Chinese Culture themes and Cultural Development: from a Family Pedagogy to a Performance-based Pedagogy of a Foreign Language and Culture

DISSERTATION

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Abstract

As the number of Americans studying and working in China increases, it becomes important for language educators to reconsider the role of culture in teaching Chinese as a foreign language. Many American learners of Chinese fail to achieve their communicative goals in China because they are unable to establish and convey their intentions, or to interpret their interlocutors’ intentions. Only knowing the linguistic code is not sufficient; therefore, it is essential to develop learners’ abilities to be socialized to Chinese culture. A working definition of culture theme as a series of situated acts associated with cultural values is proposed.

In order to explore how children acquire culture themes with competent social guides, a quantitative comparative study of maternal speech and a micro-ethnographic discourse analysis of adult-child interactions are presented. Parental discourse patterns are shown to be culturally specific activities that not only foster language development, but also maintain normative dimensions of social life. The culture themes are developed at a young age through children’s interactions with Chinese speakers under the guidance of their parents or caregivers. In order to communicate successfully people have to do things within the shared time and space provided by the culture.
In foreign language study, the goal is to inculcate default linguistic and social behaviors that sustain participation in a culture. Therefore, it is not enough to understand the cultural values; it is also important to know what actions are associated with conveying these values. A culture theme acquisition model is proposed. In this model, culture themes—the specific behaviors associated with specific values—are seen as the core of cultural instruction.
Dedication

This document is dedicated to my parents.
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Introduction

With the intense globalization and human migration taking place within and beyond the Asia-Pacific region, an appreciation of multiple languages and cultures and an ability to communicate effectively with people across languages, cultures, communities, and new digital media is crucial. Two of the languages generating the most international interest at present in the Asia-Pacific context are English and Chinese. Chinese has become an important global or world language, used widely for communication in both Asian and non-Asian regions and among people from many different ethnicities and language backgrounds (Lo Bianco, 2007; McAloon, 2008).

The latest MLA report on foreign language enrollment in the US indicates that there were 50,455 undergraduate learners of Chinese in 4-year institutions in 2006 (Furman, Goldberg and Lusin 2007). As more American learners of Chinese go to study and work in China, the problems in teaching Chinese as a foreign language will place obstacles in cross-cultural communication. According to Shepherd (2005), many American learners of Chinese fail to achieve their communicative goals in China because they are unable to establish and convey their intentions, or to interpret their interlocutors’ intentions in an
appropriate manner. Thus it is pertinent for language educators to reconsider the role of culture in teaching Chinese as a foreign language.

Knowing only linguistic form is not enough to establish intentions successfully in the second culture. It is necessary to equip learners with knowledge about sociolcultural norms and the ability to perform based on these norms within specific context. Cognitive psychologist Michael Tomasello believes that culture fills the tool kit with items we can use to convey meaning. These items are not words that would require decoding, but are entire chunks of meaning that make sense to others as units because they have already been programmed by their culture to understand them (2003: 159).

Culturally-appropriate performances are ones that produce an intended effect in the target culture and that will have a long-term impact. A necessary prerequisite for effective cross-cultural performance is procedural knowledge of the target culture. Procedural knowledge is “doing” knowledge. Procedural knowledge is gained from hands-on, physical engagement in practice with a coach, and then proved by successful recreation of the action. Unfortunately, many foreign language learners are taught declarative knowledge and expected to gain procedural knowledge on their own. Declarative knowledge is to procedural knowledge as playbooks are to football practice. Declarative knowledge is knowledge about people, events, and concepts. This type of knowledge is often gained from presentations and texts, and then proved through representation or re-writing (e.g.,written tests) (Anderson, 1981).Therefore, it is essential to develop learners’ awareness and ability of doing things in different ways, so as to become recognized participants in the target culture.
The topic of teaching and learning culture has been a matter of considerable interest to language educators and much has been written about the role of culture in foreign language instruction over the past four decades. The understanding of what culture is and how it relates to language in theory have paved various ways for dealing with “culture” in the practice of teaching a language. However, culture is the least developed part of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (Chen, 2008). Chen examines different existing models of teaching Chinese culture in Western countries. She finds that the most commonly used model of teaching Chinese language and culture is the “additive model”, in which the content of the target language and that of its related culture are combined, rather than integrated. In this model, explicit information about a target culture is added to a language class. Many Chinese language programs set a “culture” class in addition to language classes. Students are studying Chinese language together with other subjects such as Chinese politics, history and economics, which is taught in English. Since the “Chinese culture” can be taught in English rather than in Chinese, this model may reinforce an assumption that “there is a fairly clear distinction between linguistic knowledge and culture knowledge, and that one can indeed acquire one of these without the other” (Davies, 1989, p. 99). Clearly this model is knowledge-focused. In other words, culture is seen as knowledge.

In addition, the feature of “additiveness” represents the relationship between language and culture. Language and culture are separated in the “additive model”. Thus a series of pedagogical questions are raised: How to integrate the teaching of culture and the teaching of language and how to teach culture in a manageable way? Is the content
limited to culture knowledge? Are Chinese politics, history and economics taught in English enough for students to communicate effectively in the target culture? How is the current spread of Chinese language education around the world socializing and positioning learners of that language?

To answer these questions, I seek to explore Chinese culture themes in people’s daily life, and describe how these culture themes are shaped and acquired by Chinese children in everyday social interactions through analyzing naturally occurring adult-child and child-child conversations in various events. People are socialized to “say and do” according to the norms of the group in which they were raised and their actions are indicators to co-members of their groups.

The family pedagogy for culture themes will provide either a model or a contract for second culture and language acquisition. Tomasello finds that in first-language acquisition, young humans learn the chunks of meaning by attending to what others are saying to them and to what others are saying to each other in specific contexts. As humans age and become more sophisticated thinkers, this association between context and language becomes even tighter, with utterances joining up with context as indicators of a previously-learned interpretation. It is at this point that communication becomes symbolic, not a jumble of words in syntactical formation, but units of meaning that stand for culturally-assigned interpretations. The intention is embedded in the context of performances, and only those socialized in the norms of the community know how to understand contextually-embedded intention.
Tomasello believes that a central component of learning and communication is “attending to the intentional states of others” (2003: 290). In order to interpret meaning accurately, and to induce accurate interpretations of their own intentions, individuals must attend to the expectations of natives of the culture in which they are working. This is an important point for foreign language learners – and American foreign language learners in particular – for it means that successful communication is accomplished by mastering the symbols that members of the target culture associate with meanings.

The organization of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter one the author reviews the theoretical approaches to language socialization—defining the concept, describing the ethnographic methodology, and discussing previous studies of first and second language socialization. The focus of language socialization studies is culture and pragmatics development. The definition of culture by cultural psychologists leads to the discussion of the important terms—schema, script, and culture theme.

The language socialization process starts from infancy as mothers from different culture adjust the way they talk to infants differently. Chapter two presents a comparative study of maternal speech across four cultures: American, Japanese, Korean and Chinese. Chinese cultural values, together with the structures of the Chinese language, influence the way Chinese mothers talk to their children.

Language and other semiotic systems and tools mediate not only communication in general but specifically the learning of language and other cultural knowledge. The qualitative study in chapter three adapts the micro-ethnographic approach to analyze culture themes in daily interactions between adults and children. The way children
acquire culture themes provide a model for second culture acquisition. Social interaction contextualized within particular routine activities is a crucial aspect of cultivating communicative competence in one’s first or additional languages and knowledge of the values, practices, identities, and stances of the target group.

Chapter four addresses the pedagogical questions about teaching culture. Language learning and socialization is a lifelong process as we enter new communities of practice in which new ways of acting, communicating, and thinking are required and new codes, registers, genres, or illiteracies are given priority over others. The discussion of Chinese children’s acquiring culture themes in chapter three can serve as a lens that brings into focus the lived experiences and challenges of American learners of Chinese. The culture instruction should be shifted from “learning to know” to “learning to do.” The application of “guided participation” in designing Chinese language and culture curriculum at various levels, as well as in pedagogical material designing is discussed.
Chapter one: Language Socialization and Cultural Development

1.1 Language Socialization: Theoretical approaches

1.1.1 Historical overview of socialization

Research in the area of language acquisition had been separated by disciplinary boundaries, psychology on the one hand and anthropology and sociology, on the other. Developmental psycholinguistic research focuses upon phonological and grammatical competence of young children as individuals who are neurologically and psychologically endowed with the capacity to become linguistically competent speakers of a language along a developmental progression (Bloom, 1970; Brown et al., 1969; Slobin, 1969). Researchers of language acquisition since the late 1960s have debated the source of linguistic competence as located either in innate structures, as the product of verbal input
from the child’s environment, or some combination of both (Chomsky, 1965; Pinker, 1994; Snow, 1972, 1995). The empirical cross-cultural study of children’s developing communicative competence presented children’s communicative development as organized by linguistic, social, and cultural processes (Blount, 1969; Kernan, 1969; Stross, 1969). Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) proposed that the process of acquiring language is embedded in and constitutive of the process of becoming socialized to be a competent member of a social group and that socialization practices and ideologies impact language acquisition in concert with neuro-developmental influences.

Socialization is also a concept associated with psychology, anthropology and sociology. According to Clausen (1968), theories of socialization are to be found in Plato, Montaigne and Rousseau; to 'socialize' means 'to render social, to make fit for living in society'(1968: 20-1). The term “language socialization” proposed by Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) draws from Sapir’s classic 1933 article on “Language” in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, in which he states, “Language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists” (Mandelbaum, 1949, p. 15).

Socialization has been defined based on the role assigned to the individual in the process of becoming a member of society. Following George Herbert Mead’s theory of symbolic interactionalism, socialization has been developed in the way that individual is viewed as an active agent in his own socialization process; individuals do not automatically internalize how others see them and the rest of the world but rather have the capacity to select images and perspectives. This becomes the foundation of the phenomenological perspective which advocates that individuals acquire through
socialization certain “stock knowledge” --rules, preferences for how to act appropriately (Schutz, 1967; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The “stock knowledge” is used in constructing contexts and interpreting what is going on. Children and other novices actively organize sociocultural information that is conveyed through the form and content of actions of others. For example, the acquisition of sociocultural stock knowledge will be constrained by children’s level of cognitive, social, and linguistic development.

When members of a society interact with one another, their actions are influenced by their conceptions of their own and others’ social situation, their recognized position in society and/or in a particular social situation, and by the role behaviors associated with such statuses (Merton 1949; Mead 1956). These conceptions lead to expectations concerning their own and others’ conduct. Included in these expectations are ones concerning language behavior. Languages have constructions at all levels of grammar and discourse that signal information concerning how interlocutors see their own and others’ social positions and roles. As children acquire language, they are acquiring knowledge of this vital aspect of social order. Another way of putting this is to say that part of acquiring language is the acquisition of the social meaning of linguistic structures. An important component of sociocultural competence every child must acquire is the ability to recognize and express feelings in context. When children are exposed to language in use and begin to use language with older members of society, they are presented with an array of affective structures, a set of contexts, and a set of relations linking the two.
One way of approaching the question of the non-transmission of particular languages in a community is to pay close attention to the precise ways in which language is used as part of the child socialization process. The conceptual and methodological framework with which to undertake such an investigation has been known as ‘language socialization’ studies. Thus Language Socialization (LS) processes can be seen as a subset of the research purview of linguistic anthropology, characterized more broadly as an investigation of how language “both presupposes and creates a new, social relations in cultural context” (Wortham, 2003). Language socialization is a relatively new area of inquiry that attempts to synthesize the study of child language acquisition and the study of socialization. This synthesis highlights a new area of research which takes as its focus the documentation of “both socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language” (Schidffelin and Ochs, 1986:163).

1.1.2 Defining language socialization

Most studies of child socialization have taken the view that socialization is an internalization process by which a person acquires attitudes, values, and social and personal attributes. The focus of most socialization studies has been to relate how caregivers shape children’s behaviors. Wentworth (1980) has criticized this mechanistic view of socialization, which focuses primarily on outcomes, and offers a different perspective, one that takes socialization as an actual interactional display of the sociocultural environment.
In general, recent studies on child language acquisition have been increasingly moving away from a view of socialization that sees it as something done to novices by experienced members (Wentworth, 1980; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990), to a framework stressing the interactional nature of language socialization. From this perspective, Schieffelin and Ochs consider socialization as a demonstration or an interactional display to a novice of the rules whereby appropriate behavior might be constructed (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986, p. 2). In addition, it is a presentation of expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting, as well as techniques, procedures, modes of interpretation, and information. Children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief (ethnotheories) through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interaction. In this sense, the development of intelligence and knowledge is facilitated (to an extent) by children's communication with others (Vykosty, 1978).

Like speech, which is shaped according to the addressee, members’ culture is always presented to someone. Thus as Wentworth points out, the context of any socializing activity is modified by the structure of the interaction, as well as by the participants and their relations to one another. Following Wentworth (1980), Schieffelin and Ochs argue that social interactions themselves are sociocultural environment and that through their active participation in social interactions, children come to internalize and gain performance competence in these sociocultural defined contexts (Vygotsky, 1978).

Schieffelin and Ochs’ perspective is that sociocultural information is generally encoded in the organization of conversational discourse and that discourse with children
is no exception (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Many formal and functional features of discourse carry sociocultural information, including phonological and morphosyntactic constructions, the lexicon, speech-act types, conversational sequencing, genres, interruptions, overlaps, gaps, and turn length. In other words, part of the meaning of grammatical and conversational structures is sociocultural. These structures are socially organized and hence carry information concerning social order (as has been demonstrated by Labov (1966, 1972). They are also culturally organized and as such expressive of local conceptions and theories about the world. Language use is then a major if not the major tool for conveying sociocultural knowledge and a powerful medium of socialization. In this sense, we invoke Sapir (Mandelbaum 1949) and Whorf (1956) and suggest that children acquire a world view as they acquire a language." (Ochs, 1986, pp. 2-3)

Anthropological linguistics argues that it is in dialogue that the personal, the situational, and the cultural merge. Thus, a primary goal of language socialization research is to analyze children’s verbal interactions with others not only as a corpus of utterances to be examined for linguistic regularities but also, vitally, as socially and culturally grounded enactments of preferred and expected sentiments, aesthetics, moralities, ideas, orientations to attend to and engage people and objects, activities, roles, and paths to knowledge and maturity as broadly conceived and evaluated by families and other institutions within a community (Heath, 1983). The learning of socially appropriate norms of behavior is a complex and multifaceted process. Schieffelin and Ochs argue that linguistic and sociocultural development as intersecting processes and the language-acquirer as a child born into a life world saturated with social and cultural forces,
predilections, symbols, ideologies, and practices that structure language production and comprehension over developmental time.

Language socialization research began in the 1970s (e.g., Philips, 1972), but the term was not applied nor a theoretical approach articulated until anthropologists Schieffelin and Ochs’ (1986a,b) classic formulations in their ground-breaking edited collection and major analytic review of the field. Originally a response to the narrowness of mainstream first language acquisition (FLA) and child development research models of the 1960s–1970s, LS recognized that language learning and enculturation are part of the same process.

1.1.3 The ethnography of communication and language socialization

According to Schieffelin and Ochs, language socialization has its roots primarily in linguistic anthropology and the ethnography of communication. It has build on the concept of Hymes’ “speech economy” (1972a), his formulation of “communicative competence” (1974) and Gumperz’s notion of the “speech community” (1968). The entire process of socialization needs to be described ethnographically. While successive, more complex routines often continue a given, already established mode of speaking, occasionally a contrast is introduced. When this happens we can be certain that a significant cultural lesson is occurring. A most useful concept for analyzing the entire process of linguistic and social development is that of speech economy, introduced by
Hymes (1974), and the major methodology used by researchers of language socialization is the ethnography of communication.

Studies of language socialization emerge from a background rooted in communicative competence and the cross-cultural comparison of norms of communication. Dell Hymes (1972b) used a linguistic anthropological approach to articulate problems with Noam Chomsky’s (1965) de-contextualized concept of “ideal speaker” which was based solely on “grammatical competence.” In pointed contrast to Chomsky’s phrase, Hymes coined the term “communicative competence” to emphasize the socially situated elements integral to each event of communication that a more culturally nuanced “ideal speaker” must master in addition to grammar to become competent within a community. Studies in this tradition do not have a systematically articulated or unified set of methods for studying signs and linguistic form, but do document in detail, and often over the course of multiple years of experience within a community, ethnographic elements of communicative practice, focusing their analysis on recurring speech events like recurrent caretaker–child events (Ochs, 1988; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984), story-telling (Goodwin, 1990), or literacy events (Duranti and Ochs, 1988). These analyses are concerned with broad event structures primarily, and secondarily, with how these events and the way language functions within them are linked to the role of grammatical categories or other linguistic features. Local cultural patterns and norms must be understood for analysis and interpretation of the appropriateness of speech acts situated within specific communities.
Integral to communicative competence is members’ ability to participate in “speech events,” that is, socially recognized activities that occur in specified situational settings, involving participants performing one or more socially relevant acts using communicative resources in conventionally expected ways to achieve certain outcomes (Duranti, 1985; Hymes, 1972a, b). In linguistic anthropology, Ethnography of Communication (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964, 1972) inspired field investigations of a speech community’s repertoire of communicative forms and functions as they complexly interface in communicative events in relation to “facets of the cultural values and beliefs, social institutions and forms, roles and personalities, history and ecology of a community” (Hymes, 1974, p. 4).

The work that builds directly on Hymes’ model for “communicative competence” has fallen primarily under the category of “Ethnography of Communication.” Hymes is best known for his founding role in the ethnography of communication. Hymes proposed the term “ethnography of speaking”, later amended to “ethnography of communication” (Hymes, 1972). The ethnography of communication is concerned with the questions of “what a person knows about appropriate patterns of language use in his or her community and how he or she learns about it” (Farah, 1998: 125). According to Hymes the term “Ethnography of Communication “is deciphered the necessary scope, and encourage the doing, of studies ethnographic in basis, and communicative in the range and kind of patterned complexity with which they deal” (1972:43). Hymes’ collective writings on what he called the ethnography of communication place the study of language and communication firmly in the realm of the anthropological study of behavior (Hymes
According to Hymes (1962, 1964) the study of language must concern itself with describing and analyzing the ability of the native speakers to use language for communication in real situations (communicative competence) rather than limiting itself to describing the potential ability of the ideal speaker/listener to produce grammatically correct sentences (linguistic competence). In this sense, the study of language and culture should not focus on the content and efficiency of language, but on the process of communication (Hymes 1967:13). In their book *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*, communications scholars Thomas R. Lindlof and Bryan C. Taylor (2002) explain "Ethnography of communication conceptualizes communication as a continuous flow of information, rather than as a segmented exchange of messages" (p. 44).

Through speech acts, the ethnographer can inductively search for the units, criteria, and patterns that are valid within that system (Hymes 1962:22). Hymes refers to this system as the speech economy of the community (Hymes 1962:21). Hymes conceptualizes speech economy in such a way as to outline its major facets, and his choice of metaphor is instructive as well. Speech economy is a set of relationships within a speech community, the marketplace in which participants in speech use their means of speech, and those means of speech are in turn a constituent element of the speech economy. Means of speech and speech economy are conceptually distinct as elements of ways of speaking, but ‘the two concepts are of course interrelated, even interdependent (as said, meanings lie in relationships), and from a thoroughgoing standpoint, the speech economy of a community includes its means of speech as one of the components that enter into its pattern of relationships’ (Hymes, 1989: 446).
This perspective provides an important extension of the study of language to the study of communication, in that the community is highlighted above the specific code of communication. Adapting the concept of speech economy, the goal of the ethnography of communication thus becomes not only to understand the communicative events, but also to understand the range of meanings given to those events by the participants. According to Hymes, cultures communicate in different ways, but all forms of communication require a shared code, communicators who know and use the code, a channel, a setting, a message form, a topic, and an event created by transmission of the message.

The notion of speech economy directs the language socialization researcher’s attention to several levels of analysis, including the degree to which routines are shared across a speech community, a routine’s form and usage across situations and participants, what each routine is “for,” contextual or other features (such as participation structure) that elicit a particular routine, and the life histories of routines.

If the concept of speech economy helps defining the content of language socialization, the term “speech community” clarifies the objects of the language socialization studies. Sociolinguist John Gumperz defined the speech community as “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage” (Gumperz, 1968; Gumperz and Hymes1972:381). A speech community is any group with relative permanence, ranging from small face-to-face band societies to occupational associations (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972). Other definitions of the speech community that have been proposed include: shared language use, frequency of
interaction of a group of people, shared rules for speaking and interpretation of speech performance, shared attitudes and values regarding language form and use, and shared sociocultural understandings and presumptions with regard to speech (Saville-Troike 1989:16).

Both Hymes and Gumperz considered the speech community in functional terms as well as “a system of organized diversity held together by common norms and aspirations” (Gumperz 1982:24).

1.1.4 Sociocultural theory and language socialization

Language socialization builds on aspects of sociocultural theory (including but not limited to Vygotskian SCT) and also draws on other traditions and disciplines, principally from anthropology, sociology, linguistics, education, and cultural psychology. Analyses may examine the socialization of affect, identity, stances, ideologies, particular language/literacy forms, interactional routines, and content knowledge, all through language. Major disciplines invoked by both Ochs and Schieffelin in their independent and collaborative writing include the following: anthropology, developmental and narrative psychology, sociology (especially practice theory and structuration/agency referred to above), literary theory (e.g., Bakhtin 1981), linguistics and sociolinguistics (functional linguistics and Hymesian and Gumperzian sociolinguistics), and other disciplines. In the introduction to her own book on culture and language development in Samoa, Ochs also presents a sociocultural framework or model for language acquisition,
making a case for the ‘interdependence of linguistic and sociocultural knowledge’ (Ochs 1988: 14), and devotes more space to exploring the connection between activity (or praxis) and linguistic/sociocultural knowledge, and semiotic mediation of thought, again by drawing on the tradition of Vygotsky and his followers, as well as drawing on the ‘practice theory’ and ‘theory of structuration’ of sociologists Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979), respectively.

Sociocultural theory grew from the work of seminal psychologist Lev Vygotsky, who believed that parents, caregivers, peers and the culture at large were responsible for the development of higher order functions. Sociocultural theory focuses not only how adults and peers influence individual learning, but also on how cultural beliefs and attitudes impact how instruction and learning take place. Language socialization is broadly based on sociocultural theorizing (if not all aspects of SCT, such as inner or private speech), drawing on a number of emerging traditions, not limited to (neo-)Vygotskian cultural psychology/activity theory but certainly related to the social and cultural contexts of language learning and to the way language also helps create/transform those contexts and human understanding. According to Tharp and Gallimore (1988), the sociocultural perspective has profound implications for teaching, schooling, and education. A key feature of this emergent view of human development is that higher order functions develop out of social interaction. Vygotsky argues that a child's development cannot be understood by a study of the individual. Through participation in activities that require cognitive and communicative functions, children are drawn into the use of these functions in ways that nurture and 'scaffold' them” (pp. 6-
7). Kublin et al (1998) state that "Vygotsky (1934/1986) described learning as being embedded within social events and occurring as a child interacts with people, objects, and events in the environment" (p. 287).

The Vygotskian approach argues that social interactions are fundamentally cultural. Caregivers are agents of culture (Trevarthen, 1988) who set an infant's nascent actions within an intimate setting that is deeply informed by the caregiver's cultural knowledge. Caregivers cannot help but view infants' expressions as meaningful within the human sphere of their own culture. Infants, in complement, are quintessential cultural apprentices who seek the guided participation of their elders (Rogoff, 1990).

Second, the notion of a zone of proximal development reveals a pattern of developmental change in which a phase of adult support precedes a phase of independent infant accomplishment. Each cycle begins with a newly displayed behavior, such as a smile, a visually directed reach, or a babble. The adult's reaction and interpretations transform the infant's emerging behavior into a social act. In essence, the child induces the adult to recruit the act for communication (Bakeman, Adamson, Konner, & Barr, 1990). After many experiences of supported expression, the child gradually masters an action that is qualified with cultural meaning. The act has passed through the zone of proximal development during which the adult has educated the child in its use. (p. 21)

It should be clear from the brief overviews of language socialization and neo-Vygotskian SCT above that the two have much in common about their understanding of how language learning proceeds. Both have a social, cultural, interactional and cognitive orientation to language learning. They both also appreciate the importance of culturally
organized activities and interactional routines in meaning-making and learning (including learning about language, culture, the structure of activities themselves, social status and hierarchy and social order, and other content). And finally, they both acknowledge the key role that is played by interlocutors, peers, relatives, caregivers, or teachers in helping novices reach their goals and potential by means of scaffolding or guided assistance. Learning, knowledge-construction, and socialization – that is, the development of the human mind and the socialized individual – are seen to be processes that are mutually engaged in by members in a community over time.

1.1.5 Studies of first and second language socialization

Language socialization research initially developed largely outside of formal educational contexts, instead studying human development in multiple societies to counter universal claims about processes of language acquisition (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). Just as Hymes coined the term “communicative competence” to counter Chomsky’s notion of a universal linguistic competence, in a similar critique of posited universals, “Three Developmental Stories” (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1988) countered canonical psycholinguistic research by illustrating that characteristically Western middle class language acquisition routines between caregivers and babies (e.g., “baby talk” or “motherese”) are not developmental universals.

Ochs and Schieffelin’s observation that the widespread linguistic simplification and clarification associated with baby talk register did not characterize how Samoan and
Kaluli caregivers communicated with young children (Ochs, 1982; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984). Their research (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984) presented cases in which parental discourse patterns are shown to be culturally specific activities that not only foster language development, but also maintain certain normative dimensions of social life. In many Westernized households, for example, ways of speaking sustain family systems in which a mother is the primary and nearly exclusive caregiver. In contrast, ways of speaking in Western Samoa and Papua New Guinea socialize children into family systems in which care-giving is a distributed responsibility, largely in the hands of older siblings and relatives other than the biological mother. Kaluli and Samoan infants become competent speakers without being constantly addressed with simplified input indicates that such input is neither universal nor necessary for acquisition of linguistic structures. They argue that children are acquiring phonology and grammar while gaining communicative competence about language-mediated acts, activities, genres, stances, meanings, roles, social relationships, and ideologies through the process of language socialization.

Ochs and Schieffelin proposed a language socialization typology in which communities and/or settings within communities are categorized as predominantly orienting young children to adapt to social situations (situation-centered) or predominantly orienting social situations to adapt to young children (child-centered). Early works on primary language socialization typically examined the interactional routines or speech acts to which young children were exposed from an early age and were expected to emulate or respond to appropriately, such as teasing, shaming, greeting,
producing narratives, or expressing empathy toward others. In three to four decades, the language socialization perspective has developed a form of research in education that seeks to understand communicative competence “from the native’s perspective” and how those small scale forms of competence connect to large scale social regularities like the educational performance of particular social groups (Wortham, 2003).

Recently, the focus of language socialization studies have shifted to Second language socialization, which shares many of the same principles and objectives as first-language (L1) socialization. However, many aspects are different for second language learners with the added complexity of dealing with children or adults who already possess a repertoire of linguistic, discursive, and cultural traditions and community affiliations when encountering new ones. The learners in second language socialization, like those undergoing first language socialization, may be in home, school, peer-group, university, vocational, or workplace contexts, although second language socialization research to date has focused more on school-aged children and adolescents than on adults (Zuengler & Cole, 2005).

According to Duff (e.g., Duff 2002, 2003, 2004), second language socialization participants, for a variety of reasons, may not experience the same degrees of access, acceptance, or accommodation within the new discourse communities as their first language counterparts do. Some, of course, may be warmly embraced and supported by their new communities. Others may be highly motivated to become socialized into the norms and practices of new L2 communities but may face resistance or opposition from those expected to nurture them; or, regardless of the target community’s attitudes toward
them, they may not be fully invested in becoming socialized into the ways of this group because their future trajectories and goals may not require it, because they remain actively involved in and committed to their primary communities, or because they cannot straddle both simultaneously, for practical, logistical, or ideological reasons.

1.2 Cultural development

1.2.1 Defining culture as a meditational process

1.2.1.1 Emic vs. Etic approaches

There is no consensus on how to define culture. Researchers typically rely on global conceptualization of culture (e.g., individualistic society) that has heuristic value but lack specificity to explain within-society group differences. Culture is recognized as variable, an ongoing conversation embodying conflict and change, shaped by the dialectic of structure and agency, inherently ideological, and prone to manipulation and distortion by powerful interests (e.g., Habermas, 1979). Culture and identity are inextricably linked, but highly complex. In its most general sense, the term "culture" as applied to human beings refers to the socially inherited body of past human behavioral patterns and accomplishments that serves as the resource for the current life of a social group (D'Andrade, 1996). Although scholars usually agree on the notion that culture constitutes the social inheritance of a population, anthropologists have historically emphasized culture, either as "something out there" (the "man made part of the environment"; Herskovitz, 1948) or as "something inside the head" (as "what one needs
to know to participate acceptably as a member in a society’s affairs”; Goodenough, 1994, p. 265).

To be more specific, these two long-standing approaches to understanding culture are: (1) the inside perspective that describes a particular culture in its own terms, from the native’s point of view (Malinowski, 1922); and (2) the outside perspective, which describes differences across cultures in terms of a general, external standard, from outsider’s perspective. These two perspectives are also known as emic and etic approach. Emic accounts describe thoughts and actions primarily in terms of the actors’ self-understanding—terms that are often culturally and historically bound. In contrast, etic models describe phenomena in constructs that apply across cultures. Along with differing constructs, emic and etic researchers tend to have different assumptions about culture. Emic researchers tend to assume that a culture is best understood as an interconnected whole or system, whereas etic researchers are more likely to isolate particular components of culture and state hypotheses about their distinct antecedents and consequences.

Geertz is often read as an anthropologist who adopts the conception of culture as inside-the-head knowledge. For Geertz (1973), culture is “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life” (Geertz 1973:89). In an alternative (and more quoted) formulation, Geertz states, “Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those
webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive in search of meaning” (Geertz 1973:5). With the term “webs of significance”, Geertz argues that culture is not a force or causal agent in the world, but a context in which people live out their lives (Geertz 1973:14); therefore, culture is only the pattern of meanings embedded in symbols.

