A CASE FOR A PERFORMED CULTURE CURRICULUM
FOR HIGH SCHOOL CHINESE PROGRAMS

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ABSTRACT

This study proposes a Chinese language curriculum for implementation at the high school level based on a pedagogy of performed culture. It develops the assumption that the goal of learning another language is to learn to communicate in that culture, and that communication entails not simply speaking and listening but being able to establish one’s intentions and accurately interpret the intentions of others. Current conceptions of culture in common use at the high school level are examined and found to be lacking in terms of their ability to enable learners to communicate in Chinese culture. The adoption at the high school level of a pedagogy based on the theory of performed culture is proposed.

In developing and implementing a curriculum based on the theory of performed culture at the high school level, a number of constraints, such as the high school teaching environment and high school pedagogical materials, must be taken into account. The high school teaching environment imposes the constraint of limited time in contact with the studied language, which means that learning must proceed at a slower pace. The general high school teaching framework puts emphasis on student creativity and fun; when implementing a curriculum, one must be aware of but not overly influenced by these expectations. High school pedagogical materials also present a number of challenges for
use with a performed culture approach; three of the most popular beginning textbooks are
evaluated and suggestions for adaptation are provided.

A high school Chinese curriculum, based on the theory of performed culture, is
presented. It is organized according to the principles of the four skills of language
learning, the three modes of communication, and item- and strategy-based learning. To
complement the curriculum, a pedagogical cycle for interpersonal communication and
curricular management techniques are also proposed.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In an American society and economy that is increasingly global in scope, the ability to communicate successfully in more than one language is becoming essential at both a societal and personal level. The National Council of State Supervisors of Foreign Languages (NCSSFL), citing a broad range of sources on its website, argues that learning how to communicate in a second language should be considered basic education and should be a part of the educational curriculum for all students from pre-kindergarten through twelfth grade and beyond.\(^1\) The NCSSFL maintains that at the national level, a citizenry with expertise in a broad range of languages is crucial to national security and national economic competitiveness. For individual students, being able to speak more than one language will provide a competitive edge when they enter the job market, and research indicates that the study of a second language brings students broad cognitive and academic benefits as well.

According to the most recent data, in 2000 33.8 percent of American public secondary students in grades 7-12 were enrolled in foreign language courses; of these,

\(^1\) [http://www.ncssfl.org/rationale.htm](http://www.ncssfl.org/rationale.htm)
91.8 percent were enrolled in Spanish, French, and German courses (ACTFL 2000). While it is clear that more American students need to learn to communicate in other languages at a higher level of proficiency, it is also true that they also need to learn to communicate in a wider array of languages. In this current situation, 91.8 percent of secondary foreign language study is spent learning languages spoken by only 12-13 percent of the people on this planet (Walker 1989). In order to thrive in 21st century and beyond, Americans need to develop expertise in the languages spoken by the remaining 87-88 percent of the earth's population, often referred to as the less commonly taught languages (LCTLs).

A convincing argument can be made for more widespread learning of a number of less commonly taught languages, but for few is the rationale as compelling as it is for Chinese. The authors of the Chinese section of Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century detail how learning Chinese is important for Americans at national, local, and personal levels (NSFLEP 1999, 117). At the national level, China has emerged in recent years as a major player on the international scene; the U.S. government has indicated that U.S.-China relations are one of the most important American foreign policy issues now and into the future. The People's Republic of China is the U.S.'s third-largest trading partner, while the Republic of China (Taiwan) is its seventh-largest partner (U.S. Census Bureau 2004). The P.R.C. economy is one of the fastest growing in the world, and its recent entry into the World Trade Organization promises to further
accelerate its rate of growth. At the local level, not only is Chinese the second-most commonly spoken language group in the U.S. with over 2 million speakers according to the most recent census\(^2\), but Chinese visitors, immigrants, and Chinese-Americans are taking a more active role in all facets of communities across the U.S., making Chinese increasingly useful within U.S. borders (NSFLEP 1999). At the personal level, Americans proficient in Chinese benefit from increased professional, cultural, and personal opportunities, ranging from business careers to scientific exchanges to travel and friendship.

Learning to communicate in Chinese, however, presents significant challenges to American learners. In addition to being a less commonly taught language, which generally means that less institutional support and fewer resources are available, Chinese can also be considered a truly foreign language (TFL). Truly foreign languages, as defined by Jorden and Walton, are those that are “linguistically unrelated to English—that is, they are non-Indo-European—and spoken within societies that are culturally in marked contrast to our own” (Jorden and Walton 1987, 111). The significant differences between the linguistic and cultural codes of English and Chinese make Chinese more difficult and time-consuming for American students to learn than a cognate language like Spanish. The Foreign Service Institute (FSI) and the Defense Language Institute (DLI) divide languages into four categories of difficulty based on how long it takes for native speakers of English to learn each language. Spanish and French are Group I languages, the easiest to learn, while Chinese, Arabic, Japanese, and Korean are Group IV languages, the most difficult for native speakers of English to learn (Walker 1989, 118).

\(^2\) [http://www.mla.org/cgi-shl/docstudio/docs.pl?census_data_results](http://www.mla.org/cgi-shl/docstudio/docs.pl?census_data_results)
While a superior language student needs 720 class-hours of instruction to obtain Level 3 (General Professional) proficiency in spoken French, the same student would require 2400-2760 class-hours to achieve the same level of proficiency in Chinese, over three times as long. Most Chinese learning in the U.S. occurs at the university level, but university programs with four years of instruction and five class-hours each week can only offer 640 class-hours of instruction in Chinese, which is insufficient for superior learners to reach even Level 1+ (Elementary Plus) proficiency. As a result, to produce learners able to communicate successfully in Chinese, it follows logically that instruction must begin sooner: at the high school, middle school, and even elementary school levels.

Pre-collegiate enrollments in Chinese are small, but there are currently about 100 high schools with strong Chinese programs across the U.S., and Chinese is becoming one of the fastest-growing foreign languages in the country (Toppo 2003). While this is a promising trend, it obscures a persistent problem with pre-collegiate Chinese language learning: a significant number of pre-collegiate learners of Chinese do not obtain sufficient proficiency in Chinese to place out of any Chinese courses upon entering college and thus have to begin again in first-year Chinese. For these students, their high school exposure to Chinese can even be somewhat of a disadvantage, as unlearning bad habits and relearning them correctly can be even more difficult that starting from the beginning. Worse, there even seems to be a certain amount of general acceptance of poor pre-collegiate preparation in Chinese. The NFLC Guide for Basic Chinese Language Programs in its section on pre-collegiate learning environments states, “The most important task facing the high school teacher of Chinese is to capture the interest of the students, so that they will want to continue with the study of the language and the
culture” (Kubler et al 1997, 162). Although the authors of the guide propose a very useful approach to defining Basic Chinese—the creation of a foundation upon which learners can build in the future—they do not seem to feel that high school teachers and students are capable of building an effective foundation. Rather, they suggest that all that high school teachers can do is to motivate learners to continue studying Chinese in college, where learners can then, presumably, begin to build the solid foundation that they need.

This unfortunate assumption flies in the face of a large body of research, such as that by neurologist Wilder Penfield, which suggests that the younger learners are, the more readily they can learn other languages. It also undermines the value of beginning instruction earlier to accommodate the significantly greater number of class-hours necessary to achieve a usable level of proficiency in Chinese. This thesis challenges the assumption that learners cannot build an effective foundation in Chinese at the high school level. Developing the assumption that the goal of learning another language is to learn to communicate in that culture, this study proposes that a curriculum based on the theory of performed culture can enable high school learners to learn to communicate in Chinese and gain the linguistic resources necessary to continue on to advanced levels of language ability.

The first chapter examines the intertwined nature of language and culture, analyzes attempts to conceptualize culture for language learning purposes, and proposes the adoption of a pedagogy of performed culture, which focuses on guiding students to perform in culturally appropriate ways, for high school Chinese curricula. In the second chapter, the context of the American high school as a Chinese learning environment is

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3 http://www.onenation.org/ys/ysbeck.html
examined from several angles—high school foreign language learning goals, best practices for teaching East Asian languages, and situational constraints—for the purpose of extrapolating the framework in which Chinese teaching at the high school level currently functions. The third chapter analyzes popular high school Chinese pedagogical materials in terms of how well they facilitate the use of a performed culture approach and suggests ways in which they can be adapted to do so more effectively. The final chapter proposes a high school curriculum, including a pedagogical cycle and management techniques, based on the concept of performed culture, for use with American high school learners of Chinese.
CHAPTER 2

LEARNING TO COMMUNICATE IN CHINESE—CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

In order to teach learners to communicate in a culture, it is necessary to begin from an understanding of the nature of language and the role the culture plays in language use. As culture is a particularly large and amorphous concept, language teachers need a concept of culture tailored to the needs of language learners and their goal of learning how to communicate in another culture. While concepts of culture such as “big-C” and “little-c” culture have offered important insights for learners and teachers alike, they also fail to highlight the area of culture most crucial for successful language learning. Walker’s (2000) pedagogy of performed culture, based on Hammerly’s (1982) concept of behavioral culture, provides language learners with a concept of culture that enables them to begin to participate in that culture.

2.1 Communication and Culture

Countless works on foreign language teaching have expounded on the deep relationship between language and culture. Here the discussion focuses on communication and culture in order to draw attention to language’s role as a tool for communication. In his book *Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of*
Conversation, Michael Agar traces the history of how scholars have thought and written about language and culture (1994). The deep relationship between language and culture, a current truism, has not always been accepted. Likewise, the nature of language as a tool for communication has not always been emphasized. For many years, language was largely regarded as a system of thought, comprised of words and grammar. Saussure, the father of modern linguistics, made the distinction between language, a collection of symbols, and speech, people using language; in his eyes, speech was full of mistakes and useful only as a way to reach the pure essence of language. Saussure sought to study language, not speech, as a symbolic system. Saussure termed symbols signs, each comprised of a signifier and a signified, and studied the relationship between the signs in the system. His focus on language as opposed to speech and on individual words as signs represents an early way of looking at language.

Franz Boas, one of the founders of American anthropology, viewed language as a means to an end, a tool necessary to do ethnographic fieldwork and study other cultures. He also introduced the concept of linguistic relativity, that although there are differences between language, it is not possible to say that one language is superior to another. Two very different schools of thought descended from Boas’s work. One, descriptive-structural linguistics, was started by Bloomfield, who viewed linguistics as the study of phonology and grammar. The other was led by Whorf and Sapir, who famously hypothesized that differences between languages caused the speakers of those languages to experience the world differently. Whorf and Sapir were still looking at language as largely composed of grammar and vocabulary, but they were among the first to view language and culture as intimately tied, if not as one and the same.
Agar (1994) explains that the division that Saussure had set up between language and speech was finally broached by the anthropologist Malinowski and his context-of-situation linguistics. For Malinowski, language was a means of action, and to understand language, it was necessary to understand both the situation of occurrence and the action it was intended to accomplish. Malinowski's ideas were carried on by others and helped to found the area of linguistics known as discourse analysis, which focuses not on individual words or sentences but on language as a social tool in the context of its use. Following in Malinowski's footsteps were Wittgenstein, Austin, and Searle. Wittgenstein's idea of "language games", in which language is used by people in order to accomplish social activities, served as the basis for Austin and Searle's work on speech acts. Although Austin and Searle were still focused on words and sentences, they performed the important task of showing how language is used to perform actions.

Dell Hymes took this a step further with his concept of communicative competence. Communicative competence was a reaction to Chomsky's concept of competence, the ability of native speakers to discern whether a sentence is grammatical, as opposed to his concept of performance, the actual ability of native speakers when speaking, including the inevitable mistakes. Communicative competence refers to the ability not simply to produce grammatical utterances but to use language to communicate successfully with others. Hector Hammerly, in his discussion of second language learning, takes this a step even further and proposes a model of three concentric cones of competence: linguistic, communicative, and cultural, illustrated in Figure 2.1 (Hammerly 1982, 214-5).
Figure 2.1 Hammerly's Concentric Cones (Hammerly 1982, 214)

Hammerly stresses that these three layers are not individual components but are integral and inseparable. Thus we have reached an understanding of language not as a collection of words and sentences but a social tool used in conventionalized ways to achieve certain goals that above all is tied to its cultural context.

Galal Walker (2000) proposes the following "chain of being" in a culture:

"Culture creates contexts – Contexts provide meanings – Meanings produce intentions – Intentions define individuals" (Walker 2000, 228-9). Every utterance occurs in a context, and it is culture which creates that context and what it signifies, whether it is a classroom, banquet hall, or family home. The context in which the utterance occurs provides the meaning; the same utterance produced in different contexts will have different meanings.
The meaning, then, allows the listeners to interpret the intention of the speakers, and it is by their perceived intentions that speakers are judged.

The goal of language learning, as Walker suggests, is to “gain the ability to establish intentions in the foreign culture” (Walker 2000, 228). To establish their intentions in another culture, learners cannot simply work on the level of words and sentences. Rather they must be fluent in the cultural contexts as well, for it is the contexts created by the culture that determine how others will interpret their intentions and how they need to interpret the intentions of others. Learning to communicate in another culture does not simply mean learning to talk in another language; it refers to the ability to establish one’s intentions and accurately interpret the intentions of others within the context of that culture.

2.2 Culture for Language Learning Purposes

The nature of culture, however, is even more difficult to define than that of language, as culture is certainly one of the most complex concepts that humans can accommodate. It is a concept to which theorists and researchers of many different disciplines have dedicated their careers, yet there is still no universally accepted conception of culture. Kluckhohn and Kroeber, two important figures in American anthropology, a field dedicated to the study of culture, sorted through dozens of definitions of culture in the 1950s to arrive at the following attempt at an over-arching definition:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior, acquired and transmitted by symbols constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the
essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. (Agar 1994, 115)

Anthropologists must necessarily attempt to account for and explain culture's incredible complexity. In language pedagogy, however, the objective is to make culture tractable enough so that language learners can gain a foothold in communicating in that language, or in other words, to create a "useful fiction" (Agar 1994, 139). For the high school language learner, Kluckhohn and Kroeber's definition of culture will only create confusion. Michael Agar points out that even seemingly simple first clause of their definition, "culture consists of patterns", is in fact quite daunting, for a pattern is an intricate concept as well, "both prescriptive and descriptive, ideal and real, organization or a single thing, theoretical and practical…” (Agar 1994, 119-120). As a result, those involved in language instruction have created various conceptions of their own to help both language teachers and learners get a grasp on the intricate concept of culture.

2.2.1 “Big-C” and “Little-c” Culture

One of the most well-known and widely used conceptions of culture for language learning is that of “big-C” and “little-c” culture. “Big-C” culture refers to “high” culture, the artistic and literary achievements of a civilization, while “little-c” culture consists of the culture of daily life, including patterns of behavior, foods, beliefs, taboos, and values. The distinction between “big-C” and “little-c” culture stems in part from the pioneering work of Nelson Brooks, who in 1968 proposed a five-part definition of culture that
included biological growth, personal refinement, literature and the fine arts, patterns for living, and the sum total of a way of life (Hadley 1993, 362).

Before the last half of the twentieth century, the purpose of learning another language was assumed to be to gain access to its civilization via its literary masterpieces; as a result, the cultural component of language instruction consisted almost exclusively of “high” culture (Hadley 1993, 361). In the 1960s, however, the language teaching profession began to reassess the role of culture in the curriculum. This reassessment was perhaps prompted by the concurrent decline of American isolationism; as Americans came increasingly into contact with foreign nationals, it became clear that a focus on art and literature was insufficient to prepare them to interact successfully with members of another culture (Heusinkveld 1997, xxvii). It was also certainly tied to the rise of the audiolingual method, whose emphasis on communicative goals also made attention to sociological matters more important (Hadley 1993, 362). Brooks argued that the fourth component of his definition of culture, patterns for living, was more appropriate for foreign language instruction than the third component, the literature and fine arts that comprised the traditional approach. He defined patterns for living as “the individual’s role in the unending kaleidoscope of life situations of every kind and the rules and models for attitude and conduct in them” (Seelye 1994, 16). At the time, there was heated debate between those that defended the literary approach and those that favored a social sciences orientation to cultural instruction, but ultimately the concept of “little-c” culture, inspired by Brooks’s patterns for living, gained inclusion into language curricula alongside “big-C” culture (Heusinkveld 1997, xxvii-xxviii).
The acceptance of the concept of “big-C” and “little-c” culture represented an advance in language instruction because it led to the inclusion of many forms of culture that had previously been excluded from curricula. Ned Seelye, an influential educator of intercultural communication, defines culture in a way that highlights this inclusiveness; for Seelye, culture “embraces all aspects of human life” and “is everything that humans have learned” (Seelye 1994, 22). “Little-c” culture is the culture of the now ubiquitous culture capsule, the staple of language textbooks that provides learners with information on topics such as names, families, holidays, food, housing, and education in the target culture.

The concept of “little-c” culture led to the routine inclusion in language curricula of a significant amount of cultural information of use to learners. If learners were to find themselves participating in a holiday celebration or attending a school in the target culture, the “little-c” cultural information that they had learned would help them know what to expect and recognize what they were experiencing. However, learners in such a situation would quickly realize the ways in which such knowledge was also insufficient for successful participation. First of all, while “little-c” culture encompasses both the things that members of a culture know as well as the things that they do, the former is often emphasized at the expense of the latter. Culture capsules more often provide information such as when holidays are celebrated or how the levels of education are divided; much less attention is given to what people do during holidays or in class. Second, even when “little-c” culture focuses on what people do, little specific information is provided on how they do these things. A capsule may report that the Chinese exchange holiday greetings during the New Year celebration, but it would likely
not include common greetings; when, where, and with whom they are exchanged; or proper body language when exchanging these greetings. Furthermore, culture capsules often report on what members of the target culture do, as opposed to what learners should do when in the target culture. This can prove problematic in cultures such as Chinese culture, where expected and appropriate behavior for foreigners and Chinese can at times diverge widely. This focus on what Chinese people do as opposed to what the learners should do when interacting with Chinese people also sends a subtle, unfortunate signal. It holds Chinese culture at a distance from the learner, perhaps suggesting the learner does not need to or even can not learn to actually participate in Chinese culture.

