Teaching Chinese literature in the language classroom: Issues for Australian higher education

Abstract

What is the role of literature in the teaching of Chinese language as a foreign language in Western higher education? This study considers the use of literary texts as a medium for the teaching of ‘critical cultural awareness’ in the case of Chinese as a second or heritage language. It is argued here that the Chinese language presents particular complexities with regard to the language–culture nexus. Decisions need to be made concerning issues of script (traditional or simplified), location (mainland China as distinct from Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Chinese diaspora) and time (‘traditional’ culture as distinct from ‘modern’ or ‘contemporary’ culture). In the context of the Australian multicultural classroom, where one can easily be teaching students from Australia, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia or other regions of Asia, decisions on these issues can be sensitive and highly political. This contribution will engage with these issues from the perspective of a teaching practitioner in the field of Chinese language and culture studies with a focus on the complexities of defining pedagogic goals for ‘critical cultural awareness’.
1. The teaching of Chinese in the West: historical trajectory

Until the 1980s the teaching of Chinese in Western universities was marked by dedication to the sinological tradition of mastering the elite texts of Chinese imperial culture together with a few formative literary works from the modern pre-communist period. In the sinological curriculum language and culture were inseparable, but there was often a vast gulf between the classical verities taught in the classroom and the realities of life in Chinese-speaking societies. Before the official recognition of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) by Australia in 1972, oral Chinese was only marginally taught in the classroom, and students were encouraged to go Hong Kong or Taiwan to gain oral facility. By the 1980s, the recognition of the PRC by the United States and major Western nations, together with a turn towards communicative foreign language teaching, led to the development of reformed curricula for the teaching of modern Chinese. New textbooks were designed to teach the Western undergraduate essential practical skills for living and studying in mainland China. Practical Chinese Reader, a series of texts from elementary to advanced level, produced in the PRC, was the most widely used classroom text for the better part of two decades.¹ The elementary readers consisted of highly artificial dialogues between a boy and a girl, Gubo and Palanka, together with grammatical explanations favoured by linguists in the PRC but often unfamiliar to teachers in the West. The focus was on dialogic communication and the gradual mastery of sentence patterns. Cultural knowledge was restricted to key tourist locations and basic historical and geographic knowledge. The student would learn the words for the Forbidden City and the Temple of Heaven but lack any understanding of the burning social issues and concerns of Chinese populations of the 1980s and 1990s. The Chinese language of the PRC textbook was very much ‘foreigner speak’. The authors of the textbook made up for what they saw as perceived inadequacies in Chinese courtesy language by throwing in ‘thank you’ and ‘how are you’ in ways unknown to actual intra-Chinese discourse. But, at least, a generation of Westerners were taught to talk in courteous foreigner-speak to Chinese counterparts, which was more than could be acquired in the Sinological tradition.²

In the decades since the overthrowing of the sinological tradition of teaching Chinese in Australian higher education, Chinese language curriculum has been dominated by purely instrumentalist concerns. For this reason, the teaching of Chinese literature remains restricted to ‘boutique subjects’ within the language programs of the major universities or is simply not taught at all. In some cases it is taught predominantly to students with native or near native-background.³ As I will discuss below, this instrumentalist approach is proving to be an impediment to the integration of sophisticated cultural understandings into Chinese language programs in Australian higher education. It is time for a new perspective on the role of literature in the teaching of Chinese language.
2. Incorporating new perspectives

As a practitioner teaching Chinese modern and classical literature in an Australian university, I will here consider key issues in the incorporation of Chinese literary texts into the regular Chinese language major. My discussion here is informed by the views of leading scholars such as Heidi Byrnes, of Georgetown University, who has long advocated teaching from the viewpoint of the language–culture nexus and the adoption of a genre-based approach to pedagogy. Her argument that languages should be taught within a coherent intellectual framework is of particular importance (Byrnes 2002). I also appreciate the notion of ‘interculturality’ put forward by scholars such as Lo Bianco, Liddicoat and Crozet (1999), who argue that students in multicultural contexts seek to negotiate a ‘third space’ in which to negotiate meanings. Particularly instructive is Byram’s notion of ‘critical cultural awareness’, which he defines as encouraging the ability of students “to gain a new perspective on themselves and their society and a new critique of its nature and meaning for themselves as members of it” (Byram 1997: 57). Guilherme (2002) has added further analysis of ‘critical cultural awareness’ in the language classroom, although her book gives few concrete examples of how this can be achieved. Apart from encouraging critical awareness for individual self-realization, language learning has important implications for the education of citizens of an increasingly globalised world. In this context one can note Risager’s advocacy of “a transnational understanding of language and culture... to help cultivate world citizens” (Risager 2007: 164).

