%) started with “I already have plans, but…”. In contrast, among the 23 Chinese participants, 20 (87%) of them would be not likely to mention that they had prior plans, while three (13%) would be likely to. The Chinese students have a tendency to merely give positive responses, such as “Xíng a!” (“行啊!”, “OK!”), or “Méi-wèntí!” (“没问题!”, “No problem!”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of the Survey Answers to Question 5-2 (Returning a Favor) in the Student Survey</th>
<th>Number (and %) of American Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=10)</th>
<th>Number (and %) of Chinese Respondents Whose Answers Belong to the Category (N=23)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. “I already have plans, but I can come and help you.”</td>
<td>3 30%</td>
<td>20 87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. “I can help out.”</td>
<td>7 70%</td>
<td>3 13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Students’ responses to the expressions of offering help
3.5 Discussion

3.5.1 Differences in Cultural Behavior in the Perceived Course of Teacher-Student and Student-Student Interactions between the Chinese and Americans

The respondents’ perception as to how they would behave in five transactions was examined in the survey: greeting, expressing different opinions, dealing with a problem, responding to a compliment, and returning a favor (which did not appear in the survey for teachers). In the analysis of the data, differences in cultural behavior in the perceived course of teacher-student and student-student interactions between the
Chinese and Americans are noted in every transaction in the survey, both through comparisons between American students’ and Chinese students’ answers, and through comparisons between American teachers’ and Chinese teachers’ choices. These differences are reflected in each transaction, and especially, the behavioral patterns and norms shared among the Chinese students in the perceived course of transactions are further discussed below.

3.5.1.1 Greeting (Question 1)

The analysis of the data in Question 1 reveals that according to the American participants’ perception, “Hi, Mr. Carter!” and “How are you?”, and “Hello!” are three widely used ways of greeting one’s teacher in American culture. Simply addressing the teacher by first name also seems acceptable (“Hi, John’’); but simply addressing the teacher by name without a greeting (“Mr. Carter!”) is not considered to be a common way of greeting in American culture.

In the survey of the Chinese students, all of them reported that they used the expressions, “Hi, Mr. Carter!” and “Mr. Carter!” to address their teacher. Both manners of greeting contain the appropriate term of address when speaking to one’s teacher in Chinese culture. This indicates that based on the perception of the Chinese students in the survey, when one greets one’s teacher, it is most important to not only address, but also appropriately address the teacher.

The Chinese word, lǎoshī (老师, teacher), is used to be a term of address for teachers in Chinese. Here, in Question 1, the family name of the teacher is known to
be Zhāng, (张, a family name); so he should be called “Zhāng lǎoshī” (“张老师”). Therefore, Option A “Zhāng Lǎoshī hǎo!” (“张老师好！”, “Hi, teacher Zhang!”) is definitely an appropriate way of greeting one’s teacher. In daily communication in China, one can simply address another person by his name (“Mr. Carter!”) as a way of greeting. This explains why Option E, “Zhāng Lǎoshī!” (“张老师!”, “Teacher Zhang!”) is also acceptable for Chinese respondents, though it may appear slightly odd for Americans. However, either greeting without addressing the teacher, such as “Nǐ hǎo!” (“你好!”, “Hello!”) or greeting without an appropriate term of address for the teacher, such as “Nǐ hǎo, Zhāng Lipǐng!” (“你好，张立平!”, “Hi, Zhang Liping!”), is regarded to be disrespectful in Chinese culture. Especially addressing one’s elders or superiors by their first name is regarded as rude. Hence, none of the Chinese participants chose Option B, “Nǐ hǎo, Lipǐng!” (“你好，立平!”, “Hi, Liping!”).

As Jian and Shepherd (2010) point out, terms of address and title are of great importance in Chinese culture. Actually, this close attention to whether one addresses someone else at all, and how one addresses others displays one of the most important Chinese cultural values: explicit acknowledgement of hierarchy. As Bond and Hwang (1986) noted, every Chinese person exists through, and is defined by, his relationships, which are structured hierarchically, to others. Therefore, in social interactions, it is crucial to recognize our and other people’s roles and behave accordingly within the social hierarchy. The importance of title lies in the fact that it informs us of a person’s
social rank, facilitating us to identify the person’s role in the hierarchy. After knowing the title of the interlocutor, utilizing appropriate terms to address him is the right move to make, for this behavior indicates that one acknowledges the person’s social position and explicitly shows respect for him.

In the context of Chinese culture, the relationship between the teacher and the student is seen as a hierarchical relationship such as that between an elder and a younger person, or that between a superior and a subordinate. Therefore, addressing the teacher with the appropriate term is highly emphasized. In fact, in Chinese culture, patterns of behavior differ in many respects between interacting with people higher in the hierarchical scale and interacting with people lower in the scale. Another example could be the use of the expression, “Nǐ zěnme yàng?” (“你怎么样？”, “How are you?”), which is also a way of greeting used by people at higher positions, or by peers. Moreover, this is often a real question in Chinese culture to show concern about the recent condition of a person one has not seen for a while, unlike “How are you” in English, which is simply a greeting. Thus, it is not commonly used by a Chinese student to greet his teacher unless they have developed a close relationship. Being able to identify roles and to use titles and polite speech when interacting with people at a higher social position as a vital behavioral norm, can be applied not only to teacher-student interactions in the context of school, but also to elder-younger interactions or superior-subordinate interactions in other contexts, such as professional contexts or banquet contexts.
Chinese natives feel comfortable with explicit acknowledgement of hierarchy through using appropriate terms to address people with a higher status, utilizing polite speech and many other behaviors, while American natives feel comfortable with the masking of hierarchy by, for example, being on a first-name basis with their teachers, elders, or superiors. Walker and Noda noted:

American culture operates on the overt expression—some might say the myth—of equality. No matter how clearly an individual may understand his or her relative place in a group and how emotionally powerful that identification may be felt, Americans are likely to expect the outward trappings of social equality. This occurs even when a hierarchy clearly exists within a particular group structure. (Walker and Noda 2010, 30)

As they argued, “Different cultures and different games are played according to different sets of shared rules and expectations.” (Walker and Noda 2010, 27)

The summer intensive Chinese Flagship program in Qingdao provided me the opportunity to observe American learners of Chinese who had mastered the fundamentals of the Chinese linguistic code, but who did not know that they needed to use an appropriate term to address their Chinese teachers by name when they greeted them. Several local Chinese teachers who had the experience of being greeted by American students simply by “Hello!” or “How are you?” commented that these students were not respectful or polite enough. Actually, the American students did not mean to be disrespectful or impolite; rather, their intentions were most certainly to show their respect to the teacher. However, they still behaved according to the rules and expectations of their own, American, culture, in which it is okay to leave out the
teacher’s name when addressing him or her. Although the American students were using Chinese linguistic code, they did not realize their intentions in Chinese culture.

3.5.1.2 Expressing Different Opinions (Question 2-1 and Question 2-2)

3.5.1.2.1 Discussion of Question 2-1

The results of Question 2-1 in the student survey indicated that besides those who reported that they would not let the teacher know their opinions, most of the American students said they would express their disagreements with the teacher immediately, during class. The Chinese students, however, reported that they would bring it up after class or keep their opinions to themselves.