“Little-c” culture presents culture as facts for learners to know, but if they are to learn to establish their intentions and communicate in the culture, learners need to know how to do things in the target culture. On a holiday, they need to know when, how, and to whom to express their holiday wishes. At school, they need to know how to greet the teacher, apologize if their homework is late, and make friends with their classmates. This distinction is similar to the one drawn in cognitive psychology between declarative and procedural knowledge: declarative knowledge is what one knows about something, while procedural knowledge is what one knows how to do. For language learning, O’Malley and Chamot differentiate between language as an object of study (declarative) and language as a skill (procedural) (Christensen and Noda 2002, 15). “Little-c” culture is a form of declarative knowledge. It can help learners build procedural knowledge, but alone it is insufficient to enable learners to communicate in the target culture.  

4 For further discussion of declarative and procedural knowledge, see Sections 2.3.4 and 5.4.1.
concept of “little-c” culture helpfully brings information about daily life in the target
culture into language classes, but in the end it falls short because it is insufficient to help
learners to communicate with others in the settings of daily life that it describes.

2.2.2 Perspectives, Practices, and Products

In 1996, the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project pioneered
a new concept of culture as part of its work in defining national standards in foreign
language education. The authors propose as one of five inter-related goals\(^5\) that students
“gain knowledge and understanding of other cultures”, defining culture as including “the
philosophical perspectives, the behavioral practices, and the products—both tangible and
intangible—of a society” (NSFLEP 1999, 47). Perspectives refers to meanings, attitudes,
values, and ideas; practices are patterns of social interaction; and products range from
books, tools, and foods to laws, music, and games. In the case of Chinese culture, for
example, perspectives could include an emphasis on hierarchy and group harmony,
respect for age and experience, and placing importance on interpersonal relationships and
facework; practices could include deferring to one’s elders and superiors, addressing
older people using honorific forms of address, and expressing disagreement indirectly;
and products could include the terms of respect used for one’s elders, educational
institutions created so that the elderly can take enrichment courses, and the many gifts
and trinkets meant to ensure or celebrate longevity.

The authors claim that the concept of perspectives, practices, and products
represents an advance over the concept of “big-C” and “little-c” cultures. As both “big-

\(^5\) For a more detailed discussion of the NSFLEP Standards, see Section 3.3.1.
C" and "little-c" culture are interwoven with language and thus important for language learners, they should be viewed as inseparable instead of being separated from each other (NSFLEP 1999, 48). The perspectives, practices, and products that the NSFLEP promotes each accommodate both "big-C" and "little-c" examples. In addition, although perspectives, practices, and products are separated from one another, their interconnectedness is stressed. According to the authors, the products and practices of a culture derive from the perspectives, but the three subsets all influence each other in a close interrelationship, and students are expected to demonstrate an understanding of the relationships between the practices and perspectives and then the products and perspectives of the cultures studied (NSFLEP 1999, 50-1).

The concept of culture presented in the Standards for Foreign Language Learning is important because it includes the category of practices and calls for its inclusion in language curricula across the nation. If learners found themselves in the target culture, knowledge of common practices would be very useful. However, the Standards presents all three aspects of culture on equal footing and fails to prioritize among them. Although all three are important, given that instructional time in foreign language programs is extremely limited compared to the amount of time available for acquiring one's native language and culture, if learners are to gain the ability to communicate in another culture, practices must be given priority in the curriculum.6

Secondly, the two culture standards call for students to "demonstrate an understanding" of relationship between the various aspects of culture, but this is an extremely vague phrase that avoids the difficult question of how to accurately assess

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6 For a more detailed discussion, see Section 2.3.
cultural knowledge. The Standards offer a variety of sample progress indicators for educators. For Grade 8, these range from “students observe, analyze, and discuss patterns of behavior typical of their peer group” to “students use appropriate verbal and nonverbal behavior for daily activities among peers and adults”; for Grade 12, they range from “students learn about and participate in age-appropriate cultural practices, such as games, sports, and entertainment” to “students identify, examine, and discuss connections between cultural perspectives and socially approved behavioral patterns” (NSFLEP 1999, 50-1). Using appropriate behavior and participating in cultural practices are excellent language-learning activities that will help learners participate successfully in the target culture, and it is promising that they have been included. However, the sample progress indicators are not prioritized, and there is nothing to insist or suggest that teachers design their curricula to have students behave and participate instead of simply identifying, analyzing, and discussing practices of the target culture. The division of perspectives, practices, and products usefully highlights cultural practices but fails to insist that students gain the procedural knowledge of how to behave in accordance with these practices as opposed to the declarative knowledge of simply analyzing and discussing them.

2.3 A Performed Culture Approach

Conceiving of culture as consisting of “big-C” and “little-c” culture and then perspectives, practices, and products has helped language teachers and learners to begin to approach this amorphous concept at the heart of language learning. However, while these approaches to culture bring important information about daily life in the target
culture into the classroom, they stop short of ensuring learners are able to behave in ways appropriate to various contexts of daily life in the target culture. Galal Walker and others have proposed an approach to language pedagogy based on the concept of performed culture. This approach requires and emphasizes student performance of culturally- and contextually-appropriate behavior, the procedural knowledge that learners require in order to become capable of participating successfully in another culture. As Walker writes, “As a subject of study, language that is framed in culture and inextricably commingled with action demands performance as a pedagogical necessity rather than inviting it as an option” (Walker 2000, 227).

2.3.1 Behavioral Culture as the Core

In Synthesis in Second Language Teaching, Hector Hammerly divides culture for the purpose of language learning into three broad categories: achievement culture, informational culture, and behavioral culture (Hammerly 1982, 513-5). Behavioral culture includes communicative conventions and kinesics. In Chinese, this would include a student nodding his or her head when greeting a professor, a guest refusing a cup of tea before accepting it, and not verbally thanking a close friend for performing a simple task. Informational culture refers to the information and facts widely known and valued in a culture. This can include information taught in the educational system, such as history and geography, as well as information shared more informally, such as knowledge about sports or celebrities. For example, a basic understanding of China’s economic reforms, the location of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, and familiarity with celebrities such as the basketball star Yao Ming and martial arts hero Bruce Lee all form a part of
informational culture. Achievement culture refers to the hallmarks of a civilization, the artistic and literary accomplishments of a society, similar to “big-C” culture. Examples of Chinese achievement culture include the *Dao De Jing*, Chinese landscape painting, and the Great Wall.

While all three aspects of culture are relevant and important for language learning, Hammerly stresses that more than achievement or informational culture, behavioral culture should be emphasized in foreign language programs because it is “the form of culture most important to successful communication” (Hammerly 1982, 515). Furthermore, a cognitive knowledge of behavioral culture is insufficient; rather, the learners themselves must learn how to behave in the second culture by developing “performative knowledge of its behavior patterns” (Hammerly 1982, 515). Behavioral culture is primary because knowledge of behavioral culture can help learners to build the relationships with members of the target culture that will help them to learn about informational and achievement culture; the reverse, however, is not necessarily true. For example, an American who is well-versed in the *Dao De Jing* but overly direct in his interactions with his Chinese acquaintances will likely offend them, whereas one who can interact appropriately but is as yet unfamiliar with the Chinese classics will be able to get along in China quite well, and even make friends who can introduce him or her to the *Dao De Jing*.

2.3.2 Ignored Culture

Galal Walker (2000) further divides behavioral culture into revealed culture, ignored culture, and suppressed culture. Revealed culture is the cultural knowledge which
members of the target culture are aware of, proud of, and willing to share with members of other cultures. Ignored culture, referred to by Edward Hall (1976) as "hidden or covert culture", is the cultural knowledge and behavior that members of the target culture are generally not aware of, most likely not realizing it is not universal behavior until they meet someone who behaves differently. Finally, suppressed culture is cultural knowledge or behavior that members of that culture prefer not to share with non-members. For Chinese culture, an example of revealed culture might be the respect with which Chinese treat the elderly; an example of ignored culture might be that Chinese people rarely use polite terms such as "please" and "thank you" with family members; and an example of suppressed culture might be that many Chinese people will crowd to the head of a queue if they do not know the people they are inconveniencing.

While revealed, ignored, and suppressed culture are all important, it is the ignored behavioral culture that should be the focus of language instruction at the beginning and intermediate levels. A few facets of suppressed culture might merit a mention, largely to alert students to topics that members of the target culture might prefer not to discuss. Revealed culture is also important, but learners who have the chance to interact with target culture members will receive this information in multiple lectures extolling the virtues of Chinese civilization. Ignored or hidden behavioral culture, however, is something of which few people are aware. Language teachers, on the other hand, are in a unique position to understand both cultures, having ample opportunity to note the many mistakes that their students make as they begin to attempt to interact in the target culture; thus to them falls the important task of sharing this with learners.
Hammerly’s division of culture into behavioral, informational, and achievement categories is important because it creates a unique category for culturally appropriate behavior and then prioritizes this category as the most important for language learners at the beginning and intermediate levels of instruction. Furthermore, Hammerly specifies that declarative knowledge of behavioral culture is insufficient; learners must obtain the procedural knowledge, that is, they have to be able to behave in these ways. Walker’s further division of behavioral culture into revealed, ignored, and suppressed serves to separate and highlight the most important part of behavioral culture, the ignored behavioral culture that most people who have not had significant contact with members of other cultures do not even realize is culturally determined. This two-tiered division divides the all-encompassing concept of culture into slightly smaller, more manageable categories and places the focus for beginning and intermediate level instruction on procedural knowledge of ignored behavioral culture. It is not possible within the constraints of a language program, to cover Chinese culture in its entirety; successful learners will necessarily have to continue their learning beyond the classroom. A solid foundation in behavioral culture will enable learners to build successful relationships with members of the target culture that will support them in their lifelong learning of Chinese language and culture.

2.3.3 A Pedagogy of Performance

Presenting the entirety of a culture within a language class is an impossible goal; focusing on ignored behavioral culture simplifies the task, but it still remains quite daunting. While perfectly representing culture or even behavioral culture in the language
classroom is not possible, Walker points out that language teachers can, however, “be expected to identify and stage performable chunks of the cultures we teach that can be rationalized within a coherent concept of culture” (Walker 2000, 226). This “performable chunk”, or performance, is the key to teaching learners to communicate in another culture.

Throughout a day, people of all cultures enact a series of social events that we call performances: greeting friends, ordering food in a restaurant, responding to a request for a favor, making plans for a future date, and asking a colleague for help. Each of these performances occurs in a specific, recognizable context, and it is these contexts that allow people to understand the intentions of others. While it is not truly possible to ever fully “master” a given language, whether a first language or a foreign language, it is possible to learn how to do certain things in that language; the more things that one is able to do, the more competent or expert one can be considered in that language (Walker 2000, 234).

The concept of performance can be used to make culture more tractable for language learners. A performance in this sense 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” (Walker 2000, 227-8). He explains that performance is a usefully ambiguous term in that it includes “the ideas of a ‘staged’ event, of observable behavior rather than abstract categories of behavior, and of situated knowledge in contrast to essential or idealized knowledge” (Walker 2000, 227). The five elements of performance are important because they provide a clear and recognized context in which learners can situate the performance. First, they can create a Chinese cultural context instead of an American one. Unless the teacher works to create a target culture environment, learners will use the new words and phrases to communicate
within the framework of their base culture, for example saying “Xiexie” whenever they would say “Thank you”, which would often defeat their intention of expressing gratitude. Second, they specify in which particular Chinese contexts the performance could appropriately occur.

The task of language teachers then is to identify useful performances, present and explain them to learners, and then coach learners in the enactment of these performances. The performances selected should not simply be the ones that occur most often in the target culture, but those 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 example, Chinese people are not complimented on their Chinese language skills, or even their skills in a foreign language, with any regularity, but foreigners in China need to be prepared to perform an appropriate response to the compliments about their Chinese skills that will be made with astonishing frequency.

The language teacher’s task is more difficult than it may seem, for it is not always clear which performances a learner will need in order to participate successfully in the target culture. For teachers who are target culture natives, they have never been a foreigner in China and thus are not necessarily familiar with the types of situations that foreigners in China regularly encounter. If the teacher is not familiar with the learners’ base culture, then the teacher will have difficulty in selecting the performances that differ significantly from the learners’ base culture and thus will present particular difficulties for them. For teachers who are not target culture natives, they will likely have experience being a foreigner in China but may be unsure about the authenticity or appropriateness of certain performances. For all teachers, however, staging culturally appropriate and useful
performances is difficult because this kind of culture—how to greet, thank, request, persuade, and apologize—is ignored behavioral culture, so ingrained in members of a culture as to be almost invisible. This is exactly why this type of culture is so important for language learners, and why they need not only to learn these performances but to develop automaticity in their execution.

2.3.4 Building Cultural Memory

In order for learners to learn to successfully participate in a culture that they have not yet experienced, they must have the opportunity to build a cultural memory in the classroom that they will be able to apply in the future (Walker and Noda 2000, 193-4). To do this, learners need both declarative and procedural memory, a distinction similar to that between declarative and procedural knowledge. Procedural memory is the memory of how to do something in the target culture, while declarative memory is memory about something. A single experience may be sufficient to acquire declarative memory, but procedural memory often requires repeated exposure or practice (Christensen and Noda 2002, 14). For example, learners may be able to remember that when a Chinese person compliments them, they should modestly turn down the compliment after being told so only once (declarative memory). However, developing the ability to comfortably turn down a compliment (procedural memory) will likely take repeated practice. The most important form of memory for successful interaction in the target culture is procedural memory; declarative memory is largely useful in helping learners to build procedural memory. Once their procedural memory is well established, learners may find that declarative memory in fact becomes less accessible (Christensen and Noda 2002, 15).
Once they begin to automatically respond in culturally appropriate ways, they may become less aware of the declarative “rules” that they learned while attempting to internalize this behavior. This may be expressed in the four step process of gaining language use ability: 1) don’t know you don’t know (hidden knowledge), 2) know you don’t know (recognition of a category of knowledge/memory), 3) know you know (declarative knowledge/memory), 4) don’t know you know (automaticity—procedural knowledge/memory) (Walker and Noda 2000, 207).

While learners will never be able to build a memory for social interaction in the target culture that rivals the one they have compiled for their base culture, they can still develop an extensive memory that will allow them to begin to participate in the target culture and then continue to improve their abilities by learning from the new situations that they encounter. In order to do this, teachers must not only help students create memories of successful performances, they must help them build a memory of the process of compiling their memories into a retrievable, usable form. It is the memory of the process of compilation that learners will most need once they venture out from the classroom into actual interactions with members of the target culture. For learners with a solid memory of the process of compilation, Walker and Noda explain,

When they encounter new situations, they are able to identify the elements of performance, recognize the new elements, incorporate them into their culture and language knowledge, develop a new story through performance, compile the new story into the structure of sagas and cases to adjust their own knowledge structure of the target culture. This equips them to critique their performances in light of reactions from members of the target culture as well as from their own knowledge and to seek ways to modify their story. (2000, 209)
A memory of the process of compilation is essential because it allows learners to continue learning Chinese long after they have left a formal classroom setting.

Figure 2.2 Cycle of Compilation (Walker and Noda 2000, 197)

Walker and Noda (2000) propose a “cycle of compiling culture”, shown above in Figure 2.2. The cycle of compilation reflects the continuing spiral of interaction between agents, activities, and memories that must occur in order for learners to compile memories of performances and of the process of compilation. The cycle begins with the agent of the persona. The term persona reflects the reality that learners have multi-faceted personalities that vary from context to context and over time within one context.
The second step, *culture knowledge* and *language knowledge*, represents the learner’s memories of information about culture and language. Even on the first day of class, learners arrive with some sort of culture knowledge and language knowledge, which may or may not be accurate. Furthermore, it is possible for culture knowledge and language knowledge to be separate. A learner may know how to say *xiexie* without knowing when and why it is appropriate to do so; similarly, a learner may be aware of the necessity of face work in Chinese culture, and may even be able to carry out face work in English, without speaking a word of Chinese.

In the classroom, learners, with their pre-existing culture and language knowledge, will encounter *performances* and *games*. A performance is the enactment of a script situated within a specified cultural context. The elements of the performance—time, place, roles, script, and audience—must be specified, or the learners will simply work from the default American classroom context. A game is simply a performance with an agreed-upon scoring system. Performances and games form the most important component of classroom activities. The teacher’s job is to select, analyze, present, and explain performances or games for the learners; the learners’ task is to enact the performances or games, and then with the teacher’s feedback, enact them at a higher level.

Having experienced a performance or a game, the learner is left with a *story*, the personal memory of this experience. Learners will leave the classroom with memories in the form of stories that can be related or performed. Depending on the nature of the classroom activities, these could be memories of talking about the Chinese language in English, of writing characters in calligraphy, or of translating sentences between Chinese and English. However, the most useful memories for learners are those of actually having
completed a successful performance in the target culture. 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. Drills, exercises, and role plays
and assessment tools focused on cases, sagas, and themes help learners to take new
stories and associate or integrate them with previously encountered ones.

