Multilingual Education

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Chinese Language Education in the United States

Multilingual Education

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Contents

Historical Overview of Chinese Language Education for Speakers of Other Languages in China and the United States ... 1
Wenxia Wang and Jiening Ruan

Chinese Government Policies and Initiatives on the International Popularization of Chinese: An Economics of Language Perspective ... 29
Shuai Li and Jianqin Wang

U.S. Policies and Initiatives for CFL Education ... 47
Jin'ai Sun and Roger Shouse

Understanding Chinese as a Foreign Language from the Perspective of Second Language Acquisition ... 63
Jie Zhang

Medium-of-Instruction Policy and Practices in CSL Classrooms ... 83
Danping Wang

Technology in CFL Education ... 97
Yongan Wu

Chinese as a Foreign Language in K-12 Education ... 123
Ke Peng

CFL Education at the College Level ... 141
Yu Li and Zheng-sheng Zhang

The Teaching of Chinese to Heritage Language Learners at the Post-Secondary Level ... 167
Xuehua Xiang

Practice and Research on Chinese Language Learning in Study Abroad Contexts 195
Li Jin

Chinese Language Teachers' Pedagogical Adjustment and Classroom Management in Cross-Cultural Contexts 211
Wenying Zhou and Guofang Li

CFL Teacher Preparation and Development 231
Michael E. Everson

Index 245

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Introduction

Chinese civilization is one of the oldest civilizations in the world. The history of Chinese written language can be traced back to the Shang Dynasty (about 1700–1050 BC) when archaic Chinese characters were carved on oracle bones (Bai 1982), or possibly even earlier based on a recent archeological discovery in Zhuangqiao, China (Phillips 2013). In addition, the number of native speakers of Chinese greatly exceeds those of any other languages in the world.

However, Chinese has not been a popular choice of first foreign language of study for learners outside of China until recently. Historical records indicate that the learning of Chinese by foreigners began 2,500 years ago in the Qin and Han Dynasties when foreigners from China's then neighboring countries started to learn Chinese in order to live in China and engage in political, commercial, and/or religious activities (Dong 2002). It is generally agreed that the teaching of Chinese for foreign learners, as a field of study, began in the 1950s at Tsinghua University, serving students from Eastern Europe in China (Zhang 2000). The Cultural Revolution caused serious disruption, but the teaching and learning of Chinese for foreign learners resumed again in the late 1970s and early 1980s when China adopted the Open Door Policy and decided to reintegrate itself into the world community (Qiu 2010; Zhang 2000). Currently, the term referring to the teaching of Chinese to non-native speakers in China is *对外汉语教学,* which has been translated into *the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL)* or *the teaching of Chinese as a second language (TCSL)* (Qiu 2010).

In the United States, the first Chinese course, Elements of Chinese, was offered at Yale University by Addison Van Name in 1871 (Tsu 1970; Yao and Zhang 2010). In 1877, Yale University appointed Samuel Wells Williams, who was an established sinologist, Chinese linguist, and former missionary to China, to head its Chinese Language and Literature program and to teach courses in Chinese language and civilization. Yale University is hence regarded as the first higher learning institution in the United States to offer Chinese language education (Yao and Zhang 2010). In 1879, Harvard University also set up its Chinese program (Harvard University 2015). Early learners of Chinese were mostly Christian missionaries or serious

minded people who wanted to be sinologists, and the number of students they served was small at best (Tsu 1970). These people were subsequently instrumental in teaching Chinese in the United States.

Chinese language education (CLE) for foreigners witnessed its most rapid growth after the turn of the twenty-first century both in China and in the United States. With China becoming an increasingly influential world economic and political powerhouse in the last decade, CLE has gradually attracted more attention from governments, business sectors, and education communities in many countries around the world. An increasing number of universities, colleges, and K-12 schools have also begun to offer Chinese classes to their students over the last 10 years.

The growing popularity of CLE is a new trend in foreign language education in many parts of the world. As an emerging field whose "research tradition is still developing" (Ke 2012, p. 44), it is not surprising that our understanding of CLE is still rather limited. Most published research in the field is either linguistic or acquisition studies of Chinese or individual cases of teaching techniques and pedagogical strategies. There is a general lack of a coherent body of CLE research and theories that can provide educators, practitioners, and especially preservice and novice teachers with an overarching picture of the current state of CLE to guide Chinese language teaching and learning in practice.

Considering the complexity surrounding language development for any second language and due to page limitations, we chose to focus this book on CLE for nonnative Chinese speakers in the United States. To better situate the discussion in a proper context, the book traces the evolution of CLE from its very beginning in China in the *Zhou Dynasty* (1046 BC–256 BC) to the latest developments in China and the United States. The main emphasis of the book is on CLE education after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and in particular the 汉语热 (Chinese Craze) after the turn of the twenty-first century when dramatic changes in CLE were witnessed along with the social, political, and economic influences taking place in both countries during its various contemporary historical periods.

It is necessary here to make a distinction between a second language and a foreign language. Richards and Schmidt (2002) suggested second language refers to a language that plays an important role in a particular country or region other than one's first language. In addition, it is usually a language critical for survival and gaining access to education/occupational/political opportunities for a person with a different native language. For example, a native speaker of English living in America and studying German would consider German a foreign language while an immigrant from Mexico who is living in the United States would consider English his/her second language because English is the language of instruction in schools and the work place, as well as in government business.

According to Gass and Selinker (2001), foreign language learning concerns "the learning of a nonnative language in the environment of one's native language.… This is most commonly done within the context of the classroom" (p. 5). They further explained:

> Second language acquisition, on the other hand, generally refers to the learning of a nonnative language in the environment in which that language is spoken….This may or may not take place in a classroom setting. What's important is that learning in a second language

> environment takes place with considerable access to speakers of the language being learned, whereas learning in a foreign language environment usually does not. (p. 5)

Based on the above views, Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) is related to Chinese learning taking place in a Chinese-speaking context where learners either acquire the language in naturalistic contexts or study the language in classrooms. Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) concerns the learning of Chinese in a foreign language context in which Chinese learning primarily takes place in classroom settings and learners do not usually have easy access to the language other than formal Chinese language instruction. So one may consider that learning Chinese in the U.S. or any non-Chinese-speaking countries is better called CFL learning, whereas the same effort taking place in China, Taiwan, or any other Chinese-speaking communities for nonnative Chinese speakers is CSL learning.

However, it is oftentimes difficult to maintain a clear distinction between the two terms as the boundary between the two can become blurred when learners travel back and forth between various learning contexts. Therefore, many educators and scholars in the field of Chinese education usually do not make strict distinctions between the two terms, and the terms are often used interchangeably (Ke 2012). While acknowledging the differences between the two terms, in this book we do not adopt a strict differentiation in keeping with the practice of many scholars and educators in the field.

Another group of learners who share many commonalities with CFL/CSL learners but have their own unique characteristics are heritage learners from a Chinese-speaking family background. In the literature, heritage learners are usually treated as a separate group from CFL or CSL learners (for example, He and Xiao 2008), but in reality not many Chinese programs in the U.S. offer a separate language track for these heritage learners due to limited resources. Therefore, heritage learners also constitute an indispensable part in our discussion of Chinese language education in the United States.

Content Highlights

The contributors of this book are well-recognized Chinese language educators in the U.S. and China from several interdisciplinary fields. The book seeks to provide in-depth, cross-disciplinary discussion and analysis of a wide array of pertinent, critical topics and issues related to CLE in the United States from historical, philosophical, economic, sociocultural, theoretical, and pedagogical perspectives.

Chapter 1 "Historical Overview of Chinese Language Education for Speakers of Other Languages in China and the United States," presents a historical overview of the field in the contexts of China and the United States, while each following chapter examines a critical aspect of CLE supported by a review of critical research related to the topic. Chapter 2 "Chinese Government Policies and Initiatives on the International Popularization of Chinese: An Economics of Language Perspective,"

details the Chinese government's policies and initiatives for promoting CLE around the world, which has produced an undeniable impact on the current status of Chinese language education in the United States. Other chapters include current and recent U.S. government initiatives aimed at expanding CFL education, CFL learning and teaching from the perspective of second language acquisition (SLA), medium of instruction in Chinese classrooms, technology for CFL education, CFL in American K-12 schools, CFL in American higher education, CFL for heritage students at the post-secondary level, Chinese language learning in study abroad contexts, and Chinese teachers' pedagogical adjustment and classroom management issues in cross-cultural contexts. The book concludes with a focused discussion of CFL teacher preparation and training. All chapters either directly address a specific aspect of CLE in the United States or cover topics or issues with strong implications for CLE in the United States.

Although the authors come from different disciplines and bring with them different theoretical and epistemological perspectives, a common understanding that runs through the chapters is the view that CLE development is closely connected to various factors, including social, cultural, political, and economic factors, and that these factors constantly interact to shape and change the status and direction of CLE in China and the United States. Interestingly, religion is also found to be a unique, strong driving force behind the spread of the Chinese language among non-Chinese speakers historically (Zhang 2008). CLE enables different cultures to connect, contest against, and integrate with each other. This process also has transformed the Chinese language itself into the modern day Chinese that is used and taught to native Chinese and non-Chinese learners. It is our hope that the book will provide valuable insights for CLE researchers, practitioners, language educators, and policy makers in China, the United States, and across the world and for those who are interested in gaining a better understanding of the various issues related to CLE and language education in general.

Future Directions

Building upon earlier research syntheses conducted by eminent researchers and scholars (e.g., Everson 1993; Ke 2006; Ke and Everson 1999; Ke and Li 2011; Ke and Shen 2003), Ke (2012) carried out an extensive review of the most significant studies in CFL since the late 1980s. He concluded that research in CFL has largely focused on four areas, namely, "aspects of the CFL reading process, grammar competence development, pronunciation development, pragmatic development and field building" (p. 44). He noticed a significant lack of studies in CFL listening and speaking. In addition to urging more studies from cross-linguistic perspectives to further contribute to our understanding of Chinese L2 learning, he also called for more research on K-12 CFL learning, learning of advanced CFL learners and the integration of their language and disciplinary study, effectiveness of CFL computer technology, and the cognitive processes, attitudes, and interests involved in the use

of technology. Also mentioned is capacity building of CFL researchers and more funding to support future CFL research. We agree with Ke's (2012) assessment of the research aspect of CFL education. Furthermore, we have identified several areas that demand greater attention.

Historical Research on CLE

A review of literature in both English and Chinese reveals a lack of attention to the historical development of CLE in China and elsewhere in the world. In order for the field to maintain continuity and sustainability, a strong understanding of the factors that historically influenced the ebb and flow of CLE is needed. CLE has been shown to be a bilateral process where non-native Chinese learners acquired the Chinese language, but in the process of learning the language, they also contributed to the development, evolution, and dissemination of the modern Chinese language. Such a unique relationship needs to be better recognized and understood.

Theory Building

Currently, most theories that are used to inform CLE come from second language acquisition theories grown out of the teaching and learning of Western languages. Due to the unique social, cultural, and linguistic characteristics of the Chinese language, theory building grounded in thoughtful, systematic study of CFL teaching and learning is a critical task for CLE researchers and educators if we want CLE teachers and learners to achieve greater success in teaching and learning Chinese.

Affective Factors for CFL Learning

Since Chinese has been viewed as a challenging language for Western language learners, understanding the role of affective factors in the success of language learning and learning in general is vital. It is important for CFL educators to pay greater attention to supporting CFL learners in developing a positive attitude towards the learning of Chinese through building internal motivation. Currently, student interest in learning CFL is heavily tied to utilitarian considerations due to the economic and political prowess that China possesses. We need to explore ways to maintain their motivation towards learning Chinese so their interest in learning Chinese is less dependent on China's political and economic conditions.

Understanding CFL Learners at a Fuller Spectrum of Proficiency Levels and in Diverse Learning Contexts

Currently, most of our understanding of CFL centers on young adult college learners. On the one hand, as more Chinese programs are offered at a much younger age, an understanding of early-start learners in immersion programs or bilingual programs needs to be gained. On the other hand, as a result of the fast expansion of Chinese programs at the K-12 and college levels, more learners are achieving much higher proficiency than ever before. There is a need to track these highly proficient learners, not only in their language attainment but also in their language attrition and fossilization. As study-abroad programs are built into Chinese language programs at colleges and even in K-12 schools, we need to explore how different learning contexts contribute to learners' language development, perceptions of Chinese society and culture, and motivation in Chinese learning.

CFL Teacher Preparation and Training

Teacher quality determines student success. Since CLE in the United States is a field with a relatively short history, teacher preparation and training lags behind. In fact, CFL teacher preparation is the biggest challenge the field now faces. Teacher quality could be problematic, especially when we have to import teachers who complete their teacher education in China. Conflicts caused by differences between Eastern and Western educational paradigms, instructional approaches and strategies, as well as classroom management styles can all hinder future development, sustainability, and expansion of CFL education in general. Finding creative ways to build a highly qualified CFL teaching force and provide professional development and training for CFL teachers should be a major topic of discussion for the field. The field can turn to foreign language instruction for other languages, such as German, French, and Japanese, for ideas.

This book intends to inform its readers on issues pertinent to the growth and future success of CLE in China, as well as in the U.S. and other parts of the world where English still maintains its dominance. It is our hope that this scholarly work becomes an important and timely publication on CLE and serves as a great reference for researchers, teachers, language policy makers, graduate students or preservice teachers who want to pursue a career in teaching Chinese in China and the U.S., and students who are learning Chinese in various Chinese programs around the world.

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Historical Overview of Chinese Language Education for Speakers of Other Languages in China and the United States

Wenxia Wang and Jiening Ruan

Abstract This chapter seeks to trace the historical development of Chinese language education for speakers of other languages in China and the United States. The authors compare and contrast the development of Chinese as a foreign language education (CFL) in the two countries and identify several critical understandings. Most significantly, political, social, cultural, and economic forces have been important factors behind the ups and downs of CFL education, and they have constantly interacted to shape the direction of CFL development in both countries. Religion is also found to have played a very critical and complicated role in the history of CFL education in both countries. This chapter supports the ecological perspective on language education and extends Cooper's (Language planning and social change. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989) language policy and planning framework to include forces at both top and grassroots levels.

Keywords Chinese language education • Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) • Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) • CFL education • History of CFL education • Language Planning and Policy (LPP) • Sinology • CFL education in China • CFL education in the U.S. • Periods of CFL development

1 Introduction

The Chinese language, one of the oldest languages in the world, has weathered and witnessed the ups and downs of Chinese civilization for 5,000 years. Literature on Chinese language education for native Chinese language learners abounds. Even though over the past few centuries Chinese was taught to and learned by non-native

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Chinese speakers, Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) or Chinese as a second language (CSL) as a recognized discipline is a recent phenomenon.

Meanwhile, over the last two millenniums, the spread of Chinese among non-native speakers of Chinese was slow and limited to a very small, special population. In recent years, Chinese has attracted significant interest from language educators, scholars, and policy makers due to its rapid growth as a foreign language around the world. This growing interest noticeably coincides with China's emergence as a world leader and economic powerhouse within the last two decades, especially since the turn of the century.

Yet as a discipline, due to its rather short history, CFL education is still in its initial stage of discipline building. Much work needs to be done so that continued growth of CFL education can be supported by a well-constructed, coherent disciplinary discourse and narrative. One area that deserves special attention is the history of CFL (Zhang 2008). An adequate understanding of any discipline cannot be achieved without a clear understanding of its history. Yet the history of CFL is an area that has not been well researched or understood.

This chapter attempts to fill that gap by tracing the history of CFL education from its origin in China to its emergence in the United States up to the present time. These two countries have been chosen as the focus of this chapter because they are the two most critical locations where CFL education has experienced the greatest growth and expansion in recent years, each with its own unique characteristics. While it does not require any justification to address CFL education in China in this paper, the examination of the history of CFL education in the United States is also warranted because it offers an illustration of the evolvement and development of CFL in a country where English is the dominant language as well as the super language of the world (Zhou 2011), which in itself is a disincentive (Lo Bianco 2011) for its learners to acquire a language with a completely different orthography and from a very different culture. In addition, the U.S. was chosen as a focus because it has the largest number of CFL related programs and learners outside of China, and the number is continuing to grow. The challenges that CFL education in the U.S. is facing can most likely be found in other countries around the world.

2 Theoretical Framework

In searching for a theoretical framework that is broad enough but at the same time allows us to effectively focus on the most salient factors influencing the historical development of CFL education in the two countries, we turned to the theories and concepts in the field of Language Planning and Policy (LPP) to describe and analyze various forces and factors that impinge upon CFL education in the two nations.

Traditionally the goals of language planning and language policies are often viewed as ideologically neutral, non-political, and technical (Cooper 1989). However, Karam (1974) argues that language policies are directly associated with

political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situations (cited in Cooper 1989). Cooper (1989) also pointed out that language planning is motivated by political, economic, and scientific considerations. Moreover, policy-making "largely works in a top-down fashion to shape the linguistic behavior of the community according to the imperatives of policy-makers" (Canagarajah 2006, p. 153). Authorities often back up their policies with ideologies that are seen and accepted as common sense (Tollefson 2002). As vehicles to spread cultures and ideologies, languages can also be involved in "systematic distortion" to serve the interests of particular classes or for ethnolinguistic purposes (Tollefson 2002). Thus, the field of LPP has become increasingly concerned about the role of ideology and its interaction with political and economic motivations in LPP (Hornberger 2006; Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Tollefson 2002).

More recently, researchers have advocated investigating LPP from the bottom up (e.g., Canagarajah 2006; Hornberger 1996). They believe that "there is considerable policy formulation and institutionalization of linguistic practices at the other end of the policy spectrum – that is, local communities and contexts" (Canagarajah 2006, p. 154). Thus, researchers should study "life at the grass-roots level" to understand how language policies are formed there (Canagarajah 2006, p. 154). Although LPP has been a field for a few decades, most of its studies in the available literature are about domestic and national language policy and planning regarding endangered indigenous and/or small, less privileged languages in multilingual contexts (Hornberger 2006). Theoretical inquiry into foreign language policy is limited and much needed (Lambert 2001).

This chapter uses an integrated theoretical perspective that incorporates the approaches noted above to study both top-down and bottom-up initiatives and forces in forming CLF practices and policies and how these may interact but also compete with each other in the history of CFL development in China and the United States. Meanwhile, the chapter is structured and guided by Cooper's (1989) descriptive LPP framework when examining the forces and factors in the two ends of the policy spectrum: "what actors attempt to influence what behaviors, of which people, for what ends, by what means, and with what results…under what conditions… through what decision-making process" (p. 97). This framework situates language education in the broader sociocultural and historical context and helps us attend to the various factors that impact CFL development in both countries.

This chapter seeks to trace and understand the historical development of CFL education in China and the United States. We start by describing the historical development of Chinese language education for non-Chinese natives within China. This section is followed by an overview of the historical development of CFL education in the United States, including its relationship to sinology. We then compare and contrast the development of Chinese language education between the two countries and identify important findings from such analyses. The chapter concludes with implications for continued development of CFL education in China, the U.S., and other nations that are taking interest in promoting CFL education to foreign language learners in their countries.

3 CFL Education in China

Researchers have different views about exactly when the Chinese language started its spread to other countries. In Western countries, CFL has been included in and closely interacted with sinology, "defined by Liam Brockey as the study of Chinese society based on Chinese sources" (Ringrose 2014, p. 161). Traditionally, sinologists were from countries other than China. Thus, the literature of sinology can provide not only rich information about the history of CFL, but also CFL resources and materials because many sinologists had to learn Chinese in order to study various aspects of Chinese society and its culture through the language (Zhang 2009).

Sinologists and other researchers tend to agree that China and the Chinese language began to be known to people from other countries at least 2,000 years ago. Greece is recognized as the first among the Western countries to have written records about China in three centuries B.C. or even earlier (Mo 2006). Meanwhile, the Chinese language was used for communication in and around China by people from other countries for business, political, and religious purposes in the early years of CFL (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009).

In the long history of CFL, it has contributed greatly to communication and understanding between China and other countries, which in turn has influenced the development of the Chinese language itself. In this chapter, the history of CFL in China is divided into three stages: (a) from ancient China to 1912; (b) from 1912 to 1949; and (c) from 1949 to present.

3.1 Stage One: CFL in Ancient China (Before 1912)

Recent research on CFL history indicates that Chinese characters first spread to ancient Korea even though no consensus has been reached on exactly when. Some scholars believe that the Chinese language began to be taught in ancient Korea around 1046 B.C. when the Zhou Dynasty was founded in China or even earlier (Dong 2002; Zhang 2000), and it was introduced to Vietnam and Japan around 221 B.C. and 284 A.D. respectively (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). Within China, instruction of Chinese as a second/foreign language for people from other countries started around 103 B.C. or 285 A.D. (Zhang 2000, 2009), after the Silk Road was launched by Zhang Qian in the Han Dynasty (around 138 B.C.), which allowed other countries in the world, including Greece, to further get to know China and the Chinese language. CFL in China exhibited distinctive features in different dynasties due to various political, social, and cultural environments and policies across its long history.

3.1.1 Developing Period: From Zhou to Southern and Northern Dynasties (1046 B.C. to 589 A.D.)

CFL grew out of actual needs for communication and business and was not planned or supported by the imperial court system and its officials. People of Chinese descent migrated to other parts of East Asia and helped found kingdoms in ancient Korea and Vietnam. These kingdoms kept good relationships with ancient China and were proactive in learning Chinese by sending students to China.

Through the Silk Road, some Greek businessmen and scholars traveled to China, and they introduced ancient China to the West after they returned home. Under their influence, people from other Western countries also began to go to China (Mo 2006).

People from central Asia and the Middle East came to China for business, and they introduced Buddhism to China (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). The Chinese dynasties were positive and supportive about such communication and interactions with other countries, so Buddhism began to spread in China. Therefore, CFL during this time was conducted mainly for three purposes – for business, political relationships, and religion, which all had a different influence on how CFL was conducted.

CFL for business happened spontaneously among businessmen, and CFL teaching thus was practical and for individual needs. Not much information can be found today on how CFL instruction was conducted for businessmen and which materials were used in CFL instruction, but one of the Persian dialects, Sogdian, might have served as the medium of instruction (Zhang 2009). According to Dong (2002), some East Asian countries, such as ancient Korea and Vietnam, had a long tradition of learning Chinese in their own countries. Sometimes some areas of ancient Korea and Vietnam were included in ancient Chinese borders and administered by Chinese governments. The ancient Korean and Vietnamese governments sent gifts and delegations to China and asked for CFL instructors from China. Some people from these countries came to China to learn the Chinese language.

However, research has not found evidence to suggest that CFL instruction for Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese learners was administered by Chinese governments systematically during the long history of ancient China. Except in the Han Dynasty (around 66 A.D.) when a particular school was established as a reward by the Chinese government for the children of several international officials (Lu 1998), CFL instruction within China remained individualized and unsystematic. Very limited materials were designed for teaching CFL to these learners. Research shows that Confucian classics were used for CFL instruction for such learners. Some learners were able to achieve very high Chinese proficiency, which can be shown in their writings.

Religious purposes were dominant in CFL education during this period (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). To introduce Buddhism to China, many monks living in countries to the west of China (especially India) came to learn Chinese, translate Buddhist scripts, and promote Buddhism in China. They were well treated and respected by the Chinese emperors and their court officials. X. Zhang (2009) commented that for these monks, learning Chinese and translating the Buddhist scripts were initially

individual acts. It was only towards the end of the fourth century that Chinese authorities began to support the translation of Buddhist scripts. During the South and North Dynasties (420 A.D.–589 A.D.), these religious activities reached their peak. Hundreds of Buddhist temples were built and thousands of Buddhist scripts were translated.

Little information is available in the literature about how these monks learned Chinese in China. Research shows that many Yuezhi (月氏) people in the northwest of China were bilinguals of Chinese and Yuezhi languages (Zhang 2009), but little literature can be found about how Yuezhi people learned Chinese. It is believed that the Indian monks learned Chinese through Yuezhi dialects and/or Sanskrit in the early days (Zhang 2009), but few records exist about the materials used for teaching CFL to these monks. Some researchers infer from other sources that Confucian and other classics and translated Chinese Buddhist scripts were used for CFL instruction (Zhang 2009). It is possible that CFL teaching was spontaneous and at the grass-roots level rather than planned and organized by the authorities.

A very important achievement for Chinese phonetics, *fanqie*, appeared during this period (from 202 B.C. to 220 A.D.) to describe Chinese pronunciation and help monks from other countries to learn CFL (Dong 2002). Created by ancient Chinese scholars influenced and enlightened by Indian languages during their interactions with monks, fanqie is a method to mark the pronunciation of a character by using two or more characters where each gives a part of the sound in the target character. This method has been highly regarded by Chinese linguists historically and even today (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). Thus, fanqie not only facilitated CFL instruction during this period, but also contributed to the development of Chinese phonetics because much ancient work on Chinese phonetics was based on fanqie (Dong 2002). All of these led to the peak of CFL development in ancient China in the *Tang* dynasty.

3.1.2 Peak of CFL: From Sui to Song Dynasties (from 581 A.D. to 1279 A.D.)

From the Sui to Song Dynasties, CFL developed rapidly in all areas and reached its peak in ancient China during the Tang Dynasty. Scholars from several East Asian countries drew inspiration from the Chinese language when they were creating their own written languages and also contributed greatly to communication and cultural exchange between China and other countries. With its achievements in civilization, China attracted a large number of people from all over the world, including Western countries. In addition to business and diplomacy, people came to China to learn advanced technologies and all disciplines and to promote and/or learn Buddhism. The Chinese language served as a critical vehicle, and CFL played a pivotal role in all these economic, political, academic, and religious endeavors. During this period, official teaching of CFL became more systematic (Zhang 2009). However, CFL was mainly taught as a tool for learning other disciplines or for business, that is, it was content-based.

Despite its short existence, the Sui Dynasty (581 A.D.–618 A.D.) was involved in CFL, but mainly because of Buddhism. The Tang Dynasty (618 A.D.–907 A.D.) was one of the most prosperous and powerful dynasties in the history of China, making China one of the strongest countries in the world at the time, which attracted thousands of people from different countries, including some European and African countries, to visit China. These people admired the Tang's splendid civilization and lived in China for different periods of time to learn advanced science, culture, and language from Tang scholars. As a result, there was a great increase in terms of the numbers of CFL learners, including businessmen, monks, and more importantly, international students. Thus, in addition to serving the previous economic, political, and religious purposes of individuals, CFL education in the Tang dynasty was planned for cultural exchange and understanding and for facilitating international students' learning in the various disciplines they studied. CFL education was so successful and influential that many scholars often consider the Tang Dynasty the peak era of CFL in ancient China (e.g., Li 2008; Lu 1998; Zhang 2009). Although the Song Dynasty (960–1279) was not as strong and powerful as the Tang Dynasty, its achievements in many areas still attracted people from other countries to learn the Chinese language for different purposes. The Song government was also actively involved in CFL.

It was in the Tang Dynasty that the Chinese government started to develop a system for CFL instruction for international students, which included CFL curriculum, materials, standards, and evaluations. The Tang government received a large number of international students from various countries, such as ancient Japan, all three kingdoms in Korea, India, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, and Burma (Zhang 2009). The Chinese government administered tests for these students, and Chinese proficiency was one of the very important indicators. After passing the tests and being approved by the Chinese imperial court system, the international students were admitted to study different disciplines, including the Chinese language in *Guozijian* (国子监, the national higher education institute in ancient China) and were administered by *Honglusi* (鸿胪寺) (Zhang 2009). CFL teachers used the Chinese classics in their teaching instead of differentiating teaching materials for native and non-native Chinese speakers.

These students stayed for their studies in China for either long or short terms, and their costs were covered by the Chinese government. Research has found that Chinese classical works were used for CFL instruction. If students had difficulties, the institution also provided extra instruction and/or tutoring for them. Some international students made very impressive achievements in terms of Chinese proficiency – they were able to use Chinese to write essays and poems (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). The international students could choose to take exams that were designed for Chinese students, and if successful, they were selected to work as imperial court officials. Many of them also went back to their own countries after they completed their studies in China. Their learning in China greatly contributed to the development of their own countries and their languages. For example, Korean and Japanese scholars developed their written languages by incorporating Chinese characters and other linguistic elements into their existing languages after they went back to their countries from China (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009).

In the Song Dynasty, there were government schools that taught CFL to international students, but the students were different from those in the Tang Dynasty. The Song Dynasty was engaged in business activities with about 60 countries through marine transportation, so ports in the southeast coastal areas hosted large communities of international businessmen. The Song government built schools for these businessmen's children to study foreign languages and Chinese language and culture (Zhang 2009), but not much literature can be found about the curriculum and textbooks used in such schools. The Song government also had a good relationship with Tibetan rulers, so it had particular schools for the Tibetan nobles' children. The literature indicates that Chinese teachers used the same books in these schools as those used in the national institute of higher education (国子监) for native Chinese speakers.

Buddhism continued to play an important role in CFL in the Sui and Tang dynasties, but its significance for CFL greatly declined in the Song Dynasty (Dong 2002). The Sui government encouraged Buddhism, attracting international monks, especially Indian monks, to China. These monks learned CFL and translated Buddhist scripts. During the Sui Dynasty, Japan started sending delegates and monks to China to learn CFL and Buddhism (Dong 2002). The role of CFL for religious purposes was further elevated in the Tang Dynasty. In addition to being taught to the Buddhist monks from India and some other Central Asian countries to enable them to translate Buddhist scripts or literature into Chinese, CFL was also taught to a large number of monks from Korea and Japan who came to China to learn Buddhism. The monks from India and other central Asian countries who came to China to learn Chinese came more on an individual basis, whereas Korean and Japanese monks were usually sent by their governments (Dong 2002). They studied Chinese and Chinese philosophies and translated Buddhist scripts in Buddhist temples. However, not much literature can be found regarding CFL curriculum and materials for the monks during this period.

Research indicates that both the quality and quantity of translated Buddhist scripts were greatly improved during the Tang Dynasty (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). Korean and Japanese monks returned from China and introduced Buddhism to their own countries. Several of them even developed Buddhism to fit the unique social and cultural contexts in their own countries or created new branches of Buddhism (Zhang 2009). However, in the Song Dynasty, only a small number of international monks came to China, so the importance of CFL for religious endeavors decreased dramatically (Dong 2002).

It is worth noting that Christianity began to spread into China during the Tang Dynasty (Dong 2002; Mo 2006), which is recorded on a monument in Chinese by a Persian priest in 781 A.D. According to the monument, Christianity was approved by the Chinese emperor in the early Tang dynasty to develop in China. It is evident that the priests then used Chinese to promote Christianity in China, but no literature can be found about how they learned Chinese (Dong 2002). Although Christianity did not grow as significantly as Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty and the following Song Dynasty, the stories about its existence and development in China became known to the West and attracted many Western people, including Marco Polo, to

China (Mo 2006), which facilitated development of both sinology and CFL in Western countries.

Comparatively speaking, there are not many records on CFL for business purposes from the Sui to the Song Dynasties, nor are they as detailed as CFL for international students and monks. Although it is recognized that CFL for economic purposes occurred for both official and personal business, it was only lightly touched upon, if at all, in the literature related to the history of CFL (e.g., Zhang 2009).

3.1.3 Declining and Interacting with the West (from 1271 to 1912)

From the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) to the end of the Qing Dynasty, also known as China's last dynasty, CFL experienced a considerable decline due to the tumultuous political, social, and religious climate in China during the period. It nearly came to a halt before the Opium Wars erupted in the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, CFL made some small gains and started to enter the scene of foreign language education in Western countries, including Spain, Portugal, England, and the United States.

The Yuan Empire (1271 A.D.–1368 A.D.) had the biggest territory claim in Chinese history, so there were a large number of ethnic groups within its borders. Meanwhile, the Yuan Empire was proactive in building diplomatic relationships with other countries in the world. All of these factors necessitated second language education, so both Mongolian and Chinese schools were built for people of all ethnic groups, including those from other countries (Zhang 2009). Thus, a bilingual language policy was implemented during the Yuan Dynasty, and CFL's importance actually decreased. CFL did not regain its prestige in the following Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D.–1644 A.D.). Although the first few Ming emperors resumed the practice of accepting Korean students to study in China, the number of students decreased greatly, compared to that of the previous dynasties. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the emperor even declined the Korean government's request to continue sending students to China (Dong 2002). Additionally, little literature has been found that indicates the Ming government accepted international students from other countries and/or had specific schools/instruction for international students.

Situations regarding CFL education did not improve much during the Qing Dynasty (1644 A.D.–1912 A.D.). Except for a few students from Korea, the Qing government did not seem to have accepted many international students to study in China. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some Korean students also came to China to study for military purposes, but the number was not large. Thus, official influence on CFL education greatly decreased from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries in China.

CFL for religious purposes continued from the Yuan to the Qing dynasties, but focused religious efforts began to shift to Christianity instead of Buddhism, which ultimately helped modern CFL to develop in China and spread around the world. When the Yuan Dynasty's Mongolian founders were fighting in Europe, the Pope sent his delegates to communicate with the Mongolian royals and nobles and

impressed them well, which laid a good foundation for re-starting and developing Christianity in China (Dong 2002; Mo 2006). After the Yuan Empire was established, rulers kept good relationships with the European Catholic Church (Dong 2002; Mo 2006; Zhang 2009), so missionaries and priests came to China, and Christianity began to take root in the Chinese context. However, Christianity and the conduct of its missionaries in China were in conflict with traditional Chinese ideologies and rituals, so Christian activities were discouraged by Ming emperors and officials (Mo 2006). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during the Qing Dynasty, the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope interfered and tried to prioritize Christianity over Chinese ideologies and traditions, but they were resisted by the Qing emperors, and Christian religious activities were banned in the Qing Dynasty before the start of the Opium Wars in the middle of the nineteenth century (Dong 2002; Mo 2006; Zhang 2009). After the Opium Wars, a large number of Christian missionaries from Western countries arrived in China, and Christianity spread quickly in China. As a result, interest in learning CFL among Westerners resumed again.

Persistent missionary work in China during this period not only helped Western countries to know China and the Chinese language but also led to great achievements in sinology and Chinese linguistics and thus made great contributions to modern CFL in Western countries and in China. Michel Ruggieri and Matthoeus Ricci are well known Jesuit missionaries who came to China in 1579 and 1582 respectively. Different from other missionaries, they made efforts to learn the Chinese language and follow Chinese traditions, so they were allowed to conduct their missionary work in Macau and some areas in Guangdong province. In 1584 they collaborated and compiled the first Portuguese to Chinese dictionary. More importantly Matthoeus Ricci began to use Roman letters to mark the pronunciation of Chinese characters, which laid the foundation for modern day Chinese Hanyu Pinyin (a.k.a., Pinyin) to develop in the 1950s (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009). Later they set up schools in Macau to teach missionaries Chinese language and culture and prepare them for conducting missionary work in China. In these schools learning the Chinese language was required, and Matthoeus Ricci's Romanized Pinyin system greatly facilitated the missionaries' learning of Chinese.

From then on, more and more missionaries in China learned and studied Chinese language and culture. They continued their study after they went back to their own countries and introduced China and Chinese language and culture to the Western world, so sinology came into being in the nineteenth century (Mo 2006). The missionaries in China in the nineteenth century also started using punctuation marks for the Chinese language and made important contributions to the linguistic development of the language. The missionaries took some Chinese Christians with them when they returned home, and those Chinese became the early Chinese language teachers in Western countries (Dong 2002; Zhang 2009).

Moreover, many dictionaries that translate Chinese into other languages were compiled by missionaries who spoke different languages. In addition, Western scholars started their study of Chinese grammar in the nineteenth century, which has

greatly influenced modern Chinese linguistics. For example, two well-known sinologists in France and Britain, Abel Rémusat and Robert Morrison, published works on Chinese grammar and started sinology in the two countries (Mo 2006). All of these contributed to the development of sinology in Western countries in the nineteenth century, which also paved the way for CFL education in those countries. Thus, from the very beginning, sinology and CFL in Western countries have been integrated and facilitated each other's development (Zhang 2009).

3.2 Stage Two: CFL in the Republic of China (1912–1949)

During this period, there were many wars in China, including wars against Japanese occupation during World War II and numerous civil wars. China's economy was greatly affected. Thus, only a small number of students came to China to study Chinese (Ma 2013; Zhang 2009). Not much literature is available about CFL during this period, but the limited amount of related literature suggests CFL teaching was still conducted for various purposes.

Ma (2013) mentioned that Chinese was taught to international undergraduate and graduate students at Yenching University (the predecessor of Peking/Beijing University) in China, but the number was small, only 12 students in all. However, CFL seemed to be systematically taught at Yenching University at that time, with a language curriculum, textbooks, pedagogy, and instructors. For example, one instructor, Tianmin Wu, mentioned in an interview that she paid attention to both writing and speaking in her teaching instead of the traditional focus on either speaking or writing. Ancient academic Chinese and the Chinese classics were taught to graduate students. She published an article on how to teach Chinese vocabulary to international students, which is the first published article on CFL that can be found in contemporary China (Ma 2013). However, not much literature has been found about whether CFL was taught in K-12 settings in general education during this period.

Religion still played an important role in CFL during this period. To teach Chinese to missionaries who were new to China, a school was set up in Beijing in 1910, North China Xiehe Language Institute (Zhang 2009). The school also accepted students who learned Chinese for diplomatic, business, and other purposes. By 1925 when the school joined Yenching University and became the Yenching School of Chinese Studies, the school had around 100 instructors and 1,621 graduates, who were mostly Westerners (Zhang 2009). According to X. Zhang (2009), the school had a systematic curriculum, which looks similar to a current CFL curriculum at a U.S. college. The instructors developed their own Chinese textbooks and used the direct method to teach students the four Chinese language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). The students also took elective courses in religion, Chinese history, culture, etc., depending on their needs and learning goals. It took students 4 to 5 years to complete their studies at the school.

3.3 Stage Three: CFL in the People's Republic of China (1949-Present)

CFL was able to transform and grow after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Different from its previous development and purposes, CFL in contemporary China has distinct goals, and it also experienced disruptions and changes. Researchers (e.g., Zhang 2000) have divided CFL development in contemporary China into three periods – from 1949 to 1978, from 1978 to 2000, and from 2000 to present.

3.3.1 From 1949 to 1978

After the founding of China in 1949, the Communist Chinese government started its diplomatic relations with other communist countries and accepted international exchange students from countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Hungary. The first cohort arrived at Qinghua University in July 1950, which is considered the beginning of CFL in new China (e.g., Sun 2009; Zhang 2000; Zhu 2010). The 1950s was foundational to the current field of CFL in China because the institutions that offered CFL programs were built then, and specialized teachers began to emerge, thus laying the foundation for CFL development in contemporary China. CFL continued to develop in the early 1960s. In 1964, Beijing Language Institute (formerly Beijing Language and Culture University) was established, and it has been the only institution that specialized in CFL research and instruction in China. The literature indicates a growing number of universities started their CFL teaching and teacher preparation programs at that time, and in 1965, 3,312 international students from more than 60 countries were learning Chinese in over 20 colleges and universities in China (Lü 1989; Zhang 2000). From 1961 to 1966, around 100 graduates of Chinese had been selected and then prepared as CFL teachers at Beijing University and Beijing Foreign Studies University so they would be able to teach CFL in other countries. However, the growth in CFL education was interrupted by the Cultural Revolution, which started in 1966. Except for diplomatic agents or personnel from other countries, CFL teaching was suspended at universities, including Beijing Foreign Studies University (Zhang 2009).

CFL education did not resume until the early 1970s when two important events made CFL necessary to China and also accelerated the development of CFL in China. In 1971, China's membership in the United Nations (UN) was reinstated, and the Chinese language was identified as one of the five official languages in the UN in 1973. CFL in China thus resumed and started to accept international students again. Approved by Premier Zhou Enlai in 1972, Beijing Language Institute reopened, and in 1973 it received 383 international students from 42 countries (Shi and Yang 1990; Zhang 2000). From 1973 to 1977, 2,288 international students from 72 countries were enrolled in 28 colleges and universities all over China (Zhang 2009). CFL also began to expand into other areas, for example, K-12 schools for

international students who came to live in China with their parents, and Beijing Language Institute began to prepare CFL teachers during this period (Zhang 2009). Although CFL went through challenges and disruptions from 1949 to 1978, the experience and insights gained about CFL during this period contributed greatly to CFL's development after the Reform and Open Door Policy in 1978.

During this period, modern CFL curriculum began to grow and form. When CFL began for international students in the 1950s, the goals were to prepare those students for their future programs and majors, so CFL programs and courses were preparatory and technical in nature. Simplified Chinese characters and Pinyin were used in CFL instruction. Influenced by Marxism and linguistics of the former Soviet Union, CFL curriculum and instruction focused on grammar and vocabulary learning in the 1950s. Correspondingly, the grammar translation method was dominant in this period. Edited in 1954, *Chinese Textbook* was published in 1958, which was the first CFL textbook referred to in the literature (Zhang 2009).

In the 1960s, CFL curriculum became more complete and systematic. The focus shifted to addressing students' needs and cultivating students' language skills, so more attention was paid to students' practice and their daily use of the language, which were reflected in the two textbooks written in this period, *Basic Chinese* and *Chinese Reading*. CFL instruction began to incorporate techniques from other methods in this period. According to X. Zhang (2009), the Audio-Lingual Method was introduced to and used in CFL instruction in the 1970s, and attention was also paid to sentence construction. These concepts were further applied in the textbook published by Beijing Language Institute in this period, *Chinese Course*.

On the basis of such developments in the 1970s, Mr. Bisong Lü, the former president of Beijing Language Institute, proposed in 1978 to recognize CFL as a discipline at the Beijing Regional Conference for Language Planning (Shi and Yang 1990; Zhang 2000, 2009). Lü's proposal was echoed by scholars at the conference. In the same year the Institute was approved by the Ministry of Education to start a modern Chinese language program to prepare CFL teachers and translators (Li 1989; Shi and Yang 1990). It was a 4-year undergraduate degree program, but not much literature can be found about its curriculum. Meanwhile, Beijing Language Institute began a short-term CFL program for 28 students from France, which is considered the beginning of short-term CFL preparation and training programs in China. Thus, CFL began to grow into a discipline separate from sinology in the Chinese context.

It is widely recognized that the paper *Some Issues in Teaching Chinese to Students of Non-Han Ethnic Groups* by Zumo Zhou in 1953 marked the beginning of CFL studies in China (D. Zhang 2000; X. Zhang 2009). The paper illustrated the goals and teaching principles for CFL and greatly influenced CFL instruction at that time. In the late 1950s, papers were published on how to teach Pinyin and how to balance Pinyin and Chinese characters (Zhang 2009). Undermined by the Cultural Revolution, not much CFL research was conducted in the 1960s except one paper by Zhong (1979)[1] that summarized CFL development from 1949 to 1965. Even

[1] The paper was written in 1965, but was not able to be published until 1979 (Zhang 2009).

though several papers were written in the early 1970s, they were not able to be published until 1979 because academic journals were not available before then (Zhang 2009). However, these papers tended to focus on CFL instructional principles or teaching practices, and they were more experiential than empirical.

3.3.2 From 1978 to 2000

This period is critical for CFL education in China, because important policies and decisions about CFL were made by the Chinese government and the CFL field in China, and many aspects of CFL were able to grow significantly. Following the lead of Beijing Language Institute, many colleges and universities started their own short-term CFL training programs from 1978 to 2000 (Zhang 2009). In 1982, scholars at a preparation conference for the International Association of Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (IATCSL) identified the term Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (TCSL) for the field and discipline, which was recognized and approved by the Ministry of Education in 1984 (Zhang 2009).

Since then, CFL degree programs were launched. The undergraduate CFL degree program was started by Beijing Language Institute in 1983, and the Master's program by Beijing University in 1986 (D. Zhang 2000; X. Zhang 2009). In 1993, the CFL program was officially recognized as a degree program by the Ministry of Education. Soon the CFL doctoral program was added by Beijing Language Institute in 1999 (D. Zhang 2000; X. Zhang 2009). CFL programs at all levels spread to universities across China. More than 300 colleges and organizations offered CFL instruction with more than 2,500 full-time and 4,000 part-time CFL instructors (Zhang 2000). The enrollment in CFL soared from 1978 to 2000. From 1978 to 1987, around 20,000 international students studied in various CFL programs in China (Zhang 2009). Each year from 1996 to 1998, enrollment in CFL courses exceeded 40,000 (Zhang 2000).

It is during this period from 1978 to 2000 that important initiatives and efforts were made for CFL curriculum, standards, and assessment in China. The first stage of Chinese proficiency standards and benchmarks for vocabulary and grammar was completed by IATCSL in 1988, which provided expectations for Chinese proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, writing, and translation (Zhang 2009). In the 1990s, CFL curricula for vocabulary and grammar were published by the Office of Chinese Language Council International (a.k.a. Hanban). In 1984, Beijing Language Institute was assigned by the Ministry of Education to design the Chinese proficiency test (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi or HSK) and to specify standards for different levels of Chinese proficiency (Zhang 2009). The HSK test was approved by the National Education Committee in 1990 and was soon recognized as a national test by the Ministry of Education in 1992. Since then it has been supervised by the Vice Minister of Education (Zhang 2000).

The significance of teacher preparation was also recognized by the Ministry of Education. Following Beijing Language Institute, several language institutes, such as Beijing Foreign Studies Institute and Shanghai Foreign Studies Institute, also

started their CFL teacher preparation undergraduate degree programs in the 1980s. Beijing University and Beijing Language Institute also offered Master's programs in CFL teacher preparation in 1986 (Zhang 2009). *Evaluation of CFL Teachers' Qualifications* was announced by the Ministry of Education in 1990, and the evaluation committee on CFL teacher education was formed, which has been providing guidance for CFL teacher preparation in China ever since (Zhang 2000).

Meanwhile, CFL research had been growing in areas related to the teaching and learning of phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, and Chinese characters, so several journals dedicated to CFL research were launched in this period. For example, sponsored by Beijing Language Institute, the first specialized CFL journal, *Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies*, published its first issue in 1979 (Zhang 2009). It has remained one of the key CFL journals in China since then. In 1987, the journal *Chinese Teaching in the World* was initiated by the Society for Chinese Language Teaching and Beijing Language Institute (Zhang 2009). These journals, as well as others in the field, became important platforms for researchers and scholars to circulate and spread research findings. More importantly, research papers became more empirical rather than simply experience-based in this period. Moreover, numerous books, textbooks, dictionaries, and handbooks on CFL education were published (Zhang 2000).

3.3.3 From 2000 to the Present

This period has witnessed the fastest growth of CFL in China. Building upon the infrastructure established before 2000, CFL has been able to expand rapidly in each aspect during this period. Since 2000, three important standards and benchmarks have been issued, which are considered landmarks of CFL education (Zhao 2011). These standards include *Standards for CFL Teachers*, *International Standards for Chinese Language Proficiency*, and *International Curriculum for Chinese Instruction*. Meanwhile, the number and "the quality of both teachers and researchers significantly improved" (Zhu 2010, pp. 35–36), which is evident in many international conferences for Chinese instruction and research, for example, the International Conference on Teaching Chinese as a Second Language.

By 2004, Chinese universities had prepared 5,361 certified CFL teachers (Li 2007). In one of the five annual certification tests in 2012, a total number of 8,310 applicants from countries such as China, the U.S., Canada, Germany, and France, took the test held by the International Chinese Language Teachers Association (ICA). By January 2012, a total number of 19,000 applicants had taken this test (ICA 2012). Moreover, enrollment has been increasing rapidly. From 1950 to 1978, a total number of 12,800 international students enrolled in CFL programs in China, whereas from 1979 to 2007, the number rose to 1,220,000 (Cui 2010). In 2008 alone, 223, 500 international students enrolled in CFL programs in China (Cui 2010; Pang and Sun 2013). Assisted by the government through Hanban, China has become proactive in promoting CFL across the world. Hanban has been preparing and sending CFL teachers to many countries in the world since 2005. In 2014,

Hanban sent 15,500 CFL teachers and administrators to 139 countries, and the Confucius Institutes prepared around 35,000 CFL teachers from these countries (Xu 2014). From 2004 to 2014, Hanban and the Confucius Institutes had prepared a head-count of approximately 200,000 indigenous CFL teachers for more than 100 countries, either in China or in their home countries (Xu 2014). Thus, CFL has been developing unprecedentedly in China and in the world in the twenty-first century.

4 CFL Development in the United States

According to Lo Bianco (2011), the status of Chinese as a second language is a recent phenomenon, and therefore, it is not surprising that limited literature can be found on the topic of the history of CFL in the United States. Albeit limited, a small number of CFL educators have started to make efforts to study the historical development of CFL education in the United States. Adopting an ecological perspective, Wang (2010) contextualized and analyzed the evolution of CFL in the United States since the 1960s when Chinese became a "newcomer" to "formal foreign language education" in the United States (p. 15). Wang (2010) suggests that CFL education is part of a complex ecology of language and various factors in the environment (e.g., policy, practice, players, and languages) and their interface are closely connected to the evolution and spread of CFL education in American education.

Zhou (2011) studied the teaching of CFL in the United States since the middle of the twentieth century from the theoretical perspective of language order (i.e., "reality of the institutionalized hierarchical relationship among two or more languages in the said communities") and ideology (i.e., "a system of beliefs, assumptions, and so on about the role a language should or should not play in a community, a nation and/or the global community") within the context of globalization (p. 131). He found that the process of globalization has heavily influenced the order and status of CFL in language education in the United States. Both authors have contributed greatly to our understanding of CFL education in modern and contemporary periods in the United States.

To facilitate our examination of the historical evolvement of CFL in the United States, CFL development in the U.S. is broadly divided into four periods: from 1871 to 1940, 1940 to 1960, 1960 to 2000, and 2000 to the present. Such a division builds upon the works of Chen et al. (2010), Tsu (1970), Wang (2010), and Zhou (2011) but also extends the coverage of CFL education in the United States from its beginning in the nineteenth century to the present time.

It is important to note that this chapter does not address the teaching of Chinese as a heritage language due to space limitations. Readers interested in the teaching and learning of Chinese as a heritage language in the United States can refer to chapter "The Teaching of Chinese to Heritage Language Learners at the Post-secondary Level" in this volume for an in-depth coverage of the topic.

4.1 Period One: The Beginning Years (1871–1940)

The first period of CFL education started in 1871 and lasted until the outbreak of World War II (Tsu 1970). Defeating the Qing government in the Opium Wars in the middle of the nineteenth century, Western countries, including the United States, forced China to open ports for business and grant them political and other privileges in China. As a result, a large number of missionaries, businessmen, and political persons went to China. Thus, within the United States, it was necessary for the Chinese language to be taught to those people who planned to work in China.

During this period, CFL education was closely connected to sinology because the key figures involved in Chinese language education at the time were usually sinologists themselves. CFL education began in the United States at Yale University (then Yale College) in 1871 (e.g., Liu and Liu 1990; Tsu 1970). According to Yao and Zhang (2010), a librarian named Addison Van Name started introducing "Elements of Chinese" in 1871. Van Name was interested in Asian studies, including China studies, but his specialty was not in the Chinese language. Yung Wing (容闳), a former graduate of Yale, pushed Yale to hire a professor with expertise in Chinese language and culture (Yao and Zhang 2010). Yung Wing was the first Chinese graduate of an American college, and he was also a successful business person and citizen ambassador. Subsequently, Samuel W. Williams, a missionary to China and a sinologist, was hired by Yale after he returned to the United States in 1876 to continue the teaching and research on the Chinese language (Dong 2002), which also marked the beginning of American sinology (Chen 2007; Mo 2006). Similar to the European missionaries and sinologists in the same period, Samuel W. Williams published extensively on Chinese language and culture, for example, his book, *The Middle Kingdom*, has been most well-known and is considered the start of American sinology (Mo 2006). He also compiled a dictionary of Chinese phonetics and Chinese textbooks.

In 1877, Francis P. Knight, an American who was doing business while serving as a consul in the U.S. Consulate in Yingkou, China, wrote a letter to the then President of Harvard University. He proposed that he would raise funds to establish a Chinese lectureship to provide Chinese teaching to people who were interested in going to work or live in China. Eventually, Ko K'un-hua (戈鲲化), a Chinese national who was then working for the British Consulate in Ningbo, China, was hired to fill the position. Thus, Ko K'un-hua is regarded as the first Chinese teacher from China in the United States (Zhang 2009). Ko K'un-hua could speak English, which facilitated his CFL teaching. He compiled Chinese poems he had written and used them to teach Chinese. 1879 marked the beginning of the Chinese Program at Harvard University (Harvard University 2015), and the first Chinese class was offered on October 22, 1879 (Yao and Zhang 2010).

Meanwhile, on the west coast, California State University created a position for teaching Chinese in 1890. However, the university had difficulty filling the position until 1896 when a British teacher named John Fryer was hired. The University of Chicago and Stanford University joined the group of universities that offered Chinese and started their Chinese programs in 1936 and 1937, respectively.

Until the beginning of World War II, CFL education in the United States was limited to very few universities. Early learners of Chinese were mostly Christian missionaries or serious minded people who wanted to be sinologists, and the number of students they served was small (Tsu 1970). CFL teaching in this period used the grammar translation method and focused on reading and mastery of the grammar of ancient literary Chinese (Liu and Liu 1990; Zhang 2009). There were not many CFL learners, though, because CFL was mainly designed to prepare missionaries (Liu and Liu 1990). Lindeck (1971) commented that CFL courses at these universities focused on "ancient literary Chinese to prepare sinologists" (cited in Zhang 2009, pp. 397–398). Cameron (1948) observed that "foreign languages in the U.S. were taught to understand foreign cultures and for conducting research and business, so reading instead of listening and speaking was stressed" (cited in Zhang 2009, p. 398). The pace of growth of CFL teaching in the initial stage of CFL in the U.S. was slow at best.

4.2 Period Two: The Emerging Years (1940–1960)

This period witnessed some important changes in CFL education in the United States because of World War II. During the war period, China and the United States became allies, and the U.S. sent military personnel and soldiers to China to fight the Japanese. The demand for Chinese teaching grew as a result. Teaching CFL to serve military purposes first started at the Defense Language Institute in California, and other universities such as Yale, Harvard, and Columbia followed. They provided CFL training for U.S. military officers, pilots, and information agents (Yao and Zhang 2010; Zhang 2009).

Yale was also where the U.S. military sent pilots to receive training in Chinese. During this time, Yale University developed a "Yale Romanization system" and published textbooks to make learning Chinese easier and faster for American learners (Liu and Liu 1990; Yao and Zhang 2010; Zhou 2011). Yale and other universities focused on listening and speaking instead of literary Chinese in their CFL teaching for military personnel so they would be able to learn and use Chinese in the war within a short period of time (Zhang 2009). Chinese characters and grammar were not taught at the beginning; instead, Chinese conversation was the focus. This is how the Audio-Lingual Method came into being, and the method still has a strong influence on foreign language teaching today. News and other similar materials on politics were used for CFL teaching at these universities (Zhang 2009). All of these promoted CFL development, and it began to be studied in the context of foreign language instruction instead of sinology in the U.S.

The period between WWII and 1958 is considered the second period of CFL education in the United States. CFL developed slowly but steadily in U.S. higher education during this period. By 1957, around 25 American universities offered Chinese programs (Liu and Liu 1990). The number of students studying Chinese increased to 1,884 by 1960 (Yao and Zhang 2010). During this period, CFL

textbooks compiled by Yale had a strong influence on CFL teaching in the world, and Yale developed the largest number of CFL textbooks before 1979 (Liu and Liu 1990).

4.3 Period Three: The Developing Years (1960–2000)

Several important U.S. government policy initiatives were taken in the late 1950s and early 1960s to encourage instruction in critical foreign languages, including Russian and Chinese, among others. The National Defense Education Act in 1958 and the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961 exerted important influences on CFL in the U.S. (Tsu 1970; Wang 2010; Zhou 2011). The U.S. government provided financial support and fellowships for studying and teaching these languages in the U.S. The number of institutions that offered Chinese programs thus increased rapidly to more than 100 by 1970 (Liu and Liu 1990; Tsu 1970), and CFL enrollment increased from 1,884 in 1960 to 6,238 in 1970 (Zhou 2011).

Meanwhile, grassroots professional organizations promoting Chinese language education started to emerge. In 1962, the Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA) was established, and it was "devoted exclusively to the study of Chinese language, culture and pedagogy" (CLTA2015, p. 1). In 1966, the *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* published its first issue and has been an important forum for CFL researchers in the U.S. and the world to share and disseminate work done in the field. Since then, the Association has also been organizing annual conferences in conjunction with the Modern Language Association and later with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Some regional Chinese teacher associations also began to form. For example, the Chinese Language Teachers Association of California was founded in the early 1960s and has been growing ever since.

During this period, the most significant contributions to the promotion of Chinese education in the United States came from two private foundations. The Carnegie Foundation and the Dodge Foundation made it possible for CFL to expand to elementary and secondary schools.

In the 1960s, at the urging of John Tsu, then a professor of Chinese at Seton Hall University, the Carnegie Foundation provided funding for colleges and universities (e.g., Seton Hall University and San Francisco State College) to expand CFL to high schools. More than 230 high schools had Chinese programs, and they served around 2,096 students (Moore et al. 1992; Tsu 1970).

During this period, it is notable that CFL also started to enter U.S. elementary schools in places such as Hawaii and Virginia at the grassroots level, and textbooks for CFL in elementary schools were compiled for use. For example, Lucy Wang in Virginia secured funding from a library foundation and published Chinese textbooks for U.S. elementary students (Tsu 1970).

Unfortunately, the Carnegie Foundation's influence was not long-lasting. The programs failed to sustain when funding was depleted. When the Dodge Foundation

began to support CFL in secondary education in 1982, of all the high school CFL programs funded by Carnegie, only two schools had kept their Chinese programs running (Zhou 2011).

From 1982 to 1992, the Dodge Foundation provided seed money for about 60 high schools to build their Chinese programs, hire Chinese language teachers, and develop a Chinese textbook *The Chinese Primer* (Hann 2007; Zhou 2011). In addition, the Chinese initiative was introduced to 11 elementary schools in New Jersey (Wang 2010). The Dodge Foundation also provided funding to set up a Secondary School Chinese Language Center at Princeton University, which ceased to exist in 2002. These efforts by the Dodge Foundation played such an important role in CFL education in the U.S. that some scholars (e.g., Hann 2007) attributed more recent development of CFL to its initiatives. Yet it is unfortunate that by 2000, only a few programs supported by the foundation were still in operation.

During this period, the U.S. federal government passed the National Security Education Act (NSEA) of 1991, which aimed to "educate American citizens to understand foreign cultures, to strength American economic competitiveness, and to enhance international cooperation and security" (Zhou 2011, p. 140). It also started to provide funding to support foreign language education in the U.S. through the enactment of the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) in 1980 and 1990 (Wang 2010). In its reauthorization in 1992, Chinese was identified as one of the critical languages that could receive funding. However, funding for CFL education was too limited and too competitive under FLAP (Wang 2010). Meanwhile, based on NSEA legislation, the National Security Education Program (NSEP) was created to address the national need for experts in critical languages and regions through establishing a strategic partnership between the national security community and higher education. "NSEP is one of the most significant efforts in international education" (NSEP 2015).

While CFL gained a foothold in a small number of elementary and secondary schools during this period, CFL in U.S. higher education was growing and expanding slowly. In the 1970s, two important political events encouraged the growth of CFL in the U.S., including CFL in higher education. One was Ping Pong Diplomacy and the subsequent establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China. The other was China's resumption of membership in the United Nations, along with the Chinese language being recognized as one of the official languages for the UN. Influenced by these two events, the number of higher education institutions that offered Chinese programs and/or classes increased to 260 in 39 states by 1973, and by 1990, this number rose to 486 (Beijing Language Institute 1990). Student enrollment increased from 6,238 in 1970 to 19,490 in 1990 (Furman et al. 2007). Since then, CFL in U.S. higher education has expanded steadily.

According to Wang (2010), CFL enjoyed a small growth in both K-12 and higher education as a "less commonly taught foreign language" during this period (Wang 2010, p. 16). Toward the end of this period, several other important players joined the effort to promote CFL education in the U.S., which included professional organizations, Chinese heritage school organizations, and the Chinese government. The quantity and quality of instructional materials for college level learners also

increased. A number of new assessment instruments were developed. They include *SAT II with Listening* developed by ETS; the *Oral Proficiency Interview* by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, and *Chinese Proficiency Tests* and the *Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview* by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Wang 2010).

4.4 Period Four: The Rapid Expansion Years (2000 to Present)

Entering the twenty-first century, the U.S. government realized that linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge are critical for America to maintain its role as a world leader. Also prompted by the terrorist attack on 9/11 in 2001, the U.S. federal government determined to increase its efforts to strengthen foreign language education in the country, especially those languages that are considered critical to U.S. national security, one of which is the Chinese language (Wang 2010; Zhou 2011). Since then, CFL has been given unprecedented attention and support in the U.S.

In 2004, the National Security Education Act of 1991 was amended to expand financial support to heritage language learners for the purpose of promoting national security (Zhou 2011). In 2005, the National Security Education Program (NSEP) started the Chinese K-16 Pipeline Project and served as the prototype for all critical languages.

In 2006, the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI) was launched. This is one of the most important government efforts aimed at promoting language education of critical languages, including Chinese. Among the core NSLI initiatives are STARTALK, Foreign Language Assistance Programs (FLAP), NSLI-Youth (NSLI-Y), the Language Flagship Program of the National Security Education Program (NSEP), and the pilot National Language Corps under NSEP.

