

# **Transcending Gender Taboos: Talk in the Dorm Among Female Study Abroad Students in China**

DIAO, Wenhao WANG, Yi

---

## Abstract

This study discusses gender inclusivity in Chinese language teaching by examining female students' discourse while they study abroad in China. Data came from a constructed corpus of spontaneous conversations between language learners and their native-speaking Chinese roommates. The content of the talk was thematically grouped into 17 categories. Descriptive statistics show some but limited thematic differences in the talk between the female learners and their male counterparts. Drawing from sociocultural linguistics work on gender and discourse (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), the following qualitative analysis focuses on how the women exchanged stories related to their gendered bodies with their female Chinese roommates and utilized discourse strategies to overcome linguistic barriers and engage in the construction of gender. As these results illuminate gender in language learning, we conclude with the pedagogical recommendation to incorporate a critical feminist perspective to better facilitate women learners' perspectives and make Chinese language teaching more gender inclusive.

*Keywords:* Chinese as a second language, study abroad, gender, corpus, discourse analysis

---

DIAO, Wenhao, The University of Arizona, USA. Email: wdiao@arizona.edu. (corresponding author)  
WANG, Yi, Emory University, USA. Email: yi.wang3@emory.edu.

## 1 INTRODUCTION 背景介绍

Among American college students who study abroad, women consistently account for over 60% of the population (Gore, 2005; IIE, 2018). While no statistics is available regarding the gender distribution among American students who go to China, according to a survey that involved 343 Americans who had studied in China, almost half (45%) identified themselves as women (Tea Leaf Nation Staff, 2015). Women can encounter gender-related challenges when they learn another language and study abroad. Researchers who focus on language learning and study abroad have identified a range of challenges female L2 learners may face in many countries and world regions, such as the Arab world (Trentman, 2015), France (Douglass, 2006; Kline, 1998; Kinginger, 2008), Latin America (Isabelli-García, 2006; Twombly, 1995), Spain (Talbert & Stewart, 1999), Russia (Polanyi, 1995), and so on. While each of the studies has to be interpreted in its specific cultural context, collectively they point out the centrality of gender for female L2 learners who study abroad. Women language learners may encounter limited access to local social networks, representation of women's bodies on the media, uncertain feelings regarding the attention of local men, and even experiences of catcalls and sexual harassment.

Since China's embrace of a market-oriented economy four decades ago, it has experienced a noticeable shift in its discourses around gender (Yang, 2011; Zhang, 2017). The ideal womanhood has changed from the socialist worker with "strong arms" and "robust physique" in Mao-era propaganda posters (Hanser, 2005, p. 581) to the hypersexualized "slim" female body in present-day Chinese popular media (Chen et al., 2011, p. 13). These profound changes have implications for both young Chinese women and women who come to learn Chinese language and culture. As scholars of China, Schneider et al. (2020) documented the variety of gendered and sexualized encounters that they experienced as Western women studying Chinese culture in everyday discourse in China. It is thus possible that American study abroad students in China may also encounter the issue of gender

when they engage in the use of Chinese in informal settings outside of classroom. Many study abroad students also primarily interact with their Chinese peers (Diao, 2016), who as college students are often the epicenter in this shifting discourse around gender in China (Zhang & Kramarae, 2012).

Study abroad students often do not fully understand or know how to cope with different cultural discourses about gender (Kinginger, 2009), and therefore facilitation at the program and instructional levels can be critical to help women L2 learners succeed while studying abroad (Trentman, 2015). However, gender is often overlooked in formal L2 instruction (Polanyi, 1995). Existing Chinese materials and practices also tend to detach emotions and identities (including though not limited to gender) from formal language learning (Louie & Hodge, 1998). Meanwhile, gender – or identity in general – continues to be under researched in the published studies focusing on Mandarin learning (Duff et al., 2013). This oversight in the research literature further creates difficulties to predetermine what kind(s) of gender-related issues may emerge in women learners' language use when they learn Mandarin in China.

The current study addresses this pressing gap in Chinese L2 research and teaching. We combine a corpus approach with discourse analysis methods to show how gender and ideologies around gender may emerge and become (re)negotiated in interactions between American college women learning Mandarin and their Chinese peers in the study abroad setting. In what follows, we begin with the theoretical and methodological frameworks and then present our findings. By focusing on the conversations between American college women learning Mandarin and their Chinese peers, we urge Chinese language educators to give more consideration to gender in both teaching and research.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW 文献综述

### 2.1 Gender in L2 learning and study abroad research

#### 留学期间二语学习研究中的性别

Gender has been a prominent theme in language learning research, particularly of study abroad students. Researchers found that American women struggle with making friends with females in host communities (Isabelli-García, 2006; Twombly, 1995; Trentman, 2015; Kline, 1998; Kinginger, 2008; Polanyi, 1995), and several studies reported unwanted attention and even sexual harassment that women experience while abroad (Douglass, 2006; Polanyi, 1995; Talburt & Stewart, 1999). To address the phenomenon of gendered study abroad experience, Kinginger (2009) argues that it may relate to the brief nature of the American study abroad model, which can prevent students from having an adequate understanding of cultural differences. Gender is a cultural construct situated in the historic and social context, and therefore differences exist in gender norms in different societies. Trentman (2015) shows that American women often needed particular facilitation to make local female friends because of the Egyptian gender norms that restricted women from going outside. “Melissa,” a Black woman in Talburt and Stewart’s (1999) study who repeatedly encountered sexualization and harassment, studied abroad in Spain, where Black women can be stereotyped as border-crossing sex workers from Africa (Anya, 2019). Even in the same culture, gender expectations may change over time, and the change can affect study abroad students’ experience. Davidson (2010) reported that female Russian learners’ experience had improved since Polanyi’s (1995) study, because of changing status of women in Russia since the 1990s. Thus, female language learners need to understand cultural discourses around gender of the time and place in order to contextualize their experience and cope with it.

The grassroots #MeToo movement that began in 2017 quickly spread across geographical and cultural borders, highlighting the global extent to which

sexualization of women's bodies take place. Chinese women have also spoken up in response to the #MeToo movement, though the subsequent reaction in China is a reminder that gender has to be situated in particular cultural moment and context (Schneider et al., 2020). The post #MeToo era has propelled language learning scholars to revisit the limitations in L2 learning research regarding gender (De Costa, 2018). Within the study abroad literature, many of the published studies relied exclusively on introspective methods (e.g., interviews, journal entries) (Anya, 2011). While a handful of studies (Diao, 2016; Siegal, 1996) examined how women may adapt to or reject linguistic forms that index particular gender roles while learning to speak their target language, most researchers have not investigated female students' actual discourse in their target language. Furthermore, discursive construction of gender is also more dynamic and complicated than simply using concrete linguistic features to index gender. The need for an interactive analysis of how both study abroad students and their hosts position each other and negotiate gender is acute (Kinginger, 2019).