As I will discuss here, ‘critical cultural awareness’ in the Australian Chinese-language classroom is richly imbricated in political, literary and identity discursive formations. In this study I will proceed by first identifying the key issues in the language–culture nexus that inform this analysis and then turn to the specific issues at stake in the case of teaching literature within a Chinese language program in the tertiary sector.

2.1 Cultural content and language acquisition

Byrnes has called for “an intellectual foundation that can truly accommodate all aspects of a [foreign language] department’s work” (2002: 115). She applauds the ‘cultural turn’ in the social sciences of the late twentieth century, which has superseded a communicative and more ‘formalist’ tradition. As she points out, “it was a sociologically and anthropologically-oriented version of culture that came to be privileged in this new cultural studies enterprise” (2002: 117). Foreign language professionals need to familiarize themselves with social science theory and, following on from Foucault and Bourdieu, consider how best to focus on notions of power and identity through language use. With regard to the foundational intellectual framework, she argues “we need to develop a principled and coherent understanding of the relationship between language, language use, and socioculturally and linguistically constructed knowledge” (2002: 119).
Byrnes’ work draws on the functional linguistics of M.A.K. Halliday and followers, specifically the idea that language is not so much “a system of forms” but a “system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realized” (Byrnes 2002: 120). The notion of genres comes in here. She cites Martin (1985) in this respect: “Genres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them” (Byrnes 2002: 121). She concludes that this understanding of language “can readily accommodate and expansively support the central concerns of literary cultural studies” (p.122). The goal of foreign language teaching is thus “multiple literacies”, that is, literacy in the language of personal life and also of public discourses (p.123). The goal is to produce a “multi-competent speaker” who has been taught culture “as it is mediated through language, not as it is studied by social scientists and anthropologists” (p.124). In order to do this one needs “an integrated curriculum” and “a pedagogy that links content via genre to pedagogical tasks” leading to advanced levels of performance (p.125). The German program Byrnes runs at Georgetown University has a very strong literacy orientation as opposed to an oral orientation. This is intentional and in line with the curriculum based on the teaching of content by means of a theme-genre and task-based approach (Byrnes 2002: 126). The Chinese program at Georgetown offers a rich range of subjects on cultural topics. One point of difference with the situation in Australian universities is that the full Chinese language major is not available to native Chinese speakers. This allows the program to focus on non-Chinese background speakers to a greater extent than is often possible in the Australian higher education classroom. The Georgetown curriculum includes both subjects taught in Chinese and cultural subjects taught in English, such as Chinese literature in translation.  

3. The politics of teaching Chinese language in Australia

Turning now to the teaching of Chinese literature as a foreign language program in Australia, the first question is which literature, expressed in which language, and in which script? Should we teach mostly canonical texts? What role should classical Chinese, the written language of the Chinese before the modernizing movements of the twentieth century, play in a Chinese language curriculum in the West? Should we favour the traditional fuller script no longer in everyday use in contemporary China, but in constant use in Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Chinese diaspora? Or, rather choose instead the simplified script created in the early socialist period in China and favoured by textbooks for foreigners produced in China? Should we avoid writers frowned upon or even banned in mainland China, to avoid political sensitivities? This is a very real concern because in the Australian Chinese language classroom we regularly teach students born in China, or who were educated in mainland China to upper primary or high school level. The issue of prior learning is emerging as a significant challenge in the teaching of foreign languages internationally. As Anne Pauwels has noted recently with regard to Western university language programs, “the student whose competence has been built up primarily, if not solely, through language classes
in schools is no longer the norm” (2011: 250). She argues that Western language programs are too often based on assumptions about the monolingual status of the majority enrolment, a situation that is no longer borne out in the classroom. In the case of Australia, practical considerations relating to class size and funding can often preclude the optimal screening of students with prior exposure to the language, leading to a challenging situation for the Chinese-language educator.