In the questionnaires, a few participants gave reasons why they would be unwilling to publicly express their opinion or to express it at all, when it is incompatible with that of their teachers. The most common reason that the American students provided is that they are not that kind of person who feels comfortable to talk or present their opinions in front of others. They barely mentioned the reasons that the Chinese students gave as presented below.

Several Chinese students reported that they would not bring up their disagreement with the teacher because they did not intend to challenge the teacher’s authority (“Bù-xiǎng tiāozhàn Lǎoshī de quǎnwěi.”, “不想挑战老师的权威。”). Underlying this concern is a Chinese cultural assumption—the explicit acknowledgement of authority, which can also be viewed as the explicit acknowledgement of hierarchy. The teacher is a figure of authority, and this figure is
constantly constructed from the first day of school. Therefore, Chinese students
demonstrate acknowledgement of the teacher’s authority. They “trust authority figures
to the extent that opinions from the authorities are rarely questioned or disputed” (Zhu
2008, 34). However, this does not mean that Chinese people cannot disagree with
authority figures; the key lies in when, where, and how to express one’s disagreement.
This will be further explored in Question 2-2.

One Chinese respondent commented on the behavior of expressing one’s
opinion that is different from that of the teacher in class, this way: “Shuō duì le,
Lǎoshī méi miànzi. Shuō cuò le, zìjǐ méi miànzi.” (“If you are right, it makes your teacher lose face; if you are wrong, it
makes you lose face.”). Here, the student was concerned with the issue of face (miànzi,
面子), which refers to the social perception of one’s prestige. Actually, the issue of
face is so prevalent in Chinese culture that no native Chinese speaker can be unaware
of it and its management (Hu 1944; Brown & Levinson 1987; Bond 1986; Jia 1997).
In the above example, the Chinese student suggested voicing different opinions in a
private conversation with the teacher instead of in front of other students during class.
For one thing he did not mean to embarrass the teacher and cause him to lose face by
disputing the teacher’s opinion in front of the other students; for another, he did not
want to lose his own face, in case he failed to justify his opinion in class (Bond &
Hwang 1986).
As discussed above, the Chinese students indicated that they would rather not express their different opinions at all, or not express them publically, because of the concern of face or challenging the authority figure. The words of one of the Chinese students can help to summarize these reasons: “To do it in that way might make some teachers unhappy” (“Nà yàng zuò yǒuxiē làoshī huì bù-gǎoxìng.”, “那样做有些老师会不高兴。”). That is to say, the Chinese students avoid behaving in these ways (at least in the perceived course of interactions), for they attempt to avoid any potential conflict with their teachers.

Similarly, the American students who reported that they would like to let their teacher know their opinions during class probably have the same intentions as the Chinese students. Nevertheless, their perception concerning how to behave in this situation is different from that of the Chinese students. For those American students, the context calls for the exchange of ideas and the classroom is a place where disagreement is welcomed. They would assume that if they disagreed with their teacher’s opinion, but did not mention it in class, they would not be playing their role. For the American teachers who indicated that they would prefer students to express their different opinions in class, their cultural assumption would be that if a student waited until after class to let the teacher know his/her opinion, the student possibly thought the teacher was not capable of defending his/her position. This would have negative consequences for their relationship. To avoid these consequences, the
American students would tend to bring up their disagreement during class, which conforms to the expectations that the American teachers indicated in the survey.

The results of the survey are consistent with those of the researcher’s observations. This indicates that the perceived course of this transaction and the actual transaction between the teacher and the students are in accordance with each other. The differences in the patterns of behavior are especially evident when individuals interact with the members from or in another culture. In the summer intensive Chinese Flagship program in Qingdao, I observed a number of American learners of Chinese who voiced their opinion that differed from that of their native Chinese teachers during class. Occasionally, this behavior made the Chinese teachers feel uncomfortable, especially when the American learners expressed their disagreement too directly. When the context changed to American culture, for instance, in programs at the Ohio State University, the students from China were careful about when and how to express their different opinions and they tended not to argue with their teachers in class.

3.5.1.2.2 Discussion of Question 2-2

The analysis of the three expressions most frequently used by the Chinese student participants in the survey to express incompatible opinions in category D (“Lǎoshi, zhègè wèntí wǒ kěyǐ zhèyàng kàn ma?”,”老师，这个问题我可以这样看吗？”), “Teacher, can I think of it this way?”), E (“Lǎoshi, bù-zhīdào wǒ zhèyàng xiǎng duì-bù-duì……”, “老师，不知道我这样想对不对。……”), which
means “Teacher, I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct. ….”) and F (“Lǎoshī, xiǎng qǐngjiào nín yíxià, zhègè wèntí néng-bù-néng zhèyàng lái kàn……”, “老师，想请教您一下，这个问题能不能这样来看……”, which means “Teacher, I would like to ask for your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to think of it this way…” suggests they have something in common. First, they all contain the term of address, “Lǎoshī” (老师, teacher). As discussed in the last question, it is crucial in Chinese culture to address people by their title before speaking to them, especially when speaking to those with higher social status. This behavioral pattern is not only applicable in the case of a greeting, but also in other cases in everyday interactions in China.

Second, none of the expressions explicitly indicates the student’s disagreement with the teacher’s idea. Instead, all of the three ways simply seem to make an attempt to seek an alternative, propose another possibility or ask for the teacher’s opinion. The indirectness embodied in both expressions refers to what Chinese natives call “hánxù” (“含蓄”), which is highly valued in Chinese culture. To continue the discussion of explicit acknowledgement of authority in Question 2-1, Chinese people do express their disagreement, but they are rather careful about how they express it: they attempt to convey it in an appropriate manner that can be accepted by other natives in Chinese culture.

Third, word choice in the expressions of Chinese students is cautious. For instance, qǐngjiào (请教), which means “to ask for one’s opinion,” is specially used
by a student to politely ask for his teacher’s opinion. This verb itself explicitly indicates the acknowledgement of hierarchy. Moreover, in Chinese culture, when individuals use this kind of expression, they are demonstrating humility, a quality desired by Chinese people. Especially someone at a lower position in the hierarchy is expected to be humble in social interactions with people at a higher status than oneself.

In a word, in order to explicitly acknowledge the hierarchy and demonstrate humility when voicing different opinions, the Chinese students address their teacher and utilize appropriate words, expressing their opinions in ways of proposing another possibility or asking for the teacher’s suggestion. Therefore, the three expressions were regarded as acceptable by the Chinese teachers.

The expressions, especially the first two (“I have a different idea about…” and “From my experience, that would be different…”) that were commonly used by the American students in the survey, were also accepted by the American teachers. That is to say, these expressions do not lack politeness or respect in American culture. Nonetheless, the problem arises when they are literally translated into Chinese language as follows: “Yǐ wǒ de jīngyànlái kàn, kěnèng bù-yíyàng……” (“以我的经验（来看），可能不一样……”) and “Guānyù……wǒ yǒu gè bù-tóng guāndiàn/xiǎngfā……” (“关于……我有个不同观点/想法……”). In the Chinese translation, they lack the components that constitute an appropriate expression of voicing different opinions in Chinese culture, as discussed above. Furthermore, phrases such as “bù-yíyàng” (“不一样”) or “bù-tóng” (“不同”), which mean “different,” are not
advisable to use in this case, since they sound strong and direct to some degree for a Chinese native with a higher position in the hierarchy. The expression, “yǐ wǒ de jīngyàn (lái kàn), (“以我的经验（来看）”), which means “from my experience,” for a Chinese native, indicates the speaker possibly has more experience than the listener. Usually, it would not be used by a person at a lower status.