One of the most successful NSLI programs is STARTALK, which is administered through the National Foreign Language Center at the University of Maryland. It provides engaging summer programs for K-16 students and professional development for teachers that promotes learning, speaking, and teaching critical need foreign languages. A majority of its annual programs have been Chinese. Because the programs are thoughtfully planned and well executed, STARTALK has enjoyed huge success in the promotion of CFL education in the United States. As of 2013, STARTALK had worked with more than 35,000 students in 48 states (Rivers et al. 2013, cited in Everson, this volume).

Meanwhile, other players at various levels joined the cause to promote CFL education in the U.S. Motivated by economic considerations, many state and local municipal governments, as well as private organizations, have also pushed to add Chinese to its K-12 school curriculum. Since the establishment of the first Chinese immersion school in 1981 in San Francisco, the number has grown to 147 in the United States (Weise 2013).

In addition, as an important player in the growth of CFL, the College Board created the Advanced Placement Course (AP) in Chinese Language and Culture in

2003. In 2004, 2,400 U.S. high schools indicated their interest in offering AP Chinese courses (College Board 2006). Moreover, the College Board works with Hanban to bring Chinese teachers from China to the U.S. to help with its Chinese instruction. Hanban also set up Confucius Institutes and Classrooms around the world to promote the teaching and learning of Chinese language and culture internationally by providing financial and instructional resources, as well as professional development opportunities for K-20 administrators and teachers. The U.S. has the largest number of Confucius Institutes and classes in the world, with a total of 542 by 2014 (Xu 2014). Curriculum wise, a growing number of programs at all levels have tried to align themselves with the Standards for Foreign Language Learning by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), which are known as the 5C standards (i.e., communication, culture, connections, comparison, and communities) (ACTFL n.d.). In terms of instructional materials, a greater variety of materials are available from different sources, both paper and digital. Instructional practices are varied, ranging from communicative and situation-based learning to more traditional skill and drill practices.

Because of joint efforts from multiple players, CFL has been experiencing its most rapid expansion since the beginning of the new millennium. The enrollment in Chinese language programs and courses in U.S. higher education increased from 19,490 in 1990 to 51,582 in 2006 (Furman et al. 2007). In 2013, the enrollment rose to 61,055, and Chinese was also one of the few less commonly taught languages that had increased enrollment from 2009 to 2013 (Goldburg et al. 2015). The percentage of elementary and secondary schools that offer Chinese also rose – from 0.3 % in 1997 to 3 % in 2008 for elementary schools, and from 1 % in 1997 to 4 % in 2008 (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011). According to Robelen (2010), over 60,000 K-12 students are currently taking Chinese courses in the United States. This trend will most likely continue, but more recent official numbers of K-12 CFL learners and/or programs are not available in the literature.

5 Critical Understandings of the Historical Development of CFL in the Two Countries

Several critical understandings can be drawn from this review of the historical development of CFL in China and the United States. Commonalities and unique differences exist in terms of how CFL has developed and evolved in both countries.

Language education is subjected to political, social, and cultural influences and is shaped by the changes in these forces. Such a view has been supported in the case of English as a foreign language education in China (Ruan and Leung 2012), and it equally applies to foreign language education, including CFL education. In both China and the U.S., the ups and downs in CFL education have been closely tied to various factors in the political, social, and cultural realms.

A comparison of CFL histories in both countries reveals that CFL education originated spontaneously at the grassroots level and/or by individuals/groups to meet their particular and practical needs instead of being initiated by governments or political forces. These needs were often motivated and driven by economic, political, and religious purposes, and CFL was used as a means to achieve their goals. For example, CFL emerged in ancient China for business, political relationship building, and spreading Buddhism in China. In the U.S., CFL began because of the needs of business, politics, and promoting Christianity in China. Early development of CFL was closely related to sinology, but CFL has also evolved over time to become an independent discipline, especially in the later part of the twentieth century in both countries.

An interesting finding from this historical review also points to the huge impact religion had on the history of CFL education. In both countries, religion played a very important and complicated role in the development of CFL and has intertwined with other drives and forces involved in CFL. The overview above shows that Buddhism was once one of the key factors in the emergence and growth of CFL in China for an extended period of time. Buddhism not only made great contributions to CFL and the Chinese language, but also eventually became integrated into Chinese culture. The development of Christianity in China contributed greatly to CFL and sinology around the world. However, when the Pope and the Church interfered and tried to prioritize Christianity over Chinese ideology and tradition in the Qing Dynasty, the struggle nearly devastated CFL development in China. In the U.S., the early development of CFL education was fueled by the demand of Christian missionaries who wanted to learn Chinese for the purpose of spreading Christianity more effectively in China. Some of these missionaries also became important players in CFL education and founders of American sinology upon their return from China to the U.S. Religion has interacted and/or competed with ideological and political forces to shape the direction of CFL in both countries.

Political factors and government language policies may have had the most significant impact on the status and development of CFL, for good or for bad. In China, the hostile political environment during the Cultural Revolution caused CFL to almost come to a halt while policies aimed at internationalizing the Chinese language implemented by the Chinese government to promote CFL have enabled the rapid expansion of the Chinese language around the world in the twenty-first century. In the United States, CFL witnessed very slow progress due to limited government support until the turn of the century when the U.S. government realized the important role of CFL education in preparing world leaders and protecting national security, so CFL education began to be promoted.

Our inquiry into the historical development of CFL in both countries also illustrates the soundness of the ecological perspective proposed by Hornberger (2003) and Wang (2010). Multiple factors in language ecology can interact to dramatically shape the direction and status of CFL education in a given period in each country. Therefore, an ecological and holistic perspective is necessary to ensure the healthy and sustained development in both countries. Efforts from all areas should be coordinated and aligned carefully to maximize the growth potential of CFL education.

On the other hand, this review also suggests that the ecological perspective needs to attend to both the local and the global language environment. In this global age, factors in the global context can also have a strong impact on the growth of CFL education in either country.

6 Implications for the Future of CFL Development in the Two Countries

In the foreseeable future, the governments of both countries will most likely continue their efforts to further strengthen CFL education, but for different purposes. The Chinese government would like to globalize the Chinese language and promote Chinese culture in China and abroad. A major motive behind such support for CFL education is to demonstrate China's soft power and claim its role on the world stage. For the United States, the promotion of CFL education is driven by considerations for economic opportunities and national security concerns. Even though the motives are different, it is to the mutual benefit of the two governments to join forces to promote CFL education in both countries. However, caution has to be taken because the different drives and forces may compete and run into conflict, which could adversely affect CFL education. Thus, different factors and forces should be taken into consideration and balanced when policies for CFL are being made.

Research is needed to further support the development of CFL as a field. In China, CFL scholars and educators have realized the importance of discipline building, including the construction of disciplinary discourse, CFL relevant theories, and instructional pedagogies grounded in a coherent CFL theory and appropriate for foreign learners who go to China to study Chinese. In the United States, a similar need exists. In particular, so far, CFL theories are usually based on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories, which are developed mainly out of theories of ESL acquisition in North American contexts. Theories and pedagogical practices appropriate for CFL in both Chinese and U.S. contexts are called for and are much needed.

In the United States, even though the U.S. government has increased its support for CFL education, the Chinese language is still one of its many foreign languages and may have a long way to go before it becomes a popular choice for a primary foreign language. In particular, much of the motivation behind the current expansion of Chinese language education is tied to practical and utilitarian purposes. Unless China can continue its past track record of economic expansion and growth, there could be a reduced interest in CFL. In addition, the growth of CFL will also depend on the diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China. Therefore, in order to sustain the current growth of CFL in China, much work needs to be done to divert learners' attention to the cognitive and cultural gains of learning Chinese as a foreign language.

This historical review finds it necessary to extend Cooper's (1989) framework to include both top-down and bottom-up processes of language policy and planning. The original intention of Cooper's framework aimed at analyzing top-down, high-

level forces of policy making and implementation processes. Yet this review clearly shows the power of grassroots initiatives and individuals in changing the course of the development of CFL education.

According to Cooper (1989), all language teaching is inherently political. Political intervention has been shown to be critical to changing the scene in foreign language education. Policies and government initiatives have had a strong effect on the development of CFL. The governments in both countries and language policies have played critical roles in promoting CFL. However, it is also crucial how the field of CFL implements the policies and meets the needs of CFL learners in a changing world because language policies can be carried out in ways that are different than designed (Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Ramanathan and Morgan 2007), either positively or negatively. CFL policies may change and affect CFL development (Xu 2008), and poor implementation of CFL policies could more likely than not undermine CFL development in the future. Therefore, it is important for the field of CFL to consider critical issues, such as infrastructure development, teacher training and professional development, and instructional practices that are communicative-based and promote active and meaningful student learning.

It is very encouraging that CFL has been developing unprecedentedly in the two countries and around the world, but such precious opportunities for CFL may be lost if challenges are not addressed. This historical review produces important insights and also reveals that more work needs to be done to further support CFL development in higher education and K-12 schools, so CFL is able to meet the challenges ahead. In particular, without a solid CFL infrastructure, the fast development of CFL cannot be sustained. Meanwhile, more empirical research is needed so CFL can grow into a complete and strong discipline, which will in turn contribute to and facilitate long-term development of CFL in both countries and around the world. Finally, it is important that efforts and various forces in language planning and policy regarding CFL in the home country and the host country should be coordinated so the spread of Chinese as a foreign language can be maximized.

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Chinese Government Policies and Initiatives on the International Popularization of Chinese: An Economics of Language Perspective

Shuai Li and Jianqin Wang

Abstract The goal of this chapter is twofold: (1) to introduce the Chinese government's current policies and initiatives for the international popularization of the Chinese language, and (2) to reflect upon the adequacy of the policies and initiatives from the perspective of economics of language. Taking the widely discussed 3-T Issue (i.e., shortages of qualified teachers, appropriate teaching methods, and suitable teaching materials) as an example for analysis, the authors argue that conceptualizing and conducting the international popularization of Chinese as a government-led public welfare project, as implicitly assumed in current policies and initiatives, is unlikely to address the issue effectively. Chinese policy makers should consider alternative models and approaches to better facilitate the internationalization of the Chinese language.

Keywords Chinese government policies and initiatives • International popularization of Chinese • Economics of language perspective • Internationalization of the Chinese language • Language popularization strategies • The 3-T issue • International spread of Chinese • International education of Chinese • Language and economics • Educational resources/materials development • Government programs

1 Introduction

Over the past three decades, China's increasing global influence has generated world-wide interest in Chinese language teaching and learning. It is estimated by the Office of Chinese Language Council International (a.k.a. Hanban/汉办), a

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government-sponsored public institution for the international popularization of Chinese language and culture, that there are over 100 million learners of Chinese around the world (Sustained "Chinese Heat" 2014). In response to this unprecedented global need, the Chinese government has implemented since the early 2000s a set of new policies and initiatives to facilitate the internationalization of the Chinese language. These policies and initiatives reflect a major shift of focus in China's language popularization strategies: from "inviting in" (i.e., focusing on teaching Chinese to international students in China) to "going abroad" (i.e., assisting overseas learners to study and use Chinese) (Jin 2006; Wu 2010; Xu 2006, 2007; Zhang 2005).

Today, as we review the impact of this strategic shift in policy focus, it can be said that much has been achieved. Of particular note is the fast development of the Confucius Institute network around the world. By the end of 2013, over 1,000 Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms in 120 countries/regions have been established. The Chinese government has sponsored a range of initiatives in this process. For example, according to Hanban's (2012) annual report, in 2012 alone it spent $396 million on the Confucius Institute network, provided funding to send 11,000 teachers and volunteer instructors to teach Chinese in 132 countries or regions, and sponsored or organized teacher professional development programs for 11,527 in-service instructors abroad and 6,629 overseas instructors in China. In spite of the large-scale investment over the years, however, the international popularization of Chinese remains much constrained by a number of factors, the most notable being a shortage of qualified teachers, appropriate teaching methods, and suitable teaching materials (hence the 3-T issue) (e.g., Hanban 2013; Li and Tucker 2013; Starr 2009; Wan 2009; Xu and Zheng 2011).

Over the past decade, issues like those mentioned above have typically been discussed within the realm of teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language, with topics such as how to better prepare teachers, improve instructional methods, and develop suitable teaching materials (Wang 2010). While these discussions have undoubtedly alleviated the severity of the issues within the framework of existing policies, it is also helpful to reflect upon the policies and the related initiatives from multiple perspectives beyond teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language, so as to gain a deeper understanding of the issues that have constrained the international popularization of Chinese. Theories in the field known as economics of language (or economics and language) can offer one such perspective, as the field "uses economic theory, principles and methods to study language and speech acts, considered as widespread social and economic phenomena" (Zhang and Grenier 2013, p. 219). Although this theoretical perspective has been applied to research on language policy and planning (for a recent review, see Zhang and Grenier 2013), discussions on the international popularization of Chinese within this theoretical framework have been limited (e.g., Lu and Wang 2011; Lu and Zheng 2014; Wang 2010). This chapter thus aims to introduce and review the Chinese government's policies and initiatives for the international popularization of Chinese from an economics of language perspective.

In the following, we first provide definitions of the various terms used in the literature on the international popularization of Chinese. Then, we introduce the theoretical framework of economics of language and discuss its application to research on the international popularization of national languages. Lastly, we introduce the Chinese government's policies and initiatives for globalizing the Chinese language, which provides the basis for our discussion of its limitations from the economics of language perspective.

2 Terms and Definitions

Several related terms have appeared in the literature on China's international popularization of its national language. These terms include: "international popularization of Chinese" (汉语国际推广), "international spread of Chinese" (汉语国际传播), "international education of Chinese" (国际汉语教育 or 汉语国际教育), "international teaching and learning of Chinese" (国际汉语教学). These terms, along with the traditional label describing an academic field, "teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language" (对外汉语教学), have not always been used consistently in the literature. Hence, although these terms are related to each other, it is important to define and distinguish them in order to avoid confusion (Cui 2010; Wu 2010).

In this chapter, we primarily follow the definitions proposed by Wu (2010). To start, the term *international popularization of Chinese* (汉语国际推广) refers to actions taken by China to globally promote the teaching, learning, and use of the Chinese language. This term is thus appropriate for discussing the Chinese government's policies and initiatives. *International spread of Chinese* (汉语国际传播), on the other hand, is a term that can both reflect the phenomenon of the globalization of the Chinese language and be used as a label for the field of research on the phenomenon. Finally, *international teaching and learning of Chinese* (国际汉语教学) serves as the label for the interdisciplinary field of international teaching and research on the Chinese language. While there has been some controversy over whether it is better to replace this term with *international education of Chinese* (国际汉语教育, or 汉语国际教育), the two terms are considered interchangeable here. Finally, having its roots in linguistics and applied linguistics, *international teaching and learning of Chinese* (国际汉语教学) mainly consists of research on the *international spread of Chinese* (汉语国际传播) and research on *teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language* (对外汉语教学). In this sense, *international teaching and learning of Chinese* (国际汉语教学) is a development of the field traditionally known as *teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language* (对外汉语教学).[1]

[1] Cui (2010), however, defines these two terms mainly based on a geographical judgment. He uses the term *teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language* (对外汉语教学) to refer to the activities involved in the teaching and learning of Chinese in China, and reserves the term *international education of Chinese* (汉语国际教育) to mean the teaching and learning activities outside China.

3 Language and Economics

Language is closely related to economic activities. On one hand, virtually all economic activities need to be conducted with language as the medium for communication. On the other hand, language-related industries (e.g., language education, cultural industry) are by themselves important components of national and global economic systems. The notion that language bears economic characteristics, such as value, utility, and cost and benefit, was first proposed by Marschak (1965) more than six decades ago. Over time, the field commonly known as *economics of language* has been informed by human capital theory and education economics (Ning 2006; Zhang and Grenier 2013). Language skills are considered a kind of human capital, and language learning a kind of economic investment for obtaining such human capital (Grenier 1982; Vaillancourt 1980). Hence, individual's decisions on foreign/second language learning can be analyzed from an economic perspective. Beyond the level of individuals, language planning and policy at the national level can be and have been understood from the same perspective as well (e.g., Grin 1999; Grin et al. 2011). Commenting specifically on the effort by governments around the world to facilitate the international spread of their national languages, Ning (2006) argued that such effort can bring considerable political, economic, and cultural benefits to nations, thereby contributing to national development.

An economic analysis of the policies and initiatives for the international popularization of national languages entails an understanding of their economic properties. According to Mankiw (2008, p. 226), the various goods in our economy can be classified based on two criteria: excludability (i.e., whether a person can be prevented from using the goods) and rivalry (i.e., whether one person's use of the goods diminishes another person's use of them). The interaction of the two criteria leads to four categories: (a) public goods that are non-excludable and non-rival, such as national defense and uncongested non-toll roads; (b) private goods that are both excludable and rival, such as personal computers and congested toll roads; (c) common resources that are non-excludable but rival, such as clean air and congested non-toll roads; and (d) natural monopolies that are excludable but non-rival, such as cable TV and uncongested toll roads. Of the four categories, common resources and natural monopolies are typically known as quasi-public goods, which are either non-excludable or non-rival. Because of the unique economic characteristics of the various goods mentioned above, their provision can and should be made through different channels (e.g., governments, non-profit organizations, and enterprises) to ensure efficiency in supply. For example, national defense as a typical kind of public goods should be the responsibility of governments, whereas private goods, such as ice cream and personal clothing, are usually provided by enterprises. Quasi-public goods, such as municipal water and public school education, however, are commonly supplied by non-profit organizations and/or governments.

With the above understanding, the international popularization of national languages falls into the category of public goods (Ning 2006; Wang 2010). This is

because one nation's effort in globalizing its national language cannot prevent other nations from making similar efforts (therefore non-excludable), nor can it diminish these other nations' efforts in this regard (therefore non-rival). As such, the international popularization of national language(s) should typically be the responsibility of the national government. However, the products and services provided for achieving this goal are mostly quasi-public goods (e.g., teachers, proficiency tests) and/or private goods (e.g., audio-visual materials for language learning, specialized language teaching programs, books), which can and should be provided by non-profit organizations and/or enterprises (Lu and Wang 2011; Lu and Zheng 2014).

The above discussions on the relationship between language and economics, and on the notion of public, quasi-public, and private goods and their provision will serve as the theoretical basis for reviewing the current policies and initiatives of the Chinese government for the international popularization of Chinese. These policies and initiatives are introduced below.

4 International Popularization of Chinese: Current Policies and Initiatives

4.1 Relevant Government Institutions

Before the establishment of the National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (国家对外汉语领导小组办公室), later renamed the Office of Chinese Language Council International (国家汉语推广领导小组办公室) or Hanban/Confucius Institute Headquarters (汉办/孔子学院总部), the governmental institution responsible for planning the teaching and learning of Chinese as a foreign/second language was the Department of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language and Expert Coordination Affairs (对外汉语教学与专家工作处). Hanban was founded in 1987 as a government sponsored non-profit public institution (affiliated with the Ministry of Education). Since then, it has taken over the task of promoting the teaching and learning of Chinese as a foreign/second language both at home and abroad. Meanwhile, several other government institutions also share similar responsibilities, albeit with more specialized focus. For example, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council (国务院侨务办公室, founded in 1949) focuses mainly on the teaching and learning of Chinese as a heritage language in overseas Chinese communities, while the Ministry of Culture organizes activities and sponsors events to promote Chinese culture, of which language is a core component. The China Scholarship Council (国家留学基金管理委员会), founded in 1996 and affiliated with the Ministry of Education, is responsible for managing governmental scholarships to fund international students who study in China. Among the above-mentioned institutions, Hanban plays the most pivotal role in the international popularization of Chinese today.

4.2 A Shift in Policy Focus

The field of teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language started in 1950 (for a chronology of milestone developments in the field, see Chapter 1, "Historical Overview of Chinese Language Education for Speakers of Other Languages in China and the United States," in this book and also works by scholars studying the history of CFL, such as Cheng 2005; Lu and Zhao 2011; Zhang 2013). Since its inception, this field has been characterized by an international perspective, as there have been international students coming to China, as well as Chinese instructors teaching abroad. However, up to the early 2000s, the focus of the relevant policies had been on establishing and developing the academic field of teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language that primarily caters to international students coming to study in China.

A shift in policy focus from domestic to international Chinese teaching and learning occurred in the early 2000s and was later reinforced by a series of policy documents and initiatives. In 2003, Hanban submitted to the State Council a proposal entitled *A Plan for Developing Teaching Chinese as a Foreign/Second Language*: *2003–2007* (《对外汉语教学事业2003年至2007年发展规划》). The proposal was approved in 2004. It called for "leapfrog developments in teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language and in the international popularization of Chinese by integrating all resources and by adopting innovative measures" (Zhang 2005, p. 46). This document became the foundation of the international popularization of Chinese in the new century (Xu 2007; Zhang 2005). At the core of this proposal is the *Chinese BridgeProject* (汉语桥工程), which at that time consisted of a range of government-sponsored programs, including establishing the Confucius Institute network, developing an online resource database for teaching and learning Chinese, developing instructional materials and multimedia courseware, cultivating qualified Chinese language teachers at home and abroad, establishing national centers for teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language, fine-tuning Chinese proficiency tests, organizing World Chinese Conferences and "Chinese Bridge" Chinese proficiency competitions, establishing the Chinese Bridge Foundation, and providing Chinese books and other instructional resources to overseas libraries. The *Chinese Bridge Project* has evolved over the years, and its various programs today are primarily organized and offered through the Confucius Institute network.

Following the 2003 proposal, several additional official documents have provided renewed policy support for the international popularization of Chinese (Zhang 2013). In 2006, the General Office of the State Council (国务院办公厅) issued a document jointly prepared by the Ministry of Education and 11 other ministries and commissions entitled *Suggestions for Enhancing the Work in the International Popularization of Chinese* (《关于加强汉语国际推广工作的若干意见》). Following the requirement of this policy document, Hanban started in the same year to work with a selection of institutions of higher education to establish National Bases for International Popularization of Chinese (汉语国际推广基地).

In 2010, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued a document entitled *An Outline of the Medium-and-Long-Term Plan for National Educational Reform and Development* (*2010–2020*) (《国

家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要(2010–2020年)》), which reaffirms government support for the work on the international popularization of the Chinese language and underscores the need for improving the quality of the services provided by the Confucius Institute network. In the same year, the Ministry of Education and the State Language and Letters Committee (国家语言文字委员会) jointly issued a document entitled *An Outline of the Medium-and-Long-Term Plan for National Language and Letters Reform and Development* (*2010–2020*) (《国家中长期语言文字事业改革和发展规划纲要(2010–2020年)》), which highlighted the importance of taking an active role in popularizing Chinese language and culture around the world in order to show an international image of contemporary China characterized by peace and development, as well as to enhance the world's understanding of and trust in China.

More recently, Hanban (2013) publicized a document entitled *A Plan for Developing the Confucius Institute Network* (*2012–2020*) (《孔子学院发展规划(2012–2020年)》). As stated in this document, Hanban expects the Confucius Institute network to meet the needs of China's public diplomacy and humanitarian exchange. This includes serving as a comprehensive platform for intercultural communication, contributing to the internationalization of Chinese language and culture, and nurturing friendly relationships between China and the world. The plan also sets goals for future development. By 2015, Hanban plans to establish 500 Confucius Institutes and 1,000 Confucius Classrooms with 1.5 million students, to recruit and prepare 50,000 qualified full-time and part-time instructors, and to develop technology-assisted Confucius Institutes (e.g., online, radio, and TV-based). By 2020, Hanban aims to have completed the construction of a system for international popularization of Chinese, which includes the global presence of Confucius Institutes/Classrooms, the implementation of unified quality standards for teaching, testing, and teacher education, the need-based supply of qualified teachers and instructional materials, and the improvement and refinement of collaboration mechanisms between China and other nations, as well as between government and non-government institutions. As the document reveals, Hanban hopes the Chinese language will become one of the most widely studied and used languages around the world in the foreseeable future of 2020.

4.3 Current Initiatives

The policies outlined in the above-mentioned documents have materialized in the form of government-sponsored initiatives, which are briefly summarized below:

4.3.1 Confucius Institute Network

This is a non-profit educational organization sponsored and supervised by Hanban. It is China's key platform for the international popularization of Chinese. The network operates via two models: Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms.

Confucius Institutes/Classrooms are typically collaborative entities between Hanban, a host school in the target country/region, and a partner school in China. Confucius Institutes are typically hosted in institutions of higher education, and they provide a broad range of educational services (e.g., language teaching, teacher training, consultation services, administering Chinese proficiency tests, and conducting language and cultural exchange). Confucius Classrooms, on the other hand, are mainly hosted in primary and secondary schools with a major focus on facilitating Chinese language and culture education at the K-12 level. While Confucius Classrooms can operate independently, sometimes several Confucius Classrooms are managed by one Confucius Institute in the same region. By the end of 2013, there were 440 Confucius Institutes and 646 Confucius Classrooms in 120 countries/regions.[2] In 2012, the Confucius Institute network reported to have offered 34,000 classes with an enrollment of 655,000 students; moreover, about 16,000 cultural events were organized, which attracted 9.46 million participants (Hanban 2012).

4.3.2 Educational Resources/Materials Development

Sponsoring the development of educational resources and materials is a major step taken by Hanban to address the shortage of appropriate teaching materials. Efforts to this end include creating online resource databases and publishing standards and guidelines (detailed below).

- Confucius Institute Online (http://www.chinesecio.com): This is a comprehensive online platform for learners to study and experience Chinese language and culture, for teachers to obtain instructional resources, and for interested users to search for information about China, Chinese society, and Chinese culture. In 2012, the platform was available in 46 languages with 596,000 registered users from 124 countries/regions, and it scored a total of 94 million visits (Hanban2012).
- *Guidelines for Chinese Language Teaching Materials Development* (国际汉语教材编写指南) is an online resource aimed at providing materials and tools for teachers and textbook compilers to develop their own teaching materials. A trial version of the online resource was launched on April 5, 2014 (http://www.clt-guides.com/main.jsp).
- *International Curriculum for Chinese Language Education* (《国际汉语教学通用课程大纲》) was published in 2008 and is available in 45 languages. This international curriculum serves as a reference for conducting overseas Chinese language teaching. The curriculum was revised and updated in 2013.
- *International Standards for Chinese Language Teachers* (《国际汉语教师标准》) was first published in 2007. These standards describe the necessary knowledge, competencies, and qualifications of instructors for international Chinese teaching. In 2012, a revised version of the standards was published and has since been implemented.

[2] Information obtained from Hanban's official website. Retrieved June 19, 2014, from http://www.hanban.edu.cn/confuciousinstitutes/node_10961.htm.

4.3.3 Teacher Education and Training

In response to the call for a large number of qualified instructors equipped with appropriate teaching methods, Hanban has sponsored a wide range of programs in teacher education and training. The major programs are listed below in Table 1.

4.3.4 Volunteer Teachers Programs

Hanban sponsors two volunteer teacher programs. The first one, Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program, recruits and funds qualified volunteer instructors from China to teach Chinese abroad. According to Hanban (2012), 3,981 volunteer teachers were assigned to teach in 90 countries/regions in 2012 through this program. The second one, Overseas Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program, aims to recruit qualified foreign citizens and overseas Chinese people to teach in target countries/regions.

4.3.5 Chinese Proficiency Tests

Hanban has sponsored the development of four standardized Chinese proficiency tests. These tests include: (a) the New HSK Test (新汉语水平考试), which is a test of general proficiency for adult learners of Chinese; (b) Youth Chinese Test (中小学生汉语考试), which is a proficiency test specifically developed for young learners; (c) HSK Speaking Test (汉语水平口语考试), which is a test for assessing Chinese speaking skill, and (d) Business Chinese Test (商务汉语考试), which is a test assessing professional use of Chinese. In 2012, these four tests attracted about 334,000 test takers, and there were 640 test sites in 101 countries (Hanban 2012).

4.3.6 China Research Programs

Hanban sponsors two programs to facilitate academic collaboration and exchange in humanities and social sciences between China and the world.

- Confucius China Studies Program (孔子新汉学计划). Launched in 2012, this program consists of six subprograms, including the Joint Research Ph.D. Fellowship, Ph.D. in China Fellowship, Understanding China Fellowship, Young Leaders Fellowship, International Conference Grant, and Publication Grant.
- Scholar's Visit to China Program (外国汉学研究者访华计划). This program provides funding for overseas senior sinologists to visit China for research (for up to 3 months).

Table 1 Major programs for teacher education/training

Programs	Descriptions
Joint Training Program for Localizing Chinese Teachers Abroad (外国本土化汉语教师培养项目)	This program aims to facilitate the localization of Chinese language teachers in target countries/regions through joint training programs between Chinese and overseas universities. The joint training programs provide funding to overseas Chinese majors (juniors and/or seniors), enabling them to study and complete their degrees in China. As of 2010, there were six joint training programs with collaborating universities in Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines.[a]
M.A. in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages (MATCSOL) (汉语国际教育硕士专业学位)	First launched in 2007, this M.A. program is designed specifically for the international teaching of Chinese. As of 2013, there were 82 institutions of higher education in China offering this program, and 3,000 graduates were expected to receive the degree that year (Zhang 2013).
Advanced Study and Training Program for Overseas Chinese Teachers (外国汉语教师来华研修项目)	This program funds overseas inservice teachers to receive short-term (typically 1–4 weeks) professional development on teaching Chinese in China. The content of the training can be adapted to instructors' needs.
Expert Training Abroad Program (汉语教学专家组赴国外培训项目)	This program funds domain experts from China to travel abroad to provide professional development training to local Chinese teachers.
Government-sponsored Teacher Program (国家公派汉语教师项目)	This program is designed to recruit in-service teachers from primary, secondary, and tertiary schools in China to teach Chinese abroad. According to Hanban (2012), there were 4,001 instructors assigned to teach in 128 countries/regions through this program in 2012.
Head Teacher Position (核心教师)	This program provides funding to hire long-term instructors for eligible Confucius Institutes (i.e., with a minimum of 2 years of operation and with at least 200 registered students).
Development of National Bases	Hanban has sponsored the establishment and development of two types of bases. The first type refers to National Bases for the International Popularization of Chinese (汉语国际推广基地). These bases are affiliated with universities and focus on developing and disseminating resources and experiences. Since 2006, 19 such national bases have been established. The second type refers to the Elementary and Secondary School Bases for the International Popularization of Chinese (汉语国际推广中小学基地). Bases of this kind are affiliated with primary and/or secondary schools, and are responsible for supporting overseas partner schools in offering Chinese classes, establishing Confucius Classrooms abroad, conducting teacher/volunteer training, serving as internship sites for MATCSOL students, and organizing summer camps for international students. Currently, there are 107 bases of this kind.[b]

[a]Information obtained from Hanban's official website. Retrieved from http://www.hanban.org/teachers/article/2010-06/09/content_140268.htm

[b]Information obtained from Hanban's official website. Retrieved from http://www.hanban.org/teachers/node_7462.htm

4.3.7 Confucius Institute Scholarship Programs (孔子学院奖学金)

Launched in 2009, this scholarship mechanism aims to fund overseas learners of Chinese to study language and/or to pursue degrees in China. It provides funding for five types of learning programs: (a) M.A. in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages (MTSCOL), (b) One-year language and culture study plus MTSCOL, (c) B.A. in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages (BTCSOL), (d) One-year language and culture study, and (e) One-semester language and culture study. According to Hanban's annual report, in 2012 these scholarship programs funded 6,417 international students, among whom 3,632 were newly recruited from 116 countries/regions; moreover, 824 students were funded to study in the MTSCOL program.

4.3.8 "Chinese Bridge" Chinese Proficiency Competitions and Summer Camps ("汉语桥"中文比赛及夏令营)

Hanban sponsors three separate Chinese proficiency contests for overseas college students (first launched in 2002), for overseas secondary school students (first launched in 2008), and for all people learning Chinese as a foreign/second language around the world (first launched in 2014). In addition, Hanban has also been organizing summer camps for middle school students since 2007.

4.3.9 Chinese Bridge for Foreign Schools Program ("汉语桥"外国中小学校长访华之旅)

This program is designed to invite overseas educators to a week-long trip to China from schools that either offer Chinese classes or are interested in doing so. The goal is to facilitate the invitees' understanding of the Chinese educational system as well as to promote cooperation between Chinese and overseas schools. According to Hanban (2012), 13,501 government officials, university presidents, school principals, teachers, and students were invited to visit China and/or participate in the Chinese Bridge summer camps through this program in 2012.

5 A Perspective from the Economics of Language

Two points can be made based on the above summaries of policies and initiatives. First, the international popularization of Chinese is a national policy of China that can be expected to last and continue to develop in the future. Second, since its inception the international popularization of Chinese has been conducted mainly as a public welfare project with collaborators being almost exclusively government institutions (e.g., Ministry of Education), a government-sponsored non-profit public

institution (Hanban), and government-funded public educational institutions. In fact, Hanban has become the primary (and to a certain extent the exclusive) planner and sponsor of the international popularization of Chinese, as shown by the wide range of initiatives under its supervision. From an economics of language perspective, because many services and products offered in the process of the international popularization of Chinese are quasi-public goods (e.g., teachers, overseas language teaching, and language testing), to a certain extent it makes sense for Hanban and other government-sponsored institutions to serve as important providers of such goods and services.

This does not mean, however, that government investment and sponsorship should be the only (and monopolistic) channel for providing quasi-public goods for the international popularization of Chinese. Moreover, the supply of private goods – such as audio-visual learning products, supplementary teaching, and learning materials – does not and should not have to be the responsibility of the government and government-sponsored institutions. Rather, enterprises are encouraged to play an important role as well. Because the needs of overseas learners and teachers are highly individualized and localized, relying on a government-sponsored platform as the only channel for providing language teaching and learning services/products is unlikely to satisfy such diverse needs. In fact, when it comes to the widely discussed 3-T issue, the problem of the existing demand-and-supply chain of Chinese language teaching and learning services/products becomes apparent.

It is necessary to distinguish the 3 Ts from the 3-T Issue. As Wang (2010) described, academic research and discussions of the 3 Ts (e.g., knowledge and competency structure of qualified teachers, theories and principles for compiling textbooks, and development of teaching approaches) have been at the core of the field of teaching Chinese as a foreign/second language since its inception. Before the shift of policy focus, the 3 Ts were not an issue because the government and government-sponsored institutions were able to meet the needs of the 3 Ts for teaching international students in China. Moreover, with the fast increase in the number of international students coming to China during the past decade (China Association for International Education, n.d.), Chinese language teaching and learning services/products in the form of private goods offered by enterprises have also emerged (Lu and Wang 2011). In other words, there have been multiple supply channels that work complementarily to meet the increasingly diverse learning needs of international students in China. The supply of language teaching and learning services/products is efficient for the domestic market.

The same cannot be said for the overseas market, however. The 3 Ts became a serious issue shortly after the shift of policy focus because of the relatively low efficacy of the monopolistic government-sponsored platform for supplying teachers, teaching methods, and teaching materials. The efficacy issue is manifested in both quantity and quality. The quantity issue is related to the large number of overseas learners. On the demand end, an earlier estimation of Hanban predicted that there would be a shortage of four million instructors of Chinese by the end of 2010 (China Educational Newspaper 2009). On the supply end, in 2012, Hanban-sponsored programs supplied 11,000 teachers and volunteers and trained 17,756 overseas teachers. Provided that Hanban is able to realize the goal of training and

preparing 50,000 instructors each year (Hanban 2013), it would still take an unimaginably long period of time to strike a balance between demand and supply for the overseas market. Obviously, relying on Hanban-sponsored programs alone cannot efficiently solve the quantity issue in the foreseeable future. The quality issue, on the other hand, essentially reflects the gap between the highly diverse learning needs among overseas learners and the incapability on the part of government-led institutions to meet such needs. For example, despite the fact that there were already over 3,300 published textbooks in 2010,[3] a shortage of suitable textbooks for local learners has been a persistent topic of concern in many studies and reports (e.g., Du and Wang 2008; Hanban 2013; Xu and Zheng 2011; Yang 2009).

From an economics of language perspective, the quantity and quality aspects of the 3-T Issue indicate the inadequacy of the current demand-and-supply chain of quasi-public and private goods regarding the international popularization of Chinese. As Wang (2010) argued, this inadequacy is closely related to the inherent flaws in the current mechanism/institution design and resource allocation method(s) for the international popularization of Chinese. Mechanism/institution design concerns the rules of cooperation and competition among economic units. In the context of the international popularization of Chinese, it involves the rules regarding the cooperation/competition among providers of public, quasi-public, and private goods. Resource allocation methods, on the other hand, concern the provision of the products of international popularization of Chinese, namely, by whom and through what kind of channels. In theory, government should offer public goods. The providers of quasi-public goods can be government and non-profit organizations, and private goods are primarily supplied by enterprises. The three parties should work together to keep a balance between the supply and demand of goods in an efficient manner. For example, in case the government-led institutions are not able to train enough instructors to meet the local needs in overseas countries/regions due to limited resources, non-government organizations can help improve both efficiency and effectiveness of teacher training. If there is an undersupply of localized teaching materials, enterprises can work with non-government organizations to conduct surveys to learn about what is needed and to then develop appropriate materials efficiently.

The reality, however, is that Hanban plays an almost exclusive role in the supply of quasi-public and private goods in the overseas market. This kind of mechanism/institution design and resource allocation method, which highlights the role of government-led effort, is partly due to the multiple identities of Hanban. For example, on one hand, Hanban, while claiming to be a non-profit public institution, is affiliated with the Ministry of Education, and hence can be seen as representing the Chinese government; at the same time, Hanban is also in charge of profit-making enterprises providing services/products for teaching and learning Chinese (Lu and Wang 2011). Hanban is a developer, executor, and evaluator of the policies and initiatives of the international popularization of Chinese.

[3] Information obtained from the *Wenhuibao* newspaper (2012, December 24). Retrieved June 19, 2014, from http://big5.chinanews.com.cn:89/gate/big5/www.sh.chinanews.com/PageUrl/20101224924527.html

Hanban's multiple identities (i.e., semi-governmental, non-profit, profit-making, policy maker, policy executor, and policy evaluator) allow it to become an exclusive planner and sponsor of the supply of Chinese teaching and learning services/products, which, in turn, has prevented potential contributors (e.g., other non-government and non-profit organizations, independent enterprises) from providing services/products to meet the needs of the overseas learner population. The result is low efficiency in providing quasi-public and private goods for teaching/learning Chinese in the overseas market. Clearly, the 3-T Issue is a manifestation of the consequence of the monopolistic role that Hanban plays in the international popularization of Chinese. Because the current policies and initiatives all implicitly assume (and prescribe) such a role played by Hanban, unless there are major modifications at the policy level, it is likely that the 3-T Issue will continue to exist in the foreseeable future.

According to the current policies and initiative, the international popularization of Chinese has mainly been conducted following a model of a government-led public welfare project. Our discussions point to the issue of effectiveness associated with this model in the context of the global teaching and learning of Chinese. In fact, some researchers have argued for an alternative model that combines market-oriented industrialization and government-led non-industrialization approaches and have discussed the practicality of such a model (Lu and Wang 2011, 2014; Lu and Zheng 2014; Wang 2010). Concerning policy making, researchers have called for the necessity of (a) delineating the roles and responsibilities of government, non-profit organizations, and enterprises, as well as establishing a collaborative relationship between the three parties; and (b) developing policy mechanisms to allow and encourage contributions by non-profit organizations and enterprises. It is worth mentioning that Hanban (2013) recently announced a series of measures to further facilitate the international popularization of Chinese, one of which is

> to fully mobilize stakeholders from society, and to involve all interested domestic and overseas organizations to participate in and support the development of the Confucius Institute network through mechanisms such as offering tax incentive and providing funding. (Guangming Daily 2013, February 28, p. 7)

The impact and effectiveness of such measures will need to be evaluated after their actual implementation.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we first summarized the current policies and initiatives taken by the Chinese government to facilitate the international popularization of the Chinese language. Adopting an economics of language perspective, we then analyzed the 3-T Issue that has constrained the scale and quality of providing teaching and learning services/products to overseas learners of Chinese. We argue that the current model of international popularization of Chinese that relies almost exclusively on

government investment and sponsorship is not able to efficiently meet the needs of Chinese teaching and learning abroad in both quantity and quality, and that it is necessary for China's policy makers to encourage the collaborative involvement of multiple parties (e.g., government, non-profit organizations, and enterprises) in facilitating the international spread of Chinese.

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U.S. Policies and Initiatives for CFL Education

Jin'ai Sun and Roger Shouse

Abstract This chapter examines historic and recent policies aimed at expanding Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) study in American K-12 and post-secondary education. These include initiatives arising out of World War II and Cold War defense needs, academic and "critical language" initiatives since the 1960s (e.g., "100,000 Strong" and STARTALK), and recent efforts aimed at promoting cultural and linguistic understanding (e.g., Confucius Institutes). The authors describe three categories of primary purpose for Chinese language learning: (1) national defense, (2) academic study, or (3) greater public appreciation of Chinese language and culture. The chapter offers explanations on why CFL study has failed to "catch fire" in American high schools, colleges, and universities. Using emerging resistance among many academicians and institutions to Confucius Institute partnerships as an example, the authors argue that CFL expansion is impeded by adversarial perceptions of China within the American institutional mindscape. The chapter concludes with a rationale and direction for increasing American receptiveness to CFL programs and other initiatives aimed at promoting Sino-American understanding.

Keywords U.S. policies and initiatives • Social and political barriers • Stages of Chinese language learning • Sampling of American CFL programs • Language planning stages • Language learning habitat • Language migration habitat • Language planning process • Language sustainability • The Confucius Institute controversy

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1 Introduction

Although "Chinese language fever" is unlikely to spread across the United States in the near future, growing recognition exists that Chinese language capability can offer a competitive advantage to individuals seeking careers in business, politics, and many other fields. Evidence of this trend is reflected by increases over the past decade in the number of American students studying Mandarin at both the K-12 and collegiate levels (Rhodes and Pufahl 2009; Shouse and Sun 2010). Various reasons have been suggested for the rise of interest in the Chinese language, most of which focus on globalized trade, technology, and the growing collective capacity to rapidly invest, compete, and share knowledge with social and economic partners around the world.

At the individual level, Chinese language capability is said to offer a competitive advantage to those seeking careers in U.S. companies with international operations. China's growing economy, solid commercial balance, and influence within the World Trade Organization have attracted American public and private sectors to important and potentially lucrative opportunities. At the institutional level, evidence suggests that Chinese language capacity can determine the ability of companies to take advantage of these opportunities (Johanson and Vahlne 1977; Johanson and Wiedersheim-Paul 1975; Knight and Cavusgil 2004; Luostarinen 1979). Considering China's potential market of 1.3 billion consumers, more firms are likely to consider the possibilities and develop strategies for engaging in this promising market.

One might expect such conditions to prompt a major shift towards the promotion of Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) study in American educational institutions as a means of increasing the number of students learning Mandarin. One might also expect this shift to be reflected in recognition of the relatively constrained value of knowing the language. Yet, while China's global influence is expanding at a much greater rate than that of Japan, Japanese language study is currently roughly equal in popularity to that of Mandarin. And although Spanish is admittedly a critical language in the U.S., the relative abundance of Spanish speakers diminishes its competitive advantage.

As numerous studies point out, CFL opportunities and the number of American students taking advantage of these opportunities have certainly risen over the past decade (Dillon 2010). At the same time, one may wonder why such opportunities and numbers have not risen even more. A variety of loose arguments have been offered, for example, that participation is constrained by a lack of teachers skilled in the use of specialized pedagogy (Schoof 2013), as well as the perceived difficulty and unfamiliarity of Mandarin to most Americans. Yet, such arguments do not take into consideration major efforts in recent years to recruit and retain native Chinese instructors either from within the U.S. or from overseas (Dillon 2010). In addition, though Mandarin study requires serious student effort and memorization, the same is true for subjects like calculus or physics, both of which attract vastly more students than Mandarin. Putting aside economic benefits, given the fact that Mandarin is spoken by over one billion people, one might expect it to receive more attention in the American education system. Yet, while a number of opportunities and initiatives

have for more than 100 years aimed at and had some success in increasing American interest in CFL, their relative lack of impact seems worthy of deeper analysis.

This chapter addresses the above issue, first, by highlighting key private and public CFL initiatives in America over the past century. Next, it offers a theoretical framework for understanding particular social and political barriers CFL programs face. The Confucius Institute (CI) network and the resistance it has begun to face in America in recent years are used to provide examples to illustrate such barriers. Finally, the chapter offers a range of suggestions for overcoming the barriers. The general argument will be made that CFL programs have long been colored or obstructed by adversarial perceptions of "China" within the American social mindscape.

2 Chinese Language Study in the U.S.

Chinese language study in the United States has been, and may be, categorized in a wide range of overlapping ways. Zhou (2011, citing Tsu 1970) lists three historically descriptive stages of Chinese learning in the U.S. The first of these, the "initial" stage, ran from around 1870 to the 1930s and was characterized by scholarly learning, mostly in elite academic institutions (e.g., Yale University and Harvard University), aimed at preparing Christian missionaries for work in China. Instruction (primarily in Cantonese) was based first on the Wade-Giles and later the Yale Romanization system.

Chinese language instruction gradually expanded into a number of non-elite universities throughout the 1930s, preceding what Tsu referred to as the Second World War stage of CFL initiatives. These mostly consisted of military training programs aimed at providing troops with fast oral mastery for military purposes (Zhou 2011). As the war ended, and perhaps as realization grew among U.S. military and political officials regarding the likely downfall of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party (Guomindang), plans were made within the U.S. government's Defense Language Institute (DLA) to establish Chinese language teaching under the auspices of the Military Intelligence Service Language School (DLIFLC 2015). This marked the start of the "Cold War" stage of CFL, which extended into the 1960s and was reflected in the Defense Act of 1957 and the Fulbright Hayes Act of 1961. Both acts provided funding for textbooks, college fellowships, and study-abroad programs. As a result, the number of college students studying Chinese rose from 1,844 in 1960 to 6,208 in 1970 (Zhou 2011).

Since the early 1960s, and especially after the end of the Cold War, additional initiatives aimed at distributing fiscal and human capital support for Chinese language instruction at various levels of America's K-20 schools have emerged and evolved. One may thus think of these various initiatives as constituting an "infrastructure stage" in the history of American CFL teaching and learning.[1] The

[1] Though it is useful to distinguish between teaching "programs" (e.g., courses and curricula) and support "initiatives" (e.g., grants and scholarships), the two terms are used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

current infrastructure stage represents a significant shift in thought and approach. CFL study, at least through the 1960s, appears to have resulted more out of condescension and fear than a desire for individual knowledge or intercultural understanding. Of course, this must be understood against an American backdrop in which foreign language study was often viewed as a subversive activity (see, for example, Angus and Mirel 1999; Boyer 1983; Krug 1969; Szecsy 2008). Despite recent attitude shifts toward Chinese language learning, unlike instruction in other more "mainstream" foreign languages, CFL programs often tend to reflect perceptions from an earlier era.

The differing characteristics of CFL programs led us to consider an alternative, non-historical way to evaluate their quality or purpose in the U.S. First, some programs may serve primarily to *promote national interest* – national security or global political or economic power. These would likely involve focused federal efforts to develop advanced Chinese ability among a relatively small core of elite students. Second, other CFL programs may assume a more neutral quality by simply offering a more general range of students an *individual academic opportunity* to acquire a form of human capital that is relatively scarce among American citizens. These would include CFL programs typically found in various American colleges, universities, and high schools. What these two types of programs have in common is they require students to master a specified amount of Chinese capability over specified units of time – and it is understood that students who fail to perform satisfactorily are likely to be weeded out of the program.

A third category of CFL programs aims to *develop general appreciation* among a broad group of students or citizens, which in turn is expected to promote familiarity, understanding, and good feeling between two disparate nations and cultures. To the extent such programs exist, they would likely be found (or have an impact) at all levels of schooling and be far less tied to rigid structures of content coverage over time.

The three types of programs described here will of course overlap in terms of structure or result. That is, even rigid narrowly-aimed initiatives may positively affect intercultural understanding and less rigid ones may promote national security goals. But the categories are useful in understanding various CFL initiatives launched since the 1960s. Table 1 contains a descriptive sampling of American CFL programs enacted over the past eight decades. Because most of these initiatives have been widely discussed elsewhere, the purpose here is to briefly describe each program and its key purpose, based on stated goals and evidence from prior literature.

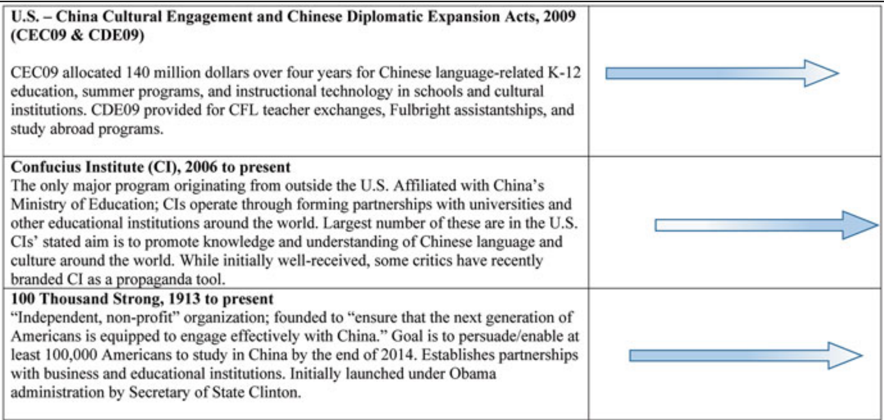
The shaded arrows in the right hand column can be thought of as vectors indicating each program's focus; that is, a darker shade suggests a stronger focus. These arrows suggest that *national interest* and *academic opportunity* have served as common denominators across most of the initiatives. Perhaps more importantly, the table indicates the most enduring programs appear to be national defense related. Another more implicit generalization evident from Table 1 is the overall limited impact of these programs on U.S. educational institutions. Noting this limitation in two different ways, Zhou (2011) pointed out the inability of these various initiatives to lead to further higher education efforts. Since the early 1990s, few universities

Table 1 Descriptive summary of major CFL initiatives in America, World War II to present

Program Title Major Goals? ➡	National Interest	Academic Opportunity	General Appreciation
Defense Language Institute (DLI) Created at start of WWII; DLI and its Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC) provided "culturally based" foreign language education, training, and evaluation to "enhance" national security. First CFL programs began near end of WWII. It continues to exist today. While DLIFLC website highlights cultural learning, its national defense/security focus is evident in such statements as, "Students are expected to achieve higher proficiency scores since 9/11…" (DLIFLC, n.d.). The DLI merged with NSEP (see below) in 2012.	→	→	
Defense Education Act of 1957 (DEA57) /Fulbright-Hayes Act of 1961 (FHA61) Spurred by "Sputnik" and Cold War concerns, DEA57 sought to expand foreign language programs in U.S. schools and target talented students. FHA61 launched 24 CFL centers to support post-secondary programs, fellowships, textbooks, and studies abroad. Both initiatives said to have "raised general awareness" of Chinese as critical foreign language in higher education. The number of universities with CFL programs doubled over next ten years (Zhou, 2011, 137).	→	→	→
Carnegie Foundation Launched in early 1960s to fund university-based instructional support centers for high school CFL programs. 200 centers initially launched; all but one reserved for highly talented students; only two were still fully operative by 1980. Viewed as a "top-down" effort (Wang, 2007).		→	→
Dodge Foundation Unlike Carnegie, this late 1980s to early 2000s initiative offered support for new CFL structures within individual schools. It launched one instructional center, with most efforts directed at 60 high schools nationwide and 11 New Jersey elementary schools. Program attained some success but was hampered by negative outsider perceptions (e.g., Chinese is too hard or unnecessary) and by student recruitment difficulties. Successful Dodge schools used indirect recruitment methods such as displays, assemblies, ceremonies, or other similar techniques (Moore, 1992; Wang, 2007).		→	→
American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Works for "improvement and expansion" of teaching and learning of "all languages at all levels of instruction." ACTFL stresses that "language and communication are at the heart of the human experience" and that students must be "linguistically and culturally prepared to function as world citizens." Activities focus on building K-16 language learning infrastructure (ACTFL, n.d.). First guidelines for Chinese learning issued in early 1980s; it continues to support CFL practice and research (Xing, 2006).		→	→
Luce Foundation/Freeman Foundation, 1999-2002 Luce Foundation devoted 12 million dollars toward strengthening university Asian studies programs, especially those involving Chinese language teacher training. Freeman Foundation devoted 100 million dollars to increase China-related courses in K-20 education.		→	
National Security Education Program (NSEP) 1991 Aims to link "national security community" and Defense Department to American higher education institutions. Includes 2002 Language Flagship initiative (LF) designed to improve higher education capacity to teach critical languages and develop a pool of qualified language professionals. Based on the assumption that K-12 language learning is "vital" to national "well-being in the 21st century," LF seeks to implement its model in teacher training institutions. 12 Chinese LF universities are currently operating.	→	→	→
U.S. – China Cultural Engagement Act 2005 Allocated 1.3 billion dollars over six years to support China-focused curriculum from sixth grade through college.		→	→
National Security Language Initiative (NSLI) 2006 Upwards of one-billion dollars to support study of "critical languages" in K-16 education. President Bush described NSLI as a "broad-gauged initiative that deals with the defense of the country, the diplomacy of the country, the intelligence to defend our country, and the education of our people" (Capriccioso, 2006).	→	→	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)



U.S. – China Cultural Engagement and Chinese Diplomatic Expansion Acts, 2009 (CEC09 & CDE09) CEC09 allocated 140 million dollars over four years for Chinese language-related K-12 education, summer programs, and instructional technology in schools and cultural institutions. CDE09 provided for CFL teacher exchanges, Fulbright assistantships, and study abroad programs.	
Confucius Institute (CI), 2006 to present The only major program originating from outside the U.S. Affiliated with China's Ministry of Education; CIs operate through forming partnerships with universities and other educational institutions around the world. Largest number of these are in the U.S. CIs' stated aim is to promote knowledge and understanding of Chinese language and culture around the world. While initially well-received, some critics have recently branded CI as a propaganda tool.	
100 Thousand Strong, 1913 to present "Independent, non-profit" organization; founded to "ensure that the next generation of Americans is equipped to engage effectively with China." Goal is to persuade/enable at least 100,000 Americans to study in China by the end of 2014. Establishes partnerships with business and educational institutions. Initially launched under Obama administration by Secretary of State Clinton.	

have launched their own CFL initiatives, preferring instead to respond to private and public initiatives they find to be advantageous to their own institutional needs. Zhou's (2011) more powerful point regarding CFL initiatives, however, is that "political influence alone" is unlikely to change "existing language ideology or order" (p. 137).

To sharpen the point further, despite the fact that the initiatives listed in Table 1 cover the gamut of language planning stages – status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning – a general resistance to CFL learning seems to permeate the American language learning habitat. This is nothing new, of course, as volumes have been written over the years about the American historical resistance to foreign language learning in schools. Of great interest here, however, is the peculiar inability for CFL interest to grow beyond relatively low levels despite the relative availability of supportive resources and infrastructure. In other words, despite modest success in developing current and future CFL resource supply lines, demand for CFL learning remains either relatively low or limited to a narrow pool of elite learners. An argument might be made that this situation is similar to that of Japanese language learning in America and that both languages face similar difficulties in migrating across the American educational habitat. The more striking point, however, is Japanese has a status similar to Chinese but has lower levels of resource investment in the form of public and private initiatives and far fewer native speakers around the world.

Another way to frame this puzzle is to imagine how language education might have changed in American schools over the past 10 years had it experienced a wave of influence from a major Japanese language initiative, for example, the establishment of 100 Japanese "Confucius Institutes." Speculation, of course, does not constitute empirical evidence. But it seems doubtful that such institutes would have been encumbered by the kind of gradual distrust and resistance faced by Chinese CIs in recent years. For example, would major universities sever their ties? Would a major national faculty organization warn against forming partnerships?

Although Confucius Institutes have maintained their popularity in the U.S., the harsh criticisms lobbed against them provide clues regarding the peculiar constraints CFL programs face in the United States. We will further explore these criticisms and clues later in this essay. Before doing so, we propose a theoretical framework for understanding the problems faced by CFL programs in American educational institutions.

3 Language Survival in Socio-Ecological Terms

Sun (2010) and Shouse and Sun (2013) have presented models attempting to describe the various structures or events within language migration habitats that threaten or assist CFL programs in the U.S. Such factors can be long-standing within the habitat or can arise relatively suddenly. In a case reported by Shouse and Sun (2013), for example, a promising high school Mandarin program was suddenly halted due to shifting winds in the local political climate. While it is likely that all forms of curricular innovation must sometimes grapple with "climate change," CFL programs appear to face special obstacles, some of which may be born out of the adversarial relationship between China and the U.S.

Figure 1 illustrates how various climate factors influence the curricular decisions of individuals and organizations over the course of a language planning process. For organizations, the decisions involve whether or not a language can or should be offered (status planning), how it should be taught (corpus planning), and the procurement and management of resources necessary to maintain the instructional process (acquisition planning). In a corresponding way, student choice (in the case of Chinese, for example) involves whether to begin study of a relatively difficult language, the circumstances of their learning (e.g., to study for how many semesters;

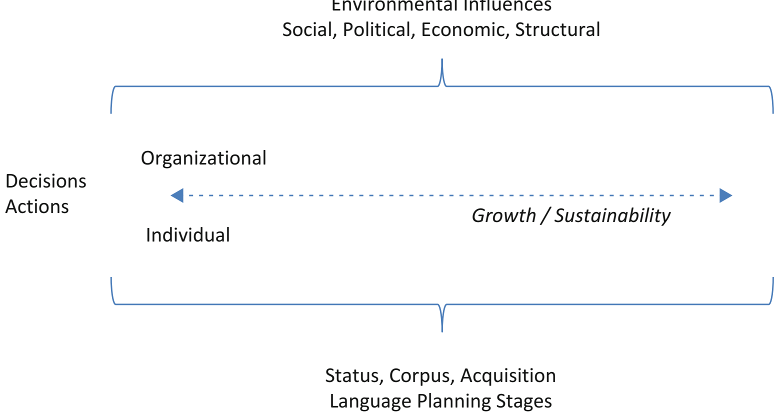


Fig. 1 A language learning environmental perspective (Adapted from Sun 2010)

to focus on spoken or written language, or both), and the acquisition and management of resources necessary to reach their desired level of success. Over time, as these decisions stabilize among schools and individuals, the language becomes sustainable within the habitat (i.e., the American education system). Sporadic, partial, or uncertain patterns of choice are likely to threaten language sustainability.

Figure 1 also suggests how these decisions are influenced by social, political, economic, and structural forces and circumstances. As Sun (2010) suggests, some categories of influence work to limit the success of any language (not just Chinese) other than French, Spanish, or German in the academic habitat. From an economic standpoint, academic investments in Chinese, Japanese, or Arabic, for example, require knowledge and decisions about long-term demand and resource supply. Students face similar decisions regarding their capacity to devote long-term effort. Similarly, from a structural perspective, America's No Child Left Behind policy and the accompanying press for math and science achievement tended to reduce the amount of resources available for all K-12 language study and no doubt reduced the likelihood that new languages would be added to the K-12 curriculum (Glisan 2005; Rosenbusch 2005).

From social and political perspectives, however, the situation becomes more complex. The languages taught in today's American schools represent nations that have either long been friendly with the United States (France, Spain) or have been defeated in wars with the United States (Germany, Mexico). Although Japanese, representing another "defeated" nation, appears to hold roughly equal standing to Chinese in the American education system with a slight edge at the college level, it attained that standing over the past 50 years with fewer public or private initiatives. Japanese may be just as hard to learn as Chinese, but it has benefited from its post-war aura of being a "friendly language" associated with scientific, technological, and economic freedom and creativity.

In contrast, interest in Chinese study in the U.S. for most of the years since World War II seems to have been driven mostly by military, security, and diplomatic needs, and the perceptions of most Americans over the age of 30 regarding China are colored by Maoism, images of Tiananmen Square, or other non-specific threats. Although these perceptions may not be as widespread today as 50 years ago, it is perhaps no coincidence that the largest expansion in Chinese learning in America occurred during the so-called period of "Chinese democratization."

This argument perhaps reads as if it is based on a thin slice of high inference data. Nevertheless, as Table 1 reveals, "war-footing" language is still found in the CFL advocacy of federal officials and offices within the U.S. Consider, for example, some of the rhetoric surrounding President George W. Bush's launching of the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI; see Table 1), under which Mandarin Chinese was identified as a "critical language" in need of greater attention in America's K-16 education system. The president stated that the initiative was "part of a strategic goal, and that is to protect this country in the short term and protect it in the long term by spreading freedom.…We're facing an ideological struggle, and we're going to win" (Capriccioso 2006).

In addition to expanding the availability of CFL in the U.S., the NSLI and similar programs from the 1960s through the 2000s sought to identify talented students for various forms of national service. The proposed Civilian Language Reserve Corps, for instance, aimed at training 1,000 critical language expert citizens who could be called on to render "quick assistance" in military or other emergency situations (Capriccioso 2006). Enveloping CFL learning in such terms may encourage the national-service-inclined student. But might it not also discourage other students from enrolling in CFL courses if they believed they might one day need to decline an invitation to serve in any sort of "Reserve Corps"?