Later in his work, Geertz approaches the study of culture as an attempt to learn how other peoples construct what they do and to understand the meanings that actions make. Geertz defines culture as “a set of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions (what computer engineers call ‘programs’)—for the governing of behavior (1973:46).” Cultural ‘control mechanisms’ produces varieties of behavior. That is, culture is a way of doing things, a form of achievement of a mode of activity rather than an internalized pattern or scheme. Taking observable action as the basic unit of meaning-making, Geertz believes that declarative knowledge about another society cannot align intention and interpretation like procedural knowledge can.

Therefore, when faced with “a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit,” the ethnographer must attempt to grasp and interpret them, striving to understand how and why behavior is shaped in such and such a way (as opposed to another). Thick description is, thus, much more than mere data collection although this is an inherent part of anthropological work as well. Geertz’s notion of culture spurred a generation of ethnography and interpretation of cultural production. The notion and practice of "thick description" that he contributed are valuable for
understanding children’s cultural development. First, human beings’ cultural medium is neither made up of unconnected bits and pieces nor a perfect configuration. We must precede interpreting cultural practices by specifying the internal relationships among various elements. Second, we must take into consideration that cultural behavior are connected and combined by certain set of rules, and only in particular circumstances are they connected and combined in such a way. “Culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can causally be attributed; it is a context, something within which [interworked systems of construable signs] can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described.” We must ever be attempting to uncover “the degree to which [an action’s] meaning varies according to the pattern of life by which it is informed. Understanding a people’s culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity.” (Geertz, 1973:14).

1.2.1.3 Artifacts and Artifact-Mediated Action

According to Cole, it is clear that there is a close affinity between Geertz’s notion of culture as control mechanism and the mediation of action through artifacts. Central to Michael Cole’s elaboration of Cultural Psychology is the notion of artifacts and the use of artifact mediation: semiotic mediation through the use of different levels of artifacts. Advancing on the Russian cultural-historical conception of tool-mediated action, Cole situates tool-use within a larger conception of artifact-based mediation. Cole defines an artifact as a cultural object that is modified over the course of human history for the purposes of goal-directed behavior.
Borrowing from Marx Wartofsky’s conception of three levels of cultural artifacts, Cole explores a hierarchical structure for distinguishing types of artifacts. Following Wartofsky, the first class of artifact is the primary artifact. These are artifacts that are directly constructed for practical application, i.e., axes and bowls, but also writing instruments and telecommunication networks. The second class of artifact is the secondary artifact. These are artifacts that form representations of primary artifacts. Secondary artifacts include recipes, traditional beliefs, norms and the like. They enable the preservation and transmission of modes of action and belief. The third class of artifact is the tertiary artifact. These are artifacts associated with fantasy and play. Tertiary artifacts include works of art and processes of perception. Tertiary artifacts are the least situated in the concrete world of rules and norms. Taken together, Cole characterizes these three classes of artifacts as the linchpin of culturally mediated activity.

For Cole, artifacts are simultaneously ideal (i.e., conceptual) and material: Artifacts "are ideal in that their material form has been shaped by their participation in the interactions of which they were previously a part and which they mediate the present”. As Cole explains, all artifacts embody a cultural purpose- an ideal form- that is made concrete in their particular design and application. Whether we consider physical artifacts such as tables or abstract artifacts such as language, it is the purpose-driven manufacture of these artifacts that gives them significance.

According to Cole, all human actions are mediated by the use of cultural artifacts: culture is defined as a system of shared meanings and as the social inheritance embodied in artifacts. Thus, culture mediates human interactions, shaping and in turn being shaped
by the use of artifact. For the Russian cultural-historical psychologists, this mediated process was theorized in terms of a triadic relationship of a subject operating upon an object through a medium, i.e., subject-medium-object. It is in the culturally constructed world of mediation that human beings find the leverage to achieve ends impossible without such mediation.

Figure 1. Cultural mediation system as proposed by Cole (1996:117)

To further understand the phenomenon of mediation through artifacts, Cole proposed a triadic relationship of subject-artifact-object as shown in the triangle in Figure 1. Subjects and objects are directly linked to each other along the base of the triangle, but also indirectly connected with each other through the artifact (culture), as indicated by the vertex of the triangle. The direct connection between subject and object is natural and innate while the indirect relationship is cultural. It is this top line of the triangle, the mediated path, which distinguishes human beings from animals who only have the
natural relationship between objects and themselves. Children are not born able to mediate their activity through artifacts, but they are born into a world where the adults who care for them do have this ability. In fact, children are themselves, in an important sense, cultural objects as they enter the world. The changing means by which they appropriate the cultural tool kit of their society in the process of becoming adult members is central to the process of ontogenetic change. For human beings, the extra indirect and cultural path adds another dimension to their world. For example, with the assistance of words, we cannot only manipulate things that are present, but also seemingly deal with things that belong to the past or the future.

According to Cole, an appreciation that a full account of human development requires the examination of cultural variations has stimulated a considerable amount of research, some of which addresses socialization. Although there has been considerable debate about how to best define culture, most developmentalists agree that it consists of material and symbolic tools that accumulate through time, are passed on through social processes, and provide resources for the developing child (Cole, 2005; Rogoff et al., 2007). The material and symbolic tools of a culture have pronounced effects on development because they organize children’s activities and the way they relate to their environments. This is how culture is transmitted and transformed from one generation to the next (Rogoff et al., 2007).

Children inherit culture—that is, they learn to use their culture’s material and symbolic resources--through several social processes. The most basic of these processes is social enhancement, in which children use cultural resources simply because the
activities of others make these resources available in the immediate environment. The
other two processes through which children inherit culture are more complex forms of
learning. When children learn by observing and copying the behaviors of others, they are
using the social process of imitation. When children are purposefully taught to use the
material and symbolic resources of their culture, they are learning by explicit instruction,
which is the most complex way of inheriting culture for two related reasons. First, unlike
social enhancement and imitation, explicit instruction uses symbolic communication.
Second, because it uses symbolic communication, explicit instruction makes it possible to
teach children about things that are not present in their immediate environments.
Researchers have argued that cultural transmission by way of explicit instruction is
uniquely human (Cole, 1996). The primary focus of the current study is therefore on the
highest level process because it is tremendously important to analyze the explicit
instruction in children’s base culture transmission for the benefit of second culture
learners.

In order to elaborate mediated action in social context—complex everyday
settings, researchers need to consider the aggregations of artifacts appropriate to the
events they mediate and to include the mediation of interpersonal relationships along with
mediation of action on the nonhuman world. Hutchins (1995) proposes the intimate three-
way connection of culture, cognition, and the world when integrating the internal and
external conceptions of culture. Culture, according to Hutchins, should be thought of as a
process, not as “any collection of things, whether tangible or abstract.” Culture “is a
process and the ‘things’ that appear on list-like definitions of culture are residua of the
process. Culture is an adaptive process that accumulates the partial solutions to frequently encountered problems...culture is a human cognitive process that takes place both inside and outside the minds of people. It is the process in which our everyday cultural practices are enacted” (p.354).

1.2.1.4 Cultural view of language development

In keeping with Vygotsky’s ideas that we create our realities socially through learning and communicating, psychologist Jerome Bruner believes that culture is the tool kit with which we make meaning. Culture provides the tool kit for communication, and an individual’s ability to use the tools that a particular community values will affect that individual’s level of membership in the community. People are socialized to “say and do” according to the norms of the group in which they were raised and their actions are indicators to co-members of their groups. Bruner writes that culture pre-assigns meaning to messages: rather than decoding on the fly, members of a community interpret acts performed by others by pulling out of their mental database the meaning that their culture has already associated with the observed act/utterance (1990: 4). Bruner believes that there is no significant difference between act and utterance in meaning-making, “saying and doing represent a functionally inseparable unit” (1990: 18).

Bruner’s description of a human’s everyday life as walking on a stage into a play further supports the treatment of culture as control mechanisms. As Bruner suggested “when we enter human life, it is as if we walk on stage into a play whose enactment is already in progress--a play whose somewhat open plot determines what parts we may
play and toward what denouements we may be heading” (Bruner, 1990: 34). Culture, as a set of cognitive orientations, gives public and communal meaning to our action. With this notion of culture, more and more people begin to get rid of the naïve belief in a human being as a free spirit that is not programmed from childhood by his culture. Instead, they become willing to admit that human minds are not shaped only by biological inheritances, but also shaped by their cultures. Philosophers George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) and *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999) also believe that language is a symbol system that refers to culturally-defined meanings, many of which are so deeply embedded that we are unaware of the way in which they shape our perception of the experienced world. Their core theories are that our bodies and the cultures that we have built around ourselves establish the parameters within which we can conceive things, and that our physical existences and cultural learning both serve to perpetuate these categorical constructs.

Combining Bruner’s notion of culture and the treatment of culture as control mechanisms, we can conclude that learning a language is a process of learning culturally defined meanings and behaviors. In attempting to specify the environmental circumstances necessary for language acquisition and culture development, Bruner (1983) refers to the social interactional constraints provided by everyday activities as formats. The format, according to Bruner, “is a rule-bound microcosm in which the adult and child do things to and with each other. In its most general sense, it is the instrument of patterned human interaction. Since formats pattern communicative interaction between an infant and a caretaker before lexico-grammatical speech begins, they are crucial
vehicles in the passage from communication to language. ”Bruner later adds that once formats become conventionalized they seem to have a kind of “exteriority” that allows them to act as constraints on the actions that occur within them.

In this respect, Bruner’s notion of format is very similar to the way in which Nelson (1981,1986) talks of the generalized event schemas called scripts, “sequentially organized structures of causally and temporally linked acts with the actors and objects specified in the most general way.” In effect, formats or scripts are event-level cultural artifacts, which are embodied in the vocabulary and habitual actions of adults and which act as structured media within which children can experience the covariation of language and action while remaining coordinated in a general way with culturally organized forms of behavior. In the process of negotiating such events with socialized caregivers, children discover the vast range of meanings encoded in their language at the same time as they find new ways to carry out their own intentions.

Bruner nicely captured the cultural view of language development when he wrote that language acquisition cannot be reduced to “either the virtuoso cracking of linguistic code, or the spinoff of ordinary genitive development, or the gradual takeover of adult speech by the child through some impossible inductive tour de force.” It is rather, a subtle process by which adults artificially arrange the world so that the child can succeed culturally by doing what comes naturally, and which others similarly inclined”(1982,p.25).
1.2.1.5 Language development in context

A key concept in cultural approach to language is “context.” According to Webster’s dictionary, context is defined as “the whole situation, background, or environment relevant to a particular event.” The scope of context is not easy to assess and define. One difficulty is that relevant context is not always directly available to the researcher. The researcher may have access to the immediate physical environment in which communication takes place, and to the verbal environment. However, although these dimensions of context are significant, they do not exhaust the range of utterance-external variables that affect the use and interpretation of verbal behavior. To assess the import of a language user’s behavior, one must consider the social and psychological world in which the language user operates at any given time (Ochs, 1979). “This world is shaped both by culture-specific values and expectations, and by cognitive and interactional processes that affect language users across cultures and languages (Ochs, 1979:2).”

The notion of context as “that which surrounds” is often represented as a set of concentric circles representing different “levels of context”. As defined by Druckman (2003), the micro-level processes include events, structures or institutions, and cultures. These small-group processes may influence the macro-level context such as those that occur in problem-solving workshops, educational exchanges, and formal negotiations, including the objectives sought and strategies used, the tone and content of rhetoric displayed, and the formats and procedures devised. The macro-level notions include global context representations which allow many 'local' settings, participants, actions, etc.
to be subsumed under higher level, more abstract ones. Thus the broad concept of context includes, minimally, language users’ beliefs and assumptions about temporal, spatial, and social settings; prior, ongoing, and future actions (verbal, nonverbal), and the state of knowledge and attentiveness of those participating in the social interaction at hand. Van Dijk distinguishes micro- and macro context categories as following (2007:10). He proposes interaction time, location, participants, identities, roles, social relations, the aims of interaction, the personal knowledge, and specific action belong to the micro context. Macro context includes broader time, space, organizations, group identities, intergroup relationships, group goals and social knowledge. Such division helps to understand the function and meaning of context as well as to make connection between micro and macro context elements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Micro</th>
<th>Macro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>Macro Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interaction time</td>
<td>period (days, months, years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>space (city, country)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants: persons</td>
<td>Participants: groups, institutions, organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identities: professor</td>
<td>identities, e.g., ethnic group, school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roles: teach</td>
<td>Roles, e.g., education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations: personal power</td>
<td>Relations, e.g., institutional power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aims</td>
<td>Group goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal knowledge</td>
<td>Group — social knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action, e.g., explain</td>
<td>Macro act of group, institution: educate, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. micro- and macro context categories

Context accounts for the notion of relevance: whatever is construed as part of the context model is by definition relevant. In addition, according to Van Dijk (1999), context notions are subjective — they depend on the previous experiences, including previous discourses of participants. They show how and why some situational properties may be relevant for some participants, but less so, or not at all, for other participants, or for the same participant at other moments. Third, the notion of context is related with sharing knowledge in communicative situation as interlocutors bring into each situation an awareness and sensitivity to culturally relevant communicative contexts. They do not
typically make explicit the social and communicative work they are carrying out: they rely on one another’s background knowledge of contexts and their ability to relate verbal expression to these contexts. The sharing of such knowledge is part of what it means to participate in the same culture (Ochs, 1979).

According to Cole (1996), in light of the goal of studying artifacts and situations/contexts in terms of people’s concrete activities, it is discovered that there is an intimate connection between context, interpreted as a process of weaving together and the notion of an event. An “act in its context” understood in terms of the weaving metaphor requires a relational interpretation of mind; objects and contexts arise together as part of a single bio-social-cultural process of development. Bateson (1972) argues because what we call mind works through artifacts, it cannot be unconditionally bounded by the head or even by the body, but must be seen as distributed in the artifacts which are woven together and which weave together individual human actions in concert with and as a part of the permeable, changing, events of life. Therefore, the relevant order of context will depend crucially upon the tools through which one interacts with the world, and these in turn depend upon one’s goals and other constraints on action. Similarly, relevant interpretation of context for the analyst of behavior will depend upon the goals of the analysis. According to this view of context, the combination of goals, tools, and setting constitutes simultaneously the context of behavior and ways in which cognition can be said to be related to that context.

Wentworth (1980) argues that context is the unifying link between the analytic categories of macrosociological and microsociological events. In this sense, context is
realized through interaction and the most immediate frame of reference for mutually engaged actors. “The context may be thought of as a situation and time bounded arena for human activity. It is a unit of culture” (Wentworth 1980:92). This notion of context recognize the power of social institutions relative to individuals and the potential of individuals to change the environments that condition their lives. On the one hand, aspects of the “macro” level serve as constraints/resources in constituting context (and hence local activity tends to reproduce the relations in society). On the other hand, each situation is idiosyncratic in the mix of resources/constraints brought to bear and hence there is no strict determination of the consequences of action that result (Cole, 1996).

1.2.1.6 Schema and script

D’Andrade (1995), who also takes the “inside” view of culture, argues that culture as the entire content of a group’s heritage includes both its cultural schemas and models and its material artifacts and cultural practices. This approach brings the mental entities psychologists refer to as schemas or scripts into contact with the notion of artifact. The term schema is ordinarily used by psychologists to refer to a mental structure that represents some aspect of the world. Mandler (1985) defines schema as knowledge structures in which the parts relate to another and the whole in a patterned fashion. According to David Rumelhart, “a schema contains, as part of its specification, the network of interrelations that is believed normally to hold among constituents that are instances of the schema” (1978: 3). There are schemas representing our knowledge of
objects, situations, events, sequences of events, actions, and sequences of action (Rumelhart and Norman, 1981).

Schemas are selection mechanisms. They specify how certain essential elements relate to one another while leaving other, less essential elements to be filled in as needed according to the circumstances. Therefore, one appealing characteristic of the schema theory is that it implies the context-specificity of thinking. Rumelhart makes this point with respect to adult reasoning, arguing that while schemas play a central role in reasoning, “most of the reasoning we do apparently does not involve the application of general-purpose reasoning skills. Rather it seems that most of our reasoning ability is tied to particular schemata related to particular bodies of knowledge” (1978: 39).

When thinking about culture and cognition, the notion of schemas as conventions is useful because it emphasizes that schemas are simultaneously aspects of material practices and mental structures/functions. D’Andrade (1984,1990,1995) has generalized the notion of schemas for objects and events in order to link these concepts from psychology with the concepts and phenomena of psychological anthropology. He introduced the idea of cultural schemas, patterns of elementary schemas that make up the meaning system characteristic of any cultural group. In D’Andrade’s terms, “Typically such schemas portray simplified worlds, making the appropriateness of the terms that are based on them dependent on the degree to which these schemas fit the actual worlds of the objects being categorized. Such schemas portray not only the world of physical objects and events, but also more abstract worlds of social interaction, discourse, and even word meaning” (1990: 93).
An especially important kind of schema for purposes of grounding a culture-psychological theory in people’s everyday activities is event schemas, often referred to as scripts (Schank and Ableson, 1977). A script as Schank defines it is “a set of expectations about what will happen next in a well-understood situation” (1990:7). Therefore, a script is an event schema that specifies the people who appropriately participate in an event, the social roles they play, the objects they use, and the sequence of actions and causal relations that applies.

Schank (1990) uses script theory as the basis for a dynamic model of memory. This model suggests that events are understood in terms of scripts, plans and other knowledge structures as well as relevant previous experiences. According to Schank (1990), scripts allow the learner to make inferences about situations by filling in missing information (schema). Thus, understanding is developed by a blend of experiential observations and inferences made from previous experiences stored in memory which is episodic and organized in terms of scripts.

Both Bruner (1990) and Nelson (1981, Nelson & Gruendel 1986) base their analysis of cognitive development on such event representations. Nelson refers to scripts as “generalized event schemas.” Scripts, she writes, provide “a basic level of knowledge representation in a hierarchy of relations that reaches upward through plans to goals and themes” (1981, p.101). In her work on children's acquisition of event representations, Nelson highlighted other important properties of scripts as artifacts. First, such event schemas serve as guides to action. When individuals participate in novel events, they must seek out an answer to the question, “What's going on here?” once a person has even
a crude idea of the appropriate actions, he or she can enter the flow of the particular event with partial knowledge, which gets enriched in the course of the event itself, facilitating later coordination. “Without shared scripts, every social act would need to be negotiated afresh” (Nelson, 1981:109). Nelson also pointed out that children grow up within contexts controlled by adults and hence within adult scripts. By and large, adults arrange the conditions for children's actions, including the culturally appropriate goals, rather than engage in direct teaching. In effect, they use their notion of the appropriate script to provide constraints on the child's actions and allow the child to fill in the expected role activity in the process. In this sense, “the acquisition of scripts is central to the acquisition of culture” (Nelson, 1981:110).

1.2.2 Defining culture theme as situated acts

Philosopher Kenneth Burke describes a communication performance as being composed of a “pentad”: actors, action, a goal, a scene and an instrument; when any of these elements are ‘imbalanced’, it signals trouble (in Bruner 1990: 50). Whereas Burke was concerned with deviations from contextual norms (“trouble”), Walker takes the pentad and uses it to identify intention. Walker describes performances as “repetitions of ‘situated events’ defined by five elements: place, time, script, roles and audience.” (2000: 227). Combinations of the five elements index (point to) socially agreed-upon meanings in a particular community, often substituting for whatever literal meaning the script component may have had. Substitutions in any of the five elements constitute a new context and a new intention. Walker (2000:228) describes this as a “chain of being”:
Culture creates contexts -> contexts provide meanings -> meanings produce intentions -> intentions define individuals. In high-context cultures such as Chinese, many intentions are conventionally associated with specific contexts. According to Hall (1976), words and word choice become very important in higher context communication, since a few words can communicate a complex message very effectively to an in-group (but less effectively outside that group), while in a lower context culture, the communicator needs to be much more explicit and the value of a single word is less important.

The working concept of culture theme for the current study is associated with the notion of guided actions and patterned knowledge of a certain situation. The two major components of culture theme are: 1). the identifiable cultural value; 2). The specific actions associated with the value. Culture theme is broadly defined as the representation of schema in daily life, which includes actions, verbal language, as well as concepts. That is, it is a concept of the ways in which people behave, think, and feel within a particular context. Therefore, situation is the key element in defining culture theme. A culture theme is first an artifact. It is both ideal and material, and it is shaped by the action of mediation. Second, a culture theme is situation-specific, and it is associated with the schema which reflects the expected appropriateness of the situation. Third, culture theme is always guided by the shared culture schema. That is, cultural schema dominates our behaviors in daily life and maintains a framework of evaluation and interpretation. Last but not least, culture theme can be a series of social acts or events whereas some social acts or events can involve multiple schemata.
Hammerly (1982) divides discourse of culture into three major categories for the purpose of language teaching/learning: achievement culture, informational culture, and behavioral culture. Achievement culture refers to the hallmarks of a civilization, usually its literary and artistic accomplishments. Informational culture refers to the information and facts that are widely known in a culture. Behavioral culture refers to the behavior of members of a culture as they function in their everyday life. Christensen and Warnick (2006) explain this as it is the way people behave within their own group (in-group) and in interactions with others (out-group). It also includes the things that a person does on a daily basis to negotiate social events and situations. Hammerly considers behavioral culture the most important aspect as knowing this contributes to successful communication with speakers of the other culture.

Hammerly’s three categories of culture are important because they provide an operational definition of culture for language pedagogy: “culture is what we do.” Therefore, language learning should be culture-bound, and it should be closely related to behavioral culture. That is, behavioral culture is the core aspect of culture to be learned in a language program, and should inform participation in informational culture and achievement culture. According to Walker (2000), a group’s culture includes both the behaviors typical of the members and the ideological values that regulate and direct those behaviors. It is the knowledge of a culture, which helps to interpret and analyze the culture; knowing how to do things is the bases of participating in the cultural practice.

Every culture’s members hold a set of key beliefs, notions and concepts that define membership in that culture. As Walker writes, “knowledge of a culture provides the basis
for participation in the social interactions and transactions that lead to success or failure. In short, it gets us into the game. In foreign language study, the goal is to inculcate the default behaviors in language and society that sustain culturally appropriate behavior” (Walker 2000: 225). Individuals that hope to communicate effectively in a foreign culture need to be able to reproduce the actual ways of saying and doing that reflect the target community’s norms. These behaviors may not guarantee successful communication but they are necessary in order for the performer to be allowed to remain on stage at all.

Culture themes are the actions/behaviors that convey and reflect cultural values. They are the contextualized normative models of behavior and activity containing everyday schemata and scripts that represent the cultural norms and values. In order to identify and analyze culture themes in a particular community, it is necessary to investigate speech acts and language functions in people’s daily life. Shepherd (2005) explains why the culture themes are important for foreign language learners: each culture has its own valued activities and rules for how those activities take place and for how people are expected to act while participating in them. Thus, to be successful in professional interactions in the target culture, novice learners must make behavioral and interpretive adjustments; they must do things in ways recognizable to the natives.

Defining culture theme allows me to investigate: 1) how culture is acquired through negotiation of culture themes; 2) how culture acts as a set of control mechanisms that governs human behaviors by giving public and communal meaning to their actions; 3) the process of mediating behavior through artifacts with respect to context. In addition, it also provides me with a basic unit of analysis that has natural linkages to the macro
level of society and its institutions and the micro level of individual thoughts and actions. Therefore, the qualitative analysis of this study uses culture theme as a research unit to describe culture as a medium and context as what is surrounded and weaved together.

To sum up, scholars in the field of language development and cultural psychology all propose and promote spectra of cultural norms on which every culture could be placed. This is particularly important when examining adult-child dyads across cultures. In the next chapter, we will examine how cultural values influence the way mothers talk to their infants in American, Japanese, Korean and Chinese cultures.
Chapter two: A Case Study of Chinese Maternal Speech: Forms, Functions and Cultural values

2.1 Cross culture studies of maternal speech

2.1.1 Infant-directed speech

It has been well established that adjustments are made in the infant-directed speech, and such adjustments are universal (Ferguson, 1964; Fernald, 1984; Fernald et al., 1989; Grieser & Kuhl, 1988; Tomasello & Mannle, 1985). Snow (1986) described baby talk as a certain speech register and coined the term child-directed speech (CDS) because adults in diverse cultures use a special speech style when interacting with infants. Studies that observe mother-infant dyads in naturalistic settings are crucial to our understanding of typical maternal speech characteristics during language learning interactions.

The research of CDS/maternal speech in recent decades has been focusing on its contents, functions, styles as well as the linguistic forms. Many research studies identify
some common characteristics of maternal speech in terms of suprasegmental, phonological, syntactic, semantic, and interactional aspects. Mothers in different cultures may modify their speech in similar ways in order to accommodate the perceptual and cognitive immaturity of the preverbal infant (Fernald, 1984, 1992; Newport, Gleitman, & Gleitman, 1977). Arguments over the importance of the environment in language acquisition gave rise to a large literature on parents’ ways of structuring children’s language use and activities. According to Ferguson (1977), the “baby talk” could be analyzed as simplified forms of adult words, and they have the characteristic prosodic features of baby talk—high pitch and exaggerated intonation contours. It is widely acknowledged that melodic patterns are the most salient features of maternal speech to young infants. In addition, mothers predominantly used short utterances that carry little linguistic meaning and do not have clear referent. Parents in many societies adopt something akin to “baby talk” when speaking to their children, before and while the children are acquiring language.

However, a number of cross-cultural differences have been noted in addition to the similarities. Cross-cultural data have shown that while adults everywhere speak to young children in ways different from their speech with older children and adults, the particular form of baby talk involving a simplified grammar and vocabulary characteristic is not universal. More and more studies found that variations in maternal speech styles are more likely to be linguistic or cultural in origin (Clancy, 1986; Morikawa et al., 1986; Fernald et al., 1989; Shatz, 1989; Toda et al., 1990). Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) have emphasized that early language input is a powerful medium of cultural transmission.
There is some evidence that other features of baby talk such as the use of distinctive pitch and intonation may be universal, but the data on cultural variation remain sparse. According to Lee and Nakayama (1999), there appear to be two factors that influence maternal speech: sentence structure and cultural variation. In addition, they proposed based on the differences between Korean and Japanese maternal speech that the variations in maternal speech are culture and language specific. For example, Gopnik and Choi (1990) argue that because of the structural differences in Korean and English, nouns are more salient in Korean maternal speech than in English. Therefore, it is necessary to compare across languages and cultures in order to identify the characteristic of a certain maternal speech, and to find out the cultural and linguistic reasons of such characteristic.

2.1.2 Maternal speech: East and West

North American mothers exhibit more extreme intonational changes compared to parents who speak British English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, or Mandarin Chinese (Fernald et al., 1989; Grieser and Kuhl, 1988; M. Papousek et al., 1991). Fernald (1992) revealed that this reflects enhanced affective expressiveness on the part of North American mothers. Others asserted it may reflect the greater value accorded by some cultures to soothing over arousing interactions (Toda, Fogel, and Kawai, 1990). This is consistent with the results of Toda et al.’s study (1990) that Japanese mothers used more soothing vocal and tactile interactions than North American mothers do and with the prevalence of falling pitch contours in Mandarin Chinese speech to infants (Grieser &

Many cross-culture studies of maternal speech in different cultures choose to compare Oriental cultures with Occident ones. For example, Wang and Fivush (2005) categorized parents in terms of both the style and content of parent–child reminiscing. High-elaborative parents often initiate lengthy conversations with their children, provide detailed memory information and feedback to scaffold children’s participation, and model to children the ways and importance of constructing a coherent story of oneself. Low-elaborative parents, in contrast, tend to have short and directive conversations with their children during which they take a leading role in posing pointed questions and often switch topics without commenting on children’s responses, with the conversation resembling a memory test. Wang and Fivush’s study revealed that Asian (Chinese and Korean) parents often resemble low-elaborative parents in that they less frequently engage their children in talking about past events and often pose and repeat factual questions without providing embellished information (see also Wang and Leichtman, 2000). In comparison, Euro-American parents more often use a high-elaborative style where they elaborate on and supplement children’s responses and invite children to co-construct the story together. Furthermore, American parents tend to focus on the child’s roles, predilections, and opinions in the memory event, whereas Asian parents frequently discuss social interactions and collective activities and refer to behavioral norms and expectations to children. Coinciding with Wang and Fivush’s findings, Bornstein et al. (1992) and Toda et al. (1990) reported that Japanese mothers often used more social and
affect-oriented speech such as onomatopoeia, greetings, and terms of endearment than Western mothers.

2.1.3 A review of maternal speech studies in Korean and Japanese

It is generally accepted that differences due to language and culture exist between Asian and Euro-American cultures as many studies have been conducted using Japanese as the representative of East Asian languages and American English as that of Euro-American languages. Fernald and Morikawa (1993) found Japanese mothers used more utterances containing social routines than American mothers. They also reported that American mothers used the same nouns more frequently and provided more questions than Japanese mothers. Morikawa et al. (1988) explored the cultural themes which caused what they have observed in the maternal speech in Japanese. They stated that Japanese mothers are more favorable towards the use of baby talk because they consider infants’ roles as different from adults’ social roles. Fisher (1970) argued that the frequent use of baby talk in Japanese maternal speech is attributed to the fact that Japanese mothers treat their infants as dependent, and different from adults.

Gopnik and Choi (1990) hypothesized that Japanese maternal speech would have similar aspects to Korean maternal speech because they have similar sentence structure. Lee and Nakayama (1999) compare maternal speech in Korean with Japanese data from Fernald and Morikawa’s study and report that Korean mothers often used imperative and declarative forms to order their infants to act or to describe an action. With these
structural forms, Korean mothers wanted to order their infants to do something or to describe the objects’ action. Choi and Gopnik (1995) also reported that the imperative and declarative forms were the popular structural forms in Korean maternal speech. In contrast, Japanese mothers tended to focus on social and empathy aspects in the speech to their infants, and they tended to engage their infants with social routines more often than Korean mothers.