3.5.1.3 Dealing with a Problem (Question 3)

In response to Question 3, more than half of the Chinese students said they would prefer to revise the paper together as a group. The Chinese students frequently mentioned that they were a group, so if there were any problems, they had better work it out together (“Wǒmén shì yígè xiǎozǔ, yùdào wèntí zuì hǎo yǐ qǐ lái jiéjué.”, “我们是一个小组，遇到问题最好一起来解决。”). The underlying cultural value in Chinese culture is group orientation. A Chinese individual perceives his or her own existence primarily as a member of a group (Zhu 2008). Chinese people highly value their group orientation by prioritizing the harmonious relationship among group members.

Any suggestions that could potentially risk the harmony within the group would be avoided altogether, or provided rather carefully. Therefore, the Chinese students rarely suggest switching roles, revising the paper by themselves, or writing a new paper by themselves. For one thing, in Chinese culture, the suggestions would cause the person who did not do a good job to lose face, because the person may feel that his work or his ability is not acknowledged by the speaker, and the speaker is
indicating that he or she is capable of doing the job better. For another, other group members would possibly be uncomfortable with these suggestions, especially when the speaker makes the suggestions without asking for their opinions, as it seems that the speaker was emphasizing his or her own ability too much without taking the other group members’ opinions or abilities into consideration.

In summary, the perception of the Chinese students as to how to handle the problem in this situation indicated that a large portion of their concerns involves the group cohesion, when they deal with a problem within a group. From my observations, in the context of Chinese culture, sometimes keeping group harmony is even more important than reaching the group’s short-term goal. For many Chinese people, sustaining group harmony is the condition of achieving the group’s goal. In Chinese culture, failure to maintain harmonious relationships within a group may lead to not only the failure to reach the goal this time, but also the failure to establish a long-term relationship with the natives, and thus possibly affect the realization of the long-term goal. To realize group harmony, besides avoiding the suggestions that may risk causing the person to lose face and working together with other group members to solve the problem, another strategy that Chinese students commonly use is that before they give a group member the real suggestions, they first acknowledge the positive points in the individual’s work.

In the case of the American students, most of them also reported that they would prefer to help their group member to revise the paper or they would choose to
work on it as a group. However, a smaller number of them said they would do so than the number of Chinese students who would rather do the same. A few American students indicated that they would deal with this situation differently. An American student who would rather write the paper over by himself said, “I’m a strong writer. I don’t mind rewriting the paper.” Several other American students stated that they would be willing to switch roles, for that would be good for their group. It seems that these American students’ concerns are more about the effectiveness of the solution, or the ultimate goal of the group. They have fewer concerns about whether this solution may cause their group member to lose face, or about whether this may risk the subtle interpersonal harmony in the group, than the Chinese students do.

For these American students, it is probably that the goal of the group was more important than individual relationships. In a personal conversation, Walker observed that in American culture, if a ball team has someone not performing well enough, that person would be replaced. It is not that group cohesion is not an issue for Americans, it is that the purpose of a business school study group or a ball team is to reach certain goals and not necessarily to make everyone comfortable.

3.5.1.4 Responding to Compliments (Question 4)

In the context of Question 4, one’s ability is complimented. The results indicate that American students and Chinese students would react differently in this case. Without exception, the American students reported they would say “Thanks!” or “Thank you!”, which is a polite way to respond to a compliment in American culture.
In addition, some would also say something like, “It means a lot to me!”. The responses of the Chinese students are more varied: approximately one third of the Chinese students would accept the compliment as Americans do, while more than one third would use “acceptance with amendment” responses, with a small proportion of the Chinese students employing “non-acceptance” responses. This finding is parallel with Jian and Shepherd’s (2010) observation.

Moreover, according to the context, when responding to the compliment, other group members of the student were also there, which complicates the situation. A number of the Chinese students’ responses indicate that they had noted the existence of the audience and had taken the audience into consideration: their answers virtually started with sentences like “Yīnwéi qít āzǔyuán yě zàichǎng, suǒyì…” (“因为其他组员也在场，所以……”, “Because other group members are also there…”) and then presented how they would react to the compliment. Noticing this element in the context, it appears that the Chinese students are more likely to give credit to everyone in their group than the American students. More than one Chinese participant even attributed the success of their presentation to their group’s effort by saying something like “Zhǔyào shì dàjiā gāozī xiède hǎo!” (“主要是大家稿子写得好！”), which means “it’s mainly because my group members did a good job in the paper (that I presented).”

Giving credit to other people who helped, who taught or directed, and with whom one worked is an important strategy used by Chinese natives when responding
to compliments. For instance, it is observed that one advanced Chinese learner was praised on his Chinese proficiency and he reacted to this compliment by saying, “Lǎoshī jiāode hǎo.” (“老师教得好。”, “Because my teacher taught me well.”). All of the Chinese natives immediately gave him higher praise for this response, because this is a culturally appropriate behavior that can be recognized by members in Chinese culture. This response is not only a successful use of the strategy in terms of responding to a compliment, but also a reflection of two of the major Chinese cultural values, respect for hierarchy and modesty.

Furthermore, the number of Chinese students who return a compliment is also greater than the number of American students who would do so. In Chinese culture, demonstrating interdependence in relationships with others is also a vital cultural value, which involves reciprocity. Reciprocity can be demonstrated by returning a favor either materially or affectively. Returning the compliment can also be seen as a response to expressions of affection. The behavioral expressions of this cultural value will be more distinguishable in answers given by the Chinese participants in response to the next question.

3.5.1.5 Returning the Favor (Question 5-1 and Question 5-2)

3.5.1.5.1 Discussion of Question 5-1

It is clear from the student responses that a large proportion of Chinese students would give up the fishing trip to help Jack with moving. Most of the Chinese
students remarked, “Since Jack helped me last time, I feel obligated to help him this time.” (“Tā shànghuí bāngguò wǒ, wǒ zhècì yīnggāi bāng tā zhègè māng”, “他上回帮过我，我这次应该帮他这个忙。”). This reflects the behavioral norms of reciprocity in Chinese culture. In China, the person who has received a favor from others is obligated to return the favor directly. Those who have helped this person tend to have an expectation for the person to help them in return, when needed.

According to Jian and Shepherd (2006), Chinese people even expect in return more than what they have done for the person. “Rúguǒ nǐ zhècì bù-bāng tā, nǐ hěn kěnéng huì shīqù zhègè péngyǒu.”, (“如果你这次不帮他，你很可能会失去这个朋友。”), “If you don’t help him this time, you’ll probably lose this friend.”), one Chinese participant said. Nonetheless, if following the norm, the person manages to return the favor, the reciprocity can keep going. Through the exchanging of favors, Chinese interpersonal relationships are gradually built. As discussed above, Chinese culture places so much emphasis on the obligation to return a favor, that the Chinese students even put priority on it rather than the previous arrangement they had with a close friend.

In addition, the first appointment the student made is with a “close friend,” while the favor the student owes is to “a friend of his, but not that close.” In this situation, it is likely that for Chinese people, they feel their “close friend” is someone with whom they can easily change plans. However, the relationship with a friend who is not that close, or say, an acquaintance, is more complicated and delicate in Chinese
culture. It is to this type of friends or acquaintances that Chinese people especially feel obligated to return the favor.