4 The Confucius Institute

We suggest, therefore, that America's position with respect to Chinese language learning has been "cautious" and somewhat reflective of "core-periphery" cultural and linguistic tension, the likes of which China has grappled with during past centuries (Chase-Dunn and Grimes 1995, p. 396). The problem grows out of a "target" nation's desire to protect what it considers to be its superior language and culture from the influence of other ostensibly less legitimate nations, while also desiring to take advantage of their knowledge or technology. The target nation thus seeks access to, yet strives to control the expansion of, another nation's cultural, technical, and/or linguistic capital. To put it bluntly, the pattern of U.S. support for Chinese language learning suggests a desire to control it or at least maintain it at the periphery.

Perhaps the best supportive evidence of America's "cautious" position toward formal Chinese language learning comes from recent experiences with Confucius Institutes (CI). Begun in 2004 by the Chinese Language Council International, known informally as Hanban, CIs have operated by establishing partnerships with universities, major public school systems, and other educational institutions around the world for the purpose of providing curricular and instructional support for K-12 and higher education Mandarin learning. In 2006, Hanban collaborated with the College Board to establish Advanced Placement programs and exams for high school Mandarin study. By the end of 2009, 330 CIs had been established worldwide, and it was said that a new CI was launched somewhere in the world about "every four days" (Zhao and Huang 2010). As of 2014, the number of CI partnerships had risen to around 400 worldwide with nearly 100 in the U.S. Though the direct impact of CIs on the expansion of CFL learning in America has not been empirically determined, it may be useful to note that as of 2008, 800 U.S. universities, about 25 % of the total, offer Chinese language courses, and the number of college students studying Chinese rose from 24,000 in 2002 to 35,000 in 2006.

Little in the way of descriptive literature exists regarding the early successes or failures of CIs in the U.S. In a June 2007 talk at Penn State University, however, Yong Zhao, then the director of the CI at Michigan State University, described the frustration the institute encountered while trying to establish online Chinese

instruction in local school districts. The problem arose from teacher union complaints that the online instructors (most of whom resided in China) were not union members and lacked state teacher certification. Over time, the problem appears to have been solved by the university's establishment of a charter-school-type operation, which now provides Chinese instruction for students, homeschoolers, and a number of school districts throughout the state (MSU 2014). Nevertheless, the experience signified how some educational institutions might reject a tremendously valuable resource in order to preserve certain favored political or administrative arrangements.

Although the CI initiative was described as a "remarkable success" (Schmidt 2010, p. 3), by 2009 small cracks began to emerge in its positive image, as some scholars began to view it as an example of soft power (Gil 2009; Starr 2009). An old concept, born perhaps out of cold war mentality and similar in some ways to the Marxist idea of "hegemony," resurfaced. Soft power referred to a nation's use of cultural resources as a substitute for diplomatic or military force (Pan 2013). Critics suggested that CIs, through their Hanban connection, were directly linked to the Chinese government and Communist Party, and that the efforts of CIs to promote Chinese language and culture represented "propaganda" designed to put a positive spin on an authoritarian state and its soft power.

It was a curious charge since the CI mission had been fairly stable over the previous 5 years and its efforts differed little from those of any other major world nation. It is perhaps no coincidence that the soft power argument seemed to emerge during and in the wake of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, which were themselves often the target of critics. It was also during the summer of 2008 that the Tibetan independence movement began attracting attention from Western news media, with daily reports of riots and suppression in that region. The policy field within which the CIs needed to negotiate was becoming less friendly. In fact, according to a Pew Research report, while 42 % of Americans viewed China favorably in 2007, by 2012 the figure had dropped to 37 % (Economist 2014).

Something seemed to be in the air – a new narrative. Whereas the CI had early on been viewed as a useful development for education and understanding, it was gradually being cast in suspicious tones. Articles about CIs appeared with titles such as "The Long March," "China Flexes its Linguistic Muscles," "Mandarin Army gets 1,000 New Recruits," and, demeaningly, "Soft Power: Confucius Says." By 2010, despite no specific charges of coercion having been made against any CI, some scholars began to allege that CIs were a threat to academic freedom. The University of Pennsylvania dropped plans to establish a CI (New York Times 2012). Faculty at the University of Chicago began protesting the university's CI partnership and later were successful in ending it (Schmidt 2010). From 2010 to the present, one finds examples of statements critical of the CI that beg answers to the question of Chinese political legitimacy. A U.S. Congressional appointee and ostensive China authority stated, for instance, that it would be stupid for the Chinese government to spend money on something that did not further its interests. A professor of Asian Studies at a major university argued that under the influence of Chinese funds, faculty would be likely to bend to the demands of the Chinese

government (Schmidt 2010). Another went so far to suggest that they would ultimately feel answerable to the Chinese Communist Party (New York Times 2012; Schmidt 2010).

This emerging image of CI's ulterior motives was given an added boost in the spring of 2012 when the U.S. State Department declared that CI teachers who taught in K-12 schools were in violation of their visas, which permitted only college-level employment (Pan 2013). This was a blow to many high school Mandarin programs, in particular, the fledgling one at State College Area High School, which served the Penn State University community and whose CFL program had struggled with and overcome a great deal of political resistance over the previous 4 years (Shouse and Sun 2013; Sun 2011). The State Department's actions reflected and underscored America's guarded and adversarial relationship with China and the Chinese language. It was as if officials felt it was important to learn the Chinese language, but equally important to shelter young learners from Chinese culture – a position very similar to the "core-periphery" problem faced by China as it first began to experience Western influence.

In the summer of 2014, the American Association of University Professors issued a statement calling on colleges and universities to cancel their agreements with the CI (Graham 2014). Later that summer Penn State University did just that. The university gave no reason for the cancellation, but one journalist reported that the dean of PSU's Liberal Arts College believed the two institutions did not share "similar goals" (Calderaro 2014). And while the CI's mission focused on language and humanities, Penn State and a number of its professors wanted to direct CI resources toward work in science, politics, and the environment (Calderaro 2014).

Although the changing policy climate described here is quite difficult to interpret, one gets the sense that the attacks on the CI resulted from the convergence of two troublesome streams. The first of these was the resurfacing of old, deeply embedded fears of and biases against the People's Republic of China. For many, even with higher levels of education, China is "the sleeping giant," "poised to replace the U.S. as world leader," "flexing its linguistic muscles," and is often portrayed as a not-quite-fully-legitimate nation based on various allegations of human rights violations.

The second stream involves the fact that the CI is fundamentally oriented towards teaching, while American university faculty, certainly at larger institutions, are mainly focused on research and the acquisition of grant funds for sustaining it. Thus, one possible reason for the gradual resistance to the CI at many universities may involve a gradual realization among some liberal arts faculty that CI collaborative projects and funding would be limited to language and cultural education activity: courses, teacher training, symbolic/ceremonial activity, workshops, and the like. The CI's language/culture focus simply may not fit well with the expectations of a Research-1 university and particularly among faculty whose work might involve a criticism of the People's Republic of China. The mismatch of expectations, however, would fit quite well with – and may have fueled – the new narrative that casts the CI as a "threat to academic freedom" (Graham 2014).

Though we find the “academic freedom” narrative to be readily refutable, the point here is not to debate it. Rather, it is to demonstrate the serious sociocultural and political threats to CFL programs seeking to break through the parameters of American national interest. In the case of the Confucius Institute, one is left with the sense that threats increase as such programs appear to become more successful. Though programs like STARTALK or Language Flagship may be exceptions, both work under the auspices and control of federal authority and the officials who approve the proposals. In contrast, Confucius Institutes operate relatively independently from U.S. authority and can potentially influence substantial numbers of American students over a relatively short period of time. As Zhao and Huang (2010) suggest, a great deal of cultural resistance originates from the idea of China having such extensive unfettered access to or influence on American education and society.

Obviously not all CFL programs are under federal control, such as most of those that have gained a foothold in American K-16 educational institutions. But the CI’s recent experience, given the tremendous resources it could offer, suggests the existence of an invisible veil that, despite official statements to the contrary, marginalizes Chinese language study and separates it from the American social and educational mindscape.

5 Conclusions and Suggestions for Adaptive Strategies

Overall, the status of CFL learning in American schools appears modest at best, though one can certainly be encouraged by its growth in recent years. Nevertheless, China’s growing world influence, the vast usage of its language, and the ever-shrinking global village in which we live warrant further critical examination of the ecological barriers faced by CFL programs in the United States. Despite wide recognition of the academic and professional value of this learning, CFL programs remain a “niche species” within the organizational environment of U.S. education, highly sensitive to changes in social and political attitudes.

Although there is tremendous potential for the growth of CFL programs in the U.S., this growth will not come about simply by further development of the resource infrastructure. More likely, it will occur as American officials, policy makers, and the general public gradually begin to recognize China as an equal, legitimate, and positive actor in global society. In that light, it is of great note that the one initiative most closely aligned with this goal, and the one that arguably has been most successful in reaching it, is the one currently meeting the greatest institutional and governmental resistance.

Posing the problem as a question, if current U.S. education policy sincerely aims to expand CFL learning, would it be more beneficial to offer programs at the system’s periphery (e.g., focused opportunity for a relatively narrow group of interested and talented college students who might later serve the “public interest”) or at the system’s core (e.g., direct grants to states and school districts to help create

broader K-12 CFL programs)? Certainly, the amount of federal funding made available over the past 20 years might have helped establish a very effective Chinese language "race to the top." Such an effort might have included encouraging states to offer alternative forms of teacher certification so as to allow native Mandarin speakers with adequate English skills to teach in elementary or secondary classrooms. International graduate students from local universities might even serve as a source of qualified teachers. The implementation of such approaches, however, will depend on strong, vocal leaders who can advocate for a change in American attitudes toward China and who can effectively champion the benefits of Chinese study.

Before suggesting further strategies for increasing CFL learning in the U.S., we would like to clarify our biases. First, we find the scant attention devoted to foreign language learning in American school curricula to be quite troubling in light of the attention given to various pronouncements about America's need for world class schools. Second, we find the intensely unequal importance placed on subjects like math and science vis a vis foreign language study to be void of legitimacy. Finally, given our increasingly shrinking world, we find the dearth of opportunity for American young people to study the planet's most widely spoken language to be quite absurd. Besides the value accrued by individual students who choose to study Mandarin, expanding the collective opportunity for its study should certainly contribute to America's global capacity.

For half a century America's education policy makers applied similar logic as they sought to intensify standards and requirements in mathematics and science. Is seems rather strange, however, to imagine that math and science represent the primary frontiers of human knowledge and understanding when we have yet to fully explore the vast frontiers of human language and culture. We thus value and support the continuation of federal and state initiatives designed to promote the expansion of CFL initiatives in the U.S.

Having said that, we still grapple with the reality that as an American education policy "species," Mandarin Chinese faces arduous challenges within the organizational habitat of American public schooling. In some ways, one might compare it to a plant that takes years of expensive cultivation and care, produces fruit that some find delicious, some find unpleasant, and many others are reluctant to taste. On the other hand, the plant continues to grow and more are giving it a try. Its popularity grows slowly. However, marketing is highly dependent on creative agribusiness, especially at the status and acquisition planning stages.

As argued earlier, decisions about language learning are influenced not just by resource availability, but also by student demand. In other words, even if local decision makers view CFL programs as rational, practical, and feasible, they may remain reluctant to implement them for subjective or emotional reasons. For example, how do they, their communities, or their students feel about learning Chinese? Does it fit the local organizational or individual mindscape? Such non-rational considerations may arise or shift over time, thereby influencing decisions at the acquisition planning stage.

To put it in different terms, French, German, and Latin have survived in American schools less because of their practical usefulness and more because of their

social-psychological fit. They are perceived to be "natural" species around which a rationalistic façade has been constructed over time. This leads us to suspect that supply-based strategies, especially at the periphery of the education system, while useful, can only partially contribute to expanding CFL programs in American schools. At the same time, demand-based strategies may have limited success if they appeal solely to the rational benefits of CFL learning (e.g., it can help one have a successful career).

Assuming the non-rational benefits of Mandarin study can be identified, can they be expressed in a way that promotes greater student interest in studying the world's most widely spoken language? Can Mandarin be marketed using techniques of the advertising industry, which aim to recruit and retain customers through social-psychological bonds? By selling the "sizzle" as much as the "steak" (Clark and Smith 2008), French language learning in the U.S. has, for example, for many years benefited from its reputation as a language of sophistication, intelligence, and romance. Latin holds its place in scholastic hearts in part by the aura of intellectual distinction it bestows on its students. Do ways exist to bestow on Chinese study a similar unique and attractive sense of distinction for those who accept its challenges? A full exploration of this possibility lies beyond the scope of this chapter. But we would be remiss if we failed to point out its vast and unexplored potential.

Finally, we believe in the value and legitimacy of the Confucius Institute. Though CIs around the U.S. may vary in focus or effectiveness, they nevertheless represent the best available initiative for exploring and improving cultural and linguistic understanding between two great nations. We encourage students, scholars, educators, and citizens to critically examine and, where appropriate, point out the failings of the academic freedom complaints against the CIs. The point here is not to cheerlead for a cause, but to remind readers how easy it often is for even well-intentioned and educated individuals to fail to question the popular narratives that can stand in the way of social understanding and – ultimately – Chinese foreign language learning.

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Understanding Chinese as a Foreign Language from the Perspective of Second Language Acquisition

Jie Zhang

Abstract As a result of rigorous scholarship efforts over the past 50 years, a rich understanding has been gained regarding the processes associated with teaching and learning Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL). CFL particularly benefits from research in second language acquisition (SLA). This chapter provides a critical review of major SLA theories by examining three key constructs: learner language, second language learning processes, and second language learners. Implications of SLA findings on CFL learning and teaching are discussed in terms of setting realistic expectations for CFL learners, creating an optimal learning environment for CFL learning, and tailoring teaching to individual learners. The chapter concludes by highlighting areas in need of increased attention and alternate perspectives that will contribute to our understanding of the complexities associated with CFL learning and also generate theory-guided practices for CFL teaching and learning.

Keywords Second language acquisition • Second language learning • Behaviorist theory of language learning • Cognitive-interactionist approaches to SLA • Social-oriented approaches to SLA • Comprehensible input hypothesis • Sociocultural theory • Identity theory • Language socialization theory • Complexity theory and dynamic systems • Chinese as a foreign language

1 Introduction

Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) is the learning and teaching of Chinese in a foreign language context. Over the past several decades CFL has gradually developed into an interdisciplinary field with strong ties to Chinese linguistics, second language acquisition, and foreign language pedagogy. A comprehensive understanding of CFL, therefore, is only possible when insights and advancements in related fields are considered.

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Research in the field of Chinese linguistics has revealed the inherent mechanisms and specifications of Chinese from a typological and cross-linguistic point of view. Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family (Sun 2006). Compared with Indo-European languages such as English, Chinese has minimal morphological changes but a rich tonal system and a sophisticated writing system. Chinese is also an analytic language in which "grammatical relationships [are] shown either by word order or by the use of independent grammatical particles, rather than by affixes or by internal changes in the word itself" (Norman 1988, p. 10).

Chinese linguists have investigated the kinds of knowledge CFL learners acquire and how that knowledge compares to that of their native language (also called the first language or L1) or other additional languages. In fact, early research on CFL in the 1980s and 1990s was primarily based on knowledge of Chinese linguistics and the assumption that learning a foreign language is no different from learning one's native tongue (cf. Zhu 2010 for a historical review of CFL teaching). It was thought that teaching learners how the Chinese language works would prepare them to function in a Chinese-speaking community (Zhu 2010). Although this notion has been proven inadequate (cf. Zhu 2010), knowledge gained about the Chinese language laid a solid disciplinary foundation for explaining the linguistic mechanisms of Chinese that greatly facilitate CFL learning and teaching.

Another rising discipline of inquiry that had a significant impact on CFL is second language acquisition (SLA), which itself is an interdisciplinary field. SLA scholars explore how people acquire a second or additional language and the constraints associated with this endeavor (Ellis 2008; Gass et al. 2013; Ortega 2009). Since its emergence in the early 1970s, the field has now evolved into a vigorous scientific field of inquiry. With the rapid development of competing theories over the past two decades, a rich knowledge base has been established in our understanding of second language learning and learners. CFL directly benefits from this research tradition. With an increasing number of SLA researchers specializing in CFL acquisition, CFL research likewise contributes to SLA theory building, verification, and modification.

The third discipline that has significantly influenced CFL is foreign language pedagogy, which is especially relevant since the typical CFL learning context is formal classroom instruction. Teaching approaches intentionally or inadvertently affect the processes and outcomes of CFL learning. As one would expect, any adjustment in teaching methods, teaching styles, and learning expectations will greatly affect the rate and even alter the process of CFL learning. Over time, the major foreign language pedagogies have left their mark on CFL classrooms in different parts of the world (cf. Zhu 2010). These include the grammar-translation method, with its emphasis on translating texts and learning grammatical rules; the audiolingual method, which prioritizes listening and speaking skills; communicative language teaching, which aims to develop the communicative competence of learners; and most recently, proficiency-oriented instruction, which advocates standards-based language teaching. To a certain extent, we can say that developments in foreign language pedagogy serve as important guideposts for CFL teaching.

Since CFL is a highly interdisciplinary subject, it is not possible to discuss in one chapter all major fields that contribute to our understanding of CFL. Therefore, this chapter will focus on a discussion of the influence of SLA research on CFL learning and teaching. SLA being a broad field, only research with direct relevance and implications for CFL will be reviewed here.[1] The chapter starts with a brief historical overview of SLA. Three central notions in SLA – learner language, second language learning, and second language learners – are then discussed with specific references to CFL. The chapter concludes by highlighting areas in need of increased attention that will contribute to our understanding of the complexities of CFL and will help generate theory-guided practices to improve the quality and efficiency of CFL learning and teaching.

2 Second Language Acquisition: A Historical Overview

SLA is a fairly new discipline that emerged in the early 1970s, expanded considerably in the 1980s and 1990s, and became an independent disciplinary field about a decade ago (Larsen-Freeman 2000). Scholars in the field draw on the related fields of linguistics, first language acquisition, language teaching, and psychology, among others. Since its inception, SLA has evolved through roughly three stages of development. In the 1970s, the field was heavily influenced by Bloomfield's (1933) behaviorist position of language learning. This view sees people as being exposed to numerous language stimuli in their environment. The learning of an L2 is to establish stimulus-response pairings. When the response they give to a stimulus is successful, it will be reinforced. Through repeated reinforcement, a certain stimulus will elicit the same response, which will then become a habit. For example, upon repeated encounters of 你好 (Hello!; How are you?), a learner will develop an understanding that 你好 is what Chinese speakers use to greet each other. With sufficient reinforcement the learner will learn to say 你好 back as a greeting routine in Chinese. Because an L2 learner has already acquired a mother tongue, the learning of an L2 constantly involves making analogies between the native language and the L2. For this reason, research in early SLA was primarily based on cross-linguistic L1–L2 comparisons and language transfer, assuming the L1 learning habits can be applied to L2 learning.

In the 1980s, SLA researchers began to realize that the process of learning an L2 does not necessarily copy the process of learning the L1; rather, learning an L2 is an extremely complicated individual cognitive process. This understanding generated a new research paradigm often referred to as *cognitive SLA*, which is an umbrella term covering several SLA theories. The generative approaches to SLA, based on Chomsky's (1975) universal grammar theory, posit that L2 learning is an innate cognitive capacity independent of the environment. Like the generative approaches,

[1] For comprehensive overviews of SLA, readers are directed to Doughty and Long (2003), Ellis (2008), Gass and Mackey (2012), Gass et al. (2013), and Ortega (2009).

cognitive-interactionist theories (cf. Gass and Mackey 2007, for a review) frame language learning as an individual effort; however, cognitive-interactionists believe learning is contingent upon the interaction of internal cognition and the external environment. Other cognitive theories include processibility theory (Pienemann 1998), skill acquisition theory (Dekeyser 2007), input processing theory (VanPatten 2007), emergentist models (Ellis 2012; MacWhinney 2002), and several others.[2] In their quest to explain L2 processes, cognitive SLA scholars aimed to tease out factors that facilitate or constrain the process and to understand the relationships between these contributing variables.

The field of SLA expanded dramatically in the late 1990s. With the publication of Firth and Wagner's (1997) groundbreaking article in the *Modern Language Journal*, the field engaged in "a social turn" (Block 2003) that inspired many social-oriented approaches to SLA. Rejecting the dichotomy of cognition and environment, social approaches frame L2 learning as socially constructed and, therefore, inextricable from the social context of learning. Learners co-construct learning processes and define learning outcomes together with their environments. Representative social-oriented theories include socio-cultural theory (Lantolf and Thorne 2006), complexity theory (Larsen-Freeman 2009), language socialization theory (Duff and Talmy 2011), the conversation-analytic approach to SLA (Kasper and Wagner 2011), identity theory (Norton and McKinney 2011), and the sociocognitive approach (Atkinson 2011b).[3] For the social approaches to SLA, the unit of analysis is not the confounding factors or the causal relationships of independent and dependent variables; rather, scholars who adopted these approaches examined concrete learning scenarios situated in specific times and places in order to identify how language learning takes place.

Despite their drastically different theoretical stances and research foci, this vast array of SLA theories yielded a plethora of complementary findings on L2 learning and L2 learners that propelled the field into its current state. Supported by rich empirical evidence gathered over more than 40 years, scholars have begun to appreciate L2 learning as an extremely complicated and organic process involving a wealth of factors contributing to learning rates, processes, outcomes, and ultimately, attainment of linguistic knowledge. The following section introduces three central SLA constructs: learner language, second language learning processes, and second language learners. These constructs are interwoven and inseparable, but for convenience of discussion they are treated as seemingly independent concepts noting that a thorough understanding of SLA cannot be achieved without a deep knowledge of each.

[2] For an introduction to cognitive-oriented SLA theories, readers are directed to Gass et al. (2013), Mitchell and Myles (2004), and Van Patten and Williams (2007).

[3] For an introduction to social-oriented SLA theories, readers are referred to Atkinson (2011a).

3 Understanding Learner Language

The systematic study of learner language began in the 1950s and 1960s based on an intuitive understanding that the degree of difficulty associated with learning an L2 can be explained by the degree of similarity between L1 and L2. Scholars used contrastive analysis to compare linguistic features of L1 and L2 in order to predict acquisition difficulties (e.g., Stockwell et al. 1965). In the 1970s, the focus shifted from comparing languages to describing learner language. Selinker (1972) coined the term *interlanguage* to refer to learner language that is different from either the L1 or the L2. Error analysis (Corder 1967) techniques were used to categorize errors in learner language as overuse, underuse, misuse, and avoidance, and explanations of these learner errors were provided based on interlingual (caused by L1–L2 similarities or differences) and intralingual (within the interlanguage system) influences.

Interlingual errors mainly come from transfer of L1 forms or rules. To use the Chinese word order as an example, English-speaking learners, especially in their early stage of learning, tend to put the temporal and locative adverbials at the end of a sentence while the correct usage is to prepose the adverbials before the main verb. For example, students may produce the sentence 我去过中国去年夏天。 (I went to China last summer.) instead of 我去年夏天去过中国。Such word order errors can be explained by the post adverbial order in English sentences. Intralingual errors are indications of learning strategies shared by all learners irrespective of their L1. One such strategy is incomplete rule application (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005). For example, when they first learn the perfective aspect marker 了 in indicating a completed event, CFL learners tend to overuse 了 in narration of all past events. Another common error of CFL learners is to apply the generic classifier 个 to a wider range of nouns on occasions when specific classifiers should be used instead.

It quickly became evident that L1–L2 comparisons alone do not sufficiently explain all learner errors. Bley-Vroman (1983) proposed the term "comparative fallacy" to caution against the notion that learner errors were solely caused by similarities and differences between L1 and L2. SLA researchers began to question a long-standing belief that the goal of learning an L2 is to develop native proficiency. Instead, they contemplated that L2 learners may not achieve native-like proficiency after all. With this understanding, researchers directed their attention to the study of learner language itself.

Our current understanding of learner language centers on two competing yet complementary notions: systematicity and variability. Systematicity refers to the fact that learners seem to acquire grammatical structures in a relatively predictable and fixed order. Research has shown that learners, regardless of their L1, acquire English morphemes in a more or less identical order (Bailey et al. 1974). Also, when acquiring an L2 grammatical structure, learners seem to follow predetermined stages of development, as has been shown in the L2 acquisition of word order in English, German, and Chinese (Jiang 2009; Meisel et al. 1981; Pienemann et al. 1988). On the other hand, variability exists in acquisition order and developmental sequences. Larsen-Freeman (1975) reported L1 effects on the acquisition order of

English morphemes, and Goldschneider and DeKeyser (2001) found that saliency plays a role in determining acquisition order. Mackey's (1995, 1999) study showed that although developmental stages cannot be skipped, conversational interaction can accelerate the acquisition of English question formation.

The tradition of cross-linguistic comparisons to approach learner language has immensely influenced the CFL research agenda, especially in the kinds of questions that CFL researchers seek to address. Among the most robust research topics in CFL are acquisition of Chinese characters, development of orthographic awareness and reading processes, mastery of the tonal system, and acquisition of Chinese-specific grammatical structures, such as topicalization (i.e., the topic-comment sentence), the 把 construction (in which the object expresses disposal of or action upon the object), and so forth (cf. Ke 2012 for a comprehensive review of CFL research). These linguistic features are well-known for the challenges they pose to English-speaking learners of Chinese due to typological differences between the two languages. Over the past two decades, research has yielded rich insights into CFL acquisition and contributed significantly to SLA theory verification and modification.

The description and measurement of learner language is a key construct in SLA. As early as the 1970s, scholars such as Larsen-Freeman (1978) have been calling for a suitable framework for learner language. In the late 1980s, measures of complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF) began to be used to measure learners' spoken and written production. Since then, these measures have been developed into a comprehensive framework (Larsen-Freeman 2009). Linguistic complexity is the extent to which learners produce elaborated language expressed in the use of complex syntactic structures and sophisticated words (Housen and Kuiken 2009). A widely used measure for English grammatical complexity is the T-unit, which refers to a main clause plus any subordinate clauses associated with it (Read 2000). Complexity is generally measured by the extent of subordination, such as clauses per T-unit, number of dependent clauses per total number of clauses, or number of dependent clauses per T-unit. Linguistic accuracy indicates how well learners produce the L2 measured by the proportion of language use without errors. Common accuracy measures for English are the number of error-free T-units and errors per T-unit. Linguistic fluency generally refers to oral production of language in real time without unwarranted pauses or hesitation as measured by T-unit, error-free T-unit length, and clause length (Skehan 2009).

Because Chinese belongs to a different typological family than English, CAF measures must be modified before they can be applied to describing Chinese learner language. Yuan (2009) proposed a set of indices measuring CFL learners' language performance in oral tasks and applied it to the analysis of a small set of CFL oral language samples. According to Yuan, indices for accuracy and fluency of Chinese are similar to those developed for English while complexity measures are slightly different. Her indices of lexical complexity are the number of tokens, types, percentage of HSK (Chinese Proficiency Test) Level I words, percentage of HSK Level II words, and special words (e.g., location names, proper names). She used the number of T-units and clauses as indices for syntactic complexity. Jiang (2013) used T-unit length, error-free T-unit length, and percentage of error-free T-units in ana-

lyzing CFL writing and found the percentage of error-free T-units is the only measure that statistically differentiated learners at different levels. These studies can serve as an initial framework for measuring CFL learner language.

Over the past decade or so, the scope of learner language has expanded substantially to include not only linguistic features but also non-traditional aspects of language development, including sociolinguistic use, discourse features, pragmatic use, and multimodal means of communication. Such examples include the development of L2 socio-pragmatic strategies (Kasper 2006) and L2 learners' use of gestures in speech-gesture synchronization (McCafferty and Gullberg 2008). While most studies about CFL learner language have centered on morphological, syntactic, or grammatical features, research on these non-traditional linguistic aspects has recently begun to appear (e.g., Hong 2011; Li 2010, 2012).

4 Understanding Second Language Learning

How an L2 is acquired is the core inquiry of SLA. The following sections introduce two camps of SLA theories with supporting evidence from research.

4.1 Cognitive-Interactionist Approaches to SLA

For cognitive-interactionists who are interested in understanding the interaction between cognition and the environment, the central research question is: How do learners process input from the environment when forming their own L2 grammars? Krashen (1985) formulated the *comprehensible input hypothesis* to underscore the importance of language input in L2 learning. Krashen specified that good input needs to be slightly above the learners' current language level. Building on this hypothesis, Gass (1988) used the term *apperceived input* to refer to input that is noticed, understood by learners, and further becomes a part of learners' L2. Recognizing that mere exposure to input is a necessary but insufficient condition for acquisition, Long (1996) proposed the *interaction hypothesis*, pointing out that the best input for learners is negotiated by the learner and the interlocutor when communication breaks down. Negotiation of meaning can take different forms, including clarification requests, confirmation checks, and comprehension checks, depending on how big the communication gap is. It renders an opportunity for input to be deeply processed with the potential to become *intake*, which is information integrated into a learner's L2 system. L2 learning does not stop at comprehension. After observing students' language development in a French immersion classroom, Swain (1985) proposed the *pushed output hypothesis*: only through the production tasks of speaking and writing can input be transformed into language competence. Tasks requiring learners to use the language are thus indispensable for successful acquisition.

Since feedback on learner errors is not only an important source of input, but also a catalyst for knowledge restructuring of the L2 system, a central question for SLA scholars is: What is the most effective way to provide feedback on learner errors? Feedback can take several forms, including clarification requests, explicit corrections, recasts, and elicitations (Lyster and Ranta 1997). A clarification request, an implicit form of negative feedback, verifies a learner's intentions in question form (i.e., "Did you mean …?"). Explicit correction, as the name suggests, provides the correct target form for the learner. A recast is a reformulation of an incorrect utterance that maintains the original meaning but in the correct form. Elicitation involves asking the learner to provide more linguistic information about the prior utterance. Ample research has explored the short- and long-term effects of different forms of feedback on acquisition. Findings suggest that the kinds of feedback requiring learners to negotiate more and engage in deeper processing seem to be more facilitative (e.g., Lyster 2004) and the types of feedback are sensitive to different linguistic areas (e.g., Pica 1994).

Two psychological components feature prominently in L2 processing: attention and memory. Attention is the ability to mentally focus on the input. According to Schmidt's (1995) *noticing hypothesis*, in order for acquisition to take place, learners must notice what is new in language input and must register the new form in their brains. Conversely, insensitivity to input will block learning. Research has shown that attention to the language code can be internally and externally fostered. Memory refers to the mental representation of linguistic forms. Long-term memory is the unlimited representation of knowledge that can be activated at any time. There are two types of long-term memory: explicit-declarative, which can be verbalized and explained to others, and implicit-procedural, which can be operationalized but not verbalized. In the case of Chinese, any native speaker has implicit-procedural knowledge of the language since they can use the language adeptly for communicative needs, but they do not necessarily have explicit-declarative knowledge of the language for they may not be able to answer questions such as "How is the particle 了 used in Chinese?" or "What does Chinese word order look like?" without systematic training in the descriptive rules of the language. Short-term memory is the temporary storage space where processing takes place. It directly affects learning rate and the ultimate attainment of L2 learning, and partially explains individual differences in learning an L2.

When processing an L2, learners universally engage in simplification, overgeneralization, and restructuring (McLaughlin 1990), and they demonstrate U-shaped learning curves (Lightbown 1983). In the early stages of learning an L2, learners typically use a simplified version of the language because they have limited linguistic resources to convey messages. This is frequently observed among beginners who tend to use simple, recurrent, and often memorized words, phrases, and structures to meet their immediate needs. Once learners have acquired some lexical and grammatical rules, they tend to apply the rules indiscriminately. CFL learners' overuse of the particle 了 and the generic classifier 个 are both good examples of overgeneralization.

Restructuring occurs once learners have built a good linguistic knowledge base. More advanced learners reorganize their current knowledge representations when a new language element is introduced. To use the Chinese classifier 个 again as an illustration, when learners experience increased exposure to proper usage and non-usage of 个, they begin to reformulate its mental representation, registering information about when to use and not to use 个, and simultaneously changing the mental representation of classifiers in the same category. Finally, L2 development does not progress linearly. L2 learning curves are U-shaped, with correct forms or high accuracy rates appearing at the early stage of development, disappearing during restructuring, and reappearing at a later stage (Sharwood Smith and Kellerman 1989). Ke (2005), for example, reported a U-shaped learning curve for advanced CFL learners in acquiring nine Chinese grammatical structures.

4.2 Social-Oriented Approaches to SLA

Social approaches to SLA are based on the belief that language learning is nested in social interaction and is inherently social in nature. Therefore, the study of a cognitive activity must be situated in the specific context in which it takes place.

As the most well recognized social approach to SLA, sociocultural theory (SCT) posits that "all specifically human psychological processes (so-called higher mental processes) are mediated by psychological tools such as language, signs, and symbols" (Karpov and Hayward 1998, p. 27). Language, a human cultural invention, mediates people's worldly experiences, and to learn an L2 is to acquire a new system of mediational means over which the learner gradually gains control (Lantolf and Thorne 2006). To help learners master the L2, a more capable person (called a mediator in SCT literature), needs to determine what the learner is currently able to do independently, and more importantly what he or she can do given some support. The *zone of proximal development* (ZPD) is defined as this gap between the learner's current independent capabilities and his or her potential capabilities (Vygotsky 1978). When a learner commits an error in language production or shows a lack of comprehension, it suggests a knowledge gap. In these learning moments, mediation should be provided based on learners' immediate needs and responsiveness to the provided help. Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) proposed a 13-point regulatory scale to diagnose and respond to learner errors in mediator-learner interactions where feedback types are dependent upon learners' immediate needs.

Another central tenet of SCT is explicit teaching, or *artificial intellectual development* (Lantolf and Poehner 2014; Lantolf and Thorne 2006), which is based on the assumption that the rate and path of development can be altered, given quality mediation and effective instruction grounded in a scientific understanding of the linguistic concepts. Concept-based instruction provides learners with a schematic presentation of a linguistic concept, followed by practice and verbalization, to induce language development. Zhang (2014) tested Pienemann et al.'s (1988) *processibility hypothesis* using concept-based instruction to teach CFL learners the

topicalization OSV (Object + Subject + Verb) word order, which, according to processibility theory, can only occur after learners have acquired the ADJUNCT SVO (ADJUNCT + Subject + Verb + Object) order. His preliminary findings reported the production of OSV before ADJUNCT SVO, showing that concept-based instruction can alter supposedly predetermined developmental stages.

Social approaches to SLA, particularly identity theory (Norton and McKinney 2011), highlight learner agency and the issue of power in language learning. Unlike cognitive approaches, identity theory shows through observations, interviews, and narratives that learners are not passive receivers of information, and language learning is not a linear process of knowledge transfer from the brain of the native speaker to that of the learner. Rather, learners are social beings whose feelings and emotions constantly fluctuate in every learning situation. Put in an instructional context, those students who appear to be less engaged in class activities may not lack motivation or language skills, but instead may be making conscious and agentive choices. The power imbalance between the teacher and students in classrooms may inhibit learner participation and willingness to participate. When students are characterized as deficit learners in classrooms as a result of excessive error correction or teacher-centered discourse, it may discourage them from participating in class activities.

Language socialization theory regards language learning as a process of socializing into the target language community (Duff and Talmy 2011). Through a narrative-based longitudinal study of six CFL learners and their different life experiences with China and Chinese learning, Duff et al. (2013) offered a rich, in-depth picture of how CFL learners' identities are constructed and constantly reconstructed by their social environments and by their everyday experiences, which involve transitioning back and forth between their own culture and Chinese culture. It depicts a complex picture of language learning and language choices, participation and non-participation in language use, and inadvertent personal changes in learning Chinese. This longitudinal study reveals how identity choices and personal experiences socializing into or distancing oneself from the target culture affect L2 development. It once again highlights the fact that learning an L2 is not just about learning a different symbolic system to represent existing meanings in the L1, as the cognitive approaches envision it, but it is a process that fundamentally and essentially changes learners' world views and existing knowledge, and imposes a new way of thinking upon its speakers.

CA-SLA focuses on interactional competence as the locus where L2 learning takes place. Specifically, talk-in-turn interaction is the center of language learning. Learners are not deficit language users, but people who negotiate and engage in interactions to establish their social membership and identity. There are no fixed categories of learners and native speakers, or teachers and students. Membership only becomes meaningful and relevant in the moment-to-moment interactions in which all participants collectively contribute through their personal experiences. Negotiation of meaning and form-focused turns and corrections are where language learning takes place and where learner development can be observed.

Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) introduced complexity theory and dynamic systems into SLA to explain the multiple confounding variables of L2 learning and

their complicated relationships. In this line of thinking, everything is interrelated, and changing a small thing may affect the whole. Language development exhibits an organic trajectory with ups and downs. Taking a dynamic systems approach in their investigation of CFL learners' development of the classifier system, Zhang and Lu (2013) revealed the complicated and competing relationship between different sub-systems of the learner language and the self-moderating function of the process.

Compared with its cognitive counterpart, social-oriented SLA is still a rather new school of thought. Despite its short history, it has offered very promising insights to the field of SLA that the traditional cognitive approaches are not able to offer, thus diversifying the research tradition by revealing factors and relationships overlooked in the traditional research paradigm. A perusal of CFL research reveals the current CFL research agenda is primarily cognitive-oriented (cf. Ke 2012). Research taking a social approach to investigating CFL learning has only appeared very recently. The aforementioned studies are among the few that have used CFL as an investigative context. More CFL research from a social perspective is necessary to increase our understanding of the complexities, affordances, and frustrations associated with learning an L2.

5 Understanding Second Language Learners

As language teachers, we frequently encounter learners who seem to be born to learn the language and those who are less successful in the same effort. Admittedly, the rates and ultimate attainment of L2 learning differ greatly from person to person. Individual differences in learning an L2 have intrigued SLA researchers for a long time. Causal or correlational models of cognitive approaches to SLA have generated a research agenda to pin down the independent variables of learner variation in order to determine how these variables affect the behavior of language learning. The most studied constructs in explaining individual differences are age, aptitude, motivation, and affect.

In SLA literature, age refers to the onset of L2 learning, that is, whether a person begins in childhood, in early adulthood, or late adulthood. The *critical period hypothesis* (Birdsong 1999) establishes a correlation between age and L2 achievement, specifically that there is a limited period of time during which one can develop native-like proficiency. Once this window of time has passed, one's ability to acquire a language declines and one will never achieve native-like fluency. This notion is still debatable. Age may affect the ultimate attainment of an L2 (generally, the earlier one learns an L2, the better), and affects some linguistic aspects more than others (for example, phonetic development tends to be more sensitive to learning age). However, no consensus has been reached on the optimal age of L2 learning. Furthermore, conflicting evidence has been reported on whether the ultimate attainment of L2 learning is correlated with the age of learning (e.g. Birdsong 1992; Coppieters 1987).

Aptitude is one's natural ability to learn an L2. The most widely used assessment of language aptitude is the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT), which measures phonetic coding ability, grammatical sensitivity, and memory capacity (Carroll 1981; Carroll and Sapon 1959). Different studies have reported that aptitude accounts for 16 % to 36 % of L2 achievement (Ortega 2009). Current understanding about aptitude suggests it is a multidimensional and multicomponential construct (Robinson 2002), and the different components of aptitude interact in a sophisticated way. The ways in which different cognitive abilities work are influenced by the learning context and environment, and aptitude, as one construct of individual differences, functions together with the constructs of motivation and affect. Therefore, aptitude cannot be investigated as an isolated causal factor but must be examined within the real context of L2 learning.

Unlike aptitude, which is an inborn capacity, motivation is a volitional construct. Put in simple terms, motivation is how much one wants to learn an L2 and how much effort one is willing to invest. According to Gardner (1985), motivation has four aspects: a goal, consistent effort towards the goal, a desire to achieve the goal, and a favorable attitude toward the activity. Motivation has traditionally been measured by Likert scale questionnaires, such as the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), and several taxonomies have been used to differentiate learners in terms of investment in language learning. Several types of motivation have been identified. Considered the most conducive form, integrative motivation is characterized by a genuine interest in learning the language in order to better communicate and participate in the target language community (Gardner 2001). Instrumental motivation is associated with a desire to learn a language for utilitarian and practical purposes. Granted, different motivations play a role in the processes and outcomes of L2 learning. Motivation is currently understood as dynamic, ever-changing, and dependent upon the specific learning context (Dörnyei 2001, 2002). Prior learning histories and experiences, successful or otherwise, also impact the activity and can reshape motivation.

Affect refers to emotional responses to the target language, the people who speak the language, and the target culture. Due to the amount of effort involved and the difficulty of learning an L2, the most-discussed affective construct is foreign language anxiety, which results from feelings of apprehension and fear associated with L2 learning. Anxiety is not necessarily negative. Mizruchi (1991) found a moderate-level of anxiety is facilitative to language learning, but excessive anxiety interferes with academic achievement. Anxiety is often associated with a low sense of self-perception and a lack of confidence (Onwuegbuzie et al. 1999). Perfectionist tendencies and high expectations for personal performance can also lead to excessive anxiety (Horwitz 1988).

In addition, individual differences are manifested in personalities, learning styles, and preferences for learning strategies. People differ in their levels of introversion or extroversion, which may affect the rate of certain aspects of language learning, but it has not been proven consequential to ultimate language attainment. Learners differ in their focus of attention: some focus more on form and accuracy, while others focus more on communication and fluency. Learners prefer to use dif-

ferent learning strategies, with some preferring rote memorization and others using more analytical strategies. These are all important dimensions of individual differences. The challenges lie in how these individual traits can be catered to in instructional decisions and classroom practices.

Social-oriented SLA scholars have examined the aforementioned constructs from different angles and underscored the importance of examining these attributes as dynamic constructs situated in macro and micro learning contexts. As Larsen-Freeman (2011) pointed out, "learner attributes vary considerably from time to time and situation to situation" (p. 57). Learners differ in their language aptitudes, but more importantly in how they choose to apply their different abilities to language learning, which is contextually situated, emergent, and continuously constructed and reconstructed. CA-SLA and identity theory explain individual differences using the construct of identity, which is described as "multiple, fluid, fragmented, and conflicting" (Kasper and Wagner 2011, p. 122). Complementing quantitative measures such as Likert scale questionnaires, individual differences must also be interpreted as qualitative constructs in specific social and cultural contexts.

6 Implications of SLA on CFL Learning and Teaching

A major issue with most SLA theories is they do not consider language teaching in their theory construction and development. According to Gass et al. (2013), "SLA is not about pedagogy, unless the pedagogy affects the course of acquisition" (p. 2). Sociocultural theory is an exception in that it unites the two by placing equal importance on teaching and learning. Nevertheless, we can use the rich insights gained from SLA research to augment our knowledge about CFL learning and improve CFL teaching practices. Specifically, SLA findings can provide guidance for CFL teachers and practitioners in setting realistic expectations for CFL learners, creating an optimal learning environment, and tailoring teaching to individual learners.

6.1 Setting Realistic Expectations for CFL Development

With a better understanding of learner language, what realistic expectations should we set for CFL learners? First and foremost, learners should not be expected to achieve native-like proficiency because learner language develops at its own pace as an independent system from the L1 or L2. Take pronunciation, for example. In Chinese the term 洋腔洋调 (foreign accents) characterizes foreigners' non-native-like speech. As a matter of fact, 洋腔洋调 is a natural result of L2 speech development. As long as it does not interfere with communication, speaking with some 洋腔洋调 is totally acceptable and does not need to be corrected all the time. The same holds true for other aspects of language. After all, the purpose of learning a foreign language is to communicate, not to become a native speaker.

Systematicity in L2 development is reassuring for CFL teachers. Learners from similar language backgrounds, or those who have received similar types of instruction, tend to make similar patterns of errors. These error patterns are often motivated either by L1 transfer or the inherent complexity of the target language forms. Prediction of student errors is possible and should be given adequate attention. Accompanying systematicity is variability. Learners progress differently. Even in exactly the same learning context, they follow different paths of development, some faster and some slower, so variability is always expected in CFL classes. This variability can be explained by the destabilization and reconstruction of students' L2 systems, and competition among different sub-systems of the language. Understanding learners' L1s can help CFL teachers appreciate the ups and downs of learning, stagnations in students' errors, and the plateau periods they experience. CFL teachers must familiarize themselves with this norm and develop strategies to address learner variability.

6.2 Creating an Optimal Learning Environment for CFL Learners

What constitutes an ideal environment for CFL learning? Ample spoken and written language input is essential, and to be useful, it must be comprehensible to learners and appropriate for learners' level of proficiency. This has implications for the use or non-use of the target language in classrooms. A popular belief among foreign language teachers is only the target language should be used in class, and many institutions use this as a criterion for teaching evaluation. However, it cannot be applied without consideration of students' knowledge and proficiency levels. For beginners whose Chinese skills are minimal, instruction delivered entirely in Chinese will not be comprehended and will likely cause unnecessary anxiety, frustration, and even demotivation. The proportion of instruction provided in Chinese should increase little by little as students' language proficiency improves. Modified input that students find challenging but manageable when provided with support is the most facilitating for learning. Teachers should modify their input based on their students' current level and provide support only when needed. Similar implications can be drawn for determining the optimal timing of study abroad programs. Students with little knowledge of Chinese may not benefit from a total immersion environment as much as those who have learned the basic vocabulary and grammar in a relatively safe and familiar context (i.e., a foreign language classroom).

Another popular notion in foreign language teaching is that classes must be student-centered, not teacher-centered. SLA research has shown that a real student-centered classroom is not one in which students get to speak more than the teacher, but one in which all instructional elements are tailored to the students' current language level to create optimal conditions for continued development. Class activities should consist of rich and varied opportunities for negotiation of meaning to take place because meaningful interactions serve as a catalyst for acquisition and induce deep information processing.

Understanding practice and output is important for CFL teaching. Chinese traditional pedagogy is based on a philosophy of knowledge being transferred from the teacher to students. Knowledge learning is important but insufficient, as it is simply the beginning of the language acquisition process. At best, it helps develop declarative knowledge. What drives language acquisition is frequent meaningful practice in the form of communicative language tasks. These tasks create the condition to transform declarative knowledge into procedural knowledge and ultimately into autonomous knowledge. Output, spoken or written, is what language learning is all about. Therefore, an effective CFL curriculum must incorporate an ample amount of output activities.

6.3 Tailoring Teaching to Individual Learners

Language learning boils down to individual endeavors and must be treated as such. As previously discussed, learners differ in learning age, ability to learn a language, efforts invested in learning a language, feelings experienced during the process, personality, learning style, and so forth. Many of these traits are dynamic rather than static and are sensitive to when and where the learning takes place and with whom the learning experience is constructed. Admittedly, it is rather challenging to tailor teaching to different individuals' learning styles and needs in a typical Chinese classroom context where the teacher is required to cover certain materials following a fixed teaching schedule. Nevertheless, teachers must constantly explore ways to meet learners' cognitive and affective needs to maximize their language learning experience. Teachers should refrain from playing a dominant role and shift towards a more facilitative supporting role in classrooms. A teacher-dominated classroom where the teacher is the only subject matter expert may render students powerless and discourage them from participating. It may also cause unwarranted pressure, affecting students' willingness to communicate. For this reason, teachers should consider using activities that incorporate different modes of teacher-student interaction, small group discussion, and large group discussion to share the floor with students.

The dynamic and ever-changing nature of motivation requires CFL teachers to constantly consider ways to stimulate students' interest in learning Chinese and maintain their investment in the effort. Changes in instructional styles, instructors, class activities, assignments, and forms and intensity of assessment can cause fluctuations in motivation, in addition to individual factors that are beyond an instructor's control. Instructors must be cautious about any instructional changes they may want to make and must consider how motivation could be affected by such decisions. At times, an instructor may have to forego implementing sound pedagogical decisions because it may hurt students' motivation. For example, overly frequent use of quizzes or tests, repetitive drilling exercises, and assigning homework that requires excessive amounts of time could hurt students' attitude towards studying Chinese.

Although it is a challenge for CFL teachers to work with individual learners in light of large class sizes and pressure to follow a predetermined syllabus, opportunities to work with different learners need to be created. This could be accomplished by assigning different learning materials and homework to students in the same class but at different proficiency levels. The feedback provided to students on assignments and language tasks can be tailored to individuals. Individual conference sessions with students can be used when an instructor needs to provide feedback on speaking and writing tasks. These individualized interactions create rich opportunities for negotiation of meaning and tailored student support.

7 Conclusion

Rigorous research over the past 50 years has yielded findings that have helped us better understand CFL learning and teaching. Among several disciplines, CFL particularly has benefited from SLA research. This chapter presented a critical review of three central issues in SLA: what we know about learner language, how second language learning takes place, and what the characteristics are of second language learners. It is clear that second language learning is a complex mental and social activity. After about 50 years of SLA inquiry, we now have a rich knowledge base, allowing us to appreciate the complexities of CFL learning and to generate theory-guided teaching practices. Importantly, CFL teachers should set realistic expectations for CFL students' language development, create an optimal learning environment for CFL students, and tailor instruction to individual learners. Since both SLA and CFL are rather new fields of research, our current knowledge and understanding remain to be challenged and modified. It is hoped that CFL practitioners keep current with SLA developments and contribute to the advancement of both disciplines through rigorous research and innovative teaching.

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Medium-of-Instruction Policy and Practices in CSL Classrooms

Danping Wang

Abstract This chapter provides a critical review of medium-of-instruction (MoI) policies and practices in CSL education in China. MoI is the language used in the process of teaching or learning a language, which may include the target language and students' L1 and/or a common language shared by teachers and students. The purpose of this chapter is to examine language use and language choice in the CSL classroom, to offer pedagogical suggestions for CSL teachers and teacher educators, and to consider why, when, and how to effectively manage MoI for everyday teaching. The chapter also seeks to shed light on understanding the functional role and the sensible use of English in Chinese teaching and learning in the United States.

Keywords Medium of instruction (MoI) • Language policy • Code-switching • Language teaching approach • Monolingual approach • Immersion approach • Chinese only • Multilingual approach • Multilingual classroom • English as a lingua franca

1 Introduction

A typical CSL classroom in China is comprised of multilingual learners with diverse linguistic backgrounds, life experiences, and knowledge acquired from learning other foreign languages. Foreign language education scholarship has thoroughly investigated the effectiveness of teaching and learning a foreign language entirely through the target language. Tollefson and Tsui (2004) argue that the most important policy decisions in language education are those related to the choice of language(s) as a medium of instruction (MoI). This chapter seeks to analyze MoI policies in China and to offer implications for teachers, teacher educators, and policy makers of CSL in China and the United States. It also seeks to shed light on understanding the functional role and the sensible use of English in Chinese teaching and learning in the United States.

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In analyzing medium-of-instruction policies, it is imperative to include both pedagogical and socio-political perspectives. In the classroom, the question of which language to use has a tremendous impact on the learning outcome. It is useful to consider how an MoI policy can support the goals and objectives of the curriculum. For example, in a low-level class, some teachers may find it beneficial to provide all classroom instruction exclusively in Mandarin Chinese, while others may prefer to explain difficult concepts or methodology in a common language shared by teacher and student. However, the rationale behind each teacher's decision is shaped by many factors, such as his/her teaching philosophy, previous experience, his/her understanding of second-language acquisition, as well as his/her ability in using a common language to teach. Many studies in foreign language education provide models and suggestions for MoI policy regulations and implementation in hopes of achieving the most desirable learning outcomes (e.g. Turnbull and Arnett 2002; Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain 2009; Swain and Lapkin 2000). However, only a few articles exist that focus on medium-of-instruction for CSL teaching in particular, and MoI is treated in a piecemeal way in these articles. Thus, when speaking of CSL education, the importance of medium-of-instruction policy reviews and research has not been fully recognized.

Although decisions about medium-of-instruction are often justified within pedagogical frameworks, these policies are not formed in a vacuum (Tollefson and Tsui 2004, p. 283). They emerge in the context of social and political forces, including, but not limited to, the global linguistic environment, the internationalization of English, the stability of economic growth, and the national political climate. Power distribution among competing interest groups in a socio-political sphere can be implicitly but proportionally transferable to the classroom. Some teachers, much to their surprise, discover that their good intentions, say, in forcefully banning the use of students' L1s or a common language in order to increase their exposure to the target language, is in fact a deprivation of students' right to speak their minds in the classroom. Discussions in the scholarly community concerning the influence of ideological, social, and political elements in MoI policy focus on English as a Foreign/Second Language (EFL or ESL) (e.g. Hashimoto 2013; Pennycook 1998; Phillipson 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

Nevertheless, research on MoI in the CSL context remains scant. In spite of a number of articles on possible hazardous consequences of using English in CSL classrooms (e.g. Liang 1998; Wang 2007), there is little actual research exploring the ramifications of MoI in a CSL-specific context. Which language to use, and how often to use it, is as essential an issue in a CSL classroom as any other; yet, it is an issue that remains peripheral or inconsequential to CSL research. As Wright (2005) argues, classroom management is the central element of every teacher's daily professional experience, but it is often a neglected topic in debates on language education (p. 1).

A critical review of MoI policy and practice is beneficial to the development of innovative pedagogical techniques and teacher education. This chapter begins with

a historical account of MoI policy development over the last 60 years. It will then discuss reasons and factors that have impeded research on MoI policies in CSL. Taking into account prior studies, I propose a multilingual paradigm toward MoI policy development and suggest some basic guidelines and principles for a practical and sensible use of MoI. The final portion of this chapter extends this discussion to the socio-political dimension and the controversial role of English in the CSL classroom.

2 A Historical Account of MoI Policy Development

Language use in the classroom has evolved alongside teaching methods. Over the last 60 years, changing trends in teaching methods have been observed and documented. Table 1 tracks the development of MoI policies and their effect on the prevailing teaching method of the time.

A multilingual MoI was most common during the period when the Grammar-translation Approach was dominant. Since this method encouraged literature analysis and dictionary skills (Xing 2006, p. 7), teachers emphasized the meaning of words and cultural knowledge rather than developing learners' oral proficiency. The major classroom activity was translation, which naturally entailed the multilingual use of Chinese, the students' L1s, and a common language. In the 1950s, most CSL courses required candidates to speak either fluent English or Russian (Cheng 2005, p. 58). At the same time that these early CSL classes were offered, English was adopted as the lingua franca in China. CSL teachers would usually begin instruction in English to introduce Chinese grammar knowledge and then assign exercises for students to practice (Zhao 2009, p. 219). The use of English as the MoI was highly valued by teachers, as well as students from various countries. This model was regarded as practical and effective in a class that emphasized communication.

The Directive Approach flourished in the 1960s, bringing with it a switch to a monolingual policy. The audio-lingual method and pattern drills became the most popular practices to teach a foreign language. The audio-lingual method is based on ideas from behaviorism in psychology and structuralism in linguistics. Behaviorism views language learning as the formation of habits and assumes that a person learning an L2 would start off with the habits formed in his or her L1. This perspective,

Table 1 The development of medium-of-instruction policies

1950s–1960s	1960s–1970s	1980s–2000s	2000s–present
Grammar-translation approach	Directive approach (e.g. audio-lingual method)	Various new communicative methods (e.g. task-based approach)	Various popular methods (e.g. immersion programs)
Multilingual	Monolingual	Eclectic but prone to multilingual	Eclectic but prone to monolingual

however, mistakenly blurs the distinction between L1 acquisition and L2 learning. Up to the 1960s, one's L1 was believed to be a major interference and the cause of errors when learning an L2. During the Directive Approach period, "classroom activities emphasized mimicry and memorization, and students learned dialogues and sentence patterns by heart" (Lightbrown and Spada 2011, p. 34). Because of its primary emphasis on spoken language, teaching effectiveness and students' progress were evaluated by how much the target language was used. The most salient principle of procedures underlying the Directive method is its monolingual language policy. "Classroom instruction was conducted exclusively through the target language" (Richards and Rogers 2001, p. 12). However, in many CSL classrooms, English and the students' L1s were also used occasionally for practical reasons, so this period in CSL was regarded as a "Relative-Directive Approach" (Cheng 2005, p. 58). The influence of this method was so profound that traces of audio-lingual-based techniques are still in practice today. During the 1970s and 1980s, CSL education in China was suspended due to the catastrophic Cultural Revolution.

The Communicative Approach became a popular idea in CSL teaching in China in the 1990s. A variety of alternative language teaching methods emerged at this time, all with the primary goal of developing communicative competence in real-life situations. During this period, there was no particular dominant method that met the goals and needs of all learners and programs. A Communicative Approach encompasses eclectic ways of teaching built upon disparate beliefs. In the same way EFL teachers were learning to adapt to diverse communicative techniques, CSL teachers introduced new methods such as "Suggestopedia," "Silent Way," and "Total Physical Response" (Liu 2006, pp. 84–99; Zhao 2010). Some of these teaching techniques never became widely used and had only a short lifespan while others are still in practice to this day. Teachers' attitudes toward language use were consequently different according to their preferred teaching methods. With the rise of empirical investigations of EFL learners' individual differences, CSL educators also began to accommodate different learner needs and preferences. The MoI policy during this period was rather flexible and more open to a multilingual paradigm.

This eclectic approach to teaching continued into the 2000s with an inclination towards monolingual policies. CSL teachers in China became enamored with popular immersion programs as the most effective way to achieve fluency (Ji 2006; Zhang and Tian 2004). Some programs were famous for their rigorous monolingual pedagogy and their adherence to a strict language oath, which required students to pledge to use no language other than Chinese in all situations. Failure to follow the language oath would result in punishments including being dismissed from the immersion program. Observing the astonishing results of these methods, some CSL teachers assumed that using Chinese exclusively in the classroom could improve learning.

The limitation of these immersion programs was they could not accommodate low-level learners or those with little or no prior knowledge of Chinese, or those who only learn Chinese for fun. In addition to pedagogical considerations, socio-political factors also contributed to the formation of an overarching monolingual policy in CSL during this period. "Language purity" propaganda designed to remove

the English out of Chinese may have also reinforced teachers' decisions on language use in the classroom (Yan and Deng 2009).

Over the decades covered, MoI policy in CSL classrooms developed alongside changing teaching approaches. Although educators have introduced popular teaching methods, pedagogical development continues to remain on the periphery of CSL research. Apart from a limited recognition of the importance of MoI policy research, another critical issue that contributed to the tardy development of this area is the ambivalent definition of MoI.

3 Ambivalent Definition of MoI

Medium of instruction is "媒介语" in Chinese. The denotation of this term is slightly different from its established definition in English. In a broader sense, "medium of instruction" in the CSL context should include all languages used for teaching or learning Chinese, including Chinese (the target language), the CSL student's first language, and English (the lingua franca). In Chinese, however, the term "medium of instruction" usually excludes Chinese, the target language. It refers only to a foreign language shared by teachers and students. This foreign language is usually "the teachers' L2 or students' L1 or L2" (Fu 2005, p. 49). Studies related to MoI policy in CSL have widely adopted this definition. For example, a common expression in Chinese about this term can be seen from Xun Liu's work (2000, p. 351).

> 应尽量运用目的语与学习者沟通, 避免语言转换或夹杂学生的母语或媒介语。
>
> ([Teachers] should use as much target language as possible to communicate with students and avoid switching or mixing students' L1 or a foreign language)

CSL instructors should reconsider their definition of the medium-of-instruction to avoid such implications. Ontologically speaking, to separate the target language from other languages used in the classroom can lead to profound problems. First of all, the supporting instructional code becomes "foreign" or "undesirable" as instructors following this definition consider it auxiliary. As a result, CSL research has focused on developing techniques to cleanse "foreign languages" out of the CSL classroom, rather than studying effective ways to employ MoI to improve interaction. Second, it may have reduced the importance of learning and understanding learners' languages and cultures. With the current MoI policy, foreign elements, such as students' L1 and a common language for communication, are eventually to be removed from the CSL classroom because they are not regarded as useful to learning the Chinese language. A good understanding of students' L1s or a common language can be a great advantage in keeping the L2 classroom communicative and tremendously helpful for alleviating anxiety for beginners.

CSL research has crafted MoI into an "enclave" due to its ambivalent definition. Liu's statement shows how the definition has classified language use in the CSL

classroom into three groups – Chinese, the student's L1, and a common language. The positive message from this definition is it acknowledges that the contemporary CSL classroom is multilingual, and in most cases, CSL teaching in China requires a common language as the communication medium. At the same time, this definition has marginalized MoI and largely excluded it from CSL research. As previously mentioned, typical CSL classrooms in China consist of students from a number of different countries, speaking a number of different L1s. Only in rare cases can CSL teachers speak the L1 of their students fluently. It would be ideal if a CSL teacher could speak several foreign languages and be able to use those languages to teach and communicate, but it is not realistic to expect CSL teachers to be able to speak all of their students' L1s. However, under such circumstances, English is indisputably the most common and widely used foreign language for both CSL teachers and students. Even if there is a class with students from one single country, such as Thailand, Germany, or Russia, it is less likely one will find qualified CSL teachers who can comfortably use Thai, German, or Russian as a common language from which to teach. It is important to note that the ability to speak the language and the ability to teach through the language are different. The latter requires professional training and guidance.

MoI research becomes even more complex when considering the diversity of languages in the classroom. The assumption of many studies on this topic is students in the classroom share their L1 with their teacher and the teacher uses their commonly shared L1 to teach L2. Many studies concentrate on, for example, how a Spanish teacher creatively uses this language to help his or her Spanish students learn English faster and more easily. However, in CSL teaching, a Chinese teacher often uses English as a lingua franca to teach a group of international learners who speak a number of different L1s. For this reason, how to effectively use this common language (English) to teach and learn is a pressing issue in MoI research. However, such research would be highly complex since it requires professional knowledge about L2 acquisition, classroom management, pedagogical innovations, curriculum development, teacher education, and English education studies.