2.2 Structures and cultural values in Chinese maternal speech

Many studies of Chinese maternal speech reveal the verb-salient feature. Tardif et al. (1999), and Chan et al (2009) found that U.S. mothers tended to produce more specific nouns with general verbs than Chinese mothers. Tardif (2006) proposed that the reason lies in the cross-linguistic differences in the habits of lexicalization specific to English and Mandarin. Tardif found that English speakers tend to use more general-purpose verbs (e.g., carry, take) and specific nouns (e.g, train, bike) in their everyday conversations. In contrast, Mandarin speakers lexicalize action concepts using many distinct and specific verbs and use general-purpose nouns. The grammar of Mandarin allows both the subjects and the objects of a sentence to be dropped so the salience of verbs relative to nouns tends to be higher in Mandarin than it is in English (Tardif, Shatz and Naigles, 1997). Chan et al’s study (2009) examined how culture-specific patterns of joint book reading are relevant to culture-specific patterns of children’s language development. Specifically, they explored the acquisition of specific nouns and main verbs. They found English-speaking mothers used more specific nouns and fewer main verbs than did Mandarin-
speaking mothers. Moreover, this pattern was accentuated in conversations about transitive actions (where Mandarin speakers showed a strong preference for using specific main verbs) and isolated objects (where English speakers showed a strong preference for using specific nouns). They explained from the cultural psychological view that it may be that when looking at and talking about scenes of transitive actions (e.g., a girl petting a cat), U.S. mothers emphasized the focal agents and objects in the foreground (e.g., the girl, the cat, and their features), whereas Chinese mothers focused on the actions and relations that connected those focal elements (e.g., how the girl and the cat were related through the action of petting, the nurturing role of the girl, and the dependent role of the cat). This pattern of behavior echoes prior findings reported by Goldfield (2000) showing that English-speaking mothers typically elicit and reinforce children’s production of nouns, whereas Chinese mothers use verbs more often for prompting their children to produce an action. In contrast, when talking about the identical object scene, Mandarin-speaking dyads tended not to go into detail about the features of the object. Instead, attention was placed on the actions and events with which the object could be associated (e.g., smelling the flower), leading to a higher proportion of verbs relative to the English speakers.

Chinese maternal speech, like adult speech, is topic prominent. This shared characteristic has attracted much research interest from Chinese linguists ever since Chao made the famous suggestion that “the grammatical meaning of subject and predicate in a Chinese sentence is topic and comment, rather than actor and action” (1968:69). As Shi (2000) summarized, it has often been observed that Chinese speakers use topic-comment
constructions because they tend to first present the main idea they want to talk about and then organize their thoughts into a sentence to elaborate on the issue (Lu 1986, cf. Chao 1968). Although such observation fits the general communication pattern of Chinese speakers, certain constraints on what can come first in an utterance have apparently been overlooked. In the maternal speech, the target objects were usually the topic in most utterances. For example,

小汽车 滴滴滴
Xiăoqichē dī dī dī
Topic comment
The little car “beep beep beep”.

Chinese maternal speech shares the universal phonological characteristics of infant-directed speech. Grieser and Kuhl’s (1988) study compared the speech of Mandarin-speaking mothers to their infants with their adult-adult speech. They found striking differences existed between the speech Mandarin-speaking mothers used when addressing their infants and when conversing with an adult. Mandarin mothers speaking to adults used a relatively restricted pitch range, concentrated around the mother’s fundamental frequency which tended to be near the low end of the total range used. They spoke at a relatively rapid rate, with short pauses. Mandarin mothers may increase the overall pitch and expand the range of each individual tone (in which case the pitch increases and expansions would occur at the level of the syllable). For example, using the pitch level of 5, the second tone in adult speech is 2->4, but is expanded to 2->5.
Fundamental frequency was found to shift upward, and the frequency range, whether measured over the entire speech sample or in individual phrases, is significantly increased. When they talk to infants, they slow down. Phrases are shorter and contain fewer syllables and pauses are longer. This would preserve the linguistic distinctiveness of tone in maternal speech to Chinese infants. In the data of Chinese maternal speech, we found Chinese mothers used prolonged syllables when they coach their children how to say a word. For example,

叫阿姨， 阿—姨
Jiào āyí, ā—yí—
Call her auntie, aun—tie—

Even though Grieser and Kuhl (1988) found that Chinese mothers tended to use shorter phrases when talking to their infants, there lacked deep and comprehensive analysis in terms of syntactic modifications in Chinese maternal speech. When comparing Chinese maternal speech with adult speech, we found both similarities and differences.

In addition to these structural and phonological features, Chinese maternal speech has its distinct characteristics stemming from Chinese culture. Chinese parents were found to conceptualize children as a dependent role in the families, and need to be trained (guanjiao) from the early childhood (Rogoff, 2003; Erbaugh, 1992; Goldfield, 2000). Erbaugh (1992) reported that a frequent style of conversing with young children in Chinese families was a quiz style in which adults ask children questions with a correct answer in mind and pursue questioning until the expected answer is produced.
2.3 Purpose of the current study

The previous comparative studies, Fernald and Morikawa (1993) and Lee and Nakyama (1999), indicate that Japanese, Korean and American maternal speech to infant shares some common features, but maternal speech in these three cultures are different because of structures, communicative styles and culture values. Therefore, this study will use data from these two studies to examine the differences among the maternal speech of four languages: Chinese, Korean, Japanese and American English. The results will provide evidence for differences in linguistic structures, communicative styles and cultural values. It is more persuasive if three East Asian cultures are compared, and the features of each language are identified.

2.4 Research Method

2.4.1 Participants

This study adopts Fernald and Morikawa’s (1993) and Lee and Nakayama’s (1999) methodology so that the results of this Chinese study can be compared directly with their results of English, Japanese, and Korean. Eighteen dyads of mother-infants were recruited for this study from a website named Baby Tree\(^1\), which provides blogs and discussion forums for mothers all over China. The researcher used the search function to find mothers of certain age infants at a particular place. All of these eighteen pairs of

\(^1\) http://www.babytree.com/
mother-infants were from middle class families living in a middle-size city in Northern China. Four of these mothers held master’s degrees, and eleven of them had bachelor’s degrees. The rest were graduated from high school or professional schools. Ten out of these eighteen mothers worked in universities as staff members or lectures. The data were collected within six weeks in August.

All the infants were reported by their parents to be healthy and developing normally. They were in the same age range as those in the previous two studies. The means of these three groups were 6 month 10 days, 12 month 24 days, and 19 month 23 days. Half of the infants were boys, and half were girls for each group.

2.4.2 Procedure

2.4.2.1 Stimuli

The stimuli were a pair of stuffed animals, and a pair of vehicles, a car and a truck. The stuffed animals used in the previous studies were a pig and a dog. Fernald and Morikawa (1993) claimed that these toys were regarded as appropriate toys for Japanese and American infants, and suitable for all three age groups that participated in their study. However, what was found in the pilot study with Chinese mother-infants was that these stuffed animals were associated with the Chinese zodiac and thus many questions were asked about this topic in the mother-infant conversations. To avoid using cultural artifacts, a duck and a bear were selected as stuffed animals.
2.4.2.2 Observation and data collection

This study roughly follows the procedure of the previous two studies. The observation and recording was conducted in the family environment. First, the experimenter spent 15-20 minutes to get acquainted with a mother and her infant and to explain the research purpose and the observation procedure to get their consent to do audio recording. The mothers were told that the focus was to observe the interactions between mother and infant. Then the experimenter asked the mother questions about her infant and their family. Next, the mother and infant were asked to play with their own toys for approximately 10 minutes. Then their own toys were removed. The two toys (either the stuffed animals or the vehicles) the experimenter brought to their home were introduced to the mother and infant, and they were asked to play with these two toys as they would normally do. The first two toys were provided for 3-5 minutes and then they were removed. The second pair of toys were presented for another 3-5 minutes. The two sets of toys were randomly presented across participants.

All their interactions were audio recorded by a Zoom H2 digital handy recorder. The high-quality of the recorder allows it to catch the speech clearly from distance. The recorder is handy and small and was easily hidden in the room where the recording was made without distracting the infants’ attention.

Following the previous studies, the recordings for the first 2.5 minutes for each set of toys were transcribed for each mother-infant pair. The digital sound files were transcribed using a software transcriber. While transcribing, the recordings were segmented into utterances on the basis of pauses and syntactic and prosodic information.
Then utterances of each subject related to the target objects were analyzed based on the classification discussed below. According to Fernald and Morikawa (1993), utterances related to target objects included those containing references to the toys or their parts, actions by or upon the toys, and characteristics, states, and sounds attributed to the toys. In Chinese, utterances making connection between the experimenter and the toys were also counted as related ones to the target objects.

2.4.2.3 Classification and measurements

a. Noun label types

For utterances related to the target objects, noun label types were counted as utterances containing a noun label for the toy. Utterances with target labels were classified into three categories according to the form of the noun label used to refer to the toy: (1) adult form of the target noun, for example, xiong for bear; (2) diminutive form, for example, xiongxiong ‘bear’. The diminutive prefix in Chinese is xiao, which literally means small or little. In the context of mother-infant playing, xiao is used to refer to the target objects as diminutive prefix; (3) onomatopoeic names, e.g., mung-mung ‘bowwow’ for a dog. In the previous studies, onomatopoeic names followed by ajumma ‘aunt’ were classified as onomatopoeic labels, e.g., kkulkkul ajumma ‘aunt oink onik’.

b. Consistency of lexical usage in object labeling

Mothers’ lexical consistency can tell how consistent a mother uses the same label referring to the target objects. It is calculated by computing the percentage of the number
of utterances containing the same noun used consecutively over the total number of utterances containing noun labels.

c. Questions related to noun labels

Questions pertaining to the identity, location, actions, and characteristics of the target objects or their parts, as well as to the child's attitude toward the target objects, were classified either as Wh-questions or yes-no questions. For example, zhe shi shenme? “What's this?” is a Wh-question whereas zhe shi huangde ma? “is it yellow?” is a yes-no question. In Chinese, Wh-questions contain Wh question words, but Yes-No questions could have more complex forms. Constructions such as A-not-A or with question particles, as well as the interrogative intonation, can be used to identify yes-no questions.

d. Object sounds

Target-related utterances which were coded as noun labels fall in this category. Examples are, gaga for ‘quack quack’ and wuwu for ‘vroom-vroom’. In Chinese, these object sounds appear either as isolated words or before verbs such as jiao ‘making noise’.

e. Action verbs

Utterances containing action verbs by or upon target objects, such as, kaiche ‘drive’, bao ‘hug’ were classified in this category. Non-action verbs included attention-getting verbs like lai ‘come on’ and kan ‘look/watch’, and auditory verbs like ting ‘hear’, stative verbs such as xihuan ‘like’, and mental verbs like xiang ‘think’ and renshi ‘know’.

f. Linguistic complexity

All utterances containing target-object labels were classified as either simple or complex utterances. In simple utterances, the target-object label was the only content
word, while complex utterances had one or more content words in addition to the target-object label. For example,

小鸭鸭    啊
Xiăoyāya     a
Little duck + question particle

Content words included all nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. This measure was used to compare relative linguistic complexity.

g. Content words in isolation

Content words occurring in isolation were classified in three categories: nouns; verbs or verbals; adjectives/adverbs. Chinese does not have verbal combinations such as a specific verb plus a more general one, but verb-object compounds, such as kaiche ‘drive a car’. They were regarded as a content verb in isolation. As discussed in above, a content word with a particle was considered as a simple utterance, thus counted.

h. Repetitions

Fernald and Morikawa labeled repetitions as partial or exact repetitions. Exact repetitions occurred when an entire utterance was repeated verbatim within three utterances of the original, excluding repetitions of the infant's name, exclamations and interjections, and short responses such as yeah and no. Partial repetitions were those involving removal, substitution, or addition of a single content word in an original utterance containing at least three content words. For this analysis, pronouns and
interrogative words were counted as content words, as well as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. However, the pronouns that refer to independent objects were not counted in the repetitions.

i. Social routines

According to Fernald and Morikawa, the corpus was coded in terms of three kinds of social routines: (1) greeting routines, such as hello and bye in English. (2) exchange routines used in offering, requesting and accepting things politely, such as xiexie, ‘thank you.’ (3) empathy routines that are used to encourage the child to feel or behave positively toward a person or object, such as baobao ‘give it a hug’.

2.5 Data Analysis and Results

2.5.1 Comparing across four cultures

The purpose of this study is to compare Chinese maternal speech with other languages. For this goal, data from four languages, Chinese, Korean, Japanese and American English, are analyzed by three pairs of t-tests. The other purpose is to compare for age and gender differences within the Chinese group. For this purpose the data were analyzed using a 2 (gender of infants) x 3 (infants’ age) factorial ANOVA design. Here is the table of comparison across languages. Japanese and American data were adopted from Fernald and Morikawa (1993). Korean maternal speech data were adopted from Lee and Nakayama (1998).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>measurement</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>American</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of utterances</td>
<td>120.72</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of noun labels</td>
<td>37.73</td>
<td>18.47</td>
<td>24.3*</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult forms</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>8.6*</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diminutive forms</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.5**</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomatopoeic words</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.3**</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical Consistency</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.3**</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>27.06</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>4.52**</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic complexity</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>3.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object sounds</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>16.44**</td>
<td>6.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action verbs</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16.22</td>
<td>39.9*</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetitions</td>
<td>9.94</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>33.7**</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated words</td>
<td>10.16</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>26.1**</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social routines</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>2.5**</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Summary of comparison across languages

M=mean, SD=standard deviation. *p < 0.05, **p < 0.001, compared with Chinese maternal speech.

2.5.1.1 Total number of 5 minutes utterances

The average of the total number of utterances for each Chinese mother is 120.7 (SD=16.7). This is not different from that of Japanese and Korean mothers by t-test.

These numbers are the total number of noun labels referring to the whole object, excluding those referring to the parts.
However, it is significantly different from that of American mothers ($t = 3.55, p < 0.05$). American mothers’ total utterances in 5 minutes are significantly fewer than mothers from East Asian countries. There is no significant difference among three Asian languages: Chinese Versus Korean, $t = -0.88, p = 0.388$; Chinese Versus Japanese, $t = -0.77, p = 0.447$; Korean Versus Japanese, $p > .8$ (Lee and Nakayama, 1998).

2.5.1.2 The noun labels

The mean of the total number of the noun labels for the target objects in Chinese maternal speech is 37.73 (SD=18.47), which is significantly more than that of Korean and Japanese maternal speech ($t = 2.46$ and $3.34, p = 0.019$ and 0.002, respectively). According to Lee and Nakayama (1998), there is no significant difference in the total number of noun labels between Korean and Japanese ($p > .5$). Fernald and Morikawa (1993), nevertheless, found American mothers used much more noun labels for the target objects than did Japanese mothers, but there is no significant difference between American mothers and Chinese mothers. Based on such results, American and Chinese mothers produced more noun labels than did Korean and Japanese mothers.

Similarly, Chinese and American mothers did not have as many onomatopoeic words when referring to the target object as Korean and Japanese mothers did. Lee and Nakayama (1998) compares Korean and Japanese mothers’ usage of the onomatopoeic words as noun labels, and they did not find any significant difference between the two groups.
As for the adult forms, there is significant difference between Chinese and Korean ($t = -2.44, p=0.025$), and between Chinese and American mothers ($t = -6.03, p<0.001$), but there is no such difference between Chinese and Japanese. Previous studies (Fernald and Morikawa, 1993; Lee and Nakayama, 1998) found no significant difference between Korean and Japanese, but Japanese mothers used fewer adult forms than did American mothers.

The most striking difference lies in that Chinese mothers tended to use more diminutive forms than did mothers of the other three languages. Comparison results in the above form show that the mean of the diminutive forms used by Chinese mothers is 32.9, which is significantly more than that of other three languages. Fernald and Morikawa (1993) found significant difference between Japanese and American, but Lee and Nakayama (1998) did not report any difference between Korean and Japanese. Thus by comparing the four languages, it is Chinese mothers who produced the most diminutive forms when referring to the target objects, followed by American mothers.

Like American mothers, Chinese mothers did not use any onomatopoeic words when labeling the target objects. It seems Korean and Japanese maternal speech share this common characteristic of using onomatopoeic words.

As shown in table 3 below, the distinctive structural features of noun labeling in Chinese maternal speech are the use of a diminutive prefix (either small or big) and the reduplication of the root. Chinese mothers use different combinations of the prefix and reduplications as the diminutive forms for target objects. As for adult forms, they tend to use the root plus a suffix. None of the mothers used the honorific form or the noun label
plus terms of address as found in Japanese and American maternal speech by Fernald and Morikawa (1993).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>American English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Adult forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Car</strong></td>
<td>qìchē (automobile)</td>
<td>Cha (automobile)</td>
<td>Kaa/ka (car)</td>
<td>Car toy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chē (automobile)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chēzi (automobile-suffix)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiăojiăochē (sedan)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Diminutive forms</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiăo qìchē (diminutive prefix - automobile)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>chē chē (car-car)</td>
<td>chē chē (car-car)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>xiǎo chē (diminutive prefix - car)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>xiǎo chē chē (diminutive prefix - car-car)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>xiǎo chē zǐ (diminutive prefix - automobile)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Onomatopoetic words</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tū-tti ppang-ppang</td>
<td>Buu-buu (vroom-vroom)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boong-boong Boong</td>
<td>Buu-buu-tan (vroom-vroom-Dim)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Truck</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adult forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chē (automobile)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāchē (truck)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Đàkāchē (big-truck)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Đàhuòchē (big-carriage-truck)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gōngjūchē (tool vehicle)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>qǐzhòngchē (crane truck)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Diminutive forms</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiăhuòchē (diminutive prefix - carriage-truck)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Onomatopoetic words</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tū-tti ppang-ppang</td>
<td>Buu-buu (vroom-vroom)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boong-boong Boong</td>
<td>Buu-buu-tan (vroom-vroom-Dim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Summary of the noun labels (car and truck) in four languages
Table 4. Summary of the noun labels (bear and duck) in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bear</th>
<th>Duck</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult forms</strong></td>
<td><strong>Xióng</strong> (bear)</td>
<td><strong>Yāzǐ</strong> (duck-suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diminutive forms</strong></td>
<td><strong>dàxióngxióng</strong> (diminutive prefix -bear-bear)</td>
<td><strong>Xiǎoyāzǐ</strong> (diminutive prefix –duck-suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>xiāoxióngxióng</strong> (diminutive prefix -bear-bear)</td>
<td><strong>Xiǎoyāyā</strong> (diminutive prefix –duck-duck)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>xiǎoxióng</strong> (diminutive prefix -bear)</td>
<td><strong>Yāyā</strong> (duck-duck)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>xióngxióng</strong> (bear-bear)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>xiǎogōuxióng</strong> (diminutive prefix –black bear)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>xiǎohuǐxióng</strong> (diminutive prefix –grey bear)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.1.3 Lexical Consistency

Chinese mothers tended to use more noun labels, and to use them more consistently than Korean mothers ($t = 6.27$, $p < 0.001$), but less consistently than American mothers ($t = -4.49$, $p < 0.001$). There is no significant difference between Chinese and Japanese groups ($t = -0.25$, $p = 0.805$). That is, Chinese mothers and Japanese mothers were more likely to use the same lexical item, probably a diminutive form, to label a particular target object ($m=0.6446$) than Korean mothers.

2.5.1.4 Questions related to the noun labels

Questions related to the noun labels were used significantly more often than Korean and Japanese mothers (both $p<001$). The mean of Chinese mothers’ questions related to the noun labels is 27.06 whereas those of Korean and Japanese are 4.52 and 3.67, respectively. The results of t-test between Chinese and American groups show no difference. So both Chinese and American mothers tended to ask more questions than did
Korean and Japanese mothers. Chinese mothers, like Korean and Japanese mothers, used more yes/no questions (56%) than wh-questions (44%). Among the yes-no questions, 39% of them were A-not-A questions. For example,

你想不想开车车啊?
*Nǐ xiǎng bù xiǎng kāi chē chē a?*
Do you want to drive the car?

39% of the yes-no questions were marked by the interrogative particles. In the following example, the interrogative particle 吗 was used after the verb 睡觉, to sleep.

你睡觉觉吗?
*Nǐ shuì jiào jué ma?*
Are you going to sleep?

12% of the yes-no questions were tag questions. For example,

玩这个小车车，好吗?
*Wán zhè gè xiǎo chē chē，hǎo ma?*
Play with this car, OK?
Figure 2. Wh and yes/no questions related to the noun labels in Chinese, Korean and Japanese.
2.5.1.5 Linguistic complexity

Linguistically "simple" utterances were operationalized as those in which the object label was the sole content word in the utterance. The mean of the number of the simple sentences used by Chinese mothers is 3.222 while those of other three languages are higher. According to the t-test, there is significant difference between Chinese and Japanese ($p<0.001$), but no difference with Korean and American. Chinese, Korean and American mothers used significantly fewer simple sentences to refer to the target nouns than did Japanese mothers.
2.5.1.6 Object sounds

Lee and Nakayama reported that both Korean and Japanese mothers used a similar number of onomatopoeic words, and they also made a similar number of object sounds (mean score are 16.44 and 18.7 respectively). American mothers used significantly less than Japanese mothers, and Chinese mothers used even less (mean =4.556, SD 4.665).

2.5.1.7 Action verbs

In Lee and Nakayama’s study, a significant difference is reported in terms of the number of utterances containing action verbs. The mean of utterance containing action verbs in Korean maternal speech is 39.9, whereas in Japanese it is 18.4. Chinese mothers used significantly more action verbs with a mean score of 52 than the other three groups. In Lee and Nakayama’s study, 18 Korean mothers used 56 action verbs in total, but 18 Chinese mothers produced 96 action verbs falling into the four categories as shown in the following table. Compared with Lee and Nakayama’s action verb list, Chinese mothers did not use any onomatopoeic words with *hata* (do). They had similar items for senses, greeting and empathy, and request, like Korean mothers, but they used many more activity verbs related to the target objects.

As figure 4 shows, 39% of utterances in Korean maternal speech, 18% of Japanese and 27% of American mothers’ target utterances contained action verbs, whereas 41% of the target utterances in Chinese maternal speech contained action verbs. Among the four groups, Chinese mothers used the most action verbs.
As shown in Table 6, Chinese mothers used many action verbs to describe activities related to the target subjects. There are two reasons for such a long list of action verbs: one is that Chinese has more specific action verbs as explained in section 2.2. Chinese mothers in this study used structures such as specific verb plus the target subject. For example,
瑞瑞亲亲小熊熊

*Ruirui qīnqīn xiǎo xióng.*

Ruirui, kiss the little bear.

The other reason lies in that Chinese mothers tended to use action verbs to build social connections between the child and the toy. As illustrated in the above example, the action verb 亲亲 *to kiss* was used to build intimate relationship between Ruirui and the toy bear.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>related to senses</th>
<th>Greeting and empathy</th>
<th>Request</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. huó dò ng (move around)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>qǐn (kiss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ná (hold)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bào (hug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. diào (drop)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dézhāohū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. jiǎn (pick up)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(greeting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. dǎoshǒu (switch hands)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wòshǒu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. zhǔn (turn around)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(shake hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. pèng (bump)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pāipāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. zhǎo (search)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>huànyíng (welcome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. yào (bite)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. chāi (tear down)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. qiāoyīqiāo (knock knock)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. shì shì (try)</td>
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<td>13. wá (play)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. zǒu (walk)</td>
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<td>15. pǎo (run)</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. xiào (laugh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. pá (crawl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. shuāi (throw on the ground)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. zuò (sit)</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. mó mó (grind)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. yá oyá o (shake)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. ké (bite)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. diào (throw)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24. bō (fly)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25. zhuǎn (turn around)</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. jiǎn (pick up)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. dǎoshǒu (switch hands)</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. zhǔn (turn around)</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. pèng (bump)</td>
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<td>30. pǔ (put on)</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. lālā (pull)</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. shuāi (throw)</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. huá (slide)</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. lǎo (lull)</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. tiǎo (pick)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>36. chī (eat)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>37. zhuǎn (turn around)</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. yán (count)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>39. dǎ (beat)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>40. zuò (sit)</td>
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<tr>
<td>41. yá (press)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>42. diào (throw)</td>
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<tr>
<td>43. jī (fly)</td>
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<tr>
<td>44. zhī (tie)</td>
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<td>45. kē (shut)</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. jī (fly)</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. jī (fly)</td>
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<tr>
<td>48. jiáo (call)</td>
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<tr>
<td>49. zhōng (sing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>50. huān (change)</td>
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<tr>
<td>51. tiǎn (shut)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>52. qū (go)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>53. fēng (let go)</td>
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<tr>
<td>54. jiǎo (roll over)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. kē (shut)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. tiǎn (lick)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. sōng (send)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. gēi (give)</td>
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<td>59. guò lái (come)</td>
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<td>86. bī (bat)</td>
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Table 5. Summary of the action verbs used in Chinese maternal speech
2.5.1.8 Content words in isolation

As for the isolated content words, the number in Chinese maternal speech is significantly different only from that in Korean maternal speech ($t = -5.94$, $p<0.001$). Korean mothers used more single word utterances consisting of content words than mothers of the other three languages. Even though there is no significant difference between Chinese and Japanese, Chinese and American mothers group, the mean numbers of the total isolated words in the three languages show that American mothers produced the fewest utterances containing isolated words.

Verbs were composed of the largest percentage of the isolated words in Korean (54%) whereas nouns were composed of the largest percentage in Japanese (51%). In Chinese maternal speech, like Korean, 58.17% of the isolated content words are verbs. The distribution of the content words occurring in isolation is summarized in the following figure:
2.5.1.9 Repetition

The numbers of repetition in the Chinese maternal speech is significantly different from those of Korean ($t = -8.34, p < 0.001$) and American maternal speech ($t = -3.93, p < 0.001$). But there is no significant difference between Chinese and Japanese ($t = -1.40, p=0.172$). Thus for the number of repetitions in the utterances, Korean mothers had the most repetitions followed by American and Japanese mothers; all three groups had many more repetitions than did Chinese mothers.
2.5.1.10 Social routines

There is no significant difference in the number of utterances containing social routines between Chinese and American maternal speech, but the differences between Chinese and Korean ($t=3.73$, $p=0.001$), between Chinese and Japanese ($t = -2.04$, $p=0.047$) are significant. Japanese mothers produced most utterances associated with social routines ($m=10.7$), followed by Chinese mothers ($m=6.94$), American mothers ($m=4.70$). Korean mothers produced the fewest ($m=2.50$).

2.6 Discussion

Based on the results of comparing across four languages, Chinese maternal speech shares some common features with Korean, Japanese and American English in terms of accommodating their speech to the special needs of the infant. For example, such features of infant-directed speech include linguistic simplification, the use of perceptually salient nonsense sounds, and frequent repetition. (Ferguson, 1978; Snow, 1977; Fernald and Morikawa, 1993; Lee and Nakayama, 1998). Chinese mothers used the same communicative strategies when talking to their children, such as using sound words attributed to the target objects, but they are not onomatopoeic words.

On the other hand, these comparative data can help identify the culture specific features that directly reflect the constraints of a particular language and the parents’ cultural belief about child rearing. For example, Japanese and Chinese mothers tend to conceptualize the children’s role as dependent, which is different from the adult’s role in
the society. Thus they use more diminutive forms when labeling the target objects. Unlike most previous studies comparing western and eastern cultures, this study compares three East Asian languages, and focuses on the linguistic and culture specific features of the maternal speech. Culture affects children’s language experience, at least in part, because culture holds beliefs about the role of adults in children’s language development and about the appropriateness of talking to pre-linguistic children (Zhang et al. 2008).

2.6.1 Differences in labeling the target objects

Chinese mothers, like American mothers, tended to provide a noun label to refer to a specific object more often than Korean and Japanese mothers. Tardif et al. (1999) found that U.S. mothers tended to produce more common nouns than Chinese mothers, but in the results of the current study, Chinese mothers tended to use more noun labels than did American mothers when referring to the object as a whole. However, Japanese and Korean mothers were less likely to talk about the objects overall (Fernald and Morikawa, 1993; Lee and Nakayama, 1998). When referring to the same object, Chinese and American mothers were more likely to use the noun label consistently. Neither Chinese nor English has the onomatopoeic noun labels so this is a striking difference in the maternal speech—they do not use an onomatopoeic word when referring to the objects.
Chinese mothers tended to use specific noun labels instead of pronouns, especially when they are used as the topic of a sentence. As discussed above, one of the characteristics of Chinese maternal speech is the use of diminutive forms of the noun labels when referring to the target object. 87.19% of the noun labels are in the diminutive forms, which is greatly different than the adult speech. At the discourse level, Li and Thompson (1981) mention that the topic can be omitted if they were the same with the previous utterance, but in the maternal speech even though the topic was the same with that in the previous utterance, mothers still repeatedly used the noun labels. This may be because Chinese mothers tended to use more diminutive forms than the adult forms. Since they would like to put emphasis on the diminutive form, they use it as the topic in the utterances. If the noun labels were used in the diminutive forms, it would be more likely not to be replaced by the third person pronoun as using the neutral pronoun will lose the affections in the diminutive forms.

Chinese mothers typically alternated among several “babytalk” variants available as labels for each target object, which is similar with what Fernald and Morikawa found in Japanese maternal speech, whereas American mothers preferred to use the adult word for the target object. This may be because Chinese and Japanese share the same culture feature of *amae* with the infant, which emphasizes on the attachment between mother and infants. That is, they tend to treat their infants as dependent while Americans place more value on fostering independence in their children (Doi, 1973).