## **2.2 Women's discourse and L2 learning 女性话语和二语学习**

Polanyi (1995) urged language educators to consider teaching "women's language," so that female students can have the linguistic resources to cope with sexual harassment while they study abroad. Yet, the concept of a definitive and definable "women's language" is vicarious (Inoue, 2006); women and men do not use language inherently differently because of gender. Rather, they use the same language (Cameron, 2005), and even linguistic forms thought to associate with gender are never used exclusively by or for one specific gender (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013; Ochs, 1992). However, gender is a social configuration that can be (re)constructed through language use. The widely cited gender research scholar Judith Butler (1990) argues that gender can only become intelligible by entering discursive systems that recognize them as female or male. For example, certain types of discourse features (e.g., the "schoolgirl speech" characterized

by certain Japanese utterance-final particles) are ideologically associated with women, and they may be seen as inappropriate or even vulgar in formal contexts because women were traditionally excluded from these contexts (Inoue, 2006). From this perspective, gender functions as an ideology that organizes how we talk and behave (Kiesling, 2019), and language is an important resource for women to construct, negotiate, and index gender (Ochs, 1992).

Butler (1993) argues that one instance of such discursive construction of gender ideology is how the female body is often excluded and erased in many culturally conditioned ways to talk about gender, thereby circulating a male-centered gender ideology. Influenced by Butler's work, sociolinguists have investigated the discursive processes through which gender ideologies are (re) distributed and gender identities are (re)produced (Irvin & Gal, 2000). Bucholtz and Hall (2004) further outlined three pairs of tactics that people use to naturalize and distribute gender ideologies in discourse. These pairs are: (1) adequation and distinction, which refer to the discursive construction of social sameness and differences, (2) authentication and denaturalization, which concern with how language is used to authenticate an identity or mark it as unnatural, and (3) authorization and illegitimation, which describe the (often institutional) endorsement or marginalization of an identity. These tactics reveal how gender identities and ideologies are discursively constructed and mediated in cultural context, and the three pairs incorporate both individual negotiations as well as institutional marginalization.

While the theorization of language and gender was not originally concerned with L2 learning, female language learners often encounter a different discourse around gender when they use their target language (Kinging, 2009). The published findings have examined the learning and use of linguistic features that can index gender in discourse (Diao, 2016; Siegal, 1996), but research has rarely investigated how women (and men) also employ discourse strategies to construct and negotiate gender ideologies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Kiesling, 2019; Irvine &

Gal, 2000) among L2 learners. Therefore, there is a continued need to investigate how gender ideologies come to organize L2 learning women's discourse structure and strategies.

### **2.3 Changing discourse around gender in China**

#### **中国的性别话语的改变**

It may be of particular relevance to investigate gender in L2 learners' discourse among study abroad students in China, where gender ideologies have been quickly changing over the last several decades. While the popular ideology during the Mao years advocated for sameness between the two sexes, public discourses today are glorifying social stratifications and gender differences (Hanser, 2005; Zhang, 2017). Contemporary discourses in China no longer stress women as agents against oppression in the public life; instead, women are increasingly seen as consumers who should prioritize the management of their private life, such as their body, beauty, career, and family (Yang, 2011). The increasing commodification of women's bodies in popular media also foregrounds women as sexual beings, and therefore the changing gender norms in China is also intertwined with the sexualization of women in public and private lives (e.g., Schneider et al., 2020; Yang, 2013).

These changes in gender norms not only impact Chinese women living in China; female sojourners coming from overseas are also subject to "stereotypical sexualities and unfamiliar gender and sexual norms" and must "constantly negotiate positionality" in cross-cultural contexts (Cupples, 2002, p. 383). Schneider et al. (2020) provide detailed accounts of how, as English-speaking graduate students from Europe and North America, they frequently experienced powerlessness and vulnerability in everyday social lives in China because of their female gender. These events that involved negotiation of gender and sexual norms took place in a range of informal settings, from karaoke and drinking at restaurants, to text messaging on social media platforms. What these women scholars referred to as "ubiquitous" experience with gender and sexualization (Schneider et al., 2020, p.

2) leads us to further wonder if female Mandarin L2 learners also encounter similar incidents of gendering and sexualization when they study abroad in China, and how they may cope with it if they have not been formally taught the language to describe these issues.

Thus, the issue of gender is evidence of the gap that exists between formal language instruction and L2 learners' authentic language use (e.g., Mori, 2007). One way to address this gap is to utilize a learner corpus and empirically identify patterns in learners' actual discourse. Thus, we utilize the corpus approach as the methodological framework for this study.

## **2.4 A corpus-based mixed-methods methodological framework**

### **语料库为基础的混合研究方法框架**

A corpus is a large, principled collection of written or oral texts that can be analyzed for patterns, and a learner corpus is a corpus with learners' spoken or written discourse (Staples & Fernández, 2019). While the use of a learner corpus can effectively help bridge the gap between research, teaching, and language learners' use of language, learner's corpora in languages other than English are rare. According to a meta-analysis by Paquot and Plonsky (2017) that included 1,029 learner corpus-based studies published in English from 1991 to 2015, only 1% of the sample examined target languages other than English, and no study used a learner corpus in Mandarin. Since then, new Mandarin learner corpora have been constructed, but another challenge remains, that is, there continues to be a lack of Mandarin L2 learner corpora of spontaneous conversations.

Existing L2 learners' spoken corpora have also often been constructed by using elicitation methods in laboratory or test settings to achieve a large sample (Culpeper, Mackey, & Taguchi, 2018; McEnery, Brezina, Gablasova, & Banerjee, 2019). This tendency has been the case among the recent endeavors to construct Mandarin L2 learners' corpora as well (e.g., Cui & Zhang, 2011). While using the lab setting and focusing on written discourse can help build large learner

corpora quickly, the emphasis on the size of corpora can create several issues (see a critique in McEnery et al., 2019). The lab approach to corpus construction can be particularly restricting for research on language and inclusivity. If women's experience with their bodies is overlooked in research and teaching, then a learner corpus produced by artificially designed elicitation methods in a testing setting may reinforce this bias rather than confronting it.

In addition, in terms of analyzing learner corpora, researchers are increasingly recommending qualitative methods to examine language patterns in discourse context (Staples & Fernández, 2019). While quantitative methods are commonly used in conventional learner corpus research, even quantitative corpus linguists acknowledge the constraints of statistics and recommend researchers conduct “fewer tests of statistical significance” (Paquot & Plonsky, 2017). Meanwhile, detailed qualitative analysis of discourse can effectively uncover the ways in which gender ideologies organize language use (Kiesling, 2019). Thus, a mixed-methods corpus-based approach is adopted in the current study to address the research gap.

## **2.5 Research questions 研究问题**

Informed by both the scholarship on language and gender and the corpus-based research, this study used a recently constructed learner corpus of spontaneous conversations to investigate how female Mandarin language learners construct and negotiate experiences related to gender with their female Chinese hosts. Specifically, the research questions are: (1) what particular themes related to gender may recur in the women's discourse, when compared against that of the male students, and (2) within these gender-themed discussions, how do women L2 learners (re)construct and (re)negotiate gender with their Chinese peers?

### 3 METHODOLOGY 研究方法

#### 3.1 Site and participants 研究场所与参与者

All participants were recruited from three intensive Chinese language programs in 2016, two in Shanghai (managed by the same study abroad center and hosted by the same university) and one in Beijing. To ensure the corpus constructed consists of adequate Mandarin, only intermediate and advanced language learners were recruited for this study. Twenty-one dyads (21 American students and their 21 Chinese hosts) consented to participate. Of the 21 dyads, two of them lived with Chinese host families. Another two students did not submit recordings with their Chinese roommates and therefore were excluded from the analysis stage. The 17 dyads who were living in the dormitory were the focus of the DormTalk corpus project.