Although in this case the number of American students who reported that they would help Jack rather than go fishing is smaller than that of the Chinese students, it does not mean the American students do not intend to return the favor. Obligation is crucial to American people as well, but it seems that to them, once pledged, the obligation to the pledge is more important. Therefore, in American culture, people are likely to honor a prior engagement. Americans tend to commit to previous plans and it is not common practice to change their plans at the last minute. However, Chinese natives indicate a willingness to change plans at the last minute.

The cultural differences in dealing with a situation involving returning a favor probably result in misunderstandings or even conflicts in intercultural communication. In the summer intensive Chinese Flagship program in Qingdao, a couple of Chinese roommates of the American learners, who were also their language partners, indicated that some American students were “self-centered.” The reason they gave was that the Chinese roommates had helped the American students several times in various respects, but when the Chinese roommates needed the American students’ help or invited them to do something, it was still possible that the American students would decline their request or invitation, because of a prior engagement. It is difficult for the Chinese students to understand why the American students cannot change their previous plans to return the favor to them. For some of the American learners,
however, they reported that they would like to help, if possible, but they felt uncomfortable with the “obligation” to return the favor to their Chinese roommates. Especially when they had prior plans, they did not like to change their plans to cater to their roommates.

3.5.1.5.2 Discussion of Question 5-2

In contrast to the American student respondents, few Chinese students would say “wǒ yǐjīng yǒu ānpái le, bùguò wǒ kěyǐ bāng nǐ.” (“我已经有安排了，不过我可以帮你。”,”I already have plans, but I can help you.”) as a response in the context of Question 5. If a Chinese listener hears this response, the words suggest two possible intentions of the speaker: one intention might be that the speaker is reluctant to help, and another could be that the speaker would go and help, yet say this on purpose to let the listener feel indebted. Therefore, it would give the Chinese listener the impression of lacking chéngyì (诚意), sincerity, or not being genuine. For Americans, when translated into English linguistic code, the words simply state the true situation, whereas for Chinese natives the words are situated in the Chinese cultural framework, thereby making a different meaning.

3.5.2 Implications for Chinese Language Teaching and Learning

Comparisons between the results of the American student respondents and those of the Chinese student respondents indicate differences in terms of the perception the student respondents of the two cultures have as to how they would do things in these transactions. The results of the teacher survey reveal that the ways
that the students from the two cultures would be most likely to behave were recognized and accepted by members of their own culture. In addition, the results of the survey virtually confirm the researcher’s preliminary observations. This indicates that the perceived course of these transactions and the actual transactions between the teacher and the students are largely parallel.

The findings of this study indicate it would be beneficial to introduce the behavior patterns of Chinese students (which can be widely applied to other interactions in various contexts in Chinese culture) into the Chinese language classroom. Furthermore, for American learners of Chinese language, to behave in ways that are acceptable in American culture cannot ensure that students will behave in culturally appropriate ways in a similar situation in the target culture. This further indicates the necessity for American language learners to learn how to do things in school that would be appropriate in Chinese culture.

The results of the Chinese students’ perception with regard to how to behave in teacher-student and student-student interactions can be applied to the teaching of Chinese language and culture, and the design of the pedagogical materials for Chinese language. This provides opportunities for American learners of Chinese to learn how to explicitly acknowledge the hierarchy and the authority, how to demonstrate humility, and how to deal with the face issue in specific transactions with Chinese teachers, as well as how to demonstrate reciprocity, and how to create and maintain harmonious relationships in particular transactions with Chinese students.
3.5.3 Chinese Cultural Themes Reflected in the Five Transactions

A few of the important Chinese cultural themes reflected in the five transactions are summarized as follows, which can be useful in Chinese language teaching and learning.

(1) Greeting
- To explicitly acknowledge the hierarchy by addressing people appropriately

(2) Expressing different opinions
- To explicitly acknowledge authority by expressing different opinions privately and indirectly
- To save face for authority figures by expressing different opinions privately and indirectly
- To be humble by expressing different opinions indirectly
- To show respect to hierarchy by addressing people appropriately

(3) Dealing with a problem
- To keep harmonious relationships in the group by dealing with a problem together with others
- To create group harmony by offering help to others
- To avoid conflict by not indicating the dissatisfaction
- To save others’ face by not indicating the dissatisfaction

(4) Responding to compliments
- To create group harmony by giving credit to other people in one’s group as a way
to respond to a compliment

- To keep balance by returning the compliment

(5) Returning a favor

- To keep balance by returning the favor
- To create interpersonal harmony by being sincere when responding to others’ request.
Chapter 4: Experiencing the School Saga in Chinese: a Performance-based Pedagogy

4.1 The School Saga

4.1.1 The Definition of the School Saga

The significance of Chinese behavioral culture in school entails incorporating the school saga, within which this culture in school is stressed, as a primary saga into Chinese language teaching and learning in the K-12 and university language classroom. As discussed in Chapter 1, a “saga” is defined as “a series of stories about a specific set of people or a specific location” (Walker and Noda 2010, 40). The school saga, in this study, refers to a series of stories about teachers and students, specifically, the interactions between the teacher and students and among the students themselves. For instance, stories that involve greeting a teacher, introducing oneself to new classmates, asking questions in class, offering suggestions to classmates, expressing opinions that differ from one’s teacher, dealing with a problem in a study group, making a request of one’s teacher, giving or responding to compliments from classmates, turning down one’s classmate’s request, making an apology to one’s roommate, and returning a favor to a classmate are all part of the school saga. In addition, the location of the school saga does not necessarily have to be a school. In
this study, as long as the story involves teacher-student or student-student interactions, it is included in the school saga, and the context in which the performance takes place is categorized into the school context. For example, stories about two students who are friends going to the movies is also included.

4.1.2 The Significance of Teaching and Learning the School Saga

As Walker and Noda point out, in language teaching and learning, “the value of a particular saga can be measured by the applicability of the content to successful communication in the target culture” (Walker and Noda 2010, 41). The school saga compiled through performance is a usable cultural memory for Chinese language learners’ future performances in Chinese culture. First, the process of learning and constructing the school saga through performance is also a process of creating Chinese culture in the Chinese language classroom. In turn, the Chinese culture created in the classroom can support the learning and constructing of other sagas. Second, for American learners who have a chance to study abroad in China or participate on an exchange program to China, having learned the school saga in the Chinese language which they are studying is definitely helpful for establishing their interactions with native Chinese teachers and students. Third, for not only learners who will go on to further education in China, but also those who go on to careers in business and government in China, the culture and language knowledge gained through the compilation of the school saga can be applied to future performances in Chinese culture. This knowledge “will help learners navigate through new expe-
periences in the future without the help of the teacher” (Walker and Noda 2010, 45).

Since the content of the school saga is highly applicable to successful communication in Chinese culture, it is valuable for Chinese language learners to learn, and thereby needs to be emphasized in Chinese language teaching.

The school saga is worth the special attention of K-12 teachers of Chinese. Because the life experiences of K-12 students take place for the most part in family or school settings and not work settings, the students may not realize the significance of learning how to do things in a company to fit the company culture, or how to establish interpersonal relationships with their superiors or co-workers. Moreover, if directly exposed to performances in the professional context, they may have difficulty understanding the context and making sense of the behaviors of Chinese people in superior-subordinate or co-worker-co-worker interactions.