Gopnik and Choi (1990) suggest that the prevalence of noun deletion, or nominal ellipsis, in Korean and Japanese results in relatively less emphasis on nouns in speech to
infants in these languages than in English. The grammar of Mandarin also allows both the subjects and the objects of a sentence to be dropped so the salience of verbs relative to nouns tends to be higher in Mandarin than it is in English (Tardif, Shatz, & Naigles, 1997). However, Fernald and Morikawa’s (1993) results suggest that the greater emphasis on nouns in American mothers' speech was not simply a consequence of structural differences between English and Japanese, but reflected referential choices made by American and Japanese mothers. The comparison results echoed with this argument in that Chinese mothers used almost as many noun labels as American mothers. If the language structure allows noun deletion or nominal ellipsis, they could have used fewer in their utterances. Therefore, it is more likely that this feature of Chinese maternal speech is influenced by the cultural values rather than the syntactic characteristic.

2.6.2 Differences in questions related to the target objects

Our comparison results show that the distinctive feature of Chinese maternal speech lies in many questions Chinese mothers asked related to the target objects. When compared across cultures, Chinese mothers used remarkably more questions when talking to their children. Chinese mothers used more yes/no questions (56%) than Wh-questions (44%). Among the yes-no questions, 39% of them were A-not-A questions. Li and Thompson (1981) differentiated the situations for A-not-A or tag questions. They argued that A-not-A form would be the one used when the speaker is neutral and has no predisposition toward either the affirmative or the negative option in the disjunction.
While in the nonneutral context, only the particle question is possible. However, in maternal speech, A-not-A questions were not necessarily only used for neutral situations.

Erbaugh (1992) reported that a frequent style of conversing with young children in Chinese families was a quiz style in which adults ask children questions with a correct answer in mind and pursue questioning until the expected answer is produced. Kulkofsky et al (2009), on the other hand, found that Chinese mothers, using a low elaborative style, tended to ask their children a series of questions without providing additional contextual information and often repeated the questions if the child failed to provide information. Meng (2008) found that Chinese mothers often used an “A-not-A” question with the sentence-final particle a to make a request. Such a structure has the semantic effect of softening the query. In either suggestive commands or non-command interrogatives, A-not-A questions in the maternal speech are not neutral as in the adult speech. All of this can explain why the number of questions asked by the Chinese mothers was significantly higher than those of the other three languages.

It was also reported that Japanese mothers often used more social and affect-oriented speech such as onomatopoeia, greetings, and endearment whereas Western maternal speech tended to be more information-oriented (Bornstein et al., 1992; Toda et al., 1990; Fernald and Morikawa, 1992). However, what was found in the current study was that Chinese mothers were very likely to ask questions in order to provide information or call attention to the information related to the target objects. For example, all of the Chinese mothers in the current study asked questions about the color of the animals and automobiles. 12 out of 18 mothers asked how many wheels a car has, and half of the
mothers asked their children to count or helped them to count the wheels. All of the mothers involved in the current study asked their children to identify the body parts of the toy animals and compared with their own body parts. This contradicts with the argument made by Goldfield (2000) when talking about the identical object scene, stated that Mandarin-speaking dyads tended not to go into detail about the features of the object.

Why do Chinese mothers care so much whether or not their children gain certain knowledge? Parmar et al. (2004) concluded that the Asian parents believed more strongly than the Euro-Americans on the importance of an early start in academic training for their children. In Chao’s survey study (1996) on Chinese and Euro-American mother’s beliefs about the role of parenting in children’s school success, the Chinese mothers conveyed the great degree of value they place on education, and the more directly intervening approach to their children's schooling and learning. Chinese parents usually have high expectations for their children’s academic achievement. Stevenson and Lee (1996) examined the parenting practice in modern China and reported that Chinese parents emphasize education because their motivation is derived from the historical societies’ values of highly respecting scholars. They cite an old saying, to illustrate this point, “Whatever occupation one chose to be, it would not be as honorable as being a learned person.” Therefore, Chinese parents usually have high expectations of their children’s academic achievement. Wu (1996) argued that today’s Chinese parents pay attention to training children to develop a moral character, as well as pushing their children to achieve in academia. Competition to advance to successively high levels of schooling is

3 万般皆下品, 唯有读书高。
still highly valued by contemporary Chinese students, parents and teachers because of the socio-economic situation (Stevenson and Lee, 1996). The competition in education places high pressure on parents and children in modern China so that many parents believe they need to start high-quality education from early childhood. This is reflected in the maternal speech in form of asking questions to make sure the children have gained certain knowledge related to the target objects when playing with the toys such as numbers, colors, and functions.

Therefore, Chinese mothers wanted to use nursery rhymes and songs to start literacy education early as discussed in the next section, and they ask information-oriented questions to make sure their children gain certain knowledge through playing with the toys.

2.6.3 Social routines

The other cultural characteristic of Chinese maternal speech is that Chinese mothers tended to treat the stuffed animals as their children’s peers, and coach them normal social routines. Chinese parents in the US have been found to interact with their preschool children in more formal and didactic ways than European American parents and to serve the function of teachers and academic coaches more than the function of playmates (Huntsinger, Jose, Liaw and Ching, 1997; Parmar, Harkness and Super, 2004). When talking to infants, Chinese mothers in the current study used didactic talk, as well as
nursery rhymes to coach social routines. For example, the nursery rhyme “looking for a friend” was used by 15 out of 18 mothers.

They also used the song “a dolly dances with a bear” when playing with the toy bear, and a song related to cars for the toy automobiles. Erbaugh (1992) found that Chinese parents expect their children to memorize and recite poems and stories verbatim. Frequently using nursery rhymes and songs related with the target objects may lead to higher levels of literacy education as the children grow older.

Erbaugh (1992) also reported that it is typical for adults in China to actively coach children as young as two years in the socially-important mastery of surnames, given names, and kinship terms for themselves and for their relatives. Like Japanese culture, Chinese culture values the awareness of social hierarchy, but Chinese language does not have the lexical changes (such as changing or adding prefix) to reflect this kind of hierarchy. Therefore it is crucial to coach the children to use different terms of address, and different ways to greet people in order to reflect the awareness of the hierarchy. Instead of coaching children to express empathy like what Japanese mothers did, as observed by Fernald and Morikawa (1993), all the Chinese mothers in the study coached their children to address and greet the experimenter appropriately, and to express appreciation to her for offering the toys.

This also echoes with the finding from Goldfield (2000) that Chinese parents pay more attention to the actions and events with which the object could be associated. This is consistent with Liu’s (2007) finding that Chinese tend to build up connections among objects, or social connections among each other. The typical way that Chinese mothers
coached their children to say “thank you” in the current study was to present the toy first, and then ask her child if he/she liked it or not. No matter what the answers was, they then would ask them to say thank you to the experimenter, and in this way, they helped their children to build up the social connections with the researcher.

2.6.4 Reasons for the verb-salient feature

The results of the t-test for action verbs and the differences in percentages of the isolated content words show consistency with the previous study about the verb-salient feature in Chinese maternal speech. Why is Chinese maternal speech verb-biased? Tardif (2006) proposed that the reason lies in the cross-linguistic differences in the habits of lexicalization specific to English and Mandarin. Tardif found that English speakers tend to use more general-purpose verbs (e.g. carry, take) and specific nouns (e.g. train, bike) in their everyday conversations. In contrast, Mandarin speakers lexicalize action concepts using many distinct and specific verbs and use general-purpose nouns. In Chinese, but not English, verbs are highly specified and there is little resorting to “general purpose” or “light” verbs as there is in English simply because these general purpose verb terms do not exist. In addition, there are fewer morphological alterations for action verbs in Chinese than in English. Therefore, Mandarin speakers lexicalize action concepts using many distinct and specific verbs and use general-purpose nouns. The grammar of Mandarin allows both the subjects and the objects of a sentence to be dropped so the salience of verbs relative to nouns tends to be higher in Mandarin than it is in English.

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Child-directed speech also reflects such conventions of everyday conversation. This is consistent with the findings of Chan’s et al study (2009) about the verb-salient feature of Chinese maternal speech. They found that English-speaking mothers used more common nouns and fewer main verbs than did Mandarin-speaking mothers. Moreover, this pattern was accentuated in conversations about transitive actions (where Mandarin speakers showed a strong preference for using main verbs) and isolated objects (where English speakers showed a strong preference for using common nouns).

As shown in the results, Chinese mothers in this study used 96 action verbs either by or to the target objects. According to the categories of verbal phrases by Li and Thompson (1981), 22.9% of these action verbs were intransitive and 77% were transitive. This is consistent with what Po-Ching and Rimmington (2004) claimed about action verbs in Chinese that there are far more transitive than intransitive verbs in Chinese. The majority of action verbs are transitive in nature. Many intransitive verbs or intransitive uses of transitive verbs in English will be encoded in a disyllabic verb+object structure in Chinese. Most of these action verbs are associated with noun labels in one way or another. Even though the subject or the object of the transitive verbs can be dropped or replaced by the pronouns (Lu, 1999), Chinese mothers were likely to use these verbs with noun labels. For example,

抱抱小熊
*Bàobàoxióngxióng*
Hold the bear
The noun label xióngxióng ‘bear’ was used as a direct object after the verb bào ‘hold.’ The noun label of bear was of diminutive form, which may be the reason that it was not replaced by the third person pronoun.

As for the intransitive verbs, the noun labels were more likely to be used as the topic in the sentence. For example,

小车车跑了呀
Xiǎochēchē pǎo le ya
The little car is running away.

Moreover, the other portion of these action verbs was more likely to be used in the imperative form. In Chinese, there is no lexical inflection of the imperative form so using a single word in most contexts can be viewed as the direct request. When an action verb was used in the isolation as a single word and without the noun label being either topic or object, the implied agency of these verbs will be one of the interlocutors. In situations where the noun label was used as a topic, that is, when the agent is the target object, the actions were related with the objects rather than the children. In such cases, the nouns were not likely to be dropped. For example,

小鸭鸭掉了
Xiǎoyāyā diào le
The duck was dropped.
小车车跑了呀

Xiǎochēchē pǎo le ya

The little car is running away.

In the maternal speech, the verbs used without a noun label as a topic would be direct requests from mothers ordering their children to do something. That is, when action verbs were used as a single word in the utterance, it was very likely to have the children as the agency. For example,

推推

Tūitūi.

Push (push).

拍拍

Pāipai

Pat (pat)

The largest majority of the isolated words were verbs, most of which were of the imperative form. In this sense, Chinese maternal speech shares one feature with Korean—the use of imperative form. Lee and Nakayama (1998) found the major difference between Korean and Japanese maternal speech was that Korean mothers tended to use more imperative and declarative forms when describing or ordering the children to do something. It is the same with Chinese maternal speech. 27% of the total
utterances of Chinese maternal speech were imperatives, which shows the imbalanced power relationship between the two interlocutors. In the adult speech, Li and Thompson (1981, 450) argued that it is often desirable to avoid giving direct orders this way in normal social interactions. It could happen in the situations where the two sides have relatively huge social status or roles. For example, when a director of a program is ordering a part-time employee to do an assignment, he/she could use many imperatives in the utterances.

2.7 Summary

The results of this study suggest that the differences of various maternal speeches are culture and language specific. As Lee and Nakayama (1998) commented, it is not persuasive to make a claim appealing to the west vs. east dichotomy without studying individual languages thoroughly. It is not convincing to label any speech as information or affect-oriented without considering linguistic structure, communicative and cultural accounts. Often times, these elements work together to shape a specific feature of a maternal speech.

Chinese maternal speech is distinct from Japanese, Korean and American English in many aspects. Chinese mothers in this study tended to use specific nouns and diminutive forms to label the target objects. The conversation style of Chinese maternal speech features the many questions Chinese mothers when talking with their children, tended to ask things related to the target objects. They ask information-oriented questions to make sure that their children gain the knowledge through playing with the toys. In addition,
Chinese mothers tended to use specific action verbs when talking with their children, and they also use imperative form to describe or order children to do something.

The participants in this study were mothers and their infants, and the conversations were recorded in a semi-controlled way as the stimuli were provided by the researchers. In the next chapter, conversations between older children and adults in the family are analyzed within specific context, and the focus is the culture aspects of this kind of daily conversations.
Chapter three

A micro-ethnographic study: socialization of Chinese culture themes

In this chapter, a micro-ethnographic study is conducted to examine the cultural practices and how children learn to participate in their communities’ cultural practices in order to help us understand the culture themes of that community. Parents’ facilitation of their children’s acquisition of socio-cultural norms is essential in socialization process. The analysis focuses on how parents and children build up and create the situations turn-by-turn, moment-by-moment in the course of their interactions in order to negotiate the culture themes. Adapting the micro-ethnographic discourse analysis system, the context, discourse, people’s verbal and actions are analyzed in order to reveal the connection
between the two components in culture theme—the underlying cultural value and the behavior associated with it.

3.1 Socialization in Chinese culture

Rogoff (1990) points out that a great deal of research and theories show that what a child is expected to be capable of, attaining certain skills by a certain age, is actually culturally specific. What and how people do things depends, in important ways, on the cultural meaning given to the events and the social and institutional supports provided in their communities for learning and carrying out specific roles in the activities. As I discussed in the previous chapter, Chinese parents emphasize on their children’s academy studies, and they like to show off how competent their children are. Chinese parents tend to have high expectations of their children’s academic performance. For example, Chinese parents are proud of their children’s being able to do things that other children usually cannot do at a certain age. I often hear parents talking about their children in the following way in China, “My daughter can recognize 300 hundred characters and she is only 4 years old.” The other one would say, “When he was 5, my son could read the newspaper.”

This echoes with many of the research about Chinese parenting styles. In contexts influenced by Confucian thought, the active instantiation of filial piety, maintenance of interpersonal harmony, and unique perspectives on morals, social expectations, and achievement motivation begins early in life. These teachings are pervasive across school, home, public gatherings and other social contexts (Wilson, 1970; Ho, 1986; Wu, 1996; Fung, 1999; Fung et al., 2003) and manners of communication including speeches,
children’s books (e.g. ‘The 24 Filial Exemplars’), folk tales, conversational narratives, newspaper and advertising (Wu, 1985; Miller et al., 1996; Miller et al., 1997).

In order to socialize Chinese children to the society, parents train them to behave following the values mentioned above. Chinese children are expected to listen to adults, follow rules, self-monitor, and be sensitive to other people’s evaluation and criticism (Lin & Wang, 1995). A most ‘abusive’ parent is one who does not discipline/train his/her child – ‘drowning the child with love’ (Wu, 1985). It is a parent’s responsibility and social obligation to train the child to be sensitive to moral and social rules and the complex meaningfulness of shame. This cultural imperative leads to the development of a potentially unique dimension of parenting, ‘Training’ (Chao, 1994, 2001). Based on Chao’s findings, ‘training (guanjiao)’ is the main approach that Chinese parents use to socialize their children into the society.

“Tiger Mother”, Amy Chua, claims in her book that the way to educate children is to shame them, make them work hard and tell them they can do better. Her book and articles about parenting children in her own household following her parents’ way ignited a fierce online and offline East versus West parenting debate. Chinese parents believed their child was strong enough to take this shaming and improve from it. Amy Chua’s attitude to child rearing and education does not surprise Chinese but was criticized by major American media and educators. Professor Chua concluded in her book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* that the biggest difference between Eastern and Western cultures, more specifically Chinese vs. American, was that Chinese parents assumed
strength, not fragility in their children and, as a result, behave very differently. This argument initiated debates and reflections on Western parenting style as well.

3.2 Research Purpose

Examining all these studies of socialization in Chinese culture, the researcher finds that although a conceptual basis for childrearing beliefs related to training and shame has been established, empirical demonstration of their salience, validity, and implications has been rare. More importantly, there is a gap between analyzing people’s behavior and identifying the cultural values, a disconnection between parent’s guidance in the socialization process and the ideology underlying such behavior.

Parent-child conversation is a type of instruction explicitly conceptualized to realize philosopher Mortimer Adler's vision of "enlarged understanding of ideas and values" (Adler, 1982: 23). In designing the current research, I have drawn upon several currents in educational theory and practice, in addition to the work cited previously. Vygotsky's (1962, 1978) writings and those of his recent interpreters, also continue to exert an important influence, particularly the idea that language is a primary mediator of intellectual development. Concepts are formed, Vygotsky (1962) wrote, "not through the interplay of associations, but through an intellectual operation [that] is guided by the use of words as the means of actively centering attention, of abstracting certain traits, synthesizing them, and symbolizing them by a sign" (p. 81). Moreover, he argued that such process involves active interactions between more and less knowledgeable individuals (e.g., parents and children), both engaged in a mutually valued goal, such as
the solution of a problem (Vygotsky, 1962, especially chap. 5) or the understanding of ideas and values.

Thus the primary purpose of this research is to unfold the interactional sequence and information content in parent-child daily conversations and analyze its potential as a powerful social scaffold for novices. We saw the characteristics of child-directed speech in the previous chapter, but here, our interest in interactional conversations and part of the analysis is devoted to describe how people create recognizable social and cultural practices through their face-to-face interactions and what interactional obligations and opportunities these social and cultural practices have for participants. Based on such an analysis, the underlying cultural values attached to these social cultural practices are presented within specific contexts. This study describes the process of constructing children’s acquisition of the social and cultural practices attached to the cultural values—culture themes. Building on analyzing the pedagogical method and purpose used by Chinese parents in guiding their children to participate in social and cultural practices, the current study seeks to explore how foreign learners would benefit from learning Chinese culture themes from the family pedagogy model.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Conceptualizing the methodology for culture themes studies

3.3.1.1 Rationale for examining children’s acquisition of culture themes
Examining cultural practices and how children learn to participate in their communities’ cultural practices helps us to understand the culture themes of that community. Parents’ facilitation of their children’s acquisition of socio-cultural norms, values and ideologies can be framed broadly within the socio-cultural approach to language acquisition proposed by Vygotsky (1962, 1978). Briefly summarized, it argues that the child and the social environment work together to shape cognition—the acquisition of language and culture. Vygotsky’s approach focuses on investigating how cultural practices related to the development of ways of thinking, remembering, reasoning, and solving problems. The whole process is to create memories of gradually mastered actions, which are imbued with cultural meaning. Following this approach, the researchers emphasize that language learning is highly social and cultural and that culture itself is instantiated and reproduced in linguistic interactions.

As discussed in chapter one, language use is considered as a major tool for conveying sociocultural knowledge and a powerful medium of socialization. The primary role of social interaction in language acquisition is based on the observation that children acquire an awareness of specific communicative functions or intentions such as indicating, requesting, and labeling (Bruner, 1990). Many studies about culture development and language socialization articulate ways in which the meaning of cultural forms, including language, is a function of how members engage these forms in the course of their social conduct (Ochs, 1996).

Every novice develops his/her cultural awareness and the ability to participate in the cultural practices through interacting with more knowing members of the community.
Children are quintessential cultural apprentices who seek the guided participation of their elders. On the basis of social interactions, children or newcomers to a group learn, explicitly or implicitly, how that culture and language encodes thoughts and feelings, and how they are expected to speak (or read, write) in various settings. The end result, it is assumed, is communicatively competent members who have appropriated the culture’s core values, beliefs, and dispositions (e.g., social control, self-assertion, egalitarianism or hierarchical status, reciprocity, empathy, verbal play, expression of anger) plus other kinds of knowledge (e.g., oratory, narrative structure).

Based on the discussion in chapter one, culture is what we do. It is thus important to examine “what we do” in everyday life in order to investigate culture development. Any research without looking into what people do cannot get an in-depth view of culture. Rogoff observed children’s everyday conversations and found that learning opportunities of one’s culture lie within the daily conversations, providing children with frequent important access to information and involvement in the skills of their community. As Peters and Boggs (1986) wrote: “interactional routines facilitate the child’s perception, analysis, and practice of utterances” (p. 80), which are central to social/cultural and linguistic learning across a variety of settings and speech events.

Rogoff emphasizes important features of children’s daily routines for understanding cultural influences:

- The personnel who are available and interacting with children
- The motivations of the people involved
- Cultural scripts used by people to guide the way they do things
• The type and frequency of tasks and activities in daily routines
• The cultural values and beliefs of the people involved

She argues that besides the above elements, it is important to take into account the social, cultural, and historical context. More importantly, the individual development must be understood in, and cannot be separated from, its social and cultural-historical context. Development occurs in everyday moment-by-moment learning opportunities.

Rogoff also found that; children may take initiative in observing and becoming involved in ongoing cultural activities with parents and peers. Parents and peers provide instructional facilitation in the joint social activities. It is the parents who guide and train children to become competent participants in society. As Bruner (1996) suggests, it is principally through interacting with others that children find out what the culture is about and how they conceive the world.

Bruner argues, “when we say that a child is acquiring language, we must account for another aspect of what is being acquired—that is, its function or communicative intent or how to get things done with words” (1983: 18). Nevertheless, if we are to understand the nature of parenting, socialization, and particularly the acquisition of culture themes, we need a means of systematically describing the actively constructed social action processes of culture themes.

3.3.1.2 Methodological limitations

Even though Chinese culture values influenced the way Chinese mothers spoke with their children, and the cultural characteristics of Chinese maternal speech stands out,
particularly when compared with Japanese, Korean and American English, it is not enough to investigate how culture themes are shaped and acquired through everyday social interactions. The major limitation of conducting quantitative analysis lies in two aspects: 1) It is difficult to describe the socialization of a child as a multifaceted, situated, and socially constructed process. It is effective to use quantitative data to compare across cultures and languages, as the other elements can be controlled in the research, however; culture and language development processes cannot be fixed or categorized. Therefore, a “thick description” is necessary to provide rich insights into how learning and development take shape in particular cultural contexts (Cole, 1996; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Mead, 1930, 1933; Rogoff, 1990). 2) One layer of analysis is not enough to link individual and community-based experiences to larger structural, institutional, discursive, and ideological practices. As discussed in chapter one, it is crucial to consider different “levels of context”, when trying to understand any social act. A cross-sectional research design or one more limited in duration, although it may illuminate the intricacies of the socio/linguistic practices themselves, does not capture change over time, end-state (or later stage) knowledge/participation, or nonlinear developmental patterns and contextual changes.

Researchers increasingly recognize the limitations in the exclusive use of either quantitative or qualitative methods for understanding complex cultural issues in learning and development. A popular solution to the problems inherent in both qualitative and quantitative research is to argue for the use of mixed methods. Mixed methods can be useful for understanding ethnic and cultural diversity in learning and development.
because they allow researchers to examine outcomes and processes, the unique development experiences of particular cultures/groups and where those groups fall on the larger social scene. According to Bronson and Watson-Gegeo (2008), ecologically valid qualitative and quantitative data may both be usefully combined, and usually are combined, for in-depth studies. The scope of the research must include all relevant macro- and micro-dimensions of context, and incorporate whole events and behavior rather than short strips of time that have been coded into pre-set categories; most categories must be generated from and grounded in data.

3.3.1.3 Adapting an ethnographic approach

Culture and language development studies were based on a combination of longitudinal ethnographic methods and discourse analysis. Final research reports presented language development and “acquisition” of particular features or discourse routines in the context of an evolving sociocultural competence negotiated by the learner in use and constrained by social structure. However, one major critique of methodology arises from language socialization researchers’ initial and primary concern with documenting alternative cultural norms. Today it is generally accepted that such research has successfully illustrated that many posited universals are untrue (such as the characteristics of “baby talk” illustrated in the previous chapter are not universal)—and that alternative culturally specific subjectivities exist. However, the field has not, as yet, specified a methodology that could account for an individual’s unique trajectory of socialization across multiple events of speaking within a normative social milieu.
Bronson and Watson-Gegeo (2008) argue for a methodological need to be specified to avoid essentializing static cultural types and the uncritical relativism that can attend such generalizations. At the same time, it needs to be able to document how individuals negotiate or are positioned and repositioned in processes of socialization over time, possibly, in part, through more sustained and detailed ethnographic study.

According to Duff (2008), ethnographic studies that examine the ways in which learners are apprenticed into new cultural, linguistic, or literary practices (e.g., interactional routines) provide important insights on language socialization processes (e.g., Harklau, 1994; Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1993; Toohey, 2000). The investigation of how newcomers become culturally and discursively competent in a social group certainly implies a long-range view or trajectory. Most studies using systematic ethnographic methods document observed (socio) linguistic behaviors or developments by producing language excerpts, detailed discourse analyses, or systematic developmental accounts (e.g., Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). Therefore, the basic principle is that a longitudinal, contextualized, sociocultural “perspective” should be present, even if the research design itself is not longitudinal, has merit.

3.3.2 A micro-ethnographic perspective

Building on sociolinguistic ethnography (i.e., microethnographic), linguistic anthropology, anthropological studies, and ethnomethodology, Bloome et al proposes a micro-ethnographic approach of discourse analysis in their book Discourse Analysis and
the Study of Classroom Language and Literacy Events. This approach is based on the concept of “discourse” defined by Gee (1996), who distinguishes between discourse with a lower case “d” and Discourse with an upper case “D.” The former referring to ways of using language within face-to-face events and similar situations; the latter referring to broad social, cultural, and ideological processes. Whether one uses Gee’s trope of lower case “discourse” versus upper case “Discourse,” acknowledgement needs to be made that people use language and other semiotic tools within multiple layers of social context and that ways of using language do not exist distinct from broader social and historical processes.

Following this definition, Bloome et al (2005) claim that language is not regarded purely as a “transparent” vehicle by which information is communicated, but rather its use encompasses and encapsulates contexts and complex social, political, cognitive, and linguistic processes, whereby meaning-making involves multi-level activities. The authors explain that the approach they have adopted in the book is basically “social linguistic” or “social interactional” (p. xv) within the large framework that examines the sociology of language use. Thus, language is treated as “a primary tool in creating and negotiating everyday life” (p. 2), and culture is conceptualized to define a person closely related to a myriad of issues such as morality, cognition, social structure and social interaction, rationality, sanity and insanity, among others.

In simple terms, the microethnographic approach asks “who is doing what, to whom, where, and how through the use of language” in a particular event (p. 49).” Bloome et al argue that examining how language is used by whom, for what purpose,
when, where and what “import” language use would have to people in the social events and “to the conduct and interpretation of other events” (p. 56) should be given more attention. This is made possible within a microethnographic approach to discourse analysis.

The relationships among events and levels of social context are not given but constructed by what people do in interaction with each other over time. Who is in an event, what they are doing, where, when, and how, cannot be reduced to an abstraction and still maintain the critical aspects of how the people in the event discourse the event, themselves, and the meanings and significances or the event into being. A “who” does not necessarily mean people but involves identity-building and can be multiple and overlapping (i.e., heteroglossic, Bakhtin, 1981). Making who-doing-what visible requires more than tabulating the turns in a conversation and analyzing the utterances made in language. It requires a study of how who-doing-what is recognized through language and interaction with others in particular situations and locations (i.e., linguistic behaviors observed). According to Bloome et al. (2005), meaningful utterances are consecutively numbered throughout each transcript. They are part of a series of actions and reactions that are tentatively determined by what went on before and after each moment in the event.

Therefore, the microethnographic approach of discourse analysis features the turn-by-turn, moment-by-moment analysis, which is guided by the assumption that social reality is constructed when people build up an interactional event turn by turn (Heritage, 1997). There’s a kind of mini-morality inscribed in our expectations about the way an
interaction should be built turn-by-turn. Non-conformities and deviations raise all sorts of doubts about the transgressor’s moral character, and usually lead to apologies, explanations, repairs etc.

3.3.3 Tools for micro-ethnographic analysis

Bloome et al present their five theoretical tools for micro-ethnographic analysis:
a) contextualization cues, which include verbal, nonverbal and prosodic signals and the manipulation of artifacts; b) boundary making, which involves making a decision on where a text ends and another begins; c) turn-taking, which is very important to successful and meaningful interaction; d) negotiating thematic coherence, which concerns the organization of meanings obtainable throughout particular events, where the meanings may be ideational, interpersonal or textual; and e) intertextuality, that is the juxtaposition of texts. The tools they provide, then, offer a distinctive contribution to the description of both these broader relationships in which people participate and their immediate enactments of meanings. For instance, in any event participants will refer to other components of the event and to other events outside of the immediate context, what they refer to as intertextual and intercontextual relationships. These five terms, they argue, “provide insight into the relationship of micro-level contexts and macro-level context and provide a theoretical and methodological tool for describing micro-macro relationships (p38).”
A. Contextualization cues are ways people make their intentions known as they interact with others in the event (Bloome et al., 2005). People act and react to contextualization cues in a particular situation depending on past, present, and future understandings. Contextualization cues include (a) verbal (i.e., register and syntactical shifts); (b) nonverbal (i.e., gesture; facial expression and direction; eye movement, gaze, and contact; posture, postural configurations, and distancing; body movement and style of body movement); (c) prosodic signals (i.e., volume, tone, and rhythmic shifts; stress, stress patterns, and stress shifts; velocity shifts; pausing; intonation patterns and shifts); and (d) artifact (i.e., chairs, homework, books) manipulation. A "reflexive view of the relationship between language and context" (Gee, 2004, p.29) is maintained during the process. In this context, reflexive means that utterances influence the meaning of the context as the context simultaneously influences the meaning of the utterance.

B. Boundaries are socially constructed interactional behaviors that are given meaning when participants propose, maintain, and/or resist them together (Bloome et al., 2005). The message unit, or "smallest unit of conversational meaning" (p.19) is identified and interpreted by how participants act and react to the contextualization cues. Message units are not necessarily turns at talk, meaningful utterances, or complete sentences. Rather, message units are defined as linguistic behaviors that hold shared meaning within the context of an event based on how the behavior impacts listeners.

c. Turn-taking as simple tabulations of when and how often a person speaks is not interpretable unless defined within the social institution in which an event occurs and
analyzed within the participation structure as socially constructed by the participants (Bloome et al., 2005).