Of the 17 study abroad students, nine were female and eight were male. Their ages ranged from 19 to 28 years ( $mean = 20.65$ ,  $SD = 1.97$ ). They came from ethnically and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Nine of them came from English monolingual families, and the remaining eight spoke other language(s) in addition to English at home. Five spoke a Chinese variety (three Mandarin, one Cantonese, one Fuzhounese), one spoke Japanese and Mandarin, one Spanish, and one Hungarian. All of them had completed at least two years of college-level Mandarin instruction (or the equivalent).

All three programs paired American study abroad students with local roommates if they chose to live in the dormitory buildings (or local host families if they wished to do it instead). While the dormitories provided at the three programs were all co-ed, each room was shared by two people of the same sex. The 17 Chinese roommates also consented to participate in the project. Nine of the Chinese roommates were female and the other eight were male.

### **3.2 The DormTalk corpus DormTalk 语料库**

The participants were each given an audio recorder and instructed to record their routine conversations with their Chinese roommates at least once a month. Their submitted recordings totaled at approximately 33 hours.

After removing recordings that could not be included in the analysis (e.g., recordings made out of the dorm setting with other people), a total of 1849 minutes (30.82 hours) were transcribed into text and used to construct the DormTalk corpus (see Appendix for convention of transcription). This step resulted in a corpus of 334,899 tokens, including 274,682 transcribed Chinese characters and 60,037 English words. The corpus is referred to as the DormTalk corpus hereafter (Diao et al., 2019).

### **3.3 Additional data collection 其他数据的采集**

In this study, additional data were also collected from multiple sources to ensure the possibility for triangulation and validity in data analysis. Interviews were conducted to incorporate language users' introspective data in a corpus-based research project (Fernández & Staples, forthcoming). Each American student was interviewed twice, once at the beginning of their programs in China and once at the end. Background questionnaires were also administered. To include the voice of the local hosts (Kinginger, 2019), each of their Chinese roommates was also interviewed once. The first author also visited all the programs and conducted participant observation. Fieldnotes were taken during these site visits.

## **4 ANALYSIS 数据分析**

This study adopts a corpus-based approach in the analysis and combines it with qualitative discourse analysis methods as its methodological framework. Topics in the DormTalk corpus were annotated using NVivo 12, a software for coding and analyzing qualitative data. We first reviewed all transcripts and identified episodes discussing one topic by locating the initiating and/or finishing

turn of a topic, which resulted in a total of 1215 episodes. For example, in the following conversation between the American student Elisa and her Chinese roommate Sulin, Sulin first initiated the topic in turn 1. They continued discussing this topic (turns 2-62), and in turn 63 Elisa changed the topic to food.

**Example: (E = Elisa. S = Elisa’s roommate Sulin.)**

1	S:	= 你可以试着跟他讲价	You can try bargaining with the seller	Episode 1
2-62			(Talked about bargaining experience in China)	
63	E:	%OK% 下次我会试一下 OH 对我们今天出去午饭	Ok, next time I will try it out. Oh, right, today we went out for lunch	Episode 2
64-67			(Talked about food they had for lunch)	

Then, the topic of each episode was coded and categorized using an in vivo approach (Salñada, 2016) in the software NVivo. We revised the categorizations that emerged and recurred in the conversations multiple times to identify patterned themes and ensure that the themes were “meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis” (Salñada, 2016, p. 236). In addition, by using a Ground Theory approach (Creswell, 2011), these themes were exhaustive, i.e., every episode was coded, and yet did not overlap with each other (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). After this step, seventeen (17) topic categories were identified.

To answer the first research question, we compared the quantity and distribution of the topics discussed by males and females using descriptive statistical data. Identity such as gender is relational (e.g., Norton, 2000), and therefore while the current project focuses on women, a comparative approach is adopted in the analysis to show how women may or may not differ from men in discourse. We organized the topics into different categories based on differences in descriptive statistics and then examined these differences qualitatively by focusing on women. Our qualitative analysis drew upon Bucholtz and Hall’s (2004) theory and focused on how these female students adopted discourse strategies to make

sense of their gendered body and their study abroad experience while learning and speaking Chinese. We then triangulated our findings with data from other sources, including interviews and field notes. The triangulation also allowed for a holistic understanding of the research participants in qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2011).

## 5 FINDINGS 研究结果

### 5.1 Quantitative findings 量化分析的结果

A total of 17 topic categories emerged after the NVivo coding process. Table 1 below shows the list and the glossary of these categories.

**Table 1. Glossary of Coded Topic Categories**

	<b>Topic Category</b>	<b>Glossary</b>
1	Language	Metalanguage, discussions on Chinese language learning and languages in society
2	Daily Life	Daily routines and events, leisure activities, daily shopping recommendations, life habits, internships, and dorm life
3	Food	Food and beverages, taste, food recommendations, food differences across countries and cultures
4	Social Issues	Discussions on politics, education systems, economics, religion, inequality, and ethnicity both in the U.S. and in China
5	Experience	Previous experience such as travel, study, and life experiences (e.g., experience of having pets), and descriptions of previous social events
6	Culture and Popular Culture	Topics include cultural traditions, movies, popular mobile apps, music, celebrities, books, fashion brands, and local culture
7	Friends	Intimate relationship, friends at school, gossip about friends, and relationships in general
8	Plans	Immediate future or long-term plans, such as travel plans, study plans, career plans, and proposed plans for group activities
9	Speech Acts	Includes labeling recording instructions, making compliments and complaints
10	Places	Discussions on characteristics of places such as countries, cities, tourist sites, malls, hometowns, parks, etc.

	<b>Topic Category</b>	<b>Glossary</b>
11	Transportation	Local transportation and means of transportation
12	Family	Specific family members, family in general, or family history
13	Health and Body	Reference/inquiry about health, medical procedures, and healthy lifestyle
14	Weather	Any reference to weather or other elements of immediate environment
15	Storytelling	Sharing stories (e.g., ghost stories)
16	History	Historical references (e.g., Cultural Revolution), not personal history
17	Science	Topics related to scientific research (e.g., gene research)

To analyze if there was any gender difference in terms of the distribution of these topic categories, numbers and percentages of each category were computed. Table 2 shows the result.