To integrate new and familiar stories into a usable format, learners need to build a
memory of cases, sagas, and themes. These three categories are an organizational
strategy that will assist learners in accessing the stories they need to enter into the flow of
interaction in the target culture. A case is a collection of stories about a particular
performance in a culture. For example, students need to build cases for greetings,
requests, thanking, shopping, and so forth. The concept of case recognizes that there is
not simply one performance that can be used for every instance of greeting or requesting;
rather, the appropriate performance will depend on elements such as the roles of the
people involved, the time of day, the location of meeting, and the audience. The most
basic case is a collection of two stories for a particular performance; the first case that
learners compile might involve a greeting for a teacher and a greeting for a classmate.
Eventually learners will compile a case for greetings that involves different people
(coworkers, waitresses, officials) in different settings (office, restaurant, banquet, on the
street) at different times of the day and year. A saga is a collection of stories about a
particular group of people and/or a particular place. All learners will quickly build a
classroom saga, but to learn to interact successfully in the target culture, they will also
need other sagas focused on repeated communicative situations they are likely to
encounter, such as a restaurant saga, a dormitory or hotel saga, a marketplace saga, and a
workplace saga. A theme is a cultural worldview; there are fewer themes than there are cases or sagas, but themes will re-occur throughout cases and sagas. Chinese cultural themes, such as hierarchy, harmony, and facework, are present throughout cases and sagas.

Once students have compiled even a simple case or saga, this becomes part of their culture and language knowledge. This second-culture worldview construction changes the way that they will approach new language and culture knowledge in the future and can even create changes in their persona. In order to approach expertise or even competence in a second language and culture, learners must proceed through this cycle of compilation countless times. In the beginning, they will need a great deal of specific guidance from teachers, both in terms of identifying the constituent features of a performance, receiving feedback on their performances, and in learning how to compile stories into cases, sagas, and ultimately a second-culture worldview. The goal of a program should be to give learners sufficient experience in the cycle of compilation that they will be able to continue compiling stories on their own after leaving the program.

2.4 Summary

A performed culture approach to teaching Chinese treats language not as a collection of words and sentences but as a tool for communication firmly tied to its cultural contexts. Its focus on learner enactment of performances featuring Chinese ignored behavioral culture provides learners with the procedural knowledge that they need to begin to communicate in Chinese culture. Most importantly, Walker and Noda’s proposed cycle of compilation gives learners the tools to not only compile memories for
future interactions but to continue compiling memories on their own once they have begun communicating in the culture outside the classroom.
CHAPTER 3

CHINESE LANGUAGE LEARNING IN THE
AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL CONTEXT

A pedagogy of performed culture is quite a radical departure from mainstream language teaching at the high school level, in Chinese or any other foreign language. In order to successfully develop and implement a high school Chinese curriculum based on performed culture, it is crucial to first understand the American high school context in which it will operate. To that end, this chapter offers a brief overview of the history of Chinese language study in the U.S. followed by a discussion of the various constraints under which high school Chinese language programs currently operate. This chapter also examines Chinese program goals and teaching practices in an attempt to elucidate the operational framework that guides current high school Chinese teaching practices. The implications of the history, constraints, and operational framework for the development and implementation of a high school Chinese curriculum are also discussed.

3.1 The Historical Context of Chinese Language Learning in the U.S.

The authors of the Chinese section of the Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century describe the expansion of Chinese language study in the U.S.
Chinese language instruction in the United States dates back to the late 1800s, when three groups accounted for the majority of Chinese language learners in the United States: scholars of Chinese history and culture, Chinese-American heritage students, and religious missionaries. These three quite small and different groups each had their own particular goals in learning the language and thus developed their own distinct pedagogical traditions. The first foray of Chinese language instruction into the educational mainstream occurred in the late 1950s, when Title VI of the National Defense Education Act encouraged the study of the less commonly taught languages, including Chinese. In the 1960s, the Carnegie Corporation made the first efforts to foster pre-collegiate Chinese language programs by encouraging colleges with pre-existing Chinese programs to work with neighboring school districts to establish programs there. This burst of vitality, however, was short-lived; as the political situation made China increasingly inaccessible to Americans, both high school and university level Chinese programs declined.

In the 1980s, however, a nationwide trend of expanding instructional offerings in American schools coincided with the normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations and Chinese economic reforms, contributing to a major expansion and development of Chinese language programs in high schools and colleges across the U.S. At the pre-collegiate level, this expansion was greatly aided by the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation’s Chinese Initiative, which provided grants to sixty secondary schools to establish or improve Chinese language programs, most of which still exist today. In the 1980s and 1990s, high school Chinese language programs expanded both in terms of total enrollment and geographical distribution, increasing from 1,082 public high school

So far, the expansion of Chinese instruction in the 1980s and 1990s in the U.S. seems to be holding steady; the most recent figures for high school Chinese language enrollments come from the 2003-2004 CLASS Chinese Program Survey, which reports at least 9,029 public and private high school students studying Chinese in the U.S. in 2003.⁷ A 2004 search for Chinese teaching positions in private U.S. secondary schools turned up a total of twelve positions, nine of them to start new programs at schools in locations spanning from New York City to rural Indiana to suburban Alabama. At the college level, Chinese enrollments increased 20 percent between 1998 and 2002.⁸ All indications, other than potentially troubling budget cuts nationwide, seem to suggest that Chinese language enrollments will continue to remain steady or grow at the high school and collegiate levels in the foreseeable future.

Although Chinese enrollments both in high school and college have increased significantly over the past 25 years, students studying Chinese still represent only a tiny portion of all foreign language learners in the U.S. At the university level the percentage

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⁷ This survey, which focuses on high school programs whose teachers are members of the CLASS organization, is not comprehensive; nor are the ACTFL surveys, given the discrepancies in data collection at the state level. As a result, there is certainly a significant number of students enrolled in Chinese programs but not counted in these surveys.

⁸ http://www.wisitalia.org/web/data/MLAtables.pdf
of total foreign language enrollment for Chinese has increased from 1.2 percent in 1980 to 2.4 percent in 2002. At the high school level, Chinese is not even broken out into its own category in the reports; Chinese learners make up a portion of the only 1.3 percent of students learning “other languages” (Draper and Hicks 2000, 2). The implication of this is that Chinese programs, particularly those at the high school level, can not take their place in the curriculum for granted. Chinese teachers must constantly promote their programs to ensure student enrollment and administrative support. When implementing a new curriculum, Chinese teachers must proceed cautiously; they can not completely disregard student sensibilities in favor of curricular goals. However, the successful implementation of a new curriculum could help firmly establish the place of the Chinese program in the foreign language curriculum.

Another implication of the way in which Chinese language instruction has developed in the U.S. is that the field has suffered from considerable fragmentation. The existence of many competing paradigms of Chinese language teaching is one of the reasons why articulation between Chinese language programs at different institutions has been difficult. This problem exists for students moving both between institutions of the same level and moving between institutions of different levels, for example from high school to college. This may also in part account for why students who have studied Chinese in high school are rarely able to place out of first- or second-year Chinese courses in college. Professional organizations, such as the Chinese Language Teachers’ Association (CLTA), most of whose members teach at the college level, and the Chinese

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9 Ibid.
Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS), most of whose members teach at the elementary and secondary school levels, have helped to begin to integrate the field, directly addressing issues in articulation. High school teachers, then, in developing and implementing a new curriculum, must familiarize themselves with Chinese teaching at the college level and keep issues of articulation in mind.

3.2 The Current Context of Chinese Language Learning in the U.S.: Constraints

In addition to issues resulting from the historical development of the Chinese language instruction in the US, there are also a number of constraints under which Chinese language programs currently operate. These constraints can be divided into two main categories. The first category is setting-specific constraints, the constraints particular to teaching Chinese in a high school setting. The second category is universal constraints, the constraints under which all Chinese language programs, regardless of setting, operate. When developing and implementing a high school Chinese curriculum, these setting-specific constraints might seem to be those most in need of addressing. However, equally important are the constraints common to all Chinese language programs in the U.S. (Walton 1989). The key to creating an effective high school language program is attending to both the universal and setting-specific constraints under which high school programs operate.

3.2.1 Setting-Specific Constraints

To be successful in an American high school, Chinese language programs must take into account the constraints of this particular setting. Perhaps the most important
constraint upon high school Chinese programs is that of time. While any program necessarily has a limited amount of instructional time, time is particularly limited at the high school level. A high school foreign language class generally meets for 40 to 55 minutes a day, five days a week, over the course of an academic year of 30-40 weeks. With the advent of block scheduling, classes in some schools meet four days a week, with a double class period on one of those days; in some schools, classes may meet even fewer times per week for a longer amount of time. Unlike in dedicated language centers which are free to set their own schedules or even in universities where professors may add additional class hours or require language lab work, in high school language programs the amount of available instructional time is set by administrators outside of the language program. Classroom time is regularly cut into for assemblies, athletics, conferences, and holidays. Furthermore, not all classroom time is available for instruction; it is a common complaint among teachers that they must spend as much as one-third of classroom time on such classroom management tasks as dealing with discipline, absences, grades, make ups, and so forth.

The amount of homework that can be assigned is also limited. While college professors have considerable latitude in the amount of work they assign, high school teachers are much more constrained in what they can require of students. As secondary education in the United States is intended to be part of a student’s general education, teachers of a particular subject cannot claim a disproportionate amount of students’ time outside of class. This is particularly true for subjects such as foreign languages, which have long been seen as less central to the curriculum; if anything, these teachers are sometimes expected to make fewer demands on students’ time. Given that many high
schools do not have foreign language requirements and even those that do offer at least a small selection of languages among which to choose, language teachers have to “compete” with teachers of other languages and electives for students in a way that English and math teachers do not; if a language program is seen as having an “excessive” amount of homework, it will may students. Furthermore, college admissions criteria demonstrate that students are expected to show that they are well rounded by participating in a dizzying array of extra-curricular activities. As a result, teachers cannot assign so much homework that students do not have time for sports, music, art, and other activities. Teachers are thus highly constrained by what students—and their parents—will accept as a “reasonable” or “fair” amount of homework (Wong 1996, 171).

Time available for teacher preparation is also particularly limited. Due to low enrollments, most high school Chinese programs have only one teacher who is responsible for teaching all of the Chinese courses offered. As few programs have enough students to offer two sections of the same level, this means Chinese teachers often have four, five, or sometimes even six different classes to teach every day. The Chinese teacher’s duties often also include program promotion and recruitment, necessary to ensure the program’s continued existence, which further reduces time available for preparation work (Wong 1996, 176-177). Given the small number of high school Chinese language programs, Chinese teachers are often isolated, lacking not only colleagues at the same institution with whom to share preparation, management and promotion duties, but also colleagues at nearby institutions with whom to exchange ideas and support. High school classes can contain as many as 25 to 30 students; a teacher with four or five classes may thus be responsible for over 100 students, which severely constrains the
amount of time the teacher has for each student. In programs where enrollment is particularly low, courses of different levels are often combined and taught together in order to achieve the minimum number of students. Dealing with the needs of multi-level courses reduces teacher preparation time as well as in-class instructional time.

Another important constraint upon language learning at the high school level is the nature of; in the words of high school Chinese teacher Margaret Wong, “this peculiar animal, the...American teenager” (Wong 1996, 163). High school students are adolescents, which means that they have particular physical, mental, and emotional development concerns that will at times interfere with focused study. The students who choose to study Chinese are largely self-selecting, as Chinese is rarely a required subject of study, but the high school student population is still more diverse than the university student population. This diversity means that high school teachers often have to deal with students with a wide range of language learning abilities, motivation, and future plans. This necessarily constrains what can be done in the classroom. Furthermore, the students are not necessarily willing, motivated, eager learners; even the most engaged high school learners, due to their level of maturity, can not be counted on to remain constantly motivated. Thus the teacher bears a portion of the burden for making the class interesting to students and sparking their motivation. Given that the “the customer is always right” orientation of contemporary American culture extends even to schools, the teacher must be sensitive to the expectations of the students while maintaining the quality of the program (Wong 1996, 170).

Finally, while few high schools have Chinese programs, even fewer have other courses related to China. This means that in addition to teaching Chinese language and
culture, some teachers feel that they need to include information about Chinese history, art, literature, geography, and other topics, as there are no other courses from which students can gain this information. The inclusion of such topics, while valuable, takes time away from the teaching of language and culture.

The main implication of the constraints on the high school environment is that learning must proceed at a slower pace than at the college level or in dedicated language centers, and a significant portion of it must occur in the classroom (Wong 1996, 171). The pedagogy of performed culture with its cycle of compilation proposed by Walker and Noda is not the entirety of the language learning cycle but its most important goal. The goal is for the learners to compile stories, the personal memories of having experienced performances and games, into cases, sagas, and themes, from which they can easily retrieve them when interacting with members of the target culture. The more authentic\(^{11}\) the stories are, the more useful they will be to the learners. However, in order to enact performances successfully, learners must first practice pronunciation, intonation, fluency, vocabulary, and sentence patterns, among many other things. Noda refers to these activities as scaffolding: activities that are useful in building authentic performance, though they may not be authentic in themselves.\(^{12}\) In university level programs, where professors have the latitude to assign significant amounts of homework and students

\[\text{\footnotesize 11} \text{ Here authentic refers not to materials produced by and for native speakers but to actual or potential performances that would create contextually and culturally feasible stories, a definition adapted from Noda (Noda, Mari 2003. Course handout from EALL 700 (Learning East Asian Languages in Cross Cultural Context), a program of SPEAC (Summer Programs East Asian Concentration), The Ohio State University.)}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize 12} \text{ Noda, Mari 2003. Course lecture from EALL 700 (Learning East Asian Languages in Cross Cultural Context), a program of SPEAC (Summer Programs East Asian Concentration), The Ohio State University.}\]
generally have the maturity level to complete significant amounts of homework on their own, scaffolding exercises can largely be relegated to outside of class, assigned as homework. Students can be held responsible for listening to audio tapes, practicing pronunciation, memorizing vocabulary and drilling sentence patterns on their own. Class time is thus free for focused work on authentic performances.

At the high school level, due to the limited amount of homework that can be assigned and students' lower level of maturity, teachers do not have this luxury. As a result, a significant amount of scaffolding activities must occur in the classroom. This creates the risk that scaffolding activities may come to be seen as the goal of learning, instead of as a way of developing the learners’ ability to engage in authentic performance, especially if assessment focuses on scaffolding activities instead of authentic performances. High school teachers must focus on the end goal of authentic performance, analyze the specific abilities that learners will need to gain in order to enact that performance, and design effective scaffolding activities to help learners develop their abilities. When possible, scaffolding activities should resemble authentic performances; for example, a two-line pattern drill can be set in a context and treated as a performance. Teachers then must be sure to go beyond scaffolding activities, beyond vocabulary memorization and grammar drills, to authentic activities, where learners perform in the target culture and learn the stories that will allow them to interact successfully in Chinese communities in the future. Assessment and grading should be tied to authentic activities instead of scaffolding ones. Finally, although students may not initially be able to complete certain types of scaffolding activities as homework at the beginning, over the course of the program, the teacher should increasingly shift the burden of scaffolding
activities to the students (who will by then have compiled memories of successful scaffolding activities), increasingly freeing class time for authentic activities.

Another implication is that classroom activities must be appropriate for and palatable to high school learners (Wong 1996, 170). Palatability, of course, cannot be the only or even the major criterion. There are many very palatable activities that are not useful for learning to interact in Chinese culture; likewise, there are also highly useful activities that simply may not be acceptable to high school students. The challenge for the teacher is to focus on and make the most of the types of activities that are both useful and palatable. An effective teacher will also be able to devise ways of making useful activities palatable to high school learners by explaining the rationale behind them, making minor modifications, socializing learners to come to accept these activities in the classroom, and reflecting useful activities in their tests. For example, teachers can adjust the language that they use. Instead of referring to the roles, time, location, script, and audience of a performance, teachers can simply talk about the who, what, when, and where of a performance. To explain the necessity of performance to reluctant students, the teacher can draw comparisons to playing a sport, playing a musical instrument, dancing, or driving a car: to learn how to do it, you can’t simply talk about it; you have to do it. Scaffolding activities can be made into games or competitions if the students respond well to those. Perhaps the most important thing that teachers can do is to give their students the opportunity to actually use the language, so they can experience the thrill of success and see that their hard work is beginning to pay off.
3.2.2 Universal Constraints

In addition to making adjustments for setting-specific constraints, high school teachers must also attend to universal constraints. In his 1989 article, "Chinese Language Instruction in the United States: Some Reflections on the State of the Art", Ron Walton argues that to create a coherent field of Chinese language study, those involved in this field must come to an agreement on a core of shared assumptions applicable to all Chinese language learning, regardless of particular setting. These assumptions must center on language learning: how to define Chinese language competence and how to assist learners in achieving this. As learning is the goal of the field, teaching must be constrained by learning and not the other way around (Walton 1989, 29).

Walton suggests two main types of constraints, discipline-knowledge constraints and applied-knowledge constraints (Walton 1989, 31-34). Discipline-knowledge constraints include the various elements of the language system, such as the phonology, grammar, lexicon, and discourse features and language use, such as communicative and cultural conventions. These elements are governed by rules, and in order to communicate in Chinese, learners must achieve a certain level of mastery of these rules. Teachers cannot, for example, decide that the four tones are too difficult and thus only teach one or two; as such, these rules constrain what is to be learned. There are also cognitive constraints that affect how the learning of Chinese takes place. For example, learning generally proceeds from the simple to the complex; if teachers choose to proceed from the complex to the simple, the results will be disastrous.

In terms of applied-knowledge constraints, Walton focuses on available instructional time (Walton 1989, 33-34). Although the amount of available instructional
time will differ according to the particular language learning setting, the amount of time will always be limited. Furthermore, given the infinite complexity of language, no program exists in which there will be a sufficient amount of time for learners to learn "everything". As a result, the limited amount of time constrains how much content can be learned; if not everything can be learned, a representative sample must be selected. Time also constrains what content should be learned. The representative sample should include the most generally applicable, widely useful content for a particular group of learners. Furthermore, given the fact that there is insufficient time for learners to achieve "mastery" of Chinese in any given instructional setting, learners who wish to achieve expertise must continue learning on their own once they leave the formal instructional setting. As a result, the content most difficult for learners to learn on their own, such as pronunciation, basic grammatical patterns, and communicative conventions, should be included, while content more amenable to self study, such as lexical development, can receive less attention. Furthermore, teachers must help learners to develop self-study skills to help them manage their own learning once they leave the program.