The Australia-based Chinese language educator is thus faced with several dilemmas. In elementary language classes, do we want to align our teaching with mainland Chinese textbooks written for foreigners, which aim to teach a simple linguistic code (‘foreigner talk’) denuded of anything that smacks of ambiguity or complexity? In teaching Anglophone Australians, how do we avoid an essentializing or packaging of Chinese culture as quintessentially ‘foreign’ and exotic? At higher levels, students of non-Chinese background often sit side by side with students with strong or even native speaker background. How can one effectively teach language with such a varied range of language strengths and experience? How can one respond to university administrators, members of the public, and even some language teachers, who argue for a purely utilitarian goal in language programs, that is, Chinese for everyday dialogic or business purposes? Over the past decade two significant social trends are also shaping the language environment for students: the Asianisation of Australian cities and the ubiquity of the Chinese-language Internet and Chinese digital cultural forms. Both of these call for special comment as they offer new educational opportunities for students of Chinese language.

3.1 Learning Chinese in multicultural Australia

For many of our students, Chinese is either their heritage language or their mother tongue. Even for our non-Chinese background students, the city of Melbourne is a multicultural metropolis where one can constantly meet Chinese people and hear Chinese languages spoken. As Risager has pointed out, linguistic practice migrates and “circulates around the world from one language community to the next (or from one linguistic network to the next) via translations and other transformations” (Risager 2007: 154). This provides an appropriate paradigm for interpreting the interaction between the varied student base in the Chinese program and the University/city context. One could well say of Chinese, as Risager says of her native Danish, that “To learn a language such as for example, Danish is synonymous with gaining access to a more or less global network” (Risager 2007: 154). This means that Chinese is no longer, as it used to be in Australia, something ‘out there’, but rather a language that can easily be made part of everyday urban living in our multicultural cities.

Chinese is also a language constantly being shaped and recreated by the use of new digital media and the Internet. Internet literature is a new and highly popular genre in Chinese speaking areas. Teenagers in China’s eastern broadbanded areas can download books at very low cost on their mobile phones and read them as they commute on the metro or buses to school. Young people in China get their
news not so much from the stodgy official print media (“The People’s Daily”) but rather from Weibo, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter. The younger Chinese-speaking generation in East Asia and the Chinese diaspora in Australia increasingly consume films, television dramas, pop music and social media belonging to an emerging ‘East Asian Pop Culture’, a vast media outflow of various Chinese and East Asian languages underpinned by multilingual dubbing and subtitles in Chinese script (both simplified and traditional). Our own Chinese language students too, are engaging in Sinophone digital discourse. For example, an Honours or postgraduate student in Chinese studies in Australia may well investigate the neologisms invented by youthful bloggers on Chinese website portals, set up a Skype interview with participants in China, or blog onto the site of a human rights activist in China. The explosion of media technologies in East Asia and the (belated) strengthening of broadband speeds in Australia allows our ‘techno-savvy’ students to engage in these new forms of discourse to the full extent of their linguistic capability.

3.2 The importance of literary genres in the teaching of Chinese

Chinese-language website portals include such items as news reports, celebrity stories, social media, satirical mash-ups, blogs, protest websites and romance narratives. To a much greater extent than the formal print media, digital media offer rich examples of different linguistic registers in Chinese, ranging from the formal to the popular, and including the coded discourse used to evade censorship, and the satirical style used to indicate subtle protest. These often highly creative forms of discourse are composed in a plethora of generic forms. In popular websites portals such as sohu.com or tianya one can find poetry, pop songs, romances, biographies, narratives, commentaries on photo stories, celebratory pieces, condolences, mourning, manifestos protesting social ills, and much more. For this reason any introduction to advanced literacy in Chinese must include what are essentially literary genres and tropes. Historically, literary genres have been held in very high esteem in Chinese culture and Chinese education. The elites of the past learnt how to write tightly structured poetry from childhood and were taught how to reason in the parallel cadences of classical Chinese. Chinese political leaders today inscribe a sample of their calligraphic script on buildings and placards. Chairman Mao, dominant party leader until his death in 1976, composed well-regarded examples of classical poetry.