Compared with the professional context, the school context that is familiar to students is easier for them to make sense of. Additionally, social interactions in the context of school are relatively simpler than those in professional relationships or some other contexts. The knowledge gained through performances in the school context can facilitate one’s understanding of other contexts and can be applied to performances in these contexts. Therefore, it is advisable for Chinese teachers to help learners construct the school saga as a primary saga, especially at the beginning of Chinese language study. However, the school saga by no means excludes other sagas useful for language learners in Chinese culture.
In beginning Chinese language classes, other sagas can be developed through drills. After learners master a set of fundamental cases in teacher-student and student-student interactions (such as greeting, leave taking, asking questions in class, offering suggestions, making requests, expressing different opinions, making and responding to compliments, making apologies, returning a favor, making invitations, making refusals, etc.), performances that assist the development of other sagas can be gradually included into the curriculum as model performances. The following section addresses how to teach the school saga and related performances with a performance-based pedagogy, including how to develop materials for the school saga and related performances, as well as how to teach those in the classroom. How to use drills to introduce variations, and thus help learners to compile other sagas are also mentioned.

4.1.3 Teachers’ Support of the Compilation of the School Saga

As discussed in Chapter 1, a saga consists of four steps: performance, stories, compilation, and the second-culture worldview construction. The school saga also consists of the same four steps. According to the performance-based pedagogy, the support that teachers can offer in each step is addressed below.

In terms of performance, Chinese language teachers can select and present to learners a model performance, a pedagogical sample of the language in the context of the target culture, and provide sufficient opportunities for learners to perform. With respect to stories, teachers can show a demonstration of the model performance to help learners recognize the elements of performance. In addition, they can require
learners to imitate the script of the model performance. Then, in-class activities such as role-play, simulations, and improvisation can be designed and provided to students and the enactment of these activities should be monitored by teachers. To facilitate the compilation of sagas and cases, teachers should pay attention to the choice and arrangement of stories, sagas, and cases. Moreover, teachers can train learners to notice the features of specific performances so that learners can associate a newly learned story with a previously learned story (Walker and Noda 2010). The construction of the second-culture worldview is a lifelong task. Chinese teachers can offer chances for learners to go through the compilation cycle again and again in the classroom. Through repeating the compilation cycle, learners can not only develop “a new repertoire of attitudes and skills and even the sense of new self,” but also develop a memory of the process of compilation itself. This enables them to learn from the new situations encountered in the target culture (Walker and Noda 2010, 41). The following section deals with embodying these supports that the teacher can provide in the material development for the compilation of the school saga.

4.2 Material Development for the School Saga and Related Performances

Based on the performance-based pedagogy, the teaching materials should support learners’ rehearsal and performance (Wang 2005; Yang 2007). To this end, three components are included in pedagogical materials: model performance script, scaffolding drills, and contextualized exercises.
4.2.1 Model Performance Script

4.2.1.1 The Selection and Arrangement of the Model Performance

If students’ behaviors in teacher-student and student-student interactions are seen as performances, there are innumerable performances that make up the flow of daily school life. It is impossible and unnecessary to present all of the performances in school life to Chinese language learners or duplicate the complexity of the entire behavioral culture in schools. Therefore, criteria need to be established for selecting model performances.

Yang provides three criteria for the selection of model performances: authenticity, feasibility, and usefulness. Authenticity involves situational authenticity which concerns “whether and to what degree the performance is likely to be encountered in the target culture” (Yang 2007, 111), and script authenticity which refers to whether or to what degree the script of the performance reflects what native speakers of the target culture would actually say in the same given context. Feasibility concerns whether the selected performance is practical for learners to perform in the classroom. For example, the length of scripts, the number of roles, and the complexity of contexts all need to be taken into account. Pedagogical usefulness deals with “whether and to what degree the given performance appeals to the learners as realistic and relevant to their lives” (Yang 2007, 111).

Specifically, in terms of selecting the model performance for the construction of the school saga, the behavior pattern and social norm embodied in the model
performance should be in line with those acceptable in the target culture. That is to say, the knowledge developed through performing the script of the model performance should be applicable to learners’ future performances. Although generally students’ pattern of behavior and interaction in school can be applied to performances in other contexts, school as any other institutions, has its own set of practices that distinguish school from other institutions (Page 1990; Sarason 1971). For the patterns of behavior learned through performing the script of a more useful model performance, school context should not be the only context that it can be applied to.

Walker and Noda (2010) propose two ways to create a saga: the use of narrative and the use of pedagogical materials designed for this aim. Therefore, the model performance for the construction of a school saga can be selected from videos such as successful films or television shows concerned with high school or college students’ everyday lives at and after school. The model performance can also be selected from pedagogical materials that follow particular students as main characters describing the interactions among them or with their teachers, which also contribute to the development of the school saga. In addition, Chinese language teachers can design the script of such model performances and pedagogical materials, based on their research on the Chinese students’ behaviors in teacher-student and student-student interactions, as this study does. This will be further discussed in the next section.
Selected model performances should be arranged based on the level of significance of any given performance in Chinese culture. Moreover, the design of study materials should assist the compilation of the school saga through arranging the model performances from simple to complex, and from frequent to infrequent (Walker and Noda 2010). The level of difficulty of model performances needs to be parallel to students’ level of Chinese language and culture skills.

4.2.1.2 The Design of the Model Performance Script

Shepherd holds, “Scripts are learned bodies of shared cultural knowledge that allow us to predict what others will do and say by limiting the number of possibilities that may occur in a given situation” (Shepherd 2005, 230) The model performance script offers opportunities for language learners to observe and imitate the authentic language and culturally appropriate behaviors used among natives in a particular context in the target culture. Language learners can be asked to imitate and memorize the model script outside the classroom and come to class prepared to perform the dialogue. Therefore, the instructional cycle in class can begin with the dialogue check.

To present the model performance script, the description of the context needs to be provided at first to facilitate learners’ understanding and performance, and then the main performance script. The description of forms and functions of script components and cultural notes should also be offered to help with learners’ comprehension and review. All of these components should be presented in proper media, such as text, audio, or video. Teachers should especially make full use of video,
which “provides an ideal way to visually and aurally contextualize the language” (Christensen and Warnick 2006, 174).

In the description of the context, the five elements of a performance: time, place, role, audience, and script should all be specified. The relationships among these elements should also be clear. This description can be presented in the base language for learners at the beginning level, and in the target language for those at the intermediate or advanced levels.

Besides the linguistic code, the cultural code, such as gestures and body language in the model performance can be indicated in the main performance script, as well. The Pinin Romanization, the Chinese characters, and the English translation can all be provided for the learners of the main script to facilitate their self-study. In addition, the functions of new components are explained in the description of script components, which can be presented in the base language.

Most textbooks for East Asian Languages have either no culture notes or culture notes that focus on aspects of achievement or informational culture, such as arts or history (Christensen and Warnick 2006). The culture notes in the design of pedagogical materials in this study, however, emphasize the explanations of cultural behaviors associated with language use. Culture notes in this study are in the form of the base language.

The following example of a model performance script is concerned with expressing different opinions in teacher-student interactions. As revealed in the
findings of the survey and the researcher’s observations, this transaction between the
Chinese teacher and students is typical of Chinese culture. The expressions commonly
used by the Chinese student participants and accepted by the Chinese teacher
participants in the survey are incorporated into the script. In addition, the pattern of
behavior embodied in this performance is also applicable to performances in other
contexts.