The main implication of the universal constraints is that while teachers make adjustments for setting-specific constraints, they cannot ignore the nature of Chinese language, the way humans learn, or the fact that language programs, given the limited amount of time they have, must help students to become self-sufficient learners. They cannot, in the interest of limited time or palatability, neglect any of the features of the language. Balancing responses to setting-specific and universal constraints is one of the great challenges of teaching Chinese at the high school level.
3.3 The Current Framework of High School Chinese Language Programs: Goals and Practices

Although Chinese language programs in the U.S. have a unique history, recent efforts have been made to draw them more in line with high school programs in other foreign languages. The result of this is that in addition to operating within setting-specific and universal constraints, high school Chinese language programs also operate within a certain framework that shapes expectations about the curriculum in certain ways. This framework is largely unwritten, but it can be approached through an examination of two important aspects of the current framework: language program goals and the classroom practices. Current high school language program goals and practices differ from those of a performed culture approach in significant ways. Analyzing this framework is important for teachers seeking to develop and implement a new curriculum because it will make clear the potential difficulties that teachers need to be aware of and take into account.

3.3.1 Program Goals

Goals are central to the concept of a program. The goals characterize the program and determine not only broad course objectives, but the objectives of each class hour as well. Different Chinese programs have different goals, and to some extent, the students, teachers, administrators, materials and communities associated with any one given program will also have different goals. However, the recent publication of national standards for foreign language learning has helped to bring high school Chinese programs together to some extent, both with themselves and with other high school foreign language programs.
The Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century is one of the most widely-recognized and widely-used statement of goals for language learning at the high school level. The Standards are the result of federal funding for the development of national standards for kindergarten through twelfth grade student in seven subject areas; funding for foreign languages, the seventh subject area, was awarded in 1993 (NSFLEP 1999, 12-13). An 11-member task force, with the sponsorship of four professional organizations (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, American Association of Teachers of French, American Association of Teachers of German, American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese) and feedback from many members of the profession, produced Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the 21st Century, published in 1996. The 1999 publication of Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century was expanded to include language-specific standards for Chinese, classical languages, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish. The Standards consist of five broad goals for foreign language education at the K-12 level and the respective content standards, or skills and knowledge, necessary for students to acquire in order to meet these goals.13

The five broad goals proposed are for students to communicate in languages other than English, gain knowledge and understanding of other cultures, connect with other disciplines and acquire information, develop insight into the nature of language and culture, and participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world. Whereas in the past, foreign language education focused on the language system—the sounds, words, and grammar—the Standards treat the language system as a means of

13 An executive summary of the Standards may be downloaded at http://www.actfl.org.
attaining the goals above. Compliance with the Standards is optional, not mandatory, but a number of state, regional and national foreign language associations have endorsed the standards and developed their own standards to build upon them; in some states, assessment is tied to certain standards (NSFLEP 1999, 15). As a result, the Standards are creating an important impact upon foreign language teaching in the United States.

The first goal is the ability to communicate in another language. Although the five goals are presented as interlinked circles, intended to represent not only their intertwined nature but the lack of hierarchy among them, the authors state, “One of the most important goals of second language study is the development of communicative competence in languages other than English” (NSFLEP 1999, 40). Communicative competence, as discussed above in Section 2.1, is what allows learners to both convey their intentions and interpret those of others, to participate in short interactions and build long-term relationships. In order to develop communicative competence, learners need to know much more than the language system; they also need to learn how the language is used to accomplish various aims, understand the culture in which it is used, know how the language and culture interact, and learn how to use communication strategies to compensate for knowledge that they lack.

In the Standards, culture is divided, as discussed above, into “the philosophical perspectives, the behavioral practices, and the products—both tangible and intangible—of a society, with an emphasis on the interrelation of these three categories (NSFLEP 47). As noted above, the goal of attaining cultural knowledge and understanding is essential to using the language to communicate successfully. However, an understanding of culture is
also important to help learners counteract negative stereotypes and prejudice while promoting cultural sensitivity and acceptance of differences (NSFLEP 1999, 48-9).

The third goal is for students to "connect with other disciplines and acquire information" (NSFLEP 1999, 53). In this goal, students move towards using the language system, along with the communicative competence and cultural understanding that they have developed, as a means to access further knowledge and information. As such, learning a foreign language helps students to broaden their education, increase their understanding of non-language disciplines, and "'learn how to learn'" (NSFLEP 1999, 54).

To "develop insight into the nature of language and culture" is the fourth broad goal proposed in the Standards (NSFLEP 1999, 56). When studying another language, learners inevitably compare it to their first language. Through this process of comparison, learners can begin to realize the unique features of their native language and become aware of the nature of language itself. This process of comparison is not limited to the language system itself but also includes culture, discourse conventions, and communicative strategies. The insights gained will help students to increase their communicative competence in the language, as well as their ability to gain communicative competence in other languages in the future. In the broader scheme, students expand their critical thinking skills and view the world in a new way.

The final goal proposed in the Standards is for students to participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world (NSFLEP 1999, 63-4). The aim of this goal is for learners to put their skills, knowledge, and understanding to use in order to participate in various communities. It also highlights ways in which students can
personally benefit from their language study in terms of access to new leisure activities such as reading, watching films, and traveling. This use of the language in multilingual communities will also help learners to continually improve their linguistic, cultural, and communicative skills and to become true life-long learners of the language.

The Standards are commendable in a number of ways, namely in their emphasis on the interconnected nature of all five goals. Recognition of this interconnection, particularly between communication and culture, is crucial to a performed culture approach. However, their greatest shortcoming is failing to prioritize the five goals and the related standards. While the five goals all contain some value, a program whose main goal was for students to gain insight into the nature of language and culture would be designed very differently than a program whose main goal was for students to actually communicate in a particular language and culture. If the goal of language instruction is to teach students to establish their intentions within a given culture, as discussed in Section 2.1, certain goals, namely communication and culture, must be given priority since instructional time is limited. Furthermore, while the intricate linkages between the five goals are elegantly explained in the hefty Standards for Language Learning in the 21st Century, in the one-page summary, this five-goal division seems to separate communication as a skill, or something that students do, from culture as knowledge, something that students understand. This traditional division presents culture as information, which, as discussed above, is insufficient to support learners in successful interactions within the target culture.
3.3.2 Current Classroom Practices

The influential *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* represents an effort to align the field, both the Chinese field as well as the foreign language field, more closely in terms of program goals and standards—what students should know and be able to do. However, the *Standards*, although they may make suggestions as to the type of activities that will help students to meet the standards, are not intended to serve as a curriculum guide and do not propose specific course content (NSFLEP 1999, 28). Furthermore, the *Standards* do not endorse particular methodologies or instructional approaches, as these will vary depending on the age and background of the learners, the learning environment, and other factors.

Nevertheless, it is important to also attempt to get inside Chinese classrooms across the U.S. to get a sense of how teachers are using class time to help students reach instructional goals and whether these practices will enable learners to participate successfully in the target culture. Two particular resources are particularly useful in this regard. The first is *Teaching Foreign Languages K-12: A Library of Classroom Practices*, a video library of “best instructional practices” produced by WGBH Educational Foundation in conjunction with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in 2003. The second is the Sample Learning Scenarios included in the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* to illustrate ways in which teaching and learning can incorporate the standards. Although these “best practices” are not necessarily typical of practices in high school Chinese classrooms, they are intended to serve as models and could likely be influential in shaping practices in the future. An analysis of these current best practices can contribute to the construction of a framework
of high school Chinese teaching, an understanding of which is useful for implementing a
performed culture approach.

3.3.2.1 Teaching Foreign Languages K-12: A Library of Classroom Practices

Teaching Foreign Languages K-1214 provides a 30-volume video library
consisting of an introduction, two general programs, “Standards and the Five Cs” and
“Assessment Strategies”, as well as 27 programs that each focus on a particular language
teacher and classroom. The languages featured include Spanish, French, German,
Japanese, Italian, Latin, Russian, and Chinese, and the students range from
kindergarteners to high school seniors. As the series is intended to illustrate particularly
effective teaching methods, it is not representative of the general state of foreign
language teaching and learning in the U.S. However, the lessons profiled in the series are
intended to be used to illustrate ideal practices of teaching and learning. As such they can
provide useful examples to critique.

Of the twenty-seven programs focusing on a particular language class, there are
two Chinese and three Japanese classes. There is only one high school Chinese class,
Haiyan Fu’s high school multi-level Chinese II-IV class at Northside College Preparatory
High School in Chicago, Illinois (“Exploring New Directions”). As a result, an analysis
of a middle school Chinese class, Jie Gao’s 6th-grade Chinese I class at Bigelow Middle
School in Newton, Massachusetts (“Communicating about Sports”), is included as well
as an analysis of two Japanese high school classes, Leslie Birkland’s high school
Japanese II class at Lake Washington High School in Kirkland, Washington (“Happy

14 http://www.learner.org/resources/series185.html
New Year!”), and Yo Azama’s high school multi-level Japanese III-IV class at North Salinas High School in Salinas, California (“Promoting Attractions of Japan”). As another truly foreign language, Japanese also presents similar challenges to American learners and thus an analysis of these classes can contribute to an understanding of current Chinese teaching practices.

It is important to first make clear that each of these videos exemplifies many excellent foreign language teaching and learning practices, such as using authentic materials, providing comprehensible input, and using Total Physical Response. Furthermore, in all five of the videos, there is a great deal of student performance. Culture is also woven into all of the lessons in important ways. However, lacking from these videos are examples of students performing in the context of the target culture.

In “Exploring New Directions”, Haiyan Fu teaches a unit on directions. Her class is a multi-level Chinese II-IV class, and in this video Dr. Fu models an effective strategy for handling multi-level classes by organizing the curriculum around themes. The theme for this unit is directions; while second- and third-year students work with directions in the more literal sense, stating where things are located, the fourth-year students work on a unit on poetry of the May 4th Movement, looking at how that movement took literature in a new direction, as well as how direction words are used in a particular poem to convey meaning. The class begins with a character dictation; following the dictation, the 4th-year students leave to rehearse their presentation. The second- and third-year students then work together. The second-year students have completed projects in which they describe their favorite restaurants and draw a map of the restaurant and the surrounding area. In small groups, third-year students ask questions about the restaurants which the second-
year students answer. After the students have finished, each group repeats the exercise one at a time as the entire class listens. After this activity is finished, the fourth-year students return and give a presentation about the poetry of the May 4th Movement. They explain background information in English and then dramatically present parts of several poems in Chinese, wearing headdresses symbolizing different types of birds as costumes. For the final activity, Dr. Fu hands out a poem in Chinese which the students work together to read, basically translating it into English. Dr. Fu then summarizes the poem in Chinese and plays a video in which the poem is sung in a traditional Chinese style.

These class activities are rich in student performance; students give the dictation and write the characters, they produce maps, ask and answer questions, give a formal presentation in front of the class, and work together to read and understand a poem. However, while many of these activities are useful scaffolding exercises, it is not clear that any of them provide students with the types of experiences and memories that will serve them well should they have the opportunity to participate in Chinese culture in the future. For example, it is not likely that they will have to draw a map to a restaurant with Crayola markers and then answer a series of questions about it. However, it’s quite possible that they might have the chance to recommend their favorite restaurant to a Chinese visitor to Chicago, to invite a Chinese friend to eat at their favorite restaurant or to make plans to meet at a restaurant (and thus give directions or indicate location). Recommending, inviting, and making plans are all performances that students need to practice within the context of the target culture in order to learn to participate in Chinese culture. What the teacher asked the students to perform instead was an American-style classroom culmination exercise for an academic project, which is a form of scaffolding
but which alone is insufficient to help the students achieve communicative competence in Chinese language and culture.

Similarly, the presentation of May 4th poetry given by the fourth-year students was quite impressive. It reflected a lot of work on their part, showcased their creative interpretation of the poem, and allowed them to share their work with the second- and third-year students. However, their dramatic performance was American; Chinese students would be likely to recite the poem, but not while costumed as different birds. This illustrates one of the dilemmas of teaching truly foreign languages in the American high school context. In pre-collegiate education in particular, a great deal of emphasis is placed on creativity, which is assumed to be an ultimate good. However, demonstrations of American-style creativity can be simply incoherent in other cultural contexts.

Presenting the poems in more culturally authentic ways, perhaps presenting the final poem in song, using the video as the model, will at least allow students insight into Chinese culture on Chinese terms, even if they will likely have little use for this type of poetry were they to live and work in China.

In "Happy New Year!", Leslie Birkland teaches a unit on the Japanese New Year. She begins class by designating one student to lead the others in bowing and greeting the teacher. She then teaches them a special New Year's greeting and proceeds to divide the class in half for the day's activities. Half of the class works in small groups to read articles in Japanese to learn about various cultural practices surrounding New Year's, such as New Year's money, special foods, and decorations. After reading the articles, they then compare Japanese New Year's traditions with other New Year's traditions with which they are familiar. Later, the groups jigsaw and share the information that they have
learned with their new group members, who in turn share what they have learned. During this time, the other half of the students are engaging in authentic New Year’s activities, such as singing songs, playing games, and making New Year’s cards. Halfway through the class period, the two groups switch, and at the end Ms. Birkland leads a discussion in English to wrap up the activity and check the students’ understanding. Class ends when a designated student leads the other students in bowing to the teacher.

This class period features a certain amount of student performance as well as a lot of cultural information and experience. It is also conducted almost entirely in Japanese, albeit with liberal use of English words for various New Year’s foods. However, Japanese performed culture is largely limited to the greeting and leave taking at the beginning and end of class. If the learners were to find themselves in Japan for the following New Year’s, how would these experiences help to prepare them? They would certainly have some idea of what to expect: what kind of foods they might eat and what kinds of decorations they might see or cards they might send or receive. However, they would likely have little idea what to do or say if they received an envelope of New Year’s money. They likely would not remember the song they had learned, nor know if it was a well-known song or know who was likely to sing it or when. Were they to want to send a New Year’s card, they might not know how to address the envelope, or how the message written inside should differ if sending the card to a friend or sending it to a teacher. The learners would also not necessarily know what to say when sitting down to a meal of ozoni. Perhaps the most useful part of the class would be the comparison of Japanese and other New Year’s traditions; if in Japan, they would likely be asked to explain how Americans celebrate the New Year.
In “Promoting Attractions of Japan”, Yo Azama’s third- and fourth-year Japanese students work towards creating a promotional brochure and video for a city in Japan. To begin class, Mr. Azama brings out a duffel bag and pulls out various items, asking students to guess what he has packed and where he might be going. He then pairs students for an activity in which they practice a particular pattern, asking what various regions and cities are famous for. This is followed by a similar activity designed to practice another grammar pattern, only for this activity students first write down their answers and then read them when called upon by the teacher. Mr. Azama then passes out index cards and instructs students to make cards which he then uses in a Jeopardy-style game. After this, students in small groups give 30-second presentations about their city, attempting to convince people to visit. Then the teacher explains the brochure and video projects and the students begin to work on these.

This class is conducted in an extremely fast-paced, amusing, and enjoyable manner. The activities are highly creative and interesting. However, it seems unlikely that students will in the future have the need or opportunity to participate in a Japanese game show or to create a travel brochure for a Japanese city. These creative activities again can provide scaffolding designed to give students language practice, increase their interest and motivation and confidence in using the language. However, students still need to experience Japanese performed culture. In the future, should they travel to Japan, the ability to read authentic Japanese travel brochures would likely be helpful, as would the ability to ask a travel agent or friend for advice about planning travel. It would perhaps be more useful for the students to learn some of the conventions of Japanese travel brochures, practice gleaning information (however rudimentary) from authentic travel
brochures in groups, then jigsaw with students from other groups to role play customer-travel agent and friend-friend situations of giving travel advice.

One of the videos, “Communicating about Sports”, deserves special mention because it goes much farther than the others in providing students with the opportunity to enact culturally appropriate performances. In this video, Jie Gao introduces her 6th-grade Chinese I students to sports vocabulary. After the students stand and greet her, Ms. Gao has one student read aloud the homework that she has prepared for that day. Ms. Gao then begins to introduce the new sports vocabulary, using Total Physical Response methods to introduce the vocabulary and assess student learning. She then discusses certain aspects of the vocabulary in English and leads the class in practicing writing the new characters. This is followed by a Venn diagram in which the teacher asks students whether Chinese, Americans, or both Chinese and Americans enjoy a particular sport. Students then get into pairs and practice asking and answering questions about whether they like particular sports. They then progress to a small group activity in which they follow cue cards to act out certain situations in Chinese; for example, in one group, one student plays the teacher and uses the new vocabulary to ask questions of the “student”. In another group, the students enact a scene where two friends accidentally bump into another student, introduce themselves and then start chatting about their interests, including, of course, their favorite sports. The scene ends with an invitation to play a sport together the next day. At the end of the class, Ms. Gao explains the homework in English; students are to add another section to an on-going letter which they are writing to send to a Chinese pen pal. In this section they will talk about their favorite sports and ask their pen pals about theirs.
In this class, Ms. Gao leads students through a number of effective scaffolding activities; equally importantly, however, she also provides them with the experience of using Chinese in contextualized situations and performing in Chinese culture. There are still certain problems. For one, the students encounter the “teacher-student classroom context” everyday in class, both in their actual roles as students and in the daily warm-up in which one student is selected to act as the teacher for a few minutes. The warm-up provides the students with the chance to ask questions instead of simply answering them; however, this scenario is so commonly encountered that perhaps it does not need to be included in this particular activity. The role play where two friends bump into a new Chinese student is a very good context; it’s important for students to learn how to make friends and build relationships in the target culture. However, it is not entirely likely that after accidentally running into someone, one would then introduce oneself and start to ask the other about his or her favorite sports. Thus the authenticity leaves a little to be desired. However, the letter writing activity is excellent as this is certainly one context in which it is common to discuss hobbies. Furthermore, this letter will eventually be sent to a Chinese pen pal and receive a reply. Thus the activities showcased in Jie Gao’s Chinese I class offer the most opportunities for students to experience performing in Chinese culture.