The signal importance of literary forms in Chinese culture, past and present, means that literary genres provide a critical point of entrance into higher order mastery of Chinese language and culture. Imaginative and creative language works on the emotions, adds nuance to cultural understandings and drama to the learning experience. According to Shanahan “the affective side of the language learning experience may be an inducement to the learner’s success” (1997: 167). The rhetoric of language, the combination of music and meaning, is best crystallized in rhetorical and literary genres, which should be incorporated as appropriate into language learning at all levels. Students need to understand the way that particular
grammatical and rhetorical structures are associated with particular affective and communicative functions in Chinese, an issue that becomes of great importance in more sophisticated rhetorical genres such as praise, blame, remonstration, the language of ethical dilemmas, of mourning, of celebration and so on. As widely noted, different societies have different hierarchies of rhetorical repertoires that shift over time. The student of Chinese, for example, needs to have some familiarity with the ethical discourse of Confucianism, the imported discourse of Marxism, the theorisations of Mao Zedong and his successors, and the satirical ‘spoofing’ language of contemporary blogs and mash-ups.

4. Implications for the Chinese language classroom

The multiplicity of Chinese language(s), both oral and written, is integral to notions of identity, an issue of undeniable importance in language usage. This can be discussed in terms of ‘languaculture’, that is, language and culture considered as integrally related. Risager defines ‘languaculture’ is “the study of the various kinds of meaning carried and produced by language” (2007: 170). Her division of ‘languaculture’ into three dimensions (semantic and pragmatic; the poetic dimension; and the identity dimension) offers an insightful way of theorizing the nexus between language and the making of cultural meaning. Below I will discuss how identity relates to the multiplicity of tongues and scripts that comprise ‘Chinese’ and the implications for classroom teaching.

4.1 The identity dimension in Chinese language

The identity dimension is particularly important in the case of Chinese, where our students need to understand the function and status of the two main script forms, and what this means for numerous Chinese identities both in Australia and overseas. In the Australian Chinese classroom students will generally only be familiar with the simplified script. In my classical Chinese class, I introduce students to the rudiments of the full or complex script with the goal of developing a reading but not writing knowledge. The students also need to know that for a Taiwanese person, the complex script is considered the original and ‘authentic’ one and that the simplified script was banned and known as ‘communist bandit script’. For the Taiwanese student, Mandarin Chinese, taught widely in the West, is the language of the Nationalist Party (known as the KMT) colonisers who dominated Taiwan politics after the communist takeover of the mainland. As a new democracy, Taiwan is now taking much more interest in reviving languages such as Tai-gi (Hokkien) and Hakka spoken on the island before KMT rule in the late 1940s (Sandal 2003). A Hong Kong student, on the other hand, is likely to know only the traditional script and his or her native tongue will be Cantonese. Unlike the Hong Kong student, a Singapore student will be more familiar with the simplified script than the traditional one and may well speak a number of non-Mandarin Chinese languages. Mandarin and English are likely to have been his or her medium of education in Singapore.
For very many, possibly the majority, in the Chinese speaking world, Mandarin is the national or educative ‘standard’ but not necessarily their native tongue. As Leeman and Rabin (2007: 307) have noted in the case of teaching Spanish in the multicultural classroom, the notion of a ‘standard language’ is in itself “an ideological construction”. Teaching practitioners need to be aware of possibly prejudicial implications of the unthinking use of notions of a language ‘standard’. Shifting historical norms must also be taken into account. The Australian-born student of Chinese needs to recognize that if they want to read anything in the original from before the 1960s, then this will be in the full form script. It is not a matter of which script is more ‘authentic’ but rather of multiple identities and multiple literacies. The Western-trained scholar of Chinese history and civilization will need to be literate in both scripts.

4.2 Chinese cultural values

In a study dealing specifically with the teaching of Chinese literature, Tang has stressed the importance of allowing for understandings of ‘the cultural mind’ within the pedagogic process. This involves giving attention to “the underlying values, beliefs, and attitudes that generate the cultural products and sanction the codes of behavior commonly adopted by the members of a given society” (Tang 2006: 90). One example of this in a Chinese context is the need to sensitize students to the qunti yishi 群体意识 (group-oriented consciousness) of Chinese societies which encompasses a relational view of the self within a multi-layered community. As she points out, the ethical principles of this community consciousness are reflected in even basic elements of grammar acquired in beginners classes and continue across the ideological and literary genres taught in more advanced classes. Ethical hierarchies and didactic lessons are also apparent in key literary tropes such as the fu 赋, bi 比 and xing 兴 used in Chinese expressive genres (Tang 2006: 91).