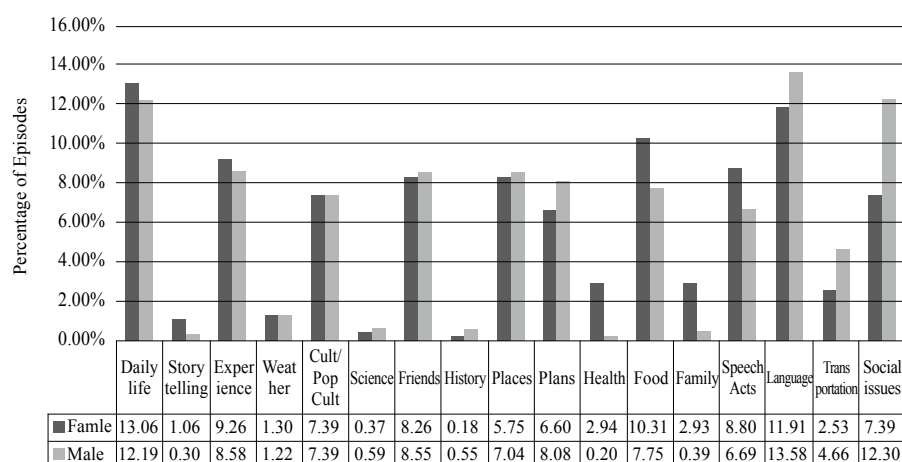
**Table 2. Distribution of topic categories among female and male participants.**

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Female</b>		<b>Male</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	<b># of episodes</b>	<b>% of episodes</b>	<b># of episodes</b>	<b># of episodes</b>	<b># of episodes</b>	<b>% of episodes</b>
Language	61	11.91%	83	13.58%	144	11.85%
Daily life	78	13.06%	62	12.19%	140	11.52%
Food	75	10.31%	51	7.75%	126	10.37%
Social issues	42	7.39%	75	12.30%	117	9.63%
Experience	60	9.26%	56	8.58%	116	9.55%
Cult/Pop Cult	56	7.39%	50	7.39%	106	8.72%
Friends	42	8.26%	54	8.55%	96	7.90%
Plans	42	6.60%	51	8.08%	93	7.65%
Speech Acts	35	8.80%	47	6.69%	82	6.75%
Places	42	5.75%	38	7.04%	80	6.58%
Transportation	22	2.53%	16	4.66%	38	3.13%
Family	19	2.93%	2	0.39%	21	1.73%

Topic	Female		Male		Total	
	# of episodes	% of episodes	# of episodes	# of episodes	# of episodes	% of episodes
Health and Body	15	2.94%	1	0.20%	16	1.32%
Weather	11	1.30%	5	1.22%	16	1.32%
Story telling	8	1.06%	3	0.30%	11	0.91%
History	2	0.18%	5	0.50%	7	0.58%
Science	3	0.37%	3	0.59%	6	0.50%
Total					1215	100%

As shown in Figure 1, almost all topic categories that occurred in female learners' discourse also appeared in that of the male learners.

**Figure 1. Percentages of Topic Categories in Female versus Male Discourse.**



When comparing the distribution of the topics in the female learners' discourse against male learners, there appeared to be three main types. The first type consists of topics that occurred almost equally frequently in the two groups, that is, within 1.5% difference. This type consists of the majority of the topics (daily life, storytelling, experience, weather, culture/pop culture, science, friends, history, places, plans). The second one was those that occurred more frequently in women's

discourse than the men's, including health and body, food, family, and speech acts. While 1.5% was used as the cutoff line, all topic categories in the second type appeared at least 2% more in the female discourse. The last group was the topics that occurred more frequently, that is, over 1.5% more in the men's discourse.

These differences seem to be confirmed in the interview data. Several women among the participants stated that their conversations were mostly about simple everyday life. One female student Tiffany said that she discussed mostly everyday topics such as "clothing," "boys," "fun," and "family stuff" with her roommate. Mae, another female student, said in her post interview that she and her roommate discussed almost exclusively "everyday life" topics, such as family and school, and rarely social issues. In fact, Mae even expressed frustration because of the difficulty to discuss social issues with her roommate:

对我觉得我的同屋可能她平时不不会读新闻或者我我的感觉就是她不太在乎世界各地发生就是全球发生的事情，就是她可能，比如说就是选举之后我发现川普被选之后然后她，就是没有什么反应，她不知道怎么样反应，我明显看起来非常的愤怒就是非常的伤心然后她也，也不知道怎么样问我，对所以她完全没有意识到就是我可能会对这种事情有什么反应，对。(Mae, post interview)

*English translation: Yes, I think my roommate maybe she normally wouldn't read news or I my feeling is just that she doesn't care what is happening in the world, that is, the global events. It's just that she maybe-for example just after the [U.S. presidential] election I discovered that Trump was elected. Then she- just had no reaction. She didn't know how to react. I visibly looked very angry just very sad. Then she also- also didn't know how to ask me. Yes, so she completely didn't realize that what kind of reaction that I could have towards these things. Yes.*

The repeatedly reported indifference toward social issues among the Chinese female roommates was probably not a coincidence. The Chinese women, all born

in the 1990s, represented a generation that experienced a shifting discourse away from communist ideologies to consumerism, and the cultural focus for them is the management of the individual body, beauty, career, and family in post-socialist China (Yang, 2011).

However, a qualitative discourse analysis reveals more insights into these women's discourse. What follows are findings from qualitative analyses in each of the three types.

## 5.2 Qualitative findings 质化分析的结果

### *Type 1: Stories of Sexual Harassment in Daily life and Past Experience*

Type 1 consists of the largest number of topic categories, ranging from Daily Life, Past Experience, Culture, Weather, and so on. In other words, in terms of frequency, the majority of the most frequently recurring topic categories showed little numerical difference between the two genders (+/- 1.5%).

However, qualitative analysis of discourse tactics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) shows how women's telling of their life histories was closely connected to their gendered bodies. This was particularly evident in the two most frequently recurring topic categories, i.e., Daily Life and Past Experience. The excerpt below is from a conversation between the American student Elisa and her Chinese roommate Sulin. Elisa described what appeared to be sexual harassment during one of her usual trips to the store near their dormitory (Daily Life).

#### **Excerpt 1: "Someone groped me." (E = Elisa. S = Elisa's roommate Sulin.)**

1	E:	你知道那个买东西的地方特别窄	You know the place is very narrow.
2	S:	对对对	Yes yes yes.
3	E:	所以一个人通过我, 后面,	So a person passed me, behind.
4		他是一个色狼他他	He was a pervert he- he-
5		我不认识他然后他靠我特别近,	I didn't know him. Then he got really close to me-
6		吃我的豆腐	ate my tofu.

7		我也刚学吃我的豆腐	I also just learned “eating my tofu.”
8	S:	Uh huh.	Uh huh.
9	E:	说，好久不见然后摸了我的屁股，	He said long time no see and then touched my butt.
10		所以我很生气地转过头说不要摸我，	So I angrily turned around and said, do not touch me.
11		然后他特别尴尬	Then he was especially embarrassed.
12		他不知道怎	He didn't know how-
13		因为我觉得他，没有，	because I thought he- didn't-
14		他没有觉得 [我会 ]反应	he didn't think [I would] react
15	S:	[uh huh]	[Uh huh].
16	E:	所以他特别尴尬不好意思	So he was really embarrassed awkward
17		然后说 <i>oh!</i>	and then said <i>oh!</i>
18		我没有你很奇怪	I didn't. You are very strange.
19		可是我很生气然后骂了他 (laughing)	But I was very upset and scolded him.
20	S:	干得好 (laughing)	Well done.

Handling sexual harassment in intercultural encounters involves not only dealing with unfamiliar gender and sexual norms but also facing a particular sense of powerlessness and vulnerability (Schneider et al., 2020). Yet for L2 learners such as Elisa, the excerpt here also shows that they may struggle linguistically to tell the story afterward. While recounting the event, she used a recently learned phrase ‘eating tofu’, a euphemistic expression in Chinese that often (though not always) means sexually taking advantage of someone. Although Elisa had lived in Beijing for several years during her childhood, and she was placed in the most advanced level of Chinese language classes at the study abroad program, the term “eating tofu” as a euphemism for sexual harassment was still a recently learned phrase for her (line 7). This excerpt lends evidence to previous research that showed women might experience not only sexual harassment but also linguistic difficulties to cope with the experience while abroad (Polanyi, 1995).