4 The Monolingual Façade

Chinese-only is the predominant language policy for CSL programs in China. Examples of MoI regulation are evident in teaching syllabi and many other documents dictating language use in CSL classrooms. For example, the CSL teaching syllabus excerpted below explicitly states that English and other foreign languages should be prohibited in everyday classrooms.

> 教学的主要用语是汉语。鉴于一般教材都有适量的翻译， 多数正规教学单位基本上是混合编班, 因此, 课堂教学中原则上不允许使用某种学生母语 (例如:英语、日语等) 或其他媒介语。
>
> (Chinese is the primary MoI. Considering translation is provided in textbooks and a class is made up of students from different countries, students' L1 (e.g., English, Japanese, etc.) and other foreign languages are not allowed in the CSL classroom. (Yang 1999, p. 5)

Teachers who support Chinese-only pedagogy argue that Chinese is best taught through the target language exclusively because using English will be detrimental to the process of learning Chinese (e.g. Liu 2006, p. 118; Lü 1993, p. 84). In addition to teaching syllabi, more examples can be found in instructional materials for CSL teacher-training programs. Table 2 shows a few examples of explicit regulations on MoI.

Lü (1993) argues that Chinese language education should abide by a Chinese-only pedagogy and should avoid using students' L1s except as a last resort. It is assumed that all supporting instructional languages are detrimental to students' learning of Chinese. Teacher educators advise CSL instructors to exhaust alternative methods, such as body language or flashcards, before resorting to a student's L1. Classroom teaching efficiency is clearly not taken into consideration in this model. H. Yang (2004) acknowledges that a "foreign language" can be useful for explaining linguistic knowledge but otherwise rejects the notion that this foreign language can be similarly helpful as well in managing learning activities. Likewise, in the last example, Liu (2006) suggests that the only appropriate situation in which to include other languages is for practicing translation in class. Other than this, teachers and students are strongly encouraged to strictly follow Chinese-only pedagogy. However, to this date in CSL research, there are no studies focusing on which aspects of classroom teaching can or cannot be taught effectively in the non-target language. Little research exists to substantiate the advantage of the target-language-only principle. This assertion is based on groundless assumptions that have influenced teachers' attitudes and beliefs about pedagogical development.

Proponents of a Chinese-only pedagogy have developed teaching techniques to help teachers conform to the monolingual principle in CSL classes. For example, if teachers find it necessary to speak another language, they should instead use flashcards, make gestures, ask students to find the answers to their questions in dictionaries, and invite students to explain answers to each other (Liang 1998, pp. 41–42). Classes that follow these principles are considered highly teacher-centered, in that the effective and spontaneous communication between teachers and students might

Table 2 Regulations on MoI in CSL classrooms

Use only as the last resort	Use only to explain linguistic knowledge	Use only for translation practice
我们原则上不反对在第二语言教学中使用媒介语，但主张把媒介语的使用减少到最低限度，只是在不得已的时候使用。	教师在讲解的时候可以适当使用外语，但是课堂用语绝对不能使用外语。	课堂上则应严格体现"沉浸法"的精神,尽可能使用目的语,除了必要的翻译练习外,不使用母语或媒介语。
In principle, we do not object to the use of English as the MoI in Chinese teaching, but we aim to minimize its use, or only to use it as the last resort (Lü 1993, p. 84)	Teachers can use some foreign languages to explain a language point, but never use any foreign languages when giving directions (Yang 2004)	We should strictly follow the spirit of "immersion approach" in class and use the target language as much as possible. Except for necessary translation, the students' L1 or English is forbidden (Liu 2006, p. 118)

be postponed or impeded at the discretion of the teacher. All of these methods are guilty of falling into pure formalism. To prohibit any student's L1 or a common language in the classroom, particularly in the case of beginners, would create a rigid monolingual environment. Such a monolingual principle may not only slow the acquisition of Chinese but also denies students the ability to draw on their linguistic resources and strengths, and to build the new on the foundation of the known.

5 Towards a Multilingual Paradigm

Recent research on MoI in the CSL classroom reveals a discrepancy between a monolingual norm and a multilingual reality. Empirical evidence supports the notion that a multilingual model, using students' L1s and/or English, is very helpful for improving CSL learners' command of Chinese and aids in understanding Chinese culture.

In a small-scale study, Ouyang (2003, p. 76) discovered that CSL beginners from Korea struggled with their class instruction and often needed to rely on bilingual Chinese tutors to help them translate their Chinese-only notes into Korean after school. In recent years, the Chinese government has made some effort to develop professional multilingual CSL teachers who are expected to speak, in addition to English, another less commonly taught foreign language, such as Korean, Japanese, French, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, etc. These multilingual CSL teachers are expected to teach Chinese in the countries where the language is spoken as the L1, instead of teaching in multilingual classrooms at universities in China. Such training is urgently needed. However, many overseas CSL teachers and volunteers struggle to overcome huge cultural gaps and have a difficult time understanding classroom norms and their students (Deng 2008).

Some Chinese articles have articulated at length what circumstances, for what purposes, and in what way English may be used to achieve practical goals. These studies have proposed the principle of moderation (适度原则). Xu (2008) highlighted four factors for CSL teachers to consider when they decide what language to use: (1) to whom (a student's linguistic background), (2) at what level (a student's L2 level), (3) for how long, and (4) how much. Following Xu's proposal, Jiao (2009) speculated that 50 % of classroom language should be in Chinese for intermediate or lower level CSL students, while 80–100 % should be used for advanced CSL students (p. 24). In another study, Lai (1996) investigated the teaching practices of four pre-service ESL teachers in Hong Kong and suggested a few ways for teachers to use students' L1 to trigger the use of L2. Furthermore, Cook (2001), in her seminal article on language use in the classroom, identified three positive roles that L1 could play in an L2 classroom, including "to convey meaning," "to organize the class," and for "students' use of L1 within class" (pp. 413–419). Based on these studies, this chapter proposes three major principles for a medium-of-instruction policy.

(a) Comprehension. Use L1 as long as it helps explain or translate to increase students' comprehension of CSL.
(b) Communication. Use L1 as long as it aids in communication, the organization of or participation in activities, or sharing information.
(c) Efficiency. Use L1 as long as it saves time and energy, for example, the avoidance of completely resorting to body gestures and making flashcards.

As long as the use of English (or L1s) enhances comprehension, maintains communication, and increases efficiency, it can be regarded as a good practice. There are plenty of empirical studies of EFL learning one may refer to on how to judiciously use students' L1s and common languages to accomplish practical goals (e.g. Polio and Duff 1994, p. 317; Swain and Lapkin 2000, p. 258). There are many similarities between these studies and the ones previously mentioned. Based on an empirical study, D. Wang (2014) summarized three major functions of using English and students' L1s in a CSL classroom as shown in Table 3.

These activities are integral to keeping modern foreign language classrooms running smoothly in a communicative way. Without a properly planned MoI, many of the activities listed in Table 3 would be difficult to carry out effectively, particularly in a lower-level class. There have been an increasing number of studies calling for pedagogical reforms in CSL classrooms. Future studies on MoI should focus on making Chinese teaching methods more learner-centered rather than teacher-centered and more theory-informed rather than based off myths and blind assumptions (Levine 2011; Orton 2011; Scrimgeour and Wilson 2009; Wang et al. 2013).

This multilingual paradigm emphasizes the need to liberate constraints on classroom language use and to regulate language use in a sensible way. However, it does not imply that non-target language use can be used without limits. This recommendation for MoI policy is premised on the belief that development of the target language should always be maximized.

Table 3 Functions of English and students' L1s as MoI in CSL classrooms

The explanatory function	Defining and explaining metalinguistic terms, e.g. grammar, new words, new characters, difficult concepts
	Comparison: comparing the relationship between Chinese and English/ students' L1 and Chinese culture with other cultures
	Confirmation: checking comprehension
	Response: answering questions/correcting mistakes
The managerial function	Giving instruction for classroom activities
	Introducing new materials/techniques
	Arranging homework, quizzes, and tests
	Building rapport (free chat/joke around)
	Sharing experiences and learning methods
The interactive function	Helping teachers translate
	Giving class information to others
	Managing tasks when their Chinese is not sufficient enough
	Confirming teacher's instruction
	Translating to stimulate memory

6 English in CSL

Language choice is a question of ideology. An MoI policy determines which social and linguistic groups have access to political and economic opportunities, and which groups are disenfranchised (Tollefson and Tsui 2004, p. 2). The major contention regarding MoI lies in its intricate relationship with English.

The globalization of English has made it the most commonly used MoI in the CSL classroom (Zhang 2007, p. 162; Wang and Kirkpatrick 2012). However, English in CSL education has never been free from complications. Some teachers are not comfortable with English as the sole medium of instruction, arguing that its use would only help disseminate English to CSL students (Wang 2007). The discussion of MoI in CSL teaching can also be a rather sensitive topic to teachers who are educated and trained to teach Chinese as an L1 or teachers who are unable to speak a foreign language. With such conflicted feelings and constant hostility towards English, scholars have only sparsely discussed or investigated the pedagogical role and function of English.

China has experienced extraordinary economic growth and active cultural diplomacy in the last few decades. The Chinese language is also regarded as essential for future success in the global economy. China constantly launches “language-purity campaigns” to combat the invasion of English on Chinese. Two recent articles, “China’s War on English” (Roberts 2014) and “Save Chinese from English” (The Economist 2010), have had a profound impact on Chinese society, including CSL teaching. The articles assert that refusing to learn or speak English makes one more patriotic towards China and more legitimate and professional as a Chinese language teacher. For example, D. Wang (2014) found that some CSL teachers believe that English is a threat to the purity of the Chinese language and using English in their class would tarnish their professional identity (p. 154). According to Chen (2010), CSL teachers are portrayed as cultural messengers who “have a responsibility to spread Chinese culture in addition to their role as a language teacher” (p. 2). Therefore, in their own outlooks and from the information provided by their training instructors, CSL teachers see their choice and use of language in the classroom as a response to the country’s own language regulations. However, the best way to regulate the use of English might be found through a multilingual paradigm that allows a distinctive mix rather than a single language that is kept “pure.”

This chapter discourages the extremists who wish to enact a “one-size-fits-all” language policy in the CSL classroom. A monolingual pedagogy is ideologically rooted and not only forces a focus on simple uses of language, but also excludes the possibility of critical reflection (Auerbach 1993, p. 22).

7 Implications for Chinese Teaching in the U.S.

Chinese language teaching in the United States has a long history and has achieved remarkable success in teaching and research (Everson and Shen 2010; He and Xiao 2008; Xiao 2011). One of the most well-known models of Chinese language

teaching developed in the U.S. is the summer programs that strictly implement a language pledge in an immersion environment in or outside the U.S. Over the years, the total immersion approach adopted by, for example, Middlebury College and Princeton in Beijing, has been regarded as one of the essential preconditions that enable a rapid progress of learning (McGinnis 1997, p. 232). However, with the growing number of learners of Chinese in the U.S. and the diverse teaching methods in other foreign language classrooms, it is imperative that Chinese language educators and researchers begin to research classroom language practices using empirical research methods and to create a dialogue concerning sensible and practical guidance and recommendations for future language policy development.

This critical review underscores the need for sound theoretical guidelines and sufficient training for MoI practices in Chinese classrooms. In order to effectively implement popular teaching approaches, such as the task-based approach, the communicative approach, or the content and language integrated approach, a professional understanding and command of MoI is essential to classroom learning activities and communication. Without this command, teachers' improper use of English hinders students' learning of Chinese in China and overseas (Ruan 2012, p. 94). Teachers might overuse or misuse English in the Chinese classroom or use awkward or incorrect linguistic terms in their instruction. Corresponding to the promotion of English language education in China (Lam 2005), Chinese teachers' English language competence as a whole is rapidly improving (Zhang 2006), yet far from enough to be used effortlessly in managing foreign language classrooms in English-speaking countries. In light of the fact that currently most Chinese teachers in the U.S. are either immigrants from China or teachers on termed contracts under the sponsorship of the Chinese government or various organizations that promote language and cultural exchange between the two countries (e.g., Confucius Institute, Luce Foundation, and Freeman Foundation), this issue deserves more attention. Finally, Chinese language teachers are encouraged to further deepen their understanding of linguistic differences between Chinese and English, and learn to systematically and effectively use English as an MoI to maximize students' Chinese learning experience and learning outcome, rather than simply focusing on maximizing passive exposure to Chinese for the students. Moreover, Chinese teachers also need to have a solid understanding of second language acquisition (e.g. the relationship between L1 and L2, code-switching), as well as sufficient knowledge of and support for pedagogical innovations to make Chinese a desirable foreign language in the United States (Singh and Ballantyne 2014; Wang et al. 2013).

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Technology in CFL Education

Yongan Wu

Abstract This chapter reviews the emergence, development, and trends in applying technology to the teaching and learning of Chinese as a foreign language (CFL). By presenting the advantages that technology has brought into the area and examining the associated challenges from multiple angles, the chapter explores a number of practical yet critical issues in order to help readers better understand the increasingly entwined relationship between the two. It concludes with a reflection on the permeation of technology in everyday life, especially how the process of normalization may shape the outlook of CFL education in the years to come.

Keywords Computer assisted language learning (CALL) • CALL technology • Phases of CALL development • Behavioristic CALL • Communicative CALL • Integrative CALL • Intelligent CALL • Computer mediated communication (CMC) • Interactive and integrated language learning • CALL and learning CFL online

1 Introduction

Computer assisted language learning (CALL) has played an increasingly important role in CFL education, and as such, numerous technological applications to support and aid CFL teaching and learning have emerged. These range from highly specific solutions, such as the delivery of the sounds of individual characters and words, the display of character formation graphically stroke by stroke, and the comparison of speech waves made by students with a benchmark, to more integrated and high level approaches, including the evaluation of the degree of formality in a given body of text, the analysis of the usage and context of target words in corpus, and the ability to provide flexible participation and open access to an entire course. With the availability of this technology as a foundation for CFL teaching, a substantial portion of CALL technology is now being used to facilitate communication between students

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and teachers in cyberspace where mobile apps, Web 2.0 sites, and digital media empower learning online or "learning on-the-go" (Xie 2013; Zheng 2014).

Following the same line of inquiry found in other critical essays in the field (cf. Bourgerie 2003; Chen 2005; Yao 1996, 2009; Zhang 1998), this chapter examines the emergence, development, and trends in technology for CALL. While the term "technology" mainly refers to CALL programs and software, it extends to cover contemporary inventions that involve the use of mobile devices, multimedia players, and more. Due to the sheer magnitude of technology found in and beyond today's classrooms, it is virtually impossible to discuss in this chapter all aspects and applications of CALL's influence on CFL education over the last four decades. To further complicate the situation, many CALL technologies have quickly become out of date and out of use (e.g., Flash-based courseware, audio books, and a large number of short-lived websites). Keeping in mind these limitations, this chapter aims to focus on the historical development of CALL and critical transformations at every stage.

2 The Emergence of CALL in CFL Education

Among the early efforts and publications in the field, Cheng (1973), who taught at the University of Illinois, is widely recognized as the originator of CALL in CFL, though the actual use of computers in CFL goes back a few years further. When interviewed by the *New York Times*, Wang at Seton Hall University in New Jersey proudly claimed his system "the first in the world to teach Chinese" (Browne 1967, p. 67). Still, Cheng's article, the first of its kind in full length, describes the design, process, and insight of using the PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching Operation) system mainly to teach characters, reading, and pronunciation. Without the PLATO project initiated at the University of Illinois in 1960 and its long lasting impact on CALL, it is unlikely Cheng's experiment that he described in his article could have taken place. For the first time on record, the computer, or more precisely, a central computer and several hundred terminals, helped CFL teachers create and utilize digital flashcards, drilled students on the pronunciation of words, integrated a digital dictionary with reading exercises that enabled readers to look up words on the screen, and reported learning progress so teachers could identify problems and weaknesses.

Interestingly enough, none of these efforts ever became fundamentally outdated despite the fact that the affiliated technology has transformed beyond recognition or become primitive by modern standards. However, there are similarities between Cheng's technology and the technology that is popular today. There was a touch panel attached to the screen so students no longer needed to type. The programs, not unlike today's cloud technology, were centralized and delivered content to numerous terminals via a network. Most surprisingly, PLATO's capability to convert voice input into a graphic display on the screen to let students compare and imitate was extraordinary in an era when the technology to digitally store and retrieve Chinese characters had just been developed. Digital flashcards, introduced by Cheng, remain

a staple due to their traditional role in language learning and the low associated technology, beseeching generations of CFL researchers to revisit the work by utilizing the latest technology loaded on the newest generation of devices.

Cheng (Chen and Cheng 1976; Cheng 1986, 1999) has revisited this issue many times over the past two decades, while Yao and Mark (1986), Kunst (1987), and Chun (1989), among others, have moved on to their own original explorations. Japanese educators were also drawn into the same technology explorations since they teach Kanji, i.e., Chinese characters (Nakajima 1988). As new forms or types of technology have emerged, CFL educators have worked to develop novel ways to use these technologies, such as to create sets of digital flashcards, and they have carried out a number of studies to show the effectiveness of the technology. Other studies focused on the use of various technical advancements that allowed computers to easily produce sound (Kunst 1987), to easily display graphics and images (Cheng 1991), to seamlessly incorporate other multimedia items (Fu 1996; Zheng 1997), to display animations and videos on demand (Chen 2006; Jin 2006; Lu et al. 2013; Zhu and Hong 2005), and finally, to give way to devices that are no longer around (Lin and Lien 2012; Xu and Jen 2005). The overarching pedagogical approaches span from teaching vocabulary in isolation (Chung 2002) and teaching in context (Kao et al. 2012) to teaching in a textual network where an individual character is linked by technology to many of its homophones and relevant phrases (Shei and Hsieh 2012). Central designs have drawn inspiration from a variety of cognitive theories, including dual coding theory (Chuang and Ku 2011; Kuo and Hooper 2004), multimodal theory (Chung 2008), competition theory, and level-of-processing theory (Shen 2011).

The true significance of Cheng's work goes far beyond the specific projects it discusses. The article unequivocally states the potential of CALL technology and constraints that define the field. One is overcome by an overwhelming sense of déjà vu when realizing how later scholars unconsciously reiterate what Cheng had anticipated in the field (c.f. Chun 1989; Liu 2007; Xie and Yao 2009; Zhang 1998; Zheng 2006). CALL offers the ability to induce immersion through its interactive nature and personalized attention, which the computer can provide to meet a student's individual learning needs. CALL is limited to a supplementary role, and each solution has a limited lifespan until the next technology emerges. There is also anxiety about technology encroaching on the traditional classroom. As materials expand from paper to digital content, the language learning process focuses less on mastering the material in question and more on mastering the navigation and understanding of the CALL programs themselves.

3 Three Phases of CALL Development

In the late 1990s, Mark Warschauer (1996, 1998 with Healey) identified three phases in the historical development of CALL, which he categorized in terms of the predominant theories of language learning over the previous 30 years: *Behavioristic CALL* (BC), *Communicative CALL* (CC), and *Integrative CALL* (IC). Warschauer

(1996) noted that "the introduction of a new phase does not necessarily entail rejecting the programs and methods of a previous phrase; rather, the old is subsumed within the new" (p. 3). Each phase was defined by instructional options made available by the computer and advances in computer technology, as well as rationales behind the different approaches.

The behaviorist teaching model, popular in the 1960s and 1970s, led to Behavioristic CALL, which featured repetitive drills and stimulus-response exercises interlaced with notes and messages in a digital format. The drill and practice exercises of BC often were used as auxiliary or remedial exercises for individualized instruction and freed up classroom time for other instructional activities. BC succeeded in taking advantage of the computer's mechanical qualities, including accuracy, tirelessness, meticulousness, and the ability to sort and process information rapidly. The PLATO system Cheng relied on in the 1970s epitomizes the advantages and drawbacks of BC.

The next phase, Communicative CALL, was popular in the 1970s and 1980s. CC attempted to provide skills practice through cross-cultural dialogues in real life situations where learners were permitted and often required to search and apply their language knowledge to identify situations, solve problems, and present synopses in response to stimulation from the programs. The focus was on learning elements of the language, such as grammar and vocabulary, in context and using the target language in activities that fostered motivation and interactivity. Text reconstruction, language games, and real-world simulations were common. Technology provided a context or scenario where users applied varying levels of originality and were at liberty to improvise as individuals or collaborate as groups to generate meaningful, practical language output. Computers were also seen as a tool for learning, with such capabilities as word processing, spell check, and desktop publishing available on personal computers.

The third, and perhaps current phase, Integrative CALL, involves the synthesis of language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) in the context of a specific task or project-based activity so users are able to maximize benefits provided by the integration of multimedia technology. While CC often involved teaching compartmentalized skills, advances in computer technology in the late 1980s and 1990s made it possible to integrate different aspects of language learning in more authentic learning environments. Multimedia, or more precisely, the multimodal presentation of information on multiple possible platforms and media (on disk, online, on mobile devices), possesses the enchanting ability to not only combine text, audio, images, and video in unity, but also to draw together a number of sources that in the past were only available separately (TV, individual cassettes or recordings, or text). As a result, multimedia, combined with the Internet and disks, has become the bedrock of IC by helping put learners into linguistic situations and then forcing them to work their way out of those situations, calling on knowledge from multiple areas and extending learning beyond the boundaries of those in a classroom or textbook.

To be truly interactive, however, computer language learning programs would need to be able to respond to students' input, for example diagnosing problems with

pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, or usage, and providing appropriate learning options, such as repetition or slowing down the presentation. This would involve *Intelligent CALL*, which Warschauer predicts will be the next stage of CALL development. Although Warschauer does not specifically address the teaching of CFL or the unique problems Chinese encounters as a less commonly taught, non-Latin script based language, he creates a point of reference for CFL educators to reflect on and review CALL's path from exotic, expensive supplementation to indispensable, essential practices. Warschauer's research does not prescribe a linear path for CALL, but focuses on making discussion possible and productive in the context of pedagogical and technical innovations.

3.1 Behavioristic CALL and Applications for CFL Instruction

Early CALL programs in CFL were predominantly behavioristic. These studies closely resembled Cheng's (1973) designs or attempted to recreate a similar effect with the model of *computer as tutor* (Taylor 1980). They were part of the teaching model in which information is disseminated from a central figure to numerous recipients, who receive, memorize, and produce answers. Yao (1996), Zhang (1998), Hsu and Gao (2002), and Bourgerie (2003), with some overlap, independently reviewed more than 50 CFL CALL programs. Those that teach vocabulary (characters + words) in the form of digital flashcards occupy the bulk of their reports. As a mechanized human teacher, the programs use linear logic to present and repeat information, allowing the user to see information on the computer screen, such as stroke order, stroke number, the meaning in Chinese and/or in English, pinyin script, relevant words, and example sentences. Users can also hear the pronunciation as recorded by a native speaker. In essence, these programs are a replication or logical extension of Cheng's early work. Still, there are a few particulars worth noting, such as the ability to search the glossary (e.g., *Chinese Word and Character Tutor*, *Wenlin*, *Follow Me Chinese*, *Hanzi Conversational*), to group words according to user-defined criteria (e.g., *Chinese Character Tutor for Microsoft Windows*, *Chinese Character Tutor*), and to compare the user's pronunciation with that of a native speaker (e.g., *Electric Dragon*, *Professional Interactive Chinese*, *Write Chinese*). Furthermore, most have one or more built-in modules for exercises and exams, such as recognition practice (e.g., *Chinese Character Tutor*), a self-testing section that assists the learner in remembering the beginning of each stroke (e.g., *Hyper Xizi*), and quizzes on a character's sound, meaning, and written form (e.g., *Chinese Word and Character Tutor*, *Step into China*, *Chinese Characters Primer*).

Technology continues to break new ground in other aspects of CFL education, including listening comprehension. Many programs have been developed aided by the computer's "patience," the ability to quickly rewind and fast forward, the ability to easily store a large quantity of audio files, and the convenience of integrating sound into images or videos. These programs attempt to enhance users' sensitivity to individual sounds for better word recognition and to develop strategies for quickly

digesting large chunks of texts, such as predicting words, identifying key phrases, recognizing word-order patterns and syntactic structures, and so on. Advances in multimedia technology have made it possible to include a variety of media and hyperlinks in programs that can act as tutors. For example, an instructional program based on the animation "*Nezha Conquers the Dragon King*" allows users to watch the film in a sentence by sentence manner to better study the script. Students may focus their attention on a particular segment and watch it multiple times. They may also pause, look into the glossary in English and/or Pinyin, and make connections between the image on the screen and in the text. Compared to the traditional method of giving pure auditory signals, playing sound in tandem with an image or images is a giant step forward because "the use of context to illustrate verbs and idioms is particularly effective," as one reviewer commented (Ross 1991, p. 301). Another example is *Hyper Chinese*, which drills students to listen and repeat. Covering a wide range of issues in pronunciation and speaking, the program is good at reinforcing correct responses with the feature to record and log errors.

Ke (2012) revealed in his recent review of the entire CFL field that CFL speaking has been explored less in research and teaching than other areas of Chinese language learning. However, technology has made some progress in enhancing the learning of spoken Chinese, drilling users on authentic pronunciation and intonation, lending a helping hand to a task that demands a great amount of patience, accuracy and consistency to perform. For example, Voice Thread allows students to interact online with speech instead of text alone, and Rich Internet Applications from clear.msu.edu provide a dynamic means to embed audio and video in homework. Still, the Record and Compare (R&C) option found in many CALL programs is one of the best known achievements to this regard. When Chen and Cheng (1976) and F. Wang (1986) first mentioned the R&C feature in the early years of the personal computer, the attempt to record and display one's aural input in a graphical form and compare it with a benchmark made by a native speaker was too revolutionary to be feasible. Bulky, expensive, and esoteric devices required to do so at that time were discouraging enough on their own. Decades later, Bourgerie's (2003) review has found that there are more than ten programs, including *Chinese Express*, *EZ Language Vocabulary/Pronunciation Tutor*, *Instant Immersion Mandarin Chinese*, *Language Learning Beginner and Everyday Series*: *Chinese*, *Learn Mandarin Chinese*, *Talk Now*!, *Standard Chinese Course*, among others, claiming to have this feature. A study by Chan (2003) further proves the advantages and practicality of integrating R&C in lower level classes to improve students' awareness of tones, intonation, stress, and more. The visual aids provide much-needed help in recognizing target language and demystifying the speech process so students can quickly play back their utterance, identify their mistakes or imperfections, and then make improvements by comparing waveforms and pitch contours made available by technology. Benefits do not lie so much in the specific details to be learned as much as the positive, active experience of learning when students and their teachers "dare to try out… play around, have some fun, and enjoy" (p. 82).

Looking back, some BC programs to teach Chinese attempted to introduce interactivity, but interactivity was limited due to the limitations of technology. Interactive

features were occasionally found as secondary or even decorative attributes of CFL software. There are programs that allow students to search for a character and teachers to add and edit entries (e.g., *Chinese Word and Character Tutor*, *Wenlin*), to mark certain cards for later review (e.g., *Electric Dragon*, *Professional Interactive Chinese*), or to compile personal vocabulary lists (e.g., *Dr Do Chinese Multimedia Language Trainer*). CFL CALL programs gradually began imitating and incorporating existing features from other programs to serve their own purposes, taking advantage of what had already been created. On the one hand, newer programs face the danger of becoming an assortment of unrelated features as they duplicate each other's efforts and include similar features without giving enough consideration to other important aspects of learning, such as purpose or ergonomics. This can be observed in software and other programs that focus on teaching characters, where later programs are surprisingly homogenized. On the other hand, such an appropriation may suggest the need for programmers to communicate with each other to reduce redundancy, but also to work towards a common goal of improving the effectiveness of CFL learning activities through further study and refinements.

3.2 Communicative and Integrative CALL and Applications in CFL

As CFL programs evolved to the Communicative Stage, educators soon realized that using CALL programs to drill an individual skill would lead to virtually no true engagement, regardless of the level of technological sophistication. This is probably the main reason why at the communicative and integrative stages the examination section commonly found in BC programs gradually gave way to communicative tasks that involved applying more than one skill to reach a certain goal. By definition, Communicative CALL refers to programs that focus their efforts on helping to create and maintain a learning community where usage and patterns of language can be learned implicitly via "discussion and discovery among students working in pairs or groups" (Warschauer and Healey 1998, p. 57). In CFL instruction, CC more often than not needs to stay connected with other programs as information is collected from external resources and incorporates different sensory modalities (aural, oral, and visual) to ensure communication.

Despite Warshauer's (1996) classification of CC and IC as two separate stages, CC and IC have long been in a state of mixed existence in the field of CFL. The development and growth of both has not followed a chronological path. CALL for CFL instruction has been able to move very quickly from CC to IC because of the new technologies that have made it possible to integrate multimedia into learning programs and to communicate through the Internet. Communicative CALL as it played out in the 1970s and 1980s was a notch above the drill and practice courseware of BC, but personal computers had just been introduced to the public and the models of *computer as tool* and *computer as stimulus* were being explored for lan-

guage teaching, in addition to *computer as tutor* (Warshauer 1996). New types of educational communication and ways to integrate the teaching of various aspects of language learning are now possible thanks to the prevalence of the Internet and Internet connected devices, such as computers, tablets, and smart phones. CALL programs have thus been able to largely free themselves from the BC paradigm which emerged at the turn of the century when schools were rushing to purchase large computer systems and working to secure Internet access (Clark and Mayer 2003; Gillespie and McKee 1999). Meanwhile, Internet or network-based CALL programs appeared and were expanded after catching up with the latest technological advancements. According to the modes and platforms they use, three major categories now dominate the scene, and they are either directly or loosely associated with Web 2.0 technology that allows users to interact and collaborate. Web 2.0 has been a big, and loud, buzzword in recent years because of its capability "to establish mutual awareness, develop social interactions, to form social relationships, and build learning communities" (Tu et al. 2008, p. 336).

The first technological advancement is computer mediated communication (CMC), including its spin-offs and minor variants, such as email (listserv, group email, etc.), instant messengers (such as ICQ, MSN, QQ, or mobile apps such as WeChat, WhatsApp, Line), newsgroups, chat rooms, and so on. The second is social media, including collaborative projects (Wikis), blogs and microblogs (Twitter, Weibo), content communities (YouTube, Fluentu, podcasts), social networking sites (Facebook), and virtual social worlds (Second Life), based on Kaplan and Haenlein's well-known classification (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010). The third is hybrid learning and distance learning, which create a comfort zone by merging reality with the realm of a virtual world and deliver course content via technology to students who are located physically away from the campus. Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) is a major innovation in this regard. They make use of the internet to build a learning community among people who, by no traditional means, can meet and interact. Often taught by professors at top universities, these free, non-credit, open enrollment courses are great examples of the integration of technologies, such as the Internet, video/file sharing, instant messaging and social networks. Consisting of video lectures, PowerPoints, reading material, handouts, discussion forums, and homework, a MOOC course sometimes can become so popular that tens of thousands of people sign up for it at the same time (Cathy 2013). Educators with much enthusiasm are now beginning to explore MOOC's potential to enlarge the population base of CFL learners (Zheng 2014).

Interactive and integrated language learning needs to foster, sustain, and evaluate collaboration and group interactions no matter what platform or by what means the knowledge is disseminated. The model of *computer as tool for social interaction* has led to advancements in the field of CFL education. Every form and type of mass-market digital product has been appropriated and used by CFL educators, in one way or another, to serve communicative needs. Exemplary cases include blogs (Hou 2009; Xie 2006), online chats (Wang and Feng 2012; Yao 2009), wikis (Liao 2012; Wang 2010; Li 2012), Weibo (Lu 2012), Facebook (Jin 2009; Magriney 2010), YouTube (Wang 2012a; Tan 2012), and Twitter (Wang 2012b).

The simple task of doing one's homework on a computer and emailing the assignment to a teacher in 1999 involved three highly specialized programs, namely, Njstar word-processor, Wenlin Chinese learning tool, and Njstar communicator, not to mention the plight of sending the homework as an attachment, rather than writing everything in the email itself in case the Chinese characters and other content were corrupted in the encoding-decoding process (Xie 1999). Obviously, these issues are nonexistent in today's world. Take the popular social network WeChat as an example. Designed for mobile devices but able to run smoothly in a web browser on PC or Mac, it provides a complete solution to transfer text, audio recordings, pictures, and videos to multiple recipients at one time while making video or voice calls trivial. It is by no means merely an instant messaging client. Rather, the user can stay in touch with friends under the "Moments" page, take a few photos then share with others, add or respond to comments on others' posts, and conveniently embed content from external resources, such as web pages, Google Maps, YouTube, and much more. Unlike some popular social networks, such as Facebook or Twitter, where users' attempts to control what groups of friends, family, and accomplices can see often fall short, WeChat discreetly maintains a moving wall between what one is allowed or not allowed to see. Chinese teachers have done a number of projects with WeChat to foster not only specific language skills, such as speed reading and casual writing, but more importantly, the sense of being a team member in order to foster interaction with others via text, pictures, voice recordings, and even videos. WeChat presents a truly integrative communicative experience that students in 1999 could barely dream of (Hu 2014).

4 Issues Specific to Technologies for CFL Instruction

4.1 CALL and Chinese Character Writing

It may be time to admit that the skill of writing every character onto paper from memory may be a waste of time (Allen 2008). Setting aside the radical nature of such a proposition, many serious scholars are unable to resist the tremendous impact of letting students input characters with a regular keyboard rather than writing by hand, which serves to save time and effort that can be spent on more valuable skills, such as listening and speaking. In research on teaching other foreign languages (e.g., ESL, Spanish, German), how to develop writing with Web 2.0 tools is the most studied topic (Wang and Vásquez 2012). The overall paradigm shift from cognitive processing to social interaction in second language education reaffirms the current importance placed on communication in authentic situations. Xie (1999) welcomes the convenience of typing characters on a modern PC despite his uncertainty about whether or how much typing can undermine character recognition and word memorization. Xie (2003, 2011) along with other scholars (Xu and Jen 2005) kept the discussion ongoing over the last decade and have come close to reaching a consensus that in comparison to handwriting, typing is more beneficial because it

can motivate students, free up effort, and stimulate recognition.[1] Plus, it is inevitable because the opportunity to write characters on paper is becoming rarer in real life as communication becomes more and more digitalized.

The change from painstakingly learning how to write characters stroke by stroke by hand to effortlessly letting the computer handle the work helps keep students much more motivated in actual communication. This is a giant leap for CFL CALL, and the decision to take it must be made collectively by teachers, students, and the market as a whole, and must take into consideration technological advances that were not available when pre-Internet CALL first was applied to teaching characters. Ironically, early efforts of CALL for character writing served to drive students and teachers *away* from the activity it was originally meant to supplement. The activity of rote memorization and tedious drills has given way to the desire and demands of communication, and vocabulary has become merely a secondary matter in the overall picture (Xie 2002; Zhang 2009). Take using Google Docs to develop writing as an example. CFL teachers have found that a major innovation in the "cloud" era is students can edit others' writing and thus learn from correcting or being corrected by their peers. "Cloud" technology invites collaboration and interaction so multiple authors can "share the same online database, work on the same document simultaneously and track the changes and comments" (Chen 2014b, p. 8).

4.2 CALL and Vocabulary Learning

In addition to using the Internet for collaboration, CFL programs need to simplify users' efforts by giving them a centralized solution. Electronic dictionaries offer the best option for this as they access information online and organize it. Xie (2010) provided a preliminary review of electronic dictionaries for CFL learning. J. Wang's study (2008) and others (Lee 2003; Porter 2003; Wang and Upton 2012) have shown the benefits of using an electronic dictionary to help with vocabulary learning. Linkit (Shei and Hsieh 2012) makes an illustrative case. Similar to Clavis Sinica, it is a program designed specifically to combine the strengths of the textbook and the Internet. When students look up a word after typing it in, the program presents relevant data from both the textbook and Internet or a bilingual dictionary. The ultimate goal is to use a hierarchical network model to sift and sort the language material from the Internet so learners can quickly cross-reference key morphemes by choosing to read examples that best suit their language level.

Programs mentioned in Xie's (2010) review showcase learning through the Internet beyond a controlled environment, so users can search, digest, and then go

[1] Xu and Jen's paper has triggered a considerable wave of reactions from the Chinese teachers' community. A heated debate took place in the following issues of the journal regarding the idea of letting students learn how to type and partially or completely let go of the skill of writing characters. To learn more, please refer to the "Letters from Readers" section of *Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association*, volume 40, issue 3 and volume 41, issue 1.

on to create content they find meaningful and significant. Meanwhile, scholars have started to pay more attention to this change in technology as they distinguish between the micro level of CALL, i.e., “its ability to highlight stroke composition, pronunciation, meaning, and character components” (Everson 2003, p. 143) and the macro-level, namely, the ability to provide connections between characters/vocabulary, to search and prepare online text into level-appropriate material, to grant users the power to select and save the parts they regard as important, and to keep track of their learning progress. This difference in focus sets newer programs apart from their predecessors by bringing more attention to how users create their own content with the help of technology, letting users quickly and conveniently look deep into pieces of information whenever the need arises.

Electronic dictionaries remind CFL educators of the lack of a coordinated effort in the field to bridge the pedagogical and technological gap between the task of working on instructional texts and dealing with authentic materials. Internet connectivity allows programs to pull in rich data from the online world, leveraging the power of associative memory so users can acquire new knowledge through connections to what they have learned previously. As a result, lower level skills, such as vocabulary and pronunciation, lose the spotlight and sometimes are not even associated with any specific CALL program when the focus of technology shifts from knowledge acquisition to communicative roles. Examples can be found in multiple reports (Liu and An 2011; Liu and Zhang 2013; Xu and Ma 2014; Zheng 2004). A close look at CFL teaching methods reveals that on one hand vocabulary learning, in terms of knowing the meaning, pronunciation, and written form of a word, loses its focal status and becomes a prerequisite for students to master before class. On the other hand, students still use BC programs with repeated drills and individual pacing to help them to remember, recall, and look up words. The teacher’s main task then is to stimulate output, coordinate group activities, correct mistakes, and assess student progress.

5 CALL and Learning CFL Online

The sophistication of the Internet in recent years has opened up a vast and wild land where learning online, including websites, virtual communities, long distance education, and hybrid courses, all claim a share, leaving CFL educators to decide how and to what degree knowledge that requires predominantly rote memorization, such as vocabulary and sentence patterns, should be taught. Yao (2003) reviewed over 50 websites relevant to Chinese teaching and classified them into five categories, namely, those that provide Chinese teaching and learning materials; those that facilitate face-to-face courses; those that work in conjunction with printed textbooks; those that offer courses completely online; and those that are somewhere in between. The review did not discover any websites that offered innovative methods for teaching characters. Other reviews (Xie 2008a; Xie and Yao 2009; Xu 2007) conducted in the following years obtained similar results, except for finding a handful of

innovations, including a program called *iChinese*, which takes a visual approach by supplying images and pictures so heritage learners with some language background can quickly develop their literacy, and also a website that allows everyone to create, share, and search flashcards according to their interest (c.f. Yao 2009).

5.1 Virtual Learning Communities

Regarding virtual learning communities, Second Life, a large online community where users can assume a role and interact with others in different locations and scenarios, has attracted considerable attention. One of the most revolutionary aspects of Second Life is its capability to simulate the "real world" (Chen 2010), i.e., providing a number of realistic scenarios to simulate total immersion in which learners are motivated to communicate and interact. Learners try to identify characters and words written in the visual landscape, click and find the meaning of objects they see in a virtual kitchen, and apply their knowledge by asking and answering questions from peers and the teacher through instant messaging. In one scenario, students are asked to step into a virtual infirmary. They review vocabulary when they see objects in the room and even have the opportunity to acquire additional words if interested. They can also invite themselves to take a simulated check-up, integrating what they have learned by communicating with the doctor about their physical condition and medical history (Liu 2010). The virtual reality experience delivered by technology accelerates vocabulary learning, especially in conjunction with other activities, to a higher level when students take the initiative to seek out information, consolidate different skills, interact with others, and solve problems in collaboration with others (Grant and Huang 2010).

5.2 Distance Education

Long distance education and its counterpart, i.e., hybrid coursework, in which part of the course content is migrated to cyberspace, also has become more interactive in the cloud age. Its flexibility and inclusiveness to accommodate different learning modes (learners who prefer visual, aural or somatic stimuli), learning habits (learners who often procrastinate or those who prefer to preview and be prepared, learners who take scarce or voluminous notes), and personality types (shy, introverted learners versus outgoing and extraverted learners) have made it an ideal means to enlarge the population base of CFL education (Liu and Zhang 2013; Stickler and Shi 2011). Even when globalization was still in its early stages, educators already started to outsource part of the teaching load to individuals in other regions who can accept lower payment and work alternate hours due to the time difference (Sunaoka and Haruki 2003). Globalization continues to grow and the prospects for distance education become even more tantalizing. Xie (2008a, 2013) shares his experience using

voice/video chat software to connect teachers and students who are separated by the Pacific Ocean. He and others (Liu and An 2011; Meng 2010; Zheng 2004) find that one of the key elements for a long distance program to succeed is a sense of sharing, namely, an awareness of the interconnectivity among the student, the teacher, and the student's peers, in addition to their obligation to reach out and communicate. Learning can happen first at the moment when students respond to a task and then again when they receive productive feedback from others.

In recent years, distance and hybrid education have expanded in the depth and breadth of digital operations, and have worked to transform CALL programs from pure instructional apparatuses to an assemblage of course management systems, tools, and peer sources (Demski 2013; Wilson 2013). Students on a platform called "iKnow," for example, can seamlessly synchronize and share their digital notes via audio or video, track the editing process, upload learning materials, and launch discussions with peers and the teacher (Chen 2014a). Distant/hybrid education in that event not only demands learners to engage in communication during multiple occasions in various forms (the discussion in and out of class, homework, group projects, etc.) in the same way a traditional class does but also it invites students to select, manage, and synthesize their digital assets, including different types of CALL programs mentioned above to achieve communication and shared learning strategies (Kan and McCormick 2012).

5.3 Mobile Devices

Going forward, mobile devices and their apps can be considered the newest phase of the Internet. This new, radical form of integrative communication relies on mobile devices, which integrate almost all types of communicative modes possessed by the PC along with a staggering level of mobility to accompany users from dawn to dusk so they can share, interact, and learn in and out of the classroom. In a nutshell, mobile devices provide more than what a PC can offer, including the potential of a multi-touch screen, a three-axis gyro, embedded cameras, a microphone, a persistent Internet connection, and a virtual personal assistant with artificial intelligence, who can answer questions and interact with the user to a certain extent (e.g., SIRI).

When scholars examined the degree to which technological features on a tablet or a smart phone could be harnessed and the ways to do so, they found tremendous potential (Yuen 2011). A short review (Lin and Lien 2012) of a number of CALL programs (apps) on iPad resulted in some noticeable discoveries. First, some apps (*Pleco*, *CamDictionary*, *TextGrabber*, *Siri*, *Dragon Dictation*, *iFlyDictation*) now have OCR (Optical Character Recognition) or ASR (Automatic Speech Recognition) functions, which can recognize, annotate, or translate language input in the format of pictures or sound. This new technology expands vocabulary learning from just studying materials handed out by the teacher to discovering and making sense of words in the environment. Second, apps can now ask users to use their fingers rather than the mouse to write on the screen for writing practice (*eZi Test Chinese*, *Chinese*

Writer, *trainchinese Chinese Writer*, etc.). The programs have become more responsive to the correct strokes and more sensitive to catching wrong ones. Third, both the notion and the function of gaming are often touted, especially since mobile devices and apps are light, portable, yet powerful. They are intrinsically more entertaining and enjoyable than those on the computer.

The fusion of gaming and learning then seems logical. For example, *Play & Learn Chinese*, as its name suggests, allows the user to hear a word and touch the corresponding object on the screen. *E Shen Bao Dong Gua* (E神煲冬瓜) is another game in which the user receives a shopping list and needs to find the appropriate items before time runs out. Perhaps the most prominent example is the app called *Skritter*, which is arguably the most successful one in the mobile world of character teaching. Its creation was quite dramatic, yet natural. The founder, who first came to Beijing in his early twenties, was sleepless, exhausted, and loaded with anxiety. He aimlessly sat on the couch and watched his roommate playing a Nintendo DS until he suddenly came across an idea. Seeing his roommate using a stylus to draw on the Nintendo's screen, he realized that the same action could be used in the activity of learning how to write Chinese characters. Before long this "crazy endeavor" took off (Anonymous 2014).

5.4 Immersion-Like Online Learning Environments

The other approach goes further, changing the ecology of education in daily life by creating an immersion-like learning environment and mentality. It is possible to have a long lasting impact on the way students respond to the task of learning and bridge the gap between education and life. Some educators use the term "seamless learning" to highlight its innovations, namely, the ability to engage students in learning in different settings, on different occasions, and in different roles as individuals or with others (Wong and Looi 2011). Similar to what the language immersion experience promises, "seamless learning" via self-discovery, peer activities, and teacher-student interaction is collaborative, synchronized, and of course, ubiquitous (Looi et al. 2010). Liu's project provides a good example (Liu et al. 2012). They use the Levels of Processing Theory (Craik and Lockhart 1972) as a pedagogical guideline and implement a personalized electronic dictionary called *My Mictionary* based on cloud technology. Unlike most dictionaries, it does not give out information about specific characters or words. Instead, it starts as a wordless book and asks students to identify and add words into it during the learning process. Once a new word is added, the system then searches and loads its explanation and illustrative sentences from the Internet and other sources. From then on, students can add more information (hyperlinks, images, audios/videos, or texts) into the entry to enrich its value under a teacher's guidance. Over time, *My Mictionary* becomes a hybrid book that records both the content of learning and the learning progress itself. Sharing it with peers and with a teacher further enhances the sense of communication, especially when students start to enjoy learning in a manner

similar to what they do when they update their social media pages, i.e., taking a photo, making a comment on a sentence or two, then actively checking and responding to each other's comments.

The program's developers rely on the integrative nature of the program to allow users to create and share their own content as they discover and have fun engaging with others. This may greatly impact classroom teaching especially at higher levels of CFL learning because teachers can now pay more attention to developing complex language skills in class by "outsourcing" the mechanistic aspects of language learning to after-school hours. More importantly, CALL motivates students to seek out new information and provides them with much needed support so they can better comprehend class content as well.

6 Reflections on Normalization and the Future of CALL in CFL Education

A few years after Warschauer categorized the stages of CALL development as BC, CC, and IC, Bax (2003) also identified three stages: Restricted, Open, and Integrated CALL. He also predicted that in the future, CALL would not consciously be associated with the technology that powered it, what he referred to as "normalization." Following his thinking, a few CFL educators have started to consider the issue by summing up the changes CALL has brought to Chinese classes. Xie (2008b), in particular, listed a few conspicuous characteristics he observed as technology is becoming an integral part of teaching and learning, including the digitalization of communications between teachers and students, online resource centers that gather and disseminate learning/teaching materials, and the role of social media in organizing, motivating, and guiding conversations so students can be exposed to more types of language input.

The new technologies mentioned in Xie's review (2008b) are less bounded by commercial factors and pedagogical issues. Taking a quick look into a teacher's or student's computer, one can discover a conglomerate of various technologies that function in many different directions and on many levels of instruction at once. From cloud storage solutions, such as Dropbox and Google Drive, which share documents, to online dictionaries containing many thousands of words, from search engines that index and identify useful information, to digital translators that occasionally jeopardize learning, from programs that can edit pictures and sounds, to software teachers can use to create 3D animations with ease, from taking notes digitally to taking quizzes online, from making internet calls to jointly editing documents online, such software and services help teachers and students discover, manage, and operate their digital lives in an ever intrinsically connected way.

While Bax's (2003) vision of the future of CALL is appropriate for the most part, his forecast of normalization raises a number of critical issues that are unique to the field. In his revisit of the issue, Bax (2011) advocated that CALL should be

understood in terms of economic, social, and scientific factors in order to avoid the so-called single agent fallacy, which focuses on the inventor or technology itself. Based on this view, the fusion of CFL and CALL, or more specifically, the long history of applying technology to CFL education in the U.S. is anything but a coincidence. The connection between CFL and CALL originated in and has been maintained by the importance of technology in American culture. The U.S. is home to a gigantic social lab where technological innovations and scientific breakthroughs are made in abundance so it is natural for technology to be applied to CFL teaching and learning. Using technology for CFL instruction speaks on a deeper level to an implicit, yet undeniable inclination people possess to offset the laborious, tedious part of any endeavor to a machine or other technology. Learning how to write characters and memorizing hundreds of non-alphabetic words is unquestionably one of the most daunting tasks in the CFL learning process.

Due to the notable difficulty of learning Chinese and the unfaltering reliance on technological solutions, a so-called "Fear and Awe" mindset has emerged. CALL programs oftentimes flaunt and establish their strength in areas where learners cannot otherwise find a quicker, easier solution before giving up on the challenge. To learn and then memorize how to write a character stroke by stroke by hand is a typical example. Many CALL programs, including ones on mobile devices, act in concert to show characters with a stroke by stroke animation. This is arguably one of the most persistent features of technology to teach the Chinese language, the history of which goes back to the very beginning of CALL in CFL, as reported in Cheng's 1973 article.

However, the issue of how effective it really is to present characters with an associated stroke animation in comparison to introducing the character's etymological formations, highlighting components, and/or vocalizing the pronunciation, has largely been overlooked by software designers and educators alike. The ineffectiveness, or even the actual disadvantages, of using stroke by stroke animation has been proven by multiple studies (Jin 2006; Zhu and Hong 2005). In reviewing a textbook dedicated to the sole purpose of teaching Chinese characters, Shen (2011) raised concerns when she observed that character knowledge, such as "methods of character formation and etymology to genealogy and orthography," is "extremely helpful to beginning learners but seldom found in textbooks" (p. 118). She then goes on to stress the imperative to present students with the origin, formation/transformations, and interconnectivity of characters in hopes that educators can actively search for appropriate methods to foster meaningful learning. Her remarks reveal the counterproductive methods employed in many CALL programs that are pleasing to the eye but may not connect to CFL theory or research.

Another example can be found in the common practice of displaying Pinyin, the vocabulary, and its English meaning simultaneously on a flashcard, digitally or otherwise. Scholars have studied the effect of learning from this strategy and have come to the preliminary conclusion that the order of presentation does affect cognition and retention (Chung 2007, 2008). This being the case, CALL programs should pay more attention to recommendations and findings from empirical studies, rather than letting intuitive thinking and the wow factor cloud their vision (Murray and Barnes 1998).

While technology lures prospective users with promises of convenience, interactivity, consistency, and effectiveness, it can also work to complicate and compromise learning. The effectiveness of CALL is contingent upon numerous factors, for instance, budget, administrative and technical support capacity, the level of integration between technology and pedagogy, students' readiness and financial means, and so on (Killion 2013; Rienties et al. 2013). Its reliance on financial capital and the market as a whole, in addition to its power to transform learners from speakers of the language to merely operators of a machine, restricts the potential of CALL as it was first envisioned. Since technology first was used to teach Chinese, scholars have compared the volume and scope of CALL projects during the 1980s in the U.S. with those of China. According to Sun's (2009) encyclopedic reference book, no more than five articles were published in China before 1990 on the CALL technologies, and they focused almost entirely on teaching characters and pronunciation, the only practical target the technology in China could achieve at the time. In contrast, the *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*, along with other U.S. based periodicals, has published studies since the early 1970s on how to apply technology to diverse topics on advanced devices. This disparity persisted until the late 1990s (Alber 1996) when China's economy started to bloom. Yet in other parts of the world, the level of technology people in developed countries take for granted may still be out of reach to many. The predicament that a multimedia classroom could be deprived of an Internet connection or some kind of projector to show a PowerPoint, or is untimely forced out of service due to the lack of replacement parts, is a cold reminder of how constraints can define and deplete potential (Shen 2013; Xu and Zheng 2011).

Another important point to consider is the life cycle of a program can predict its longevity and vitality. It is common knowledge that the first generation of a technology is usually less than perfect and, therefore, needs to keep updating and reinventing itself in order to improve and reach the general populace. Technology as applied to CFL is usually short lived and unsustainable, to say the least. This may result from the erratic relationship between CFL and CALL. At first, individual educators designed and pioneered programs for their own classes (c.f. Yao 1996), which sometimes accidentally turned into something of commercial value. As commercial products began to dominate the scene, the ability to stage joint ventures between educators and investors became more difficult. In both cases, the products were rarely updated or revised because educators prefer to stay away from the market, whereas for-profit companies may not survive long enough in the market to have a chance to even make updates. Most companies listed in Bourgerie's (2003) review are now gone, and most of the websites mentioned are no longer accessible. HipiHi, an online 3D virtual world game introduced and highly recommended by S. Liu (2010) is now discontinued.

Perhaps the rise and fall of an individual CALL program is mandated by the laws of nature. Normalization suggests a healthy life cycle of birth and demise. In theory, whenever one program or website sinks into oblivion, the code, language materials, and experience should stay as long as they are recyclable to nourish other programs that come later. However, business rivalry, platform incompatibility, disputes over

intellectual property, among many other factors, oftentimes will prevent this transition or transformation from happening. Reinventing the wheel is the norm. For example, take the recorded pronunciation of basic vocabulary. What should have been available all along is now impossible to ignore: there needs to be a voice library that not only contains recording of common words and essential sentences but that also is easy to search and quote, for teachers, students and program designers to draw from. Yet many years have passed since the first group of digital flashcards was created, and a voice library is still not openly available. Speech synthesis may provide a solution, but its quality and level of sophistication need further improvement (Yeh 2012; Yeh et al. 2013).

In recent years, a new relationship between teachers and technology has emerged, namely, teachers have ceased to assume a dominant role in creating and designing CALL programs and materials. On one hand, there are super-sized, multinational corporations that launch products, including mobile devices and apps, cloud technology, social media, and more that are commercially successful and popular. On the other hand, CFL educators are limited to appropriating a product's functionality to meet their own teaching objectives. For example, a teacher may use TubeChop.com to "chop" and play sections of a YouTube video, then display a piece of interactive instructional material made by "Articulate Storyline," and finally go to superteachertools.net to randomly assign student groups for class activities. Seeing the distance between these two operations, namely, the functionality of commercial products and teachers' efforts at adaptation and appropriation, scholars need to spend more effort studying the behaviors and choices of users, i.e., how they actually make use of CALL programs, how they interact with each other, and when best to introduce interventions to aid in the learning process. Normalization needs this pivotal knowledge to be complete (Schmid 2008).

The last point to make regarding normalization is that fast, incessant progress and changes that occur in technology may delay or even sabotage attempts to apply technology to CFL learning. Yao (2003) discovered that over 49,200 websites contained the keyword "learn Chinese" and 7,380 were related to "teach Chinese," while a study published in the same year revealed the cold reality that the users surveyed "as a whole did not think that access to the computer ha[d] improved their language learning process, at least they did not see obvious benefits" (Ihde and Jian 2003, p. 38), partially because about one-fourth of the respondents could not even make their computers display Chinese characters on the Internet. This means that efforts to use technology for CFL learning may be for naught or become completely obsolete if not made available to potential users in a timely fashion. The short life of hundreds of websites, the numerous third-party programs that enable a computer to properly display Chinese characters, to send messages, and to teach Chinese remotely have attempted, and failed, to help users learn Chinese and have showcased just how ephemeral technological innovations can be.

A comprehensive survey by the Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA) in 2012 provided a timely snapshot of the degree to which technology has become normalized in CFL instruction and disclosed specific names and types of programs that were most and least commonly used by Chinese teachers. The survey first

recognized the normalization of Email, Microsoft Word, and methods of inputting Chinese, which are “no longer…high-tech devices…just regular tools like pens” (Li et al. 2014, p. 41), and then named PowerPoint, Google, and YouTube as the most used applications in Chinese classrooms. Quiz maker, IPads, and IPhone apps were found to be the least popular. Wikis, self-created web pages, and blogs were avoided by most teachers as well. The under-representation of the later inventions reflects the pattern that new technology has to live through a “wait-and-see” period before being normalized some years later if their functions prove to be general enough to meet the versatile needs of diverse textbooks and curricula.

However, the survey suggested another possible form of normalization in the prevalence of course management systems, such as Blackboard, Moodle, WebCT, and D2L, which help teachers manage their courses. With these tools, teachers not only can promptly deliver more course content, but also can better communicate and assess their students in a timely manner. Students in turn become more accustomed to digital or digitalized course activities. Though Blackboard and other course management systems are not strictly CALL per se, they do carry many common functions of regular CALL programs to present information, host forums, exchange files, give assessments, collect responses, hold group discussions, track activities, and much more (Unal and Unal 2014). Therefore, their ever increasing presence in education suggests one more path that normalization is taking. Above all, CALL technology is subject to pedagogy, which also changes from time to time. CFL educators need to find and maintain a balance between what can and cannot be outsourced to technology in order to avoid wasting time and effort on technology that is much less useful than it first appears to be. For example, the use of online virtue communities, such as Second Life, to teach CFL at first glance was attractive and offered an opportunity for interactive learning. Yet in reality, most users walked away from virtual communities after the newness wore off, leaving behind the charming bodies of their avatars, along with clothes, cosmetic add-ons, personal belongings, and of course, awkward-looking virtual spaces which took much time and labor to build but failed to foster any personal attachments. Xie (2014) has unequivocally admitted that teachers’ efforts invested in Second Life, including holding virtual conferences and creating different communicative scenarios, apparently were not on the right track. With much regret, Xie also noted the downfall of a few other technological products, including listserv, blogs, and podcasts.

7 Conclusion

Technology emerges and disappears. Even CFL educators and teachers who have long been following technological advances can hardly pin down or map the ideal, quintessential technologies for CFL learning. When reviewing the status-quo and potential of technology for CFL education in the early 1990s, Alber (1996) found the “electronic frontier” was being pushed ahead by the CD-ROM. With the capability of delivering bulky multimedia materials and large, complex software, the

CD-ROM seemed to him the ultimate technological development of the future. A little more than a decade later, Yao (2009) explicitly stated in his survey of the field that "what we can do with CDs and DVDs on the computer, we can also do on the Internet and more" (p. 2). The Internet at that time mainly consisted of websites and web pages, but this is no longer the case after only a few years. Apps have grown exponentially in number and function on mobile devices and are infringing on the traditional borders of websites (Brumberger 2011). According to Flurry Blog, an enterprise that specializes in gathering and analyzing mobile marketing statistics, over 80 % of the time spent on smart phones and tablets is spent using apps (Khalaf 2013). The web, the report claims, is "already facing a serious challenge."

This chapter brings to light the complicated relationship between technology and CFL education. Adopting Warschauer's (1996) chronology to conceptualize and enunciate the transformations CALL has gone through in CFL since its inauguration four decades ago, the discussion above suggests the difficulty of technology to be totally integrated into CFL learning. By enumerating and evaluating the end products that CALL technologies have made available, the chapter reflects on the critical relationship between the production and reception of technology, factoring in both pedagogical shifts and scientific innovations. Subjected to these two dominant forces, users and producers are now more independent than ever. This ubiquitous, yet humble, operation revolves around the ways a user "uses" or "plays" with a program, applying practical tactics conditioned by the individual's motivation and learning style. As long as users keep on making and remaking, appropriating and re-appropriating the functions found in a CALL program to serve their own interests, innumerable transformations will occur in the development of CALL programs. Given the difficult task of learning Chinese and the growing enthusiasm in applying technology to teaching, it is only reasonable to believe that many CALL programs will change their focus from the production-end to the reception-end of CALL development by prioritizing user experiences, for teachers and students alike. Next generation programs with enhanced portability, transferability, and manageability will take into account infinite transformations by means of bulk information sharing in order to pave a way to normalization. Course management systems are taking the lead in this.

Following the same line of development, wearable devices and new equipment becoming available on the mass market will carry on the task of bringing technological power into the arena of language education. These new devices create a "hybrid reality" or "mixed reality" where the physical and digital merge to harness the advantages of both. One of the challenges of CFL technology is to find ways to catch up with this hybrid reality. Still, technology in CFL needs to carry out the most burdensome and mechanistic aspects of the learning process while gradually making such activities more communicative and integrated.

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Chinese as a Foreign Language in K-12 Education

Ke Peng

Abstract A changing world requires new skills, and functional Chinese proficiency is one of such highly desired skills. The past two decades have witnessed unprecedented growth in Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) programs in K-12 schools in the United States. However, challenges also abound. In particular, there is an urgent need for qualified CFL teachers and mechanisms for teacher certification. Additionally, further development of CFL education in K-12 schools requires better curriculum articulation, systematic coordination of language requirements, and increased federal support and national policies that promote CFL education.

Keywords Chinese as a foreign language • K-12 CFL programs • ACTFL standards • Standards-based curriculum • Chinese acquisition pipeline • Curriculum articulation

1 Introduction

A changing world requires new skills, and Chinese language ability has become a highly demanded skill. The needs for Chinese language proficiency range from diplomacy and national defense, which are to be expected, to agriculture, commerce, health, law enforcement, transportation, and the treasury (U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics 2013 & U.S. Department of Education Office of International Education 2014). Additionally, statistics from *Internet World Stats* in 2013 show that while 28.6 % of the world's over seven billion Internet users surf using English, 23.2 % use Chinese, which is ranked second in Internet use in the world (Miniwatts Marketing Group 2015). As a result of such demands, there has been a strong increase in the enrollment of students in Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) programs in U.S. schools during recent decades.