Sample Model Performance Script

1. Description of Context:

   In the writing class, the teacher, Zhang Liping, analyzed and presented an
article. Su Yuan, a student in the class, did not quite agree with the teacher’s point of
view. After class, as the teacher is about to leave, Su Yuan comes to him to express
her opinion.

2. Performance Script:

   苏媛： 张老师，您现在有时间吗？
   Sū Yuán:  Zhāng Lǎoshi, nín xiànzài yǒu shìjiān ma?
   张立平: 有，什么事?
   Zhāng Lìpíng:  Yǒu, shénme shì?
   苏媛:  不知道我的想法对不对。
   Xǐqǐng jīnwèn, zhè piān wénzhāng kě-bù-kěyǐ
   zhěyàng lǐjiě.
   Su Yuán:  Bù zhīdào wǒ de xiǎngfǎ dui-bù-dui.
   Xiǎng qǐngjiào nín yìxià, zhè piān wénzhāng kě-bù-kěyǐ
   zhěyàng lǐjiě.
   张立平:  说说看。
   Zhāng Lìpíng:  Shuōshuò kàn.
Su Yuan: Mr. Zhang, are you free right now?
Zhang Liping: Yes, what is it?
Sun Yuan: I’m not sure whether what I think is correct.
I would like to ask your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to understand the article this way.
Zhang Liping: Go ahead

3. **Description of Forms and Function of Script Components:**
   (1) **请教 qǐngjiào:** An expression to politely ask for someone’s opinion or advice.
       (It is usually used by a student to ask for the teacher’s opinion.)
   (2) **可不可以 kě-bù-kěyǐ:** A way to ask permission to do something.

4. **Cultural Notes:**

   The dialogue takes place between Su Yuan, a Chinese student, and her teacher, Zhang Liping. Therefore, the interaction between them is relatively formal, even though it occurs after class. In this context, Su Yuan did not agree with the opinion that her teacher voiced in class. Since the teacher is seen as an authority figure in Chinese culture, inappropriately expressing disagreements with the teacher may lead to negative consequences on the relationship between the teacher and the student. Therefore, when and how to express to the teacher one’s opinion, which differs from that of the teacher, is important. Here, Su Yuan attempted to express her disagreement after class instead of during class, and the way in which she expressed her disagreement is indirect and respectful.

   First, Su Yuan employed the appropriate way of addressing the teacher to explicitly acknowledge her respect to the teacher. The address form in Chinese is “last name + title”; that is, **Zhāng Lǎoshi** (张老师), in this situation. Then, rather than immediately jumping into expressing her opinion, Su Yuan initiated the conversation by asking, “**nín xiànzài yǒu kòng ma?**” (“您现在有空吗?”) to make sure the teacher
was available and could listen to her opinion at that time. After the teacher indicated he was free, Su Yuan said, “Bù zhīdào wǒ de xiǎngfǎ duì-bù-duì.” (“不知道我的想法对不对。”), which means she was not sure about whether or not what she thought was correct. This uncertainty about one’s opinion (even though one in fact is sure) is an attempt to demonstrate humility and respect for authority figures. Then, Su Yuan said “Xiǎng qǐngjiào nín yìxià, zhè piān wénzhāng kě-bù-kěyǐ zhèyàng lìjiè.” (“想请教您一下，这篇文章可不可以这样理解。”), which means “I would like to ask your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to understand the article this way.”

In Chinese, qǐngjiào (“请教”) is a very polite verb usually used when asking for the teacher’s opinion or advice. The expression kě-bù-kěyǐ (“可不可以”) means whether (somebody) can do something or not. Here, again Su Yuan intended to indicate that she was not sure about her opinion and just tried to seek other possible interpretations. In addition, “nín”, (“您”), Su Yuan used a polite form of second personal pronoun throughout the conversation. Without explicitly mentioning her disagreement, she made an attempt to appropriately express her opinion, which was incompatible with that of the teacher’s.

4.2.2 Scaffolding Drills

The focus of scaffolding drills is on linguistic items such as vocabulary and grammar. They function to both practice the key words and sentence patterns covered in the model script, and introduce variations to the model dialogue (Liu 2008). Target linguistic items are designed to be put in short exchanges with controlled script, strict.
patterns, and predictable answers. Through repeatedly performing drills, students’ accuracy and fluency in using a particular word or sentence pattern will be improved, and ultimately, automatic responses can be inculcated. Scaffolding drills are seen to be an efficient way to equip language learners with the procedural knowledge and skills for later performances. Learners can be required to practice drills and be prepared to perform in class. In classroom instruction, teachers can have students perform several drills as a warm-up for the later, more open-ended and realistic, performances.

Three scaffolding drills were designed as examples for the model performance script in Section 4.2.1.2. Drills 1 and 2 help learners practice the two key sentence structures in the main script. Drill 3 brings about the alterations in both the context of performance and in the model performance script. The purpose of designing Drill 3 is to provide opportunities for learners to develop the ability of identifying the given context, and to use the target sentence structures appropriately in the context.

Sample Drills

Drill 1: Asking whether teachers are free

Context 1-1: After class, you are going to keep the discussion of the issue raised in class with your instructor, Zhōu Hǎiqīng.

Props: Zhōu Hǎiqīng’s datebook, indicating there is nothing scheduled for the time left today

学生: Zhōu Lǎoshi, nǐn xiànzài yǒu shíjiān ma?

Xuēshēng: 周老师，您现在有时间吗？

周海青: 有什么事吗？
**Context 1-2:** You are going to make an appointment tomorrow afternoon with your professor, Yang Huá.

Props: Yang Huá’s datebook, indicating there is nothing scheduled for tomorrow afternoon

学 生: 杨老师，您明天下午有时间吗？

Xuéshēng: Yáng Lǎoshi, nín xiànzài yǒu shíjiān ma?

杨华: 有，什么事?

Yáng Huá: Yǒu, shénme shì?

学 生: 杨老师，您明天下午有时间吗？

Xuéshēng: Yáng Lǎoshi, nín xiànzài yǒu shíjiān ma?

杨华: 有，什么事?

学 生: 杨老师，您明天下午有时间吗？

Xuéshēng: Yáng Lǎoshi, nín xiànzài yǒu shíjiān ma?

杨华: 有，什么事?


drill 1 is designed to practice the sentence pattern, “Nín…yǒu shíjiān ma?” (“您…有时间吗？”), for asking whether the teachers or superiors are available sometime. The possible times could be xiànzài (现在, now), míngtiān xiàwǔ, (明天下午, tomorrow afternoon), zhōusì zǎoshàng bādiǎn (周四早上八点, Thursday, 8:00 a.m.), xià zhōuyī (下周, next Monday), etc. After practicing this sentence pattern several times under similar contexts to Context 1-1, learners become familiar with how to ask whether a teacher is free at an alternative time.

**Drill 2: Expressing different opinions to teachers**

**Context 2-1:** In one-on-one tutoring, your mentor, Liú Qiáng, voiced a point of view on a historical issue with which you do not agree.