3.3.2.1 Sample Learning Scenarios, *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*

*Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century* features language-specific standards as well as language-specific Sample Learning Scenarios to illustrate how the standards can be targeted in concrete lesson plans. The Chinese section of the
*Standards* provides ten Sample Learning Scenarios, five of which were designed for high school non-native speakers of Chinese (NSFLEP 1999, 144-152). The titles of these five scenarios are *Siheyuan* – Chinese Family Residence, Chinese Kites, Peking Opera, Neighborhoods, and Romance in Literature. With the exception of neighborhoods, these scenarios are designed around the “usual suspects” of Chinese cultural topics.

In these scenarios, students generally learn about some facet of Chinese culture, either through teacher presentation or student research, then work together to create some sort of a project, and finally present it to the class or the community. It is clear that both communication and culture are touched upon in each of these scenarios. Each of these five scenarios lists interpersonal communication, interpretive communication, and presentational communication among the standards that they target. They also all target cultural comparisons, practices of cultures (with the exception of Neighborhoods) and products of cultures (with the exception of Neighborhoods and Romance in Literature).

However, it is evident that while various aspects of Chinese culture may be the subject of the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational communication in the scenario, culture does not interact with communication in these scenarios in any way. Each scenario specifies how it meets the targeted standards. For the *Siheyuan* scenario, the goal of interpersonal communication is met because “Students discuss the traditional family residence in China” (NSFLEP 1999, 144). In Chinese Kites, students “work together to build kites and discuss the finished products”, whereas in Neighborhoods, students “interview each other on their neighborhoods” (NSFLEP 1999, 146-7). To target interpretive communication, in Peking Opera, students “comprehend the information presented by the teacher”, while to target presentational communication, students in
Romance in Literature “present their interpretations of the story in the form of a play” (NSFLEP 1999, 147-50). The context for the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational communication in these scenarios is invariably the classroom. When students work together, listen to the teacher, and present their projects, they will naturally be working within their base cultural context. Although the students may be speaking Chinese, they are essentially communicating in American English using Chinese, particularly when communicating with each other.

The Standards authors in their discussion of the Communication goal, state that it is not enough for students to learn how to conjugate verbs; rather, they need to be able to “participate appropriately in face-to-face interaction with members of other societies, and they must also be able to interpret...their media and their literatures” (NSFLEP 1999, 39). In order to communicate successfully, students “must develop facility with the language, familiarity with the cultures that use these languages, and an awareness of how language and culture interact in societies” (NSFLEP 1999, 39). In fact, a simple “awareness” of how language and culture interact is grossly insufficient for successful communication, even coupled with facility with the language. Awareness is a form of declarative knowledge, of knowledge about something. In order to learn to communicate successfully, learners need the procedural knowledge, the knowledge of how to do something. Declarative knowledge can support procedural knowledge, but alone it is insufficient. If the purpose of classroom instruction is to learn to communicate in the language outside of the classroom, with actual members of the target culture, then classroom activities must simulate that.
3.3.3 The High School Chinese Teaching Framework

The Standards reveal one important facet of the framework in which Chinese high school language programs operate which is that the ability to communicate in Chinese is not prioritized over knowledge about Chinese. When studying Chinese at the high school level, students are certainly expected to gain a certain amount of declarative knowledge about Chinese language and culture, but they are not necessarily expected to gain a high level of skills in using Chinese to communicate in culturally appropriate ways. For teachers seeking to develop and implement a curriculum based on a performed culture approach, it is important to be aware of this situation because learning how to do something is more difficult that simply learning about something, so when proposing a more difficult curriculum they may meet with student, parent, and even administrative resistance. It is thus important to have a clearly articulated rationale behind the curriculum, perhaps even drawing on more amenable sections of the Standards, to serve as support.

The videotaped classes in Teaching Foreign Languages K-12 and the sample learning scenarios in the Standards also provide important insight into the framework. The most striking observation is that virtually everything going on within the class, whether it occurs in the target language or in English, occurs within an American cultural context. The students play the role of American high school students, the teacher plays the role of American high school teacher, and the students do activities—presentations, projects, jigsaw group work—typical of American high schools. The Chinese and Japanese classes, other than the language spoken and perhaps the greeting and leave-taking at the beginning and end of class, seem to differ little from high school Spanish or
French classes. The implication is that teachers who wish to implement performed culture curricula will need to work particularly hard to establish target cultural contexts in which students and teachers can interact in roles other than “American students” and “American teachers”. It may not possible to create the target cultural context immediately. The teacher may have to begin by dividing class time into chunks of time; part of class (preferably the part devoted to scaffolding activities) can be held in the default American cultural context, while during the other part of class, the teacher can use language, props, and other devices to create a target cultural environment and evaluate the students on the appropriateness of their actions within that context. Gradually, over the course of the year as well as over the years within a program, the amount of class time devoted to the target cultural context can be increased until students have been appropriately socialized and the entire class becomes a target cultural context.

In addition, the video library and sample learning scenarios reveal that at the high school level, value is placed on creative and fun activities and projects. These activities and projects are, of course, designed to appeal to high school students, spark their interest, and certainly to keep them from complaining. Creativity and fun are wonderful, and certainly scaffolding activities should be designed to be creative and fun as well as effective. The concern, however, is that American-style creativity and fun do not necessarily translate in a Chinese context. A “creative” project, such as the poem interpretation performed by Dr. Fu’s students, done by American high school students of Chinese might be viewed as confusing or even incoherent by Chinese people. A particularly difficult activity in this regard is student-written skits, which American students often like to make as humorous and/or bizarre as possible. Teachers who wish to
implement a performed culture curriculum must leave space for fun and creativity in their classrooms but must also create a context in which culturally appropriate behavior is expected.

3.4 Summary

Curricula do not operate in a vacuum. Teachers seeking to develop and implement a performance-based Chinese curriculum in an American high school need to be aware of the historical context, the current constraints, and the unwritten framework, all of which influence the teaching of Chinese in American high schools today. By being aware of the ways in which these factors might create difficulties, teachers can adapt a performance-based Chinese curriculum for successful use in a high school setting.
CHAPTER 4

PERFORMING CHINESE CULTURE IN HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOM:

PEDAGOGICAL MATERIALS

In addition to understanding the many factors that influence the high school learning environment, teachers seeking to develop and implement a Chinese curriculum based on a performed culture approach also must examine the materials that the program needs in order to succeed. In a language learning program, pedagogical materials\textsuperscript{15} play an important, often central, role. Pedagogical materials often provide the structure and organization for the course, dividing the language into units of grammar and vocabulary. They also provide performance scripts in the target language and culture. A performance script is "a course of action, not necessarily linguistic, that learners can imitate to learn and to use in various contexts, including the one suggested in the materials".\textsuperscript{16} Without such models, learners have only their base culture to rely on; this is of course insufficient. Thus the quality of the performance scripts is extremely important.

\textsuperscript{15} The term "pedagogical materials" is used because materials useful for language learning take a variety of forms: software and audiovisual materials as well as textbooks and workbooks, and materials not specifically produced or adapted for language learning purposes as well as those that are.

\textsuperscript{16} Noda, Mari. 2003. Course handout from EALL 703 (Presentation of East Asian Languages and Cultures), a program of SPEAC (Summer Programs East Asian Concentration), The Ohio State University.
Unfortunately, however, the selection of high school Chinese pedagogical materials is very limited, and the quality of the performance scripts is inconsistent.

This chapter proposes a method, adapted from the SPEAC Teacher Training Program at the Ohio State University, for evaluating and adapting pedagogical materials for use with a curriculum based on performed culture and provides evaluations of three popular beginning high school Chinese textbooks\(^{17}\), as well as suggestions for adapting them for use with a performed culture approach. According to the 2003-2004 Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS) survey, in U.S. high school Chinese language programs, the most commonly-used texts at the beginning level are *Integrated Chinese* (30 teachers\(^{18}\)), *Hanyu* (25), *Ni Hao* (16), *Far East Chinese for Youth* (12), *Communicating in Chinese* (10), and *Practical Chinese Reader* (10). The beginning level textbooks for *Hanyu, Ni Hao, and Far East Chinese for Youth* are evaluated following the explanation of the methodology below.

4.1 Methodology

When selecting and utilizing language learning materials for use in a performed culture curriculum, it is crucial to first evaluate them from a performed culture perspective. Since the core of a performed culture approach is performance and culture, the evaluation will focus on analyzing how the materials present performances and

\(^{17}\) Although there are endless possibilities for using materials that have not been produced or adapted for language learning purposes, evaluation and suggestions for adapting these materials is outside of the current focus.

\(^{18}\) However, many of these high school teachers use *Integrated Chinese*, a college-level textbook, for their 3\(^{rd}\) and 4\(^{th}\) year classes, so it cannot truly be considered the most popular beginning-level high school text.
culture to the learners. The evaluation begins first with the goals statement; what are the stated goals, and how do the authors propose to achieve them? Furthermore, how do these goals fit with a performed culture approach?

The second task is to locate the performance scripts. Performance scripts can be oral or textual; they can also be in the interpersonal mode of communication, the interpretive mode, or the presentational mode. When evaluating materials, it is important to see if performance scripts exist in the text and evaluate whether they are good models for learners. A good model is one that is contextualized, authentic, useful and feasible. Contextualized means that important contextual information, such as the five elements of a performance—time, place, roles, script, and audience—is provided. Providing context is important because learners need to know in what situations it will be appropriate for them to use this performance script. An authentic script features “use of language that would create a story that is contextually and culturally feasible”. A contextually and culturally feasible story is one that conforms to the expectations of the target culture; learners need to be exposed to models that conform to Chinese cultural expectations in order to learn how to behave appropriately in Chinese culture. Useful means that learners are likely to encounter the script or one similar to it in their future interactions with target

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19 Noda, Mari. 2003. Course handout from EALL 700 (Learning East Asian Languages in Cross Cultural Context), a program of SPEAC (Summer Programs East Asian Concentration), The Ohio State University.

20 This definition is in contrast to more traditional definitions of authentic materials, such as those that are “produced by and intended for native speakers of the target language” (Frye and Garza 1992, 225). Such definitions suggest that non-native speakers, as well as those who produce language learning materials for them, are not capable of producing authentic language. They also ignore the fact that the roles and expectations of native and non-native speakers of Chinese often differ; in certain situations there are things that are appropriate for native speakers to say that would be inappropriate for native speakers to say, and vice versa.
culture members, which means that the script must be both authentic and commonly used. Scripts should proceed from the most common towards those that are more specialized; the performances in a beginning level textbook should all be extremely useful. Feasibility refers to whether or not it is possible for learners at that particular level to actually perform the scripts; beginning-level scripts that are extremely lengthy are not feasible. Finally, one last important criterion is the inclusion of linguistic and cultural rich points. Michael Agar defines a rich point as a “particular place in one languaculture that makes it so difficult to connect with another” (1994, 100). Certain linguistic and cultural facets of Chinese, such as the particle le and cultural norm of modestly turning down a compliment, prove particularly difficult for American learners because they are so different from what they are used to, making these rich points for American learners. Such rich points require more time and effort to learn than other items. While it would be difficult to write materials where each performance script contained at least one rich point, in evaluating materials it is important to look for materials that contain a significant number of rich points. Ideally, the performances presented would be structured around the most useful and important rich points, as opposed to structured around vocabulary and grammar and simply “injected” with whichever rich points might fit into the pre-existing structure.

After locating and evaluating the performance scripts, it is important to look for performance-supporting information and activities. A performed culture approach requires pedagogical culture\(^{21}\), cultural information tailored to help non-native speakers

\(^{21}\) Other forms of performance-supporting information and activities are pedagogical grammar and scaffolding practice activities; these are outside the scope of this thesis but
learn to communicate in the culture. This information should be well-organized, useful, and presented clearly using contrastive analysis with the learners’ base culture. One can evaluate where cultural information is located, what kind of culture (behavioral, informational, achievement) is included, and how it is presented.

4.2 Materials Evaluation

Below is an overview of the topics covered in each of the texts, taken from the table of contents (Figure 4.1). In the following sections, the performance scripts of the beginning-level textbooks of the Hanyu, Ni Hao, and Far East Chinese for Youth are evaluated according to the methodology described above; at the end of each section suggestions are provided for adapting each text for use with a performed culture curriculum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hanyu</th>
<th>Ni Hao</th>
<th>Far East Chinese for Youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Ni hao!</strong></td>
<td><strong>1. China</strong></td>
<td><strong>1. Learning Pinyin</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhongguo – Hanyu</td>
<td>The country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hello!</td>
<td>The language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How are you?</td>
<td>The writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your name?</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What country are you from?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Wo de yi jia</strong></td>
<td><strong>2. Hello!</strong></td>
<td><strong>2. Chinese People</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet my family</td>
<td>Hello</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family</td>
<td>I am Lanlan</td>
<td>Chinese Names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a pet!</td>
<td>Good morning</td>
<td>Students of Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describing your pet</td>
<td></td>
<td>How are You?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More counting: 11 to 99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How old are you?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Shangke le!</strong></td>
<td><strong>3. 1 2 3</strong></td>
<td><strong>3. A Chinese Family</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our classroom</td>
<td>Numbers up to 10</td>
<td>Little Wang’s Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose is it?</td>
<td>Important numbers</td>
<td>A Family Photo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’How do you say it?</td>
<td>Numbers 0 to 100</td>
<td>Little Wang’s Younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which one is it?</td>
<td>Maths quiz</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What’s the date today?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Speaking Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today is my birthday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Wo de yi tian</strong></td>
<td><strong>4. Who is he?</strong></td>
<td><strong>4. Chinese Calligraphy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the time?</td>
<td>Who is he?</td>
<td>and Chinese Painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily routine</td>
<td>Who is it?</td>
<td>Books and Pens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shall we go by bus?</td>
<td>How old are you?</td>
<td>Four Treasures of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are they doing?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What’s the weather like?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Calligraphy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5. Whose is this?</strong></td>
<td><strong>5. Calendar and Chinese</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Things I use</td>
<td>Zodiac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is this?</td>
<td>My Birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whose is this?</td>
<td>How Long?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is this yours?</td>
<td>Twelve Zodiac Animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>6. My family</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lanlan’s family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David’s family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do you have any brothers or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sisters?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1 Overview of Hanyu, Ni Hao, and Far East Chinese for Youth.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hanyu</strong></th>
<th><strong>Ni Hao</strong></th>
<th><strong>Far East Chinese for Youth</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>7. Pets at home</strong></td>
<td>What pets do you have?</td>
<td>6. Chinese Money and Chinese Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposites</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cute dog</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. I can speak Chinese</strong></td>
<td>Countries</td>
<td>Chinese Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where are you from?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am an Australian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you speak Chinese?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9. I like swimming</strong></td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td><strong>7. Free Market</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sport do you like?</td>
<td>Do you like swimming?</td>
<td>Vehicles and Colors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let’s play cricket</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10. My friend</strong></td>
<td>Lanlan’s friend</td>
<td>Clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>Street Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What grade are you in?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11. I am really hungry</strong></td>
<td>I am hungry</td>
<td><strong>8. My School</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you like Chinese food?</td>
<td>Can you use chopsticks?</td>
<td>Where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What Time?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12. Revision</strong></td>
<td>Letter to a friend</td>
<td>My Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being polite</td>
<td></td>
<td>Extra-Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading signs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1 Hanyu for Beginning Students

The Hanyu series was created to meet the need for appropriate Chinese language learning materials for Australian secondary students. Hanyu 1, the first volume, was published in 1985; the revised version, Hanyu for Beginning Students, has been reprinted many times, most recently in 2003 (Chang et al 2003). It is part of a five-part series that continues with Hanyu for Intermediate Students Stage 1, Stage 2, and Stage 3, and Hanyu for Senior Students, which is still in the planning stages. The series includes the Student’s Book (the main text, evaluated below), the Practice Book (a workbook and activity book, not evaluated), cassette tapes (not evaluated), and the Teacher’s Book (not evaluated).

The book consists of four units, each of which is divided into five or six subsections organized around topics which loosely relate to the theme of the unit. Each subsection includes several short dialogs interspersed with grammar notes. Cultural information, supplementary vocabulary, and English translations of various sentences from the dialogs, which learners are instructed to find the Chinese version of, are located in the margins. The topics covered include topics of general interest such as greetings, families, classes, dates and times, and daily routines. In the introduction, the authors state that “the topics covered in Hanyu for Beginning Students have been selected as ones which will enable students to use the Chinese language communicatively in their immediate environment, such as the classroom”; this is the closest that the materials provide to a statement of goals (Chang et al 2003, no page number). The goal of enabling students to “use the Chinese language communicatively” is one that is potentially compatible with a performed culture approach. However the context of use, the “immediate environment, such as the classroom” raises some questions as to whether the
classroom will be treated as a Chinese cultural environment and whether learners will be expected to conform to Chinese cultural norms or encouraged simply to transpose their current cultural patterns into Chinese.

The introduction to Hanyu for Beginning Students explains that each unit “provides a variety of language items through a series of dialogues which serve as models of communicative language use and which in turn are supported by suggested activities, exercises, grammar explanation and cultural notes” (Chang et al 2003, no page number). Each sub-section does provide a variety of examples of language use, although it is not clear which are intended to be performance scripts for interpersonal communication. Each sub-section begins with an illustrated presentation of language, which takes various forms: question and answer, sentences describing pictures, a narrative paragraph, or a dialog or conversation. Each subsection also has other sections generally in the question and answer or dialog form. A little cartoon character frequently appears that seems to be playing the role of “Chinese tutor” asking questions of the student; the questions and answers have the definite feel of a teacher-student language practice interaction. Finally, each unit has two to four sections entitled Shuo Hanyu. The Shuo Hanyu sections each feature at least one interpersonal exchange, generally between two people. Given their title, Speak Chinese, and the fact that they are always dialogs, these seem to be the best candidates for interpersonal performance scripts in the text. Hanyu contains a total of 19 of these performance scripts, far fewer than Ni Hao or Far East Chinese for Youth.