D. Thematic coherence is defined as how meanings are organized and/or negotiated during an event through ideas, interactions, and/or texts (Bloome et al., 2005). Participants decide whether an event has thematic coherence by asking what is going on in the event and what everyone is talking about. Not all events have thematic coherence, while some events may have multiple overlapping themes at multiple levels. Other events have little thematic coherence, noticeable when participants question and/or contest what is happening either through verbal or nonverbal interactions. Themes can be declared by any participant and agreed upon or not by the others involved. Themes are analyzed by determining what is and/or assumed to be forefronted (i.e., focused on) and what and how themes are shifted and negotiated in the social events.

E. Intertextuality occurs when two or more written, verbal, nonverbal, or electronic texts share a feature, refer to one another, or lead to another text (Bloome et al., 2005). Intertextualities are defined as socially constructed interactions among texts, contexts (i.e., intercontextualities), and discourses (i.e., interdiscoursivities) with social consequence (Fairclough, 1995). Intertextualities, intercontextualities, and interdiscoursivities are proposed, acknowledged, recognized, agreed upon, or contested among those involved based on "bits and pieces of prior discourse that index social, cultural, and historical contexts" (Berkenkotter and Thein, 2005: 203).

Similarly, the analytic system presented by Green and Wallat (1981) focuses simultaneously on how people interact with each other, the tools they use in those
interactions, the social and historical contexts within which they interact, and what theyconcertedly create and accomplish through those interactions. The mapping tool inanalyzing the discourse permits the researcher to isolate the situationally specific aspectsand features of behavioral expectations. The maps serve to supply the contextual dataneeded for examining how social processes are being constructed, modified, selected,checked, suspended, terminated and recommended. The strength of this analytic system isits ability to visually display that "the manner in which individuals conceive of a taskleads them to create a form of social organization which is adapted to it" (Moscovici,1972, p. 26). Adopting the mapping analysis tool, the current study illustrates therelationship between cultural values and culture themes, as well as the process of co-constructing them.

3.3.4 Research design

3.3.4.1 Participants

The participants were from six Chinese families living in Columbus, Ohio. Chinese families living in the U.S. were selected because there are more negotiations about Chinese culture themes as parents and their children are exposed to two cultures at the same time. Chinese parents educate their children following Chinese culture values and themes but children in such families also behave based on American cultural values since they are also socialized through their school life. Two families moved from Beijing
to Columbus about half a year before the data collection started, and one family traveled back to China in summer for a short-term visit during the data collection. The other three families have been living in this area for less than two years. None of these families have mixed-national marriage; that is, both parents in these families are Chinese. In two of the families both parents work as full-time employees and the other four families have stay-at-home mothers. Only one family had two children.

Children in these families age between five and eight. Half are boys and half are girls. Two five year olds were in the university-based day care program whereas the other four children were all enrolled in public schools in Columbus. The families all have strong bonds with Chinese culture since their stay in the U.S. has been quite short so far. Therefore, all the children used Chinese to communicate with their parents during data collection. There were mixed-codes in the recordings, such as one or two words in English but the whole sentence is in Chinese. Only one family had their grandparents come to visit during the data collection and they spoke using their dialect in the family environment. When the family visited China, there were grandparents and other relatives involved in the interactions.

One family had a Chinese nanny from the Chinese community in the Columbus area, and the child played with the nanny’s son while visiting their family. All the mothers reported that their children spent a significant amount of after school time playing with Chinese friends. The details of each child and each family will be discussed in the context session in the data analysis.
3.3.4.2 Data Collection

The researcher conducted a 20-25 minute interview with the mothers in their apartment about their family background and language use in their family. The researcher also explained the research purpose and audio-recording procedure to the mothers. The audio-recording equipment, a Zoom H2 digital handy recorder and the instructions of operating the recorder were given to the mothers. Even though the recorder was sensitive enough to catch the sound when it is put at a distance from the child, mothers were told to move the equipment near the children and to try to forget about the recording since it was emphasized that the conversations that happened and were recorded at home, should be recorded in as natural a way as possible. The mothers were also told to explain the recording to their children and other family members so that they understood what was going on and did not pay too much attention to the recorder when they were talking. The mothers were asked to start recording whenever they were at home with their child and he/she felt comfortable to do the recording. It could include any kind of interaction, parent-to-child, child-to-child, child-to-siblings, or child-to-other adults, and any event, from daily routine activities, such as eating dinner, getting ready to go shopping, or storytelling before bed, to special events, such as a birthday party or friends coming over. The memory card in the recorder has the capacity of about ten hours of recording in high quality, but the mother was asked to record as much as she would like. After about a week, when the equipment was picked up, there was usually about three to five hours of recording in the memory card. After the recordings were collected and converted onto the computer, the researcher went through them and transcribed roughly, segmenting the
events. The real names were deleted when transcribing. Such recording lasted for three to six months in all of these six families.

Some mothers wrote online blogs chronicling their children’s development and some occasionally participated in online discussions. One mother showed the researcher her journal about the different things she encountered during her stay in the U.S., part of which included her son’s experience in the public school. Based on the recordings and the mothers’ writings, the researcher selected some key events containing culture-value-oriented interactions to conduct a retrospective interview—playing back the recordings and asking what the mothers thought was going on and why such interactions happened.

Rogoff (1990) claimed that it is essential to develop the awareness of the communication between community “insiders” and “outsiders”, and to have both angles on the phenomena that help to build understanding. However, the boundaries separating inside and outside often blur. Hence we need to take different perspectives for seeing and understanding. People with intense identification within a community and those with little contact in a community have differences in making and interpreting observations. Thus when interpreting a particular culture theme, it is important to have interpretations from different people (both insiders and outsiders) by using retrospective interviews. Therefore, the selective segments were played to American graduate students whose Chinese was at intermediate-high to advanced level, and these learners of Chinese were asked to interpret what was going on in the recordings as well. Their interpretations from “outsiders” perspective were helpful when analyzing the culture themes. More
importantly, they helped to make connections between the stories in the recordings and their own learning experiences of learning culture themes.

3.4 Data analysis and discussion

3.4.1 Being a group member--和为贵

Many studies of Chinese culture reveal Chinese values for group harmony are influenced by Confucian principles (e.g. Chen and Starosta, 1997; Pan et al, 1994). It was originally from *The Analects of Confucius*, “礼之用，和为贵。” *In practicing the rules of propriety, maintaining harmony is valued.* Such a Confucian principle has been influencing the way Chinese manage their interpersonal relationships, as well as the relationship between in-group and out-group.

Thus many researchers of cultural studies found that Chinese tend to avoid direct conflict with each other. For example, if someone wants to refuse an invitation, he/she might avoid saying “I cannot go” or phrases directly conveying the refusal. Instead, the willingness of going must be expressed first with the appreciation of the invitation. Then different excuses will be used to explain the reasons of not being able to go. In addition, to compensate for such a refusal, the invitee might also propose another getting-together at the counterpart’s convenient. Such communicative strategies are used to maintain the relationship by saving the counterpart’s “face”. Another example which is misinterpreted in cross-cultural communication easily is using vague or positive phrases such as “我们再商量 we will discuss it later” or “行啊，你看着办 OK. It is up to you”
to convey a negation of a proposal. The appropriate understanding of the intentions relies heavily on the contextualization cues. Therefore, Chinese children are trained from an early age to be sensitive to interpersonal relationships and the contextualization cues in order to manage group harmony successfully.

More importantly, Chinese children are socialized into a society which has emphasis on the group rather than the individual (Yang, 1994) -- collectivism in Confucian philosophy. This echoes with what cultural psychologists find about two basic modes of thinking: logico-scientific, and narrative (Bruner, 1986: 12). Logico-scientific thinking seeks to use categorization to form a system, deals in general causes, and seeks to test for empirical truth. Individuals and cultures characterized by narrative thinking deal with human action and intention, and try to locate experience in a time and place. Most Americans are trained from a very early age to believe the world should be divided into discrete categories, while most East Asians are taught to make connections between otherwise discrete objects. Examples derived from Chapter two, the maternal speech comparative study, can illustrate this point well. Chinese mothers taught their children to treat the stuffed animals as friends in order to practice how to keep a friendly relationship by using social ritual words.

Following this line, we will discuss more examples featuring how parents train their children to value group and group harmony in this session. Contextualization cues and how to use such cues to recognize the interlocutors’ intention are discussed in specific context.
3.4.1.1 Sharing things with out-group members

3.4.1.1.1 Context

The value of maintaining group harmony reflected in parent-child interactions in different ways. One of the culture themes bounded with this value is to share things with out-group members. Chinese show their friendliness and willingness to establish a connection with out-group members through sharing some of their possessions. For example, it is not strange to see someone sharing fruit or bottled water (the whole bottle), maybe even a cigarette on a non-air conditioning train, with neighboring passengers on the train or airplane. If it happens within an American culture environment, such behavior would be taken as lowering the other people’s social status or a way to show the charity.

The scene of sharing processions with their friends unfolded many times during the recordings, which was quite similar with what happened to American children of the same age as well. This particular story was selected because there were more negotiations about social relationships and social cultural norms. It happened during a play date in the family who lived in an on-campus family housing community. The mother of the host girl did not work during the data collection, and her husband worked in the university as a post-doc fellow. They moved from Shanghai about six months before we started recording. The girl was enrolled in a kindergarten class in a public school and stayed at home in the afternoon with her mother. The mother reported that they spent much time in the community center or play grounds around their apartment where they made many Chinese friends.
3.4.1.1.2 Analysis

The story started with arguing between the five years old host girl, Xingxing, and her six years old Chinese girl friend, Tongtong. The recorder only caught segments of the argument as Xingxing’s mother interrupted them. Later Xingxing’s mother reported that her daughter was always arguing with Tongtong, and most of the arguing was about following whose way or rule of playing. For example, when they were making a pretend play, both of them had their own ideas of how to set up the play, in other words, both girls wanted to be the director. The mother explained that the toy Tongtong wanted to play with was not the one Xingxing liked very much. She said that Xingxing put away her favorite stuffed animal—a pink unicorn before Tongtong came. She also reported that Xingxing was able to get along with another girl very well but she had so many problems with Tongtong. When asked why, the mother reflected on the matter and thought that it may be because both Xingxing and Tongtong were only children in the families, and they got used to taking the leader’s role while playing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message unit</th>
<th>Message</th>
<th>Cultural value 1</th>
<th>Culture theme</th>
<th>Cultural value 2</th>
<th>Culture theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1            | 妈妈：你让童童先玩一会儿啊。  
*Māmā：nǐ ràng Tóngtóng xiān wán yīhuì*  
Mom: You should have Tongtong play first. | X               | O              |                  |               |
| 2            | 兴兴：可是童童是姐姐哎，我是她妹妹。  
*Xìngxìng：kěshì Tóngtóng shì jiějiě āi，wǒ shì tā mèimei.*  
Xingxing: But Tongtong is my elder sister, and I am her younger sister. |                  | X              |                  |               |
| 3            | 妈妈：你是主人，你要让客人先玩。  
*Māmā：Nǐ shì zhǔrén，nǐ yào ràng kèrén xiān wán.*  
Mom: You are the host so you should let your guest play first. | X               | O              |                  |               |
| 4            | 妈妈：听见没有？  
*Māmā：Tīng jiàn méi yǒu?*  
Mom: Have you heard (what I said)? |                  |                |                  |               |

Even though it is not her favorite toy, when Tongtong picked up this toy and showed new interesting in it, Xingxing said she wanted to play with it too. So then the two girls started arguing with each other. The mother, who overheard their arguing from inside the kitchen, came to the living room and stopped her daughter. In the message unit 1 the mother did not give a direct order but used a participle 啊 at the end of the sentence to soften her request instead so that it sounded like a suggestion. She suggested giving the toy to Tongtong first, which indicated that Xingxing still had a chance to get the toy back and play with it later. However, the daughter did not take that suggestion. She used a
reasoning her mother had taught her before—that elders must take care of the younger ones. Therefore she assumed that Tongtong who was one year older should have let Xingxing play with the toy first. Her mother said there was once an incident, a couple of weeks ago, when Xingxing was playing in a playground, she asked Xingxing to give up riding on a tricycle to a younger child. Xingxing was exploiting this rule and thought that Tongtong should play the role of a big sister. Her mother did not let her finish the line, and she cut into it by stating the principle of how to host a guest. She thought of her daughter as the host child so she should give up her toy and let the guest play first regardless of an age difference. She emphasized the different roles that the two children were playing in such a situation: 主人 host vs. 客人 guest. Xingxing responded to her mother with silence. She had been confused by the two rules both taught by her mother yet applying in different situations; or she was reluctant to give up her toy at this point. Then her mother added a question—“did you hear what I said”—which was actually a command, asking her daughter to give the toy to her guest.

During the interview, Xingxing’s mother pointed out that Xingxing should know that her guest was 外人, an out group member. So she should behave and treat the guest as an out group member, showing her hospitality and friendliness and always considering her guest’s feelings. Therefore, at some point, she asked her daughter to sacrifice her own interest. The purpose of doing so was to establish and maintain the relationship with the guest. As Xingxing’s mother told Xingxing later, if her guest felt unhappy being in their place, she might not come back again, and thus Xingxing would lose a friend like Tongtong. For her mother, losing a friend was indecent and may very likely influence the
relationship between the two families. Thus even though Xingxing was younger than Tongtong, she needs to learn how to compromise when Tongtong was a guest at her place.

3.4.1.1.3 Discussion

As discussed above, two major cultural values are displayed when the mother and the daughter interacted in this story: 1). Maintaining group harmony; 2). 爱幼 loving and caring for the younger people. The first value was presented as a culture theme--sacrificing one’s own interest to show the hospitality and friendliness to a guest. The second one was not appropriate here although Chinese do conceptualize younger people as a dependent role in society. One cannot decide on one’s own the hierarchical nature of the cultural norms or rules. The rule of loving and caring for younger people is not as important as each individual trying to maintain group harmony. Application of rules must first be seen through the bigger picture of in/out group and then ones appropriate role can be found. As Xingxing herself was obviously an in-group member in this situation so her mother taught her to behave following the first value of maintaining group harmony.

The five-year-old girl was confused because both themes were working together in this situation. She expected Tongtong to behave following the second cultural value. Usually in a family which has more than one child, the younger siblings should be protected and loved by the elder ones. Xingxing’s mother treated Tongtong as an out-group member, and she expected Xingxing to understand and know how to behave
appropriately in such a complex situation. It was difficult for the child to distinguish in-group and out-group roles, and to behave accordingly.

When being interviewed, some American graduate students felt the last line by Xingxing’s mother was a little too harsh for her daughter. She might not consider how the child felt. It would be difficult for Xingxing to give up her toy without any hesitation. Xingxing’s mother did not explain anything about her command. Instead she emphasized the importance of distinguishing the roles of host and guest, and she expressed the expectation of Xingxing’s being able to treat other guests like this as well.

An interesting story told by Xingxing’s mother during the interview was another similar story happened once in a public playground when Xingxing was educated that she should care and love the younger child by giving up her toy. Xingxing’s mother provided additional information for that event. The younger child was an American boy, and his mother’s reaction to Xingxing’s mother’s coaching her to give up her toy was that if Xingxing was playing, she should keep the toy and need not give it to her son. She did not want her son to think he had the right to take other’s belongings. Xingxing’s mother reported that she felt awkward at that point as if she were not treating her daughter well enough. When asked what would possibly happen if the boy and his mother were Chinese, Xingxing’s mother replied that they probably will accept the toy and appreciate Xingxing’s kind behavior. Or they will be 克气，and refuse to take the toy. No matter in which way Chinese react, Xingxing’s mother would feel that her daughter’s kind behavior and their intention of developing a friendly relationship would be acknowledged. However, she cannot understand the American mother’s reaction
reflected that Americans value a child’s personal interest, and they emphasize more on the individual.

The reason why their speech/action crossed with different purposes laid in the foundational level of what relationship they focused on. We can see there are different themes going on and the two mothers were acting in different cultural frameworks. The Chinese mother wanted to train her daughter how to build up and bridge a social relationship with strangers while the American mother wanted to coach her son about personal value—not desiring other people’s possessions.

American students who were interviewed all reported during their first visit to China they felt unease when they were treated as guests in a Chinese family. Almost all the American students shared similar experience such as being invited to family feast, and asked to eat a great amount of food, which in American cultural schema, would be interpreted as the host is actively controlling the experience. One of the students said he had learned the principle 客随主便, and understood he should do what his host had arranged. However, he found it difficult to do so in the real life. He was asked what he would like to drink and honestly he replied he would like to have coffee, which placed both the host and hostess in a difficult situation. He did not understand that it was not a real question; instead it is a request for a certain piece of information. The expected script should be ‘whatever was OK’, or ‘anything the host picked would be good.’ Therefore it is essential to let learners of Chinese understand what the expected behavior is when they are treated as out group members. They should understand and express appreciation to the Chinese host’s showing of their hospitality.
To sum up, from this story, we can see that Xingxing’s mother coached her daughter about the culture theme—when hosting a guest she should sacrifice to make the guest feel happy. Through analyzing such a behavior, the cultural value of maintaining group harmony is emerged. It is thus important for learners of Chinese to understand this value and to be able to behave and respond accordingly based on which role they play, either in-group or out-group, and under what kind of circumstances.

3.4.1.2 Not over-valuing oneself

3.4.1.2.1 Context

As we have discussed in the previous session, it is essential to identify the roles of the in-group and out-group members, and to manage the relationship between them as well. Such interpersonal relationship is a significant component of each specific context. In order to construct a social relationship, people act and react to each other based on their. The story discussed in this session happened to the family who went to China for their summer vacation. The boy was born in Columbus, and he spent some time in his grandparents’ home in China until he had turned two years old. After he was sent back to Columbus, he enrolled in a day care program for three years, and then went to a public school. His parents had been staying in the U.S. for more than six years, and both were working as full-time employees in a university in Columbus. They reported that they used Chinese to communicate with their son but in the recording there were several instances that the parents used mixed-code as well. There was one time that when asked in Chinese about an in-school basketball game, the boy started narrating what had happened in
English, and was soon interrupted by the mother. Then he had to switch to Chinese and stayed in Chinese for the rest of the time. In the recordings they had done in China, the boy did not use any English at all.

It was their third trip to China, and the boy visited this city when he was five years old. The mother took the six-year-old boy to visit her friends, relatives, and places of interest in a middle-sized city. They took the recorder with them when they were in China, so some of the recordings were done during family gatherings, and when the boy went to the parks and playgrounds. They lived in their grandparents’ home during their visit so almost all the recordings included the grandparents’ interactions with the boy. All the interviews of the mother were conducted after they returned from China so during the interview she made some comparisons between the two cultures.

This story happened during a banquet when the mother invited some of her friends. One of the guests was an acquaintance of the family and had a higher social status than the others. More importantly, the mother had the intention to build up a business relationship with this guest or to develop a connection for her company. It was not an official business relationship, as the mother described during the interview. She had known this guest before she left China six years ago, and never contacted him after that. The banquet thus was aiming to get more acquainted and to build up a close social connection with him. The other guests were all their common friends, and some brought their children to the banquet too. That is, the boy was not the only child in this banquet.
3.4.1.2.2 Analysis

Two segments were selected for this story. The first segment was the interaction during the banquet, and the second one was after the banquet—a follow-up discussion about what had happened between the mother and the son.

The dinner banquet, which had about ten to twelve people in total, was not very big, recalled by the mother. They chose to eat in a private room which had a big round table—a typical banquet arrangement. A lazy susan was placed in the center of the table so that people can share the dishes and help themselves to the food from the center bigger dish onto their own plates.

The mother said the adults had some wine and all the children had juice. The dishes were ordered by the mother before all the guests arrived. Later in the interview she said Haihai, her son, had a good appetite that day and he always picked the meat and seafood. So during the banquet she had to stop her son from only picking out the shrimp to eat. The dish Haihai liked very much was the sweet and sour shrimp, and the mother found that the other children liked it too. She said it was embarrassing that Haihai had picked out many shrimp onto his own plate. Before the following conversation started, she had already warned Haihai twice and passed the shrimp dish to other children who liked it in order to share the shrimp. As she recalled, this shrimp dish was not the only seafood dish she ordered, and later as the banquet neared the end, she had to order it again because the children ate up all the shrimp.

In message unit one, the mother used the strategy of asking her son to eat more vegetables to stop Haihai from picking out the shrimp from the dish. She used the verb
挑, *pick*, because Haihai skipped other dishes and only ate the shrimp. Haihai’s response to his mother was not as loud as his mother. It was probably because he had food in his mouth or he did not want others to hear his words. However, his mother said in the interview that she purposefully raised her voice so that other people could hear what she said. She wanted to let the guests know she was educating her son about his behavior; otherwise they would have thought her son was bad mannered. She was not only thinking of her son’s behavior but also of her own reputation at that time. Her son’s response was very reasonable—because last time his mother had asked him to eat more shrimp. After Haihai responded to his mother, there was some vague laughter heard in the recordings. Haihai’s mother laughed with them too. However, she said she did not want to laugh at all as she felt embarrassed. In the interview, she said it was only fake laughter so as to save face for herself. Her friends were not laughing at her but at her son, which still made her uncomfortable. When asked about why she felt uncomfortable and embarrassed, she said the friends who laughed were all her close friends, which itself was fine, but only if not in front of this invited acquaintance. Obviously the mother considered this acquaintance an out-group member in this situation and she wanted to give him a good impression in order to develop further relationship. With her fake laughter she explained that the situation was different than previously when she asked her son to eat more shrimp. It was at home, a place where people can behave in a different way with in-group members being around.

The acquaintance understood Haihai’s mother’s intention and her embarrassing situation well so he encouraged Haihai to eat more shrimp, which indicated that he did
not mind what the boy had done. He saved Haihai’s mother’s face by insisting children should eat more shrimp because it can help them to grow taller. He did not say Haihai should eat more; instead he used the general pronoun 小朋友, our little friends, to address all the children in the room so that it sounded like Haihai was not the only one who was eating the shrimp. Then he picked one and put it in Haihai’s plate so as to show more concern and comfort for the boy who was criticized by his mother in front of other people. By doing so, he did not hurt either the boy or the mother. In addition, he indicated that he understood that he was being treated as an out-group member and thus the mother was worrying about her reputation and their relationship.

The mother thanked the acquaintance by saying 不用了, which literally means you do not need to do so. Here it was used as a polite and indirect acceptance rather than a refusal. To make it sound more like a refusal, the mother added that the reason why, was that he had taken in too much nutritional food already so he did not need more. Then she further insisted that the acquaintance did not need to do so, and she changed the topic from Haihai to the acquaintance himself. She used the banquet formulae to wrap up the “shrimp discussion”, asking the guest to eat more food in general.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message Unit</th>
<th>妈妈：海海，你多吃点菜，别老是挑虾吃。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mā mā：hǎi hǎi，nǐ duō chī diǎn cài，biě lǎo shì tiǎo xiā chī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mom: Haihai, you should eat more vegetables. Don’t pick shrimp only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>海海：妈妈你上次说让我多吃虾。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hǎi hǎi：mā mā nǐ shàng cì shuō ràng wǒ duō chī xiā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haihai: Mom. You said I should eat more shrimp last time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>妈妈：笑那是在家里。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mā mā：laugh nà shì zài jiā lǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mom: It was at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>妈妈朋友：小朋友就该多吃虾，来，海海，再吃一个。长大个。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mā mā péng yǒu：xiǎo péng yǒu jiù gāi duō chī xiā，lái，hǎi hǎi，zài chī yī gè。zhǎng dà gè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mom’s friend: Kids should have more shrimp. Here, Haihai, eat more. You will grow taller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>妈妈：不用啦，他营养过剩。您不用管他啊，您多吃，多吃。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mā mā：bù yòng la，tā yíng yǎng guò shèng。nín bù yòng guǎn tā a，nín duō chī，duō chī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mom: It’s OK. He takes enough nutritional food. You don’t need to worry about him. You should eat more. Eat more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>妈妈：海海，你多吃点菜，别老是挑虾吃。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mā mā：hǎi hǎi，nǐ duō chī diǎn cài，biě lǎo shì tiǎo xiā chī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mom: Haihai, you should eat more vegetables. Don’t pick shrimp only.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7. Banquet conversation**

The second segment was selected from the conversation between Haihai and the mother after they returned home. Haihai’s mother made it clear that when eating outside,
one cannot show whatever he/she likes by only eating this one kind. The word “outside” refers to places other than home, specifically, where there are out-group members. Haihai understood why his mother started a conversation about this topic, but he did not want to admit he did anything wrong. He used a negation word plus a sentence particle, which softened the way he negated his mother. His mother sounded more serious by raising her voice as she was not satisfied with Haihai’s response. She used a word 没出息 to criticize her son’s behavior, which literally means “having no future prospects”. Her reason for Haihai’s being没出息 is simply his eating too much shrimp for dinner. Therefore her intention was to blame her son that his behavior had stained her reputation, or even that of their family. During the interview, the mother mentioned several times that in situations like this her son’s behavior was not appropriate, which made her feel embarrassed. The word she used in the interview was 丢人, which literally means to lose face. Compared with 没出息, the word “to lose face” indicated more how the mother felt; more importantly, it showed that the result of Haihai’s being 没出息 was because of his mother’s losing her face. The mother reported in the interview that she felt her son was not as well-behaved as other children in the situation so she felt bad as if she should take the responsibility of training her son better. She added that she expected her son to懂事—behave appropriately based on the situation, which could be difficult for a child like Haihai as he would have to understand the personal relationship among all the adults in the banquet.
Haihai had to admit he ate too much shrimp but he repeated the justification—when at home and his mother cooked shrimp for him, she asked him to eat more so that he would grow taller. Again his low voice showed a little timidity. His mother lowered her voice as she explained that this rule does not apply for a banquet situation because people will laugh at him. A general pronoun 人家, someone or some people, was used to hide the name of the out-group member who would have laughed at Haihai. This is a very explicit instruction of how an out-group member would view Haihai’s behavior. Haihai knew who his mother was talking about so he argued that this out-group member asked him to eat more shrimp too. His voice rose as he felt it was a good supporting argument. He referred to this guest by his last name plus the address term 伯伯, which is used to address a male acquaintance who is older than one’s father. However, Haihai’s mother interrupted him and explained why this out-group member showed his kindness for the boy. The mother finally understood why the boy did not realize his behavior was not appropriate in the banquet—Haihai did not conceptualize Uncle Li as an out-group member thus he did not understand the intention was only to maintain the relationship. Even though it was the mother who felt she was losing the face at the banquet, she emphasized that Uncle Li did it to save Haihai’s face by prolonging the vowel when she said the word 面子, face. Therefore, her interpretation was Uncle Li wanted to save Haihai’s face because Haihai was a child being blamed by his mother in front of other people. Haihai did not respond to his mother’s interpretation but to her previous line—people will laugh at you. He obviously was quite upset as he speeded up his speech and repeated the general pronoun his mother used—人家, other people—to refer to Uncle Li.
Haihai realized his mother viewed Uncle Li as an out-group member but he did not feel like he was being laughed at. His mother sensed Haihai’s difference in addressed to Uncle Li so she continued to use the general pronoun 人家 and stressed on this word in order to emphasize the fact that Uncle Li was an out-group member. She stated the result of not being laughed at in the banquet was that Uncle Li would laugh at Haihai when he went home. That is, he would save Haihai’s face by encouraging him to eat more shrimp but his real opinion might be that Haihai behaved inappropriately in the banquet setting. Not until did Haihai totally understand what had happened and why Uncle Li encouraged him to eat more shrimp in the banquet. So he paused shortly. He was hurt as he felt he would’ve been tricked if Uncle Li really talked behind his back. Haihai raised his voice and sounded like he was about to cry. His mother reported later in the interview that he did not cry but he was upset.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>妈妈：海海，在外面吃饭不能只挑自己喜欢的吃。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā mā：hǎi hǎi，zài wài miàn chī fàn bù néng zhī tiǎo zì jǐ xǐ huān de chī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mom：Haihai, you should not pick whatever you like when eat outside.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>海海：没有啊</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hǎi hǎi：méi yǒu a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. I did not.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>妈妈：你今天太没出息，挑了那么多虾吃。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā mā：nǐ jīn tiān tài méi chū xī，tiǎo le nà mo duō xiā chī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mom：You are not good today. You picked too much shrimp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>海海：你上次给我做虾，你说吃虾就能长得高。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hǎi hǎi：nǐ shàng cì gěi wǒ zuò xiā，nǐ shuō chī xiā jiù néng zhǎng de gāo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haihai：Last time when you cooked shrimp for me, you said eat more shrimp so I can grow tall.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>妈妈：你在外面不能吃那么多，让人家笑话。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā mā：nǐ zài wài miàn bù néng chī nà mo duō，ràng rén jiā xiào huà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mom：But you cannot eat too much when we have dinner outside. People will laugh at you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>海海：李伯伯也说让我吃。╠</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hǎi hǎi：lǐ bó bó yě shuō ràng wǒ chī╠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haihai：Uncle Li asked me to eat more as well.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>妈妈：人家给你留面Vowel +子，觉得你是孩子。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā mā：rén jiā gěi nǐ liú miànVowel + zǐ，jué de nǐ shì hái zǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mom：He did so because he wanted to save your face. He felt you were a child.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>海海：人家没有笑话我。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hǎi hǎi：rén jiā méi yǒu xiào huà wǒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haihai：He did not laugh at me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>妈妈：人Stress家回家就笑话你了。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā mā：rénStress jiā huí jiā jiù xiào huà nǐ le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mom：He will when he gets home.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>海海：(.)▲▲那是他背后说别人坏话。（欲哭）</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hǎi hǎi：nà shì tā bèi hòu shuō bié rén huài huà (almost cried)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haihai：Then he talks behind people’s back. (almost cried)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8. Post-banquet conversation between Haihai and his mom

**Transcription Key**
- ▲ = more volume
- ▲▲ = greatly increased volume
- Stress= stressed word
- >word< = Quicker speech
- ‖ = interrupted by the next line
3.4.1.2.3 Discussion

This is an example that illustrates how Chinese parents coach their children’s social behavior right on the spot and then discuss with them about it later. First, in order to maintain the relationship with the out-group member, Uncle Li, Haihai’s mother blamed and corrected her son’s behavior at the banquet table. She de-valued her son and coached him not to display his personal interest in front of out-group members—the first culture theme related to this story. Chinese parents do not encourage children to show off their personal interest as the group interest is more important. For example, very few questions devoted to personal preference were recorded in the data. Chinese parents seldom ask what the child would like to do or have the child choose what he/she likes to do. Even if when they did offer multiple choices for the child and did ask about the child’s preference, they probably had already chosen something for their child. There was one conversation recorded between the mother and her daughter before they started to eat the dinner.