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Based on enrollment data provided by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL 2011), 18 % of K-12 public school students in the U.S. (8.6 million) enrolled in foreign language courses in 2004–2005 (Rhodes and Pufahl 2009). This number increased to 8.9 million students in 2007–2008, representing 18.5 % of all public school students. Among the different language options, Chinese had the largest percentage growth, studied by 0.23 % of foreign language students in 2004–2005 (20,292 students) and increasing to 0.44 % (59,860 students) in 2007–2008. In 2008, Chinese was taught in 3 % of elementary schools and 4 % of secondary schools. This number may have further increased since the last CAL and ACTFL surveys.

Despite the high demand for Chinese language instruction and the rapid growth of Chinese programs, there have been challenges in establishing and retaining Chinese programs in K-12 settings, for instance, the inability to help students attain a functional level of proficiency, the missing curriculum articulation from one level of instruction to higher levels, and the lack of trained and certified teachers. This chapter will explore the successes of K-12 CFL programs with the support of various federal initiatives and global organizations that focus on innovative forms of instruction. Then it will shift attention to current challenges in developing sustainable and effective CFL programs in U.S. elementary and secondary schools with quality certified teachers. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a look at the future of CFL programs in K-12 settings based on the current status of the field.

2 Successes of K-12 CFL Programs in the U.S.

2.1 Initiatives and Support from Multiple Sources

It is estimated that over 60,000 elementary and secondary school students are currently taking Chinese courses (Robelen 2010). This unprecedented expansion of CFL programs is not coming from “a single driver,” but rather is a result of language initiatives and organizational supports from “multiple sources” (Asia Society & College Board 2008, p. 2). One of the most important national initiatives for language education of critical languages, including Chinese, is the National Security Language Institute (NSLI), which was established in 2006. Among the core NSLI initiatives are STARTALK programs, Foreign Language Assistance Programs (FLAP), the Language Flagship Program of the National Security Education Program (NSEP), and the pilot National Language Corps under NSEP.

In addition to federal language initiatives, a few non-governmental organizations, such as the College Board, Asia Society, ACTFL, the Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA), the Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS), and Hanban, also play significant roles in promoting and expanding Chinese programs in the United States.

The College Board started offering the Chinese Advanced Placement (AP) Language and Culture examination in 2007. A total number of 3,261 students took the Chinese AP exam in 2007, and this number increased to 10,728 students (328.98 %) in 2014, which demonstrates the rapid growth in Chinese programs (College Board 2015). Asia Society also actively advocates and promotes Chinese language instruction through its handbook, electronic clearinghouse, and DVDs through the channels of ACTFL, CLTA, CLASS, and its regional affiliates. In 2008, Asia Society initiated Confucius Classrooms to provide technical assistance to a hundred schools around the U.S., building quality Chinese programs and linking these programs to partner schools in China for lingual and cultural exchange.

Hanban, the Confucius Institute Headquarters, a non-profit organization affiliated with the Chinese Ministry of Education, also advocates and promotes the study of Chinese language and culture around the globe. Since 2005, Hanban has established 440 Confucius Institutes and 646 Confucius Classrooms in the world, with 100 of these Confucius Institutes and 365 Confucius Classrooms in the United States. In 2013, a total of 381 K-12 principals and education officials from the U.S. took part in the “Chinese Bridge” for American Schools, which was jointly organized by the College Board and the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban 2013). All of the above mentioned federal initiatives and language education organizations have influenced the strong growth of CFL in elementary and secondary schools.

These federal initiatives and organizational supports, as a whole, have contributed to the successful expansion of CFL programs in K-12 in the past 10 years. First, the federal initiatives provided seed funding for many Chinese programs in elementary and secondary schools. In 2006 and 2007, for instance, Foreign Language Assistance Programs (FLAP) funded 70 Chinese language programs in three states, including Ohio, North Carolina, and Wisconsin (Ingold and Wang 2010a). Second, new language roadmaps were created to prepare children to meet the needs of the twenty-first century. The Language Flagship program beginning in 2007 organized a series of state-level Language Summits and created language roadmaps for the states of Hawaii, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, and Utah (Roadmap Design Team 2007a, b, c, 2009, 2012, 2013). These states share a common goal that acquiring a critical language like Chinese is essential for the long-term economic and strategic development of that state. Other states, including Kansas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Wisconsin, also make CFL a priority of their world language programs. More than 11 states have a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with China or Taiwan to bring guest teachers to their schools through cooperative educational agreements. Cities like Chicago and Los Angeles have made concerted efforts to make Chinese one of the “commonly taught” languages (Asia Society & College Board 2008).

Third, STARTALK summer programs have become a successful program of the National Security Language Institute (NSLI) and the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) for providing assistance to school districts and departments of education throughout the United States to build new seedling programs for beginner

Chinese. The STARTALK vision for learners is to ensure more students study critical languages for longer sequences with effective use of technology and best practices to produce more meaningful learning outcomes. The STARTALK vision for teachers is to train and increase the number of highly effective and certified teachers and to create a better system for preparing and certifying language teachers with rigorous professional development opportunities (Jacobson 2013).

In the past 7 years, STARTALK Chinese programs have provided K-12 students and teachers with creative and engaging experiences that well exemplify best practices in the field of teaching CFL. STARTALK has had a far-reaching impact on the CFL field. For example, in 2007, as many as 944 high school students and 427 high school teachers benefited from the 25 STARTALK Chinese programs. The number of STARTALK Chinese programs doubled to 55 in 2008, and as a result 1,884 students and 688 teachers directly benefited from these opportunities (Asia Society 2010). To further demonstrate the influence of STARTALK, the following graph (Fig. 1) illustrates the number of participating student and teacher programs in the past 6 years. In 2009, a total of 78 STARTALK Chinese programs (45 student programs and 33 teacher programs) took place in 31 states, and in 2010 this number of participating programs rose to 98 in 39 states. This trend continued in the next few years. A total of 112 programs in as many as 46 states joined the mission in 2012, and the total number of participating programs reached 114 in 2013. In 2014, 41 states in the U.S. offered 55 STARTALK student programs and 40 teacher programs.

STARTALK programs have served as a model for successful K-12 CFL programs, not only in linguistic proficiency but also in increased cultural knowledge. They achieved these goals through extended daily exposure to the target language, small class sizes, focus on performance and proficiency, and extracurricular activities, such as field trips and cultural projects. STARTALK programs became such a success that many participating districts and schools started to add Chinese to their world language offerings during the regular school year (Jacobson 2013).

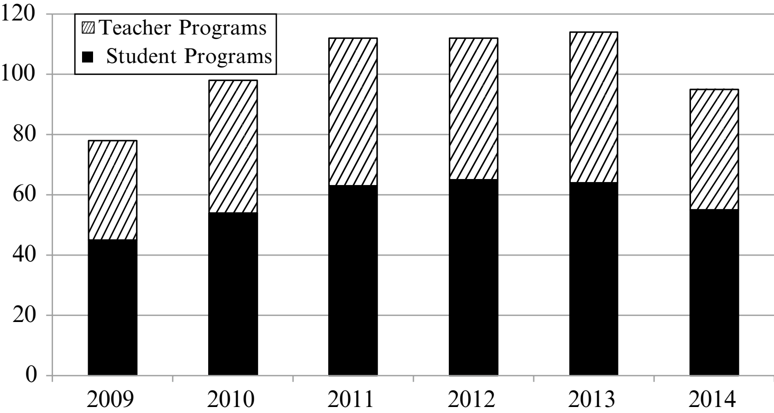

Fig. 1 Number of STARTALK Chinese programs from 2009 to 2014

2.2 Integration of National Standards in CFL Curriculum

Rhodes and Pufahl (2009) observed a positive change in CFL teaching in the past two decades: foreign language teachers at both elementary and secondary levels are actively integrating established national and state standards into their teaching. This actually helps to address one challenge CFL programs face, which is building an articulated sequence of language study across grade levels. Their results showed that 59 % of elementary schools with foreign language programs in 2008, an increase from 19 % in 1997, integrated national or state standards into their instruction. At the secondary school level, 83 % integrated standards into their instruction in 2008, an increase of 53 % from 1997. They also found that 39 % of elementary schools with foreign language programs, an increase of 14 % from 1997, reported their students were placed in middle and high school classes based on course content and objectives specified at their previous level (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011).

This positive change to standards-based curriculum also has been observed in the entire field of CFL at both the K-12 and tertiary levels. The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines was translated and integrated into CFL standards after its first publication in 1986. The third edition of the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines was released in 2012 with the level of Distinguished added to the Speaking and Writing Guidelines. Additionally, the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines is in alignment with the K-12 Common Core State Standards, which were first introduced in 2009 and have now been adopted by 45 U.S. states (ACTFL 2012).

In discussions of standards and proficiency levels related to Chinese programs, one frequently raised question relates to the number of instructional hours needed to reach certain levels of proficiency. According to the Foreign Institute Service of the U.S. Department of State, National Foreign Language Center and the Center for Applied Linguistics (Jackson and Malone 2009), it takes approximately 88 weeks or 2,200–2,400 class hours for English speakers to achieve ILR (Interagency Language Roundtable) 3 or a general professional proficiency in Chinese, the equivalent of the Superior Level in the ACTFL proficiency scale. Both ILR and the ACTFL proficiency scale define language ability. The former was developed by the U.S. Federal Government with six levels ranging from 0 (No Practical Proficiency) through 5 (Native or Bilingual Proficiency) to coordinate and evaluate foreign language activities among various agencies at the federal level, whereas the latter was established by a professional organization, ACTFL, and mostly has been used in academia. The ACTFL scale defines four main levels (Novice, Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior), and each level contains three sub-levels (Low, Mid, and High). In general, CFL learners with an average aptitude are still at the novice level after 200 to 400 h of instruction. They reach the intermediate low proficiency level after 480 h of instruction, intermediate mid or high after 720 h, and advanced low after 1,320 h.

So far there are no official studies or comprehensive reports on the proficiency level the CFL programs reach in elementary or secondary schools. One empirical study to document students' proficiency was conducted by Xu et al. (2013) over

3 years from 2008 to 2010 to evaluate student learning outcomes in a standards-based and performance-oriented STARTALK intensive summer Chinese program at a large suburban public high school. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected to measure learning outcomes of a total of 93 high school students, with 40 at Chinese II Level (an estimate of 200 h of instruction) and 53 at Chinese III Level (approximately 300 class hours). The Standards-based Measurement of Proficiency (STAMP) and the Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview (SOPI) were used as quantitative measures to assess students' pre- and posttest language performance. Interview and observational data indicated students improved in all four language skills and increased their knowledge of Chinese culture.

The results showed that both Level II and Level III students demonstrated significant improvement between pre- and posttests for all modes of communication, namely interpretive, presentational, and interpersonal communication skills. A close look at their STAMP results revealed that both Level II and Level III students achieved Novice-Mid proficiency in their interpretive reading skill and Novice-High proficiency in their presentational speaking and writing skills. In other words, Level II and Level III students did not have significant differences in their proficiency level despite the additional 100 h of instruction for Level III students, which is consistent with expectations based on total number of instructional hours. The researchers did point out that one of the challenges for the high school teachers in the study was to find an effective and easy assessment tool. SOPI proved to be time consuming, and the scoring rubric was ineffective in distinguishing well between Novice-Low, Novice-Mid, and Novice-High learners.

In summary, based on the results of Xu et al.'s study (2013) and the AP Chinese Language and Culture Exam (College Board 2013), and taking into consideration the number of instructional hours needed to reach each level of proficiency (Jackson and Malone 2009), it may be reasonable to predict that the majority of students in K-12 CFL programs remain at novice proficiency levels after 2 years of instruction. However, heritage learners in AP Chinese classes and students who continue their study in immersion programs may reach intermediate or approach an advanced proficiency level. The lack of success in the majority of K-12 programs in terms of helping students attain a functional level of proficiency has become a challenge for CFL programs in U.S. elementary and secondary schools.

2.3 Innovative CFL Programs in Elementary and Secondary Schools

CAL has conducted three large surveys to assess the status of foreign language instruction in U.S. elementary and secondary schools (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011; Rhodes and Branaman 1999; Rhodes and Oxford 1988). These surveys gathered information on four key questions: the amount of foreign language instruction, the languages and types of programs offered, curriculum and teacher qualifications, and

teacher training. They found statistically significant changes in language instruction in elementary schools, with 17 % of public elementary schools offering foreign language instruction in 1987, 24 % in 1997, and then down to 15 % in 2008. In contrast, over 50 % of private elementary schools continued to offer foreign language instruction in the past two decades. In secondary schools, the major change occurred in middle schools while the percentage of high schools offering foreign languages remained fairly stable (Table 1). Of all foreign language programs, Spanish (over 70 %) and French (about 15 %) have remained the most commonly taught languages in U.S. elementary and secondary schools.

However, in contrast to the up-and-down changes in enrollment for other foreign language programs in U.S. K-12 schools, we have observed steady growth in CFL programs at both elementary and secondary school levels. Of all the elementary schools with world language programs, the offering of Chinese increased significantly from 0.3 % in 1997 to 3 % in 2008. At the secondary school level, there was also a statistically significant increase in CFL programs from 1 % in 1997 to 4 % in 2008 (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011). Additionally, there are more Chinese programs for heritage speakers: an increase of 0.3 % in elementary schools and 0.4 % in secondary schools.

To gain an in-depth understanding of the goals and intensity of school language instruction, Rhodes and Pufahl (2009) and Pufahl and Rhodes (2011) asked elementary schools to indicate whether their program was an exploratory (Foreign Language Experience or Exploratory, hereafter FLEX), language focus (Foreign Language in the Elementary School, hereafter FLES), or Immersion program. They also asked secondary schools to identify whether they offered Advanced Placement (AP), honors, or International Baccalaureate (IB) courses. Two positive trends identified in all foreign language programs in the past three decades were the shift in program types from extracurricular (taught in weekend schools) to curricular programs (taught during the school day), and from less intensive programs (FLEX) to more intensive programs (FLES and Immersion). These two trends also apply to K-12 CFL programs. A wide range of Chinese language programs are offered with varying intensity in K-12 settings. Similar to other world language programs at the elementary school level (Fig. 2), there are mainly three forms of Chinese instruction, namely FLEX, FLES, and Immersion programs.

FLEX engages students in introductory exposure mostly to the culture as a way to develop an interest in the foreign language for future study. Students gain an understanding of and appreciation for other cultures by meeting only once or twice

Table 1 Changes in percentage of students enrolling in foreign language courses (1987, 1997, and 2008)

	Public elementary schools (%)	Private elementary schools (%)	Middle schools (%)	High schools (%)
1987	17	34	72	95
1997	24	53	75	90
2008	15	51	58	91

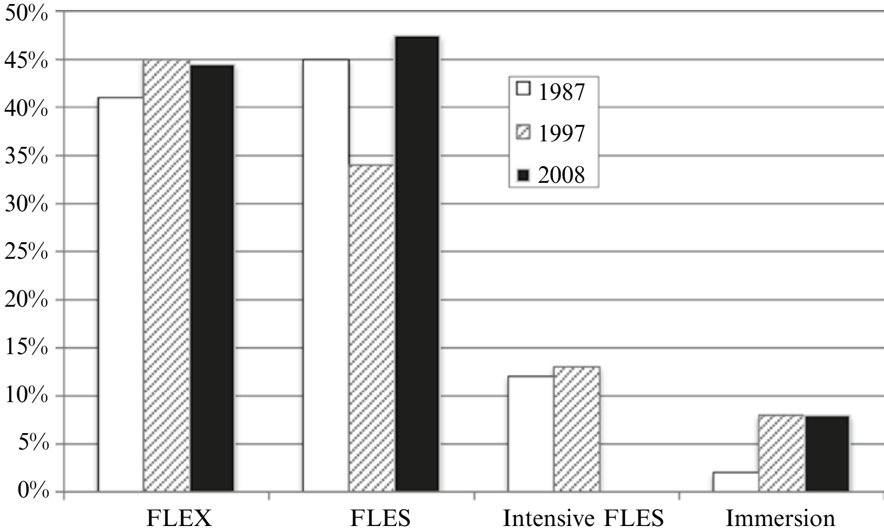

Fig. 2 Program types offered by elementary schools with language programs (1987, 1997 and 2008)

a week. Nationally, of all foreign language programs in elementary schools, 45 % were FLEX programs in 1997, an increase of 4 % from 1987 (Rhodes and Branaman 1999; Rosenbusch 2002). Public elementary schools were more likely to offer FLEX programs (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011).

FLES provides a sequential language learning experience with the aim of some degree of proficiency. Students may learn basic words and phrases through three to five classes a week for no less than 30–40 min per class. In 1987, 45 % of all foreign language programs in elementary schools were FLES programs and 12 % were Intensive FLES programs; in 1997, 34 % were FLES programs and 13 % Intensive FLES programs (Rhodes and Branaman 1999; Rosenbusch 2002). Private elementary schools were more likely to offer FLES programs than public schools (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011).

Immersion programs involve content learning from the regular curriculum, such as math, science, and social studies, in the target language. In this format, at least 50 % of the school day is taught in the target language in order to achieve a high level of proficiency in academic subjects. There are partial, two-way, or total immersion programs depending on the amount of the foreign language used and the make-up of the study population. Nationally, the percentage of immersion programs has grown. In 1987 only 2 % of all elementary schools offering foreign language instruction were immersion programs, but his number increased to 8 % in 1997 (Rhodes and Branaman 1999; Rosenbusch 2002). Additionally, benefiting from federal initiatives and funding opportunities, public schools (14 %) offered more immersion programs than private schools (2 %) in 2008 (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011). The Portland Public Schools K-12 Chinese Language Program in Oregon, Yinghua

Academy in Minnesota, the Utah Chinese Dual Immersion programs, and the Yu Ying Public Charter Schools in Washington DC are four such examples (Asia Society 2010).

The Portland Public Schools K-12 Chinese Language Program is a part of the K-16 Chinese Flagship Center at the University of Oregon, which started in 2005 and has developed a replicable articulated K-12 dual language immersion program (Portland Public Schools 2015). This collaborative effort aims to produce high levels of proficiency by providing Chinese language instruction from kindergarten through higher education. It offers a 50/50 instructional model in K-5 where for half of the day learning is delivered in English and the other half is in Chinese. It emphasizes literacy development and includes a 2-week research trip and home stay in China for eighth grade with a targeted proficiency level of Intermediate-Mid. Portland Public Schools K-16 Chinese Flagship Center is successful in graduating high school students with advanced language proficiency. Many of their students continue to take content courses in the Chinese Flagship Program at the University of Oregon.

Yinghua Academy, founded in 2006 initially as a K-5 elementary school with seed funds from both the U.S. Department of Education and the State of Minnesota, is the first Chinese immersion charter school in the U.S. and the first Chinese immersion school in the Midwest. They currently have over 500 students enrolled and have expanded to be a K-8 elementary and middle school program (Yinghua Academy 2014). Their curriculum was developed in consultation with the University of Minnesota and the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC to build both subject area knowledge and Mandarin fluency from grade to grade.

The Utah Chinese Immersion program is one of the five Dual Language Immersion Programs in the State of Utah, with the other four being French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish (Utah State Office of Education 2015). In the 2014–2015 academic year, 33 schools participated and offered Chinese immersion strand courses: 50 % of the instruction is delivered in Chinese and 50 % in English. The program model is cost efficient and sustainable as it integrates fully into the school systems. Beyond the elementary school level, the Utah State Office of Education and the Brigham Young University Chinese Flagship Center joined efforts in support of the Utah K-16 Flagship-Chinese Acquisition Pipeline to prepare Utah for globally-minded citizenship for the twenty-first century.

Washington Yu Ying Public Charter School is the first public school to offer Chinese immersion in Washington, DC. Yu Ying offered PreK-4th grade in full immersion for the 2014–2015 school year, and they are expanding and adding new classes every year (Washington Yu Ying Public Charter School 2015). Their curricular framework, Primary Years Program, was developed by the International Baccalaureate Organization for children aged 3–12 with input from the Chinese language coordinator. The emphasis of their curriculum is play-based exploratory classrooms with nurturing and engaged teachers to cater to children's cognitive and social developmental stages. Structured inquiry thus serves as the principal way for learning in all content areas and promoting international mindedness and language acquisition.

These three types of programs (FLEX, FLES, and Immersion) vary significantly in their goals and the percentage of Chinese language use for instruction. Despite the small number of K-12 CFL programs in relation to all foreign language programs in the country, the fact that Chinese has begun to be offered at such an early age and the increase in Chinese immersion programs in public elementary schools demonstrates its power. Collaboration between school districts, educational organizations, and university programs, such as the Chinese Language Flagship program, also has proved to be successful in promoting CFL in both elementary and secondary schools.

At the secondary school level, according to CAL and ACTFL survey data (Rhodes and Oxford 1988; Rhodes and Branaman 1999; Pufahl and Rhodes 2011), about 87 % of public schools teach foreign languages, and 95 % of private schools offer foreign language instruction. Currently, about 4 % of secondary schools with language programs teach Chinese as a foreign language, a 3 % increase from 1997 (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011). In secondary schools, standard class instruction in listening, speaking, reading, writing, and culture has been the main program type: 96 % of all secondary schools with foreign language programs offered instruction in standard class settings in 1987, and 94 % of them did so in 1997. Chinese programs are no exception to this instructional type at the secondary school level, even though STARTALK has helped to incorporate best practices and curriculum design into these programs.

Additionally, there has been a significant increase in the percentage of advanced placement (AP) class offerings of Chinese at the national level: 16 % of secondary schools with language programs participated in AP exams in 1997, compared to 12 % in 1997 (College Board 2015). A total number of 10,728 students took Chinese AP in 2014, a dramatic increase from 3,261 in 2007. In addition to the large growth in CFL students, the number of heritage learners of Chinese also is increasing rapidly. It is reported that 80 % of AP Chinese examinees are heritage speakers, the largest percentage among any of the AP World Language exams (College Board 2015). AP Exams are not graded on a curve but by proficiency standards, i.e., all students who meet the standard for a 5 get a 5. Based on the 2014 results released by the College Board, 68.1 % of AP Chinese test takers got 5, and another 13.8 % earned 4. The most difficult part of the exam for Chinese heritage speakers was not listening, reading, or writing, but was cultural presentation.

In addition to traditional face-to-face language teaching, Chinese language educators are exploring new media to promote Chinese language study and reach out to more students by taking advantage of technology and the Internet. Asia Society and College Board (2008) have found that online instruction is an effective way to offer more advanced levels of Chinese when such resources are not accessible. Online programs are also helpful to reach students in rural areas or in schools where employing a full-time Chinese language teacher is not feasible due to a lack of funding and low student demand. Online CFL instruction at the secondary school level is so new that no reliable or large sample data is yet available. Michigan, North Carolina, and Kentucky are three states that offer Chinese to large numbers of students through the state virtual high schools, while other states offer outreach CFL instruction from universities and community colleges (Wang et al. 2010).

3 Challenges of K-12 CFL Programs in the U.S.

Previous sections of this chapter have discussed the high demand for Chinese language instruction, the growing number of new programs, innovative forms of instructions, and the rapid growth in student enrollment. Despite accelerated expansion and rapid growth, however, K-12 CFL programs in the U.S. also face five critical infrastructure challenges. In this section, these challenges will be explained, along with conjectures about possible ways to address these challenges.

3.1 Shortage of Qualified Teachers and Lack of Mechanisms for Teacher Certification

The first and probably the foremost challenge in the field of K-12 CFL education lies in the critical shortage of qualified teachers and the sheer lack of effective mechanisms for teacher certification. It is impossible to precisely estimate the number and types of Chinese language teachers that will be needed in the near future. Nevertheless, based on historical data for other languages, if Chinese were to become as common as German or French, we would need 2,800–10,000 teachers (Asia Society 2010).

In addition to the demand for a large quantity of Chinese language teachers, the quality of the teacher candidates is also an important issue. As Jackson and Malone (2009) point out, "the single most important factor" in developing effective K-12 world language programs is the "competence and skill" of the teachers (p. 18). Chinese program development is no exception. Regardless of the variety of candidate backgrounds, CFL teachers working in U.S. schools should have the following characteristics:

- They have been certified or are willing to pursue certification and continual professional development since only 72 % of secondary school foreign language teachers and 25 % of elementary school foreign language teachers have some type of teacher certification (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011);
- They are fluent in Mandarin and have solid content knowledge of Chinese linguistic features, and they must pass the Praxis II Chinese test developed by Educational Testing Service (ETS) or reach Intermediate High or Advanced Low proficiency level in the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) and Writing Proficiency Test (WPT). Currently, 46 states and Washington, DC approve teacher preparation programs based on ACTFL and National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) program standards;
- They are well-trained in sound foreign language pedagogy and are adept at curriculum design, material development, standards-based curriculum, performance-oriented assessments, and second language teaching methods;
- They are skillful at U.S. classroom management;
- They are proficient in English and intercultural competence, and they can actively involve themselves in community outreach and communicate effectively with students, parents, and school administrators.

The shortage of a qualified teaching force is related to the limited number of teacher training faculty and institutions that are able to offer rigorous CFL teacher certification programs and/or provide alternative licensure routes to build capacity and fill in the gap between the rapidly growing interest and the lack of infrastructure. There are over 450 programs preparing teachers of Spanish in the United States, but there are only 50 teacher preparation programs for teachers of Chinese in the country (Asian Society & College Board 2008). Current and emerging programs for training Chinese language teachers fall into three broad and overlapping categories: traditional long-form university courses, alternative routes, and online training.

Due to the linguistic complexity of Chinese and the length of time it requires to reach an advanced proficiency level, only a small number of CFL teachers are trained and licensed in traditional university programs. In fact, Asia Society (2010) reported that 37 of 49 states have to resort to alternative routes to licensure and/or intensive licensure programs. Moreover, there are different types of licenses or certification required by each state for world language teachers at different grade levels, and 15 out of 49 states have specific licensure requirements to teach in immersion settings.

What makes it even more challenging is the complexity of teacher certification or licensure requirements for different candidates, such as guest teachers, U.S. heritage teachers, and Native English speakers of CFL. Presently CFL guest teachers go through a visa-granting process mainly through three organizations: Hanban, Fulbright, and the College Board. Common issues with teacher certification in Chinese involve locating appropriate placements for internships and professional development, but guest teachers also encounter visa and legal status issues. These three groups of teacher candidates have distinctive strengths and weaknesses and thus require differentiated professional training. Ma (2014) noted that differences in educational systems and learning backgrounds and diverse cultural backgrounds of students present both challenges and alternative learning opportunities for Chinese teachers to adapt to in U.S. teaching contexts.

To address the challenge of the CFL teacher shortage and the lack of mechanisms for teacher certification, it is crucial for the country to develop a strong system to recruit, train, certify, and support Chinese teachers through innovative ways, such as guest teacher programs and "grow-your-own approaches" (Asia Society 2010). Currently, 24 states have agreements with China and Taiwan to bring in about 160 native speakers for the teaching force in 12 states: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin (Wang et al. 2010). Furthermore, special programs have been developed in different states to recruit world language teachers. For example, mid-career changers are recruited in 26 states, heritage speakers are recruited in 18 states, and 13 states and Washington DC recruit world language teachers at the college level (Wang et al. 2010). But these efforts are still not enough to meet the tremendous expansion of the field. What school districts face immediately is how to train these teachers effectively so they are qualified and certified. In

response to the request for differentiated teacher training, a few organizations, including the College Board, the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages, the Confucius Institute, Asia Society, and the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC), have made collaborative efforts to provide a variety of professional training opportunities, which are delivered in traditional face-to-face settings, web-based distance learning, and STARTALK summer camp formats. As a result of these collective efforts, we expect more and more states will find new ways to recruit, certify, and train CFL teachers to meet the growing demand at elementary and secondary levels.

3.2 Lack of Systematic Coordination and Substantial Proficiency

The second challenge in K-12 CFL program development is the lack of systematic and nationally-coordinated language learning systems (Asia Society & College Board 2008) to achieve sustainable program development and to help K-12 students attain a functional proficiency level useful in work settings (Ingold and Wang 2010a, b). It is a common phenomenon observed in most world language programs that the typical two years of study in either middle school or high school merely provide students with a survey and preliminary exploration of the language and culture and are not successful in producing substantial improvement in proficiency through purposeful time on task. One way to address this challenge is to seek support from local, state, and national leaders who advocate the importance of world language education with an adequate infrastructure. Another way is to promote active teacher involvement in regional and national CFL organizations and associations to explore, identify, and implement collaborations to build the infrastructure of the field.

3.3 Lack of Overarching Curriculum Articulation

The third challenge in K-12 CFL programs is a lack of curriculum articulation from one level of instruction to the next with a systematic process (Asia Society & College Board 2008; Asia Society 2010; Pufahl and Rhodes 2011). Even though 39 % of elementary schools with foreign language programs reported course placement in middle or high school that take into consideration former instruction, the remaining 60 % of schools that offered a foreign language unfortunately had no procedure to place students in the next level of instruction. Moreover, Jackson and Malone (2009) found it extremely difficult to access data about student enrollment, languages of instruction, courses offered, assessments given, and teacher qualifications in American public schools. This is because the data may be kept at the individual, county, or school district level in some states, and different states seem to have different collection procedures for the same information.

3.4 Lack of a Language Requirement and Early Language Education

The fourth challenge in CFL programs, similar to other world language programs, is the lack of a language requirement in K-12 schools, especially in elementary schools. Based on data collected in a survey administered by the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) and the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages (NCSSFL) in 2009, of the 49 states participating in the survey, only 3 states (New Jersey, Oklahoma, and Wyoming) and Washington DC listed World Language study as required at the elementary school level (K-5), 5 states (New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Texas, and Vermont) and Washington DC at the middle school level (6–8), and 8 states (Delaware, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas) and Washington DC at the high school level (9–12). Thirty-nine of the 49 states listed World Language study as optional for high school graduation. The fact that the majority of states in the U.S. do not require foreign language as a compulsory skill even for high school graduation has put CFL learning in a secondary position and in the long term has affected the sustainable development of such programs.

Another challenge is the lack of emphasis on early CFL learning in elementary schools. Wang et al. (2010) reports that the United States is one of only 3 developed countries among 30 countries (the other 2 are New Zealand and Australia) that do not require compulsory world language study in public schools, and the common age for American students to begin studying another language, if they do so, is typically 14 upon entrance to high school. In other words, the United States is falling behind its counterparts in its level of commitment to world language education.

4 Future of K-12 CFL Programs in the U.S.

Although Chinese programs have grown rapidly in popularity and new types of programs were established in past decades, there are also some critical challenges in further developing and expanding such programs. This section will consider future trends in Chinese language programs in U.S. schools regarding long-term sustainable development.

First, it is expected that more U.S. students will study Chinese at a younger age and Chinese immersion programs will blossom across the nation. Beginning Chinese instruction earlier will be more common in the future because research has continued to demonstrate that children learn languages best when they begin studying at a younger age (e.g. ACTFL 2011; Rhodes and Branaman 1999). As a matter of fact, in contrast to language learning at the college level, students who start in K-12 are likely to be more proficient in listening comprehension, and listening proficiency emerges as a critical predictor of oral proficiency at the Advanced and Superior levels (Davidson 2012). Furthermore, recent studies indicate that immer-

sion programs are beneficial, and may even be essential for reaching a professional level of proficiency (Davidson 2007; Engle and Engle 2004; Jackson and Malone 2009; Rifkin 2005). According to national data on immersion schools collected by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011), a significant number of immersion programs have emerged in metropolitan areas and selected schools in the past 35 years, and this number continues to grow as a percentage of newly established Chinese programs. About 4 % of the immersion programs in the U.S. are Chinese programs (Lenker and Rhodes 2007), and 14 states have indicated in a national survey that they are taking innovative measures to develop language immersion programs (Wang et al. 2010).

Second, benefiting from increased federal support and national policies on critical language programs, it is expected that there will be more continuous, competency-oriented, articulated Chinese programs. In order to attain a functional level of proficiency, students should be able to continue their Chinese learning based on their previous skills rather than start over from the beginning or begin in some arbitrary place as they continue their studies. K-12 articulation thus has become a critical issue and has attracted unanimous attention at national, state, and regional levels (Asia Society 2010; Davison 2007; Jackson and Malone 2009; Wang et al. 2010), which will most likely generate nationally coordinated concerted efforts through federal support and flagship initiatives. Historically, national and state policies have had a positive impact on foreign language education overall in promoting comprehensive foreign language programs, assuring articulation and cooperation among the various levels of foreign language teaching, and strengthening teacher certification programs (Rosenbusch 2002). Rosenbusch's case study of Iowa also identified a clear trend towards more intensive programs as a result of such national and state decisions: the percentage of FLEX programs decreased by 16 % in the 1990s while the number of FLES programs increased by 4 %, and there was an additional 3 % increase in intensive FLES programs and 1 % in established immersion programs. With the leadership of national organizations, such as NFLC, NCSSFL, and NSLI, and through the advocacy of professional associations, such as CLTA and CLASS, we expect the trend for more intensive Chinese language instruction to increase at the national level.

Finally, in terms of the various kinds of program settings (FLEX, FLES, Immersion, etc.), it is also an expectation of those in the field that there will be more rigorous Chinese programs delivered in different ways to meet different students' needs. To individualize students' learning experiences and accommodate their distinctive needs and skills, we expect that more learning opportunities and channels will be made available to minority CFL learners, including heritage language learners, homeschoolers, and distance learners. Lai reported that about 8 out of 10 pupils in community-based heritage Chinese schools in the U.S. were being taught in Mandarin Chinese (Lai 2004). The data and results of the AP Chinese exam in 2014 continue to demonstrate that more heritage learners are motivated to improve their Chinese language and cultural competency. Similar to other CFL learners, the economic power of China and U.S. national security establishments contribute to the motivation and attitudes of heritage learners towards learning Chinese. Heritage

learners differ from their counterparts in their learning motivation as a result of the interplay of different influences: families, schools, teachers, peers, media, extracurricular Chinese programs, as well as the presence of local and overseas Chinese communities (Lin 2013). Since heritage language learners have different needs and skills than their peers who have not previously been exposed to Chinese, Jackson and Malone (2009) recommend that those developing curriculum and learning environments need to recognize this difference in order to create effective programs.

In addition to the heritage learner population, there are other student groups (e.g. home-schooled students) who may have a strong interest in Chinese language and culture but do not have access to such instruction, and others who may have different learning styles and individual needs. Computer-assisted language learning hence becomes extremely useful in providing additional exposure and creating a self-paced learning environment where language forms become salient and connect students to native speakers to increase intercultural competence. In fact, following the examples of Michigan and North Carolina, 14 states are developing distance and online learning (Wang et al. 2010).

In conclusion, skilled Chinese language ability has been in great demand for U.S. national security and international commerce, and there have been considerable achievements in the field of teaching CFL. It is our hope that the Chinese language will continue to grow and eventually will become a core subject in U.S. K-12 schools, as recommended by Jackson and Malone in 2009.

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CFL Education at the College Level

Yu Li and Zheng-sheng Zhang

Abstract This chapter offers a critical review of the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) to non-heritage students at the college level. Drawing upon recent research in the field, it examines the current state of curriculum and instruction, highlights important issues, and attempts to provide recommendations for future development. The discussion on curriculum emphasizes the central role of national standards in today's curricular planning and urges CFL programs to match their curricular scope with content standards, and to ensure quality and accountability via benchmarking with proficiency standards. In addition to offering a description of the curricular scope and sequence as reflected in popular CFL textbooks, the chapter also describes major characteristics of the Chinese language and provides a critical examination and rethinking of some prevalent TCFL practices. Finally, some pedagogical innovations and resources are shared, with particular attention to the use of new technological tools.

Keywords CFL curriculum and instruction at the college level • Standards-based CFL curriculum at the college level • Content standards • Articulation of CFL curriculum • Scope and sequence of CFL curriculum • CFL textbooks at the college level • Special-purpose Chinese language courses • Integrated Chinese curriculum

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1 Introduction

The teaching of Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) in the West was traditionally based at the collegiate level. CFL education in American and European colleges and universities dates back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chinese language classes were first introduced in the U.S. in 1871 at Yale University. In the U.K., Chinese was initially offered at the School of Oriental Studies in London in 1917 (Tsung and Cruickshank 2011). By contrast, CFL instruction in secondary schools in the U.S. began in the early 1960s. Although significant development took place during that decade in teacher training, material development, as well as pedagogy, such efforts suffered severe setbacks as funding dwindled in the 1970s (Zhou 2011). For colleges and universities, however, CFL teaching enjoyed a steady (though slow) growth through the 1990s. (For a brief history of CFL in the U.S., see Zhou 2011.)

Today, after two decades of intense growth at both collegiate and pre-collegiate levels, colleges and universities remain the principal locales for CFL teaching and learning. Furthermore, in the United States (and possibly in other Western countries as well) post-secondary teaching and learning of the Chinese language take place primarily at the undergraduate level. In Fall 2006, the Modern Language Association of America identified 661 institutions offering Chinese language courses (MLA 2006). A total of 51,582 students were enrolled, of which 50,455 (97.8 %) were undergraduates. Enrollment increased to 60,976 in Fall 2009 (Furman et al. 2010) and to 61,055 in Fall 2013 (Goldberg et al. 2015). The ratio of undergraduates, however, remained stable at 98 %. A recent survey by the Chinese Language Teachers Association reported 19 % (40) of the respondents offering M.A. programs and 13 % (27) offering Ph.D. degrees in Chinese (Li et al. 2014).

This chapter reviews Chinese language curriculum and instruction at the college level (for K-12 level, see Chapter 7, "Chinese as a Foreign Language in K-12 Education"). The field of CFL in the U.S. has accomplished much; yet, challenges remain that could make further development seem arduous. Drawing on information and insight from recent research in the field and from our own experience, we discuss the current state of curriculum and instruction, highlight important issues, and attempt to provide directions for future development or further research.

2 CFL Curriculum: Standards, Scope, and Integration

2.1 Standards-Based CFL Curriculum

2.1.1 Role of Standards

As Everson (2012) aptly puts it, we are now in the "era of standards," and there is no going back. Indeed, standards play a central role in today's foreign language field. Standards determine what we teach (curriculum), how we teach it

(instruction), and how we know what our students know and are able to do (assessment). Phrases such as "standards-based instruction" or "standards-based curriculum" have become nearly cliché. The ability to integrate standards into curriculum and instruction is also included in the guidelines developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) in conjunction with the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) or teacher training programs. Candidates are expected to demonstrate the ability to incorporate national and local standards-based curriculum and instructional planning and to use these frameworks as a basis for choosing instructional materials (ACTFL 2002, p. 25). Not surprisingly, much research has been devoted to the importance of standards to CFL curriculum and instruction in recent years (Bai et al. 2013; Everson 2011, 2012; Ke et al. 2001; Xing 2006; Xu and Ning 2013; Zhang 2013b).

We wonder, nonetheless, if many collegiate CFL programs would consider themselves standards-based, and if many instructors at the college level would consider their instruction fully informed by national guidelines. Anecdotal evidence suggests there might be a disproportionate few programs that are standards-based in comparison to the size of the CFL field.

The reason for this gap between talking the talk and walking the walk on the issue of standards in CFL teaching could be multifold. Fundamentally, it could be a general lack of accountability in the current academic setting of CFL programs. Most programs at the college level are relatively independent. Within the institution, they often are not required to answer to higher-level authorities as to the structural soundness of the curriculum or the proficiency level of their graduates. Outside the institution, since the majority of students enter college with little or no formal learning experience in Chinese and do not continue beyond the college years, there is little demand to connect to pre- or post-secondary CFL education. A second reason could be the enrollment boom CFL programs have enjoyed for the past two decades. With programs ever expanding, the outlook is good from every direction. Another important reason could be resource constraints. Those programs and faculty who are able to hold themselves accountable and are intent on implementing the national standards more actively and fully could find themselves already strapped for time and energy maintaining the current level of day-to-day operations. Work on the curriculum, especially, would require coordination and collaboration that could be cumbersome. If there are few external incentives to begin with, integrating standards could become even less appealing.

Looking forward, we must recognize not only the value of standards, but also the importance of implementing them in order to be taken seriously as a field. The lack of standardization is already reflected in the great unevenness in the quality of CFL programs (see further discussion in Sect. 2.1.3). Circumstances could also change – enrollments could decline, programs could shrink, and the students we teach could come with substantial experience and expect a smoother transition from pre-college to post-secondary study of Chinese. In the era of standards, it is time we muster our resources, create a positive environment, and get started with this important work.

There has been a proliferation of standards related to CFL education both in the U.S. (ACTFL 1986, 1999, 2001, 2012, 1996, 1998, 2014; CLASS 1999; ILR 1950s,

1968, 1985) and in other parts of the world (Council of Europe 1989–1996, 2011; Hanban 2007, 2008). For college-level programs in the U.S., the most commonly recognized standards are the various guidelines published by ACTFL. Two types are particularly helpful when it comes to curriculum building: content standards and proficiency standards.

2.1.2 Matching Curricular Scope with Content Standards

Content standards address what and how we teach. In existent research, much emphasis has been placed on content standards. The ones widely recognized in the U.S., for example, are ACTFL's *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*, first published in 1996, with Chinese-specific guidelines put forth two years later (ACTFL 1998). Commonly known as the "Five C's," these standards address five goals and content areas – Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities – of foreign language education. Despite their obvious connection to curricular scope, however, discussion of these standards has been mostly limited to what is desired (see Everson 2011 for a study that proposes specific teaching methods in reference to the Five C's), and relatively less has been done on how to use these standards as guidance to construct a better curriculum. Standards-based curriculum remains very much an abstract notion.

When it comes to curriculum development, many programs may tend to focus on the adoption of textbooks. We rely on textbooks in choosing content for students to learn, and we also test students mostly on their mastery of material in textbooks. Programs may rarely examine the extent to which the components of their curricula match the requirements of the content standards. What is offered in language courses most often defaults to whatever is included in textbooks. It is no exaggeration to say that for many programs, the curriculum remains textbook-based rather than standards-based.

2.1.3 Using Proficiency Standards to Ensure Quality and Accountability

If content standards determine what students learn, proficiency standards address specifically how well students learn and how we know what students are able to do. Content standards alone cannot guarantee accountability. To ensure high-quality and consistent outcomes, we must incorporate the use of proficiency standards in curriculum and assessment, such as the guidelines developed by ACTFL to outline students' proficiency levels either in individual skills (*ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines*1986, 1999, 2001, 2012) or in overall linguo-cultural performance (*ACTFL Performance Descriptors for Language Learners*).

Articulation of the CFL curriculum should be benchmarked with proficiency guidelines. Within the parameters of the curriculum (e.g. a set number of weekly contact hours), both instructors and students should know clearly what proficiency levels the majority of students reach when they have completed a given portion of

the curriculum. Evidence of a lack of standardization in this respect comes from the greatly uneven expectations of student proficiency levels by CFL programs. As shown by CLTA's (2012) survey, programs that offer 4 years of courses for non-heritage speakers expected their students to reach anywhere from Intermediate Mid to Advanced High in speaking, reading, and listening, and one sublevel below that in writing. Likewise, the proficiency level of completers of most 2-year programs ranged from Novice High to Advanced Low in three of the four skills (Li et al. 2014). It appears that many of the CFL program faculty themselves are either unfamiliar with proficiency guidelines or are unclear about where their programs fit along that spectrum.

Reasons for the current state of CFL programs may be the lack of external demand or internal incentives for accountability or the inconsistent practice of assessing students. If we have not systematically evaluated students' proficiency, we will not be able to confidently come up with proficiency benchmarks, either for the curriculum or for the field. As a result, the field may run the risk of losing credibility in the long run. One practical difficulty often cited in incorporating ACTFL proficiency guidelines is the high cost of Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) testing. Most programs do not have resources for sustained measurement using the official OPI. One possible solution may be to devote the limited resources to certifying faculty as OPI testers, and faculty can then use unofficial, OPI-style testing to assess their students. Further research will be very useful on alternative, more cost-effective assessment methods that also allow programs to use ACTFL proficiency guidelines.

2.2 Curricular Scope and Sequence

2.2.1 Length of Language Curriculum

Chinese language courses in North American colleges and universities primarily cater to students learning Chinese as a foreign language (as opposed to a heritage language). Based on CLTA's 2012 survey, two types of language courses were most common: 71 % of the responding institutions offered courses open to both non-heritage and heritage learners, and 61 % offered courses limited to non-heritage students. Those that offered heritage courses were much fewer: 24 % reported having courses tailored to Mandarin speakers and 11 % to Cantonese speakers (Li et al. 2014, p. 14).

CFL curriculum in college typically starts with entry-level courses. This is because most undergraduate students taking Chinese have not had significant experience with the language before they come to college. With more and more students beginning their Chinese study in secondary or elementary schools, there is now a strong consensus on the need to develop a long-sequence curriculum that spans grades K-16+ (Ke et al. 2001, p. 47). However, besides certain Flagship programs (Spring 2011), Chinese programs at most colleges and universities implement

language and culture training with the assumption that first-year students have little prior experience with the language. Indeed, the majority of college CFL curricula begin at the elementary level (Li et al. 2014).

Furthermore, most CFL curricula are limited to elementary and intermediate levels. The majority of programs surveyed did not offer language courses beyond the second year. Only about one third of the programs offered mixed or non-heritage courses up to the third or fourth year, and another 5 % to 10 % extended their courses to the fifth or sixth years (Li et al. 2014, p. 14).

Thus, when we speak of the scope and sequence of a 4-year CFL curriculum, we are speaking of a relatively small portion of all CFL programs. We will, however, use the 4-year curriculum as a general frame of reference because first of all, it is the most typical of all BA-degree-granting Chinese programs (Li et al. 2014, p. 12), and secondly, the length of an undergraduate career for most of our students is 4 years. In describing the scope and sequence of a CFL curriculum below, we will refer to the first year of study as the elementary level, the second year as intermediate, and the third to fourth years as advanced, respectively. We will focus on non-heritage courses. For a review of curriculum models and development for college heritage learners, see Chapter 9 "The Teaching of Chinese to Heritage Language Learners at the Post-secondary Level" of this volume.

2.2.2 Scope and Sequence of a 4-Year CFL Curriculum for Non-heritage Learners

In the absence of an articulated set of statements on curricular content at the college level (except for certain Flagship Programs; see Spring 2011), textbooks serve as a natural source of information for the topical scope and sequence of Chinese language courses. Curriculum and instruction, especially at the elementary and intermediate levels, usually follow the structure of the textbooks adopted. Additional materials may be used, but such materials generally complement and enhance the textbook topics. Therefore, to get a sense of what it is that students learn and in what order, we will take a close look at the most widely-used textbooks.

In the past 10 to 15 years, a variety of new textbooks for Chinese language courses have appeared on the U.S. market. Choices of the most widely used ones, however, have remained relatively stable. For instance, two surveys by the CLTA spanning 12 years both found that *Integrated Chinese* (Ke et al. 2001) and *Practical Chinese Reader* (Li et al. 2014) were among the most popular options for college-level Chinese courses. Table 1 lists results from the more recent survey conducted by Li and colleagues (2014).

What are the overarching themes of these and other most commonly adopted textbooks? How are they distributed from the elementary to the advanced level? To answer these questions, we can divide the various topics into four thematic categories: (1) self, family, and friends; (2) routine communicative tasks; (3) culture-specific topics; and (4) literary works. By tallying the number of lessons that fall under each theme, with each lesson counted once, we arrive at Table 2.

Table 1 Most-widely-used textbooks adopted by non-heritage courses

	Elementary and Intermediate Levels	Advanced Level
1	*Integrated Chinese* 《中文听说读写》	*All Things Considered* 《事事关心》
2	*New Practical Chinese Reader* 《新实用汉语》	*New Practical Chinese Reader* 《新实用汉语》
3	*Chinese Link* 《中文天地》	*Reading into a New China*《变化中的中国》and *Crossing Cultural Boundaries* 《文化纵横观》

Table 2 Numbers and percentages of lessons associated with various topical themes in popular textbooks at the elementary, intermediate, and advanced levels

Theme	Elementary		Intermediate		Advanced	
Self, family, and friends	*IC*	4	*IC*	2	*ATC*	0
	NPCR	7	*NPCR*	0	*NPCR*	2
	CL	5	*CL*	0	*RNC/CCB*	0
	Subtotal	16 (24 %)	Subtotal	2 (3 %)	Subtotal	2 (3 %)
Routine communicative tasks	*IC*	16	*IC*	10	*ATC*	3
	NPCR	15	*NPCR*	6	*NPCR*	0
	CL	17	*CL*	18	*RNC/CCB*	0
	Subtotal	48 (70 %)	Subtotal	34 (53 %)	Subtotal	3 (5 %)
Culture-specific topics	*IC*	0	*IC*	8	*ATC*	29
	NPCR	4	*NPCR*	17	*NPCR*	7
	CL	0	*CL*	2	*RNC/CCB*	11
	Subtotal	4 (6 %)	Subtotal	27 (42 %)	Subtotal	47 (75 %)
Literary works	*IC*	0	*IC*	0	*ATC*	0
	NPCR	0	*NPCR*	1	*NPCR*	11
	CL	0	*CL*	0	*RNC/CCB*	0
	Subtotal	0 (0 %)	Subtotal	1 (2 %)	Subtotal	11 (17 %)
Total	68 (100 %)		64 (100 %)		63 (100 %)	

IC integrated Chinese, *NPCR* new practical Chinese reader, *CL* Chinese link, *ATC* all things considered, *RNC* reading into a new China, *CCB* crossing cultural boundaries, RNC/CCB represents the average count of the two textbooks

The sequencing of topical themes in the CFL curriculum appears to form certain patterns. Topics on self, family, and friends appear most heavily at the elementary level but dramatically decrease at both the intermediate and advanced levels. Topics involving routine communicative tasks are predominant at the elementary level and remain the largest category in intermediate courses. These topics are usually not culture specific – that is, they are part of the modern life with which both American and Chinese young people are familiar. At the advanced level, themes involving routine communicative tasks sharply drop, and culture-specific topics become more dominant.

This arrangement is in agreement with the cognitive trajectory of learning: from self to others, from day-to-day communication to concerns with social issues, from the culturally generic to the culturally specific, from the familiar to the unfamiliar, and from the concrete to the abstract. It is also worth noting that topical themes are not always arranged in a strict linear sequence. Rather, they often spiral across the same set of textbooks. For example, "shopping" and "travel" occur in both Level 1 and Level 2 of *Integrated Chinese*. In such cases, the topics are broadened, deepened, and reinforced as students become more advanced in their communicative skills. Such a spiraling design allows students to make more confident and steady progress towards advanced proficiency.

Do the scope and sequence of the CFL curriculum described above meet the requirement of the Five C's? If we aim to fully integrate all the goal areas at every level of the curriculum, then the current arrangement falls short in two areas. First of all, although Communication, Cultures, and Comparisons are addressed through all levels, there is a general lack of treatment of Connections and Community. More needs to be done in reaching the goals in these areas. What can we do to increase the opportunities for students to relate their Chinese knowledge, skills, and perspectives to other disciplines? What can we do to enable students to use Chinese language beyond the school setting? What do we need to do to help them become life-long learners by using Chinese for personal enjoyment and enrichment? To be fair, ineffective implementation of the Connections and Communities standards is likely not unique to Chinese – in fact, ACTFL is in the process of coming up with more implementable ideas for achieving these two goals. Nonetheless, we can begin to address some of the most basic questions as mentioned above.

The second point may not be readily apparent from the textbook topics alone, yet it is a relevant and important one. Judging from the content of the textbooks, our teaching of Chinese culture focuses much more on its products and practices than its perspectives. At the elementary level and part of the intermediate level, especially, the study of culture tends to be treated as reading some related information added on to the main text. When it gets to the advanced level, culture is often presented through Chinese-specific topics, such as Chinese opera, Chinese silk, etc., still at the product level. The teaching of cultural perspectives remains a challenge not sufficiently tackled. The challenge may be more deep-rooted than the current discussion has acknowledged. The nature of culture is such that those who grow up in it are largely unaware of its implicit assumptions without conscious examination and critique. Yet, it is precisely these assumptions that we are tasked to teach students. Instructors, who are mostly native Chinese, may find it necessary to inquire and learn about such perspectives from Chinese culture specialists first before effectively integrating them into materials and instruction.

2.2.3 Other Courses in the CFL Curriculum

Other language courses offered by college Chinese programs may include Classical Chinese and Modern Chinese for Special Purposes. We need to further develop such courses for the benefit of Chinese programs. Although these courses usually

complement the regular language sequence at the intermediate or advanced levels, they are beneficial to the richness and attractiveness of the CFL program as a whole. Most students taking Chinese in college do not go on to become Chinese majors. Students interested in pursuing their academic careers through professional schools might be drawn to such courses and might be attracted to taking the regular language courses or even to double-major in Chinese. However, these courses are not as widely available as one might expect. The 2012 survey showed that about one third of the participating institutions offered Business Chinese, and one third offered Classical Chinese. Only 18 % offered Newspaper Chinese, and 4 % Legal Chinese (Li et al. 2014).

Special-purpose Chinese language courses are more diverse than regular Chinese language courses. There is little discussion in the field about standardizing such courses, perhaps because they are usually stand-alone options and are not part of a strict sequence. Programs may tailor them to their own curricular needs or the strengths of the instructors. Thus, courses with the same title offered by different programs may be quite different in focus, scope, or even the instructional language. Take Classical Chinese as an example: 40 % of the programs teach in English and 60 % in Chinese (Li et al. 2014, p. 16). Yet, such flexibility may give programs more freedom for experimentation and innovation.

Depending on one's point of view, culture and literature courses may or may not be part of the CFL curriculum. But they are undeniably important components of the larger Chinese studies (or Chinese language, culture and literature) curriculum. In fact, they ranked at the top in terms of percentages of institutions offering such courses – Chinese culture at 69 % and Chinese literature at 59 % (Li et al. 2014, p. 16). Similarly, a Chinese program may also offer courses in Chinese history, politics, economics, religion, film and media, and arts, forming a multi-disciplinary curriculum. Below, we will discuss the relationship between such courses and language courses in the context of the Chinese Studies curriculum.

2.3 Developing an Integrated Chinese Curriculum

Like programs in most other foreign languages and cultures, perhaps since the beginning, Chinese programs have been offering a largely two-tiered curriculum: Chinese language courses occupy the lower stratus and are staffed with junior and temporary faculty, while Chinese literature and culture courses dominate the upper level and are taught by senior or tenure-track/tenured members of the department. In this model, the Chinese language is viewed as a tool with little intrinsic intellectual values. Students acquire this tool only to use towards other loftier academic goals. Even practitioners in the field had long believed that "the primary goal (of a Chinese language curriculum)… is to train students in the acquisition of the four skills" (Xing 2006, p. 33) or "a steady focus on the performance of language skills is the distinctive feature of language courses" (Walker 2010, p. 66). The division between language courses and so-called "content courses" (a term gradually dropping out of use for its unwarranted implication that language courses do not have

content) likely has been deep, pervasive, and persistent in the CFL field as with other foreign languages.

For Chinese studies to maintain its intellectual relevance and vitality as a discipline, however, such a model is outdated and unsustainable. In response to the post-9/11 language crisis, the Modern Language Association (MLA) issued a call for departments of foreign language, literature, and culture to develop “broader and more coherent” (2007, p. 2) curricula that are “intellectually driven” (p. 1). As well, CFL curriculum must assume its position as a discipline that contributes to students’ intellectual development in interdisciplinary ways. It must break out of its silo and start building and strengthening connections with other parts of the larger China curriculum in order to produce “educated speakers who have deep translingual and transcultural competence” (MLA 2007, p. 2), and develop an integrated Chinese curriculum.

As previously discussed, the five C’s content standards should be fully implemented at all levels of the curriculum, not just at the higher levels. For example, the teaching of cultural perspectives (in addition to the other aspects of culture) needs to start at the elementary level and be sustained through the entire curriculum. It is perhaps not too challenging to envision the integration of literary or cultural study in language courses at the advanced or even intermediate level (e.g. Zhang 2013a). For instance, textbooks for advanced learners often include original literary text or films, and their topical themes, as we have seen, often center on social issues. The challenge then is to engage students in learning that is culturally rich and intellectually rigorous at the elementary level, when they are still learning to navigate daily interactions in routine scenarios. There has been a substantial amount of research on teaching culture to beginners. Some suggest that behavioral culture or cultural perspectives (ideas, attitudes, underlying beliefs, and values) rather than achievement or informational culture could and should be the primary focus in Chinese language learning starting from the elementary level (e.g. Christensen 2011).

We must broaden the base of course offerings. In this regard, MLA (2007) particularly recommended interdisciplinary, collaborative courses. These could be co-taught by language faculty together with faculty with expertise in other areas. Currently, most of the courses outside the modern Chinese language sequences are taught in English. For these courses, a discussion or writing component in Chinese could be added (MLA 2007). Conversely, for lower-level Chinese language courses, students could read and discuss in English about related cultural topics while using Chinese expressions where they could, so they would not have to be limited by their Chinese language ability and could engage in more sophisticated and intellectually challenging conversations about China.

As recommended by MLA (2007), we also need to develop interdisciplinary courses that connect the various components of the Chinese studies curriculum into unity. Currently, a few of the most developed programs may be multi-disciplinary. They may contain courses that belong to a wide range of disciplines – history, sociology, political science, women’s studies, and so on – yet the courses may not be significantly related to each other in perspectives, content, or methodology except

for the connection of being about China. As a whole they are even further removed from Chinese language courses, when reading, writing, lecture and discussion are all conducted in English, as is often the case. To break the disciplinary boundaries, an excellent possibility is to take advantage of the interdisciplinary nature of the Chinese writing system as an object of study and develop courses that integrate points of view from a variety of fields (Li 2011). These could be courses in English that take a combination of linguistic, cognitive, socio-cultural, and literary-artistic approaches. Such courses could be supplemented by modules taught in Chinese that aim to elevate students' proficiency in writing Chinese characters.

Last but not least, to attract more students to the Chinese major, we need to provide multiple paths for them to complete requirements for the major. Currently, only a minority of students who take Chinese language courses go on to become Chinese majors (Li et al. 2014). According to MLA's 2013 enrollment survey (cited in Goldberg et al. 2015), the ratio of introductory to advanced course enrollment was 4:1. Furthermore, the majority of Chinese majors do not pursue a doctoral degree later (see MLA 2007, p. 4). Thus, to meet the needs of our students, we must allow them to attain a major in Chinese through multiple pathways. If their interest is primarily in literary study, then they can choose to take more courses in Chinese literature. If they prefer to focus on Chinese linguistics, then this can also be a viable option. We can also consider opportunities for students to structure their major around other areas of Chinese studies, such as economics, politics, history, and society.

3 The State of CFL Instruction

It should be stated at the outset that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to accurately describe the state of CFL instruction. Unlike reporting on CFL research, which can be empirically grounded on published literature, describing how Chinese is taught in the classroom treads on much less solid ground. Due to logistic difficulties, the most likely source of information, namely surveys, tends to stay at the fairly general level of major curriculum options, such as course design and delivery. Large scale personal observations and interviews are out of the question. It is, therefore, important to bear in mind that what is attempted here is necessarily impressionistic in nature, based on anecdotal evidence, personal observations, and to a great extent, indirect inferences made from textbooks, which do reflect pedagogical practices to some extent.

As it is unrealistic to offer a description of the state of CFL instruction, this section will attempt to do the more realistic and identify some of the more obvious problems, such as certain prevailing myths and misunderstandings, the discrepancy between theory and practice, the uneven attention to different aspects of CFL, and various cold and blind spots. This will be exemplified with several important areas of CFL instruction, namely pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, characters, and reading.

In addition to discussing problems, some general tips on instructional practice will be given. But it is the authors' belief that instead of giving specific instructions on a myriad of instructional situations, it is more realistic and advisable only to caution teachers on potential pitfalls and let individual teachers unleash their creativity and imagination. Some specific recommendations on learning resources will be given, however, especially high-tech tools that have become available only in the last few years.

3.1 Research and Practice

3.1.1 Uneven Attention in Research

Z. S. Zhang (2014b) recently tallied the frequency of key terms in the *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* (JCLTA) article titles and found that not all aspects of CFL have been equally attended to. For example, grammar and characters not surprisingly have been given the greatest amount of attention, while pronunciation (except tones) and vocabulary have received less attention, and discourse and pragmatics even less. In terms of the four skills, there seems to be more attention given to the literacy skills of reading and writing, as opposed to speaking and listening. The uneven attention to different skills is collaborated by Ke (2012), who observed that no other area has received more attention than reading, while listening is very much an under-researched area.

There is also an asymmetry between productive and receptive skills. Between reading and writing, the receptive skill of reading has received more attention than the productive skill of writing. Writing, which is important for fostering grammatical accuracy and discourse competence, definitely deserves more attention. On the other hand, the receptive skill of listening has received less attention than the productive skill of speaking. But as one of the two channels to receive linguistic input, listening should be as important as reading, and may be more challenging than reading, due to its ephemeral nature.

Due perhaps to native-speaker teachers' familiarity with the language, there also seemed to be some blind spots, such as word segmentation and out of vocabulary (OOV) items (names, abbreviations etc.) in the area of reading, which in fact are the most problematic issues for the computational processing of Chinese text (Wong et al. 2009).

3.1.2 Gap Between Research and Practice

While not all SLA research is application-oriented (Han 2007), classroom practice can no doubt benefit from a better understanding of the language and the process of language acquisition. As pointed out by Hatasa (2013), however, there is often a gap between theory and practice in foreign language instruction. More thorough research

and deeper understanding of the language may not directly translate into better classroom practice.