4.3 Integrating language and literature in the Chinese classroom

At the University of Melbourne I teach two subjects with literary content: modern Chinese literature and introduction to classical Chinese. The enrolled student base comprises individuals born in Australia to Anglophone households, citizens and permanent residents of Chinese ancestry who have a certain foundation in Chinese literacy, and international students of Chinese background from South East Asia and Hong Kong. The diverse background of the student body poses a particular challenge in the teaching of literary texts as opposed to the standard textbooks. Below I discuss strategies I have adopted in meeting the challenge of a multicultural student body.

In the teaching of modern Chinese literature, I focus on three major critical tasks. The first is the careful reading of literary texts in the original or abridged form and the exploration of multiple meanings and cultural nuances in these texts. Students are encouraged to come up with their own evidence-based understandings of textual meanings. The second is engagement with multimedia so that, as far as possible,
students can ‘meet the authors’. This is done by means of video clips of interviews in
Chinese with studied twentieth century authors (such as Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Ding Ling,
Ai Qing). Through the medium of video clips made in the 1980s with these authors
and captured on CD ROM, the student is able to ‘meet’ the authors ‘in the flesh’, as
it were, and hear in their own words what motivated them, and how they survived
the vicissitudes of life in twentieth century China. The student may well be surprised
to find that the authors speak in a form of Mandarin not found in their textbooks,
which have excluded ‘dialect’ influence. The authors speak Mandarin as it is spoken
in Shanxi, Sichuan or coastal China. They talk of constant political campaigns, of
undergoing the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, of spending time in a reform
camp. Needless to say, this sort of material does not feature in language acquisition
textbooks published in the People’s Republic of China. Students are also given a
printed transcript, glossary, and related exercises. The third task is the teaching of
the historical and social context in which these authors lived and which gave meaning
to their literary works. This is taught in English by means of lectures, reading and
critical reflection on specific literary works in translation. Given the language-base
of students, it would not be possible to do all of this in Chinese, although the multi-
media session does give offer some contextual background taught in the Chinese
language.

A similar three-task approach is adopted as well in the teaching of introductory
classical Chinese. The careful reading of actual texts from Chinese antiquity in full-
form script is of cardinal importance. For many students, this is the first time they
have been presented with the traditional full-form script used for thousands of years
before the contemporary period. The grammatical features of classical Chinese are
explained in terms of equivalent expressions in the modern language. Students are
further advised that some items of classical rhetoric are embedded in present day
writings such as government documents, editorials, and similar. A number of examples
of the use of classical Chinese in the contemporary period are included in the course
reader and discussed in class. Examples include a poetic couplet in a typical New
Year card, a Chinese blogger using classical rhetoric to protest government policy, the
recitation of a classical poem by a Chinese politician in diplomatic negotiations, and
so on. In this way, the introduction to classical grammar at the core of the curriculum
is designed to offer insight into the different registers of formality that one can
discern in written discourse in the modern day. In addition to the language classes,
students are offered contextual background on texts in Chinese civilisation through
discussion of extra readings in English translation. This English-language section of the
curriculum allows for coverage of a much wider range of canonical texts than could
possibly be taught in the original language, given the time constraints of a semester-
long subject. Occasional film clips in Chinese of archaeological finds relating to the
topics covered add visual drama to the otherwise text-driven curriculum.
5. Conclusion: Implications for the tertiary sector