Meanwhile, the Chinese roommate Sulin initially showed little emotion while listening to Elisa’s story, repeatedly saying only *uh huh* even after Elisa explicitly described the man as a “pervert” who touched her private part. Sulin eventually

praised Elisa after the latter continued to describe her anger (*shēngqì* in lines 10 and 19) and her action of standing up against the sexual harassment (line 19). Sulin's change from the initial indifference to an active signal of solidarity in this episode underscores the discursive process through which Elisa used Mandarin (albeit with linguistic limitations) in her storytelling to accomplish a shared emotional position.

Discussions regarding sexual harassment transpired not only in conversations about daily routines in China, but also in conversations related to their histories in the U.S. In the excerpt below, Tiffany told her roommate Wing about a Chinese American man who invited her and her mother to dinner as a way to thank her mother for a favor.

**Excerpt 2: “A creepy guy in New York.” (T = Tiffany. W = Chinese roommate Wing.)**

1	T:	那吃饭的时候他跟我讲	Then while eating he told me If you have anything, tell me.
2		like oh 我是你的叔叔我们可以,	<i>like oh</i> I am your uncle. We can,
3		like 成为好朋友	<i>like</i> become good friends.
4		你要什么事情就跟我讲	
5		我去纽约的时候	When I go to New York,
6		你可以去 whatever whatever whatever	you can go to <i>whatever whatever whatever</i> .
7		那因为我妈妈在那边	Then because my mom was there
8		我我们两个以为就 oh 没问题	I, we both thought oh no problem.
9		那就很好可是他一直 like	But he was constantly <i>like</i>
10		不是奇怪就是很 like almost weird	not strange, just - <i>like almost weird</i> .
11		you know like borderline inappropriate	<i>You know like borderline inappropriate</i> .
12	W:	uh huh	Uuh huh.
13	T	but, yea it's my mom's there	<i>But, yeah it's my mom's there</i> .
14		usually old man 就 weird	<i>Usually old men</i> are just <i>weird</i> .
15		if your freaking mom is there	<i>if your freaking mom is there</i>
16		可是他后来给我发一个微信说 like	But he later sent me a text saying <i>like</i>
17	W	约 [ 出来 ]	asking you [out]
18	T:	[ 你 - 一个 ] 人一个人一个人	[You- alone] alone alone.

While women may encounter harassment when they study abroad (Polanyi, 1995), the episode here shows that they may have experienced it in the U.S. prior to their time overseas. Here, Tiffany evoked the previous experience to cope with what she had more recently encountered during her time in China, and yet in the telling of her story she also struggled to make it comprehensible to her roommate. Tiffany grew up as a heritage Chinese speaker speaking Mandarin at home and later attended a national Chinese flagship program in the U.S. But despite her otherwise advanced Mandarin proficiency, she could only use *qíguài* (“strange”) in Mandarin to describe the man who harassed her, which she immediately replaced with evaluative adjectives in English such as *weird* (lines 10 and 14) and *inappropriate* (line 11). It was through these English words that Tiffany managed to convey that her interaction with the man was not simply strange, but rather an instance of inappropriate sexual harassment. This episode shows the absence of linguistic items to describe emotional trauma in Chinese teaching (Louie & Hodge, 1998) may serve to inhibit women language learners from discussing sexual harassment and institutionally overlook their experience with their gendered body (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

### *Type 2: Denaturalizing the Body*

The second type consists of mundane topics such as family, food, and simple requests. In their post interviews, when being asked what topics they discussed with their roommates, several women in this project confirmed that they discussed family and food. However, one topic stood out within this type – Health and Body. It occurred in 2.94% of the discourse (15 episodes) of the women participants, as opposed to only 0.2% of men’s discourse (one episode).

A closer examination further reveals that this difference was due to cultural factors related to gender. Several women discussed issues related to obesity and body image, while similar conversations only occurred once in men’s recordings. The excerpt below is one example in which two women discussed fat shaming in the Chinese culture.

**Excerpt 3. “Don’t eat too much meat.” (S = Sabrina, Y = Chinese roommate Yi.)**

1	S:	我 ah 我也大学中文教授	I ah I also my college Chinese professor
2	Y:	em	Em.
3	S:	他他最喜欢这个 sentence	He likes this <i>sentence</i> the most.
4		ah 很多考试	Ah in many tests.
5		他给我这个 sentence to translate	He gives me this <i>sentence to translate</i> .
6		uh it was uh 你, 别 uh。	<i>Uh it was uh</i> you, don't <i>uh</i> .
7		Oh 我想不起来 um, 你别吃	Oh I can't recall it <i>um</i> , you don't eat-
8	Y:	太多	Too much.
9	S:	太多肉,	Too much meat.
10		要不然你越来越胖 (laughing)	Otherwise you will become fatter and fatter.
11	Y:	(laughing)	
12	S:	每一考试他们给我这个 sentence	Every test they give me this <i>sentence</i> .
13		(laughing)	
14	Y:	因为中国的女生, 都希望她很瘦	Because Chinese girls all wish she was skinny.
15	S:	em	Em.
16	Y:	因为中国觉得瘦是很漂亮的	Because in China skinny is pretty.

Here, as Sabrina recounted the prompt for translation in her Chinese language classes, the example she provided is an instance of institutional endorsement (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) that naturalizes fat shaming. However, Sabrina did not specify fat shaming as gendered, but her Chinese roommate Yi immediately reframed it as a concern specific to young women (“Chinese girls” in line 14). As Yi quickly made the link between fat shaming and young women in China, the example sentence Sabrina encountered in language learning then became linguistic practices of “bodily regulation and management” that construct gender for women (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016, p. 173). Several other practices of body management (e.g., skincare) also appeared in women’s recordings in the DormTalk corpus, but not men’s. While these discussions around body management reflect China’s consumerism that positions the female body as the object of scrutiny and constant improvement (Yang, 2011), they also show how these gender ideologies

can come to organize women L2 learners' discourse when they interact with their Chinese peers.

Another theme of gendered health also emerged in the DormTalk corpus. The excerpt below also occurred between Sabrina and her Chinese roommate Yi, in which they discussed cultural differences in drinking water. Sabrina asked Yi why she wouldn't drink cold water, and Yi brought up the Chinese cultural perspective that views cold water as harmful during women's menstruation.