Props: One page of a history book
学生： 刘老师，不知道我的想法对不对。
想请教您一下，这个问题可不可以这样看。

Xuéshēng： Liú Lǎoshī， Bù zhīdào wǒ de xiǎngfā dui-bú-duì。
Xiǎng qǐngjiào nín yíxia，zhègè wèntí kě-bù-kěyǐ zhéyàng kàn。

刘强： 说说看。

Líu Qiáng： Shuōshuo kàn。

Student： Mr. Liu，I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct.
I would like to ask your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to think of the issue this way.

Liu Qiang： Go ahead.

Context 2-2：You are a graduate teaching associate at Qinghua University. In a meeting, the dean, Lǐ Jūn, suggested that you write a teaching plan in a certain way. After the meeting, you think it over, and figure out another way to write the plan, which differs from that of the dean’s.

Props：A teaching plan

学生： 李院长，不知道我的想法对不对。
想请教您一下，这个工作计划可不可以这样写。

Xuéshēng： Lǐ yuànzhǎng， Bù zhīdào wǒ de xiǎngfā dui-bú-duì。
Xiǎng qǐngjiào nín yíxia， zhègè gōngzuò jīhuà kě-bù-kěyǐ zhéyàng xiě。

李军： 说说你的想法。

Lǐ Jūn： Shuōshuo nǐde xiǎngfā。

Student： Mr. Li，I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct.
I would like to ask for your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to write the work plan this way.

Liu Qiang： Go ahead.

Drill 2 is concerned with the sentence structure of expressing different opinions. As explained in cultural notes, to appropriately express incompatible opinion with teachers, the term of address should be expressed first. Then the sentence that indicates the uncertainty about one’s opinion, “Bù zhīdào wǒ de xiǎngfā
“duì-bù-duì.” ("I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct.") is used, and it is followed by the sentence pattern which proposes an alternative and seeks the teacher’s opinion, Xiǎng qǐngjiào nín yíxia, ……kě-bù-kěyǐ zhèyàng…… (“I would like to ask your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to . . . this way.”). This structure can be used to express different opinions in many respects, such as how to understand an article (zhè piān wénzhāng kě-bù-kěyǐ zhèyàng lǐjiě, 这篇文章可不可以这样理解), how to view an issue (zhè gè wèntí kě-bù-kěyǐ zhèyàng kàn, 这个问题可不可以这样看), or how to write a teaching plan (zhè gè jiàoxué jìhuà kě-bù-kěyǐ zhèyàng xiě, 这个教学计划可不可以这样写), etc.

Drill 3: Expressing different opinions to classmates

Context 3-1: In a literature class, you are having a group discussion with two of your classmates, Zhào Guānghū and Lín Jiā. Lín Jiā, voiced her opinion about how to understand the paper, but you have a different opinion.

Props: A paper

学生: 这篇文章能不能这样理解。

学 生: Zhè piān wénzhāng néng-bù-néng zhèyàng lǐjiě.

Lín Jiā: 说说看。

林佳: Shuōshuo kàn.

Student: I was wondering if it would be possible to understand the paper this way.

Lin Jia: Go ahead.

Context 3-2: You are working on a group project with three classmates to draft a proposal. One of the group members, Jiāng Yíng, suggested an idea, but you have a different opinion.

Props: A white paper with the title, Proposal
Student: I'm not sure whether or not what I think is correct.

I was wondering if it would be possible to write the proposal this way.

Jiang Ying: Go ahead.

Drill 3 introduces more variations of the model performance in terms of both the contexts and the scripts. With respect to contexts, Drill 3 shifts its focus on peer interactions. As discussed in Chapter 3, student-student (or peer) interactions are different from teacher-student (or superior-subordinate) interactions in many ways. The results of the survey show that interactions among students are not as formalized as those between teachers and students, but Chinese students highly value harmonious relationships within a group.

The change of contexts determines the change of the scripts. In this case, the term of address is not necessary, and therefore, omitted. The word, qīngjiào (请教, to ask for the teacher’s opinion or advice) are no longer included in the scripts. The expression, nèng-bù-nèng zhèyàng (能不能这样, to ask permission to do something), an alternative way of the target sentence pattern, kě-bù-kěyǐ zhèyàng (可不可以这样, to ask permission to do something), is introduced.
4.2.3 Contextualized Exercises

The task of designing pedagogical materials for the school saga does not stop at presenting model performance scripts and scaffolding drills, which assist learners to learn particular items such as vocabulary, or structure. If the goal of language teaching is “for students to function successfully in the languages and cultures being studied” (Walker and Noda 2010, 29), learners need to be given opportunities to engage in spontaneous communication and improvise performance in the given contexts. For this purpose, contextualized exercises are designed. Unlike drills, these exercises allow learners freedom to use all of the language and cultural knowledge to create their own scripts according to the given contexts, and then perform the scripts in role-play activities.

It is suggested that the context of the exercises provide students with more freedom to create their own scripts than does the model script. Students should be especially encouraged to integrate into the scripts as many of the related items and strategies, which are appropriate to the given context, as possible. Furthermore, teachers can ask students what they would do in this situation first, to make sure the students not only know what to say, but also know what to do, when to do and how to do it in this situation. The results in the survey can be utilized as a reference. The following are two sample contextualized exercises.

Sample Contextualized Exercises

**Context 1:** At the end of writing class, you get back your paper corrected by your teacher with a lower grade than you had anticipated. After you read her
comments, you do not think she fully got your idea and the way you wrote the paper.

Roles: Student and teacher

Context 2: You are working with two classmates on a team project—producing a travel brochure to introduce a city in China. You discuss whether to choose Beijing as the target city or not. The three of you have different opinions about this.

Roles: Student A, Student B and Student C

For Context 1 for the contextualized exercises, the instructor in the classroom can inspire students to think about a context in which the teacher would say he or she is not available, when the student asks whether he or she is free. Then the student probably would need to make another appointment with the teacher to express his or her different opinions. In this way, the script created by students can have more variations than the model script.

The purpose of designing Context 2 is to enable students to incorporate the sentence patterns they learned before, such as asking and expressing likes and dislikes, giving reasons why one likes or dislikes something, and describing places. Students are expected to flexibly combine these sentence patterns and culturally appropriate behaviors they learned before, with those that they newly learned concerning how to express different opinions.
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Appendix A: The Survey Questionnaire for the American Students in the Main Study

Survey Questions:
Age:____ Nationality:____ Major:____________

*All of the following interactions are between you and your American teachers (who are not foreign language teachers) or you and your American classmates in college.

1. If you come across your teacher in the hallway during the break between two classes, how do you greet your teacher? Assume that you know the teacher’s name is John Carter. Please choose all the ways you have NEVER used. (You may choose MORE THAN ONE answer.)
   A. “Hi, Mr. Carter!”
   B. “Hi, John!”
   C. “How are you?”
   D. “Hello!” (Simply saying “Hello” without addressing him.)
   E. “Mr. Carter!” (Simply addressing him.)
   F. I have used all of the above ways of expression.
2. In a class, your teacher is voicing an opinion with which you don’t agree.
   (2-1) What do you usually do? (2-2) If you are going to let him know your opinion, what would you say?

3. You and your classmates, Ross and Tom (two acquaintances), are working on a project as a group. Ross is responsible for putting your ideas together and writing a paper for your group, which is going to be submitted to the teacher. At a group meeting, after you read the paper that Ross wrote, you discover that actually, Ross is not good at writing. How would you handle this situation?
4. You represent your group to present your project in class. After class, after you have given your presentation, when you are talking with your group members, several students from other groups stop by remarking that the presentation you gave was amazing. What would you say?