The Shuo Hanyu performance scripts are contextualized to a marginally useful extent. In about half of the interactions, names are provided, although the characters do not frequently reappear. The authors do not take advantage of the chance to build up a
saga centering on a small group of Australian and Chinese friends, but rather throw characters with typical Australian and Chinese names into the mix rather indiscriminately. For the other half of the interactions, it is simply “A” talking to “B”. Since students will never meet someone named “A” or “B”, the authors are missing the chance to help students learn how to interact with the types of people that they might in fact one day meet. No description of the context is provided in English or Chinese, but almost all of the interactions are accompanied by a drawn illustration that helps to provide some context. About half of the illustrations are truly useful; the learner can see Mali greeting Peter at the door and Dawei introducing his two friends Zhenni and Huazi, which helps to clarify the interaction for learners. However, the other half of the illustrations does not provide the communicative context. For example, one Shuo Hanyu section involves three different people responding to a question about who is in their families. The illustration for this section is a drawing of each of the people being asked, which tells the learner nothing about when, where, or who might ask this question of these illustrated people. While the authors deserve credit for attempting to provide context for the learners, they do not appear to have a clearly defined rationale for doing so. The contexts that they do provide (and those that can be implied when little information is provided) are limited in that they largely feature children talking to their friends. Furthermore, with the random cast of characters (as well as “A” and “B”), the authors miss the opportunity to create a rich contextualized saga of featuring characters that repeat that will aid students in remembering the stories they have learned after they leave the classroom.

The interpersonal performance scripts in Hanyu for Beginning Students are largely linguistically and culturally authentic. The greatest challenge to cultural
authenticity comes from the authors’ insistence on teaching the “How are you?” script and then including it in three of the first four performance scripts. In the script below, accompanied by an illustration of a Chinese girl motioning for a Chinese boy to sit on a sofa, Lin Fang greets Zhang Jianhua.

林芳：你好吗？
张建华：还可以。你怎么样？好吗？
林芳：挺好的。坐吧。

Lin Fang: How are you?
Zhang Jianhua: I'm okay. How are you?
Lin Fang: Good?
Lin Fang: Quite good. Have a seat.

(Chang et al 2003, 8)

This exchange would be extremely unnatural for Chinese adults, and even more so for Chinese children. This script seems to have been included and emphasized to cater to the preferences of western learners, who will expect and want to learn how to say “How are you?” in Chinese. However, it does not create a culturally plausible story in Chinese and thus should not be included. Another challenge to authenticity is the conversations in which all non-natives speakers of Chinese are speaking Chinese among themselves. In one Shuo Hanyu exchange, Laola finds a pen and asks Dawei and Mading if they know whose it is; Mading knows that it is Anna’s, and Laola returns the pen to Anna. It seems that it would be highly unlikely for four Australian students—their names are transliterations of Laura, David, Martin, and Anna—who are presumably native speakers of English to deal with the situation of a lost pen in the gym in Chinese. (To be truly nitpicky, it would be unlikely for them to deal with the situation of a lost pen at all, as opposed to ignoring it or kicking it under a bench.) The fact that Australian students are speaking to each other in Chinese is not particularly problematic, but the implications—that learners can simply switch into Chinese while continuing to operate within their own cultural frames of reference—is. Learners would be better served by models of Australian
students adapting their behavior to interact with Chinese people in culturally appropriate ways.

The scripts are also all useful in the sense that they are scripts that occur often in daily life, such as greeting friends, introducing people, discussing family members and pets, finding out who something belongs to, asking the time, and calling friends to make plans. It is not clear if these are the absolutely most useful scripts that must be learned immediately; high school textbook authors perhaps overstate the importance of things such as birthdays and animals. Nevertheless, learners will certainly have the opportunity to use these scripts in future interactions with members of the target culture.

The performance scripts are also largely feasible. They are generally simple and short, usually four to six lines long. While the performances in the first unit might need to be cut in half for beginning learners, by the time learners progress to the second unit, they should be able to memorize, substitute, and expand on these performances.

While the performances scripts are feasible, useful, and sometimes authentic and contextualized, they sorely lack rich points of any kind. In fact, the cultural authenticity of the scripts is largely due to the fact that the authors selected scripts that at the level they are dealt with in the text are essentially the same in Chinese and western culture, such as answering the door, answering the phone, and talking about birthdays, families, and pets. This may have been a conscious decision on the part of the authors to make learners feel more comfortable by emphasizing similarities (and ignoring differences, such as the “How are you?” question), but it is the differences that are most important to the learners long term success in learning to communicate in the language. These differences must be dealt with from the beginning so that learners do not build
automaticity in relying on their default American cultural patterns when speaking Chinese. In this regard, *Hanyu for Beginning Students* does not provide interpersonal performance scripts that will help prepare learners for the many cultural differences they will eventually encounter.

Cultural information is provided inconsistently and not always in ways that support learner performance. Cultural information is generally placed in boxes in the margins, although occasionally it is included in various notes that follow some presentation of language. The lengthiest entries are dedicated to Chinese families (the names for various relatives) and to classroom routines in China. Many of the other entries are dedicated to names: foreign names in Chinese, Chinese names, Japanese names in Chinese, childhood names, foreign place names in Chinese, and various names for the Chinese language. These entries are sparse and focus on informational culture, although some behavioral culture is included, such as the fact that Chinese people often shake hands when meeting someone for the first time. Although the information about names is useful for supporting performance, alone it is insufficient. Interestingly, the most useful cultural information provided is not linked in any way to performance; following the introduction of the greeting *ni hao*, the note explains, “There are many ways of saying ‘hello’ in Chinese. People often greet each other with by asking questions such as ‘Where are you going?’; ‘Have you eaten?’; or, on someone’s arrival, saying ‘You’re here!’” (Chang et al 2003, 4). However, these phrases are not introduced in Chinese at any point in the text.

In terms of using it with a performed culture curriculum, the strengths of *Hanyu for Beginning Students* is that the performance scripts are largely authentic, useful, and
feasible. However, the lack of contextualization, the limited contexts, and the lack of rich points and pedagogical culture will create certain challenges. Teachers using *Hanyu for Beginning Students* are advised first of all to create richer contextual information for the performance scripts. Many of the scripts are authentic in the sense that someone with experience in Chinese culture can imagine a situation in which the script could contribute to a contextually and culturally feasible story; however, this information must be communicated to learners who do not have that experience in Chinese culture. Teachers should also be prepared to create new performance scripts that are situated outside the context of school and friends prevalent throughout the text. The settings could be extended to include a Chinese friend’s house and a Chinese store, and the scripts in the text can be varied so that instead of having two students talking to one another, there could be a student and an adult such as a Chinese friend’s parent or a Chinese shopkeeper. Such scripts will provide an excellent opportunity to showcase one rich point for Americans learning Chinese: the proper ways to address one’s elders. Teachers should also create scripts that include other rich points, such as the concept of modesty. Finally, pedagogical culture to support both the performance scripts in the text and the new scripts created by the teacher will have to be provided by the teacher as well.

4.2.2 *Ni Hao 1*

*Ni Hao* was first printed in Australia in 1991; the new edition, printed in 2001, is now part of a five-level series of Chinese language learning materials for high school students (Fredlein and Fredlein 2002). Each level contains a textbook (evaluated below), workbook, teacher’s handbook, audio cassettes or CDs, a CD-ROM of games and a CD-
ROM of language lab software (not evaluated). According to the authors, *Ni Hao 1* “features the basic daily language in various topics and settings” (Fredlein and Fredlein 2002, vii). The textbook consists of twelve units, each of which contains six sub-sections: Illustrated Texts, Learn the Sentences, New Words and Expressions, Write the Characters, Supplementary Words, and Something to Know. In addition to these sub-sections, other items such as songs, tongue-twisters, cartoons, and facts about Chinese characters are sprinkled throughout the chapters. The authors explain that the *Ni Hao 1* text “introduces Chinese language and culture and aims to teach communication in both spoken and written Chinese. The objectives are to enable students to use Chinese in the classroom, playground, local community and countries where the Chinese language is spoken” (Fredlein and Fredlein 2002, vi). This goals statement stresses communication and language use, which is compatible with a performed culture curriculum, as is the objective of enabling students to use Chinese in a variety of contexts, including countries where Chinese is spoken.

In *Ni Hao 1*, the interpersonal performance scripts are more clearly delineated. Each unit begins with three to four “Illustrated Texts”. Occasionally one or two of these is used to present vocabulary or sentences or features presentational communication, such as a family introduction. However, most of them are interpersonal dialogs or conversations that can serve as interpersonal performance scripts.

Unlike in *Hanyu for Beginning Students*, the performance scripts in Chinese are fairly richly contextualized. Each script is broken into three or four frames and illustrated frame-by-frame like a comic book. This provides learners with step-by-step contextualization that includes body language and facial expressions and helps them to
imagine the communicative context. Learners can see Lanlan introducing herself to her
teacher, Dawei greeting Lanlan at the door, and Dawei and Lanlan heading to a snack
shop after school. All but two of the performance scripts involve Dawei, an Australian
boy, Lanlan, a Chinese girl, and occasionally some of their friends, such as Make and
Wang Meiyi. This repetition of characters and contexts (at school, after school, or at
home) helps learners to build a saga of stories around these two main characters that will
aid them in their memorization.

However, it is unclear exactly where these exchanges take place and why Dawei
and Lanlan are speaking Chinese. The setting is presumably Australia, but other than the
fact that there is a Chinese girl present (an improvement upon Hanyu for Beginning
Students), there is no indication as to why these students are speaking Chinese. While the
specific settings (home, classroom, and park) are always clear in the first half of the book,
in the second half, a number of the performance scripts simply show Dawei and Lanlan
chatting about what sports or what Chinese food they like without indicating where this
conversation might be taking place. While the authors do a relatively good job of
providing context, the types of contexts are very limited. They almost all revolve around
two junior high school students chatting with each other and friends at school, in the park,
or at home; two involve a teacher and two involve adults who do not know each other.
The authors no doubt wish to focus on contexts that will be immediately useful and
personally meaningful to their junior high and high school learners; however, learners
would benefit from the inclusion of more performance scripts that involve children
speaking to adults, such as the teacher, Lanlan’s parents, or a Chinese shopkeeper. The
most egregious omission, however, comes in Unit 12, when politeness formulas, such as
expressing thanks and apologizing, are presented as a vocabulary list instead of in context. This is perhaps the most context-specific language of the book, as the context in which it is appropriate to thank someone or apologize to someone in China and in western culture varies greatly. Learners would have benefited immensely from a contextualized treatment of these differences.

The performance scripts in Ni Hao 1 are mostly linguistically and culturally authentic. The greatest challenge to the authenticity comes from the authors' insistence on presenting "Ni hao!" as a common greeting in the performance scripts and as the title of the entire series. While it is common for non-native speakers of Chinese to use this greeting with Chinese people (and Chinese people in turn to use it with them), this is a result of textbooks that present inauthentic language, not a justification for their continuing to do so. Children in particular would not use this formal greeting with each other; if the authors wish to prepare students to communicate with others of their own age group, they should present scripts containing the appropriate greetings to do so. Linguistically, the scripts are largely authentic, although at times they feature slightly textbook-ish full sentences, such as "You, wo you yi ge gege" ("Yes, I have a brother") or "Bu shi, na bu shi wo de" ("No, that is not mine") (Fredlein and Fredlein 2002, 35), when it is likely that in real life only a short response would be used.

The performance scripts are largely useful, as they do revolve around topics of interest and importance in every day life. The least useful scripts are those involving the numbers; one shows different people shouting strings of numbers, while another shows how to talk about arithmetic in Chinese. This is likely because the authors chose to introduce numbers in the third unit, before students had any other available vocabulary.
with which to use them. Although the performance scripts are useful, there are also many useful scripts that are not included, but learners would certainly have many opportunities to use the scripts presented in *Ni Hao 1*.

The scripts are also highly feasible. They are generally quite short and simple. If necessary, learners can memorize them a frame at a time, but after a few months of study it should not be difficult for learners to memorize an entire script and expand on it as well.

As for the inclusion of rich points, *Ni Hao 1* fares slightly better than *Hanyu for Beginning Students* by including two instances of appropriately modest behavior. In the script below, a Chinese man approaches an Asian woman and a Caucasian man seated on a park bench in Sydney.

请问，你会说汉语吗？
她不会说汉语。
咦，你会说汉语？!
我会说一点儿。
你说得很好。
哪里！哪里！

Excuse me, can you speak Chinese?
She can’t speak Chinese.
Hey, you can speak Chinese?!
I can speak a little.
You speak very well.
Thank you (literally, “Where, where?”)

(Fredlein and Fredlein 2002, 69)

In this script, the man modestly replies that he can speak a little Chinese, and upon being complimented, responds with the modest formula “Nali, nali”. Other than this script, which is particularly rich for western learners of Chinese, the rest of the scripts focus more on the similarities between Chinese and western modes of interaction than on the differences, which leaves learners unprepared for the differences that they will eventually be sure to encounter.

The section “Something to Know” is devoted to cultural information and included at the end of each unit. The cultural information provided in *Ni Hao 1* is unusually well-organized, clearly presented, useful, accurate, and thorough; contrasts between Chinese
and western culture are often drawn. The cultural information is mainly informational
culture, but a substantial amount of behavioral culture is included as well. Informational
culture topics include Chinese names, lucky and unlucky numbers, counting your age in
Chinese, calligraphy, taiqi, family size, the Chinese zodiac, Chinese schools, and Chinese
food. Behavioral culture topics include greetings, addressing teachers, addressing family
members, and the Chinese rock-paper-scissors game. One instance of inaccurate
information concerns the use of the ever-troublesome phrase *ni hao*. The authors write
that *ni hao* “is the most common greeting used by the Chinese. It is used at any time of
the day or when people are introduced to each other” (Fredlein and Fredlein 2002, 14).
Actually, the Chinese rarely use *ni hao* outside of introductions and formal situations.
The authors then provide other common greetings, such as *Ni mang ma?* and *Shang nar
qu*? However, these expressions are never used in the performance scripts.

This is one of the main problems with the cultural information in the *Ni Hao* text.
Although the cultural information is related to the themes and topics of the performance
scripts, it almost never explains a point actually contained in the scripts. For example, the
important rich point of modesty illustrated in the script above is not mentioned in any of
the cultural notes. The points that are explained, such as alternate greetings, the form
used to ask adults their age, and using family terms to refer to friends (*Wang Jie, Li Ge*)
(Elder Sister Wang, Elder Brother Li), are introduced but not scripted, and the Chinese
phrases are generally not provided. Furthermore, some useful information is presented on
the two systems of counting age in China and birthday celebrations, but learners are not
given advice on what they should do with this information. For example, which age-
counting system should they use if a Chinese person asks them their age? How should
they expect to celebrate their birthday or a friend’s birthday in China? Although the cultural information presented is useful, even the behavioral culture included is presented more as informational culture. Learners are told what Chinese people do, but not what they themselves should do when interacting with Chinese people. As indicated by the title of the culture sections, culture is presented as “something to know” as opposed to something to do.

There is much to recommend *Ni Hao 1*. The performance scripts are highly contextualized, with rich visuals and a saga focusing on an Australian boy, a Chinese girl, and their group of friends. The scripts are also largely authentic, useful, and feasible. A few rich points are included as well as a great amount of pedagogical culture. There are several things that teachers using *Ni Hao 1* can do to make these texts even more compatible with a performed culture approach. First, the contexts need to be expanded so that learners have performance scripts that occur between adults and children, and also outside of the school setting. The rich points in the scripts, such as the importance of replying modestly to compliments, need to be pointed out. Finally, teachers should build on the pedagogical culture provided to show learners how to use this information. For example, teachers can create performance scripts that use the information, such as a script in which two friends use the Chinese “rock, paper, scissors” game introduced in the “Something to Know” section to decide who should get to do something. Teachers should also create scripts featuring more authentic greetings and leave-takings, such as *Ni shang nar qu?*, and contextualize the politeness formulas such as *duibuqi*.
4.2.3 *Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1*

*Far East Chinese for Youth* is published by the Far East Book Company in Taipei, Taiwan (Wu and Wang 2003). The beginning level textbook was first published in 1997; a revised version was published in 2003. The current series includes three levels of textbooks, student workbooks, character books, and audio materials, a teacher’s manual for the first textbook, and character cards. *Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1* covers topics of general interest that are applicable to daily life, such as family, school, time, money, and shopping. The textbook consists of eight units, all but the first of which each consist of four capsules. Each unit begins with three “culture capsules” related to the main theme of the chapter. Each capsule is four pages long and contains an illustrated vocabulary list, “Building Blocks” (phrases) and “Key Structures” (sentences), “Conversations”, “Language Tasks”, and “Daily Expressions”. At the end of each unit is a review in the form of several readings, followed by a glossary of new words in the unit and a summary of new structures and expressions.

The textbook begins with an open letter from the authors to the students. The letter is written in a colloquial style, and the goals are implied but not explicitly stated. The authors write, “Imagine being able to order food in Chinese in a Chinese restaurant, being able to understand some of the signs in a Chinatown, being able to write a letter in Chinese to a teenager in China, Taiwan or Hong Kong, being able to bargain in Chinese in a street market when you visit those places, how exciting it would be!” (Wu and Wang 2003, no page number). The authors then list a number of reasons for learning Chinese, such as to learn to communicate in Chinese, to gain insight into Chinese culture, to improve your marketability, to gain insight into language and culture, and to further
personal interests in Chinese culture. According to the authors, the materials are
designed to guide you to learn Chinese efficiently and have a lot of fun” (Wu and Wang
2003, no page number). The goals are not clearly stated; particularly troubling is the
phrase “learn Chinese”, which could mean many different things, not all of which would
enable a learner to actually communicate in the culture. However, the ability to carry out
a number of tasks in Chinese, such as ordering food or bargaining in the market, suggests
that learners will acquire the abilities to function in certain contexts.