**Excerpt 4. I like drinking cold water. (S = Sabrina. Y = Sabrina's roommate Yi. )**

1	Y:	可是可是，可是你们来那个，你知道，	But but, but when you have that- you know-
2		女孩子，每个月，都会 [来那个你]	girls- every month- will have [that you]
3	S:	[um 对对对，]	[um yes yes yes]
4		我不知道说什么	I don't know what to say.
5	Y:	就是，uh-	Just, uh-
6	S:	(laughing) 你知道	You know.
7	Y:	(laughing) 等一下 um- 这个？	Wait um this?
8		我不知道是什么，就是就是来了	I don't know what it is. Just just it comes
9		就是女孩子不是每个月都会 -	just- don't girls every month have-
10	S:	um 对我知道	Um yes I know.
11	Y:	你知道是什么啊	You know what it is?
12	S:	对对我知道	Yes yes I know.
13	Y:	你们那个时候也喝 =	At that time you also drink=
14	S:	=no! 我不知道 (laughing) I'm kidding。	=No! I don't know. (laughing) I'm kidding.
15		所以你	So you
16	Y:	你们也喝 - 冰水吗	You also drink- cold water?
17	S:	um.	Um.
18	Y:	冰水	Cold water?
19	S:	对	Yes.
20	Y:	ah!	Ah?!
21	S:	为什么我不会，喝冰水 =	Why would I not, drink cold water=
22	Y:	=那你们会痛吗	=Then will you have pain?
23	S:	((negating)) u uhm.	U uhm.

The handling of menstruation is a prominent cultural difference between Chinese and western women (Zhu et al., 2010), and yet menstruation or even its many euphemisms are excluded from formal language teaching. Here, Sabrina clearly did not know how to say menstruation in Mandarin, and Yi did not know how to say it in English either and had to refer to it with a vague referent *that* (line 1). The two women spent six turns to establish menstruation as the “you-know-what” (lines 1 to 12). Notably, Yi did not teach Sabrina the expression for menstruation in Mandarin, and their avoidance illustrates a choice to conform to this institutional exclusion of the female body in Chinese language learning. Moreover, Excerpt 4 also shows how the gendered cultural difference in handling menstruation may become a salient topic for discussion for women Mandarin learners in everyday talk, because it can regulate such mundane experience as drinking water. As Yi expressed her disbelief through repeated interrogatives (lines 16, 18, 22) and an expression of surprise (*ah!*), the two women had to negotiate the cultural differences that exist in the ways of caring for their gendered bodies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

### *Type 3: Gender as a Social Issue*

The third type consisted of a small number of topic categories that recurred relatively more frequently in the men’s discourse, of which the largest difference was Social Issues. While 75 episodes (12.30%) in men’s recordings fell under Social Issues, the topic category only appeared in 42 episodes (7.39%) in women’s discourse. However, one subcategory of Social Issues was found exclusively in conversations between women – gender inequalities and sexism. For example, although Mae complained in her final interview that her Chinese roommate Kim was uninterested in conversations related to social and political topics, the two of them had heated discussions related to gender and gender roles in dating, marriage and family life. Below is an example from one such conversation.

**Excerpt 5. “Chinese men are sexist.” (M=Mae. K=Mae’s roommate Kim.)**

1	K:	对现在在中国的话	Right now in China
2		很多男生还是比较大男子主义	many men are still a bit sexist (literally: male-chauvinist).
3	M:	对	Yes.
4	K:	如果他真的觉得 -	If he really feels-
5		我的老婆比我挣得多	that my wife makes more money than me
6		他会有一些自卑	he would have a sense of inferiority
7	M:	对自卑 [ 会有 ] 些问题	Yes inferiority [ would have ] problems
8	K:	[ 然后 ]	[ Then ]
9		自 [ 卑多了 ]	Much more [ inferior ]
10	M:	[ 然后可 ] 能离婚或者	[ And then maybe ] divorce
11		[ 去找另外一个女生对 ]	or [ go find another girl. Right. ]
12	K:	[ 对对对, 嗯, 嗯 ]	[ Yes yes yes. Hm. Hm. ]
13	M:	有这种问题就是, 对很难	Having this sort of problem is, yes it’s hard
14		因为男生一定要有他们自己就是骄傲	because guys must have their own pride
15		就是 [ 养家的 ]	They are [ the breadwinner ]
16	K:	[ 嗯 - ]	[ Hm. - ]
17	M:	一个	One
18	K:	对	Right.
19	M:	理念	Concept.
20	K:	现在在中国观念基本上也是	Now in China the idea basically is also
21		男生是一家之主	That the guy is the head of the household.

The conversation began with Kim using the denaturalization tactic (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) and restricting the cultural context to China, making the ideological gender roles not natural but cultural. Then, Kim described a professionally more successful wife as a cause for psychological problems for men, but Mae further framed it as a threat to marriage (lines 10-11). Eventually the episode ended with both women agreeing on the importance to make men feel “pride” and Kim evoking men’s role as “the head of the household” in Chinese discourse (line 21).

Kim also defined professional success using economic measures (women *earning* more than men), situating the discussion in the present-day China where politics around gender closely intertwine with economic inequalities in public and private lives (Hanser, 2005).

This episode showcases how young women in China make sense of the changing gender ideologies with and through each other, which can include study abroad students with whom they came to interact. Indeed, this episode shows frequent overlapping turns between the two speakers, signaling eager contribution from both sides to the conversation. However, while expressions such as 大男子主义 or 一家之主 are critical in their discursive (de)construction of gender ideologies, Mae did not produce either of them. Even though she was the most advanced Mandarin L2 speaker in the study abroad program, Mae's engagement in this discussion was contingent upon Kim's telling of these gender ideologies.

Discussions around gender inequities were not only informed by the ideologies what the American students encountered while in China; what the American students had experienced in the U.S. also emerged. Excerpt 6 below came from a conversation that the American student Elisa initiated. Abortion remains highly controversial in the American sociopolitical context, and Elisa was curious as to how it would be perceived in China. This excerpt took place after her roommate Sulin said that abortion is not a usual topic in everyday life in China.

**Excerpt 6. "Abortion is controversial in America." (E = Elisa, S = Elisa's roommate Sulin.)**

1	E:	对, oh okay 在美国就是一个特别 um	Right. Oh <i>okay</i> . In America it's an especially um
2	S:	是违法的, 是不合法	It's illegal. It's not lawful?
3	E:	um	um
4	S:	那就是不合法那就是	Then it's not lawful then that is?
5	E:	或者是一个像特别 =	Or it is like a special=
6	S:	= 是一种犯罪吗	=like a crime?
7	E:	uh 有的州是	Uh in some states it is.

8		可是是 um 很多人像讨论这个,	But it is um many people talk about this,
9		是一个政治问题或者社会问题	It's a political issue or a social issue.
10		um 特别像, 有矛盾	Um very similar. There's a conflict.
11	S:	这是一个有争议	This is a controversial-
12	E:	对对	Right right.
13	S:	uh huh.	Uh huh.
14	E:	um. wow 这个很有意思	Um. <i>Wow</i> this is very interesting.
15		因为像在美国很多人都不会说堕胎的	Because like in America many people won't talk about abortions
16		这个因为像, um,	This because like, um,
17		像会面对很多偏见	Like you'll face many biases.

Elisa began here by describing the public view of abortion in the U.S., where its legal status is debated and politicized. As Elisa discussed the politicization of abortion in the U.S. here, gender is no longer situated in the context of China; the gender regimes that she had experienced in her L1 and home country prior to going abroad also shaped her participation in discourse when speaking Mandarin (Block, 2015). But Elisa quickly showed signs of struggles in describing the complexity of the situation, which led to a series of clarification questions from her roommate Sulin (lines 2, 4, 6). In Elisa's response, she paraphrased and carefully restricted the opinions to the American context (lines 1 and 15). This denaturalization tactic (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) unlinked these opinions from other contexts and helped Elisa frame it as an American cultural phenomenon.