The gap between theory and practice seems even wider in Chinese. As discussed elsewhere in this volume, the most pressing need at the moment has to be teacher training. The recent upsurge of interest in Chinese has exposed a severe shortage of qualified teachers. Some teachers are pressed into service with not much more preparation than that they speak the language natively. Worse than ill-preparedness and lack of knowledge is the misinformation some teachers bring with them, for example concerning Chinese grammar and the nature of characters. Some teachers otherwise well-trained in language pedagogy may not be sufficiently informed about the specific issues of Chinese language instruction.

3.2 Four Basic Areas of CFL Instruction

These are by no means the only areas that merit discussion. Left unaddressed are many important topics that all deserve in-depth treatment. But these four areas are the basic areas of CFL instruction that are relevant from the very beginning of Chinese language learning.

3.2.1 Pronunciation

Although its syllable structure is rather simple, the Chinese sound system is by no means easy to master. In addition to the difficulty with tones, there are quite a few trouble spots in initials and finals as well, such as: ü, e, o, j, q, x, zh, ch, sh, r, z, c, and for some heritage learners the distinction between n vs. ng and retroflex (zh, ch, sh) vs. non-retroflex (z, c, s, j, q, x) sounds. Despite the difficulties, issues of pronunciation have typically not been sufficiently addressed in both research and practice. Work on pronunciation rarely goes beyond the first few weeks of instruction ("foundation work" in the words of Chao 1947, p. 67), while pronunciation problems persist well into advanced levels.

In addition to the drastic tapering of attention to pronunciation, problems also arise from the misunderstanding of certain linguistic facts. One common problem, probably due to the misleading Pinyin tone marks, is the practice of treating the full third tone as basic, while in fact the half third tone is found in most contexts (Lu and Xie 2004; H. Zhang 2014a). In general, most instructors have focused attention on tones in isolation while not as much attention has been paid to tone changes and tones in connected speech, a good command of which is essential for native-like pronunciation. Another much overlooked problem, due also to an incorrect understanding of the nature of Pinyin, is the potentially detrimental effect of presenting sounds through Pinyin before direct exposure to them. As Pinyin is not entirely regular, due to the lack of strict one-to-one correspondence between sounds and symbols (e.g. "i" and "e"), and abbreviation conventions (e.g. iou→iu, uei→ ui,

uen→un, üen→ ün etc.), hewing too close to it may lead to problems of "spelling pronunciation," such as pronouncing the "i" in "shi" like the one in "xi."

While more pronunciation practice is definitely needed, with so few contact hours in typical contexts outside of China, it is quite unrealistic to devote much class time to pronunciation. Self-monitored practice outside the class has to play a greater role. But the likelihood of improvement crucially depends on the availability of feedback. While frank and unstinting feedback may be unrealistic to expect from peers, some recent hi-tech tools can prove helpful. The free acoustic analysis program WaveSurfer can provide instant visual feedback to students' production of tones. While iPhone/iPad's Siri voice recognition function may fall short in carrying on intelligent conversations, it can nonetheless be used to gauge the minimal acceptability of pronunciation when used as a text input option, in that only adequate pronunciation can bring up the intended characters. Google Voice Input can be used similarly for inputting search terms. The image option for Google search can be used at even the pre-character stage since the form of feedback (i.e., search results) is visual rather than textual. These tools all have the advantages that they are patient, consistent, and less likely to hurt learners' feelings.

Due to the limited time available, priorities also have to be set. An example of priority-setting is how to approach practicing tones in context. While practicing all possible tonal combinations (as is done in some textbooks) certainly is systematic, it definitely runs the risk of boring students and being divorced from meaning, not to mention taking too much time. Singling out the major tone changes (third tone rule; yi\-->yi/; bu\-->bu/) for sustained practice can arguably be a smarter choice since it focuses on the most important contextual changes while involving all the basic tones in Mandarin at the same time.

3.2.2 Vocabulary

Based on the small number of articles in *JCLTA* on vocabulary, Z. S. Zhang (2014b) inferred that there may be insufficient recognition of the problems of vocabulary instruction. Despite Zhigong Zhang's famous dictum "Vocabulary is important; vocabulary is hard" (词汇重要,词汇难, Zhang 1988), there may be an unwarranted assumption that there is not anything especially difficult about Chinese words, except for the characters to represent them. After all, with no inflectional morphology and little derivational morphology, what is so hard about acquiring Chinese words? But one cannot help but be struck by the alarmingly poor retention of vocabulary by students over time. How can this be?

One often overlooked but nonetheless basic fact is that Chinese vocabulary has no cognates with most learners' native languages, the only similarity in vocabulary stemming from the small number of borrowings, such as *kafei* (coffee). In the words of Deborah Fallows, a linguist proficient in a number of European languages but

who felt defeated by Chinese, "I didn't feel I had anything to hang my hat on with this language" (Fallows 2011).[1]

The absence of cognates is exacerbated by extreme homophony. Although the phenomenon is well-known and humorously illustrated by Chao's famous "shi shi shi shi shi" passage,[2] the effect of homophony on the learning of vocabulary may not have been sufficiently appreciated. The exaggeration "everything sounds the same in Chinese" may nonetheless contain a kernel of truth. The problem of homophony is in turn compounded by the large number of near synonyms. While near synonyms are by no means unique to Chinese, many Chinese near synonyms are simultaneously partially homophonous as well, with shared morphemes (for example 举办 and 举行). These partially homophonous near synonyms can be hard for even native speakers, who can be frequently observed self-correcting themselves after uttering the wrong word.

The neglect of vocabulary instruction is reflected in teaching materials. In many textbooks, vocabulary instruction seems to start and stop with a vocabulary list. In the absence of more sophisticated vocabulary practice, students are apt to rely on the most primitive strategy, i.e., memorizing flashcards, which are very ineffective for the long-term retention of vocabulary. The all-important vocabulary list is also fraught with problems. Zeroing in on the common format of vocabulary lists, Z. S. Zhang (2010) enumerated a litany of problems in vocabulary instruction as reflected in many textbooks produced for instruction outside China. One of the problems is that the vocabulary list is constructed with little heed to the fact that the majority of Chinese words are compounds, with component morphemes that recur in related compounds (for example: 人 in 工人、男人、女人、名人、人名 etc.). These lists blindly follow the format of other foreign language textbooks and only provide a gloss for the whole compound, and not for the component morphemes that make up the word. Not heeding the internal composition of compounds may explain the failure of glosses for "Chinese" and "change" to correctly convey the meanings of words such as 中文 and 改变, as revealed in the mistakes 中文菜 "Chinese food" or 改变尿布 "change diapers" (all actual mistakes witnessed by the author).

The whole word approach to vocabulary glosses has negative consequences for the retention of vocabulary as well. Words are retained better when they can be related to what already exists in the learners' knowledge base, either from their own language or from previous learning. Treating the word as the basic unit obscures the external connections to related compounds, thus failing to take pedagogical advantage of the frequent repetition of recurrent word components. Ignorant of the internal structure of words and unable to find cognates in their native languages, it is small wonder that students find Chinese words opaque, hard to "relate to" (pun intended) and retain.

[1] NPR interview with All Things Considered host Mellissa Block, July 15, 2011: http://www.npr.org/player/v2/mediaPlayer.html?action=1&t=1&islist=false&id=129552512&m=129556812&live=1

[2] 赵元任:施氏食狮史

To improve vocabulary instruction, two measures seem minimally necessary. First, to wean students of their dependence on flashcards, more in-depth and varied vocabulary practice should be offered. Activities that require students to use new words instead of memorizing definitions should be employed, such as questions and answers, fill-in-the-blanks, sentence making and completion, etc. Secondly, to take advantage of the internal transparency and interconnections between related compounds in Chinese vocabulary, vocabulary lists should be designed more thoughtfully, with recurrent morphemes highlighted and cross-referenced in the manner of Mickel (1996), relating a partially new word, such as 演出, to an old word, such as 表演, instead of treating it as a completely new item. The relatedness of partially homophonous synonyms, such as 举办 and 举行, should also be highlighted with contrasts and comparisons. The same can of course be said about dictionaries, whether traditional or electronic.

3.2.3 Grammar

Although the great amount of research on Chinese grammar has contributed much to our understanding of how the language works, the most effective way to teach grammar remains far from clear. While no one disputes the importance of grammatical competence, whether to teach grammar directly or indirectly via function and communication is still very much unsettled. For many years, various communicative approaches largely supplanted the villainous grammar-translation method, with its unabashed direct approach to grammar. But as is often the case with foreign language methodology, the pendulum has swung in the other direction in recent years. After moving away from grammar, there has been a renewed call for explicit attention to grammatical form (Ellis 2003; Yuan 2006).

However the theoretical pendulum swings, in practice it seems that the most prevalent form of grammar instruction in many classrooms is drills of some kind, such as repetition, substitution, and rapid-fire questions and answers. While the short-term effectiveness of these drills is obvious, it is rather dubious how long the skills thus obtained can be retained and how transferable they are to real-life communicative contexts.

On the other hand, the opposite problem may exist for functional and communicative methods, such as task-based and project-based instruction (Skehan 2003; Yuan 2006). While such attempts to contextualize, authenticate, and integrate discrete skills can more closely emulate real world communication than drills in isolation, designing tasks and projects to effectively target specific grammatical structures is no small challenge. Due to the multitude of requisite skills in vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation, much planning and scaffolding is needed for students not to be overwhelmed by cognitive overload and lack of guidance. Classroom management is another challenge, given the fact that task- or project-based instruction often involves teamwork.

While it may be unrealistic to expect a perfect balance between form and function, the immediate task facing the teacher is to come up with practice formats that

allow the communication of meaning and the noticing of grammatical form at the same time. How well this is done, of course, varies with the background and creativity of the individual instructor, but it is important that all teachers be able to recognize the potential and limit of different formats in terms of their contribution to the learning of form and function. For example, questions and answers, completion exercises of various kinds (filling blanks, sentence-making/completion, information gap, etc.) and guided composition at more advanced levels can attend to both form and function to some extent.

3.2.4 Characters

Chinese character instruction has been characterized as "the elephant in the room" (Zhang 2009, p. 70), perhaps for good reason, and looms large in the learning and teaching of Chinese. Almost all CFL learners find characters to be the number one difficulty in the learning of Chinese. Yet frustratingly little has been done for this hardest area of Chinese language instruction. The expression "tiger head and snake tail" (虎头蛇尾) can perhaps be used to characterize the dwindling amount of attention to characters beyond the initial stage. For many textbooks, character instruction starts and ends with a general introduction to the origin and evolution of characters and an explanation of the basic principles of character formation and stroke order.

The reason why the development of effective strategies for character instruction is so prematurely stunted perhaps has to do with a fairly wide-spread, yet thoroughly mistaken, understanding of the nature of Chinese characters, namely the pictographic/ideographic myth. Despite vigorous efforts at debunking (DeFrancis 1984), the myth is still very much alive, as evidenced by the grossly misplaced energy spent on the ever greater profusion of study aids on the market that are motivated by the singular desire to relate the graphic shape of characters to their supposedly pictographic/ideographic origin (e.g. Chineasy). However well-intentioned these efforts may be, they are bound to be thwarted very quickly, as most Chinese characters are not amenable to such simplistic treatment.

The myth may also be responsible for the insufficient attention to graphic composition of compound characters. In its extreme form, as seen in some character workbooks, the stroke is taken as the basic (and only) graphic unit, and no other sub-character components are identified. This is a natural consequence of the pictographic myth, if we think of strokes as analogous to lines in drawings. A weaker form is the simplistic binary breakdown of compound characters, neglecting the existence of hierarchical structure in graphic components.

Attention to the different types of components in compound characters is also skewed. The component that seems to monopolize all the attention seems to be the semantic radical, which is assumed to encode meaning in a more consistent fashion. While the semantic radical does have its place in character learning, it is in fact quite limited in its meaning indicating function. While semantic radicals are said to convey meaning, they in fact at best only suggest the semantic category (for example the water radical having to do with water), but nothing more substantial. So they at

best can only be used as mnemonic tips. Since radicals are not always meaningful, they may even be of limited use there as well. Semantic radicals also tend to be graphically simpler and mostly occupy spatially peripheral locations.

In contrast, the phonetic component generally has a larger graphic bulk, a more central spatial location, and more internal structure. Functionally, phonetic components are more salient, as attested by native speakers' inclination to use them in guessing pronunciation and the creation of popular and dialectal characters based on the Rebus Principle. In a recent study by Williams (2014), elementary students in Taiwan were more inclined to use phonetic rather than semantic information in guessing made-up characters. The centrality of the phonetic component is at once consistent with the universal preference for phonetic scripts in general and the psycholinguistic research that shows that processing characters cannot bypass phonological processing (Tzeng and Hung 1981). It is also consistent with Myer's (1996) observation about the graphic "head" of characters, which he proposes to be located in the right-hand and lower part of a character (for example, the head in the characters 附 and 符 lies in the phonetic component付rather than the ear and bamboo radicals, respectively). Therefore, the phonetic component should receive proportionally more attention than the semantic radical if the whole character is to get a balanced treatment. Unfortunately, while the existence of phonetic components in most characters is acknowledged, their pedagogical utility has been downplayed.

Perhaps not unrelated to the persistence of the pictographic/ideographic myth, character instruction is also behind the times in many ways. Many character workbooks go no farther than look and copy, requiring students to copy model characters over and over the way native speakers traditionally learn characters. Some traditional practices have not been critically re-examined. For instance, old radical systems (most commonly the one with 214 radicals) are often adopted wholesale without questioning their pedagogical usefulness. Although radicals used to be indispensable for looking up characters in dictionaries, with the advent of electronic dictionaries, such as MDBG and Pleco, their utility has become limited.

The default assumption that the ability to hand-write characters is necessary is also quite outdated when typing is much more attractive an option for producing characters. In this connection, a more general issue of priority-setting should be raised. The default assumption of "four skills for every learner" and "learning characters includes hand-writing them" simply is untenable given the reality of most contexts outside of China, where foreign language resources and contact hours are severely limited. Priorities thus have to be set, depending on the goals of the learners and the availability of resources (Lu and Xie 2004).

The ability to produce characters by typing has heralded in a new age with profound and welcome changes and should indeed be considered a game-changer. Many of the minutia in producing characters have become outdated artifacts tied to the process of handwriting. In handwriting a character, one needs to know not just the graphic configuration of strokes but also the number of strokes, the shape, order, and direction of each stroke. Typing reduces the complex task of writing characters to two simpler tasks, namely, phonetic spelling and character recognition, both of which are independently needed anyway for learning Chinese. Typing has also minimized the differences in producing simplified and traditional characters.

Apart from sidestepping the difficulties of handwriting characters, many other pedagogical benefits also exist that go beyond the production of characters themselves. Unlike handwriting characters, typing Chinese naturally engages the learner in an intensive character recognition and differentiation practice. Word processors, with whatever input methods, force users to devote their undivided attention to the recognition of characters. Having to choose among related characters constantly sharpens character differentiating skills.

Phonetic input reinforces the sound-meaning connection in characters, which is crucial for character and vocabulary acquisition. Handwriting characters may bypass sound. But typing with phonetic input forces one to deal with sounds. Typing can also naturally enhance the awareness of recurrent phonetic components. While not all homophones share the same phonetic components, many in fact do. In phonetic input-based typing, characters sharing the same phonetic component often end up next to each other on the selection list.

Typing may also enhance the meta-linguistic awareness of the word as the basic linguistic unit. The convention of not leaving spaces between words has fostered the misconception of treating the character, rather than the word, as the basic unit of vocabulary. Most word processors, however, encourage the use of the polysyllabic word or phrase as the unit of input in order to cut down on the number of homophone choices. When efficiency is an issue, students may be more inclined to use the polysyllabic word as the basic unit of input.

Last but not least, unlike character sheet practice, which is most likely done outside meaningful contexts, typing is rarely used to produce isolated characters. In a truly "wytwys" (what you type is what you say, 我手打我口) fashion, typing Chinese brings the communicative and character-producing processes much closer to each other, with better association of sound and meaning and better synchronization of the mental act of thinking and the physical act of typing. At a more general level, typing Chinese enables easier synchronization of oral language and literacy instruction. Characters that are harder to write are not necessarily harder to type and recognize.

Paradoxically, hi-tech tools can also be used to help the handwriting of characters. eStroke can be used not only for the dynamic demonstration of character writing, but also it does a good job of highlighting character components. Hand-written character input, now available on iPad, iPhone, and Windows 8, can supplement typing when the pronunciation of a character is unknown.

3.3 Blind Spots and CFL/NLP as Reality Check

With its non-alphabetic script, a vocabulary having no cognates in most learners' native languages, and a dearth of explicit structural markings, the Chinese language does exhibit a number of special characteristics. Unfortunately, some of the special difficulties in learning Chinese have not been adequately appreciated by native speakers, who are likely to take things for granted.

Lu and Guo (1998, p. 10) suggested using CFL and NLP (natural language processing) as a reality check: "In so far as the results of research on modern Chinese grammar, Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language and Chinese Information Processing can be considered a mirror and a litmus test" (translation by co-author Zhang).[3] Beiyu (2009, p. 7) puts it more explicitly: "Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language and natural language processing by the computer have one great similarity, that is, neither can 'intuit' like native speakers the grammatical rules that we thought unnecessary to spell out" (translation by co-author Zhang).[4]

3.3.1 Blind Spots in Reading

NLP can indeed reveal reading difficulties that may be overlooked by native speaker teachers and researchers. Reading Chinese has been widely acknowledged as a bottleneck in the learning of Chinese. But there seems to be a curious discrepancy between reading-related research and practice and the basic concerns of NLP. In reading-related research and practice, much attention has been paid to high-level concerns, such as strategies (top-down vs. bottom-up), while very little attention has been given to low-level difficulties (except for characters), such as word segmentation, out of vocabulary (OOV) items (abbreviations, personal/place/organization names and translations of foreign names), and the parsing of (especially long) sentences. These "low-level" difficulties are exactly the ones deemed crucial in the computational processing of Chinese. Due to the printing convention of leaving no space between words, not to mention the paucity of grammatical markers, one basic stumbling block with computational processing of Chinese text is the identification of where one word starts and ends and the identification of parts of speech. Computers also struggle with the identification of names of various sorts that cannot be found in dictionaries, which are the basis for word identification.

However, these issues are not typically addressed by researchers and teachers. For example, they are conspicuously absent in a recent survey of CFL research (Ke 2012). Are CFL learners so different from computers? The following examples from the co-author's advanced level classes show that students do have significant problems with both segmentation and OOV items. 发展中国家was translated as "develop China home" with the wrong segmentation 发展|中国|家; 前日首相was translated as "previous day prime minister" with the wrong segmentation 前日|首相; 8次大陆 in 林洋港8次大陆寻根 was translated as "8 sub-continent," with the wrong segmentation 8|次大陆. In addition to the blind spots suffered by native speakers and teachers, another reason for the neglect of the basic difficulties in reading may be the influence of reading research and practice in English and other more commonly-studied languages where these particularly Chinese problems are not so relevant.

[3] Original Chinese:对现代汉语语法研究成果来说,对外汉语教学和中文信息处理可以说是一面镜子,一块试金石。

[4] Original Chinese:对外汉语教学和计算机自然语言处理有一个很大的相似性,就是二者都不能像本族人那样"意会"我们以为根本用不着讲的语法规则。

3.3.2 Blind Spots and CFL Instruction

The insufficient recognition of difficulties in learning Chinese may account for the lackluster implementation of some pedagogical innovations that were developed for languages other than Chinese. The great demands posed by basic tasks, such as vocabulary learning and grammatical parsing, may explain why methods like Krashen's Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell 1983) do not work well for Chinese. The Natural Approach, which may be successful in the learning of related languages, may not be applied as successfully to Chinese. Adult learners of Chinese simply may not be able to acquire new materials through extensive exposure to comprehensible input alone, as there are few cognates and structural similarities between Chinese and most learners' native languages to make the input comprehensible. Extensive scaffolding of vocabulary and grammar in carrying out communicative tasks and time lags between the introduction of new content and its eventual use may have to be expected.

4 Concluding Remarks

The recent upsurge of interest in the Chinese language notwithstanding, CFL is still very much a developing field. After all, one of the oldest journals in the field, *JCLTA*, only started less than 50 years ago, and the oldest professional association in North America, the Chinese Language Teachers Association, USA (CLTA) only recently celebrated its 50th anniversary.

CFL education at the college level is in great need of professionalization and modernization. This is true of both research and practice, both global curriculum planning and daily classroom instruction. In this chapter, we have advocated building standards-based curricula. This includes using content standards as guidelines for curricular scope and sequence and adopting proficiency standards as benchmarks for articulation and assessment. While current CFL curricula generally address instructional goals in Communication, Cultures, and Comparisons of the Five C's, there is a lack of attention to Connections and Community. In the teaching of Chinese culture, also, the focus has been much more on cultural products and practices than perspectives. We have encouraged instructors to make a conscious effort to learn about such perspectives from Chinese culture specialists and integrate them into class materials and instruction.

In terms of curricular growth and reform, we echo the MLA's 2007 recommendation on the development of interdisciplinary courses. Such courses, we believe, will be able to integrate the various components of a Chinese Studies curriculum into a coherent and intellectually rigorous whole. A curriculum of this kind will also open multiple paths for students to complete various degree requirements.

At the level of day-to-day instruction, there is also much room for improvement. First of all, there is considerable variation in the quality and style of instruction, which can perhaps be attributed to divergent beliefs and uneven preparation of the

instructor, as well as the not infrequent disconnect between theory and practice in the CFL field.

On the one hand, while increasingly greater effort has been devoted to methodological concerns, there still seems to be insufficient recognition of the characteristics of the Chinese language, including its script, lexicon, and grammar. Various kinds of misinformation, for example the stubborn ideographic myth surrounding Chinese characters, does a great disservice to effective instruction. Some instructional practices, such as the disproportionate concern with stroke order or the manual production of characters in general, may need to be reconsidered in light of recent developments in technology (see the Appendix).

There are also areas of instruction that have not been sufficiently attended to, perhaps due to unwarranted assumptions on the part of native-speaker teachers and material developers. For example, there seems to be a lack of sustained attention to pronunciation beyond the beginning level. The teaching of vocabulary, which is particularly challenging in Chinese due to the lack of cognates and the pervasive presence of homonyms and near synonyms, generally plays second fiddle to grammatical instruction. It also takes processing by the computer to reveal blind spots in reading instruction, such as word segmentation and out-of-vocabulary items (names, abbreviations etc.). Underestimation of these low-level difficulties and failure to provide the requisite scaffolding can then lead to problems in implementing task-based activities that are presumably ideal for integrating form and function.

5 Appendix

5.1 Technological Resources (Alphabetically Listed)

5.1.1 eStroke (http://www.eon.com.hk/estroke/)

eStroke creates high quality animated stroke sequences that can be exported for development use. It can convert character text to pinyin or zhuyin. It can pronounce the character and its strokes. It also shows the corresponding Simplified or Traditional variants if there is one. Finally, it analyzes characters into components, which can be color-coded. Demo Version available.

5.1.2 Google Voice Input

Google Voice Input is an alternative to inputting search terms by typing. When the language option is set to Chinese (both mainland and Taiwan), Chinese characters will be inputted into the search field. Since obtaining the right character (i.e., search results) hinges on adequate pronunciation, this function can be repurposed to check the minimal acceptability of student pronunciation. The image option for Google

search can be used at even the pre-character stage since the form of feedback (i.e., search results) is visual rather than textual.

5.1.3 MDBG (http://www.mdbg.net/chindict/chindict.php)

MDBG is a free online dictionary, which supports multiple look-up methods and both simplified and traditional characters.

5.1.4 Pleco (https://www.pleco.com/)

Pleco is an English & Chinese Dictionary application for iOS and Android devices. In addition to its large number of words, it allows multiple ways of input, including Pinyin, English, and handwritten characters, but its most innovative feature is the OCR (optical character recognition) function. If the lookup item is clearly printed and lighting is adequate, its photo can be recognized as text, which then can be annotated automatically.

5.1.5 Siri on iPhone/iPad/iOS Devices

Siri was originally intended as a natural language user interface to answer questions, make recommendations, and perform Web services. It is included on iPhone/iPad and all iOS devices. Similar to Google Voice Input, Siri can be used to gauge the minimal acceptability of pronunciation when used as an input option, in that only adequate pronunciation can bring up the sought-after characters.

5.1.6 WaveSurfer (http://www.speech.kth.se/wavesurfer/)

WaveSurfer is a free software program designed for speech analysis. Its easy-to-use pitch-tracking feature provides instant visual feedback to students' production of tones and intonation.

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The Teaching of Chinese to Heritage Language Learners at the Post-Secondary Level

Xuehua Xiang

Abstract This chapter presents an overview of the history, theories, research and practical issues in the area of teaching Chinese as a heritage language (TCHL) in the post-secondary setting in the United States. The theoretical aim of the chapter is to formulate interdisciplinary insights into TCHL, relating research from second language acquisition perspectives to identity research, curriculum development research, discourse analysis, and social constructionist views on language learning. The practical aim of the chapter is to provide teachers, program administrators and policy makers concrete pedagogical suggestions regarding TCHL.

Keywords Chinese heritage language learner (CHLL) • Community-based Chinese language schools • Dialect heritage language learners • Bilingualism • Linguistic systems of Chinese heritage language learners • Chinese heritage language curriculum • Textbooks for Chinese heritage language learners • Language assessment for CHLL

1 Introduction

As reported in the 2011 American Community Survey, the Chinese-speaking population in the U.S. has reached 2.9 million, quadrupling the number in 2000, marking Chinese as the third most spoken language in the U.S. after English and Spanish (Ryan 2013). Among those reporting to speak Chinese, 44 % also indicated they speak English very well (Ryan 2013). These statistics provide a snapshot of the widespread Chinese-English bilingualism in the U.S. A cogently related phenomenon is the increasing number of students in Chinese foreign language classrooms who have pre-existing abilities in Chinese due to their home background, viz. Chinese Heritage Language Learners (CHLLs). In an English-dominant society, children of Chinese-speaking families have extensive exposure to Chinese but typically become English-dominant once formal schooling starts. For many children of immigrant families, learning Chinese may remain a remote childhood memory or

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may constitute years of (reluctantly) attending community-based Chinese schools on weekends, as demanded by parents.

Such reluctance and amorphous identification with the family language may suddenly change once young individuals enter college, a critical period in which foreign language study is intricately connected to one's conscious identity formation, as well as intellectual development (He 2006; Li 2011). Foreign language study is a mandatory subject in the university setting. Students from Chinese families or other heritage backgrounds may elect to (re)learn Chinese both to fulfill their foreign language study requirement and to explore their personal, familial, and cultural connections with the language (He 2006, 2008, 2010; He and Xiao 2008; McGinnis 2008; Wen 2011; also see Polinsky and Kagan 2007; Valdés 2001). Meanwhile, since China has become a global economic force, Chinese is now a world language of considerable social capital (Bourdieu 1991). On the societal level, heritage language speakers are a national resource as they possess great potential to reach advanced Chinese language proficiency in a relatively short amount of time (Brecht and Ingold 1998).

Thus, teaching and learning Chinese as a heritage language is significant on many levels for individual learners, their families, the community, the language teaching profession, and the society and nation at large. At the same time, however, unprecedented complexities and challenges lie in the increasingly heterogeneous Chinese language classroom. Pedagogical challenges are no longer just about teaching the language itself, but also about understanding learner's different needs and creating curricula that take into account learners' different language backgrounds and proficiency profiles.

Teaching Chinese as a Heritage Language (TCHL) is a young but fast developing field. From the seminal collection of articles in X. Wang (1996b) on community-based Chinese schools, a special issue of the *Heritage Language Journal* dedicated to TCHL (Tao 2006), a comprehensive review of the evolution of Chinese language education (McGinnis 2008), a wide-scope foundational volume (He and Xiao 2008), and numerous original journal articles (e.g., in more recent years, Wen 2011; Wong and Xiao 2010; Xiao and Wong 2014; Xie 2014; Zhang 2014), a rich knowledge base is forming. However, critical reviews of research, theories, and pedagogical activities in TCHL specifically pertaining to the university setting are non-existent, with the exception of Duanduan Li and Patricia A. Duff's chapter in He and Xiao (2008). Since the time of Li and Duff's (2008) publication, diverse studies of CHLLs at the post-secondary level have emerged and the field of foreign language education as a whole has evolved and become more interdisciplinary.

The current chapter extends the discussion initiated in Li and Duff (2008) on university-level TCHL. Compared to the article by Li and Duff (2008), the current chapter focuses more on classroom-based research and insights. The chapter relates research from second language acquisition perspectives to identity research, bilingualism, discourse analysis, and curriculum development and materials design. The practical aim of the chapter is to provide teachers, program administrators, and

policy makers with concrete pedagogical suggestions regarding post-secondary TCHL.[1]

The chapter provides a critical review of the sociolinguistic contexts of TCHL, including a review of the theoretical constructs in TCHL literature, a discussion of home and community environments of TCHL, and discussion of the nuances of Chinese as a Heritage Language (CHL) for dialect speakers. It also offers a review of research directly pertaining to university-level TCHL, including research on learning motivation, identity research, and research on various linguistic structures and usages of HLLs. Pedagogical discussions and suggestions based on relevant research and the author's own practical experiences are also presented. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

2 Heritage Language Learners (HLLs): Constructs and Contexts

2.1 *Defining Heritage Language Learners*

Drawing on Valdés' definition (2001, p. 38), He (2006) defines a Chinese HLL as someone "who is raised in a home where Chinese is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language and is to some degree bilingual in Chinese and in English" (p. 1). The key elements of this definition are the learner's home environment and his/her existing Chinese proficiency. HLLs contrast with foreign language learners (hereafter FLLs). The latter encounter Chinese as True Beginners (Valdés 1997), i.e. they have not benefited from what Dai and Zhang (2008) call the Chinese linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1991). As HLLs' exposure to Chinese primarily occurs in the home domain, Chinese language skills of HLLs have certain common limitations: generic and small-size vocabulary and vocabulary particular to home-based language use, unfamiliarity with language tasks not typically encountered in the home setting, unfamiliarity with a range of registers, style, and genres, and limited experience with written Chinese (He and Xiao 2008). Further, since Chinese has a non-alphabetic writing system, HLLs' aural-oral proficiency acquired in the home setting does not necessarily lead to fast-paced acquisition of reading and writing (Xiao 2008). A wide variability of literacy levels exists in HLLs.

Kagan (2011) defines HLLs as "those who have been exposed to a particular language in childhood but did not learn it to full capacity because another language became dominant" (p. 4).[2] This definition brings to the foreground two factors in the

[1] The chapter does not cover issues concerning language maintenance and indigenous language rights and national foreign language polices, all of which are however important dimensions of understanding the sociocultural context of heritage language learning.

[2] This definition is based on Polinsky and Kagan (2007) and is called the narrow definition of HLLs to contrast with the broad definition that focuses on an individual's cultural or heritage motivation to learn the HL, not necessarily considering existing language proficiency.

development of a Heritage Language (hereafter HL): the competition of English leading to unbalanced bilingual language skills and HLLs' initial exposure to Chinese in childhood. Children born in the U.S. tend to have a steep reduction of their Chinese exposure when formal schooling starts. In HL literature, the age at which HLLs shift from a Chinese-dominant environment to an English-dominant environment is correlated with subsequent HL proficiency. This correlation is particularly salient for "Generation 1.5" HLLs, i.e. HLLs who immigrated to the U.S. at a young age. Kagan (2011; also see Polinsky and Kagan 2007) suggested that HLLs who immigrated at the age of preschool have similar HL characteristics to U.S.-born HLLs. Those who have completed elementary school before emigrating differ considerably from the younger age group. Students who attended the equivalent of junior high school in their home country tended to have significantly higher Chinese literacy level. Completion of high school typically corresponds to the proficiency of a native speaker.

Adopting a classroom-based perspective, Weger-Gunther (2006) defines a Chinese HLL as "an individual who has one or more parents who speak Chinese as their first language and who self-identified themselves as taking Chinese classes in part because of their ethnic heritage" (p. 30). This definition marks HLLs' self-identification as critical to understanding students as HLLs (see also He 2006). In an interview given to *Korean Language in America*, Professor Jin Sook Lee (2013) emphasized, "The concept of heritage languages encompasses a wide range of personal, societal, linguistic, and cultural experiences" (p. 137). Ties to a heritage language include ethnic ties, psychological ties, proficiency ties, cultural ties, religious ties, and a myriad of other ways in which an individual can make connections to a language in ways different from a traditional foreign language learner (J.S. Lee in Lee 2013).

These various definitions of HLLs help us to "highlight and differentiate" (Lee 2013, p. 137) the commonly shared but ultimately individual backgrounds of the students in our classrooms. While building on these common constructs, we need to keep in mind, as Wiley (2001, p. 30) noted, that the term HLL is "elastic" and includes a broad range of variables and individual differences. Family history, home literacy practices, family language policies, community efforts, the learner's life experiences, experiences learning Chinese, personalities, aspirations, interests, and learning styles all have a role to play in an individual's self-identification as a heritage speaker/learner, his/her bilingual proficiency, and developmental trajectory. Theoretical constructs such as "the HLL" thus need to be understood as no more than mnemonic shorthand for the complex, evolving, and individualistic nature of heritage language use and learning.

2.2 The Role of Home and Community

This section reviews research on the home and community environment of HL learning in order to help us understand the pre-existing knowledge and skills, as well as learning expectations, of HLLs when they enter the university-level FL

classroom. In the home setting, it is not unusual for parents to speak Chinese to their children and children to respond in English (Liu 2013). In the following extracts, two HLLs in a university heritage Chinese class describe their use of Mandarin at home.[3]

- *I usually speak/reply (in) English to my parents and my parents speak Mandarin Chinese to me. I usually only speak Mandarin to clarify when my parents don't understand what I am saying in English.*
- *The majority of the time I speak to my parents in Mandarin (like 90 %), but I mainly speak English to my brother.*

The students' descriptions reflect common bilingual practices in Chinese immigrant families. Aural skills, the ability to understand Chinese, are the most typical skill set that HLLs bring to their university-level Chinese classes. It is also common for Chinese parents to implement a "Chinese-Only" home language policy, creating an environment where not only listening but also speaking in Chinese is enforced. The extent of parents' home language policy will affect the degree of oral proficiency of learners. Although, as He (2008) cautions, children may develop a negative attitude towards the controlling of language use at home, it is also through this home language policy and conscious effort of parents that a child develops both aural and oral skills despite the constant competition of English.

Aural-oral skills in Chinese are much easier to foster compared to the development of literacy skills due to the non-alphabetic writing system of Chinese. Koda et al. (2008) examined HLLs' literacy development at home and in community-based Chinese schools. The authors found that HLLs' print-based input was heavily restricted in amount and type. Similar findings were seen in Xiao (2008) who showed that Chinese families' home literacy practices were exemplified by children's learning to write their name and reading flashcards of Chinese characters, picture books, and nursery rhymes. However, once kindergarten begins, formal schooling results in a drastic reduction of time spent on Chinese literacy learning. Both studies suggest that HLLs' home background does not necessarily position them in an advantageous position over FLLs in university-level Chinese classrooms due to the limited exposure HLLs may have had to print texts.

Community-based Chinese language schools extend HLLs' heritage language exposure and development. These schools tend to follow the instructional approaches of the school director's home country (McGinnis 2008). Schools organized by Taiwanese Chinese immigrants versus schools organized by Mainland Chinese immigrants adopt different textbooks and form their own respective national heritage school coalitions, i.e., the Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS, 全美中文学校协会) and the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCA-CLS, 全美中文學校聯合總會)[4] (see Wang 1996b and Liu 2013 for detailed discussions).

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[3] Learner excerpts used in this chapter were from the author's own research.

[4] Traditional-style characters are used here in accordance with the script-choice of NCA-CLS. Likewise, simplified-style characters are adopted in referring to the name of CSAUS also in accordance with the Organization's script-preference.

Community-based Chinese schools attended by immigrants from Taiwan tend to adopt 注音符号 (Zhuyin Fuhao), the phonetic system used in Taiwan, along with 拼音 (Pinyin, the Romanization system used in Mainland China), traditional characters (as opposed to simplified characters used in Mainland China) and the textbook series "美洲華語課本" *Huayu* (as opposed to "中文" *Zhongwen* used in Chinese schools administered by individuals from Mainland China) (Liu 2013; CSAUS 2013; NCA-CLS 2014).

Despite these curricular differences, community-based Chinese schools are similar in their methodological approaches. Both of the core textbook series, *Huayu* and *Zhongwen*, zero in on the characters as building blocks and the phonetic symbols as a bridge to written Chinese. The textbooks are accompanied by workbooks that drill on proper stroke orders and sensitize students to single character's combinatorial potentials with other characters. Heritage Chinese textbooks do not present explicit grammatical instructions nor are there instructions on listening and speaking. Poems, picture stories, and other such small bits of literacy input engage learners in reading and writing in a manner similar to that found in mainland China or Taiwan for Chinese monolingual speakers. The speed of reading development is estimated at 400–500 characters per proficiency band, each proficiency band corresponding to the amalgomeration of 4 levels in the 12-level system in the adopted textbook series. Learners are expected to acquire 1,350 characters upon completion of the 12 levels (Wang 1996a).[5]

Since instructors in community-based language schools tend to be parent volunteers,[6] methodologies in the classroom vary, but rote-memorization and drills are commonly practiced. A critical review of curriculum used at heritage language schools (Wang 1996a) suggested that instruction in Chinese community schools tends to be too textbook-driven. Teacher training in using textbooks in flexible ways and in creating context-rich supplements is much needed. Because of the sole focus on reading and writing, the needs of dialect speakers to practice speaking and listening in Mandarin Chinese may also be left unattended. By directly adopting teaching methods for Chinese monolinguals in mainland China or Taiwan, the teaching may not explicitly focus on morphology and grammar, assuming that students will have internalized grammatical rules. Research has not shown yet if implicit grammar instruction is suitable for bilingual learners who do not encounter the abundance and variety of input that Chinese monolinguals apparently enjoy (O'Grady et al. 2011). But we may anticipate that HLLs in university-level FL classrooms have some degree of implicit grammatical knowledge even if they are unable to use meta-

[5] The author is not aware of more recent publications that specifically address the vocabulary and skills coverage of the textbook-based curriculum of Chinese community schools and is thus unable to extend the insights offered in P-F. S. Wang (1996a) nearly two decades earlier.

[6] As one of the editors of this volume points out, depending on the locale, sometimes graduate students from local universities or community volunteers who are non-parents also serve as instructors. It would be an interesting research project to study the extent to which graduate students bring different methodologies and perspectives into the community language classroom.

language to explain that knowledge. In this regard, the heavy focus on grammar in current university-level FL classrooms may present a challenge to HLLs.

Another major difference between community-based schools and the typical university-level foreign language classroom is the community school's abundant use of Chinese as the language of instruction and considerable incorporation of cultural practices (dancing, calligraphy, arts, etc.). In community-based Chinese schools, curricula often link to Chinese summer camps and various community activities (such as New Year celebrations) (Wang 1996a). Teachers also act as "parenting figures," instilling in the students Chinese moral values, such as respecting authority in classroom teacher-student interactions (He 2000). Parents' direct and in-depth involvement in all aspects of the school's affairs and the heavy cultural and extra-curricular activities result in community-based Chinese schools becoming a part of HLLs' personal life.

Having experienced such personal feelings for the community school, HLLs arriving in university Chinese classes may welcome the diversified learners in the classroom and enjoy a sense of independence and freedom. But on the other hand, a traditional university foreign language classroom tends to treat language learning as an academic endeavor where experiential approaches and extra-curricular activities may play a small role.[7] Culture and worldviews are not traditional components of the university-level foreign language classroom. Compared to community-based Chinese classes, university-level Chinese classes, if run in a heavily traditional and structural way, may feel intensive, isolated, and austere to HLLs.

2.3 *Dialect HLLs*

The Chinese language is not a monolithic language. Rather, it is a language family of numerous regional dialects, including Cantonese, Hakka, Taiwanese, to name just a few (Chao 1968; Li and Thompson 1981). In the context of U.S. Chinese immigrant communities, speaking a particular dialect is associated with certain geocultural values and the sociopolitical and historical contexts that gave rise to waves of immigration (Chao 1996). Tension exists between the social prestige currently enjoyed by Mandarin Chinese and the familial and personal values dialect speakers feel towards their home dialect (see, for example, Dai and Zhang 2008; Wong and Xiao 2010; Xiao 2008; see critical discussions in He 2006, 2008).

As Wong (2010) suggested, the various definitions of HLLs may prove problematic for dialect Chinese speakers. Regional dialects such as Cantonese are mutually unintelligible from Mandarin. Thus, Mandarin is neither the home language nor does it occur frequently in a Cantonese-speaking HLL's immediate community.

[7] See, for example, Jack Richards' (2001) discussion of academic rationalism as a widespread language curriculum ideology that has had a great influence on how languages are taught in the U.S. Academic rationalism constructs language as a subject matter, an end in itself, an embodiment of knowledge, and generational wisdom (Richards 2001, p.114).

Dialect-background HLLs thus face a triple-challenge in a Mandarin Chinese FL classroom: learning to speak and understand Mandarin, learning the standard written form of Chinese, and maintaining proficiency in the home Chinese dialect. The following excerpt is from a blog entry written by an HLL fluent in Cantonese who was taking a beginning-level University Mandarin class for HLLs. The student explained his reason for enrolling in the Chinese class.

我一岁的時侯我在香港讀書。我六岁的時侯回来。我想讀中文因为我不可以讲，讀，和寫中文。

I was studying in Hong Kong when I was one-year old. I came back (*to the U.S.*) *when I was six years old. I want to study Chinese because I can't speak*, *read and write Chinese*.

The excerpt illustrates some typical HL linguistic characteristics. For example, instead of using null pronouns as a cohesive device, typical in L1 Chinese, the student uses a first-person pronoun in the subject position in every clause (cf. Xiao 2010). The excerpt also shows the predominance of the SVO sentence structure. What is worth noting though is the student has explicit awareness of his needs for not only reading and writing in Chinese but also speaking in Mandarin. As Wong and Xiao (2010) suggested, in the classroom, teachers may have unrealistic expectations for dialect speakers, assuming they should learn Chinese in the same way as Mandarin heritage speakers. At the same time, in a heritage-track FL classroom, instruction tends to cater to the Mandarin-speaking HLL majority in the classroom, primarily focusing on reading and writing. The needs of HLLs to develop Mandarin speaking and listening skills are left unaddressed (Wong and Xiao 2010).

Further, social stigma may attach to speaking a regional dialect of Chinese as opposed to Mandarin, and ideological tensions may result from the choice of a particular script system, i.e., the simplified Chinese script or the traditional Chinese script. Wong and Xiao (2010), based on their interview research with Chinese dialect speakers and Mandarin speakers, found that dialect speakers are conscious of the official status of Mandarin, and students from Hong Kong and Taiwan immigrant family backgrounds express preference for the traditional script for writing. In this vein, teachers, as language educators, should not force their own ideology and cultural upbringing on learners. There should be space for discussion and awareness of the sociolinguistic landscape of China. While classroom instruction has to adopt a particular phonetic system and writing system, the teacher should give students flexibility to choose one code over another while raising awareness of the implications of their code choices. Such sociolinguistic awareness is increasingly commonplace in Chinese textbooks. A textbook series may provide both the traditional and the simplified characters as written input and include explicit cultural notes on the diversity of Chinese dialects. It is also important for teachers to build sociolinguistic knowledge about Chinese and be able to respond to contingent and emergent questions that may arise in the classroom and need to be expertly addressed in an ad hoc manner (Wong 2010).

3 CHLLs in the University Setting: Motivation, Identity and Linguistic Profiles

The U.S. post-secondary setting presents a unique context for understanding heritage language learning and teaching. On the one hand, it is typically at this stage that HLLs become acutely aware of the pertinence of their HL proficiency to their personal identity, and, in turn, become strongly motivated to (re)learn Chinese (He 2006, 2008, 2011; Li 2011). On the other hand, the higher-education setting differs greatly from the K-12 setting and the community setting (Li and Duff 2008). In the post-secondary setting, heritage language teaching typically constitutes a specific unit of foreign language teaching. Historically, heritage language learners were an emergent phenomenon that seemed to have just caught the attention of many language educators. William O'Grady (2013) relayed that the first time he heard the term "Heritage Language Learner" was in the 1980s when it came to be realized that some students in the foreign language classroom "have no native language," being neither a native speaker of English nor a native speaker of the family language (p. 141).

Heritage language learning is intrinsically "sociocultural" (He 2010). Proficiency considerations alone are never sufficient to provide a coherent and sufficient understanding of CHLLs. Three major strands of research have been carried out with HLLs in university FL classrooms: (1) motivation to learn, (2) identity and bilingualism, and (3) acquisition in specific language areas.

3.1 Motivation

Generally speaking, foreign language learners may be motivated to study the foreign language for practical reasons, i.e. "instrumental factors," such as better job prospects, greater salary, etc. (Gardner and Lambert 1972). On the other hand, learners may be motivated by "integrative factors" where the learner appreciates the language, its culture, its people, and wishes to be a member of the target community (Gardner and Lambert 1972).

TCHL research shows that similar to FLLs, HLLs have strong instrumental motivation to study Chinese (Lu and Li 2008; Wen 1997, 1999), sometimes even more so than FLLs (Lu and Li 2008). Lu and Li (2008) found that while both HLLs and FLLs are motivated by instrumental factors, as well as integrative factors, FLLs' motivation to learn Chinese is also influenced by "situational factors" (such as prior learning experience and teaching approaches experienced), a phenomenon not apparent in HLLs. In other words, for FLLs, experience with a supportive teaching approach and learners' self-monitoring and learning strategies play a significant role in learners' motivation to study Chinese. In contrast, HLLs maintain heritage-related motivation. The National Heritage Language Resource Center's (NHLRC)

2009 survey showed that the majority of HLLs are motivated to study due to their cultural and linguistic heritage and their need to communicate with family members (Carreira and Kagan 2011).

Such different motivational profiles were confirmed by Wen (2011), who compared the motivation of HLLs with some degree of HL proficiency to HLLs with little pre-existing proficiency and to FLLs. Her survey results showed that HL proficiency did not impact HLLs' motivation to learn Chinese. Wen (2011) also suggested that for all background groups, positive classroom experience and interactive instructional processes strengthen learners' motivation for continued study. Simply put, for both HLLs and FLLs, classroom experiences should be "challenging yet fun" (Wen 2011). This, nevertheless, presents a great challenge for a mixed-group FL classroom since what is "challenging yet fun" for HLLs may likely be considerably different for FLLs.

Xie (2014) studied learner motivation using a wider group of learners from six universities across five states, all at the university introductory level. The study found that FLLs had a "linear" experience with Chinese while HLL's motivation to study Chinese was "non-linear," characterized by struggles at an early age, rebellion and rejecting Chinese learning during adolescence, and finding confidence and motivation to study Chinese again in college along with a search for coherence in self-perception and identification.

This body of motivation research, all of which is based on learners' responses to surveys and interviews, suggests that understanding HLLs' motivation is extremely important when planning curriculum and materials for HLLs. HLLs' motivation and non-linear history of such motivation is closely related to learner's evolving perceptions of how they should and will be able to master their HL.

3.2 Identity and Bilingualism

Research provides abundant evidence that HLLs consider Chinese language proficiency part of their identity and seek to improve their Chinese proficiency so that their language proficiency reflects their ethnic identity (He 2006, 2008, and inter alia; also see Polinsky and Kagan 2007; Kagan 2011). Ideally, classroom instruction should both facilitate HLL's endeavor toward advanced language proficiency and facilitate HLLs in their search for a deeper understanding of their multifaceted heritage identity. This section reviews a number of recent studies that theorize the relationship of HLLs' identity and bilingualism to their proficiency development in the post-secondary setting.

First, identity is multifaceted, evolving, and contextualized (He 2004, 2006, 2010, 2013; Lee 2005; Li 2011). J. S. Lee conducted a survey of 530 college-level learners and found that HLLs construct their identities in relative terms related to the perceptions and identities of others (Lee 2005). HLLs think of themselves as both an HLL and an FLL, two fluid constructs that necessarily intersect. As eloquently stated in He (2013), an HLL's language system is "a complex system that is

self-organizing (without being guided by any external principle or source), emergent (unplanned, evolving as the interaction unfolds), creative (always different, always changing), and unpredictable, but bounded by the entire linguistic repertoire of the speaker. It is as a collage and calibration of holistic resources" (p. 314).

However, this dynamic and holistic view of the language system of HLLs may not be embraced by teachers in a traditional FL classroom. Weger-Gunther (2006) illustrated a case where in a university-level FL classroom the teacher had high expectations for HLLs and expressed to them, "You should learn better than other students because you already speak the language." But at the same time, HLLs' use of outside vocabulary and structures not from the class textbook was censored by the teacher. Teacher's censoring of HLL's existing knowledge, on the one hand, and stereotype-based high expectations, on the other hand, may frustrate and alienate HLLs in the FL classroom.

Understanding the complexity and evolving nature of HLL's identity goes hand in hand with understanding the bilingual skills of HLLs. HLLs, with proficient aural-oral skills in Chinese easily mix English and Chinese. Traditional classrooms may view HLLs' English-Chinese code switching as "rebellion to the teacher's authority" or a sign of underdeveloped Chinese language proficiency (He 2010, 2013). Through ethnographic research and interviews, He (2010, 2013) demonstrated that HLLs' code switching to English is more customary than intentional. There are proficiency-related reasons to switch, but overall, no one single theory can account for all instances of code switching across learners in various situations. He (2010) hypothesized that HL bilingual speakers are able to access both English and Chinese language systems simultaneously, which results in their complex, non-uniform code switchings. Therefore, HLL's English-Chinese code mixing is not to be viewed as a sign of deficiency in Chinese, but as the ability to operate between languages. Correspondingly, the goal of HLL learning is not Chinese "linguistic competence" *per se*, but "translingual and transcultural competence" (MLA 2007, p. 237).

He's (2010, 2013) theorizing of the "multicompetence" of HLLs is echoed in Li (2011)'s study of the language use of multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. Li used the term "translanguaging" to depict bilingual youth going between linguistic codes. Their creative use of English-Chinese code mixing is a source of group rapport, aesthetic pleasure, and self-identification. Li (2011) also suggested that the university is an important context for HLLs to re-connect to their heritage background. It is in this setting, along with finding like-minded friends, that HLLs experience multilingual opportunities and create a "translanguaging space".

He (2006, 2008) used Identity Theory to explicitly relate HLLs' self-identification to language proficiency development. He (2006) theorized that an HLL's HL development is dependent on the degree to which "s/he is able to find continuity and coherence in multiple communicative and social worlds in time and space to develop hybrid, situated identities and stances" (p. 1). It would seem fruitful for university-level HL instruction to incorporate identity as a focal point to organize instructional content and provide ample discursive opportunities for HLLs to express, articulate, understand, and broaden their sense of being a multilingual and multicultural individual.

3.3 Literacy Development and Grammar

As Xiao (2006) and many others have suggested, CHLLs' primary challenge in learning the HL is to connect their oral skills with literacy skills, including the ability to read and write and sensitivity to genre, register, and style shifts. These literacy skills are facilitated through grammar and vocabulary development.

Xiao (2008) studied the degree that HLL's heritage background facilitates their literacy development and found that HLLs have a relative advantage over FLLs in speaking, listening, grammar and sentence construction, but not in reading comprehension, vocabulary learning, and character writing. The study suggested that oral exposure does not necessarily lead to HLLs' acquisition of reading and writing skills at a faster pace than FLLs, especially if the HLL has no prior exposure to written Chinese (see also Ke 1998, which focused on character recognition and production skills and also found that HLLs did not demonstrate advantages over non-HLLs).

In a university setting, but shifting from overall literacy development to discourse features of HLL's writing, Xiao (2010) examined HLLs' writing samples vis-à-vis FLLs' writing samples and compared their writing with native speakers' re-writing of the same learner texts. The study found that after a semester's interval of learning, both the FLLs and HLLs improved in their written Chinese, but both cohorts also showed overall simplistic, loosely structured syntax. The re-written texts by native speakers used various devices to maintain discourse cohesion (i.e., topic chains), such as null pronouns and register-specific subordinate and coordinate conjunctions. Compared with native speakers' re-writing, HLLs used very few null pronouns while explicit subject pronouns and conjunctions were overused, resulting in repetitive and fragmentary discourse. The author hypothesized that such reliance on explicit devices was due to the visibility of these explicit features and their similarity to English cohesive devices. Chinese-specific devices, such as null subject pronouns, are challenging and rarely used by HLLs. Within the range of conjunctions used by HLLs, the usage tended to be formulaic and mirrored textbook input. Xiao indicated that discourse building is more important than sentence building for HLLs, compared with FLLs. To that end, compound sentences and complex sentences should be a focus of instruction. This is an important insight for language programs that adopt textbooks designed for FLLs and use them for HLLs in a fast-paced manner. FLLs' introductory textbooks tend to focus on oral skill development. Consequently, input texts tend to be based on sentence-level, constructed short dialogues. Such sentence-level input does not address the discourse needs of HLLs and is a shortcoming to be addressed by supplemental input.

Research on the linguistic systems of Chinese HLLs is scarce compared to research on more commonly taught heritage languages, primarily languages using inflectional morphology, such as Russian and Spanish (see, for example, Lynch 2003; Montrul 2002; Polinsky 2008a, b; Polinsky and Kagan 2007). The results of these studies, based on heavily inflected language, cannot be directly used to understand Chinese HLLs' grammar acquisition (and in turn, their development of

literacy). Chinese has an isolating morphology, relying heavily on word order, discourse context, and grammatical particles.

Nevertheless, there have been some illuminating studies in this area. Jia and Bayley's (2008) study of the perfective marker *-le* found that HLLs born in China outperformed their U.S.-born HLL peers in using this particular grammatical marker. This finding suggested that abundance of input plays a role in HLLs' grammar knowledge. Xing (2006) also suggested that HLLs have the ability to internalize grammar without explicit instruction although the nature of such grammatical knowledge is subject to further study.

A significant challenge to learning written Chinese, unique to the situation of Chinese literary history, is the considerable, even formidable, difference between modern written Chinese and spoken Chinese. Li and Thompson (1982) suggest the non-alphabetic logographic writing system preserves the heavy presence of classical Chinese in modern written Chinese, and consequently maintains (and widens) the gap between spoken Chinese and written Chinese. Written Chinese uses much briefer clauses, very few explicit grammatical morphemes, and distinctive lexical choices, which are features of classical Chinese (文言文 *wenyan-wen*). The gap between modern written Chinese and spoken Chinese is so great that literate Chinese are in fact "bi-dialectal." Essentially, learning written Chinese is much more complicated than simply matching the sounds of Chinese to logographic symbols.

Very little research exists that gives us a coherent picture of how HLLs learn and understand written Chinese as a hybrid code. We also do not know the extent to which HLLs grasp the specific discourse and lexico-grammatical features of written Chinese. But several studies on CHLLs' discourse characteristics in writing, including Xiao (2010), are beginning to provide valuable information.

Zhang (2014) conducted an interesting and revealing study on a specific conjunction type particular to Chinese compound sentences. Chinese compound sentences are typologically distinct. Numerous correlative pairs depict specific logical and discourse relationships (i.e. such as 但是 and pairs 只要…就…; 哪怕…也…), a device-set critical for written discourse development. Zhang focused on HLLs' vs. FLLs' knowledge of compound sentences at the university beginning level. Using acceptability judgment tasks, the study revealed that HLL's internal grammar in this area, at the beginning level, is similar to FLLs who have had 2 years of study as a True Beginner. FLLs' knowledge corresponded to what they had been taught explicitly in the classroom while HLLs performed better on items that were more frequent in natural input in the kind of situations HLLs are exposed to. The results suggest that HLL's grammatical knowledge is based on extracting rules from natural input (cf. Xing 2006). Further, HLLs were unaware of high-register pairs, such as 既然…就… and other such pairs which were correctly understood by FLLs due to explicit learning from textbooks. It is also interesting that HLLs treated many unacceptable constructions as acceptable at a higher rate than FLLs. This grammatical "leniency" also suggests that HLL's implicit grammar is rather crude, and explicit instruction is potentially very helpful.

Although few studies focus on the hybrid characteristics of modern written Chinese, studies such as Xiao (2010), on null pronouns and topic chains, and

Zhang (2014), on register-specific correlative conjunctions, suggest to us that the advantage of HLLs due to their heritage background should not be overstated when it comes to literacy development. Fast-paced learning, the typical model in the university-level Chinese FL classrooms for HLLs, may not adequately address the learning needs of HLLs. More appropriate may be a qualitatively different curriculum that caters to HLLs' need for explicit awareness of discourse characteristics of spoken Chinese (see, for example, Ming and Tao 2008) and the hybrid features of modern written Chinese (Li and Thompson 1982).

4 Curriculum and Methodology for TCHL in Post-Secondary Settings

Due to budget limitations and the relatively smaller number of HLLs in university settings, HLLs are either mixed with other FLLs in the same classroom or are grouped in a fast-paced heritage language track. Consequently, CFL classrooms may be multi-leveled and present considerable pedagogical challenges. This section provides pedagogical suggestions based on research and the author's experience administering and teaching Chinese language classes in an urban setting.

4.1 Placement and Tracking

To my knowledge, research has not yet been carried out on designing appropriate placement assessments for Chinese HLLs. Before such research becomes available, we draw insights from non-Chinese HL assessment insights. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) and Benmamoun et al. (2010) suggested that vocabulary is a good measure of HL proficiency, especially lexical range, specificity, and accuracy. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) and Benmamoun et al. (2010) also suggested that speech rate is a reliable measurement of HL proficiency since near-native speech rate correlates with general high-proficiency. Applying such insights, it would seem appropriate that a placement assessment should have learners display their vocabulary knowledge and, if resources allow, demonstrate their natural speech rate.

As to tracking, research has predominantly pointed to the benefits of separate instruction for HLLs because of their pre-existing aural-oral skills, different degrees of exposure to reading and writing, earlier age of exposure, language exposure in naturalistic settings, different motivation profiles, and centrality of identity and culture as content to explore, among other factors (Kondo-Brown 2003; McGinnis 1996, 2008; Xiao 2006; Xing 2006; Valdés 1997, 2001).

In many FL programs, HL classes are designed as fast-paced classes with the same textbooks as FL classes, but as Xiao (2006) indicated, what heritage learners need is a different type of instruction from fast-paced instruction. A mixed group class is likely frustrating to both learner groups. To explore if HLLs benefit more

from a mixed-level class or a separate HL class, Shen (2003) situated a study in the CFL program at the University of Virginia where a separate HL track was established in the fall of 1999. A one-semester HL class was equivalent to a two-semester FL class using the same textbook series (Yao et al. 1997). Shen tested the HLLs' reading ability with vocabulary tests and the SAT II Chinese test in the mixed-background class vs. the separate HL class. The results showed that HLLs in the separate HL class performed significantly better after one year of study than HLLs in the mixed group class after two years of study. The study suggested that tracking based on similar backgrounds improved HL achievement. This achievement was attributed to the class environment that enabled abundance of learning opportunity, peer pressure, and more level-appropriate input and output activities, such as the use of short plays and movies, recordings of oral commentaries, reading accompanied by audio recordings, all from the beginning of instruction and learning. In contrast, the mixed-group class spent much more time on Pinyin training, focused on oral skill development, and delayed writing until the second year. Language practice was also more centered on drills than open-ended responses.

Putting research and theories aside, in reality, without a significant population of HLLs, university level foreign language programs have to mix HLLs with FLLs in the same class due to budgetary considerations (Kondo-Brown 2003). Carreira (2013) indicated that less than half of current higher education FL programs have separate courses for HLLs. Less commonly taught languages, such as Chinese, have an even lesser chance of offering separate-track HL classes. It is important, thus, for program administrators to engage in program advocacy and to foster positive enrollments through careful curriculum development. Before separate HL classes are encouraged and fostered in the university setting, the FL classroom has to make conscious use of strategies to manage multi-level classes, such as tasks and projects to sequence learning (Willis and Willis 2007), explicit instruction on self-monitoring and learning strategies (Hurd et al. 2001), and the use of blended learning models to provide flexibility in pacing for students (Goertler 2011). It remains to be explored if similar instructional approaches that have benefitted HLLs would also be applicable to FLLs (i.e. enriched input and output activities). Instructional interventions effective in mixed-group classes also need to be explored.

4.2 Learning Goals

Explicit formulation of learning goals can guide curriculum development (Graves 2000; Richards 2001). Two frameworks for articulating learning goals are particularly pertinent to HLL curriculum design due to their explicit contextualized consideration of culture and identity formation. The frameworks are KASA (Knowledge, Awareness, Skills and Attitudes) (Fantini 2007) and ACTFL's "Five C's" Foreign Language Education Content Standards (ACTFL 2014). The Five C's stand for Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities.

Fantini's (2007) KASA framework was originally proposed to assess Intercultural Communication Competence (ICC) and relates to the interconnection of knowledge, awareness, skills, and attitudes one encounters when learning about a new culture. Such encounters contribute to new ways to "perceive, conceptualize, and express thoughts" (Fantini 2007, p. 185). This performance-oriented framework provides concrete learning targets (knowledge, skills, attitudes, and awareness) that underscore the overall "translingual and transcultural competence" HLLs ideally should possess (He 2010).