The performance scripts in Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1 are located in the
“Conversations” section. The textbook contains almost one hundred performance scripts,
which is a very large amount compared to Hanyu for Beginning Students and Ni Hao 1.
Unlike in Ni Hao, however where the “Illustrated Texts” are located on the first pages, in
Far East Chinese for Youth, the vocabulary, with its prominent first-page placement and
cute and colorful illustrations, is the focus of each unit. Only after phrases and sentence
patterns are introduced on the second page do the conversations appear. Not only do
conversations receive third billing, but they are presented only in text form, in characters
and pinyin. The lack of context is abysmal. There are no illustrations, and only 11 of the
conversations contain any information about the setting. For those that do, the
information is very brief, such as “Pointing to a photo” or “At the street market in
Wangfujing” (Wu and Wang 2003, 64; 2003, 128). Even worse, the speakers are not
identified with names, roles, or even by “A” and “B”; that there are different speakers is
only indicated by four dashes (----) before the beginning of a line. In order to use the
conversations as performance scripts, the teacher would need to supply a significant
amount of contextual information.

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One of the greatest problems with this textbook is the lack of authenticity, both linguistic and cultural. *Far East Chinese for Youth* shows the same fascination with *Ni hao!* and *Ni hao ma?* that plagues other Chinese textbooks. The conversation below is in direct violation of Chinese behavioral culture norms.

----你好吗？
----很好。你呢？
----我也很好。谢谢！

(----How are you?
----I’m good. And you?
----I’m also good. Thank you!

(Wu and Wang 2003, 28)

This conversation is directly translated from English and is not appropriate in Chinese culture. This exchange would only happen in Chinese culture when a Chinese person consciously adapted to an American who was speaking Chinese but using American behavioral culture norms to guide his or her interactions. A number of the conversations are linguistically inauthentic, seemingly because the authors have chosen to include as much vocabulary and grammar as possible, with the result of creating awkward or unnatural conversations.

----你是哪国人？
----英国人。
----他们呢？他们也是英国人吗？
----他们不是。他们是法国人。
----再见！
----再见！

(----What country are you from?
----I’m English.
----And them? Are they English too?
----No, they’re not. They’re French.
----Goodbye!
----Goodbye!

(Wu and Wang 2003, 16)

In this conversation, the abrupt ending of the conversation with “Goodbye!” is awkward. The following conversation is another example of awkward textbook-ese devised to “use” as much vocabulary and grammar as possible at the expense of presenting authentic conversation.
你好！
----Hello!
----Oh, you can speak Chinese!

(Starting to speak Chinese fast.)
-----Sorry, I can only speak a little Chinese.
-----I can also only write a few characters.

---对不起，我只会说一点儿中文。我也只会写几个中国字。
(Wu and Wang 2003, 48)

While the above example is not particularly egregious, it is still awkward for the learner to tack on that he or she can also only write a few characters. If learners are going to spend the time to memorize and practice performing dialogs in an attempt to achieve automaticity, the dialogs should be as useful and as natural as possible. This situation is very useful, as it is one that learners are likely to encounter in China or speaking with Chinese people in the United States. However, the following changes would make it more natural and increase the cultural content.

你好！
----Hello!
----Oh, you can speak Chinese!

(Starting to speak Chinese fast.)
-----Sorry, I can only speak a little Chinese.
-----Your Chinese is very good!
-----No, it’s not.
-----It’s good! Can you also write Chinese characters?
-----I can only write a few.

Even when encountering foreigners with beginning level Chinese, Chinese people are likely to compliment their language abilities; learners must practice responding in a culturally appropriate way. Furthermore, Chinese people often ask foreign learners if they also know how to write characters; adding this question makes the exchange more natural and more worthy of being memorized and performed by learners in class.
In addition to cultural and linguistic inauthenticity, there are also problems with situational inauthenticity. There are two conversations that are nonsensical, such as the one below.

----马大名，学中文难吗？
----不难，也不容易，可是学中文又好玩又有用。
----真的！我也想学中文。
----好极了！

(Wu and Wang 2003, 48)

----Ma Daming, is studying Chinese hard?
----It’s not hard or easy, but it’s fun and useful.
----Really! I want to study Chinese too!
----That’s great!

Obviously, two people who both are speaking Chinese would not have a conversation where one expresses the desire to begin to learn Chinese. This conversation could be improved in a number of ways. The two speakers of Chinese could discuss studying another language, such as French or Spanish. Alternatively, a Chinese person could ask his American friend about his experience studying Chinese, as Chinese people often do.

Occasionally, some of the conversations seem to be added for their entertainment value.

----谁是林美？
----她是我的女朋友。
----你的女朋友！你喜欢她吗？
----当然喜欢！她又聪明又好看。她唱歌唱得很好，跳舞也跳得很好。
----哎呀！我也喜欢她。
----糟糕！

(Wu and Wang 2003, 68)

----Who is Lin Mei?
----She is my girlfriend.
----Your girlfriend! Do you like her?
----Of course! She is smart and pretty. She sings very well and also dances very well.
----Oh no! I like her too.
----How terrible!

This conversation, where a boy decides he likes his friend’s girlfriend based on his friend’s description of her, is not very realistic or useful and seems designed mainly to provide some sort of comic relief.

The performance scripts are useful in that they deal with common and useful topics, such as family members, dates, time, shopping, transportation, and ordering food.
There are some very useful conversations, such as a four-part conversation in which two friends decide to go to a restaurant, order, receive the food, and request the bill. However, the lack of context and the lack of authenticity greatly detract from the usefulness of many of the other scripts.

The interpersonal performance scripts are almost all feasible, as they are generally short (two to six lines) and simple. While the great majority does not contain cultural rich points, *Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1* still provides far more rich points than the other texts. For example, such as in the conversation below in which (conjecturing from the conversation itself) a young boy greets an older man one morning in the neighborhood, calling him “Uncle Li” as is culturally appropriate.

-----你早，李伯伯！
-----哦，小龙，你早！进来怎么样？
-----很好。
-----你爷爷好吗？
-----他也很好。谢谢！

(Wu and Wang 2003, 28)

Three conversations feature a person turning down a compliment (using three different politeness formulae), a particularly important rich point for foreign learners, while another replies modestly to a question about his skiing ability that he can ski, but not well.

Three conversations focus on asking age by using the Chinese zodiac, two show people bargaining for items at street markets, and two feature people offering to treat someone else to a meal. These practices can be uncomfortable for western learners of Chinese; their inclusion from the beginning levels of language learning is important to help western learners conform to Chinese cultural expectations.
The cultural information in *Far East Chinese for Youth* is largely informational culture, with a sprinkling of behavioral culture mixed in. The cultural information is located in the three culture capsules on the first page of each unit, which means that three culture capsules provide the information for four capsules, or approximately twelve interpersonal performance scripts. The unit on Chinese families contains entries on traditional families, modern families, and respect for age, while the unit on the free market contains entries on bicycles, clothing styles, and street markets. The culture in these capsules is mostly informational culture, but the authors note that to show respect, younger people often address older people using the form *lao*, and that bargaining is common in the street markets. In the second unit, with capsules on greetings, meeting Chinese people, and good-byes, the behavioral culture is more pronounced. While the information is largely accurate and clearly presented, there is simply not enough cultural information to support the number of performance scripts in the text. There is no mention made of the importance of modestly turning down a compliment or of treating friends to dinner instead of splitting the bill. Likewise, there are no scripts featuring alternate greetings or the use of *lao* to respectfully refer to older people. With the exception of the following statement, “On casual occasions, it is perfectly all right to introduce yourself starting with ‘Ni hao!’”, the cultural information tells learners what Chinese people do as opposed to telling learners what they should do when interacting with Chinese people. Culture is also included in the “Language Tasks” page, but this is achievement culture, introducing famous historical Chinese doctors, famous Chinese calligraphers, and the four great Confucian texts. This culture is not linked in any way to the interpersonal performance scripts. Although the authors often encourage learners to guess the meanings
of new words made up of characters they already know, such as the *si shu*, the content of this cultural information is not useful to learners at this stage.

Teachers who wish to use *Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1* in a performed culture curriculum will have work to do to overcome the glaring lack of context and the high degree of inauthenticity of the performance scripts. The first task would be to weed out the inauthentic scripts and ignore them. The second task would be to create contexts for the remaining authentic, useful, and feasible scripts, particularly those containing rich points mentioned above. The third task would be to adapt the old scripts and create new contextualized, authentic, useful, and feasible performance scripts drawing on the vocabulary and grammar in the capsule. Fortunately, the vocabulary and grammar is useful and lends itself to creating new performance scripts. Finally, teachers would need to create pedagogical culture for this book to explain the behavioral culture to learners. In order to use *Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1* effectively within a performed culture curriculum, teachers will need to expend a significant amount of effort. The one advantage this provides is to give the teacher a great deal of control over the performance scripts that the learners will enact. In *Hanyu for Beginning Students* and *Ni Hao 1*, a significant amount of the language is presented within the scripts, making it difficult to ignore those that are inauthentic. In *Far East Chinese for Youth Level 1*, the vocabulary is richly illustrated, making it possible for teachers to use the vocabulary and grammar as the base and then create the performance scripts that they believe will best serve the needs of their particular students.
4.3 Summary

The perfect pedagogical materials will never exist, as the needs of each group of learners are different. As a result, it is important to have a method for evaluating and adapting materials for classroom use. To implement a performed culture curriculum and succeed in guiding students to communicate in Chinese culture requires the presence of contextualized, authentic, useful, and feasible performance scripts that contain cultural rich points, as well as the pedagogical culture to support learner performance. As demonstrated above, high school Chinese materials have a tendency to emphasize the familiar over the new and different, not only sticking to school-related contexts but even teaching American-style greetings that Chinese people rarely use. The teachers have the important task of evaluating, adapting, and creating the performance scripts that learners will need to learn in order to communicate successfully in Chinese.
CHAPTER 5

PERFORMING CHINESE CULTURE IN THE HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOM:

A CURRICULAR GUIDE

In order for high school students studying Chinese to learn to communicate in Chinese culture, an effective curriculum must be developed and implemented. This curriculum must take into account a wide array of factors, from the relationship between communication and culture and the pedagogy of performance that such a relationship demands, to the practical constraints that teaching Chinese in a high school environment using high school language learning materials involves. Following careful consideration of these factors in the chapters above, this chapter proposes a curriculum based on the theory of performed culture and adapted to the high school setting. First, curricular organizing principles are discussed. The second section presents a basic pedagogical cycle for the interpersonal mode of communication. Finally, a curricular overview and management techniques specifically adapted to the high school setting are proposed.

5.1 Curricular Organizing Principles

Three sets of concepts are particularly useful in organizing language curricula to support learners in learning how to communicate in Chinese culture. The traditional
"four skills" and the three modes of communication are all important, but certain of the skills and modes are more important at beginning levels of language instruction; the reasons for this are discussed below. In addition, the concept of item-based and strategy-based instruction (Walker 1996, 187-193), and the order in which these types of instruction should occur, is also presented and discussed.

5.1.1 The Four Skills and the Three Modes

The common conception of language learning as consisting of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) has been challenged recently by a new focus on the three modes of communication (interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational), each of which can be oral or textual (NSFLEP 1999; 36-8). The three modes are a useful conceptualization because they draw attention to features of the communicative context as opposed to simply the mode of linguistic production or reception. However, both conceptualizations are useful as the basis for curricular organizing principles.

In terms of the four skills, listening and speaking should be emphasized over reading and writing in curricula in the beginning stages of learning a language because oral language is primary. Many languages are oral languages and do not have a written form, but there are no "living" written languages that exist without an oral form. Furthermore, people raised in a language that has both oral and written forms learn to speak before they learn to read. Finally, after reading a text, people often deal with it by discussing it with others. For these reasons, listening and speaking should be emphasized at the beginning of the Chinese curriculum.
Chinese phonology and orthography are particularly distinct from English phonology and orthography, thus a convincing argument can be made that not only should listening and speaking be emphasized at the beginning, but that for a period of time, a romanization system should be used to the exclusion of Chinese characters. This would allow for students to concentrate exclusively on oral language at the beginning of language study. A study by Packard (1990) suggests that a delay in introducing characters does help learners to achieve a more solid base in the Chinese phonological system.

In terms of modes of communication, interpersonal communication should come before and be emphasized over the interpretive and presentational modes of communication. As discussed above, oral interpersonal communication, such as conversations and other oral interactions, is primary. In interpersonal communication, meaning is constantly being negotiated between interlocutors, context (such as facial expression, tone of voice, personal relationship) is particularly rich, and there are constant opportunities to observe and repair any breakdowns in communication that may occur. Thus in the interpersonal communication mode, learners have the greatest possibility of accurately presenting and interpreting intentions in the target culture.

In addition, learners can, in the interpersonal mode of communication, obtain linguistic and cultural knowledge that will help them in the more complex tasks of the interpretive mode of communication. Reading, an interpretive mode of communication, is not merely information processing but is a social act that requires five knowledge components: reading strategies knowledge, target culture knowledge, orthography knowledge, target language knowledge, and specific domain knowledge (Yu 1997). Interpersonal communication can help learners to build the base of linguistic and cultural
knowledge necessary for successful reading; when problems do occur, they can use interpersonal communication skills to ask native speakers for help in interpreting. After the beginning levels of instruction, the interpretive mode of presentation should be emphasized before the presentational mode. This is because in the interpretive mode, learners encounter texts (written and oral) that conform to the target culture’s expectations for these kinds of texts. The texts that learners encounter while reading and listening should serve as models for writing and speaking in the presentational mode. If learners do not have sufficient models, the texts that they produce in the presentational mode of communication, such as speeches, letters, and essays, will conform to their base culture norms instead of the target culture expectations. These texts will thus present difficulties to members of the target culture who attempt to interpret them.

A curriculum should begin by focusing almost exclusively on the interpersonal mode of communication, followed by the interpretive mode when learners are able to discuss the texts using the interpersonal mode, and lastly the presentational mode, when learners have encountered an array of samples of a particular genre of text. At the beginning levels of instruction, which includes the entirety of the high school Chinese curriculum, the interpersonal mode of communication should continue to be the focus even once the interpretive and presentational modes have been introduced.

5.1.2 Item- and Strategy-Based Instruction

Walker (1996) proposes the concept of learning mode instruction and acquisition mode instruction, which he now prefers to call item-based and strategy-based instruction. Item-based instruction refers to teaching specific items, such as pronunciation,
vocabulary words, grammatical structures, characters, and discourse features. Strategy-based instruction refers to teaching strategies, such as ways to talk about language and ways to "pick up" language from the contexts in which it occurs without consciously memorizing a vocabulary list. Strategies enable learners to continue learning once they leave a language program and are essential for self-managed learning and life-long learning.

Figure 5.1 shows the relationship between item- and strategy-based instruction in a language curriculum. At the beginning, the focus must be on item-based instruction since the learners need to build a repertoire of items such as vocabulary words, grammar patterns, and short phrases and exchanges. Once they have built a small inventory of items, strategies should begin to be introduced. These strategies may be simple as simple as learning how to ask for the meaning of a new word, but this metalanguage discourse is crucial. It will eventually allow learners to have class entirely in Chinese, and most importantly, to learn Chinese from their surrounding environment, including Chinese speakers who haven’t been trained as teachers. At the second level of instruction, item-based instruction continues to play an important role, but strategy-based instruction expands to approximately one-third of instructional time. The third level of instruction is the inverse, with strategy-based instruction occupying two-thirds of instructional time and item-based instruction relegated to only one-third. At the highest levels, instruction is almost exclusively dedicated to strategy-based instruction.
Figure 5.1 Walker's Item- and Strategy-Based Instruction (1996, 191)

Due to the limited amount of class and homework time at the high school level, high school Chinese language learners will not be able to progress through all four levels of instruction. They should, however, be able to move through the first level of instruction and into the beginning of the second level. As a result, the curriculum will largely focus on item-based instruction. However, as Figure 5.1 shows, the curriculum cannot be limited to item-based instruction but must slowly expand to include basic and then more advanced strategy-based instruction as the learners progress.
5.2 A Pedagogical Cycle for Interpersonal Communication

Interpersonal communication is at the heart of language learning. Whatever learners' eventual goals may be, all will need to interact with members of the target culture to continue developing their language skills. In order to be able to do so successfully, they need to be able to communicate in the culture. Performances of interpersonal communication are thus the first items that learners need to learn. While some programs begin with extensive instruction in pronunciation, pinyin, grammar, or characters, without context, these items lack meaning and interest for learners. In a performed culture curriculum, the instructional cycle begins from meaning and context.

The content of instruction is of course important, but in a curriculum based on performed culture, the method of instruction is equally important. Simply covering the material will not enable learners to able to successfully communicate in Chinese culture. The students must understand the constituent elements of a performance, experience a performance, receive feedback from the instructor, have the chance to correct their performance, and then expand on their abilities.

The following basic pedagogical cycle for interpersonal communication may be implemented in a performed culture curriculum.

1. Presentation and Explanation
2. Memorization
3. Rehearsal
4. Performance
5. Expansion

In the first step, the teacher presents a performance. The presentation may be video, audio, or enacted by the teacher(s). Video presentation is ideal because it provides the richest context, including visual cues such as setting, facial expression, and body
language. Audio presentation is the second choice because it allows learners access to audio cues, such as background noises that could indicate setting, as well as the speaking styles of various speakers. Teacher enactment is the least ideal because it does not expose learners to different speaking styles and accents, it can be awkward for one teacher to enact multi-part dialogs, and if the teacher is a non-native speaker, students will not have the most accurate pronunciation and intonation patterns to serve as a model. However, all three of these modes of presentation are superior to a purely textual presentation that learners read aloud because these modes at least provide learners with a largely accurate model to imitate.