妈妈：你想喝什么？牛奶还是果汁？
妈 妈：nǐ xiǎng hē shén mo ？ niú nǎi hái shì guǒ zhī
What do you like to drink? Milk or juice?

儿子：果汁。
Erzì：guǒ zhī
Son: Juice.

妈妈：你还是喝牛奶吧。
妈 妈：nǐ hái shì hē niú nǎi ba 。
Mom: You still drink milk.

(. ) Micropause
Mom: (Despite you preferring the juice), just drink the milk.

On one hand, Chinese parents believe that they are doing this for their children’s own good and that they can make better choices for their child. On the other hand, they expect their children to follow their directions, to obey their commands, and to value the group interest—such as family reputation. At the same time, Chinese children are trained to always consider oneself as an unremarkable member of a group, and any aberrant behavior or distinguished personality cannot be accepted.
| 妈妈： 海海，你多吃点菜，别老是挑虾吃。 |
| mā mā： hǎi hǎi， nǐ duō chī diǎn cài， bié lǎo shì tiǎo xiā chī |
| Mom: Haihai, you should eat more vegetables. Don’t pick shrimp only. |
| X | O |

| 海海： 妈妈你上次说让我多吃虾。 |
| hǎi hǎi： mā mā nǐ shàng cì shuō ràng wǒ duō chī xiā. |
| Haihai: Mom. You said I should eat more shrimp last time. |
| X | O |

| 妈妈朋友： 小朋友就该多吃虾，来，海海，再吃一个。长大个。 |
| mā mā péng yǒu： xiǎo péng yǒu jiù gāi duō chī xiā, lái, hǎi hǎi, zài chī yī gè. |
| Mom’s friend: Kids should have more shrimp. Here, Haihai, eat more. You will grow taller. |
| X | O |

| 妈妈： 不用啦，他营养过剩。您不用管他啊，您多吃，多吃。 |
| mā mā： bù yòng la, tā yíng yǎng guò shèng. nǐ bù yòng guǎn tā a , nǐ duō chī, duō chī |
| Mom: It’s OK. He takes enough nutritional food. You don’t need to worry about him. You should eat more. Eat more. |
| X | O |

| Table 9. Cultural value and culture themes in the banquet conversation |
| V—cultural value: maintaining group harmony and social relationship |
| C1—culture theme 1: not showing off the personal interest in food |
| C2—culture theme 2: save Haihai and his mother’s face by denying the inappropriateness |

As for the foreigners in China, they are very likely to be treated as out-group members because of different appearances. However, it is crucial for them to understand...
their “foreigner” role in different situations and then respond appropriately to the way people deal with out-group members. They have to accept and appreciate their host/hostess kindness, for example, by complimenting their food or hospitality. Some Learners of Chinese refuse the food their host/hostess provides simply because they are full or they do not like it. It is tricky in the banquet situation but it is recommended to use a “decent” excuse, being allergic to a certain kind of food, or accept the food but not finish all of it. It becomes more complicated when dealing with alcoholic drinking games at a banquet but the important rule for such a game is to convey the idea of “心意领了”, which literally means “I understand your intention.” The issues faced by both insiders and outsiders have to do with the fact that people are always functioning in a sociocultural context. One’s interpretation of a situation is necessarily sifted through the sieve of that person’s particular time and constellation of background experiences.

Learners of Chinese also need to learn how to convey their intentions and willingness to build and maintain a social relationship with “in-group” members. Uncle Li’s way of saving Haihai’s mother’s face to fix the relationship is a good example, which is the second culture theme related to this story. To be a friendly and kind “out-group” member, one needs to have strategies to maintain harmony by looking for “common points” to become an insider, complimenting any in-group member, or saving the interlocutor’s face. For instance, asking about one’s hometown is a good way to shorten the psychological distance in the first meeting.

It is quite common to see a superior criticize or devalue his/her subordinate in front of out-group members, which is a way of being moderate in order to build up a
relationship with another group. Therefore, it is not strange to see Chinese parents blame or scold their children in public places as they conceptualize their children as a dependent role in the family. When referring to one’s own child in front of other people, the formal term—犬子, literally dog son—is an example of the way Chinese parents devalue their own child when they communicate with out-group members. One American student who taught English in China for several years said her students’ parents had constantly denied how smart their children were when talking with her. They even denied their children looked cute. She once encountered a boy in English corner whose English was very good, but his mother disagreed with her about her comments on the boy’s performance. She insisted her son needed to improve his English, although it was already “not-bad.” Therefore as an out-group member, one needs to understand that Chinese parents’ being modest is one way to accept a compliment and it is thus important to use different ways to compliment the children. Similarly, in order to build and maintain a social relationship, such complimenting of any member belonging to the other group is essential as it is not only a comment on a certain individual; it is also the judgment of the entire group. Often times, complimenting his subordinate is better than to felicitate the superior himself.

In addition, to shame a child is a way to socialize him/her in the Chinese society, as well as to encourage him/her to be a competent individual. As Confucius said, “to be fond of learning is akin to knowledge. To practice with vigor is akin to benevolence. To possess the feeling of shame is akin to courage.”–好学近乎知, 力行近乎仁, 知耻近乎勇. The first step of socialization is to teach the children what is appropriate and what is not, and thus they know if they have done something wrong, they would feel ashamed
of themselves. Haihai’s mother used the word 没出息 to comment on his behavior but she did not mean her son did not have a promising future. 没出息 can be used to refer to a failure to achieve the goals set by parents, or to staining the reputation of the family. Using “shame” as a major tool to socialize children does not mean that children are raised without any self-esteem. According to Amy Chua, the Tiger Mother, Chinese parents unlike Western parents do not need to worry about their children's self-esteem. She reported in her book about her parenting stories, Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother, that when her father called her “garbage”, she felt terrible and deeply ashamed of what she had done. “But it didn't damage my self esteem or anything like that. I knew exactly how highly he thought of me. I didn't actually think I was worthless or feel like a piece of garbage. (Chua 2011:55)” Chinese parents believe that a child will develop strong self-esteem when they really master something. So self-esteem should be grounded in their achievements, their ability, rather than empty praises from parents and teachers saying 'great job' for drawing a circle or 'great job' for just about anything.

The way Haihai’s mother coached her son is inspiring for foreign language educators. First, she gave direct comments right on the spot about Haihai’s behavior without further explaining the reasons. She also requested for immediate correction right on the spot. All the explicit instructions focus on the action. Second, Haihai’s mother did not explain anything until this social event finished. In her explanation, she included the analysis of the values, social rules, her expectations as well as the results. Most importantly, she helped her son to distinguish the “in-group” vs. “out-group” roles in this situation, and the different way to act according to these social roles. Haihai’s mother
used an inductive approach by commenting on specific behavior first and then analyzing the underlying abstract value. In the language classroom, experiencing the language before explanations, can be used to better facilitate student learning.

3.4.2 Being competitive – 出人头地

As mentioned above, Haihai’s mother expected her son to behave appropriately otherwise Haihai would be viewed as 没出息. When asked what her expected goals for 出息 were (having a promising future), she said the most important thing is to have better academic achievement. The emphasis on academic achievement derives from the idea that the only way to obtain a higher social status is through ranking high in the national exams so as to raise the family’s reputation—出人头地. Chinese parents believe that children’s self-esteem stems from their achievements so they encourage their children to compete with their peers. Thus parents’ expectations of children are high and failure to meet these standards can evoke relatively harsh responses. Proper training within the Chinese culture encourages the development of socially and morally responsible, diligent, and striving youth (Wilson, 1970; Wu, 1981, 1996; Lin & Wang, 1995). What appeared many times in the recordings were parents using other children as the example to encourage their children to work harder. The commonly used phrase was

你看人家XX

Do you know XX (who is better)

Chinese parents compare their children with neighbors, friends and relatives in order to find out a better example in the group. It is not always about academic achievement;
sometimes they compare other aspects such as the mastering of an instrument or sport. The value of being competitive does appear to be contradictive with the one that emphasizes group harmony, but both exist and co-construct the social cultural interactions. In the story analyzed below, these two values were presented when a boy was dealing with a peer relationship.

3.4.2.1 Context

The following story happened to another 6 year-old boy Dingding, whose friend named Youyou came to his house to play. They were at the same age but in different schools. Youyou’s parents had been in the U.S. for more than seven years, and both were working as full-time employees at that time. Dingding’s parents came from Shanghai one and a half year ago. His father worked for the university as a visiting scholar, and his mother stayed at home. They were likely to return to Shanghai after his father’s two-years of visiting.

Youyou was in a full-day Kindergarten program at a private school whereas Dingding was enrolled in a nearby public school. Dingding’s mother said the two boys became friends as she once was Youyou’s babysitter, but after Youyou went to the full-day class, he did not need such a babysitter. He and his parents liked Dingding very much and would arrange play dates once or twice per week. Dingding’s family used Chinese to communicate all the time so one of the reasons why Youyou’s parents sent Youyou to this family was to have the boy use more Chinese. In the recordings, Youyou used mixed codes most of the time—adding English words here and there into his Chinese —when
talking to Dingding and Dingding’s mother. Dingding spoke Chinese all the time with his friend and his mother. His mother reported that Dingding started to mix English and Chinese but they set up a rule to diminish such speech behavior at home. However, Dingding’s mother expected Dingding to speak better English. She reported that she encouraged her son to play with American children in the playground and the public library in order to improve his English. Dingding’s parents spoke Mandarin with a Shanghai accent, and when they talked with their relatives in Shanghai via phone, they switched to Shanghai dialect. Dingding’s mother said that Dingding understood some Shanghai dialect but cannot speak it.

The story unfolds near the end of a play date. The two boys were playing with train tracks and trains. The recorder did not catch much of what they said and Dingding’s mother said the boys were quiet as well. She said she noticed although the two boys got along with each other very well, they seldom talked with each other when they played together.

3.4.2.2 Analysis

Dingding’s mother cannot recall many details of how Youyou started this conversation. But she remembered that she was walking across the living room floor where the two boys set up a large loop of train tracks and were kneeling on the floor playing trains. Youyou then put down his trains and stood up to talk to Dingding’s mother. He used the polite address term without the last name, 阿姨, auntie. Dingding’s mother said that Youyou is a polite boy, as his mother educated him to use polite terms.
Once he called her by her whole name when she was his baby sitter. His mother then corrected him immediately and asked him to apologize to Dingding’s mother. From then on, he never used her whole name, and only addressed her阿姨. Dingding’s mother explained that he probably overheard his parents talking about her using her whole name so he picked that up as the address term. Yet it is not common for children in China to address adults in this way. Generally, Dingding’s mother commented, Youyou is a well-behaved boy, and she thought he was a good companion for her son.

Youyou stated the fact that he can ride a scooter but he did not use the state-changing particle了, which made the statement sound like he had mastered the skill for a long time already, and was very good at it. Dingding’s mother understood it as he had just learned how to ride a scooter since it was at the beginning of spring when this story happened, and children did not have much out-door playing time during the winter. Dingding’s mother did not have time to respond to Youyou before Dingding interrupted their conversation by stating he can also do it. Youyou further explained that his scooter only had two wheels, which was a more advanced style. Dingding’s mother interpreted it in this way because Dingding had a scooter of three wheels. Youyou was still talking to Dingding’s mother but again she did not have a chance to say anything before Dingding switched the topic by adding that he can draw pictures. Dingding’s interrupting their conversation twice in a row indicated how eager he was to show off what he was capable of, and how much he wanted to compete with Youyou. However, Youyou had no interest in responding to Dingding; instead he continued to talk to Dingding’s mother. He compared himself with Dingding and stated that he was, in general, more competent. He
used a general adjective and did not specify on any particular aspect he was more competent than his friend in. He had wanted to continue to explain but Dingding did not let him finish his sentence. Dingding was not talking to his friend either. He called to his mother in order to get her attention and used the same structure that Youyou used and stated exactly the same—he was more competent. His mother concluded their arguing by stating that both were great.

优优：阿姨我会滑滑板车。
yōu yōu：ā yí wǒ huì huá huá bǎn chē
Youyou: Antie I can ride the scooter now.

丁丁：我也会。
dīng dīng：wǒ yě huì
Dingding: I can do it too.

优优：可是我的（滑板车）是两个轮子的。
yōu yōu：kě shì wǒ de（huá bǎn chē）shì liǎng gè lún zǐ de
Youyou: But mine (the scooter) has two wheels

丁丁：我还会画画。
dīng dīng：wǒ huán huì huà huà
Dingding: and I can draw.

优优：我比丁丁厉害，我
yōu yōu：wǒ bǐ dīng dīng lì hài，wǒ
Youyou: I am better than dingding. I can

丁丁：妈妈，我比优优厉害。
dīng dīng：mā mā，wǒ bǐ yōu yōu lì hài。
Dingding: Mom, I am better than Youyou.

妈妈：你们两个都很棒。
mā mā：nǐ men liǎng gè dōu hěn bàng。
Both of you are great.
Table 10. Conversation by Dingding, Youyou and Dingding’s mom

The second segment was selected from conversations between Dingding and his mother after Youyou had left. As recounted by Dingding’s mother: She was busy preparing dinner in the kitchen and Dingding was in the living room when he initiated the conversation. His mother did not hear him saying that he did not like Youyou anymore as his voice was very low. She asked what the boy had said and walked from the kitchen to the living room—where the recorder was. Dingding repeated what he said. He used a sentence particle to show the change of his feeling towards his friend Youyou—from like to dislike. His mother asked for the reason. She used the question word 为什么 why plus a sentence particle 啊 to soften her inquiring tone. She paused shortly, waiting for the answer but Dingding did not respond. She continued to ask in another way—what was wrong with Youyou. Then she asked the third one using a rhetorical question indicating their relationship was very good before. Dingding did not answer these three questions right away. There was a long pause before he verbally responded, and again his voice was low. He used a frequency adverb 老 always, and he prolonged the vowel of this word to emphasize his displeasure. Dingding also described Youyou’s behavior in a vague way using a demonstrative pronoun “like that.” Even though his mother understood what he meant by “that” she still asked him to specify “like that.” She used a shortened question again—a question word plus a sentence particle. She did not wait for her son to answer her question; she then added her own comment, saying that she thought Youyou was not
bad. Therefore her shortened question was not a real question. It was more like a denial response to Dingding.

Dingding raised his voice to specify why he did not like Youyou—he was always more competent. He might have wanted to say that Youyou always competed with him and always gained the upper hand. His mother used the general pronoun 人家, someone, to refer to Youyou. In this context, both interlocutors knew who they were talking about, and this general pronoun indicated that Dingding’s mother viewed Youyou as an out-group member, and valued his competence. She also used the adverb 就 to emphasize her disagreement with her son, and to make the statement stronger that Youyou was more competent. Then she explained that the reason she valued his competence, was that he could ride a two-wheel scooter.

Dingding repeated that his other skill was the ability to draw pictures. He raised his voice again and he sounded like he was eager to convince his mother. His mother realized her words did hurt the boy so she acknowledged his competency, and used a rhetorical question to emphasize that she thought both boys were good. However, she added that Youyou was better in riding the scooter. Dingding was infuriated and became disappointed by his mother’s specific comments so he burst into tears and denied what his mother said.
丁丁：▼我不喜欢优优了。

Dingding: I do not like Youyou any more.

妈妈：什么

Mama: what (did you say?)

丁丁：我不喜欢优优了。

Dingding: I do not like Youyou any more.

妈妈：为什么啊？优优怎么了？他不是你好朋友吗？

Mama: Why? What’s wrong with youyou? Isn’t he your good friend?

丁丁：他老是那样。

Dingding: He was always like that.

妈妈：哪样啊，人家不挺好。

Mama: Like what? Isn’t he good?

丁丁：我还会画画。

Dingding: I can draw.

妈妈：你也很厉害的。妈妈不是说了，你们两个都很棒。优优骑滑板车比你厉害。

Mama: You are great. Mom told you, both of you are great. Youyou is better in riding the scooter.
3.4.2.3 Discussion

When asked if Dingding’s mother comforted him as he cried at the end of the conversation, she recalled she did try to let him feel better but she did not say Youyou was not good. For her, it was quite normal that children compete with each other, and she encouraged such competition and she believed it can provoke her son’s potential. She proved it by saying that Dingding later asked for a two-wheel scooter and wanted to learn how to ride it. What is more, she used Youyou as an example to encourage her son to try ride a bicycle without the training wheels. By the time she was interviewed, Dingding was still learning how to ride such a bicycle. “But at least he would like to try because he wanted to be better than Youyou.” Dingding’s mother felt happy for it. She felt the competition was more intense among children in China since most children are the only child in the family and their parents hold high expectations. She said most competitions among Chinese children were about academic performance.

In the recordings collected from the other family, the parents consistently asked their seven year old daughter to do her “extra” math homework before she went to the play ground. The girl once argued that she did not need to do it since her teacher did not teacher her how to solve such a difficult equation yet, but her father said he had taught her already and thus she should be able to do it. He commented that she was not challenged enough as the boy living next door had already finished fifth grade Math by teaching himself. He encouraged the girl,
And he constantly told his daughter,

“你也要用功点，要不然不就输了”

*You should work hard as well. Otherwise you will lose.*


你不是第一，就是倒数第一。

*If you are not the first, you are the last.*

When asked what he meant by “lose”, the girl’s father explained that he felt like he lost face when he heard about the neighbor’s boy and he felt his daughter lost the tacit competition. He emphasized that the goal of encouraging his daughter to compete with the neighbor was to push her to work harder. He believed “吃得苦中苦方为人上人 only those who endure the most become the highest.”

Therefore, the first culture theme in this story—encouraging the competition, implies the cultural value of being diligent and striving in order to rank high in the group. On the other side, Dingding’s mother magnified Youyou’s being able to ride a scooter as a way to teach her son about being modest. So the second culture theme in this story was to magnify other’s (an out-group individual) competence. When interviewed about the purpose of doing this, Dingding’s mother reported she wanted to teach her son how to find out the merit in other people. She believed that her son, being the only child in the family, was somewhat spoiled so he had a superiority complex of himself. She said most Chinese children in this generation, being the only child in the family, do not understand
“天外有天人外有人there is always someone who is better than you.” She worried that his arrogance would influence the way he treated his friend and finally harm the friendship and the interpersonal relationship. She said the discipline she wanted to teach her son was 严格于律己宽以待人 be strict and demanding with oneself, and less so with others.

After hearing the story and the two segments of conversation, most American students felt the way that Dingding’s mother evaluated her son was harsh, but they felt it was similar with the way their Chinese teacher treated them. Some students recalled that their Chinese teacher encouraged peer competition and liked to rank the students in the class. Some said their Chinese teacher evaluated their performance in front of the whole class made them feel embarrassed. But they all understood that the intention of their teachers was to encourage them to work harder and be better.

Therefore, for the learners of Chinese, it is crucial to understand that competition exists everywhere in Chinese society, and that Chinese value being diligent and being competitive. However, in some situations, being modest is important to build up and maintain the social relationship.

3.5 Conclusion

First, caregivers, children, and the social environment work together to shape cognition i.e., children’s acquiring of the culture themes. On the one hand, the parents in the three stories analyzed in this chapter helped their children to identify social relationships, social identities, and social practices in order to co-construct the cognition
of culture themes. For example, in the story of Haihai eating too much shrimp in a
banquet, his mother first identified the context of the banquet, which was different from
being at home “家里.” Then she addressed Li bobo as someone “人家,” which showed a
distinct social distance. From the other side, the children utilized these social and cultural
resources from the environment to internalize and mediate the culture themes. In this
sense, all the contextual elements in the social events are the cultural artifacts involved in
the children’s cognitive mediation process. In addition, a caregivers’ guidance is
necessary for this process. If there is no such parental facilitating, children will not be
able to identify the cultural artifacts and use the resources from the environment. Thus,
the cultural mediation system proposed by Cole (1996) 4 should be modified as following:

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4 Please see the discussion in 1.2.1.3 about Cole’s cultural mediation system
Second, cultural values co-construct and shape people’s behavior in specific contexts. Culture themes presented and analyzed in this chapter make some values prominent. As shown in the stories analyzed in this chapter, Chinese parents coach their children to distinguish the in-group and out-group members and to deal with in-group and out-group social relationship. They teach children to care about others’ face and avoid direct conflict in communication. Also they coach children to recognize social hierarchies and to behave appropriately in order to respect the hierarchies and maintain harmony. However, once people are taken into a group and cross the in-group vs. out-group barriers, the social distance disappears. When dealing with in-group members, Chinese will be direct in many ways, such as opening casual conversation by stating that you have gained some weight recently. Showing personal concern like this is a way to shorten
social distance. Children have to be trained to be sensitive of any change in a social relationship and to be able to react to such a change.

In addition, Chinese parents put emphasis on academic success and on being competitive. Competitiveness is another important aspect of the Chinese culture themes that children are acquiring. It requires children to conceptualize themselves as group members while making efforts to be outstanding in the group. This aspect may seem to conflict with maintaining group harmony but the two co-exist and co-construct social actions. Labeling Chinese culture as a collectivist culture and using collectivism vs. individualism dichotomy to discuss any cultural difference is thus an over-generalization.

Third, the way parents coach their children to behave following these values is also inspiring for foreign language teaching and learning. They combine both implicit and explicit instructions. Chinese parents seldom explicitly teach their children about cultural values but they coach their behavior in social events all the time. It is thus essential to train individuals not only to understand the abstract cultural values but also to behave appropriately, following them in each particular context.

Fourth, in the adult-child discourse analyzed in this chapter, there appear many cases of intertextuality. Chinese parents explicitly made connections between different events, or commented and gave feedback afterwards. For example, after the banquet event Haihai’s mother discussed why his behavior was not appropriate and what Li Bobo, an out-group member’s possible reaction to it was. Such discussion may have been initiated by children, but it also may indicate there were contextual cues understood only by the interlocutors. For example, in the first story, Xingxing mentioned she was younger
than her friend so she deserved the right to play with the toy. Her mother had educated her on this concept of age hierarchy in a previous social event, which was mentioned in the retrospective interview. Such intertextuality helps children to relate one social event with another, and similarly, one culture theme with another, which is necessary to internalize the cultural values.

Lastly, the analysis in both chapters two and three shows the changing process of the Chinese mother’s role in a child’s socialization. In the infant-directed interactions analyzed in chapter two, the Chinese mothers showed a loving and caring aspect of nurturing. They used many diminutive forms to emphasize the attachment between mother and infant. However, in chapter three, all three of these Chinese mothers took an authoritarian role in guiding their children’s socialization of culture themes. As children grow up, Chinese parents emphasize more on the “controlling” aspect of parenting. In this sense, the traditional view of Chinese parenting as “authoritarian”, or “restrictive” is oversimplified. It is thus essential to demonstrate the dynamic nature of parenting in the culture-related studies.

3. 6 Summary

To sum up, we can see the culture themes developed at a young age through children’s interactions with other native speakers under the guidance of their parents or caregivers. It reflects that in order to communicate successfully people have to do things within shared time and space, with the same cultural framework. In foreign language study, the goal is to inculcate default linguistic and social behaviors that sustain
participation in a culture. Therefore, it is not enough to understand the cultural values; it is also important to know what to do when following these values.

In teaching Chinese as a foreign language, it is thus dangerous to talk generally about cultural differences and conflicts. Learners need to understand any stereotypical statement such as “Chinese are polite” or “Chinese are humble” as misleading, as these values have been interpreted within a specific context. It is more effective if the focus of culture instruction switches from cultural values to culture themes. It is necessary to train our learners to be able to recognize, identify and interpret the themes in daily life so as to behave appropriately in the target cultural framework. The next chapter will focus on the discussions about such training at different levels.
Chapter Four: Learning Chinese Culture themes in Chinese

The analysis of parent-child interactions presented in the previous chapter reflects how the acquisition of particular cultural values and themes in the context of an evolving sociocultural competence is negotiated by children and is constrained by social structure. Such observation is inspiring in that it illuminates the way we conceptualize cultural instruction in foreign language teaching and learning. This chapter focuses on the discussion of how to inculcate the default behaviors in language and society that sustain participation in the target culture, which is the goal of foreign language study. Pedagogical considerations about material, curriculum, and program design derived from the analysis of children’s acquisition of culture themes are addressed.
4.1 Making connections between children’s acquisition of culture themes and cultural instructions to learners of Chinese

4.1.1 Context matters

Social interaction contextualized within particular routine activities is a crucial aspect of cultivating communicative competence in one’s first, second or foreign language and one’s knowledge of the values, practices, and stances of the target group. Culture themes are all embedded in such social interactions, and thus they cannot be acquired without the context. When children negotiate with adults about what appropriate under which circumstances, all the contextual elements are considered. Social relationship among all the people involved in the social activities influences how people act and react to each other. Changing any contextual component in a social activity can cause a change in any aspect of the interaction: word choice, intonation, facial expressions, body language, etc. For example, if the social relationship between Li Bobo and Haihai’s mother was that of relatives or close friends, she would not need to criticize her son’s behavior at the banquet as discussed in the previous chapter.

It is meaningless to explain any culture themes without context, and thus it is dangerous to teach culture themes to foreign language learners independent from the context. For example, “greeting people using 你好” is misleading. Contextual elements such as place, time, and social relationship need to be explained in terms of how to greet people. Two neighbors who meet in the morning when they leave for work may use an expression as simple as “早” ‘morning’, or “上班啊” ‘are you going to work’ to greet
each other. In this situation, the yes-no question does not serve as a question; instead, it is a morning ritual phrase in which these two neighbors do not intend to check the destination of their trips. In such a situation, “你好” is inappropriate as it is a formal greeting and it indicates social distance between the two interlocutors. If these two neighbors are seniors and they have already retired, the greeting phrases are likely to expand into short conversations about the weather or the place they are going to do morning exercises.

Therefore, when learning culture themes, it is crucial to understand the specific context, including social roles, place, time, and other people involved. Then it is possible to grasp who should say what to whom, and how people should react to it. Similarly, cultural values derived from culture themes have to be explained within the specific context, otherwise stereotypical assumptions may occur, such as “Chinese are modest” or “Chinese are indirect”, which are not true in many cases.

4.1.2 Knowing is doing

We can see from children’s language acquisition process that parents’ instruction and guidance were mainly about specific actions. Parents seldom explained the abstract values and norms for their children. Even when they explained, they started with what the children should do first, and then explained why they were supposed to do it. For
example, Xingxing’s mother, in the first story analyzed in chapter three, corrected her daughter’s behavior first, and then explained why Xingxing should give up her toy.

Knowing what to do and being able to do it is as important as knowing why, and it is not enough to explain “why” without doing anything. To use the game metaphor proposed by Jian and Shepherd (2010), individuals engaged in cross-cultural communication are players in a game, and successful participants need to know the rules as well as master the physical skills in order to gain points during the game. In cross-cultural communication, the “game” is defined by the cultural context of communication. People who “win” in Chinese culture contexts are able to “play” by Chinese rules. Points (e.g., “brownie points” or social capital) are scored when proper etiquette is followed, when ideas are understood as intended and are accepted, and when face is saved. Fouls are charged when etiquette is breached or ignored (a faux pas or “party foul”), when face is lost, or when the cultural player simply fails to make him/herself fully understood. Game rules are socially agreed upon; no single player can decide whether their actions qualify to receive points. Therefore, an American in a Chinese environment must play by the rules of the game as understood by Chinese in order to remain in the game and hopefully score points. When training such players, it is not enough to explain the rules only. The essential part of such training should be on how to play—such as the specific techniques/movements, use of strategies and movements.

In this sense, all children are prepared by their caregivers to play the game in their native culture, following the cultural norms. Similarly, L2 learners should be trained to play “the game” successfully in the target culture. Culture game winners accumulate
social esteem, friendships, successful business projects, loyal employees, and so on. Losers, on the other hand, are simply excluded from the game, at best, or at worst ejected, as is the case with early expatriate repatriation. The game metaphor for cross-cultural communication is so powerful because it provides a mental model for achieving success in a foreign culture.

For L2 learners, knowing about the cultural values and being able to behave appropriately based on the values are equally important. According to Hyman (1999, p435), “knowledge is the ability to act, refrain from acting, to believe, to desire or doubt for reasons that are facts.” Thus to know is to be able to do, and knowledge about a culture is the ability to do things in the culture. L2 learners have to understand why—the cultural values, and be able to do things—enacting the cultural values. This is why acquiring the culture themes are important. For example, if they understand it is the host who usually makes the choices for the guests, they should not be surprised when alcoholic drinks are offered without considering their preferences. More importantly, they should be able to react to being offered the alcoholic drinks—either by accepting them or refusing them in an appropriate manner.

This is a strong argument for a pedagogical approach that focuses both on the culture themes and one that incorporates the development of interpersonal relationships into basic language learning strategies. It also suggests that foreign language instruction would be most efficient if it combined interaction with the target culture environment and directed instruction from members of that culture. First, learners must make members of the target culture—Chinese in this case—see value in them as individuals so that they
actively engage in enculturation and socialization processes that incorporate the new member into the community social world. Second, the individual learner must calibrate both his/her behaviors and cognitive orientation in order to sync with the members and norms of the new culture so that she or he can actively participate in target culture events in modes recognized and accepted by that group (Shepherd, 2005).

4.1.3 The expert-novice relationship

The analysis of face-to-face interactions also reveals the role of caregivers/parents in young children’s socialization processes. The process of acquiring culture themes requires that novices become more fully aware of the function of the themes they are learning, and then understand what resources are available to enact the themes and the social roles involved, then finally extend them to an ever widening range of contexts. All these steps need the guidance from an “expert.” As Ochs (1996) notes, any expert-novice interaction is crucial in the language socialization process. The expert-novice relationship is unique in such a process as both sides negotiate, maintain and develop the social relationship when participating in language-mediated social activities.