Valdés (2001) advocated the use of ACTFL's Five C's framework for planning instruction for HL speakers, a sentiment also echoed in Kagan (2011, 2013). The Five C's provide both guidelines for curricular goals and curricular content. Particularly important, in Valdés' view, is the Communication goal. ACTFL's Communication goal statements specify language skills for different communicative modes (interpersonal, interpretative, and presentational), oral and written modalities, and communicative situations. Indeed, ACTFL's Five C's standards closely address the language needs of HLLs, as has been suggested in current TCHL research.

Communities is another important goal among the Five C's statements. It makes relevant not only the target Chinese-speaking communities but also the HLL's home and immediate community as sociocultural realities to be explored and understood. Recent years have seen the increasing adoption of service-learning models in foreign language classrooms (e.g. in Spanish FL classrooms, Lear and Abbott 2008; in French FL classrooms, Grim 2010). Service learning situates language development and critical thinking in community-based activities. For example, McPherron and Randolph (2013) reported a curricular project (albeit for an ESL class) where language learners were guided to conduct critical cultural observations and interviews in their community in the manner of a layperson ethnographer. Learners not only develop language skills through designing questionnaires, interviewing community members, and formulating an expository essay, but also gain deeper, personalized cultural understanding.

4.3 Adopting a Macro-Micro Approach

Kagan (2011, 2013) proposes the combination of a macro and micro approach to building a HL curriculum. A macro approach would mirror native speakers' experiences learning Chinese, with language as a tool for obtaining information, communicating, and creating discursive products, i.e., theme-based, content-based, or project-based learning (Kagan 2011, 2013; cf. Graves 2000; Richards 2001). A micro approach would focus on grammar and vocabulary development and fine-tuning grammatical-lexical awareness.

Project-based learning appears to be particularly suitable for HLLs and a mixed-level class. PBL is an entirely different approach from traditional instruction, which focuses on discrete knowledge, rote memorization, mechanics, close-ended applica-

tion, and display of accuracy as the primary means of assessment. In accordance with the performance-based goals of TCHL (e.g., KASA; ACTFL's Five C's Goals), well-designed projects help students discover, problem-solve, create, and formulate new angles and perspectives, and gain and expand their heritage language proficiency throughout the process. Because projects are performance-oriented and language takes place on an individual level, organizing courses around sequenced projects would work as a response to the multi-level nature of a mixed-group class (for examples of using projects in the Chinese FL classroom, see Cai 2012; Lee 2011; Shih 2006; Xiang 2014; Zhang 2011).

4.4 Making Use of Existing Knowledge, Transitioning from the Familiar to the Unfamiliar

This principle should work both as a general sequencing principle of the syllabus (Graves 2000) and as a sequencing principle for small-scale activities, instruction, and homework. While each student has to be understood individually, typically HLLs have better aural-oral skills than reading-writing skills and better receptive skills (listening, reading) than productive skills (speaking, writing). Making use of a learner's aural skills, we can provide audio recordings that accompany his/her input text, but delay reading to the extent that he/she is motivated to see the script that matches the familiar audio text. Within a macro syllabus unit, it may also be advisable to delay writing (Kagan 2011, p. 87) until students have gained sufficient print exposure and have personalized reading through guided discussion and critical thinking (Xiao 2006). We also want to expand students' register awareness by moving from the familiar modes and registers (informal communication with familiar addressees) to different, less familiar communication modes and from an everyday register to an academic register (Kagan 2011). Classroom activities and homework should help students make different types of "association," from sound to print, from print to meaning, from reading to writing (Koda 2002, p. 242).

4.5 Providing Instruction from Discourse Analytical Perspectives

Chinese grammar is heavily discourse-oriented (Tao 1996; Chu 1998). Without explicit mentoring on discourse characteristics of Chinese, HLLs may not notice the various meaning-making systems in Chinese grammar and consequently may have few resources to build advanced proficiency, such as knowledge of correlatives (Zhang 2014) and null pronouns (Xiao 2011). A CHL class should incorporate explicit instruction on target discourse features and use good modeling texts to demonstrate how communicative intentions and discourse development are achieved

through lexical-grammatical means (cf. discourse analytic frameworks explicated in Strauss and Feiz 2013). We also need to develop effective writing and discussion prompts to lead students to incorporate their learned linguistic resources in a meaningful and productive manner and off-set the tendency of avoidance, i.e., avoiding using features that are difficult and not fully understood (e.g. Xiao 2010). For example, as a consciousness-raising activity, students may be challenged to rewrite the same story/news in different styles, genres, or formality (a narrative vs. a news headline vs. a conversation; addressing family members vs. professors in an academic setting).

4.6 Building Learner Communities, Fostering Confidence, and Reducing Anxiety

HLLs are a learner community connected by comparable language backgrounds, Chinese learning experiences, and the ability to tap into both English and Chinese cultural and linguistic resources on a daily basis. Teachers may benefit from using community-building techniques, as well as providing opportunities for supportive, collaborative learning.

Further, we should not assume that because of their heritage background, HLLs are confident in the learning process. Xiao and Wong (2014) studied the anxiety levels specific to Chinese HL learners based on surveys of 87 CHLLs in heritage-track classes from a larger sample of 192 Chinese FL students at two U.S. universities. The study showed that HLLs felt most anxious about writing while FLLs had the most anxiety in speaking. Class dropout rates were higher among students with high-anxiety. The study shows the importance of creating classroom environments where anxiety is anticipated, understood, and strategically addressed. Thus, in reading and writing, it is not sufficient just to provide writing tasks and expect students to produce the desired results. We should explicitly train students in the writing process, including brainstorming, planning, drafting, revising, self-editing, as well as providing teacher feedback that is sensitive to learners' potential anxiety of the process (cf. illustrations of such approaches, albeit in the ESL writing context, in Stauss et al. 2006; Strauss and Xiang 2006).

4.7 Providing Explicit Instruction in Grammar and Discourse-Oriented Grammar

Research on the grammar of HLLs has shown that explicit grammar instruction is beneficial and necessary (Montrul and Bowels 2010). Montrul and Bowels (2010) suggest that explicit grammar can help to "restructure" what is dormant and implicit in HLLs due to early exposure in naturalistic settings (p. 48).

Since HLLs have a wide variability in their grammar knowledge, workshop-style instruction in grammar may be more suitable than teaching the same grammatical features at the same pace to HLLs. In the workshop, students' own productions are analyzed in a supportive and anonymous manner (Strauss 2014). Through rewriting learner sentences, they understand what is possible or not in the Chinese language, and they learn alternative and more appropriate ways to express the same intended meaning related to a particular task, audience, genre. These strategies expand HLLs' command of the Chinese lexico-grammatical systems while always putting meaning making at the center of concern. In this area, a learner corpus would be very useful to help the teacher see generalizable patterns of the HLL's grammar and focus on areas of most difficulty. Research using learner corpora is rare, but Ming and Tao (2008) made a valuable initial attempt.

4.8 The Role of Textbooks and Materials

In the field of TCHL, critical use of textbooks and the ability to develop engaging teaching materials are especially important, due to the complex learning needs of the learners, and the young, underdeveloped textbook market for HLLs. Because there are fewer HLLs compared to FLLs, publishers are hesitant to publish textbooks exclusively catering to HLLs, especially for a less commonly taught language such as Chinese.

Popular among the choices of textbooks written for HLs in the university context are Duanduan Li's (2009) *A Primer for Advanced Beginners of Chinese* (大学语文) published by Columbia University Press and *Me and China* (我和中国) published by MacMillan (He et al. 2006).[8] Both textbooks adopt a topical syllabus, either building on the study of China (history, geography, social issues, culture and customs, idioms, and folklore) (Li 2009) or incorporating everyday life of Chinese immigrant families in written narratives (He et al. 2006). Such theme-based units and narratives appeal to HLLs with their interest in Chinese culture and society. Further, these textbooks build on linguistic research on the frequency of words and grammatical structures. The implicit grammatical and lexical syllabus, embedded in the thematic syllabus, also provides a good structural support for building an HL course.

But a number of limitations are also present that are arguably common in newly developed textbooks for HLLs. First, unlike mainstream FL textbooks that enjoy financial resources to develop companion materials, HLL textbooks do not offer an abundance of companion workbooks, multimedia components, web-based support, etc. to facilitate learners in building fluency and to extend their exposure to print materials. Secondly, the textbooks usually contain little use of authentic texts, realia, or culture notes. Understandably, copyrighted materials are expensive to license.

[8] Another popular textbook for CHLLs is *Oh, China!* (哦,中国!) by Chou et al. (2011), published by Princeton University Press.

Having authentic input in the textbook is not a feasible option financially. Teachers can supplement their HL textbooks with a variety of text types and authentic images, realia, media etc. to add cultural exemplification, to facilitate discussion, and to stimulate interest. Thirdly, the methodology adopted in the textbooks tends to be monotonous and traditional (short questions for schema activation, text-based input, fill in the blanks, and sentence construction exercises). Teachers need to provide extensive schema-activating activities, group-work, pair work, fluency building activities, problem solving, tasks, etc. to engage students in collaborative learning, meaning-negotiation, and open-ended inquiries (Tomlinson 2012). Reading exercises tend to be closed-ended and on discrete items, treating reading as information-retrieving, comprehension-checking, and grammatical exercises. Writing prompts also tend to be generic. Teachers will have to create more tailored tasks to engage students in language use during and after class in a more open-ended and exploratory fashion.

While textbook limitations need to be addressed, experienced teachers do not expect any textbook to have perfect explanatory adequacy and pedagogical relevance for their own particular cohort of students (Carreira 2004). After all, commercial textbooks are meant for an audience as wide and general as possible. To this end, it is very important to educate teachers in evaluating and writing instructional materials. It is critical not to build a course around a textbook, but to use existing textbooks to provide structural support and grammatical-lexical sequencing. As the field develops and matures, as teachers gain more professional expertise, and as the Chinese language classroom becomes increasingly more diversified and connected to other disciplines, textbooks will begin to play more of a supportive role than a controlling role as is currently the case.

5 Suggestions for Further Research

5.1 Classroom-Based Assessment

The current tendency for CFL classrooms to be mixed-group makes assessment a highly important issue to consider in the curricular process. Particularly needed are knowledge and research regarding placement assessments, performance-based assessments, and ways to use assessment results to inform classroom practice (cf. McGinnis 1996).[9] McGinnis (1996) proposed a three-stage curricular model for HLLs that begins with placement diagnostics, which then feeds into setting learning goals and designing performance-based assessments to foster proficiency development. To continue to explore the path set forth by McGinnis (1996), we need classroom-based research that measures the effectiveness of current assessment

[9] To this end, McGinnis (1996) specified a model for developing curriculum for HLLs based on and starting with placement diagnostics. McGinnis (1996) also suggested the use of performance-based assessment methods for HLLs.

methods. We also need to use classroom-generated data to understand which performance-based assessments are best for which purposes and how we can use assessment not only for assessing learning but as a tool for learning (Tomlinson 2005).[10] It is also important to gauge learners' entry-level proficiency with ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines and to design curriculum to explicitly address the gaps between entry-level and exit-level benchmarks. Throughout a course, students should be assessed based on performance at the discourse level (such as presentational vs. interpersonal modes of communication, written modes vs. spoken modes of communication, control and use of lexico grammatical resources for meaning-making). Such performance-based assessment, both for the purpose of initial diagnostics and for assessing achievement and exit-level proficiency, arguably will exert a positive impact on other components of the curriculum.

5.2 Corpus and Discourse-Driven Research on Learners' Language Use as Meaning Making

Previous research has primarily used SLA research methods (e.g., surveys, grammaticality judgments). Further research needs to investigate the nature of HLL's language perception and production in naturalistic settings. A considerable void in current research is how HLLs' current linguistic system enables them to or falls short of facilitating their need to express communicative content. Learners are experimenting with the meaning potential of the linguistic devices they learn (Byrnes 2006). Combining corpus and discourse perspectives and situating research in actual classrooms, we will gain a more finely-grained understanding of learners' use of Chinese for meaning making and in turn make classroom instruction relevant and applicable to what learners need.

5.3 Materials, Curriculum, Methodology, and Their Effects in the Classroom

We not only need to understand linguistic and language acquisition phenomena, but also we need to gain insight into the process of material design and curriculum development. Although theories and research in TCHL have begun to guide classroom practice, there has been an absence of research on the effects of materials, as well as curriculum and instruction, on learning (Lynch 2003; Valdés 2001).

[10] Similar needs pertain to community-based Chinese language schools as well, as anticipated in Wang (1996b) and still remain a persistent problem today.

5.4 Longitudinal Studies to Track HHLs' Development of Multi-competence and Translingual Skills

If, as He (2006, 2008) hypothesized, HLLs' proficiency strongly correlates with finding a coherent heritage identity, it is through longitudinal case studies that we will best be able to test such hypotheses and guide classroom practice. In this vein, ethnographic and biographical research methods will lead to valuable insights.

5.5 Oral Proficiency Development

Current research has not focused on the development of HLLs' oral proficiency. It would be interesting to see what oral skills HLLs bring to the classroom and to what extent they can develop oral proficiency in classroom settings. It is important to ascertain the interconnection between oral proficiency development and literacy development and the effect of developing literacy skills on learner's proficiency development in spoken Chinese. Perhaps by socializing students into written Chinese and associated literary styles, HLLs' oral competence will evince a transfer of discourse features from written to oral Chinese, thus becoming an effective way to broaden learner's spoken communicative repertoire.

5.6 Genre, Style, and Register

Although it is well known that knowledge of genre, style, and register are missing elements in HLL's linguistic repertoire, research on these aspects is extremely scarce. To what extent are these relevant to beginning-level HLLs and when should genre, style, and register be introduced into the HL curriculum? Further, what are learners' existing abilities in and awareness of genre, style, and register and what would be effective approaches to expand HLLs' linguistic repertoire? Further, how do we socialize students into the hybrid and mixed-register nature of modern written Chinese, and to what extend will students' existing proficiency in spoken Chinese facilitate their development of advanced proficiency in written Chinese? All these questions remain to be understood.

5.7 Dialect Speakers

Another under-explored area of TCHL is the learning of Mandarin by HLLs who speak a different dialect compared to Mandarin-heritage speakers and FLLs. Specifically, how do grammar and macro-skills develop in dialect HLLs? In the

learning process, what psychological factors (identity development, perceptions, and motivation) play a significant role in dialect speakers' Chinese learning? In what ways does maintenance of one's home variety of Chinese compete with or complement dialect HLLs' learning of Mandarin Chinese?

5.8 Teacher Education

Teacher training is particularly important for TCHL since classrooms are likely to be multi-leveled and contain multiple ability groups. Teachers need to be able to think on their feet to guide learners and address their needs (He 2010). From designing the course, evaluating textbooks, creating supplemental materials, developing assessment methods to teaching the Chinese grammatical system and socializing students into the written mode of Chinese, teachers constantly need to make informed decisions. Teacher education and teacher support is a separate subfield in need of dedicated research and practical efforts.

5.9 The K-16 Pipeline

As S. Wang (2010) cautions, the teaching efforts of community-based Chinese schools are often ignored by FL programs in formal K-16 contexts, especially at the university-level. HLLs with community-based language learning experience, or those who have studied Chinese in K-12 settings, may still be placed in a beginning level university FL class due to existing gaps in curricula, as well as the focus on explicit grammar in the university setting. S. Wang (2010) observed that HLLs unfortunately "start early and stay long," repeating the beginning-level classes in different places. The broken K-12 to post-secondary level pipeline is largely due to different curricula and assessment methods adopted in community-based schools, K-12 schools, and post-secondary settings. But since all FL classes are beginning to embrace ACTFL's Five C's standards, and as teacher professional knowledge and expertise have increased, we are hopeful that the field will see efforts to streamline the K-16 Chinese learning process.

5.10 Policymaking, Community Support, and Teachers' Professional Resources

For HLLs, learning the HL is not only learning the language but also maintaining it. As Montrul (2013) suggested, the sociopolitical status of the HL as a minority language in the U.S. and in the world interplays with HLLs' motivation to learn the

language and sustain its use beyond the classroom. Policy advocacy for supporting heritage language programs, collaborations between community and university FL programs, and the building of Chinese teacher professionalism and networking forums/online portals are all efforts that will have a long-lasting impact on the teaching of Chinese as a heritage language.

TCHL is a unique subfield of second language education and research. It is also a field that intersects with a range of other fields, such as multilingualism and language maintenance and revival. Its very basis in the sociolinguistic context of language learning challenges language educators to go beyond the classroom to see language learning as a social, dynamic, individualistic, and evolving process. It challenges researchers to find inspiration and insights in the classroom and in the community. For heritage language learners, the heritage language is a galvanizing agent that will transform learners and the world around them. This field thus benefits the most from, and is also in the most need of, symbiotic collaborations between learners and teachers, teachers and researchers, community and formal school settings, administrators and practitioners, as well as interdisciplinary collaborations.

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Practice and Research on Chinese Language Learning in Study Abroad Contexts

Li Jin

Abstract This chapter provides an overview of the field of Chinese language learning in study abroad contexts. It consists of three sections. The first section presents the major models and features of American university-run study abroad (SA) programs in mainland China. The major models hinge on the program's length and content. The features are reflected in curriculum requirements, location, extracurricular activities, and program accommodations. Section two shares a review of theories and empirical studies that investigate the learning process and outcomes in Chinese SA contexts. Gaps between existing research studies and future research are identified. Section three discusses salient issues in curriculum design and pedagogy faced by various types of SA programs and provides practical guidance based on theories and empirical research results for administrators and educators to launch and ameliorate short or long-term SA programs. Both researchers and practitioners in the field of teaching Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S. can gain insights from this chapter.

Keywords Study abroad • Study abroad program models • Summer program • Year-long program • Semester-long program • Curriculum design • Language contact • Negotiation of identity • Program length • Accommodations

1 Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a surge in the number of learners of Mandarin Chinese choosing to study abroad in mainland China. According to a survey conducted by the Institute of International Education in 2013 (IIE 2013), China is now the No. 5 destination country for U.S. study abroad (SA) students. It is reported that there were over 290,000 international students studying Mandarin Chinese in China in 2013 (China Scholarship Council 2014). In particular, SA in China has gained strong support from both the American and Chinese governments. In 2009, President

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Barack Obama announced the 100,000 Strong Initiative, which aimed to send 100,000 American students to study in China by the end of 2014. Echoing the call, the Chinese government announced 20,000 scholarships from 2010 to 2012 to support American students to study in China. In January 2013, the 100,000 Strong Foundation was officially launched by then Secretary of State Hilary Rodham Clinton. This non-profit organization engages governmental, business, and academic communities in both countries to expand the number and diversity of American students studying Mandarin and other subjects in China. In other words, the efforts to encourage and support SA in China are historically unprecedented. Apparently, students, educators, and administrators have great hopes that students can improve their language proficiency through their immersion experience in China.

Despite the enthusiasm, little is known as to whether these efforts are as fruitful as expected and how to provide appropriate support and guidance for students to navigate and take advantage of the complex SA contexts in China. This chapter starts with a brief review of the major models and features of existing SA programs in China. It is followed with a detailed review of research on language learning in SA contexts in general, particularly those in China. Future directions for research on Chinese language in SA contexts will be suggested. Drawing on research findings, suggestions for Chinese SA curriculum design and pedagogy will be shared.

2 Major Models and Program Features

According to a private document released in May 2014 by the China Association of Program Executive Directors (CAPED), there are over 60 American higher education institution-run SA programs in China that focus on Mandarin language instruction. All these programs on the list are hosted on the campus of a major local Chinese university. Based on the length of a program, there are four types of models: (1) academic year plus summer program, (2) year-long program, (3) semester-long program, and (4) summer only program. In addition, the length of summer programs spans from 4 to 11 weeks, depending on each program's credit offerings. The number of summer programs surpasses those of other program models. The year-long and semester-long programs hold classes following regular academic schedules. The vast majority of the summer programs hold formal language instruction on weekday mornings, one-on-one tutor sessions in the afternoons, and extracurricular activities and excursions on weekends. According to a program's curriculum focus, there are three types of models: (1) basic to advanced-level language instruction plus excursions/social study, (2) business language instruction plus internship, and (3) classical Chinese and linguistics plus excursions. Table 1 shows four major features of SA programs.

The characteristics of curriculum design are reflected in program prerequisites, program duration, course offerings, teacher selection, and assessment instruments adopted in each program. The vast majority of the programs have a prerequisite

Table 1 Major features of SA programs in China

Curriculum		Location	Extracurricular activities	Program accommodations
Prerequisites	None	Beijing	Excursions	International student dorms
	Minimal beginning-level proficiency	Shanghai	Daily one-on-one tutoring sessions	Hotel rooms as a group
Length	Academic year + summer	Nanjing	Social studies project	Homestay
	Academic year	Chengdu	Study tour to live with villagers	
	Semester-long	Hainan	Community service	
	Summer	Hangzhou	Internships	
		Kunming		
Program Objectives	Beginning, intermediate and advanced-level language courses	Kunshan		
	Content courses in English or Chinese			
	Business Chinese + internship course			
	Classical Chinese, Chinese linguistics			
Teacher selection	Own instructors			
	Local instructors			
Placement and Assessment	In-house oral and written exams			
	Pre- and post-program standardized tests: OPI-c, ACTFL reading and listening tests, Chinese Proficiency Test (CPT), Chinese Speaking Test (CST)			
	Portfolio writing			

of minimally one year of beginning-level Chinese language learning. Only a few programs have no prerequisite, which means they offer beginning-level language classes onsite. In terms of course offerings, year-long and semester-long programs have slightly different offerings than summer programs. Besides beginning to advanced-level language courses, students enrolled in a year-long or semester-long program are allowed to take content courses taught in English if they are taking intermediate-level language courses, or content courses taught in Chinese if they are taking advanced-level language courses. Summer programs' course offerings are much more specific. The majority of the programs focus on beginning to

advanced-level language instruction. A few programs focus on business Chinese instruction and internships, and a few offer more specified courses, such as linguistics and classical Chinese, in addition to regular language courses. Many programs employ language instructors from the host institution's faculty. Only a select number of programs bring their own language instructors for various reasons. A small fraction of programs adopt a Chinese language pledge, which mandates students to solely use Chinese language throughout the program. Various assessment instruments are adopted or created for different programs. Many programs utilize oral and written tests designed by their own faculty for a placement assessment, weekly tests, and post-program assessments. Standardized test instruments, such as OPI-c, ACTFL reading and listening tests, the Chinese Proficiency Test (CPT), and the Chinese Speaking Test (CST) are also widely adopted for pre- and post-program assessments. A number of programs also adopt portfolio writing to document learners' writing progress throughout the program.

The second feature of the programs is location. The vast majority of the programs are hosted at a major university in a Tier 1 city, such as Beijing and Shanghai. A growing number of programs are located in inner cities with less of an international spotlight, such as Hainan and Kunming. As mentioned earlier, most summer programs adopt the model that includes classroom-based formal instruction on weekday mornings and extracurricular activities in the afternoons and on weekends. Many programs hire local tutors to offer daily one-on-one language tutoring sessions. Extracurricular activities are carried out in various forms to deepen students' understanding of the larger Chinese society and engage them with local residents. In addition to short excursions within China, some summer programs dedicate a few days or one entire week for students to conduct a social studies project, participate in community service, or even live with villagers in the local community. The last feature is related to accommodations for students in SA programs. Students enrolled in year-long and semester-long programs usually live in designated international student dorms and usually share an apartment unit with another international or Chinese domestic student. The summer programs' accommodations are more diverse. Most U.S. institution-run programs place students in an on-campus hotel, whereas only a few programs arrange homestays for students to stay with a local host family. Students staying in an on-campus hotel have their own room but share the unit with a group member.

In sum, there are clear trends identifiable among the existing SA programs in China. For year- or semester-long programs, there may or may not be any prerequisite, various Chinese culture courses in addition to language courses are offered, excursions and certain community service activities are organized, and students usually stay at an international student dorm. As for summer programs, the majority of the programs mandate a prerequisite of beginning-level language proficiency; focus on language instruction; employ local instructors; cluster in major cities; offer similar extracurricular activities, such as one-on-one tutoring sessions, cultural experiences, and short excursions; and place students in an on-campus hotel.

3 Research on Chinese Language Learning in SA Contexts

SA provides a learning environment distinct from foreign language classrooms on a domestic campus and from real-life communication situations most immigrants experience. Most language-focused SA programs offer both classroom instruction and naturalistic learning. Hence, language learning in SA contexts is much more complicated. In the past two decades, a plethora of books and articles have been published on language learning abroad (e.g. Barron 2003; DuFon and Churchill 2006; Freed 1995; Kinginger 2009, 2013a, b). *Foreign Language Annals* dedicated a special issue in 2010 to the topic of SA. The vast majority of research in this area has been conducted with European languages due to various reasons. This section will first review major research studies on language learning in non-China SA contexts, then will focus on particular research on SA in China.

Despite widespread dissent among scholars regarding the definition of language proficiency and appropriate measures of language proficiency, research since as early as the 1960s has provided concrete and convincing evidence for linguistic gains in almost every dimension, as well as change of attitude towards the target culture in an SA context (e.g. Carroll 1967; Davidson 2010; DeKeyser 2010; Dewey 2004; Freed 1995; Freed et al. 2004; Kinginger 2008; Schumann and Schumann 1977). This line of research has shown that longer sojourn time and better pre-program grammar control are positively correlated with linguistic gains. Drawing on an input-output-based cognitive view of second language acquisition, the researchers tend to attribute linguistic gains to the unparalleled amount of language input in an SA context. The findings of this line of research have largely validated the existence of SA programs.

However, numerous studies have also documented disappointing or controversial SA results, as well as striking individual differences (e.g. Kinginger 2009; Wilkinson 1998). Wilkinson (1998) called for a shift of SA research from the “product” or outcome of SA programs to the “process,” such as what is going on before, during, and after an SA program. Recent research has focused on the relationship between language development and SA experience, in particular, the quantity and quality of language contact in an SA context. In terms of quantity of language contact with native speakers, study findings have demonstrated statistically significant correlations between the frequency of language contact and language development in oral fluency, formulaic production, reading, writing, listening, grammar, vocabulary, and pragmatics (e.g. Dewey 2004; Kinginger 2008; Segalowitz and Freed 2004; Taguchi 2008, 2011a, b; Taguchi et al. 2013). As reviewed by Kinginger (2009), the most frequently adopted language proficiency measurement instruments in these studies include the Modern Language Association Proficiency Test, the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), the C-Test, and the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) in various language versions.

Another line of research has focused on the quality of language contact in SA contexts. A large body of evidence supports the finding that language learners’ success in SA “depends upon how the students are received in the contexts where they

frequent (e.g., classrooms, homestays) and how the same students choose to interpret and act on the social, cultural, and linguistic practices of their host communities" (Kinginger 2013a, p. 341). In particular, negotiation of identity has emerged as one major challenge language learners face in SA settings. Numerous studies have been conducted to investigate how learners' national identity (e.g. Block 2007; Shively 2011), "foreigner" identities (e.g. Iino 2006; Siegal 1996;), gender (e.g. Isabelli-García 2006; Kinginger 2008), age (e.g. Magnan and Back 2007; Pellegrino-Aveni 2005), and ethnicity (e.g. Talburt and Stewart 1999) impact the quality of learners' language learning experiences. For example, American students are reported to be particularly prone to exerting national superiority when encountering local social practices or views, thus failing to adjust to the local culture. "Foreigner" identities ascribed to language learners by local residents may deprive language learners of access to rich and higher-level language resources. Attitudes toward and social practices related to gender, age, and ethnicity in a local culture also shape how a particular language learner is received and how the learner chooses to adopt or reject the identity projected by the local culture, which is well reflected in language use. In short, the findings of qualitative studies have disclosed a much more complex picture of language learning abroad. SA is no longer a conventionally perceived magical formula for effortless learning (DeKeyser 2010; Kinginger 2013b). Aligning with this focus, many studies have adopted the sociocultural theoretical (SCT) perspective, as well as qualitative methods such as observation, interviews, and self-assessment surveys to investigate language learners' study abroad experiences. The SCT perspective views development (e.g. second language development) as mediated by culturally constructed physical and psychological tools, such as social cultural resources, and optimally occurs when assistance slightly above learners' current level is provided. In addition, learners are not passive but active agents who are involved in various decision-making processes, such as what language behaviors to imitate and what not to.

In contrast to the blossoming research on SA in more commonly taught European languages, research on Chinese language learning abroad is still sparse. Eight studies related to Chinese language learning in SA settings are reviewed in this chapter. Among these studies, three directly focus on learners' linguistic development, four on learners' development of pragmatics in various SA contexts, and one is a book-length more comprehensive study that analyzes, through multiple theoretical perspectives, learners' Chinese oral proficiency, literacy development, and identity construction in both foreign language and SA settings. The research methodology, findings, and pedagogical implications are shared to shed light on current understandings of Chinese language learning in SA contexts. Table 2 provides details of each study.

Du's study (2013) examined English-speaking college-level students' fluency development over the span of 4 months in China. The data showed a clear trend of fluency development in terms of participants' speech rate and the quantity of speech they could produce within a 2-min segment. In addition, the findings revealed that students who observed a language pledge gained more progress in fluency development than those who did not. In other words, SA, especially for advanced-level

Table 2 Research on Chinese language learning in SA contexts

Author(s)	Research focus	Participants	SA context	Data collection methods
Du (2013)	Fluency development and the effect of time on task on fluency development	28 college-level American students and 1 New Zealand student	A semester-long program offering courses on business Chinese, classical Chinese, newspaper reading, discussion and debate, and modern Chinese literature at a university in Eastern China	Pre- and post-program questionnaires, non-participant observations, computer adaptive reading test, monthly oral recording
Jin (2014)	Group interaction patterns	11 college-level American students	7-week summer intensive language on a university campus in Shanghai	Interviews, observations, students' reflective journals
Taguchi et al. (2013)	(1) Gain in formulaic competence during study abroad; and (2) the effect of frequency of language encounter on formulaic competence	31 college-level American students	14-week summer language program in Beijing	Pretest and posttest (computerized oral discourse test)
Li (2014)	The effect of language proficiency level on the development of Chinese request production	31 college-level American students	15-week language program in Beijing	Pretest and posttest (computerized oral discourse test)
Jin (2012)	Developmental process of Chinese compliment responding	4 college-level American students	7-week summer intensive language on a university campus in Shanghai	Interviews, observations, students' reflective journals
Tan and Kinginger (2013)	Learners' perception of local engagement during a homestay program	60 American high-school students	Summer homestay program	Questionnaire
Winke and Teng (2010)	The effect of Chinese pragmatics tutorial on pragmatics development in study abroad	19 American college-level students in a study abroad program and 19 non-SA students on campus	8-week summer intensive language program on a university campus in Tianjin	Pretest and posttest (Test of Chinese pragmatics, DCT format); language and cultural learning reflective journals; end-of-the-program survey
Duff et al. (2013)	Oral proficiency, literacy, identity development in Chinese learning	5 Caucasian adult English-speaking Canadians	3 years of Chinese language development in various contexts	Yearly standardized tests, personal written narratives, oral interviews, transcription work

learners who spend time speaking Chinese both inside and outside of the classroom, can have positive effects on learners' fluency development. Taguchi et al. (2013) examined American college students' development of formulaic production during a 10-week SA program. The findings showed that students' appropriateness of formulaic production improved by the end of the SA program. However, there was no correlation between the frequency of language encounter and linguistic development. The correlation was only observed in learners with lower pretest scores. In other words, lower-level learners' development of formulaic production benefited from more frequent encounters with target language forms in an SA context. Thus, the frequency of encounter and learners' initial proficiency jointly influenced their language gains abroad. Jin's (2014) study investigated the language learning process of 11 college-level students in a 7-week intensive language program. Based on data from interviews and field observations, the study findings show that language learners, particularly those at a lower level, prefer to work with their English-speaking peers, including higher-level learners in the group, for language help to ease into the study abroad context. It is suggested that meaningful peer collaboration, even in an SA program, can provide a buffer zone for lower-level or less confident students and be beneficial for language development.

Li's (2014) study focused on college students' development of the request strategy. Using a pretest-posttest design, the study was conducted with one intermediate-level group and one advanced-level group in a 15-week language-focused SA program. The study findings revealed that (1) learners at both levels had gains in appropriateness and fluency of their request production at the end of the program; (2) learners' linguistic proficiency did not have a statistically significant effect on the appropriateness of their performance; and (3) the advanced-level learners showed more gains in speech rate, compared to intermediate-level learners. The author suggests that the optimal time for learners to study abroad is after four semesters of formal instruction in order to develop request skills in L2 Chinese. Winke and Teng's (2010) study discovered that the experimental group benefited from explicit instruction about Chinese speech acts in a summer intensive language study abroad program. Their knowledge about various Chinese pragmatic skills showed statistically significant improvement at the end of the SA program, and their attitude toward the explicit pragmatics tutorial was very positive. The authors suggest that explicit pragmatic instruction be provided during an SA program, or on the domestic campus before learners embark on their SA journey, by recruiting native speakers to provide one-on-one tutoring.

Adopting qualitative methodology, Jin's study (2012) investigated four American college students' developmental process of learning compliment responding in a 7-week summer intensive language program in China. The findings revealed each of the four students went through a heterogeneous process and developed distinct understandings about how to appropriately respond to compliments in a Chinese-speaking setting. From the SCT perspective, Jin argued that the surprising heterogeneity reflected in the learning process and outcome can be attributed to how each learner was received in the local community, as well as how each learner took initiative (e.g. agency) to develop pragmatic knowledge. It is suggested that explicit

instruction about the Chinese complimenting speech act, as well as the concept of foreigner treatment, be provided before students start their study abroad trip.

Different from the other five studies investigating college-level language learners, Tan and Kinginger's study (2013) focused on high school students' perceptions about their local engagement in a homestay setting. Based on qualitative data collected from questionnaires, the study uncovered unique benefits of early study abroad: learners enjoyed deeper and easier engagement with host families, which greatly contributed to their language learning and cultural understanding. This can be largely attributed to the fact that younger study abroad students are more open-minded and less risk-averse. The study results also revealed that early study abroad has long-lasting positive effects on learners' motivation for language learning, as well as on forging intercultural relationships at an earlier age.

The study by Duff et al. (2013) is one of the most comprehensive empirical studies of Chinese language development. From multiple theoretical perspectives the researchers analyzed the Chinese language development of five English-speaking adult Caucasian Canadians over a period of 3 years during which all participants sojourned in a Chinese-speaking community. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to document and analyze each learner's oral proficiency, literacy, and identity construction. Based on their meticulous analysis, the researchers suggested that assessment instruments for Chinese as an additional language (CAL) are still evolving and inconsistent, which renders measuring learners' development a very challenging task. Research on CAL literacy should take a perspective distinct from traditional SLA approaches, which give prestige to oral proficiency. In addition, the researchers pinpointed from a sociocultural theoretical perspective that the link between agency, positionality, and identity is particularly relevant to understanding the complexity of CAL learners' encounter with local communities. Future directions for research and pedagogical and policy implications were provided in the study as well.

4 Suggestions for Research on Chinese Study Abroad

As shown in Table 2, research on Chinese study abroad is still a largely uncharted territory. There is an urgent need for more studies adopting both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to present a fuller picture of what is happening in study abroad programs. Five out of the eight reviewed studies were conducted during a summer intensive language study abroad program. More research should be conducted to investigate language learning in semester- or year-long study abroad programs in China, which attract an increasing number of Chinese language learners each year. Homestay is another popular language learning setting incorporated into various SA programs for college-level students. Whether and how learners of various backgrounds engage in a homestay setting and achieve language development merits more research. Since language learning abroad is highly heterogeneous, more longitudinal studies are needed for a more accurate account of language learning in a particular context.

Extensive research on language learning abroad shows that both the quantity and quality of language contact learners have in a local community shape their language development. Thus, both the learning outcomes and learning processes during a Chinese SA program need to be systematically investigated. Many SA curriculum models and pedagogical strategies, such as the language tutor system, and the amount of target language use required for beginning-level learners need to be examined empirically to provide appropriate guidance. More research on the development of pragmatics needs to continue in this direction, given the high-context nature of Chinese language use, as well as the uniquely beneficial but complex learning environment offered in SA. In particular, more studies are needed to investigate learners' linguistic and pragmatic development simultaneously during an SA program, in other words, how learners connect the form and meaning of the Chinese language.

Identity and language learning, particularly in an SA setting, is an emerging subfield of second language acquisition that has attracted great attention in recent years. Researchers (e.g. Block 2007; Duff et al. 2013; Kinginger 2013b) call for more research from a poststructuralist perspective that looks at various identity-related variables in language learning, such as nationality, gender, race, age, social class, and sexuality. Many more SA learners are coming from a region or country that shares very little with China in terms of social and cultural structures, customs, and perspectives. Despite the standardized use of Mandarin Chinese across China, China itself is a vast country with historically, culturally, and geographically very diverse regions. Imprinted with their unique social, cultural, and personal backgrounds, learners of Chinese language traveling from other countries will certainly experience a complex learning journey when studying abroad in China. The treatments they receive from a local community, their dispositions toward the local community, and how they make personal choices when using the Chinese language should be taken into serious consideration when researchers interpret language learning outcomes and processes. Thus, more research on Chinese development in SA contexts should adopt a poststructuralist perspective for a more accurate understanding of this context.

5 Suggestions for Chinese SA Curriculum Design and Pedagogy

A review of existing SA program models and features and relevant empirical studies (e.g. Du 2013; Duff et al. 2013; Jin 2012, 2014; Li 2014; Winke and Teng 2010), as well as the theoretical perspectives adopted in these studies, has yielded insight into designing curriculum and developing teaching methods that would be appropriate for study abroad experiences. This line of research shows that language learning abroad is a complex, dynamic, and even chaotic process, shaped not only by how learners are received by the local community but also by how learners perceive and

act on the resources accessible to them. During this process, learners do not merely absorb target linguistic codes. They simultaneously battle various identity-related issues, which greatly shape what and how they learn. Thus, providing appropriate support and guidance for Chinese language learners in an SA context merits very careful work. This section will provide practical suggestions for Chinese SA programs in both program model design and pedagogical strategies, particularly based on findings of research with a focus on the social and cultural aspects of SA programs.

5.1 *Suggestions for SA Program Design*

Research on SA in China (e.g. Du 2013; Duff et al. 2013) offers insightful suggestions in four areas of program design: program length, accommodations, extracurricular activities, and assessments. Research has shown that meaningful and longer interactions with the target language have positive effects on learners' language development. Currently, summer programs predominate as an SA program model. American universities should consider developing more long-term SA programs with their Chinese counterparts. More students should be encouraged to enroll in semester- and year-long programs. Relevant to this suggestion, more homestays should be arranged for students, especially those in summer programs. If this is impossible, students should stay with a Chinese-speaking roommate rather than a peer coming from the same linguistic background. Students with higher-level proficiency should also be encouraged to make a language pledge to amplify opportunities to speak Chinese. All SA programs should integrate diverse extracurricular activities to engage students in more meaningful social interactions with local Chinese-speaking communities, such as providing a week of community service or living with villagers. In terms of assessments, as suggested by Duff et al. (2013), many standardized proficiency tests (e.g. the revised HSK, OPI-c) can be adopted as pre- and post-program tests to measure students' linguistic development.

5.2 *Three-Pronged Approach to SA Pedagogy in China*

As reviewed earlier, the SCT perspective on second language acquisition offers unique insight into how a learner develops a second language in a complex and dynamic SA context and what support is needed for the desirable development. Adopting this perspective, many SA researchers (e.g. Allen 2010; Kinginger 2009, 2013a, b) have suggested that SA programs should provide support and guidance before, during, and after the program in order to provide the most learning-conducive experiences for learners. Hence, suggestions regarding pedagogical strategies in a language-focused SA program follow.

5.2.1 Pre-program Preparation

Research has shown that students with higher levels of language proficiency are more likely to benefit from SA experiences. Thus, learners should be equipped with some linguistic communicative skills to be able to more effectively access the resources in an SA setting. It is suggested that students receive both language training and explicit instruction in Chinese pragmatics before embarking on an SA trip. The length of pre-trip language training may vary, depending on the type and specific goals of the SA program. An academic credit-granting SA program may require students to take minimally one semester or one year of on-campus courses to have some foundational knowledge and skills in Chinese. Regarding pragmatics training, explicit instruction should be provided to explain what speech act strategies are commonly used in the modern Chinese society and in what situations different strategies should be employed. Most importantly, the philosophical thinking and cultural customs behind language use, for instance, why Chinese people give direct compliments in one situation but not in another, should be discussed. This information, which usually stays invisible to both language learners and even many unreflective native speakers, can help learners develop a deeper understanding of Chinese language use and culture. In addition, learners should be alerted to their peripheral participant identity and be instructed to hold appropriate expectations for treatment they may receive in the local community.

5.2.2 During-Program Instruction

From the SCT perspective, building meaningful relationships with the local community while studying abroad can optimize the quantity and quality of learning resources accessible to learners, as well as stimulate learners' interest in engagement with the community. Homestays and language tutors have been incorporated in many study abroad programs and have proven to be effective practices. However, a few issues remain. First, homestays may not work for all learners. The younger the learners are, the more beneficial the experience may be. For a homestay program enrolling college-level students, students' personal interests, personality, and background should be taken into serious consideration when matching them with a particular host family. A pre-trip workshop should be given to explicitly address frustrating social and cultural issues that may emerge during homestays. As for language tutors, one issue that may emerge is the language tutor and the language learner may not get along or have no interest in developing a friendship beyond the SA program, which deprives the language learner of opportunities for exposure to the local community through the tutor. Some native Chinese tutors may be too direct and sound overly critical when giving feedback, which is a normal pedagogical practice in China. Some may be over accommodating and avoid giving any negative feedback out of politeness to a foreign student. Neither tutoring practice benefits language learners' development. To optimize the language tutoring practice, two steps can be taken. First, a background questionnaire can be administered to both

tutors and language learners to gain information about their backgrounds and personal preferences. Each tutor should be paired with a learner with similar interests or aspirations. Second, tutors should receive formal training on how to provide constructive and contingent feedback that is tailored to their respective tutee's current language proficiency level. They should be alerted to potential communication breakdowns due to intercultural differences and be trained to identify appropriate solutions to the issues.

Study abroad provides an excellent opportunity for language learners to be exposed to rich sociolinguistic information, which is hardly accessible on a domestic campus. Research shows that both the quantity and quality of language contact a learner has in a local community can affect language development. Thus, it is imperative that language learners seek active participation in the local community for rich learning resources, e.g. spending time outside of class with their tutors and other local friends. However, some learners due to their language proficiency level, self-confidence, or personality may not be ready for independent conversations with native speakers at the beginning phase of their SA trip. In this situation, the "sink or swim" strategy that forbids language learners from hanging out with peers and speaking their home language in an SA program may be detrimental. Thus, lower-level learners should be allowed to learn from their higher-level peers in and outside of language classrooms.

Besides regular classroom-based language instruction, study abroad programs should require students to actively reflect on their language use experiences outside the classroom and build connections between the forms and meanings of the language. They can keep blogs to share reflections with their peers and even their new friends in the host community. Experiences can be shared and discussed in formal or informal group meetings to highlight salient learning occasions. On the one hand, this helps turn implicit learning into explicit and conscious learning. On the other hand, learners further their awareness of differentiated learning opportunities and diverse language use in a target-language community. This helps deepen learners' understanding not only of Chinese language and society but also of their own identities in the local community.

5.2.3 Post-Program Reflection

SCT stresses the active roles learners play in a learning process in which learners continuously discover their own voice and place in the world. Research (e.g. Duff et al. 2013; Kinginger 2008) shows learning lingers even after students finish their study abroad trip. In other words, some attitudinal changes and linguistic and cultural gains may not be noticed by learners themselves until long after they complete their SA. Conducting post-program reflections helps learners analyze their study abroad experience in a more productive manner when learners usually are free of the exhaustion, excitement, or frustration they may have experienced during a study abroad program. At this time they can more objectively examine what they have gained and how that experience has changed them. The post-program reflection can

be conducted one week, one month, or one year after the completion of the trip. Instructors or program directors can give specific guidance for what to reflect on, depending on the program objectives. This practice can also help learners become more self-reflective and sustain what they have learned through the SA experience.

6 Conclusion

China is poised to become a superpower competing against the U.S. in multiple areas. It has gradually become one of the top SA destination countries, attracting an increasing number of international students, particularly from the U.S. The myth that language learning automatically takes place in an SA setting has long been debunked. How to design effective language curriculum and provide best teaching practices to help learners succeed is an urgent task facing all SA educators and administrators.

This chapter reviews literature on the major models and related features of SA programs in China. It also examines research studies and theories on language learning abroad in the larger foreign language education field, as well as studies specifically on Chinese language learning in a China-based SA context. Based on the existing literature on language learning abroad, suggestions for both research and practice related to Chinese SA programs are provided. In terms of research, there is an urgent need for more research to present a better understanding of both the learning outcomes and learning processes in a Chinese SA program. More studies need to be conducted with semester- or year-long SA programs. It is also suggested that a poststructuralist perspective be taken to interpret SA learning processes. Regarding SA practices, suggestions for both curriculum design and pedagogical strategies are provided. Pragmatics should be incorporated into the SA curriculum. Differentiated grouping, tutor training, and learners' active reflection are also suggested to enhance learning during and after an SA program. The field of Chinese language learning in SA contexts is still at its incipient stage. It is hoped that the review and suggestions offered in this chapter provide insights that stimulate further interest and thoughts by both researchers and practitioners working in this area.

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Chinese Language Teachers' Pedagogical Adjustment and Classroom Management in Cross-Cultural Contexts

Wenying Zhou and Guofang Li

Abstract As Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) becomes increasingly popular in U.S. schools, an increasing number of schools are recruiting teachers from China to teach Chinese to American students. These teachers often come without any prior experiences in the U.S. or its classrooms and with culturally different teaching styles and expectations. This chapter focuses on reviewing current research on the challenges Chinese teachers face in cross-cultural language teaching, their classroom management experiences, as well as their pedagogical adjustment in the U.S. and around the world. It begins by reviewing instructional practices and classroom management styles in China and the U.S. This is followed by a summary of existing studies on Chinese language teachers' classroom management experiences and pedagogical adjustment in American schools. Following this, implications for teachers, teacher education, and professional development for CFL education in the U.S. are discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary and suggestions for future research directions.

Keywords Pedagogical adjustment • Classroom management • Cross-cultural language teaching • Cultural differences • Instructional practices • Teacher-student interaction • Constructivist classroom management approach • Behavior management strategies • Chinese language teacher training • Teacher education programs

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1 Introduction

As China has become increasingly important in the world, the demand to learn its language has been increasing steadily in the U.S. and around the world. In the U.S., for example, there were 24,000 7th to 12th graders learning Chinese in 2000; in 2007/2008 the number rose to 59,860; and in 2008 there were 779 schools that offered Chinese language programs (Asia Society 2008). With the increasing number of students learning Chinese, the number of native-speaking Chinese teachers recruited to teach Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) in the U.S. has also increased dramatically. In 2007/2008, 37 native-speaking Chinese language teachers were brought to the U.S., and the number rose to 187 in 2012/2013. By 2013, more than 700 Chinese language teachers had been brought to teach in American K-12 schools (College Board Report 2013).

Although the large influx of Chinese expatriate teachers has met the demand for Chinese language teachers in American public schools, the quality of their teaching has been reported to be problematic because these teachers often come without any prior experiences in the U.S. or its classrooms, with culturally different teaching styles and expectations, and/or with inadequate preparation and training to teach in cross-cultural contexts (Stewart and Livaccari 2010). One cultural background they often bring is their expectations about student behavior in the classroom (e.g., what is considered good behavior and how they deal with students' misbehavior). These expectations often influence how they manage their classrooms, and hence how students behave and learn in their classrooms. As more and more Chinese teachers are recruited to teach Chinese as a foreign language in American schools, there is an increasing need for research focusing on the cultural differences and pedagogical challenges these teachers are experiencing, as well as how they cope with cross-cultural classroom teaching and management.

Effective cross-cultural language teaching is far more than language instruction. It involves identification and selection of culturally relevant instructional strategies and approaches that best match the content or skills to be learned with the characteristics of the learners, who may come from cultural backgrounds different from that of the language teacher (O'Conor et al. 2010). In addition to pedagogical decisions, effective cross-cultural language teaching also involves culturally appropriate classroom management skills. Inherent in this is the crucial role that culture plays in the beliefs and practices that expatriate language teachers have formed in their home culture and in the adjustments they make to respond to the new culture in which they are immersed.

There is a consensus that culture plays a significant role in teachers' pedagogical practices and classroom management in cross-cultural contexts. Culture is "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" (Hofstede 1991, p. 5), and each culture has its own way of thinking, learning, and acting (Hofstede et al. 2010). Teaching is deeply embedded in a cultural system. Research on cross-cultural teaching has shown that cultural differences play an important role not only in explaining inter-school or international variations in educational effectiveness, but also in creating challenges

in cross-cultural teaching (Evans 2012; Zhou 2013). For example, comparative studies in the past decade show that cultural differences have been found to have a huge impact on instructional methods used (Asmar 1999; Fang and Gopinathan 2009; Su et al. 1994), roles and teaching styles assumed (Chen 2013; de Man 2006; Jin and Cortazzi 1998), and classroom management styles developed (Hue and Li 2008; Oliver et al. 2011; Zhou and Li 2015) between Western and Chinese teachers. These studies suggest that differences in teaching and classroom management exist, and behind key differences in teaching practices lie "fundamental differences in the cultural beliefs and values between and among countries in the West and East" (Fang and Gopinathan 2009, p. 558).

Recognizing cultural differences and making adjustments accordingly to achieve good instruction and effective classroom management is the key to successful cross-cultural Chinese language teaching. Since hiring expatriate language teachers to teach in American K-12 schools is a recent phenomenon, research on this population of native-speaking foreign language teachers in K-12 contexts in the U.S., including Chinese language teachers, is very rare. With the recent increase in the number of cross-cultural Chinese language teachers in the U.S., it is necessary to address issues that cultural differences have brought to these teachers and cross-cultural challenges in instructional practices and classroom management. This chapter attempts to fill the gap by reviewing current research on the challenges Chinese teachers face in cross-cultural language teaching, their classroom management experiences, and their pedagogical adjustment in the U.S.

To better discuss the issues of cross-cultural classroom teaching, we adopt Evertson and Weinstein's (2006) broad definition of classroom management as any action a teacher takes to create a learning environment that supports and facilitates students' academic and social-emotional development, which includes pedagogical practices a teacher uses to structure the classroom environment (Oliver et al. 2011). In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of Chinese language teachers' experiences in the U.S., we begin by providing a brief review of Chinese teachers' teaching and classroom management in China and then, teachers' classroom management practices in schools in the U.S. Following this, we summarize existing studies of Chinese language teachers' classroom management experiences and strategies in American schools, in order to explore the difficulties of cross-cultural teaching and adjustment. Finally, we discuss the implications for teacher training and professional development for CFLeducation in the U.S.

2 Classroom Management and Instructional Practices in China and the U.S.

In this section, we review studies of K-12 classroom management and instructional practices in Chinese and American contexts, respectively, to provide some background knowledge on Chinese teachers' cross-cultural experiences in the U.S., particularly in terms of teacher-student relationships, teachers' roles and responsibilities, and classroom management styles and strategies.

2.1 Classroom Management and Instructional Approaches in China

Chinese culture, rooted in Confucianism, attaches great importance to education and thus to the role of the teacher (Jin and Cortazzi 1998). Chinese people view education as a route to enter prestigious schools, get well-paid jobs, and establish an outstanding career (Lau et al. 2000). Academic excellence is greatly emphasized in schools, and teachers are accountable for what students learn. The role of language teachers is seen as delivering curricular content knowledge and maintaining order and discipline so students can achieve high scores on standardized exams (Haley and Ferro 2011). To make sure no one is lagging behind, teachers have diligence, hard work, and high achievement motivation inculcated into students from the very start of school, and Chinese teachers have strict control over students and classroom instruction (Tan and Yates 2011).

However, the role of teachers of Chinese is more than transmitting knowledge to students through classroom teaching. They are also responsible for educating students as an all-rounded person by taking care of their intellectual, emotional, and affective needs, and by helping students solve problems by using multiple methods (Hue and Li 2008). Therefore, Chinese teachers tend to be more involved in the role of taking moral responsibility for their students, nurturing them and caring for them (Ho 2001). They work hard to develop moral values of students by teaching them the differences between right and wrong and inculcating other desirable characteristics, such as hard work, group interest, responsibility and citizenship. The hierarchical teacher-student relationship allows them to have absolute authority not only to "define the legitimacy of subject knowledge" but also "to decide on students' stands in various aspects of life, such as dress, deportment, language, manners, social conduct and interpersonal relationships" (Hue and Li 2008, p. 31).

Therefore, teachers in China have a very high social status, and students are expected always to show respect, conformity, and obedience to them, in the same way as they do to their parents (Peng 1993). When the teacher says "Be quiet," most students do so immediately and willingly. Students' speaking out of turn and challenging teachers' authority is regarded as rudeness (Hue and Li 2008; Peng 1993). As a result, Chinese students usually do not challenge teachers, and they are taught to suppress personal interests for the benefit of the whole group (Hofstede 1986; Liu 2003). They are "strongly aware of the image of their social selves, and feel an obligation to show their conformity to the social group to which they belong" (Hue and Li 2008, p. 32). Chinese students' obedience is thus culturally rooted. "Given the crowded, complex, fast-paced nature of the classroom environment, obedience to the teacher can simplify transactions, reduce ambiguity, and yield greater time-on-task" (as cited in Weinstein 1998, p. 56).

Chinese teachers are also found to adopt some instructional approaches to reinforce students' conformity and foster their self-discipline in school settings (Peng 1993). For example, students are trained to sit quietly in their seats, waiting for the teacher to come to the classroom before class begins. As soon as the teacher comes

in, the students are called by the class president to stand up and bow to the teacher. After sitting down, they quickly move into learning activities without wasting any time. During the instructional time, "students should sit in lines and rows straightly, listen to the teacher and should not interrupt the teacher's talk with questions" (Zhao 2007, pp. 129–130). Besides the above described behavior training, school curriculum and activities also reinforce the notion of good behavior through having students read and discuss extracurricular reading materials that contain examples of persons with the virtue of self-discipline (Peng 1993). Furthermore, each school day is organized into periods of 45 min, with 10-min recesses in between. Chinese students are taught not to use the bathroom during the 45-min class period, but to use it during the 10-min break time. The purpose is to not interrupt the teacher's instruction or distract other classmates. During the break time, Chinese students are able to release their extra energy through chasing, resting, and socializing, which helps them maintain their enthusiasm for learning and reduce classroom misbehaviors (Peng 1993).

Influenced by hierarchical Confucianism, Chinese teachers are considered the source of knowledge, and thus their teaching styles are teacher-led or teacher-centered (Boyle 2000; Zhang and Xu 2007). With a class of 50 to 60 students, students are arranged to sit in rows facing the teacher, who leads all the teaching proceedings, which are very structured and intensive (Ballard 1996; Su et al. 1994). Whole-class direct instruction is used in most classes, with all students involved in the same activity at the same time (Li et al. 2012). Teacher-student interaction in the classroom is hierarchical and minimal, with the teacher asking questions and inviting students to answer. Students rarely ask questions or volunteer answers unless the teacher is encouraging collective choral responses or picking individual students to respond. Some scholars (Chan 1999; Upton 1989) characterized Chinese teaching as dull and authoritarian, and Chinese students as passive learners. Others (Chen 2007; Huang 2009) have argued that this is a result of misunderstanding by Western scholars because Chinese teachers present lessons in a thoughtful and constructive way that requires sound reflection. Given the fact that getting high scores becomes the objective of most schools, teaching in China is also described as exam-based, didactic, and trainer-centered (Durkin 2004; Kirkbride and Tang 1992). Chinese classes, especially those at the upper secondary level, usually include a lot of quizzes and exams.

Due to these cultural practices, classroom management in China generally is not perceived as an issue by teachers, despite the large class size of an average number of 50 or 60 students per class in middle and high schools and more than 40 per class in elementary schools (Ding et al. 2008, 2010; Peng 1993; Shen et al. 2009). Ding et al. (2008) investigated the perceptions of 244 K-12 Chinese teachers in China on their students' classroom misbehavior and found that 65.6 % of the respondents did not think classroom management was an issue. In a similar study on the perceptions of 527 elementary teachers in China, Shen et al. (2009) revealed that 55 % of the Chinese elementary teachers did not spend much time on classroom management. In their analysis of results, scholars (Ding et al. 2008; Hue and Li 2008; Jin and Cortazzi 1998) believe the Confucian culture that values hierarchy, collectivism, and conformity plays a crucial role.

With regard to handling student misbehavior, teachers in China have very rigid and strict behavior requirements for students' sitting postures and ways of asking and answering questions. With a hierarchical teacher-student relationship, Chinese teachers are found to apply harsh disciplinary practices, such as verbal scolding and making misbehaved students stand in the corner for as long as half an hour (Hue and Li 2008; Jin and Cortazzi 1998). For example, although Chinese teachers care about their students greatly, they like to criticize them verbally, believing this is the best way to shape their behavior and gain respect for their authority. They expect students to understand that their verbal criticism is harsh to the ear but good for improving their behavior (Hue and Li 2008). However, harsh as it is, Chinese teachers usually do not correct individual students' misbehavior publicly, due to the cultural concept of "saving face" (Hue and Li 2008). Instead, they often use group pressure as a strategy to manage misbehaving students, or they address students one-on-one after class through communication, reasoning, and negotiation (Ding et al. 2010). These practices are consistent with the Chinese cultural emphasis on maintaining harmony and saving face (Ho 2001). A good student, in Chinese teachers' eyes, is always diligent, persevering, well behaved, modest, obedient, and oriented to serving the needs of the group rather than the individual (Tang and Absalom 1998). Due to the combined influence of the Confucian hierarchical system, collectivism, and conformity, Chinese teachers do not have to spend much time or effort making students behave in class or coping with student classroom misbehavior (Ding et al. 2008; Jin and Cortazzi 1998; Shen et al. 2009).

2.2 Classroom Management and Instructional Approaches in the U.S.

While Chinese teachers are perceived as more dominant, authoritative, and content-centered, and classroom management in China is strict, simple, homogeneous, and influenced greatly by Confucian values, classroom management in American schools is "complicated and often messy" (Hanson 2013, pp. 73–74). According to Shimahara (1998), four cultural factors complicate the situation. First, with the introduction of inclusive education for special education students, as well as tracking and ability grouping for gifted students, American classrooms have become more and more academically heterogeneous in the past few decades. Second, the recent increase in immigration from Asia and Latin America has made American classes culturally and linguistically more diverse than ever. Third, recent educational emphasis on constructivist teaching requires American teachers, on one hand, to emphasize problem solving, critical thinking, and cooperative group work, but on the other hand, to teach and train students to show "compliance and narrow obedience" (McCaslin and Good 1992, p. 12), which creates a dilemma for teachers' classroom management. Last but not least, American mainstream cultural ideals that prize freedom and individualism make the classroom environment much noisier and active, and classroom management more challenging, than in the past (Evertson and Randolph 1995).

Further, different from China's hierarchical culture, in the U.S. the teacher is perceived to be a motivator or facilitator who creates a learner-centered environment in which students are able to work collaboratively as they develop their communicative and social skills (Haley and Ferro 2011). In contrast to the high respect Chinese teachers receive, American teachers receive little respect (Varkey GEMS Foundation 2013). According to a Harris Poll of 2,250 American adults in November 2013 (Shannon-Missal and Gosney 2014). Four out of five (79 %) believed students respected teachers when they were in school, but that percent plummeted 48 points, with only 31 % of them believing students respect teachers today. The relationship between American teachers and students is considered loose, and "ties are forged according to self-interest" (Rubenstein 2006, p. 424). Therefore, American students do not have a strong sense of obligation to their teachers, and they are more likely to behave in accordance with what they perceive is right.

Unlike the collective orientation in China, in American culture, which emphasizes individualism, equality, and freedom, individuals' needs are at the heart of school education (Pan et al. 1994). Students are regarded as social equals to teachers, and the classroom atmosphere is relaxed. Teachers do not have rigid and concerted requirements regarding how students should sit, stand, or learn. Instead, they allow for various learning styles, as long as students are behaving within the boundary. For example, it is not considered impolite when American students get up to get a drink or tissue, use the bathroom, or interrupt the teacher with questions or comments during instruction (Zhao 2007). Likewise, it is not regarded as rude if American students talk when working on their projects, as long as their voice level is suitable for that situation. Unlike Chinese teachers, who expect students to be obedient and modest, American teachers expect their students to be creative, think critically, have their own ideas, and actively participate in classroom activities (Oliver et al. 2011).

Due to these complex factors, managing or disciplining student misbehavior is cited as American teachers' number one challenge (Veenman 1984; Wubbels 2007). A 2011 survey of American teachers and school administrators by Staff Development for Educators, for example, found that 86 % of respondents cited classroom management as one of the biggest challenges facing new teachers (Rebora 2013). Among the behavior challenges, talking out of turn, noncompliance, over-activity, and inattention are reported as the most disruptive classroom misbehaviors (Beaman et al. 2007; Goldstein 1995; Macciomei 1999). Additionally, teachers in the U.S. were typically found to respond to student misbehavior with external sanctions and punishment, such as time-out, office referrals, suspensions, and expulsions (Osher et al. 2010). According to the report of Dinker et al. (2009), in the 2007/2008 school year alone, 46 % of American public schools took at least one such serious disciplinary action against a student. Among these actions, 74 % were suspensions for 5 days or more, 5 % were expulsions, and 20 % were transferals to specialized schools.