5. Your classmate, Jack (who is a friend, but not that close), has helped you with math after class several times before the final exam. After the final, Jack calls and asks you if you can help him move out of his apartment this weekend, but you have already made plans to go fishing with a close friend of yours. (5-1) What would you do? (5-2) What would you say to John?
Appendix B: The Survey Questionnaire for the American Teachers in the Main Study

Survey Questions:
Nationality: __________ How long have you been teaching? ____________

1. If you come across your student in the hallway, which way(s) do you regard as INAPPROPRIATE for your students to greet you? Assume that the student knows that your name is John Carter. (You can choose MORE THAN ONE answer.)

A. “Hi, Mr. Carter!”
B. “Hi, John!”
C. “How are you?”
D. “Hello!” (Simply saying “Hello” without addressing me.)
E. “Mr. Carter!” (Simply addressing me.)
F. All of the above responses are fine.

2-1 In a class, one of your students doesn’t agree with the opinion you are voicing, what do you prefer him to do?

A. I prefer that he never lets me know his opinion.
B. I prefer that he points out the part he disagreed with immediately during class.
C. I prefer that he waits until the end of class, or finds another chance to have a private conversation with me to give me his opinion.
D. Others.
2-2 If you expect your student to tell you that he or she disagrees with you, which way(s) of expression do you think is/are INAPPROPRIATE for him/her to use? (You may choose MORE THAN ONE answer.)
A. “I have a different idea about…”
B. “From my experience, that would be different…”
C. “I don’t think that’s right…”
D. “Teacher, can I think of it this way?”
E. “Teacher, I’m not sure whether or not what I think is correct. ……”
F. “Teacher, I would like to ask for your opinion. I was wondering if it would be possible to think of it this way…”
G. All of the above responses are fine.

3 Three students of yours, David, Ross, and Tom, are working on a group project. Ross is responsible for putting the group’s ideas together and writing a paper for his group, which is going to be submitted to you. At a group meeting, after they read Ross’s paper, David discovers that actually Ross is not so good at writing. Which way(s) do you consider as INAPPROPRIATE for David to handle the situation? (You can choose MORE THAN ONE answer.)

A. David revises the paper by himself.
B. David writes a new paper by himself.
C. David helps Ross revise the paper.
D. David, Ross, and Tom revise the paper together as a group.
E. Switch roles with Ross.
F. Do nothing. Just let it be.
G. All of the above responses are fine.
One of your students represents his group to present their project in class. After class, when he is talking to his group members, several students from other groups stop by saying the presentation he gave was amazing. Which way(s) is/are considered to be INAPPROPRIATE for him to respond to this compliment? (You may choose MORE THAN ONE answer.)

A. “Thank you!”
B. “No, no.”
C. “It was just OK.”
D. “This is the result of our teamwork!”
E. “Yours was good too!”
F. All of the above responses are fine.
Appendix C: The Survey Questionnaire for the Chinese Students in the Main Study

问卷调查:
国籍: ____  年龄: ____  专业: ______________

*以下内容都是关于你在大学期间和你的中国老师（不包括你的外语老师）或中国同学相处交往的方式。

1. 如果课间你在教学楼走廊上遇到你的老师，你会怎样向老师打招呼？
   假设你知道这位老师的名字叫张立平。请选择所有你没有使用过的打招呼方式。
   （可多选）

   A. “张老师好！”（“张老师，你好！”）
   B. “你好，立平！”（“立平，你好！”）
   C. “你怎么样？”
   D. “你好！”（向他打招呼时，但不会称呼他。）
   E. “张老师！”（只称呼他。）
   F. 以上方式我都用过。
2. 上课期间，如果任课老师发表的观点你不认同，（2-1）你通常会怎么做？（2-2）如果你会告诉老师你的不同观点，你通常会用怎样的方式表达？

3. 你和两个你的同班同学于杰，王鹏（跟你是普通同学关系），被分做一个小组去完成老师指定的课题任务。于杰负责整合你们的观点，代表你们小组写出一份报告交给老师。在小组会议的时候，你读完于杰写好的报告，却发现于杰并不擅长写作。你会怎么处理这种情况？
4. 上课时，你代表你们小组演讲，发表你们的调查成果。这节课结束时，在你和组员们说话的时候，几个其他小组的同学过来称赞你的演讲很精彩。你会说什么？

5. 你的同班同学，李东（算的上你的朋友，但不算是特别亲密的朋友），在考试前曾在课后时间帮你讲过几次数学题。期末考试结束后，李东给你打电话，问你这个周末能不能帮他搬家。但你之前已经和一个要好的朋友约好了周末要出去钓鱼。这种情况下，（5-1）你会怎么做？（5-2）你会对李东说什么？
Appendix D: The Survey Questionnaire for the Chinese Teachers in the Main Study

问卷调查:
国籍：____ 教龄：____________

1. 如果课间您的学生在教学楼走廊上遇到您，你认为以下哪种向您打招呼的方式是不恰当的？假设这个学生知道您的名字叫张立平。（可多选。）
   A. “你好，张老师！”（“张老师，你好！”）
   B. “你好，立平！”（“立平，你好！”）
   C. “你怎么样？”
   D. “你好！”（向您打招呼时，但不会称呼您。）
   E. “张老师！”（只称呼您。）
   F. 以上方式都是恰当的。

2-1 上课期间，如果您的一个学生不认同你正在发表的观点，您希望他怎么做？
   A. 不让我知道他的观点。
   B. 当堂立即发表他的不同意见。
   C. 等到下课，或另找时间私下跟我表达他的不同观点。
   D. 其他。
2-2 如果您希望学生告诉您他的不同观点，你认为以下哪种表达方式是不恰当的？
（可多选。）
A. “关于……我有个不同观点/想法……”
B. “以我的经验（来看），可能不一样……”
C. “我觉得这个观点不对……”
D. “老师，这个问题我可以这样看吗？”
E. “老师，不知道我这样做对不对。……”
F. “老师，想请教您一下，这个问题能不能这样来看……”

3. 您的三个学生刘伟，于杰，和王鹏，被分做一个小组去完成指定的课题任务。于杰负责整合他们小组成员的观点，代表他们小组写出一份报告上交给您。在小组会议的时候，刘伟读完于杰写好的报告，却发现于杰并不擅长写作。您认为刘伟的哪种处理方式是不恰当的？（可多选。）
A. 刘伟自己来修改这份报告。
B. 刘伟自己重新写一份报告。
C. 刘伟帮助于杰修改这份报告。
D. 刘伟，于杰，和王鹏三人作为一个小组一起修改这份报告。
E. 刘伟和于杰交换任务。
F. 什么也不做。
G. 以上的做法都是恰当的。
4. 上课时，您的一个学生代表他们小组演讲，发表他们的调查成果。这节课结束时，在他和组员们说话的时候，几个其他小组的同学过来称赞他的演讲很精彩。您认为这个学生用哪种方式回应同学们的赞扬是不恰当的？
   A. “谢谢！”
   B. “没有，没有。”
   C. “还好吧。”
   D. “这是大家一起努力的结果！”
   E. “你们组的（报告）也很棒！”
   F. 以上表达方式都是恰当的。