In the second story analyzed in chapter three, the mother guided Haihai to understand the social roles, the relationships among all the participants in the social event, and the banquet context in which Li Bobo saved his mother’s face. Based on these explanations, the mother was coaching the appropriate way to behave in that situation. She was not only the “expert” who transmitted the sociocultural knowledge and
sociolinguistic conventions, but also a participant who demonstrated high-level competence and constantly modeled the expected behavior.

Bruner (1983) proposed Language Acquisition Support System (LASS) when he discussed the role of caregivers in a child’s language and cultural development process. Bruner suggested it is principally through interacting with more competent members of society that children find out what the culture is about and how their culture conceives the world. When children acquire their native culture, their caregivers are co-participating in the social activities.

Because of the bond between children and their caregivers, the expert-novice relationship is very unique in that the expert employs both the explicit and implicit approach when training the novice. The chapter three analysis mostly follows the explicit approach in regards to culture themes as specific explanations and directions provided for behavior. As for the implicit approach, it occurs imperceptibly. Caregivers influence children by demonstration when they are participating in social events together. The ancient Chinese scholar, 颜之推 Yan Zhitui, wrote in his book 颜氏家训 Yan Shi Jia Xun, (Family Instructions of Yan Clan) that the implicit approach has a major role in educating children—潜移默化, which literally means to influence in an imperceptible way. The idea behind 潜移默化 is not that the novice does not need to do anything but observe; instead, it is through co-participating in social events that the novice learns from the expert.

The nature of the expert-novice relationship is dynamic, as that of other social relationships. It is imbalanced when the “expert” takes more control of the socialization
process, but as the novice becomes increasingly competent, their relationship develops into a cooperative association. At some point, the “novice” takes more control in accessing the recourses, negotiating social roles, and building up the social relationships through interactions. For the L2 socialization process, the teacher-student relationship is also an “expert-novice” one, but at the higher level, expert can be someone other than the teacher. Therefore, the teacher’s role in this process is also dynamic.

4.1.4 The instructor’s role

Second culture learners go through a learning process similar to children who are native language learners, in that they need to learn how to do things in the target culture in ways recognizable to members of that culture (Ochs, 1996). We must take into consideration the differences between the first culture (C1) and the second culture (C2) acquisition processes. Although second language teachers may also have expertise in terms of L2 linguistic and sociocultural knowledge, certainly the nature of the child novice-adult expert relationship cannot be extrapolated or imported wholesale when applied to second language acquisition. Therefore, it is necessary to explore and discuss the role of the language instructor in second language socialization.

At the beginning level, language courses are designed to emphasize spoken language, and to stress the importance of acquiring new “communicative moves” while working with language securely rooted in realistic communicative contexts. The instructors need to set up various realistic communicative contexts to elicit student performances. The
more realistic the contexts are, the better it is for students to perform the communicative moves, and to learn how to use the language in a culturally appropriate way. The instructor also helps students to improve their performances by correcting their pronunciation errors, explaining the cultural differences, modeling the facial expression and body language. We can analyze the instructor’s role by looking at a scene from a performance-based Chinese class.

For example, a beginning level class is designed for students to learn how to do a formal self-introduction. One of the performances the instructor wants to elicit is to introduce yourself to your business partner in the first meeting. When setting up the context of a business meeting, the instructor specifies five elements of the performance: time, place, roles, scripts and audience (Walker 2000). It is shown in a power point slide that the meeting time was 8:30am, and the time when this conversation happens is right before the meeting officially starts. The place is set in a meeting room in Jinli Watch Company in Zhengzhou City, Henan Province. The more specific the details are, the more realistic the context is. Students may already know Beijing and Shanghai well as international cities, so the smaller cities are better. Jinli Watch Company is about to have a meeting with its business partner, Sino-American Trading Company. It is the first time for the personnel from each company to meet each other, so the roles are Huang Qiang, the Accountant from Jinli Watch Company, and Sheng Ying, the manager assistant from Sino-American Trading Company. When the roles are introduced, the instructor prepares two name tags and two folders with the company names and logos on the covers.
The script is semi-structured. After learning the model of a self-introduction from the textbook, students need to construct their own self-introduction based on the situation that the instructor provides. After the students’ performance, the instructor needs to correct the pronunciation, grammar, behavior and body language. Commonly seen errors might include forgetting to shake hands after the self-introduction or not specifying the company name before introducing their own names from the script. After correction, the instructor needs to explicitly explain that Chinese tend to state the organization that they belong to before their names because they view themselves as a group member.

Hence the instructor plays a role of a script writer although he/she never shows the script directly to the students in class; instead the instructor elicits the scripts using contextual cues. In addition, the instructor is a stage manager because he/she lays out the props and arranges the actors on the stage. Directing what to say, when to say and how to say the script on stage, the instructor also acts as a director. At the same time, the instructor is also the students’ personal coach in that he/she teaches various learning strategies based on their learning styles. For example, a coach can tailor the training plan based on the trainee’s personal need—choosing to focus on strength, speed or correction of a certain position. Similarly, the instructor can give students comments and feedback based on their performance, which in turn guide the focus of their learning.

In summary, at the beginning level, the instructor needs to help L2 learners to be socialized to use the language in a culturally appropriate way. The major task of instruction is to transform the linguistic and culture knowledge, to foster study skills, to explain the cultural differences and sociocultural norms, and to answer students’
questions regarding language use in specific contexts. A majority of the instruction, at this level, is explicit.

As the learning task changes into being socialized through language in culturally specific ways at a higher level, the instruction of sociocultural knowledge and learning skills increases. Language instructors need to guide learners’ performances within the cultural context in order to communicate successfully with native speakers and to participate in social activities in culturally specific ways. The intermediate level classes are designed to learn and use the language through accomplishing tasks in realistic contexts. The instructor organizes the discussion of communicative strategies and cultural differences in class before students are sent out to complete the task. The discussion in class or in the cultural learning journals that students were asked to write continues as the task is conducted, but the topic is changed to solve problems and provide suggestions. At this level, the instructor acts as a athletic trainer. Learners are the players who realize the strategies in the game. The coaches spend a significant amount of time outside of the game field training the players, and thus they are active participants in the game as well.

At the advanced level, the instruction of language and culture is mostly implicit. Socialization through language examines how language is used as a medium or tool in the socialization process. Language enables a novice to become a competent member of a community by socialization through the content of the communication and through language use. Advanced learners need to improve their language proficiency within a domain context. Consequently, the language instructor’s task is to help them build up, maintain, and develop social relationships with experts in their domain from the target
culture. Advanced courses are designed as individualized domain-specific tutorial sessions. Students need to work closely with their mentors in their own domain field in the target culture. Many of them need to work for specific projects, academic writing assignments, theses/dissertations, or as an intern in an organization with their mentors. The instructor no longer teaches but rather works with both the students and the experts in the domain because the instructor may not have enough domain-specific knowledge to guide the students in their specific fields. Thus socialization at this level requires the cooperation of different parties, and each party takes some of the responsibilities. Thus at the advanced level, the instructor becomes a player in the team.

4.1.5 Learning culture themes in C1 vs. C2

As discussed in chapter one about first and second language socialization, children’s socialization process shares similarities with foreign language learners’ second language socialization. They all go through the process of becoming culturally competent social members with the guidance provided by experienced social members—caregivers or language instructors. They all have to learn how to do things in an appropriate way through social interactions following the cultural values in the target culture. However, C2 learners are different than C1 novices in that they have already had socialized to their base culture. Thus C2 learners have to learn to play in another game in addition to the game they have been used to. Also, they do not have “caregivers” who provide 24/7 training on how to play the game. In this sense, they have to be independent
learners since the contact time with their instructors is limited. In addition, C2 learners have more chances to learn and experience in public situations from the beginning phase of the socialization. Last, for adult C2 learners, they have to go through a different process of building up their self-esteem and identity in the target culture. Despite of the differences, what we can learn from C1 culture theme acquisition is inspiring for the foreign language educators.

Once the culture theme is acquired, it becomes subconscious behavior. As children encounter the similar social events and repeat the similar social actions, they will gradually do things without thinking of “why”—the underlying cultural values and the negotiations with their parents. To use the “game” metaphor again, when a player becomes familiar with the game, they will move, pass or hit the ball without thinking of the particular rules. Because of such unawareness of the way people do things in their daily life, it is difficult for C2 learners to acquire culture themes in the target culture. They have to consciously pay attention to native speakers’ intentions and cues in the communication, and react to them following their “rules.” They have to keep practicing until they can react promptly without thinking of the rules; otherwise, the intuition will lead to the “default” culture themes in their base culture.

4.1.6 Culture themes and pedagogical scripts

In Chapter three, parent-child discourse containing instructions of culture themes are analyzed in order to explore the process of acquiring culture themes. Nevertheless, it
also provides archetypes of generating pedagogical scripts for C2 learners. First, the contextual-related meaning of culture themes in parent-child interactions are important for C2 learners. In addition, the way that parents coach children to understand social roles and social hierarchy is inspiring as they always analyze the social relationship in specific contexts.

It is possible that several sets of pedagogical scripts can be derived from one culture theme, and one script containing multiple culture themes. For example, in Performance II of Culture theme one below, it is a declining letter and the writer uses the occupational term of address of “校长，President” to show the respect. In this session, the culture themes analyzed in chapter three will be used to develop pedagogical scripts for C2 learners at different levels. These pedagogical scripts are presented with the five elements of performance discussed in 1.2.2. Some scripts are designed for oral performances while others are for written ones.

**Culture theme one:** Declining an invitation indirectly by stating the willingness to accept first.

- **Performance I:** intermediate level, oral performance

  **Time:** About to get off work

  **Place:** Government office in a small size city in North China

  **Roles:** 小王，Xiao Wang, a young male employee

  老江，Lao Jiang, a middle-age male employee, assistant director of the office.

  **Audience:** all the staff in the office
小王：老江，下班一起吃涮羊肉吧？
Xiao Wang: Lao Jiang, do you want to go and eat lamb hotpot together after work?

Lao Jiang: 哎，这天刚开始飘雪花儿，吃涮羊肉正好啊。
Lao Jiang: Ah, it is a good timing for a lamb hotpot dinner as it just started snowing.

Xiao Wang: 可不是，喝点，暖和暖和。
Xiao Wang: Exactly. Let’s drink a little to keep warm.

Lao Jiang: 我是真想跟你们热闹热闹，可是啊，老丈人前天住院了，我下班要赶快去看看。
Lao Jiang: I do want to go and have fun with you guys. But…my father-in-law went to hospital the day before yesterday. I have to go and see him after work.

Xiao Wang: 哎呦，是吗，严重吗？怎么没跟大伙说啊。
Xiao Wang: Oh, really? Is it serious? Why didn’t you tell us?

Lao Jiang: Not very bad. Old age problems. I am very sorry. You guys have fun.

Xiao Wang: Don’t say that. We will find a time after your father-in-law gets better.

Performance II: advanced level

Time: December 20th, one week before the scheduled talk

Place: Hongkong

Roles: Mr. Situ De, government employee

Audience: President Zhang Jianmin, Hongkong Pui Ching Middle School

Script:

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張健民校長：
對您盛情邀請本人出席貴校十二月二十七日在德育週上作演講，本人深感榮幸。
但由於本人公務纏身，當日須會見香港特別行政區行政長官及行政會議員，商討如何提高香港市民的道德操守等問題，所以無法應邀，抱歉之至。
貴校將來如果安排於其它日子作上述題目之演講，本人當積極考慮應邀。
貴校對您的邀請再表謝忱。順頌
台安。
司徒德
十二月三十日
President Zhang,

I am honored to be invited to give a talk in the moral education week conference at your school on December 27th.

But I am very sorry that I have been quite busy these days. I have scheduled a meeting on that day with Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and district council to discuss how to improve the citizen’s morality.

I would appreciate and try to make it if you can reschedule it to another day.

Thank you very much for your invitation again.

Sincerely,

De Situ

Culture theme two: showing their friendliness and willingness to establish a connection with out-group members through sharing some of their possessions

Place: on a train from Beijing to Fuzhou

Time: the train has just taken off

Roles: two passengers who do not know each other

Audience: other passengers

Script⁶:

杜丘: 喔，来，抽支烟。
Dù Qiū: Ó, lái, chōu zhī yān.
Du Qiu: Hello. Here, have a cigarette.

Tong Sheng: Wǒ zhè(r) yǒu.

Tong Sheng: I have one too.

Du Qiu: Ēi, chūmén zài wài jiànmiàn jiù shì péngyou. Názhe.

Du Qiu: Come on. Meeting is being friends when we are away from home. Take it.
同生： 好，谢谢。
Tóng Shēng： Hǎo, xièxie.
Tong Sheng: OK. Thank you!

杜丘：（对旁边（儿）的旅客）您来一支。（给同生点火）来。
Dù Qiū: (duì pángbiān(r) de lǚkè) Nín lái yìzhī. (gěi Tóngshēng diǎnhuǒ) lái.
Du Qiu: (to the passenger who is at the side) Please have a cigarette. (Give Tongsheng a light). Come on.

Culture theme three: when hosting a guest one should sacrifice to make the guest feel happy

Place: in the restaurant

Time: Right after the guest and the host are seated

Roles: the host and the guest are business partners, and they are about to start the cooperation

Audience: Other people at the table.

Script:
主人： 想吃什么随便点啊，别客气。
Zhǔ rén： xiǎng chī shénmo suíbiàn diǎn a，bié kèqì。
Host: Please order whatever you want to eat. Help yourself.

客人： 来个麻婆豆腐吧，怎么样？你能吃辣吗？
Kè rén： lái gè mápó dòufǔ ba，zěnmoyàng？ nǐ néng chī là ma？
Guest: How about mapo tofu? Are you OK with something spicy?

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主人：哦，能吃点儿，没事，再点几个吧。
Zhǔ rén：O，néng chī diǎn ér，méi shì，zài diǎn jǐ gè ba。

Host: Oh, I am fine with mild spicy. But don’t worry. Go ahead to order more.

Culture theme four: not showing off the personal interest in front of out-group members

Place: in the living room

Time: the guest’s first visit. After he is seated in the living room.

Roles: The host and guest are acquaintances but not very close. The guest has higher social position.

Audience: None.

Script:

主人：不好意思招待不周。您请喝点茶。
Zhǔ rén：bù hǎo yì sī zhāo dài bù zhōu。nín qǐng hē diǎn chá。

Host: I am sorry that we cannot host you well. Please have some tea.

客人：哪里，你这儿不错嘛。这茶挺好，是普洱吗?
kè rén：nǎ lǐ，nǐ zhè ér bú cuò ma。zhè chá tǐng hǎo，shì pǔ ěr ma?

Guest: No, it is good. You have a nice place. This tea tastes good. Is it Puer tea?

主人：是啊。不过听说您喜欢碧螺春，真对不住，我家只有普洱。
zhǔ rén：shì a。bú guò tīng shuō nín xiǎng huì bì luó chūn，zhēn duì bù zhù，wǒ jiā zhǐ yǒu pǔ ěr。

Host: Yes, it is, but I heard you like Biluochun tea better. I am really sorry that I only have Puer.
客人：没有没有，我都很喜欢。
kè rén：méi yǒu méi yǒu，wǒ dōu hěn xǐ huān。
Guest: No, it’s OK. I like both.

Culture theme five: save other’s face by denying the inappropriateness

Place: Mr. Zhang’s office as he is calling Lao Wang
Time: After Mr. Zhang finds they have made a mistake
Roles: Mr. Zhang is the factory chief, and he has close business relationship with Lao Wang.
Audience: other staff in the office.

Script:

张厂长：老王，上次那批货发错了，真对不起。仓库管理员是新分来的，还没熟悉工作环境，一不小心就出差错。
zhāng chǎng zhǎng：lǎo wáng，shàng cì nà pī huò fā cuò le，zhēn duì bù zhù。cāng kù guǎn lǐ yuán shì xīn fēn lái de，huán méi shú xī gōng zuò huá n jì ng，yī bù xiǎo xīn jiù chū chāi cuò。
Mr. Zhang: Lao Wang, I am very sorry that we made a mistake when sending out the merchandise to you last time. Our warehouse coordinator is new, and he needs some time to get used to the working environment. He made the careless mistake.

老王：没关系，年轻人嘛，多锻炼锻炼就好了。
lǎo wáng：méi guān xì，nián qīng rén ma，duō duàn liàn duàn liàn jiù hǎo le。
Lao Wang: It is all right. We should give the young man more chances.
The culture themes and the pedagogical scripts presented above is only a model for developing pedagogical materials. The goal of the pedagogical materials is to train learners to communicate successfully in the given situation in Chinese culture, using cultural models to make assumptions, recognize, convey and interpret intentions. These scripts need to be contextualized in order for learners of Chinese to understand the themes better. In the following sessions, we will discuss how to teach and what the learners are expected to do with the culture themes and scripts provided in the pedagogical materials.

4.1.7 Cultural learning and the acquisition of culture themes

Culture plays the central role in language learning/acquisition because it is viewed as the context and the content of communication. Paige et al. (2003) conceptualize culture learning as the process of acquiring the culture-specific and culture-general knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for effective communication and interaction with individuals from other cultures. It is a dynamic, developmental, and ongoing process which engages the learner cognitively, behaviorally, and affectively. Thus goal of cultural learning should shift from the memorization of cultural facts (including sociolinguistic conventions for language use) to higher order learning outcomes including: the acquisition of culture themes and learning how to learn--becoming an effective language and culture learner.
However, Li Yu (2009) examined and evaluated the cultural instruction in seven leading beginning-level Chinese language textbooks, and found that the majority cultural instruction is limited in the scope of introducing facts, festivals, folklores—the informational culture. With the transformation of the learning goal, informational aspect of culture should not be the core elements in cultural instruction. It is important to focus on behavioral culture and the discourse of informational and achievement culture. That is, knowing about the information and facts is not enough; learners of Chinese should develop the ability of using the information and facts in communication with native speakers. For example, learners of Chinese need to know about Chinese classic poetry as the achievement culture, and to be able to cite the commonly known phrases and verses when they communicate in real life situations.

In order to treat culture theme as the core in cultural instruction, an innovative model of culture theme acquisition is proposed in the following session, and suggestions on the teaching methodology are provided based on this model.

4.2 Culture theme acquisition model

4.2.1 The learning cycle in culture theme acquisition model

To recap the discussion in 4.1.2, the expert’s guidance, whether explicit or implicit, is always associated with specific behaviors within a certain context. Often times the learning cycle in socialization process starts with a specific behavior, and then continues with the negotiation of the appropriateness of such a behavior. It never ends
with a discussion or explanation by the expert; instead, it is followed by the modified behavior in the same or another social event. The following triangle illustrates the learning cycle described—the model of the culture theme acquisition.

![Culture Theme Acquisition Model](image)

**Figure 7. Culture Theme Acquisition Model**

Firstly, notice that there are two lines for the three sides of this triangle, which stands for the expert and the novice. The heavier line stands for the novice as he/she is the subject in the process. Secondly, socialization is an upwards spiral developing
process, but what is illustrated in this triangle is only a small part. Each cycle is connected and embedded in social events. It is possible that one cycle includes several events. Third, negotiation can be in different forms, verbal or non-verbal. Sometimes it is only the observation of another’s reaction or behavior. The most common form is the interaction between the expert and the novice, which chapter three focused on. In the negotiation, connections between behavior and modified behavior are made, and it is easy to observe the contextuality between different social events. For example, Haihai mentioned the previous event when he negotiated with his mother and then his mother made connections and comparisons between the previous event and the current one. Fourth, this is not a strict learning cycle that one has to follow each exact step, and it may not be applicable for all novices.

Last but not least, such a learning cycle does coincide with Kobl’s (1984) experiential learning model that combines experience, perception, cognition, and behavior. Kobl states that “learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience” (1984, p. 38). This theory presents a cyclical model of learning, consisting of the four stages shown below. One may begin at any stage, but still must follow through the cycle sequentially:

- concrete experience (or “DO”)
- reflective observation (or “OBSERVE”)
- abstract conceptualization (or “THINK”)
- active experimentation (or “PLAN”)

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Kolb’s four-stage learning cycle demonstrates how experiences are translated through reflection into concepts, which in turn are used as guides for active experimentation and the choice of new experiences. The first stage, concrete experience, is where the learner actively experiences an activity such as a lab session or field work. The second stage, reflective observation, is when the learner consciously reflects back on that experience. The third stage, abstract conceptualization, is where the learner attempts to conceptualize a theory or model of what is observed. The fourth stage, active experimentation, is where the learner tries to plan how to test a model, theory or plan for a forthcoming experience.

Zull (2002) provided the biological evidence for Kolb’s experiential learning model by connecting the four step cycle with the physical structure of the human brain (see figure 2 below). He claimed that learning is about biology. Since most people have similar brain structures, they will have a similar way of learning. Kolb’s experiential
learning model is often thought of as simply giving people experiences. But Zull stressed that little true learning takes place from experience alone. There must be a conscious effort to build understanding from the experience, which requires reflection, abstraction, and testing of the abstractions.

![Diagram of the learning cycle and brain](image)

**Figure 9.** Zull made connections between the learning cycle and brain (2002, 18)

Zull argued that if we want to help people with their learning, we should teach based on their natural way of learning. That is, the instruction cycle should coincide with the learning cycle. It is the same with pedagogical material design. Our materials should reflect the cycle of learning.

In addition, Zull stressed that a basic element we should consider is who the learning is about. “One could argue that in a court, it is about the defendant, and in a class it is about the learner” (2000, 43). Therefore, our instructional cycle and program cycle should focus on learners, and should be designed from the learner’s perspective.
4.2.2 Co-participation in socialization

The role of the expert discussed in 4.1.3 and 4.1.4 is also similar with what Rogoff (1995; 2003) proposes as “guided participation” and Lave & Wenger (1991)’s “legitimate peripheral participation.” Rogoff observed children’s everyday conversations and found that learning opportunities lie within daily conversations in that they frequently provide children with important access to information and involvement in the skills of their community. She also found that children may take initiative in observing and becoming involved in ongoing activities with parents and peers. Parents and peers provide instructional facilitation in the joint social activities. Rogoff further proposed the concept of guided participation which provides a perspective to help us focus on the varied ways that children learn as they participate in and are guided by the values and practices of their own cultural communities. For example, one form of guided participation is explanation; another is teasing and shaming, which is seen when adults and peers point out children’s foibles and mistakes by holding their behavior up to social evaluation—sometimes with humor and goodwill, and sometimes not.

Similarly, Lave & Wenger (1991) argued that learning as it normally occurs is a function of the activity, context and culture in which it occurs (i.e., it is situated). They emphasize the movement of the learner from a peripheral position to a central position in activity. Social interaction is a critical component of situated learning -- learners become involved in a "community of practice" which embodies certain beliefs and behaviors to be acquired. As a beginner or newcomer moves from the periphery of this community to its center, they become more active and engaged within the culture and hence assume the
role of an expert or old-timer. Furthermore, situated learning is usually unintentional rather than deliberate. These concepts are what Lave & Wenger (1991) called the process of “legitimate peripheral participation.”

As is the case with parent-child exchanges, these processes of enculturation typically begin as controlled dyadic interaction and the social interactional constraints provided by everyday activities serve as formats (Bruner, 1982). That simply means that learners begin doing things to and with members of the target culture in simple dyadic exchanges such as greetings, buying things, and giving/getting directions. These culturally scripted activities can and do serve as rule-bound microcosms of human interaction. As a parent takes a child out into the community, introducing people, places and things in a controlled manner, the child’s cultural environment continually expands and through guided interaction, the child’s role in that environment gradually increases.

In second culture contexts, we expand our cultural circles by participating in cultural performances. We may begin with a simple performance found in a particular location such as buying things at a local shop. But, as we develop a comfort level with that group of people and that type of performance, we may expand by moving on to a larger surrounding market place, and gradually then move on to context after context, performance type after performance type gaining experience and compiling memories of those experiences.

Both the “legitimate peripheral participation” and the “guided participation” concepts emphasize that novice attempts to execute the process with guidance and help from a master through a process of coaching. Collins explains this as follows:
A key aspect of coaching is guided participation: the close responsive support which the master provides to help the novice complete an entire task, even before the novice has acquired every skill required. As the learner masters increasing numbers of the component skills the master reduces his or her participation, providing fewer hints and less feedback to the learner. Eventually, the master fades away completely when the apprentice has learned to smoothly execute the whole task. (Collins, 2006, p. 48)

These two concepts also echo with Kolb’s learning cycle in that learning starts with a concrete experience, and that information is channeled into the brain through such an experience, which is an essential step in the learning process. In addition, these two concepts are particularly beneficial for foreign language instructions because they emphasize on learning through participation, and learning languages contextually.

4.2.3 From culture theme acquisition to performed-culture pedagogy

Performance-based pedagogy, proposed by Walker and Noda (2000) and Walker (1996; 2000), is consistent with the learning cycle proposed by Zull. This emerging pedagogical approach focuses on presenting language within its cultural context and stresses the importance of learning how to behave in the target culture. It is based on “a view of language learning that assumes learning language is part of the larger process of developing culturally defined cognitive behaviors” (Shepherd, 2005:153). In order to
interact successfully with members from the target culture, learners need to know how to do things in the target culture in ways recognizable to the members of that culture. The performance-based pedagogy emphasizes learning by doing, and learning from concrete experiences. Learning to speak an East Asian language is in fact a process of learning how to behave in the target culture. “The implication of this concept of performed culture for language study is that no one really learns a foreign language. Rather we 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 & Noda, 2000: 190).

Performances provide the participants with a personal experience of doing things in a specific context, which allows them to construct knowledge schemas of events that can be drawn on and elaborated upon in future encounters of similar contexts. A performance can be viewed as an event in process, which involves teleological agents—a performer and a symbiotically linked audience—accomplishing the repetition of dialogic segments of a shared culture (Shepherd, 2005:147). In this sense, the concept of performance can be used to make culture more tractable for language learners: a performance is the enactment of a script situated within a specified cultural context. According to Walker (2000) as discussed in 1.2.1, a performance is defined by five specified elements: (1) place of occurrence, (2) time of occurrence, (3) appropriate script, program, or rules, (4) roles of participants, and (5) accepting or accepted audience.

This definition of performance indicates that there is more to communication than the linguistic code and thus teaching should involve more than just explaining what sentences mean. When we are interacting in a language and culture, these elements of a
performance determine not only what is said, but also how it is said and the appropriate behavior in the communicative situation. According to Christensen and Warnick, “because performance is such a basic part of communicating, it makes sense to have learners learn by doing; that is accomplished most effectively in culturally appropriate contexts” (2006: 33). Therefore it is important for foreign language teachers to coach learners on what to do, how to act, and how others will respond in a given contextualized situation. In a foreign language class, the instructor should provide enough opportunities for the learners to rehearse and act out performable chunks within certain contextualized situations. Such opportunities allow students to test their ideas in new situations, which is the last step in Zull and Kolb’s learning cycle. At the same time, by performing in contexts, learners initiate new learning cycles. The instructor’s coaching, explanation, and feedback on learners’ performances will help learners go through the steps of integrating, reflecting and forming abstract ideas. This is also the guidance provided by parents and peers in Rogoff’s “guided participation.” Gradually, learners will increasingly take more responsibility in communicating with natives, and become “somebody” in the target culture.

In order to learn to successfully participate and communicate in a culture that one has never experienced, he/she needs to have the opportunity to build a cultural memory in the classroom that will be used in the future. Learning a culture can be viewed as constructing a long-term memory of one’s experiences in that culture in the same way that a practice regimen prepares an athlete to play a game. In this sense, memory and development of memory are crucial to the language-learning process. In the following
section, I will discuss the process of creating and compiling cultural memories from Bruner’s (1990) and Tomasello’s (1999) viewpoint that learning and internalizing events into the memory system, occur when individuals negotiate with the culture by participating in activities using the “cycle of compiling culture” proposed by Walker and Noda (2000).

4.2.4 Learning through creating stories of culture themes

According to Shepherd (2005:207-8), learning a language is a mental process, conscious or subconscious, through which cultural knowledge is accessed, memorized, analyzed, acquired, internalized, and automatized. This is also the process of compiling cultural memories by stories. In both Walker and Noda’s performed culture pedagogy, and Zull’s learning cycle, Roger Shank’s concept of a story is used as the basic unit for learning. Zull (2002) explained the importance of stories in learning and in our concepts of intelligence. According to Zull (2002), all the things that make up life are the things that we remember and learn. There is a story for everything in our lives. After we experience them, they become our story. We judge people by their stories, and we decide they are intelligent when their stories fit with our own stories. In this sense, once we experience a culture theme, we have already created our own story about it. Recalling and creating stories are key parts of learning. We remember by connecting things with our stories, we create by connecting our stories together in unique and memorable ways, and we act out our stories in our behaviors.
Zull (2002) further argued that a story creates learning because it engages all parts of the brain. Stories come from our experiences, our memories, our ideas, our actions, and our feelings. They allow us to package events and knowledge in complex neuronal nets, any part of which can trigger the other parts. As stories are about movement and actions, they generate fear and pleasure, and all derivative emotions. Zull claimed that learning is deepest when it engages as many parts of the brain as possible, so the value of stories for the teacher lies in its evocation of deep learning. Teachers should tell stories, create stories, and repeat stories and we should ask our students to do the same.

Walker and Noda (2000) explain the concept of a story in a similar way, but they narrow its application down to L2 learning. Stories are personal memories of having experienced a performance or a game. In foreign language learning, we provide opportunities for students to create such personal memories or stories, in the pedagogical environment so that they can recall and apply to the future opportunities when they interact with people from the target culture. That is, learners remember the stories that they will encounter in the target culture in the future. In this sense, the stories they have experienced in the instructional environment are the foundations in memories they can use in the future.