To solve the problem of disruptive student behavior, many disciplinary interventions and classroom management strategies and approaches have been implemented. Teaching rules, employing positive reinforcement strategies such as token economy and consequence strategies, and applying group contingent reinforcement are widely used to decrease inappropriate classroom behavior (Kehle et al. 2000; Oliver

and Reschly 2007). Cognitive-behavioral interventions, such as individual counseling and behavior modification, are also implemented to prevent school-based crime, substance use, dropouts, and nonattendance (Wilson et al. 2001).

One popular classroom management approach in the U.S. advocates teachers' control of their classrooms in a firm but positive manner. It is believed that teachers who approach management as a process of establishing and maintaining effective learning environments tend to be more successful than "teachers who emphasize their roles as authority figures or disciplinarians" (Brophy 1996, p. 1). Effective teachers establish rules and routines, define the limits of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors, teach rules and routines, acknowledge students for appropriate behavior, and provide quick, prompt responses to inappropriate behavior before the behaviors escalate. More importantly, they are consistent with consequences to both appropriate and inappropriate behaviors, monitor student behavior frequently, and remain sensitive to their needs (Oliver and Reschly 2007; Oliver et al. 2011).

Recent developments in classroom management also emphasize a constructivist classroom management approach in learning-centered classrooms in the U.S. (Evertson and Neal 2006). This constructivist classroom management is guided by an emphasis on students' active construction of knowledge, including how to regulate their behavior and socially interact with others. In this kind of learning-centered classrooms, classroom management emphasizes shared authority between teachers and students, rules and norms co-constructed and co-enforced by teachers and students, shared responsibility in handling conflicts, and distributed authority and increased student autonomy. Therefore, instruction and management are integrated and serve as a multifaceted set of academic, moral, and social purposes (Evertson and Neal 2006).

Thus, whereas Chinese culture emphasizes collectivism, conformity, and hierarchy, American culture fosters individualism, freedom, self-expression, risk-taking, and self-determination, and teachers adhere strongly to a student-centered approach (Jones 2007). American teachers view effective learning to be dependent on critical analysis and active interactions between teachers and students (Richards 2006). Students are encouraged to take an active part in learning, speak their minds in classroom discussions, and question their teachers during the process of learning, which is believed to help students fill in gaps in their knowledge and aid their understanding (Al-Issa 2006). Therefore, American teachers often design individualized communicative activities requiring independent opinions (Richards 2006). Their classroom instruction incorporates diversified teaching methods, such as task-based activities, projects, discussion, and group work, in order to develop students' critical thinking skills and cooperative learning (McCafferty et al. 2006). Compared with Chinese exam-oriented teaching, American teachers often use a variety of assessment tools that are more practical, interesting, and related to students' lives.

Given the remarkable cultural differences between China and the U.S. in instructional approaches and classroom management, Chinese teachers in the U.S. are likely to encounter conflicts, ineffective instruction, and inadequate classroom management. As McGinnis (1994) noted, "there is clearly the potential for a conflict in the cultures of instruction for those involved in Chinese language education in the

U.S." (p. 18). In the following, we review existing studies of the cultural differences and instructional challenges that Chinese language teachers may encounter in cross-cultural classroom teaching and management.

3 Classroom Management and Instructional Adjustment of Chinese Language Teachers

As reviewed in the previous section, the U.S. and China have culturally different educational systems. The role of the teacher, teacher-student relationships, teacher expectations of student behavior, and approaches taken to deal with student misbehavior differ in important ways. Conflicts are likely to occur when teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds (Weinstein et al. 2004).

Several studies have revealed various instructional and cultural challenges that Chinese language teachers experience as they transition to teaching in American schools. In a case study that investigated seven Chinese expatriate teachers' perceptions of their experiences in transitioning to teach non-Chinese students in American classrooms, Xu (2012) found that the teachers encountered numerous challenges, including language barriers, different expectations of the roles of the teacher and students, communication with parents, different pedagogical practices and styles, classroom management, and inclusion of students with special needs. For instance, the language barrier, due to the fact that the Chinese expatriate teachers lacked English proficiency and their students lacked Chinese proficiency, prevented them from being understood well by their students, which also hindered their communication of classroom expectations and instructions. Their authority was greatly challenged by American students, who grew up in a non-hierarchical culture. They also had great difficulty making special education students behave in class. In addition, they encountered challenges in aligning their teaching methodologies with American teaching practices. They also had great frustration communicating with American parents because they found that unlike Chinese parents, who always stand by the teachers, American parents stand by their children.

Similar challenges were also observed in Hanson's case study (2013) of eight Chinese language teachers' teaching experiences in one suburban Minnesota school district. The teachers felt deep frustration with the lower level of respect for teachers in American culture, and they struggled with adjusting their expectations of American students' behavior in the classroom. For example, in contrast to teaching their students in China, who needed minimum classroom management, the teachers struggled in dealing with American students' specific behaviors, such as moving around, not sitting still, putting their feet on chairs, sleeping in class, raising their hands even though they did not know the answer, or asking to go to the bathroom during class. In addition to these different behavioral expectations, the teachers also experienced frustration with American students towards grades and testing. They found that, in contrast to Chinese students who were motivated and well prepared for high-stakes tests, their American students (especially elementary and middle

school students) were not motivated by their grade point average (GPA), which was counted for middle or high school admission in China.

In existing studies, one common theme noted by Chinese language teachers teaching in the U.S. (e.g., Hanson 2013; Xu 2012; Zhou and Li 2015) was not receiving as much respect as they had experienced in China. This was central to the cross-cultural conflicts they experienced in American schools. Because American culture emphasizes independence and autonomy, American students may not as readily accept the demands of their Chinese language teachers as their Chinese counterparts may (Zhou et al. 2012). While respect for teachers in China is culturally granted, respect from American students has to be earned and gained through building positive relationships with students, effectively managing the class, and designing level- and age-appropriate activities to engage students. Without such an understanding, Chinese language teachers often ask for compliance and conformity from American students without training them. This leads to great difficulty in both their instruction and management, which in turn exacerbates their relationship with their American students. When their expectations of what constitutes a good student are not met, they train the students to behave like typical Chinese students. This results in misunderstandings between the teacher and students, as well as classroom conflicts. For example, researchers (Hofstede 1997; Upton 1989; Zhou and Li 2015) found that when Chinese teachers consider the quiet and passive listener an ideal student in class, it is likely they may feel offended if American students interrupt their instruction with questions or comments.

The different teaching ideologies can also create conflicts between Chinese expatriate language teachers and American students. Chinese teachers' hierarchy-based teaching has been reported to be a barrier to Chinese teachers' adaptations to the Western classroom environment (Elenurm 2008; Romig 2009; Zhao 2007). Although their teacher-centered instruction may make the classroom orderly, it could get boring for American students, which in turn creates chances for them to be off-task or inattentive. On top of that, teacher-centered, exam-based instruction does not allow students to express themselves, and it does not promote the cooperative and constructive learning to which American students are accustomed. For example, Zhao (2007) described a Chinese teacher who was accustomed to Chinese students' quietness and obedience. When she met American students, who assume more freedom in action and thoughts and more involvement in discussion and presentation of personal views, the Chinese teacher felt the students were less respectful and less disciplined.

A lack of knowledge or understanding of academic and behavior expectations in American culture can create great challenges for Chinese language teachers in their teaching and classroom management. Overcoming these cultural differences in cross-cultural teaching requires changes in teacher roles and adjustment of teacher-student relationships, as well as teaching styles and methods. Given students' heterogeneity in ability and diversity in cultural and linguistic backgrounds, various disruptive student behaviors can be found in American classrooms, and this creates great challenges for Chinese teachers' classroom management. In Zhou's (2013) investigation of 28 Chinese language teachers' teaching experiences in the U.S.,

classroom management was reported as their number one challenge because they did not have prior experiences in managing heterogeneous students in such contexts as American schools. In addition, their lack of knowledge of American culture, students, and management strategies added difficulties to their cross-cultural classroom management. Similarly, teachers in other studies, such as Hanson (2013), also experienced different layers of difficulties in managing students' misbehaviors in class. As one teacher in the study noted, "We were educated like 20 years in the Chinese way and suddenly you are here, you don't know how to behave yourself" (p. 72).

Some behavior management strategies that work with Chinese students may not work with American students. Zhou and Li's (2015) qualitative study of six Chinese immersion language teachers' experiences revealed the Chinese language teachers held home cultural expectations for American students' classroom behavior, they used classroom management strategies such as group pressure or staring at students who misbehaved, and they found the strategies ineffective. In the teachers' words, "*The strategies just won't work here*" since most of the strategies the teachers used in China did not lead to any serious consequences (p. 21).

These teachers and others documented in Hanson (2013), Liu (2013), Romig (2009), Xu (2012), and Zhou (2013) also reported they had to adjust their teaching styles and learn new American classroom management strategies. In terms of adjusting their teaching styles, the Chinese language teachers, believing they are the authority and sole source of the Chinese language (other than the Chinese textbooks), employed more teacher-centered, lecture-based language teaching approaches. They had to adjust how much they dominated the floor in classrooms. Teachers in Hanson's (2013) study, for example, discovered they talked too much in the classroom, and this had created difficulties in their interaction with American students. They quickly learned they had to adjust to more student-centered teaching and "let the students do the work" (p. 73). They also learned they needed to adjust their roles from a hierarchical relationship to that of a service provider to a customer. An early study by McGinnis (1994) found that Chinese language teachers tended to focus on accuracy of language use, which contradicted American students' values on creative uses of language. In a recent study of Chinese language teachers' perceptions about transitioning into U.S. schools, Haley and Ferro (2011) revealed that Chinese teachers believe language learning should focus on grammar and written language development, while in the U.S. language learning focuses on communicative and social skills. Therefore, they had to learn and make adjustments accordingly. Similarly, in an ethnographic study of four Chinese novice teachers' acculturation process in an American Chinese-English immersion school, Romig (2009) documented that the teachers initially put too much emphasis on rote and mechanical memorization, as opposed to student-centered learning. Such practices posed great challenges in their first year of teaching in the U.S. These teachers gradually adapted to a more child-centered approach to language teaching and to more Western approaches to discipline.

Many Chinese teachers are also found to begin to adopt new classroom management strategies in order to teach American students effectively. In Zhou and Li's

(2015) study, while the teachers' instructional practices and classroom management initially employed aspects of Chinese culture, they made modifications and shifted over time towards the American approach, sometimes within the first year of teaching. For example, the teachers in the study initially used verbal and non-verbal cues, such as staring at the misbehaving student or talking to the student after class, which are common practices in Chinese schools, but towards the end of the first year, they learned some American classroom management strategies, such as establishing rules and routines, giving warnings, using rewards and time-outs, giving choices, and implementing consequences. Similar acculturation and developmental processes were also reported in several other studies, such as Liu's (2013) study of Chinese language interns' experiences of becoming certified in the U.S. and Romig's (2009) study of novice teachers' transitions to U.S. schools.

In sum, the small body of research on Chinese teachers working in American K-12 schools indicates that language barriers, Chinese cultural values, and Chinese culture specific instructional practices and classroom management strategies contribute to the challenges of Chinese language teachers' cross-cultural classroom instruction and management. Their lack of knowledge of cultural differences and their inexperience in the new culture also added to the difficulties (Zhou 2013). The difficulties in turn function as a catalyst that forces the teachers to make changes and adapt to a different management style that may work better with American students. These teachers' experiences in American schools have significant implications for cross-cultural Chinese language teachers and their training and professional development.

4 Implications for Chinese Language Teachers and Their Professional Development

According to Stewart and Livaccari (2010), effective Chinese language teachers must not only possess fluency in Chinese literacy and have a solid knowledge of Chinese linguistics, they must also be proficient in speaking and writing English, well-versed in American foreign language pedagogy, knowledgeable about and skilled in managing students in American classrooms, and able to work with the school and community at large. To achieve these qualities, Chinese language teachers must continue to receive professional development and concerted support from various stakeholders.

This review shows that while Chinese language teachers may be familiar with their own culturally specific pedagogical practices and classroom management strategies, their unfamiliarity with American culture, lack of academic background in American education, lack of American pedagogical strategies and classroom management skills, and inadequate English proficiency could be problematic. These limitations often lead to problems related to the effectiveness of American students' CFL learning and classroom management. For instance, Chinese language teachers who do not know much about American classroom management strategies might

become burned out in disciplining the various American students who misbehave. Chinese language teachers who are familiar with teacher-centered classroom lectures, but do not know much about student-centered American instruction, may have difficulty engaging American students in meaningful CFL learning and productive language interaction. In order to improve the quality of cross-cultural language teaching and classroom management, Chinese language teachers should not only learn some basic facts and important nuances of their American students' cultures before they start their cross-cultural teaching, but also they should understand the challenges they might encounter in the new teaching context.

4.1 Implications for Chinese Language Teachers

Cross-cultural teaching is more than teaching the language itself and disciplining students in class (Valdes 1986). Good English language skills are necessary for Chinese language teachers to conduct their cross-cultural classroom instruction, in particular, manage the classroom, communicate effectively with parents and students, and build rapport with school personnel. Wang (1993) proposed that in addition to understanding the ways in which culture impacts approaches to classroom instruction and management, cross-cultural Chinese language teachers also need to learn some common daily pedagogical language that American teachers use in classrooms and some colloquial language that American students use. This will help remove the language barrier, promote their mutual understanding, and enhance effective communication.

Teaching Chinese to students in the U.S. also implies that Chinese language teachers should constantly reflect on their instruction and make adjustments to pedagogical practices and classroom management. This includes shifting to a student-centered approach by modifying pedagogical methods and classroom management strategies. Pedagogical adjustment will help narrow the gap of cultural differences and enhance students' motivation towards learning CFL. In a case study of eight Chinese immigrant teachers' experiences of cultural dissonance and adaptation in Toronto schools, Wang (2002) found that after the teachers reexamined traditional Chinese educational values they had held and positively integrated elements of the Canadian educational ideologies into their own teaching, they were able to develop the confidence and a level of ease in responding to various teaching situations in their classes, which enhanced their social and cultural competence in the local school context.

In addition to taking on the role of Chinese language teachers, it is equally important that Chinese language teachers take on the role of an ambassador of Chinese culture by introducing authentic Chinese cultural values and practices to American students. Research (Paige et al. 2000; Zhou and Li 2015) suggests that when language teachers incorporate some home cultural knowledge and practices into their teaching of CFL, it is possible for students to become less ethnocentric in their attitudes towards the target culture.

Culturally appropriate teaching styles and practices should be encouraged and pursued. For example, Chinese teachers tend to use teacher-centered methods and the grammar-translation approach to deliver the language content to their students, which creates challenges and makes students withdraw from CFL learning. One way to address this problem is for Chinese language teachers to become familiar with American students' learning styles and to use methods such as task-based language activities, the communicative approach, differentiated instruction, and cooperative learning. Additionally, Chinese language teachers should realize that the change is not an easy task, and it takes time and effort.

4.2 Implications for Teacher Training and Professional Development

Inadequate preparation and lack of quality professional development are the other major contributing factors to classroom management problems faced by Chinese language teachers new to teaching in the U.S. (Zhou 2013). Scholars (Al-Issa 2006; Bosher 2003; Zhou and Li 2015) suggest that cross-cultural competencies and methods should be provided to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of cross-cultural teaching. "Cross-cultural understanding will help teachers avoid a narrow range of teaching approaches, which may become a barrier hindering them from adapting their teaching to learner needs and communicating successfully" (Xiao 2006). Foster (2000) argued that "cross-cultural training positively affects cross-cultural adjustment, however varied this effect may be" (p. 66). This literature review has several implications for cross-cultural Chinese language teacher training.

First, Chinese language teachers' lack of understanding of American culture and school education reveals that cultural differences are not adequately addressed before they are recruited to teach in the U.S. In order to shorten the period of Chinese language teachers' cross-cultural adjustments and to maximize their productivity, pre-arrival teacher training should be provided, focusing on cultural differences and anticipated challenges in pedagogical adjustment and classroom management. In addition, the training should also familiarize Chinese language teachers with what to expect in American schools. This will, to some extent, help minimize potential cultural clashes, and help equip Chinese expatriate language teachers with necessary cross-cultural competence as soon as possible.

Second, given the fact that Chinese language teachers have little knowledge of special education and differentiated instruction in general, particularly in the American context, or they may have a culturally different understanding about special education, it is imperative that training or courses on this topic be provided prior to their cross-cultural teaching. Topics regarding why and how inclusive education is implemented in the U.S. should be explained to Chinese language teachers. Examples of the different characteristics of special education students and how to deal with them should be explicitly provided. This will help clarify misconceptions and better prepare Chinese language teachers for cross-cultural adjustments.

Third, Chinese language teachers' lack of knowledge of the American school system and classroom management skills also reveals that teacher preparation programs or American schools that hire these teachers should provide preservice and inservice education that focuses on learning local norms and regulations. Classroom organization and behavior management skills should be explicitly and thoroughly taught, and adequate supervision and support should also be provided in real classroom contexts (Siebert 2005). Studies such as Liu's (2013) case study, which investigated three native-speaking Chinese language interns in a preservice teacher preparation program, have revealed that support from key stakeholders, such as mentors, administrators, other staff and faculty, and students can lead to the most positive learning experiences for Chinese teachers learning to teach in the U.S. These support systems may help Chinese teachers make sense of the contradictions in interpreting American education framework and in managing their classes, and they can help them learn a variety of strategies to strengthen classroom management and develop more culturally congruent teaching styles. Only when all the stakeholders of Chinese teacher preparation programs work together will Chinese language teachers be able to learn the most from their cross-cultural teaching experiences.

Fourth, with regard to effective Chinese language teaching, it is important that effective CFL pedagogies should also include pedagogical content knowledge in CFL education. Professional development about different CFL teaching methods and cultural differences in relation to pedagogical practices and classroom management should be provided to help Chinese language teachers develop better cross-cultural instructional strategies and engage them in more effective teaching and classroom management. On one hand, it is necessary that Chinese language teachers be encouraged to bring elements of their home culture into classroom instruction in the U.S. because authenticity is important in CFL cultural appreciation, and different pedagogies serve different linguistic purposes. On the other hand, to better engage American students in CFL learning, it is important that Chinese language teachers learn to modify some prior methods to align with local schools' culture and curricula.

4.3 Implications for Local Teacher Education Programs

The findings also have several implications for local teacher education programs. First, faculty of local teacher education programs should design specific courses to introduce cultural differences in terms of classroom management and instructional design so that both local teachers and Chinese expatriate language teachers can know each other's home culture better. It is also important that faculty provide opportunities for the two parties to discuss how to address cultural differences and make adjustments to their own classroom teaching. Second, to help Chinese expatriate teachers survive the cultural shock in American schools, teacher educators need to introduce and model a range of classroom management strategies and instructional methods within their coursework so Chinese expatriate teachers will have a

deeper understanding of the utility of different approaches. Third, faculties of education might provide collegial support by partnering Chinese expatriate teachers with experienced American teachers both in teacher education programs and in local school settings because this will help provide more formal and structured support to ensure more effective communication and collaboration.

In sum, to maximize the effectiveness of CFL teaching, it is important that teacher education programs help Chinese language teachers learn about American culture including school culture, offer them opportunities to communicate and collaborate with American local teachers, train them on culturally appropriate pedagogies, and help them select methods compatible with various teaching situations.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter highlights two important findings. First, there are big differences between the Confucian Chinese and the individualist American cultures in terms of classroom management, the role of the teacher, teacher-student relationships, and teaching styles and methods. These differences suggest that teacher training must be conducted through a cultural difference perspective and must strive to help teachers understand culturally different beliefs and practices in classroom teaching and management. Teacher education must also aim at broadening teachers' cross-cultural teaching strategies in order to ensure their successful transition to teaching in the U.S., and at the same time, to help them overcome cross-cultural difficulties more effectively. Second, cultural differences do play an important role in explaining the challenges that Chinese language teachers encounter in their cross-cultural classroom instruction and management. The importance of showing respect and conformity to the teacher in the hierarchical Chinese culture has helped form Chinese language teachers' teacher-centered instructional style and management style. In American schools, however, it is important that Chinese language teachers shift their instructional and management style to be more student-centered. It is also important that American teacher education programs and schools explicitly address the needs of Chinese language teachers as they adjust their teaching styles through continuing professional development.

Finally, it should be noted that cultural differences between China and the U.S. are much broader and more complex than the few differences discussed above. These identified cultural differences are used merely as a framework and starting point to understand Chinese language teachers' pedagogical adjustment and classroom management in their cross-cultural teaching in American contexts. Given the fact that there are very few studies available on cross-cultural language teachers' pedagogical adjustment and classroom management in K-12 contexts, more classroom-based empirical studies are needed to better understand Chinese language teachers' challenges and to find more about their experiences in adjusting to the American cultural context.

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CFL Teacher Preparation and Development

Michael E. Everson

Abstract While the growing demand for Chinese language instruction in U.S. schools is commonly reported in the national media, less media attention is focused on the complexities inherent in developing a highly skilled and well qualified teacher force capable of meeting this demand. This chapter examines the challenges facing Chinese teacher education as Chinese expands from its traditional place as a post-secondary subject of study to the largely uncharted waters of traditional, immersion, and bilingual environments in K-12 settings. The chapter also discusses the current context of American education where Chinese language learning is situated, a context where demands for educational reform have resulted in efforts to reach consensus on what U.S. children need to learn in order to ensure their success as twenty-first century citizens. How these reforms have been fashioned into frameworks developed to guide both language instruction and language teacher development are highlighted, as well as the most vexing challenges that must be overcome if Chinese language education is to become sustainable and successful.

Keywords CFL teacher preparation and development • The World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages • 5 C's • ACTFL Performance Descriptors for Language Learners • K-12 teacher certification • STELLA • World language education • Preservice field experience

1 Introduction

For stakeholders involved in the Chinese language educational enterprise, the last few decades have been a most exciting time in the history of Chinese language teaching in the United States. If program growth and student enrollment are a measure of success, our profession can boast increases in both areas. Abbot et al. (2014), for example, document a sharp rise in Chinese enrollments at both the secondary and post-secondary level, with trends indicating rising numbers of students who have majored in Chinese in universities, as well as increases in those pursuing

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advanced degrees in Chinese. Such data may be an indication that students are valuing studying Chinese over the long haul and that they understand the necessity to participate in longer sequences of coherent, sustained periods of study if they are to attain meaningful proficiency. Moreover, Chinese language learning has attracted support from a number of constituents in the U.S. government (McGinn 2014) and advocates for preparing teachers for global environments (Longview Foundation 2008; CCSSO and Asia Society 2009), who support the need for more specialists in languages like Chinese. But perhaps most exciting are data that indicate a fundamental shift towards an appreciation of foreign language as a whole by the American public (Rivers et al. 2013).

If there is this burgeoning groundswell indicating that foreign language, and especially Chinese, is attracting vocal support from quarters taking the long view of the value of Chinese as a mandatory component to help us compete globally in the twenty-first century, a new orientation and different ways of conceptualizing language learning in our schools will need to be accomplished (Brecht et al. 2014). This is because the traditional model of language learning whereby learners begin language study in high school has proven to be a failure, whether one's yardstick of success is the ability of students to attain even rudimentary language proficiency, students continuing on to university level and/or advanced level classes, or the dismaying overall attrition of learners that our profession has long witnessed. So as the world language profession continues to retool in an attempt to redefine what it must do to become more relevant to students' educational and professional experiences, a common theme that runs through any discussion of advancing Chinese language education is the need to produce a teacher force that is educated and prepared to meet this challenge.

But the discussion of Chinese teacher development is not straightforward, as it is part of the complex context of American education characterized by a lack of coherent policy, often baffling and impenetrable rules for teacher certification and licensure, and more recent attempts to foster early language learning and immersion programs that require teachers to be prepared differently than teachers of Chinese who traditionally have only taught college students. To discuss this particular American context, this chapter will first explore efforts in world language education to sharpen the focus on what learners should know and be able to do with a foreign language. As presented to Chinese teachers as they prepare to teach in the American classroom, this serves as a context within which Chinese teachers will be expected to navigate if they are to be successful teachers with lasting careers. The chapter will also introduce frameworks that have been put in place to guide teacher education throughout the life cycle of a teacher's development and will describe how these frameworks have entered various teacher education programs. Lastly, it will conclude with suggestions for ways forward that address areas of teaching and learning idiosyncratic to the Chinese language experience and will challenge those contemplating starting teacher education programs to take a systemic view of teacher development that values collaboration and partnership.

2 In Search of Standards

If there has been one element that has characterized the American educational landscape over the past few decades, it has been an emphasis on standardization in our nation's schools. In response to reports decrying the lack of standards in U.S. education (U.S. Congress 1994), national initiatives have been enacted, including No Child Left Behind, which required teachers to be "highly qualified," and more recent initiatives, such as the Common Core State Standards, which set learning goals for each grade level in U.S. schools. The period of the 1990s saw a concerted effort among the world language education community to come to terms with standardization by launching an effort to define what it is our learners should know in terms of content and what it is the profession expects its students to be able to do with the languages they study. What resulted was finalized by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) as the Standards for Foreign Language Learning (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project 1999, 2006). In his discussion of the standards and their application to Chinese language learning, Everson (2009) stressed their importance by stating that "foreign language stakeholders demanded that foreign language be viewed as worthy as any of the other core subject areas in the school curriculum, thus raising the stakes of foreign language as not only an important subject in school, but also one with intrinsic value for helping students grow intellectually in an interdisciplinary way" (p. 8). To this end, content was broken down into what has come to be known as "the 5 C's":

- Communication, often considered the most obvious content area, was differentiated into three modes and was looked at in a more nuanced way in terms of its *interpersonal* nature whereby meaning is negotiated among individuals in a setting where questioning and clarifying are possible; *interpretive* where communication is only one way, i.e. through listening to a news broadcast or reading an essay; or *presentational* as when one communicates through writing or giving oral reports, where immediate feedback is often not readily available;
- Cultures, whereby perspectives of the target culture are learned through systematic study of cultural products and practices, while teaching students that what a culture produces and practices is driven by cultural perspectives that are often idiosyncratic to that culture's world view;
- Connections, whereby knowledge from other disciplines is acquired by studying it in the foreign language;
- Comparisons, whereby the nature of the target language and culture in relation to the student's first language is explored, thus using the student's first language and culture as a launching point to compare and appreciate other cultures of the world;
- Communities, whereby students explore multilingual communities at home and internationally outside their classrooms, thus giving students an appreciation of communities as living, breathing, language-using entities, and not just academic abstractions meant only for classroom analysis. By ensuring that classroom

learning is moved outside the classroom, this standard addresses the importance of language programs developing lifelong learners of the target language.

Research into the impact of the Standards (Phillips and Abbot 2011) indicates the standards were "cited often in the professional literature, used as a basis for state standards development, (and) served as a reference for design of workshops and professional development" (p. 14), attesting to a high degree of buy-in from the profession at large. Based on feedback from members of the profession, these standards have been revised and now are titled The World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project 2014). The standards operate in tandem with the ACTFL Performance Descriptors for Language Learners (2012), which "form a roadmap for teaching and learning, helping teachers create performance tasks targeted to the appropriate performance range while challenging learners to also use strategies from the next higher range" (p. 3). In other words, not only the content of world language learning was more precisely defined, but guidelines for assessing learners' mastery of language knowledge and performance were now available to aid teachers in providing the evidence for learning that is so often stressed and required of professional educators working in American schools.

As the standards movement took hold in the world language community at large, Chinese educators also found the need to keep abreast of innovations in the field and apply them to their own particular discipline, especially for those who were becoming more and more accountable for student learning in pre-collegiate instructional settings. Early attempts to document fledgling efforts to seed Chinese (Moore et al. 1992) and Japanese (Jorden and Lambert 1991) language programs in U.S. high schools revealed a number of systemic problems, such as a disturbing lack of standardization across programs and poor articulation between high school and post-secondary programs. Survey research into these fledgling programs also determined that stakeholders in the educational process, be they teachers, students, or administrators, all agreed that the skill, preparation, and professionalization of teachers were essential determinants of a program's success. Consequently, early efforts addressing the need for teacher development were put forth to alert the Chinese language teaching profession to the importance of standards (Kotenbeutel 1999), which led to the development of Chinese-specific standards through the leadership of the Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS) from 1995 to 1999. Besides enjoying the benefits of having a common direction and helpful guides for curriculum development, content planning, and lesson creation, the standards provided Chinese teachers with a professional language with which to interact with their colleagues teaching the more commonly taught languages of Spanish, French, and German, thus adding an important degree of professionalization that mitigated feelings among Chinese teachers of being marginalized and viewed as outsiders in their own language departments (Schrier and Everson 2000).

3 Efforts to Build Teacher Capacity

As educators sensed interest building to expand the teaching of Chinese into American schools, a series of meetings hosted by a variety of educational organizations convened to discuss how to build Chinese language capacity and thus sustain and nourish both fledging and experienced Chinese language programs at different levels of education in the United States. Stewart and Wang (2005) asked the question, "What would it take to have 5 % of high school students learning Chinese by 2015?" (p. 4). Their report advocated developing an infrastructure to support a K–16 pipeline of Chinese language learners and recommended long-term and short-term approaches to create a supply of qualified Chinese language teachers. At the time of their report, accredited programs for Chinese language certification were scarce, with "seat time" requirements often being in force that did not permit prospective teacher candidates from testing out of language classes by demonstrating proficiency obtained through means other than through classroom learning.

The report recommended more widespread proficiency testing for prospective teacher candidates, as well as alternative routes for certification. The report was visionary in exploring the possibility of multi-state systems or consortial arrangements that could make up for the lack of programs that specifically certified Chinese language teachers. The report also recommended more research and technology be dedicated to the development of effective curriculum, materials, assessment, and delivery systems since few materials existed at the time, especially for pre-collegiate Chinese. This report also recommended a larger resource investment into Chinese language learning, much in the way the 1958 National Defense Education Act supported science, math, and foreign language as a result of the Russian launch of the Sputnik satellite. To aid in program development, Asia Society (2006) continued the momentum by publishing an introductory guide to creating a Chinese language program, and a later publication on resources to use in Mandarin immersion programs (Asia Society 2012), thus providing expert guidance for getting programs up and running while suggesting strategies for making sure programs are sustained.

During the years that followed, Asia Society continued to publish reports on Chinese language as a growing and developing field, as well as reports stemming from conferences involving committed stakeholders from both in and out of the Chinese language field. These reports were extremely important to the field in terms of sharing various models for teacher education, which included Chinese as a valued language in an effort to transform world language education in the United States. For example, in their 2008 report, Asia Society and the College Board described program growth in Chinese, yet highlighted blind spots in the national vision that predicted difficulty ahead for fledging programs that experienced challenges in their search for sustainability. The lack of national coordination of efforts, woeful teacher education capacity and certification mechanisms, as well as the nation's overall lack of capacity for early language learning, were highlighted as problem areas in need of reform. Moreover, the lack of articulation to form a coherent and consistent K–16 system was thought to be a major impediment to students'

development of language proficiency. Lastly, the report cited the need to provide opportunities for all learners in the U.S. to obtain access to systems that allow for foreign language instruction, with a lack of teachers in rural and selected urban areas preventing students from gaining such access.

To set an agenda for change, meetings between teacher education experts were convened that resulted in two significant reports that address issues impinging on teacher development in Chinese language teaching. One such report (Ingold and Wang 2010) reflected the knowledge gained from experts in meetings sponsored by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and Asia Society to discuss teacher certification and world language education. These experts determined that a new strategy must be adopted if globally competitive language education is to be put in place for American children. Building on the 2008 report already cited, the agenda was prescribed to be "inclusive, nationally-advocated, state-implemented, and results-oriented" (p. vii). Moreover, a new language policy was advocated that would have five goals:

- Increase the number and effectiveness of language education programs;
- Expand the range of languages offered;
- Begin language instruction at a younger age and continue through a longer, articulated sequence;
- Establish clear expectations for students' language learning outcomes;
- Expand access and opportunities to learn via both traditional and innovative delivery systems.

The reports laid out many of the problems inherent in forging a policy that would address these issues, described many of the problems with systems deeply embedded in the American educational system, and addressed issues critical to developing teacher capacity to realize these goals. Importantly, the report discussed the importance of defining teacher competencies so as to develop standards for teachers, much the way standards were developed for student learning.

To this end, ACTFL and the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE)[1] developed standards to accredit teacher education programs by determining what graduates of their programs should be able to know and do upon completing their programs. The ACTFL/NCATE Standards (2002) specify that programs of foreign language teacher preparation must demonstrate that they include the components and characteristics described below:

- The development of candidates' foreign language proficiency in all areas of communication, with special emphasis on developing oral proficiency, in all language courses. Upper-level courses should be taught in the foreign language;

[1] In 2013, NCATE merged with the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) to form the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP). To reflect this change, ACTFL revised and received approval for the 2013 ACTFL/CAEP Program Standards for the Preparation of Foreign Language Teachers. More information can be obtained at http://www.actfl.org/2013-program-standards-the-preparation-foreign-language-teachers.

- An ongoing assessment of candidates' oral proficiency and provision of diagnostic feedback to candidates concerning their progress in meeting required levels of proficiency;
- Language, linguistics, culture, and literature components;
- A methods course that deals specifically with the teaching of foreign languages, and that is taught by a qualified faculty member whose expertise is foreign language education and who is knowledgeable about current instructional approaches and issues;
- Field experiences prior to student teaching that include experiences in foreign language classrooms;
- Field experiences, including student teaching, that are supervised by a qualified foreign language educator who is knowledgeable about current instructional approaches and issues in the field of foreign language education;
- Opportunities for candidates to experience technology-enhanced instruction and to use technology in their own teaching;
- Opportunities for candidates to participate in a structured study abroad program and/or intensive immersion experience in a target languagecommunity (ACTFL/NCATE 2002, p. 2)

Armed with these new frameworks, language departments and colleges of education could work more closely to ensure teacher candidates were given the goals and requisite coursework to help them succeed on the rigorous language proficiency tests required of them for certification and licensure (Moser 2014).

To meet the need for Chinese teachers specifically, Asia Society chaired a working group of professionals involved in all aspects of Chinese language instruction to determine the state of the Chinese language field and to ask how teacher capacity and quality could be increased to meet the challenges of Chinese language instruction in classrooms and virtual settings different from those of more traditional, post-secondary settings, which generally have been the traditional home of Chinese language teaching in America. The report (Stewart and Livaccari 2010) reconceptualized what would be expected of Chinese teachers in the future and questioned whether the traditional language teacher development model applies to prospective Chinese teachers whereby a non-native speaker majoring in the language in college continues on to a college of education to get certified. Instead, the report discussed the challenge of educating heritage learners, "career changers," (i.e. educated native speakers of the language who, at a later age, come into the Chinese teaching field, sometimes certified in other subject areas), or from other fields entirely, as well as the potential of "guest teacher" programs whereby teachers come from China to develop programs in the United States.

The various conferences, reports, and developments detailed so far in this chapter demonstrate a determination and singleness of purpose on the part of committed language educators both in and outside the field of Chinese language teaching to define and standardize more precisely the content and performance expected of our language learners. Perhaps no program has benefitted from this process of addressing and reshaping teacher development in Chinese more than STARTALK, a program begun in 2006 born of the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI) to

improve the teaching and learning of languages that have not been commonly taught in U.S. education. According to their website, "STARTALK's mission is to increase the number of Americans learning, speaking, and teaching critical need foreign languages by offering students (K–16) and teachers of these languages creative and engaging summer experiences that strive to exemplify best practices in language education and in language teacher development, forming an extensive community of practice that seeks continuous improvement in such criteria as outcomes-driven program design, standards-based curriculum planning, learner-centered approaches, excellence in selection and development of materials, and meaningful assessment of outcomes" (www.startalk.umd.edu). From reading this description, it is apparent that such a mission statement could not have been written before the advent of the foreign language standards, could not have been written without an assessment system based on measureable proficiency-based outcomes, and could not have been written in the age of teacher-centered, textbook-driven curricula.

To this end, STARTALK sponsors teacher development programs, as well as student programs conducted as an intensive summer experience. From 2007 to 2014, STARTALK offered 401 Chinese student programs to 28,671 students and 308 Chinese teacher development programs to 6,306 participating teachers (B. Hart, personal communication, February 10, 2015). Applicants for STARTALK grants go through a competitive selection process, and once accepted, offer programs that must adhere to rigorous standards anchored by the STARTALK-Endorsed Principles, namely that the programs

- Implement a standards-based and thematically organized curriculum;
- Facilitate a learner-centered classroom;
- Use the target language and provide comprehensible input for instruction;
- Integrate culture, language, and content;
- Adapt and use age-appropriate authentic materials;
- Conduct performance-based assessment.

In requiring program directors to adhere to these principles, STARTALK ensures that their programs target specific language proficiency goals, with language use demonstrated in presentational, interpersonal, and interpretive modes, as documented in the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (2014). The endorsed-principles require a target language-rich atmosphere, and one where high student-to-student and student-to-teacher interaction is the norm. Through the use of curriculum templates and a resource-rich website, STARTALK teachers have an enormous amount of resources available to them for planning curricula, designing lessons and classroom activities, as well as ensuring that performance assessments are carried out to reflect a task-based, performance-oriented curriculum.

Both student and teacher development programs also are aided by the inclusion of STELLA modules. STELLA stands for STARTALK TELL Alignment, an adaptation of the TELL (Teacher Effectiveness for Language Learning) Project (http://www.tellproject.com), organized to provide frameworks and guidance for individuals as they develop over time and experience as world language teachers. STELLA was created to align with the TELL framework which "establishes those character-

istics and behaviors that model teachers exhibit," and provides practical activities that illustrate the STARTALK principles, as well as resources to support lesson planning for both students and teacher programs (National Foreign Language Center: https://startalk.umd.edu/STELLA). The individual domains of STELLA include:

- **Environment**: How do I create a safe and supportive learning environment to prepare for student learning?
- **Collaboration**: How does my collaboration with stakeholders support student learning?
- **The Learning Experience**: How do I provide meaningful learning experiences that advance student learning?
- **Learning Tools**: How do my students and I capitalize on a variety of learning tools to advance student learning?
- **Performance and Feedback**: How do my students and I use performance and feedback to advance student learning?
- **Planning**: How does my planning of learning experiences prepare for student learning?
- **Professionalism**: How does my continued growth as a professional support student learning?

Individual teacher programs have the freedom to pick and choose which STELLA module resources and activities to include, depending on the objectives and content of the particular program. As STARTALK has evolved over time, it has developed needed infrastructure for Chinese language learning and teacher education by developing some programs that offer college and teacher certification credit for students enrolled in university certification programs, providing further evidence that some pre-collegiate students who attend STARTALK Chinese language courses continue their study of Chinese after they enter college. As STARTALK courses and teacher certification opportunities are developed in the future, it is envisioned that STARTALK courses will serve as practicum and student teaching sites, thus providing venues for these valuable field experiences unavailable to Chinese teacher candidates during the regular school year.

4 Ways Forward

Given these new innovations and changes in world language learning in the United States, what are considerations for those who wish to start teacher development programs in Chinese in their schools, districts, or states? How can teacher educators take advantage of frameworks already in place that apply to all world languages, and what is to be done about those areas of Chinese language learning that do not seem to apply to other languages? The challenge for teacher education is we need teachers who are knowledgeable and can sustain a variety of program types, from college programs that have been the traditional hub of Chinese language learning in

the United States to K–12 programs that increasingly integrate content, language, and culture through curricula that are rigorously standards-based. While the process to move forward is daunting, the work accomplished in both world languages, in general, and Chinese, in particular, during the past few decades indicates moving forward in ways that take a systemic view towards teacher development and that demand cooperation and communication across a variety of stakeholders.

For example, a good first step is for teacher educators to understand that in teacher preparation systems where students take their language preparation in language departments and their certification in a school of education that works closely with state certification authorities, a great deal of cooperation and collaboration between these entities will be required. In fact, some have even argued that university-based language teacher education programs that typically have prospective teachers pursue language majors and education minors (Tedick 2009) are problematic because language learning is often divorced from learning to teach world languages, and student teaching often occurs separately from world language and education course work. Moreover, this lack of developmental continuity is often exacerbated by a philosophical disconnect between the goals, objectives, and priorities of liberal arts and education faculty. For example, the missions and perspectives of colleges of education where students learn pedagogy and colleges of liberal arts and sciences where they learn world languages are sometimes so philosophically different that they give conflicting training to the new teacher.

As mentioned previously, the world language profession has until recently failed to identify a core body of knowledge and skills important for teachers to master, as well as a set of measureable outcomes from which to base teacher preparation standards. In other words, when we do planning for large and complex ventures like developing teacher educators, we sometimes miss the fact that we must take a systemic and long-term view to the enterprise in general. If frameworks that call for a high degree of language proficiency on the part of foreign language graduates, such as the ACTFL/NCATE framework, are to be honored, as well as calls for teachers to be at Advanced Low to be certified as foreign language teachers, it will be necessary for language departments to ensure that their departments provide the type of quality instruction to where students can confidently pass proficiency and other tests. Research in language proficiency and calls for change in the world language community can help Chinese in reflecting and anticipating trends that may affect language programs.

As well, language departments will need to work closely with schools of education to ensure that candidates seeking K–12 certification have the proper coursework to prepare them for the challenges of teaching younger learners, as well as pedagogy courses that deal with challenges specific to teaching Chinese. That is, while courses might be available in bilingual education and child language development, courses should be expanded to include content dealing with problems in learning Chinese. For example, while ACTFL/NCATE Standards (2002) rightfully call for a methods course in the teacher development process, prospective teachers of Chinese often attend methods courses with pedagogy geared for prospective teachers of European languages that are often closely cognate with English and

employ the Roman alphabet. In contrast, prospective Chinese teachers get no theory or practical application in fundamental issues in teaching Chinese, such as how, when, and how many characters to introduce to students that would allow reading development to progress at a reasonable rate, or how romanization should be used in teaching learners of different ages. Teachers not grounded in Chinese-specific pedagogy run the risk, then, of not learning the importance of romanization for American students and view it from a native speaker perspective as being grossly unauthentic, cumbersome for them personally to work with, and something to be dispensed with as quickly as possible.

Also, controversies abound as to the importance of handwriting in the Chinese curriculum, especially given the fact that Chinese word-processing software exists that makes writing less labor-intensive and more efficient in terms of student time allotment (Allen 2008). Yet, recent research (Xu et al. 2013) investigating the effects of different literacy activities on Chinese L2 learners in the post-secondary environment revealed that reading, the use of animation, and handwriting seem to facilitate character learning in different ways. Additionally, we still have a lot to learn about how the process of Chinese character learning develops among early language learners in both FLES (foreign language in the elementary schools) and immersion settings (Asia Society 2012), an area that will be of crucial interest to post-secondary Chinese language educators who will increasingly be greeted in their classes by students with long learning histories in Chinese, and who have acquired Chinese literacy skills in environments that stress content-based learning.

5 Certification

It will not be possible to develop and operate a teacher education program without an in-depth knowledge of the state's teacher certification and licensing system in world languages. Given that certification in the U.S. is decentralized and state-specific, the world language certification requirements across various states are often difficult to navigate, with the additional complication that certification requirements in many states are outdated and do not reflect the reality and needs of world language teachers today, especially teachers of languages like Chinese. These systems are often complex and ever-changing, so teacher educators will need to work with their certification and licensing specialist in the school of education, as well as their district or state world languages' supervisor should there be one. It will also be important to coordinate with the language department and/or develop a website or career briefings in order to reach and recruit language majors who have never considered teaching as a viable career option. In addition to the university website, it is important to conduct briefings or introductory sessions with Chinese language students to introduce them to requirements necessary for them to complete should they choose to follow the path of teacher licensure.

While coordinating with those knowledgeable about certification procedures, Chinese teachers must become activists for change in advocating for the elimination

of outdated and outmoded requirements that not only stand in the way of certification, but also discourage and deter candidates from considering language teaching as a viable career. For example, native speakers of Chinese should have language courses that take advantage of their native proficiency, yet are geared towards developing their skills as language teachers. Putting them in classes with non-native speakers just to fulfill a "seat time" requirement is a waste of everyone's time. Therefore, certification requirements for teachers need to be structured so they make sense and mirror what students will learn in both their language courses and their teacher preparation courses. Chinese language teacher educators, then, will need to stay current concerning trends in world languages in general while remaining active in their professional organizations and certification agencies to effect appropriate reform in teacher certification requirements when these changes are warranted.

6 Preservice Field Experience

Lastly, the importance of the preservice field experience whereby candidates gain valuable teaching experience in a school setting while being mentored by an experienced teacher cannot be overstated. To the extent that teacher educators are able to plan and assist with the building of Chinese language programs in their area, preservice teachers will have access to a variety of sites where they can gain valuable practicum experiences. In addition to being a site to teach under expert supervision, the school is the place where native Chinese language teachers will get an up close and personal introduction to American education in action. Schrier (2009) discusses some of these cultural and educational systems unique to the American school and how they differ for native Chinese teachers who have not experienced the system first-hand as young learners in American schools. For example, the local control of schools, the importance of interacting effectively with parents, and the all-important practice of classroom management can be elements of teaching that confound or overwhelm a new teacher as she confronts teaching in the American classroom.

Unfortunately, a typical problem associated with less commonly taught world languages such as Chinese is practicum sites are not always readily available, leaving the student with little option but to travel out of the city or even out of state for their student teaching experience. This commitment is often draining on student financial resources, as students are often not financially supported for the student teaching experience. The problem can be compounded if the student teacher is not allowed to "split teach" a semester-long experience between K–6 and 6–12, but is required to complete a separate teaching experience for each level. Educators developing teacher education programs must, therefore, ensure that prospective teachers in their programs are well served by the resources available. This includes not only building programs in districts and schools that can serve as practicum sites for inservice teachers, but also building a cadre of teachers within these schools and districts who can serve as cooperating teachers and are experienced and effective

enough to provide quality supervision to preservice teachers during their student teaching experience. They should also work with their certification agencies to see that opportunities such as hosting a STARTALK program in their area can lead to teacher certification credit or serve as a venue for an accredited student teacher practicum experience. These are all components of the teacher development enterprise that require an understanding of the systemic nature of the overall process and of the need for teacher leaders who will have the skills and professional knowledge base to ensure the process will operate effectively.

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Index

A
Academic opportunity, 50
Accommodations, 197, 198, 205
Accuracy, 68, 71, 74, 100, 102, 152, 180, 183, 221
Affect, 24, 25, 50, 64, 72–74, 112, 171, 207, 240
Age of immigration, 170
American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), 19, 21, 22, 124, 125, 127, 132, 133, 136, 143–145, 148, 181–183, 187, 189, 197–199, 233, 234, 236, 237, 240
  Performance Descriptors for Language Learner, 144, 234
  standards, 124, 125, 127, 132, 133
Ancient China, 4–7, 23
Appreciated input, 155, 159
Aptitude, 73, 74, 127
Articulation of CFL curriculum, 144–145
Artificial intellectual development, 71
Assessment, 14, 21, 74, 77, 128, 143–145, 161, 180, 183, 186, 189, 196, 200, 203, 218, 235, 237, 238
Assessment instruments, 21, 196, 203
Attention, 2, 11, 13, 21, 24, 48, 54, 56, 59, 65, 67, 70, 74, 76, 93, 99, 102, 107, 108, 111, 112, 124, 137, 151–153, 156–162, 175, 204
Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR), 109

B
Behaviorist position of language learning, 65
Behavior management strategies, 221
Behavioristic CALL, 99–103
Beijing Language Institute, 12–15, 20
Bilingual practices in Chinese immigrant families, 171
Bilingualism, 167, 168, 175, 176
Buddhism, 5–9, 23
Business Chinese Test, 37

C
Carnegie foundation, 19
Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL), 2, 24, 25, 33, 48, 63, 97–99, 101–116, 123–138, 142–162, 180, 181, 186, 212, 213, 222–226
  curriculum, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 77, 143–150
  curriculum at the college level, 142
  education, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14–18, 20–24, 97, 98, 101, 104, 108, 112, 115, 116, 133, 142, 143, 161, 213, 225
  education in China, 2, 3, 14
  education in the U.S., 2, 20, 21, 112, 213
  instruction at the college level, 142
  instruction of characters, 157–159
  instruction of grammar, 156–157
  instruction of pronunciation, 153–154
  instruction of vocabulary, 154–156
  journals, 15
  teacher preparation and development, 14, 142
  textbooks at the college level, 146
China research programs, 37
China scholarship council, 33, 195
Chinese acquisition pipeline, 131
Chinese as a Second Language (CSL), 14, 15, 83–92

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Chinese Bridge Chinese Proficiency Competitions and Summer Camps, 39
Chinese Bridge for Foreign Schools Program, 39
Chinese Bridge Foundation, 34
Chinese Bridge program, 34, 39, 125
Chinese expatriate teachers, 212, 219, 225
Chinese heritage language curriculum, 172
Chinese heritage language learner (CHLL), 167, 168, 175–180, 184, 185
Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS), 124, 125, 137, 143, 234
Chinese language education, 1, 3, 17, 19, 24, 89, 168, 218, 231, 232
Chinese language pledge, 198
Chinese language teachers association (CLTA), 15, 19, 106, 113, 114, 124, 125, 137, 142, 145, 146, 152, 161
Chinese language teacher training, 224
Chinese linguistics, 10, 11, 63, 64, 133, 151, 169, 197, 222
Chinese-only pedagogy, 89
Chinese proficiency competitions, 34
Chinese proficiency tests, 14, 34, 36, 37
Chinese teachers' role, 92, 212–214, 218, 219, 223, 226
Christianity, 8, 9, 23
Civil language reserve Corps, 55
Clarification request, 69, 70
Classroom-based assessment, 186–187
Classroom management, 84, 88, 133, 212, 213, 215–226, 242
Climate factors, 53
Cloud technology, 98, 110, 114
Cognitive-interactionist approaches to SLA, 69–71
Common language, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91
Common resources, 32
Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities, 144, 181
Communicative approach, 93, 156, 224
Communicative CALL, 99, 100, 103
Community-based Chinese language schools, 187
Complexity theory and dynamic systems, 72
Comprehensive input hypothesis, 69
Computer assisted language learning (CALL) technology, 97, 99, 115
  and Chinese character writing, 105–106
  and learning CFL online, 107–108
  and vocabulary learning, 106–107
Computer as tutor, 101, 104
Computer mediated communication (CMC), 104
Confucianism, 214, 215
Confucius classrooms, 30, 35, 38, 125
Confucius Institute Network, 35–36
Confucius Institutes, 15–16, 22, 30, 33–36, 38, 39, 42, 49, 52, 53, 55–58, 93, 125, 135
Confucius Institute Scholarship Programs, 39
Constructivist classroom management approach, 218
Content standards, 144, 150, 161
Course management systems, 109, 115
Conversation analysis for second language acquisition, 66
Critical language, 20, 21, 48, 54, 55, 124–126, 137
Critical period hypothesis, 73
Cross-cultural language teaching, 212, 213, 223
Cultural differences, 212, 213, 218, 220, 222–226
Cultural revolution, 12, 13, 23, 86
Culture, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 17, 19, 22–24, 30, 33, 35, 36, 39, 55–57, 59, 72, 74, 90–92, 112, 125, 128, 129, 132, 135, 138, 146–150, 161, 175, 180–182, 185, 198–200, 206, 212, 214, 215, 217–220, 222–226, 233, 237, 238, 240
Curricular decisions, 53
Curriculum articulation, 124, 135
Curriculum design, 132, 133, 181, 190, 196, 208

D

Demand-and-supply chain, 40, 41
Dialect heritage language learners, 173–174
Digital media, 98
Discourse analytical perspectives, 183–184
Discourse-oriented grammar
Distance education, 107, 108
Distance learning, 104, 135
Dodge foundation, 19, 20

E

Early language education, 136
Eclectic approach, 86
Eclectic but prone to multilingual MoI, 85
Ecological perspective, 16, 23
Economics of language perspective, 30, 31, 40–42
Educational resources/materials development, 36

Education economics, 32
Electronic dictionaries, 106, 158
Elicitation, 70
English as a Second Language (ESL) acquisition theories, 24
English-Chinese code switching, 177
Evaluation of teacher qualifications, 128, 135
Excludability, 32
Explicit correction, 70
Explicit instruction, 179, 181, 183, 202–203, 206
Extracurricular activities, 126, 196, 198, 205

F
Fanqie, 6
First language (L1), 64, 65, 67, 72, 75, 76, 85, 87–93, 174
Five C's, 144, 148, 161, 181–183, 189, 233
Fluency, 68, 74, 86, 131, 185, 199–202, 222
Foreign language anxiety, 74
Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP), 20, 21, 124, 125
Foreign Language Experience or Exploratory (FLEX), 129, 132, 137
Foreign Language in the Elementary School (FLES), 129, 130, 132, 137, 241
Foreign language pedagogy(ies), 63, 64, 133, 222
Foreign language policy, 3
Frequency of language contact, 199
Functions of using English, 91

G
General appreciation, 50
Genre, 178, 185, 188
Government policies and initiatives, 29–43
Grammar, 10, 13–15, 18, 64, 65, 76, 85, 91, 100, 101, 151–153, 156, 160–162, 172, 178, 179, 182–185, 188, 189, 199, 221, 224
Grammar-translation approach, 224

H
Hanban, 14, 15, 22, 29, 30, 33–42, 55, 56, 124, 125, 134, 144
Handwriting, 105, 158, 159, 241
Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK), 14, 205
speaking test, 37
Harvard university, 17, 49
Heritage language learner (HLL), 21, 137, 169, 170, 173–179, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 190
Heritage learners, 108, 128, 132, 137, 138, 145, 146, 153, 180, 237
Historical account of MoI policy development, 85
History of CFL education, 2, 23
Home and community, 169, 170
Human capital theory, 32
Hybrid learning, 104
Hybrid reality, 116

I
Identity, 66, 72, 75, 92, 168, 169, 175–177, 180, 181, 188, 189, 200, 201, 203, 205, 206
Identity theory, 66, 72, 75
Ideology(ies), 3, 10, 16, 23, 52, 92, 173, 174, 220, 223
Immersion programs, 85, 86, 128, 130–132, 136, 137, 232, 235
Individual differences, 70, 73–75, 86, 170, 199
Infrastructure stage, 49
Initial stage, 2, 18, 157
Instructional practices, 25, 162, 213, 222
Interactive and integrated language learning, 104
Immersion-like online learning environment, 110–111
Integrated Chinese curriculum, 150
Integrative CALL, 99, 100, 103–105
Intelligent CALL, 101
Interaction hypothesis, 69
Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR), 127, 143
Interlanguage, 67
International Association of Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (IATCSL), 14
International education of Chinese, 31
Internationalization of the Chinese language, 30
International popularization of Chinese, 30, 31, 33–35, 39–42
International spread of Chinese, 31, 43

K
Knowledge, Awareness, Skills and Attitudes (KASA), 181–183
K-16 pipeline, 21, 189, 235
K-12 CFL programs, 59, 124, 126, 128, 129, 132, 133, 135
K-12 Common Core State Standards, 127

L
Language and economics, 33
Language barrier, 219, 222, 223
Language choice, 72
Language contact, 199, 204, 207
Language flagship program, 125, 132
Language learning habitat, 52
Language migration habitat, 53
Language planning and policy (LPP), 2, 3
Language planning process, 53
Language planning stages, 52
Language popularization strategies, 30
Language proficiency, 76, 123, 131, 168, 169, 176, 177, 183, 196, 198, 199, 201, 206, 207, 232, 236–238, 240
Language requirement, 136
Language roadmaps, 125
Language-related industries, 32
Language socialization theory, 66
Language summit, 125
Language sustainability, 54
Language tutor system, 204
Learner community, 184
Learner language, 65–69, 73, 75, 78
Learning age, 73, 77
Learning-centered classroom, 218
Learning-centered environment, 217
Learning goals, 11, 181, 186, 233
Learning online, 98, 107
Legitimacy of the Confucius Institute, 60
Life cycle of a program, 113
Linguistic complexity, 134
Linguistic gains, 199
Linguistic profiles, 175–180
Linguistic systems of Chinese heritage language learners, 178–179
Literacy development, 131, 171, 178, 180, 188, 200

M
Matthoeus Ricci, 10
Medium-and-long-term plan, 34, 35
Medium of instruction (MoI), 5, 83–93
Monolingual MoI, 88
Memory, 70, 74, 91, 105, 107, 167
Michel Ruggieri, 10
Ministry of Culture, 33
Ministry of Education, 13, 14, 33–35, 39, 41, 125
Mixed reality, 116
Mobile apps, 98, 104
Mobile devices, 98, 100, 105, 109, 110, 112, 114, 116
Motivation, 24, 72–74, 77, 100, 116, 137, 169, 175, 176, 180, 189, 203, 214, 223
Multicompetence, 177
Multilingual MoI, 85
Multilingual paradigm, 85, 86, 91, 92

N
National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), 133, 143, 236, 237, 240
National Education Committee, 14
National Security Education Program (NSEP), 20, 21, 124
National Foreign Language Center (NFLC), 21, 125, 127, 135–137, 239
National interest, 50, 58
National Security Education Act (NSEA), 20, 21
National Security Language Initiative (NSLI), 21, 54, 55, 124, 125, 137, 238
Natural language processing, 160
Natural monopolies, 32
Negotiation of identity, 200
New HSK Test, 37
Normalization, 111, 114–116
Noticing hypothesis, 70

O
Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban), 14, 29, 33
One-size-fits-all language policy, 92
Online resource databases, 34, 36
Optical character recognition (OCR), 109, 163
Oral proficiency assessment,
Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, 33
Overgeneralization, 70

P
Peak of CFL, 6
Pedagogical adjustment, 223
Perspective of language order, 16
Phases of CALL development, 99–101
Pictographic/ideographic myth, 157, 158
Placement assessment, 180, 186, 198
Policy document, 34
Portland Public Schools, 130, 131
Positive role of L1, 90
Poststructuralist perspective, 204, 208
Preservice field experience, 242
Private goods, 32, 33, 40–42

Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching Operation (PLATO), 98, 100
Program length, 205
Programs for teacher education/training, 38
Project-based learning, 182
Public goods, 32, 41
Pushed output hypothesis, 69

Q
Quasi-public goods, 32, 33, 40, 41

R
Recast, 70
Request strategy, 202
Restructuring, 70, 71
Rivalry, 32, 113
Role of ideology, 3
Romanization, 18, 49, 172

S
Sampling of American CFL programs, 50
Scope and sequence of CFL curriculum, 145–149
Seamless learning, 110
Second language acquisition, 63, 64, 93, 168, 199, 204, 205
Second language learners, 65, 66, 78
Second language learning, 64–66, 78
Second World War stage, 49
Semester-long program, 196–198, 201
Shift in policy focus, 30, 34
Shortage of qualified teachers, 30, 133, 153
Simplification, 70
Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview (SOPI), 21, 128
Sinologist, 17
Sinology, 3, 4, 9–11, 13, 17, 18, 23
Social and political barriers, 49
Social and political perspectives, 54
Social media, 104, 111, 114
Social-oriented approaches to SLA, 66
Sociocultural theoretical perspective, 203
Sociocultural theory, 71
Soft power, 24, 56
Stages of Chinese language learning, 49
State Language and Letters Committee, 35
Special-purpose Chinese language courses, 149
Standards and guidelines, 36
Standards-based CFL curriculum, 142–145
Standards-based curriculum, 127, 133, 143, 238
Standards-based Measurement of Proficiency (STAMP), 128
STARTALK, 21, 58, 124–126, 128, 132, 135, 237–239, 243
State Council, 34
STELLA, 238, 239
100,000 Strong Initiative, 196
Student choices, 53
Student misbehavior, 216, 217, 219
Study abroad, 207
Style and register, 188
Summer program, 21, 93, 125, 196–198, 205
Supply channel, 40
Systematicity and variability of learner language, 67

T
Target language, 72, 74, 76, 83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 100, 102, 126, 130, 202, 204, 205, 233, 234, 237, 238
Target nation, 55
Teacher certification, 56, 59, 133, 134, 137, 232, 236, 239, 241–243
Teacher education, 15, 35, 37, 84, 88, 225, 226, 232, 235, 236, 239–242
Teacher education and training, 37
Teacher education programs, 225, 226, 232, 236, 240–242
Teacher-student interaction, 77, 110, 173
Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (TCSL), 14
Teaching materials, 7, 30, 36, 40, 41, 111, 155, 185
Teaching methods, 30, 37, 40, 64, 85–87, 91, 93, 107, 133, 144, 172, 204, 218, 219, 225
Technology-assisted Confucius Institutes, 35
Technology for CALL, 98
Textbooks for Chinese heritage language learners, 185
Teachers' role, 213
3-T issue, 30, 40
3 Ts, 40
Tracking, 163, 180, 181, 216
Translanguaging, 177
Typing, 105, 106, 158, 159, 162

U
U-shaped learning, 70, 71
U.S. policies and initiatives, 47–60
Utah K-16 Flagship, 131

V
Virtual learning communities, 108
Volunteer teachers programs, 37

W
Web 2.0, 98, 104, 105
Word segmentation, 152, 160, 162
World Chinese Conferences, 34
World language education, 135, 136, 232, 233, 235, 236
World language programs, 125, 129, 135, 136
World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages, 234
World War II, 11, 17, 18, 51, 54

Y
Yale University, 17, 18, 49, 142
Year-long program, 196, 205
Yinghua Academy, 130–131
Youth Chinese Test, 37

Z
Zone of proximal development, 71