In my concluding remarks I will return to the issue of teaching ‘critical cultural awareness’ in the case of Chinese in the university classroom. As discussed above, the various strands of the curriculum for modern and classical Chinese language are designed to encourage students to consider issues of identity, power and hierarchies as encoded in language and genres. For example, why was Confucius condemned in the early twentieth century and how did he come back as a revered teacher in the latter part of the twentieth century? What is the impact of ‘self-censorship’ in the Chinese literary arena? How willing are Chinese authors to ‘push the envelope’ and what happens when they do? To what extent is the classical language and traditional values still relevant in the present day? The goal here is not so much to master a set curriculum but to assist students with their own self-learning in order to help them reach a ‘take-off point’ for further exploration after graduation or in their future careers in Asia. Stimulating their curiosity and providing a framework of intellectual understanding is more important than mastery of a particular lexicon or set of grammatical constructions, although students’ knowledge of these should expand considerably. Further, it is accepted that the students, coming from diverse linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, will not all reach the same standards. There will understandably be different outcomes for the Anglophone student who has only studied Chinese for two years and the student born in mainland China who can read in Melbourne works banned in his or her ancestral country. The former will, it is hoped, gain the fundamental linguistic and cultural skills needed to continue with the language or engage with the Sinophone world much more comfortably than before. The latter student may well gain critical understanding in a way that might be denied in the country of his or her birth.

In the teaching of languages, the Modern Languages Association (2007: 4) calls on us to “incorporate cultural inquiry at all levels” and insists on the importance of teaching “critical language awareness, interpretation and translation, historical and political consciousness, social sensibility and aesthetic perception”. In this contribution I have sought to ‘unpack’ some of the critical issues in the teaching of literary genres in the Chinese language programs in multicultural Australia. Language programs in Asian languages in Australia have suffered overmuch from a focus on the purely utilitarian, and Chinese in particular from the view that this is a ‘business language’. This purely instrumentalist approach robs our students of the opportunity to build up analytical skills in understanding the complexities of the use of Chinese language in all its cultural nuances, differing scripts, and registers of formality. In contrast to the current trend in the West, the Chinese through the ages have regarded the teaching of their language as commensurate with the teaching of civilization itself. We do an injustice to the Chinese as a people and a civilization if we reduce their language to that of text-book ‘foreigner speak’ or a type of ‘survival-speak’ used to engage in trade. Nor should Chinese literature curriculum be offered solely to students with heritage or mother-tongue Chinese language background. It should
be available as well to Anglophone students who seek to engage with China and need analytical skills just as much as they do communication skills. The occasional ‘boutique’ subject dealing with literature is also inadequate. I conclude that much more needs to be done to incorporate literary genres at all levels of the Chinese teaching program in order to reach our goal of teaching ‘critical cultural awareness’.

Notes

2. In Chinese speaking societies, the word ‘thank you’ (xiexie) is reserved for specific contexts where gratitude is required, not for standard services from, for example, a shop assistant. A surfeit of xiexie in foreigner-speak leaves the Chinese speaker with the impression that the foreigner’s use of xiexie is largely meaningless. In Chinese, greetings are very context dependent. ‘Have you eaten yet?’; ‘Where are you going?’; ‘Are you leaving work?’, and so on, are common greetings. Foreigners, however, are invariably taught the formal ‘Ni hao’ (how are you?) without understanding the relative artificiality of this exchange.

3. An example is the subject focusing on the famous Chinese novel, Dream of the Red Chamber (*Honglou meng*) offered at the Australian National University to Chinese native speakers.

4. This can be ascertained by examining the Georgetown website for the Chinese program. See http://ealac.georgetown.edu/programs/chinese/, accessed 30 June, 2012.

5. For an illuminating discussion of how an essentialized Japanese identity is packaged within Japanese language courses for foreigners in Japan, see Liddicoat (2007).

6. For a discussion of the last point see particularly Shanahan (1997).

7. The East Asian Pop Culture zone includes the Chinese-speaking populations of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea and Singapore and Chinese in the South East Asian diaspora, including Australia. Chua (2012: 5) has termed this phenomenon “a loosely integrated regional cultural economy”.

8. Increasingly PhD students in Chinese studies rely on the Chinese-language Internet for their primary sources. For some examples see the special issue of *Asian Studies Review* on Cyberspace in East Asia (2007) edited by this writer with contributions from five PhD candidates, mostly from the University of Melbourne

9. These are tropes used in writings in the classical language. *Fu* means literary elaboration or description, *bi* refers to similes or comparisons, and *xing* is an image used to set the emotional tone.

10. I use a text and CD ROM from Princeton University, *Learning Chinese from Chinese Authors*, in the case of May Fourth Authors, and clips from YouTube in the case of contemporary authors such as Mo Yan.
References