Stories of culture themes will increase learners’ awareness and help them realize that there are different ways to do things across cultures. Their learning starts with these stories as they gain concrete experiences. In addition, once they have connections among those stories, they will have memories of these stories they have experienced. As learners gain the ability to tell stories and to put stories that they have learned together, they begin
to compile individual stories to form larger domains of knowledge. Teachers can utilize drills, exercises and role plays to expand what learners have learned and the associations learners have created between the newly experienced stories and previously encountered ones.

In order to create connections among stories, Walker and Noda (2000) use the terms saga and case. Sagas and cases represent what a learner is capable of dealing with in the target culture, and help learners to construct, manage, and categorize their memories of the target culture. This is where learners reflect and form the abstract ideas about L2 and C2.

A case refers to a collection of stories about doing something in a culture. For example, ordering food in a restaurant can be a case, which has a series of stories such as reading a menu, negotiating with the waiter or exchanging information with your partner. Cases are compiled into knowledge structures of the world—what you know of the world and what you can do in it, thus they are rich with notions and functions. As Walker and Noda suggest, cases can be compiled by direct presentation, by extracting elements from dialogs and narratives, and by combining these elements with previously learned knowledge.

A saga is a series of stories about a specific set of people or a specific location. Sagas represent what a learner knows about behaving around particular people or at particular places. A saga is composed of stories happening to certain groups of people, such as colleagues, peers, or family members, at particular settings, such as the office, the classroom, or the home. The notion of a saga helps learners to identify different groups,
and understand different ways of dealing with people, setting communicative activities and interactions within their social cultural context, because sagas in memory may reflect many aspects or features of a person, a group, or a certain place. According to Walker and Noda (2000), “the concept of saga reflects a commonplace notion that we perform better socially with familiar people and in familiar places.” They advocate that the compilation of sagas in the course of language study gives learners the impression of continuity and connectedness in their studied language even though the quantity of information in their knowledge of the target culture is much less than natives of that culture. Walker and Noda (2000) propose that sagas can be presented by using successful films, television programs, short stories, and novels, all of which are coherent treatments of sets of characters often in particular settings—that is, they create sharable worlds.

Cultural values, associated with culture themes, are the underlying abstract cultural norms that are represented in the actions and the interpretations of actions. Compared to the concepts of case and saga, a cultural value is a more abstract and general statement of certain features shared by more than one story in a culture. That is, a cultural value can be extracted from several stories about different people doing different things.

Once learners have compiled stories by cases, sagas and values, they are able to internalize and take the stories as part of their culture and language knowledge, which then helps to construct their second-culture worldview. Learners will use these abstract ideas in new situations and test if they work and how they work. The experience learners gain by testing in new situations initiates a new learning cycle. As the second-culture
worldview changes the way they continue to learn the new language and culture, the learner’s persona brought into their language learning will be influenced as well. Thus a new cycle of compiling cultural memory starts. The following figure shows how these two cycles work together.

Figure 10. Compiling C2 memory and learning cycle (adopted from Noda’s talk, 2010)
4.3 Performance-based instructional cycles in pedagogical materials

The three major steps in the performance-based pedagogy cycle of language learning are: presentation, rehearsal and performance. Thus it has a similar cycle presented in the model of culture theme acquisition as shown in the following chart. In this section, I will discuss how the performance-based instructional and program cycles reflect the model of culture theme acquisition in designing multi-media Chinese pedagogical materials.
Figure 11. Performance-based instructional and program cycles
4.3.1 Presentation in performance-based instructional cycle

The first step, presentation, is to channel the information into learners’ sensory cortex. According to Zull (2002) and Kolb (1984), learning originates in concrete experiences, and learning depends on experience. As the first step in the learning cycle, concrete experience comes through the sensory cortex first, which receives first input from the outside world in the form of vision, hearing, touch, position, smell and taste. Repetitive ways of channeling the information into the sensory part of the brain help with future recall.

Figure 12. Three steps in performance-based pedagogy
As shown in the figure 12, the three steps in the performance-based pedagogy cycle can be reflected with different components and functions in multi-media pedagogical materials. In the first step, multimedia is used to present the dialog. Many pedagogical materials use dialogues taken from the mass media in China such as movies, TV dramas and talk shows. This initial impression of the whole dialogue being presented in the form of video provides rich contextual information. The video clip can stimulate the visual and aural cortex simultaneously, which will aid in a longer retention of the information in the memory. Meanwhile, as the information of the dialogue is channeled into the visual and audio cortex, the learner will also have an overview of “what and where” in the dialogue. According to Zull, knowing “where and what” helps to know who we are in the relationship, and thus connects the front cortex and back cortex where the information is integrated.

In presenting the dialogue, the cognitive/top down approach is used. That is, the dialogue is presented first within the context before going into further details so that learners will know what is going to happen. The performed culture approach treats language not as a collection of bits and pieces of words and sentences, but as a tool for communication firmly tied to its cultural contexts. “It is a top-down approach in which the learner looks at the overall context and the intentions in a given situation and learns to participate accordingly” (Christensen and Warnick, 2006: 35). When language is tied to a context and the learner understands the social roles involved, the language will more likely be remembered over time. This echoes Zull’s claim that knowing “what and where” helps us to encode the information into long term memory. We do not learn as
Zull explained, by experience alone, we learn by linking past experiences to future action through a process of reflection and abstraction. Sagas and cases help learners to create such linking.

When introducing the context of the dialogue, the concepts of saga and case are useful. For example, in the pedagogical material *Chinese: Communicating in the culture (CCC)*, most of the stage titles and drill titles indicate the cases. For example, the title of Unit 4 Stage 2 is inviting a friend to partake. *CCC* has three major sagas: 1. Sino-American Trading Company, 2. Train Trip to Fuzhou and 3. Chinese visitor to American campus. Within saga 1, there are three sub-sagas: a. Beijing Office, b. Washington Office and c. Textile Factory. Learners can tell which saga the dialogue belongs to by observing the location of the dialogue and the roles in the dialogue. Knowing the saga may help learners to contextualize the dialogue and to make connections to the previous dialogues they have learned. The saga also strings dialogues together to make an everyday story line. For example, in the saga of a Chinese visitor to an American campus, a Chinese professor Zhang Rong has many stories. In Unit 2 Stage 2, she arrives on an American campus, and gets to know her assistant Ouyang Li. Ouyang Li asks about her place of origin and work location. In Unit 2 Stage 4, they know each other better, so Zhang Rong asks Ouyang Li about his family. Then they discuss the student population of the school when Ouyang Li shows Zhang Rong around the campus in Unit 2 Stage 7. Then this saga continues on as Zhang Rong needs to purchase a car. Therefore, she comments on Ouyang Li’s car and consults him about buying a car in Unit 3 Stage 4. The more learners know about the saga, the more they want to learn about the stories. In this
way instructors evoke learners’ emotions and control their feelings as the learners are interested in what happens to these people and why they need to have these dialogues. Knowing the big picture of a story is what gives it meaning. Knowing isolated details is essential but not sufficient to create meaning.

![Program Map](image)

**Figure 13. Sagas in CCC**

Using sagas also helps learners to gain deep understanding of the context, and it further helps learners to learn the grammatical structures and word usages in the context.
For example, *CCC* has a session “Who-is-Who”, which introduces each character’s personal information in detail. Learners can use the index to search for a specific role. The introduction of a character includes the name, title (occupational position in their entities) and terms of address, age, gender, and a rough description of the personalities. Such information explains, to some degree, why the character behaves in a particular way in a given situation with certain interlocutors. For example, the character of Wang Liyu in the Saga of Washington office, Sino-American Trading Company, has the personality of being occasionally nasty and bossy. So when she talks to a new part-time employee, Li Ping, in the dialogue of Unit 2 Stage 6, she uses a sentence particle *bei*, which signals that the speaker considers what she is saying to be pretty self-evident. If the learner does not understand her personality, and the relationship between Li Ping and Wang Liyu, she/he might misunderstand the sentence particle *bei*, and this would very likely lead to an inappropriate usage of *bei*. 
Figure 14. Who-is-Who function

Figure 15. Description of Wang Liyu
As Zull (2002) claimed, in order to be effective in learning, the story must have a point, which in the dialogue is presented as a culture theme. In the dialogue coaching, such culture themes are explained in the context, more specifically, in the social-cultural relationship among the roles. It also requires knowing the context well. In short, in the pedagogical materials, dialogues being organized by sagas, cases and themes help learners to make connections to their existing knowledge. The explanations about grammar structure and culture in the context also help learners integrate and reflect. Such designing reflects: 1). context matters much in learning culture theme; 2). explicit instruction of culture theme is necessary, which is the negotiation step in the culture theme acquisition model presented earlier in this chapter.

4.3.2 Rehearsal

Rehearsal is the first step of ‘act’, which is an essential element in the learning cycle. We encourage learners to repeat the language chunks aloud after each model. This is not a simple mechanical drill. It is the only way to activate the phonological loop, also called the phonetic loop or the articulatory loop, which is the part of working memory that rehearse verbal information. It consists of two parts: a short-term phonological store with auditory memory traces that are subject to rapid decay and an articulatory rehearsal component that can revive the memory traces. The first component is a phonological memory store which can hold traces of acoustic or speech based material. In this way the
phonological loop assists by providing extra temporary storage of words, digits, and other bits of speech. The loop helps us put together the sounds of novel words. When it is not functioning properly, we cannot hold on to those sounds long enough to have a chance of converting our perceptions into enduring long-term memories. That is, if the phonological loop is not activated, there is no way we can learn a new language (Schacter, 2001).

This has two important pedagogical implications: first, it is necessary to divide the target into small chunks so that learners can verbally repeat them. Second, it is essential to say it aloud; otherwise, it will take a long time to achieve memorization. Thus, reading a dialogue silently is useless. The rehearsal in Chinese pedagogical materials is efficient using the reversed building-up—building up the whole line from the very last component in the sentence. Reversed building up helps to ease the task in a meaningful way while maintaining the tonal and prosodic patterns in Chinese language.

4.3.3 Performance

Performance is the step which completes learning cycle and initiates a new cycle. We need to help students create their own stories using the materials—acting out their stories in an appropriate way, creating connections among the stories, and organizing the stories in unique and memorable ways. Thus in the future when the learners encounter a similar situation in the target culture, they will be able to recall and use these stories. The key feature of the multimedia pedagogical material is to provide opportunities for students to perform, and create their own stories. The computer can generate roles from
the dialogue and the recording function allows learners to play the roles in the contextualized situation. Based on the feedback from the language instructors, learners can choose higher level performance to start a new learning cycle.

The performance is the last step in the cycle but it is never the ending point. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the learning process is a spiral development one. The fundamental level of performance involves being able to articulate in an appropriate way, such as the correct pronunciation and tones, the rhythm and stress in a sentence. Then the next cycle would involve more elements in the new performance, for example, the body gesture and facial expressions. It is a similar process as learning to sing a song. First, one needs to get familiar with the overall melody, and then get to know the lyrics by listening to it several times. Second, one needs to sing along with the model in order to memorize the melody and lyrics. After he/she can sing it without the model, he/she will add their own flavor to the music, and to sing the song with emotions. Such a process relies heavily on conscious supervision and metacognition—self-evaluation, inner speech, the ability to self-supervise activities—is a prerequisite for modifying behavior. It also emphasizes on the repeated sessions of focused conscious attention on various aspects of a performance and the instructor’s feedback brings new elements into the conscious awareness of his/her learners. The repeated performance forces learners to regularly practice the underlying verbal script as well as fundamental structures and skills at the same time they are gradually compiling a complex but integrated memory of the performance by adding new elements to it. Through repeated practice of fundamental aspects of performance, learners
develop a reutilized mastery of skills, which enable them to participate in different social cultural activities.

4.3.4 Online game as a future pedagogical component

With the development of the Internet, it is possible to set up an online performance site so that learners can pick a role and a context and perform with native speakers online. This way it is possible to achieve human to human interaction, in which learners can get feedback from native speakers on their performance. It is also possible to design a series of real-life tasks as an online interactive role-playing game for foreign language learners in intermediate level pedagogical materials. This kind of task-based pedagogical game targets on intermediate and intermediate-high learners.

The goal is to establish and maintain social relationships with different native speakers in a virtual environment of the target culture. The critical nature of social experience in learning culture themes suggests an important role for interacting with native speakers in a cultural context in the foreign language learning process. Students learning Chinese must have opportunities to gain experience during social interaction to supplement their classroom learning or they will not move beyond rudimentary levels of competence. Moreover, such experiences must be carefully orchestrated to foster deep learning. Children learn through dialogue with adults, who provide props and guide them. Likewise, foreign language learners need to engage in dialogue with members of the target culture who can coach them and facilitate the acquisition of new meanings. Simply put, learners of Chinese at intermediate and intermediate-high levels need to learn how to
mean in Chinese, which is a communal activity accomplished in collaboration with
Chinese people. We need our students to become competent of Chinese modes of
thinking and doing. At intermediate and intermediate-high levels we need to first equip
with them with the skills to do that on their own. Learners must also be able to enlist
members of the target culture, who are not necessarily trained in language pedagogy, in
their learning processes.

They also must know how to enlist the help of others, who are not necessarily
predisposed to interacting on friendly terms with Americans, to enculturate them. The on-
line pedagogical game provides opportunities to seek and communicate with native
speakers in the virtual cultural context which is designed as highly similar with the real-
life society. In such an environment, learners are trained how to interpret those intentions
according to target culture norms, how to establish our own intentions in target culture
ways, and what the raw materials of intention building look like in the target culture in
order to be able to begin to learn from the environment and through the locals.

It is crucial that there will be qualified native speakers online to interact with the
learners. The way to judge if the learner/player is able to move on to a higher level task
is the reaction and feedback from the native speakers who interacted with him/her. The
task can include a series of social events which integrate four skills—listening,
speaking, reading and writing. For example, if the task is to look for an apartment in a
Chinese city, it requires the player to search for the information by reading the
advertisements, calling the agents or landlords, visiting the place, and negotiating the
rental lease. If any of the steps were not successfully accomplished, the player/learners would not be able to rent a place.

This online language game helps to socialize learners into the target culture through co-participation with an expert in various social events without actually living in the society. Learner must actively construct a persona in the target culture through the online game by making acculturating moves—he or she must adjust cognitively and behaviorally while engaging in shared meaning-making activities with the native speakers in the game. At the same time, learners must enlist mentors—people competent in the target culture—who take steps to enculturate—socialize—the learner in the norms and expectations of the group during the course of shared experiences. These mentors are not necessarily engaged in a teaching-related profession but can be any competent member of the target culture with whom a learner develops a special relationship of trust and confidence. The idea is that instruction highlighting strategies that evoke active instruction from target culture members would best prepare learners to participate in those environments.

To sum, through the online pedagogical game, learners have target culture experiences that force them to exchange and negotiate meanings and intentions with members of the target culture. They also develop lasting and meaningful relationships with members of the target culture community in order to both participate in their social activities and to enlist them in their learning processes.
4.4 Culture theme in Chinese language curriculum

In the instructional cycle of culture theme, students use the pedagogical material to prepare for the performance before class. The major task for instructors is to provide new situations for students to test their abstract concepts about the target language and culture. Thus the majority of instructional time in class should be devoted to the students’ performance. The instructor’s role is that of a coach. They set up contexts to elicit the students’ performance, and provide feedback so as to improve their performance. Language teachers need to specify these five elements in class when setting up the context to elicit students’ performance. It is very important to emphasize that learners should remember all five elements in order to perform appropriately in the target culture, not only some of them. Also, memorizing scripts does not mean that one can perform them successfully because the other four elements are equally important.

The teachers are preparing learners for the performances that will be very likely to happen in the future when they communicate in the target culture. Learners need to internalize these performances by enacting them in the contexts set up by the teachers in the classroom in order to behave appropriately when they encounter the same situation or context in the future. In short, the performances learners learn from the teachers in the classroom are the same as what they will encounter in the target culture. The difference lies in that now the learners are performing in a classroom setting but when they travel to a foreign country, they will need to perform in the real social environment within the target culture using the memories they have compiled from their past learning experiences. The classroom is a safe place to enact the performance, to make errors and
correct them, as well as to experience the cultural differences in behavior in the target culture. Thus the task of language teachers is to identify useful performances, and to present and explain them to learners. However, it is sometimes difficult for them to decide which performances a learner will need in order to participate successfully in the target culture. The performances selected for pedagogical purposes should be the ones that a particular group of learners are most likely to experience should they have the chance to interact with people from or in that culture.

For each instructional session, it is important to have time for students to integrate and reflect on their own performance. Group feedback and reinforce of the culture theme from the instructor is necessary. Instructors can explicitly explain the culture values related with the performance, and help to make connections with other culture themes. Thus such integration period is the starting point of the next session. In this sense, the culture theme acquisition model in Chinese curriculum can be illustrated as following.
Even though each instructional session is divided into performance and integration, it is also necessary to have a whole session devoting in describing the ability to perform (e.g., information about the sound system, grammar patterns, and cultural behavior). In order to distinguish these two different kinds of instructional sessions, I would label them as “performance session” and “integration session.” It is important to spend the great majority of class time on practicing and using the language (“performance”) rather than explanation (“integration”).

Figure 16. Culture theme acquisition model in Chinese curriculum
For the beginning level courses, the integration session is conducted first, and then followed by a performance session. The integration session includes explanations and explicit instructions about how to approach the Romanization system, how to efficiently use the pedagogical materials, and coaching followed by group rehearsals. Students completely rely on the integration session in order to do well in the following performance session. What they need to do outside class is to prepare for the dialogue performance and study the vocabulary. As the students get used to practicing using the materials and performing in the performance sessions, the order of integration and performance session can be reversed—performance session is conducted before the integration session. And the number of the integration sessions should be reduced so that the majority of the instructional time focuses on performance. The following is a typical weekly schedule (one dialog and 12 drills) in a performance-based curriculum:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day I</th>
<th>Performance I: Dialogue performance and variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day II</td>
<td>Performance II: Dialogue and drill 1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day III</td>
<td>Performance III: Dialogue and drill 7-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day IV</td>
<td>Performance IV: Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day V</td>
<td>Integration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. Regular weekly schedule model
On the first day when the dialogue is performed for the first time, students can be required to memorize the verbal script of a dialogue, and it is essential to focus on the fundamental level of performance—accuracy of pronunciation and tones. Then the instructor can make changes in the dialogue by substitute one or two words so that students can perform the variations. Such changes may be as simple as replacing one element in the script such as “good morning” to “good afternoon,” or as complex as changing the social roles in the performance. Performing dialogue variations help learners to develop deep memory of the whole performance but not only mechanical memorizing the scripts. On day II and III, the dialogue performance will be repeated as the focus shifts to higher level of performance by adding movements, facial expressions, and feelings. Day IV is a review session of the dialogue and drills in which the instructors can connect the current dialogue with the previous ones. Using sagas and cases to link all the dialogues and to combine both new and old elements is especially helpful because it is easier for students to have a deeper understanding of the context, create memories of all the stories, and also build up to the new stories. Review sessions provide opportunities for students to practice using the language in different contexts, and to make connections amongst all the content they have learned.

4.5 Pedagogical cycles in the advanced-level language program

As discussed above, advanced level instruction focuses on strategies rather than items. The instructor’s role changes to that of a mentor to coach learners’ participation in the domain field, and to help them to plan their study to achieve their personal goals. There is a saying, “if you give a man a fish, he will have a single meal, but if you teach
him how to fish, he'll be fed for a lifetime.7” The purpose of the instructor is to teach students how to improve, monitor and reflect upon their own learning, and deepen their understanding of the target culture.

The goal of a performance-based advanced level program is to prepare students to work in Chinese environment with Chinese people to achieve shared goals. Therefore it should focus on the cultural aspects of communication, training Americans to achieve their intentions in Chinese culture and society. Performance (doing is knowing) is emphasized at every stage of learning advanced skills in Chinese language and culture. The program’s innovative curriculum should combine both intensive classroom training and individualized, custom-tailored tutoring with an immersion period at the program’s training center in China. The first semester is a preparatory training session in China, which is designed for students whose language proficiency is not high enough for the coursework. When students start their studies in the program in U.S.A., they will be matched with a Chinese mentor in their own field. The domain tutorials are individualized instruction within a specific domain area. With the mentor’s guidance, learners gradually participate more and more in the domain field through readings, writings, and communicating with native speakers. When they finish the first half of the program in U.S.A., they are ready for the capstone year—the immersion period—in China. In the capstone year, they will take classes in a Chinese university, and do an internship in China. Both provide numerous opportunities for them to use the strategies they have

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learned, and to test the abstract ideas they have formed when participating in social activities in China.

By then, they will have become independent learners. Compared with the beginning level instruction, the advanced instruction aims at training learners to manage and control their own learning. As Zull (2002) claimed, teaching is about the students, and a teacher is most successful when his students can say, “we did this ourselves.” In his book, *What Video Games Have to Teach Us about Learning and Literacy*, James Paul Gee (2003) derives a set of learning principles from his study of the complex, self-directed learning each game player undertakes as s/he encounters and masters a new game. He suggests that adherence to these principles could transform learning in schools, colleges and universities, both for teachers and faculty and, most importantly, for students. All aspects of the learning environment (including ways in which the semiotic domain is designed and presented) are set up to encourage active and critical, not passive, learning. In this sense, the learning during the capstone year and after should be more active and critical learning.

4.6 Concluding remarks and future research

4.6.1 Concluding remarks

Parental discourse patterns are shown to be culturally specific activities that not only foster language development, but also maintain certain normative dimensions of social life. The quantitative study in this dissertation adopts the previous comparative studies by
Fernald and Morikawa (1993) and Lee and Nakayama (1999). The results provides more evidence that Chinese, Japanese, Korean and American mother-infant speech share some common features, but maternal speech in these cultures differ in speech structure, communicative style and cultural values. Chinese maternal speech is distinct from Japanese, Korean and American English in many aspects. Chinese mothers in this study tended to use specific nouns and diminutive forms to label the target objects. The conversation style of Chinese maternal speech is featured by the many questions Chinese mothers use when talking with their children, and they tend to ask questions that are related to the target objects. They ask information-oriented questions to make sure their children gain knowledge through playing with toys. In addition, Chinese mothers tend to use specific action verbs when talking with their children, and they also use imperative form to describe or to order a child to do something.

How parents conceptualize a child’s role in family and society, and what expectations they set for their children are culturally specific. Chinese parents were found to conceptualize children as a dependent role in the family, and they tend to have higher expectations for their children’s academic performance. The qualitative study is designed to fill the gap between analyzing people’s behavior and identifying cultural values, a disconnection between a parent’s guidance in the socialization process and the ideology underlying such behavior. Parent-child conversations containing explicit instructions about culture themes are analyzed using the micro-ethnographic approach. Such analysis helps us to understand the process of constructing a child’s acquisition of the social and cultural practices attached to the cultural values—culture themes.
The culture themes presented and analyzed in this session make two cultural values prominent. And the way parents coach their children to behave while following these values is inspiring for foreign language teaching and learning. It is thus essential to train individuals not only to understand the abstract cultural values but also to behave appropriately, following them in each particular context.

The culture themes are developed at a young age through children’s interactions with other native speakers under the guidance of their parents or caregivers. It reflects the fact that in order to communicate successfully, people have to do things within shared time and space, within the same cultural framework. In foreign language study, the goal is to inculcate the default social behaviors that sustain participation in the target culture. Therefore, it is not enough to understand the cultural values; it is also important to know what to do when following these values.

Based on the analysis in both quantitative and qualitative studies, a Chinese culture theme acquisition model is proposed. In this model, culture themes—the specific behaviors associated with cultural values—are seen as the core of cultural instruction. It is dangerous to limit the cultural instruction with stereotypical statements such as “Chinese are humble”. Such instructions are misleading as they do not give directions on specific behavior. “Chinese are humble” may have different meanings in different contexts and learners of Chinese need guidance to gain adequate understanding of it. In addition, if they do not have enough instructions on how to communicate with Chinese following the value “Chinese are humble”, even though they know about this value, they cannot enact it in a real life situation. Their default way of doing things will be their
“native” ways from the base culture. That is the major reason why so many Learners of Chinese get lost in Chinese culture. The following is an example from a misled student who got lost in China.

一个迷失在中国的老外：外国人难理解中国的原因之一是中国人说话做事都是拐着弯儿的。我有一段时间以为这个做法很假，说一套做一套，但是后来发现两个中国人交流的时候，虽然表面上是一个意思，而其实是另一个意思，但是因为两个人都明白言外之意，所以其实一点都不假。只有遇到我这种不懂委婉交流方式的老外才麻烦……

A foreigner lost in China: it is difficult for foreigners to understand China (Chinese), and one of the reasons is that Chinese talk and do things in an indirect way. I once thought it was very artificial—saying one thing but doing another. But later I found when two Chinese communicate with each other, they do not mean what they are saying. It is not artificial at all as both understand what their interlocutor really means—both can read between the lines. They only have trouble communicating with me—a foreigner who does not know how to communicate in an indirect way.

This is from a Chinese learner’s Weibo, a Chinese version of twitter. His problem is that he perceives Chinese culture as “Chinese are indirect”—a stereotypical view. He found out even though Chinese are indirect, they do not have any problem communicating as they can understand each other well, but he cannot. Chinese are not artificial at all as this is the way they do things in their cultural schema. He is getting lost in China because he is still using his own cultural framework, and he did everything following the American cultural values. In his self-introduction, he wrote that he got lost in China because many things that seem very common for Chinese are remarkable for

8 http://www.weibo.com/u/1760026475
him\textsuperscript{9}. His Chinese is very idiomatic, and he has many fans that interact with him on Weibo to help him solve problems in his life. However, he could have avoided all these troubles if he received the instruction on culture themes from the beginning of his learning Chinese.

This project is to explore the ways that help such learners of Chinese avoid getting lost when they go to work and live in China. It is important that they socialize into Chinese culture through learning culture themes—how to do things in the Chinese way. Understanding the difference between the “Chinese way” and the “American way” and knowing that “Chinese are indirect” is not enough. It is important to be able to act and react in the Chinese way when learners participate in social events in China. Language instructors should not only explain and give directions to the “lost foreigners,” but at some point, instructors need to show learners to a destination and then walk them there, step by step. Because most of the things that native speakers take for granted are uncommon for foreign language learners. At the same time, the instructors need to equip learners with strategies so that they are able to find their own way in China. Learning how to do things in another culture can be a life-long process and our goal is to direct the learners in how to live and learn happily without getting lost in the target culture.

\textsuperscript{9} 我迷失在中国，有很多事儿中国人一般觉得很常见或是常识，但我反而觉得很新鲜
4.6.2 Limitations of the current studies

First of all, both quantitative and the qualitative studies have the problem of using audio-recording. Although many contextual cues of how people act and react to each other can be picked from the prosodic features of the speech, there would be even more non-verbal cues that I could use to interpret language use, social ideologies, and social relations, if video-recording was used.

Second, the reason for combining both quantitative and qualitative research methods of daily interactions is to provide a broad and thorough analysis. However, none of them can describe the socialization and acquisition of culture themes exhaustively and comprehensively. The maternal speech study aims at a comparison reaching across four cultures so that the cultural specific characteristics stand out. However it cannot provide in-depth view of child-adult interactions. The participants of maternal speech were at a young age so it was not difficult to control the contextual variation in comparisons. As for participants in qualitative studies, since their interactions happened in more complex situations which involved more social relationships, it is necessary to analyze how context influences the way people interact with each other.

Third, the participants in these two studies are from different areas in Mainland China, and they only represent their regional cultures. It is very likely that different results and analysis are derived if participants are from different regions such as Hongkong or Taiwan. Even within Mainland China, differences exist across regions because of the historical and economic reasons.
Last but not least, the discussion of pedagogical implication only limits the context of teaching Chinese as a foreign language to English speakers. The application of the culture themes model is not limited in the field of Chinese pedagogy though, but various educational and cultural contexts and linguistic background do have impact on how to apply the model.

4.6.3 Future research on culture themes

Future research on culture themes lies in two major areas, and is closely related to the field of language pedagogy. One area is the comparison between C1 and C2 acquisition which takes the novice’s identity construction into consideration as one of the important elements in the acquisition process. The research methodology should employ as many new video-audio technologies as possible. The other area of future research is to identify, analyze, collect and compile culture themes for pedagogical use from people’s real life interactions. Such research work can use “performance” as the basic pedagogical unit and should contain all kinds of social interactions—face to face, on-line, as well as textual performances. The future research in both areas should aim at exploring better ways to better present the culture themes to learners, and facilitate the process of acquiring and categorizing them.
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Hi,

This is Nan Meng, a graduate student in Chinese Pedagogy Program at The Ohio State University. I am calling to ask if you are interested in participating in a research project about Chinese culture themes and values. This is designed to analyze how children acquire culture themes.

The process is about 8-10 weeks long, which includes self-recording and play-back interviews. The audio-recording will be 2-3 hours per week. You only need to set up the recorder in your living room or family room to record the daily conversation between you and your children when you feel comfortable to do the recording. I will pick up the memory card of the recorder once a week to transcribe the audio recordings. A play-back interview will be conducted if I have questions about the events in the recordings. There will be no harm or direct benefit for you and your child. You will get 50 dollars for the recording. Your participation is totally voluntary. You can quit the project at any time.

Please let me know when it is convenient for you to start the recording. Thank you.
您好，

我叫孟楠，是俄亥俄州立大学中文教学法的研究生。我打电话是想问一下能不能请您帮忙，参加一个关于中国文化习得的调查研究。

整个过程 8-10 周，包括自我录音和回放采访。每周自我录音 2-3 小时，您需要做的只有在方便的时候，打开录音机，录下您和孩子间对话。我会每周取一次录音机里的卡，把录音分析整理，如果有必要，会采访一下个别录音片段的情景和相关信息。参加此项目不会给您和您的孩子造成任何伤害，不会有任何的风险。您会获得 50 美金，以表感谢。您和孩子随时可以退出，而不受任何限制，您的参与完全自愿。

如果您方便，我们可以定一个时间，开始录音。

非常感谢！