## 6 DISCUSSION/IMPLICATION 讨论和启示

Despite the many signs of struggles in the excerpts presented here, the women Chinese L2 learners in the DormTalk corpus used strategies such as code switching, extensive paraphrasing, or code talk to overcome their linguistic limitations and engaged in many conversations related to gender, ranging from sexual harassment to female menstruation, and from the management of bodies and

families to access to abortion. These themes reflected the young women's concerns for safety, wellbeing, and the gender norms that regulate their conduct and choice. These findings highlight that the pairing of American students with Chinese roommates in the dormitory setting not only provided access for female language learners to engage with host communities (Trentmen, 2015); more importantly it allowed for women from different cultures to exchange and negotiate gender ideologies and for L2 learners to make sense of the gender norms that they have encountered in both the study abroad destination and their home societies. As shown in the findings, they sometimes even employed discursive tactics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) to challenge these institutional and cultural ideologies that regulate women's conduct and sexualize their bodies in society.

The comparison between women's and men's discourse here sheds light on one potential gap between language used in formal instruction and the actual everyday discourse that (women) learners may encounter (Mori, 2007). Popular proficiency guidelines for L2 learning, such as the OPI guidelines by ACTFL, emphasize sociopolitical issues that are of "national and international interest" as a priority for advanced L2 learners, whereas discussions of family and health are typically considered personal and "familiar topics" and tend to take place only in instruction at the beginning and intermediate levels (ACTFL, 2012, pp. 6-7). The result of the comparison in this study shows that the language learning goals framed by ACTFL can fail to challenge existing norms and hinder the work of equity in language teaching (Senel, 2020). A gender inclusive pedagogical approach requires us to reconsider topics such as family and body simply as easier and more personal issues. The #MeToo movement has clearly demonstrated that women's private and intimate experiences are also deeply political and can be of national and international concerns (De Costa, 2018).

Identities such as gender continue to be inadequately addressed in Chinese language teaching (Duff et al., 2013). From our anecdotal experience as women Chinese language educators, routine experience with our gendered bodies (such as

menstruation that emerged in our findings) remains largely overlooked in formal language teaching materials (though in the rare case when it does enter the textbook discourse, it has only focused on men, see Note 2.). The exclusion of women's body may be related to the Chinese culture; after all, as pointed out by an audience member when this paper was first presented at a conference, the female body is rarely discussed in Chinese school discourse even for L1 speakers. The avoidance of gendered body is perhaps what is considered to be culturally acceptable or even appropriate. Considering this, the implication of our study here is not necessarily the introduction of each specific item related to gender or the female body. Rather, we suggest language teaching professionals reflect on the gender biases in different societies as culturally conditioned norms. For example, we can introduce discourse strategies (e.g., euphuisms for menstruation in different languages) and other culturally appropriate ways in classroom teaching. Then women L2 learners can feel that their powerlessness and vulnerability (Schneider, 2020) are being acknowledged, and they are linguistically prepared to cope with their safety, health, and necessities. Moreover, linguistic expressions that indicate ideological gender roles in family or society, such as 一家之主 ("head of household"), can also become opportunities to engage students in critical reflections of gender norms in different cultures (Kinginger, 2009) in both formal language teaching and study abroad programs.

Methodologically, our study shows the potential of a corpus-based approach to inform inclusive Chinese language teaching practices. When combined with qualitative discourse analysis methods, the bottom-up approach afforded by a learners' corpus can uncover limitations in our existing teaching practices. However, due to our goal to capture study abroad students' peer talk, many other types of conversations were not included. The construction of gender is also not limited to discussions that were coded and categorized under the themes related to gender. Chinese language researchers could further utilize other corpus techniques to reveal the relationships between different themes in female L2 learners'

experience.

Finally, one may notice that most of the excerpts presented here came from three biracial Chinese American women who could also be considered as Chinese heritage speakers (Tiffany, Mae, and Elisa). This observation that women's intercultural experience with gender also intersects with local and global geopolitics around race (Schneider et al., 2020). It is beyond the scope of the current study to further elaborate on the intersectionality of gender and race or ethnicity, but we have conducted a follow-up analysis focusing just on these multiracial Chinese women's discursive construction of gender (Diao & Wang, 2021). Moreover, the current study has only focused on women's discourse and dealt with the need for pedagogical inclusion of women. Scholarship on gender inclusivity goes beyond the binary thinking and includes many gender non-conforming populations such as transgenders and queers. Gender and sexual minorities must no longer be hidden in future Chinese L2 teaching and research either.

## REFERENCES

- ACTFL. (2012). *ACTFL proficiency guidelines* [Electronic version]. Retrieved August 30, 2013, from [http://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/ACTFLProficiencyGuidelines2012\\_-FINAL.pdf](http://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/ACTFLProficiencyGuidelines2012_-FINAL.pdf)
- Anya, U. (2011). Connecting with communities of learners and speakers: Integrative ideals, experiences, and motivations of successful black second language learners. *Foreign Language Annals*, 44.3, 441–466.
- Anya, U. (2019). Black sojourners abroad: Challenges and opportunities for promoting foreign language and study abroad program participation among African American students. 2019 American Association for Applied Linguistics Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, March 9-12, 2019.
- Block, D. (2015). Researching language and identity. In B. Paltridge & A. Phakiti (Eds.). *Research methods in applied linguistics, 2nd edition*, (pp. 527-540). London: Bloomsbury.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Theorizing identity in language and sexuality research. *Language in society*, 33(4), 469-515.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2016). Embodied sociolinguistics. In Coupland, Coupland, Nikolas, & Cambridge University Press. (Eds.). *Sociolinguistics: Theoretical debates* (pp. 173-198). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of gender*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York: Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (2005). Language, gender, and sexuality: Current issues and new directions. *Applied Linguistics*, 26(4), 482-502.
- Creswell, J. W. (2011). Controversies in mixed methods research. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 4, 269-284.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Chen, N. N., Clark, C. D., Gottschang, S. Z., & Lyn J. (2001). "Introduction." In N. N. Chen, C.D. Clark, S. Z. Gottschang, & J. Lyn (Eds.), *China Urban: Ethnographies of Contemporary Culture* (pp. 1–22). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Chou, C.P., Xia, Y., & Goh, M. H. (2011). *All Things Considered: An Advanced Reader of Modern Chinese*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Cui, X., & Zhang, B. L. (2011). Quanqiu hanyu xuexizhe yuliaoku jianshe fangan [The Principles for building the "International Corpus of Learner Chinese"]. *Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong*, 2, 100-108.
- Culpeper, J., Mackey, A., & Taguchi, N. (2018). *Second language pragmatics: From theory to research*. New York: Routledge.
- Cupples, J. (2002). The field as a landscape of desire: sex and sexuality in geographical fieldwork. *Area*, 34(4), 382-390.
- Davidson, D. E. (2010). Study abroad: When, how long, and with what results? New data from the Russian front. *Foreign Language Annals*, 43(1), 6-26.
- De Costa, P. I. (2018). Toward greater diversity and social equality in language education research. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 15(4), 302-307.
- Diao, W. (2016). Peer socialization into gendered L2 Mandarin practices in a study abroad context: Talk in the dorm. *Applied Linguistics*, 37(5), 599-620.
- Diao, W, Wang, Y., & Chen, C. (2019). The DormTalk Corpus. <https://dormtalk.arizona.edu/>.
- Diao, W & Wang, Y. (2021). Multiracial Chinese American Women Studying Abroad in China: The Intersectionality of Race, Gender, and Language Learning. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Education*, 4(1), 39-55.
- Douglass, K. (2006). From the learner's perspective: A case study on motives and study abroad. In