There are various ways of presenting a performance and the language items needed to enact the performance. In the beginning levels, a teacher who wishes to use Chinese as much as possible may wish to use visuals to introduce new items in the performance, for example using a calendar to teach the days and months, and then build up to the performance. Other teachers may wish to first present the performance and then explain the new items, either in English or Chinese, as the learners' level allows. Other teachers may assign students to memorize new vocabulary or grammar patterns outside of class. In any case, however, in presenting the performance, the teacher must explain the five elements of the performance—time, place, roles, script, and audience—and how they influence the nature of the performance. In other words, the students need to know who the people are, when and where they are interacting, and what they are trying to do. The teacher must also explain particular items, such as words and grammar patterns, and they role that they play in the performance.
In the second step, learners memorize the performance. Since the performance has already been presented and explained, memorization is not a mindless exercise but a scaffolding exercise that allows learners to gain the skill to enact the performance that they have observed. In the beginning, the performances selected must by necessity be very short, perhaps only two lines, in order to enable beginning learners to memorize them. At first, the teacher should help the students to memorize the performance, using a variety of drilling techniques such as backward build-up at both the sentence and dialog level. Since this is a scaffolding exercise, it can be tailored to the learners and involve games or competitions if appropriate. Later, once learners have learned how to effectively memorize performances (a skill not emphasized in American curricula), this task can be assigned to students for homework, leaving classroom time free for activities in which teacher feedback is more important.

After memorizing the performance, learners rehearse and then perform. During the rehearsal stage, the teacher acts as a director, giving suggestions, praise, and criticism, answering learners’ questions, and asking the learners to repeat the performance, taking the suggestions into account. During the performance, the teacher acts as a critic, evaluating the learners’ performances. In the beginning, learners will need both the rehearsal and performance stages because they will need ample feedback from the teacher in order to achieve a successful performance. Once learners become more familiar with the pedagogical cycle and can monitor their own learning, the rehearsal phase can be relegated to an outside-of-class activity, which the learners are responsible for doing on their own. They will then simply be evaluated on their performance, the successful enactment of which means that they have rehearsed successfully as well.
The fifth stage represents the ultimate goal of the entire pedagogical cycle: for learners to use what they have learned to respond to contextualized situations in non-mechanical but guided ways. There are three main forms of expansion exercises. Substitution, in which the performance is essentially the same with the exception of one or two substitutions, is the simplest form of expansion, and thus comes first. For example, in a performance that features a Chinese taxi driver asking a foreign student her nationality, the student's original response can be substituted with other nationalities. After substitution, learners engage in variation practice, where an element of the performance, such as time, place, or roles, is altered and learners must make the appropriate changes to the script. For example, a performance involving a teacher and student could be altered to involve two friends instead; a performance that takes place at a department store could be altered to take place at a neighborhood stand. Last of all comes expansion, in which the performance is expanded to include previously learned performances. For example, in a cycle in which learners have learned to make plans with a friend, if they have previously learned how to ask to speak to someone over the phone, for an expansion exercise, they could call, ask to speak to someone, and then make plans with that person. The experience of performing successfully is what allows learners to create the memories that will sustain appropriate interactions in the target culture in the future. The pedagogical cycle is designed to support learners in successful enactments of both the original performance and variations involving substitution, variation, and expansion. The final variations, integrating the new and old material, are a crucial compilation exercise that helps learners to organize the stories they have created into retrievable and usable forms.
At the beginning levels, the teacher will need to guide students through each stage of the pedagogical cycle. However, after students gain experience with the cycle, stages that don't require teacher feedback, such as memorization and rehearsal, can be partly or entirely assigned as homework. If the materials are rich enough, presentation and explanation can also become exercises for students to do outside of class, freeing class time for more work on performance. Making students increasingly responsible for steps in the cycle also builds their self-study skills, which will enable them to learn successfully in college and beyond.

5.3 A Performance-Based High School Chinese Curricular Guide

A four-course sequence for a high school curriculum is presented below. The curriculum is organized according to the concepts of the four skills, the three modes of communication, and item- and strategy-based learning. The traditional division of curricula into years (1st year, 2nd year, etc) is overlaid with the three organizing principles discussed above. Although the distinctions made by year are somewhat artificial, these artificial distinctions can help to motivate learners by breaking up a lifelong task into more manageable chunks and providing a sense of progress and accomplishment. The first two years of the curriculum focus heavily on listening and speaking over reading and writing, interpersonal communication over interpretive and presentational communication, and item-based instruction over strategy-based instruction. Due to the fact that time is one of the greatest constraints at the high school level, even at the 3rd and 4th year level, these three areas will continue to be emphasized over the others, even as the others are introduced and expanded into the curriculum.
5.3.1 1st and 2nd Year Chinese

In a beginning Chinese course, the focus is necessarily on helping learners to accumulate performances that they are able to enact. The teacher should select two to three sagas to emphasize throughout the year, and naturally these sagas and performances should be those that the learners will have the greatest chance to use. The classroom saga and related performances are the most important at the beginning because these will allow class to be held entirely in Chinese. Getting to know a Chinese friend is another useful saga because for those students who know someone who is Chinese, these skills will allow them to get to know him or her in Chinese, thus giving them an opportunity to increase their language skills. If the learners have the chance to participate on an exchange trip to China, this saga will help them get to know their Chinese counterparts. Finally, a Chinese shop and restaurant saga will allow learners access to another resource for learning Chinese, both in their own communities and when traveling to China. These three sagas are useful because they are sagas that the learner may well encounter and because each creates opportunities for learners to access further learning opportunities by building relationships with Chinese people in their communities and abroad.

Within these sagas, behavioral cultural must be stressed, in particular Chinese behavioral culture that differs from American behavioral culture. As discussed above, in order to build relationships with Chinese people, which is necessary for true language learning, American learners must behave in a way that puts Chinese people at ease. As a result, they must learn not to say “Ni hao” every time that they greet a Chinese friend, for example, and they must modestly turn down compliments on their Chinese ability.
These sagas are also compatible with the obvious requirement of first-year Chinese: basic vocabulary and grammar. These three sagas use basic vocabulary, such as words for people (teacher, student, boy, girl) and common things (classroom supplies, foods). There are also many performances where students can practice basic grammatical patterns (different forms of statements (shi, adjectival, and regular verbs) and questions (A-bu-A, ma, and question word questions)).

The focus of first-year Chinese must be on socializing students into the pedagogical cycle for interpersonal communication and making them increasingly responsible for various steps in the cycle. In terms of the four skills and the three modes, the focus is, as discussed above, on listening and speaking skills and on the interpersonal mode of communication. As an aid to acquiring listening and speaking skills, the pinyin system of romanization should be taught, and reading and writing characters should be introduced slowly and only after students have established a firm base in Chinese phonology and pinyin. Pinyin allows students access to an easier transcription system that allows them to isolate listening and speaking as a skill to work on, instead of mixing those skills with the skill of character reading.

The 1st year Chinese course proposed above stresses listening and speaking skills, the interpersonal mode of communication, and item-based instruction, for the reasons discussed above. At this level, the reading and writing skills that are introduced are all a form of scaffolding. There are, however, a few very basic strategies that should be included to complement the items such as the vocabulary, grammar, and performances that form the bulk of the course. Students should learn how to ask what a Chinese word means, how to say an English word in Chinese, and how to pronounce or write a Chinese
character. These basic strategies will allow class to be conducted in Chinese even when there is a small breakdown in communication or when students forget a particular word or character. They will also enable students to begin to learn Chinese from their surrounding environment.

A 2nd year Chinese course at the high school level is, out of necessity, very similar to a 1st year Chinese course in that the focus remains heavily on listening and speaking skills, the interpersonal mode of communication, and item-based instruction. This is due to the heavy time constraint under which high school learning operates as well as the fact that Chinese is a truly foreign language for native speakers of English. There is still a large number of basic vocabulary and grammar to learn, but the curriculum can focus on the more difficult of the basic grammar items, such as aspect, the final particle le, the three de's, and ba and bei. The main differences will be that additional sagas can be added and existing sagas can be expanded. For example, a saga for traveling in China can be added, and the classroom saga can be expanded to include the school. The individual performances can be lengthened as well, and learners should be given more opportunity to create their own performances based on models. These performances will likely contain many errors, both linguistic and cultural, and should be corrected by the teacher; as a result of having the chance to experiment and receive feedback, learners will have improved their skills in “improvising” in Chinese culture as well as their confidence in their abilities.

2nd year Chinese students should also gain exposure to Chinese movies and television shows. Short clips from movies and television shows can be presented to students and used in a number of classroom activities. The clips can be used as the basis
for listening comprehension exercises, for students to practice asking and answering questions in Chinese, and as models of performances for students to enact. Television shows are ideal because they contain numerous episodes revolving around the same group of people, which provides sagas for the students to become familiar with. Television shows also depict more of the daily interactions that learners are likely to be able to use in the target culture, as they are not under the same tight time constraints as movies are.

At the 2nd year level, learners have had a year of scaffolding practice in reading and writing Chinese characters. This is an appropriate level at which to move towards more authentic written interactions. For the reasons discussed above, it is preferable to begin with written communication in the interpersonal mode, such as notes, letters, and email. This is an important genre for learners because they will certainly have the chance to use it frequently both while in the target culture and after they return as well. Notes and letters also have the advantage that the texts that the learners read also serve as perfect models for the texts that they will then create. If possible, the teacher should arrange for a pen pal exchange with a class of Chinese students abroad. This gives students the opportunity to use their Chinese to communicate with actual Chinese people. It also provides them with the samples of language that has not been adapted for pedagogical purposes, which will expose them to words and phrases likely not included in their textbooks.

Finally, one last important feature of 2nd year Chinese is the inclusion of the next level of strategies. Although the instruction is still overwhelmingly item based, the curriculum should include the introduction of new strategies in the form of meta-
language, language which learners can use to discuss language that they do not
understand. Examples could include asking if the character in one word is the same
character as a similar-sounding one in another word, asking what the difference between
two similar words is, and asking if it is correct to phrase something a certain way. The
phrases for these strategies could be presented in a performance that learners memorize
and then enact variations on. The video clips, with the unfamiliar language, could then
serve as excellent material for the practice of these strategies.

5.3.2 3rd and 4th Year Chinese

In 3rd year Chinese, the focus remains, as above, on interpersonal communication,
but it should at this point expand to include longer, less rigid interactions, building
towards discussions and conversations. Instead of performances where the response is
highly constrained by the question (“Where is the store?” “It’s north on this street.”), the
performances should move towards more open-ended questions (“What did you think of
that movie?” “It was interesting, and it made me think of this other movie that also…”).
Learners can begin by learning various ways to respond to open-ended questions, and
then build towards discussions by learning to respond to others’ responses, stating if they
agree or disagree and why.

The material for these discussions can come from low intermediate level
textbooks with short readings on Chinese cultural topics. This is an excellent way to
introduce Chinese informational and achievement culture into the curriculum without
having to use English. The level of depth at which learners will be able to treat these
cultural topics is, of course, limited, but still valuable. Thus learners have the chance to
practice reading short essays, but after reading the essays they can then discuss them, which means that the readings contribute to the main goal of the course, which is interpersonal communication. Readings about Chinese culture will also allow learners to discuss the differences between Chinese and American culture and practice appropriate ways to ask questions about cultural differences. The material for the discussions can also serve as a basis for the learners' practice of increasingly advanced meta-language and meta-culture strategies. Learners can learn to ask why someone used one expression instead of another or why someone else behaved in a particular way.

In addition to discussion, narration is another important skill. Continuing with use of the movie or video clips, the teacher can model and learners can then practice narrating a series of events. The narration activities can dovetail with the discussion activities; after learners have practiced narrating a clip, they can then discuss and comment on the characters' actions, the plot development, cultural behaviors, and so forth. To practice writing skills, learners can also be asked to write out a paragraph expressing their opinions or narrating a series of events.

The 4th year course is similarly a continuation of the 3rd year course, with its focus on discussion and narration, at a higher level. Learners should be expected to perform lengthier discussions and narrations and should be responsible for performing the scaffolding preparation for these activities on their own. Meta-language and meta-culture strategies should be a focus so that learners are able to ask all of the questions about the language that they would like to ask in Chinese. In addition, learners should begin reading essays and articles that have not been adapted for pedagogical purposes and writing lengthier essays on their own. An emphasis should be placed on preparing
learners to work with materials—films, television shows, newspaper and Internet articles, and so forth—that have not been adapted for pedagogical purposes on their own. Learners will not be able to understand everything upon first viewing or reading, but they should have sufficient experience in working with these texts that they are able to approach and work with them on their own.

5.4 Management Systems

High school teachers report that classroom management takes an incredible amount of classroom time. This suggests that when implementing a curriculum, management systems are incredibly important. Even with a clearly outlined curriculum based on the theory of performed culture and taking into account the high school environment for which it is designed, it is not always easy to get learners to do what they need to do in order to learn to communicate in Chinese culture. As a result, the following two management systems are proposed to keep learners on track.

5.4.1 Act and Fact Sessions

The distinction between declarative and procedural knowledge is discussed above in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.4. In order for learners to gain the ability to communicate in Chinese (procedural knowledge) instead of simply knowing some facts about the Chinese language (declarative knowledge), learners must constantly practice communicating in Chinese. In order to do that, a large amount of class time must be set aside during which all communication takes place in Chinese. At the same time, learners also benefit from some explanation in their base language to support their performance in the target
language. Jorden and Walton refer to this as a “fact-act dichotomy” and suggest dividing instruction into fact and act sessions (1987, 121). The fact sessions include “thorough, detailed, objective linguistic and cultural analysis in terms that are meaningful to a foreign language learner”, while the act sessions are comprised of “drill and practice in sufficient amounts to enable students to internalize the fact component—to use it accurately and meaningfully, not simply to talk about it” (1987, 121). Because much more time is needed to build procedural than declarative memory (Christensen and Noda 2002, 14), the act component should be allotted much more class time than the fact component. This division allows learners to learn as efficiently as possible.

In the high school classroom at the beginning of 1st year Chinese, each class hour should be divided into several act and fact sessions. For example, the teacher might introduce vocabulary entirely in the target language for 10 minutes, then conduct a brief comprehension check in English for one minute before moving on to the next act session. After a couple of weeks, each class period should be an act session with a 5-10 minute fact session at the end during which learners can ask questions, teachers can check comprehension, and homework can be assigned. By 3rd and 4th year Chinese, learners should have enough meta-language and meta-culture strategies that class can be regularly conducted entirely in Chinese, with only one slightly longer fact session per week. This division of class time into act and fact sessions will enable learners to gain the necessary procedural skills to communicate in Chinese culture.
5.4.2 Assessment

One of the most important management systems that any teacher has is grading and assessment. Regardless of what the teacher says is important for students to learn, students will pay the most attention to what the teacher chooses to assess. In a performed culture curriculum, which has as its goal training learners to communicate in Chinese culture, learners must be evaluated on their performance of Chinese culture. Moreover, to support the fact that learning a language requires constant work every day, as opposed to cramming a large amount of learning a few times a year, students should be evaluated on a daily basis (Noda and Christensen 2000, 20-1). At the 1st and 2nd year levels, learners should receive a grade each day for a different type of performance. For example, one day, learners might receive a grade on a vocabulary quiz, the next day on a memorized dialog, and the following day on a variation exercise. At the 2nd and 3rd year levels, learners might receive a grade on giving a free response answer to a question, narrating a particular sequence, or writing a short essay. While 1st and 2nd year learners will need to be evaluated occasionally on scaffolding activities, such as learning vocabulary, 3rd and 4th year learners should be held responsible for doing scaffolding exercises on their own; their preparation will be reflected in the grades on their performance. Performances can be graded according to the rubric in Figure 5.1, used in the Chinese program at the Ohio State University. This rubric judges the quality of the performance based on how members of the target culture would react and places emphasis on cultural coherence. The performance portion of the learners’ grade should be at least 60% to reflect the importance of these performances for learning to communicate in Chinese culture.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Solid preparation with excellent performance that promises interaction with a native with no difficulty, discomfort, or misunderstanding; no English hesitation noise used in speaking, no tell-tale &quot;foreignisms&quot; in the written work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Good preparation with superior performance, but some noticeable errors that would hinder smooth interaction with a native.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Good preparation with good performance, but evident weakness or patterned error.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Some preparation evident, but requires a lot of help from the interlocutor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Minimum preparation, which puts burden on the interlocutor. (A native would avoid using Chinese with you.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Barely prepared.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Evidently unprepared.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Absent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.2 Evaluation Rubric²²

A portion of the learners' grades should also reflect class participation. This is a way to ensure that learners are focused and engaged during class, and above all to ensure that they do not speak English during act sessions. Tests should also be included in learners' final grades. Reviewing material for tests and incorporating new and old material are an important part of the compilation component of the performance cycle. However, neither of these two components is as important as culturally coherent student performance. As a result, it is suggested that each of these components only account for 20% of the learners' final grades.

²² http://deall.osu.edu/courses/c-lang/default.cfm?CLS=c10101.
5.5 Summary

A curriculum organized according to the concepts of the four skills, the three modes of communication, and item- and strategy-based instruction and managed using fact and act sessions and evaluation heavily based on learners’ daily performance will enable high school learners to learn to communicate in Chinese culture. With this early preparation, learners will be able to enter advanced Chinese language courses at the college level and gain sufficient preparation to obtain high levels of proficiency by the time that they graduate from college. The implementation of successful Chinese curricula at the high school level is one of the best ways to encourage the implementation of Chinese curricula at more high schools and to help Americans gain the expertise in Chinese that they need at personal, local, and national levels.
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