- Wilkinson, S. (Ed.) *Insights from study abroad for language programs*. Boston: Thomson Heinle.
- Duff, P., Anderson, T., Ilnyckyj, R., VanGaya, E., Wang, R., & Yates, E. (2013). *Learning Chinese: Linguistic, sociocultural, and narrative perspectives* (Vol. 5). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2013). *Language and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fernández, J., & Staples, S. (Forthcoming.) Pragmatic approaches. In N. Tracy-Ventura & M. Paquot (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of SLA and Corpora*. New York: Routledge.
- Gore, J. E. (2005). *Dominant beliefs and alternative voices. Discourse, belief, and gender in American study abroad*. New York: Routledge.
- Hanser, A. (2005). The gendered rice bowl: The sexual politics of service work in urban China. *Gender & Society*, 19(5), 581-600.
- Inoue, M. (2006). *Vicarious language: Gender and linguistic modernity in Japan* (Vol. 11). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Institute of International Education. (2018). "Profiles of U.S. study abroad students, 2005/06-2017/18." *Open Door Report on International Educational Exchange*. Retrieved from <http://www.iie.org/opendoors>
- Irvine, J. T., and Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P.V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities* (pp.35-84). Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Isabelli-García, C. (2006). Study abroad social networks, motivation and attitudes: Implications for second language acquisition. In DuFon, M., & Churchill, E. (Eds.) *Language learners in study abroad contexts*, 15 (pp. 231-258). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kiesling, S. (2019). *Language, Gender, and Sexuality: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Kinginger, C. (2008). Language learning in study abroad: Case studies of Americans in France. *Modern Language Journal*, 92, i-131.
- Kinginger, C. (2009). *Language learning and study abroad: A critical reading of research*. Berlin: Springer.
- Kinginger, C. (2019). Four questions for the next generation of study abroad researchers. In Howard, M. (Ed.) *Study abroad, second language acquisition and interculturality* (pp. 263-278). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Kline, R. R. (1998). Literacy and language learning in a study abroad context. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 4(2), 139-65.
- Louie, K., & Hodge, B. (1998). *The politics of Chinese language and culture*. London: Routledge.
- Mori, J. (2007). Border crossings? Exploring the intersection of second language acquisition, conversation analysis, and foreign language pedagogy. *Modern Language Journal*, 91, 849–862.
- McEnergy, T., Brezina, V., Gablasova, D., & Banerjee, J. (2019). Corpus linguistics, learner corpora, and SLA: Employing technology to analyze language use. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 39, 74-92.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity, and educational change*. London: 600 Pavlenko and Norton Longman/Pearson Education.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In Duranti, A. & Goodwin, C. (Ed.) *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*, 11 (pp. 335-353). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Paquot, M., & Plonsky, L. (2017). Quantitative research methods and study quality in learner corpus research. *International Journal of Learner Corpus Research*, 3(1), 61-94.
- Polanyi, L. (1995). Language learning and living abroad: Stories from the field. In Freed, Barbara F. (Ed.) *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context* (pp. 271-291). Amsterdam:

John Benjamins Publishing Co.

- Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Schneider, M., Lord, E., & Wilczak, J. (2020). We, too: contending with the sexual politics of fieldwork in China. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 1-22.
- Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(3), 356-382.
- Staples, S., & Fernández, J. (2019). Corpus linguistics approaches to L2 pragmatics research. In Taguchi, N. (Ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Second Language Acquisition and Pragmatics* (pp. 241-254). New York: Routledge.
- Talbut, S., & Stewart, M. A. (1999). What's the subject of study abroad?: Race, gender, and "living culture". *The Modern Language Journal*, 83(2), 163-175.
- Tarnawska Senel, M. (2020). Social justice in the language curriculum: Interrogating the goals and outcomes of language education in college. In R. Criser & E. Malakaj (Eds.), *Diversity and decolonization in German Studies* (pp. 63-82). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tea Leaf Nation Staff. (2015, December 9). *For Chinese students in America, a transformative journey*. Foreign Policy. Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/09/for-chinese-students-in-america-a-transformative-journey-fp-survey-exclusive-results/>
- Trentman, E. (2015). Negotiating gendered identities and access to social networks during study abroad in Egypt. In Mitchell, R., Tracy-Ventura, N., & McManus, K. (Eds.) *Social interaction, identity and language learning during residence abroad* (pp. 263-280). Amsterdam: Eurosla.
- Twombly, S. B. (1995). "Piropos" and friendships: Gender and culture clash in study abroad. *Frontiers: The interdisciplinary journal of study abroad*, 1, 1-27.
- Yang, J. (2011). Nennu and shunu: Gender, body politics, and the beauty economy in China. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 36(2), 333-357.
- Yang, J. (2013). The politics of huanghua: Gender, metaphors, and privatization in China. *Language & Communication*, 33(1), 61-68.
- Zhang, Q. (2017). *Language and social change in China: Undoing commonness through cosmopolitan Mandarin*. New York: Routledge.
- Zhang, W., & Kramarae, C. (2012). Are Chinese women turning sharp-tongued?. *Discourse & Society*, 23(6), 749-770.
- Zhu, X., Wong, F., Bensoussan, A., Lo, S. K., Zhou, C., & Yu, J. (2010). Are there any cross-ethnic differences in menstrual profiles? A pilot comparative study on Australian and Chinese women with primary dysmenorrhea. *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology Research*, 36(5), 1093-110.

## APPENDIX

### Convention of Transcription

=	latched talk
[overlapping]	overlapping talk
(notes)	transcriber's notes
%English%	other languages, mostly English
-	prolonged speech

### Notes

---

- 1 These levels were based on the placement of the students by the study abroad programs.
- 2 For example, in one of the very popular Chinese language textbook series distributed by Princeton University Press, *All Things Considered* (Chou, Xia, & Goh, 2011), lexical items related to the male body (e.g., condoms) are featured as the title of a chapter and recur throughout the text.

# 打破言语中的性别禁忌： 来华女性留学生与同龄人的宿舍话语

刁文豪 王轶

## 摘要

本文通过研究在华女性留学生的中文话语来探讨语言教学中的性别包容。本研究用数据来源于 DormTalk 语料库，该语料库文本取自在华留学项目中的中文二语学习者与其中国同屋在生活中的自然交谈录音转录。语料库的内容按主题分为 17 个大类。描述性统计结果表明女性学习者和同项目中男性学习者的语言使用存在部分但有限的差异。进一步地定量分析展现了学生如何交流、叙述以及应对与女性身体有关的经历并使用各种话语策略与她们的中国同屋交流。该结论表明，语言教学可以进一步融入批判性女性主义的视角，从而改善语言教学中对性别的包容性。

**关键词：**中文作为第二语言 海外留学 性别 语料库 话语研究

---

刁文豪，美国亚利桑那大学。（本文通讯作者）  
王轶，美国埃默里大学。