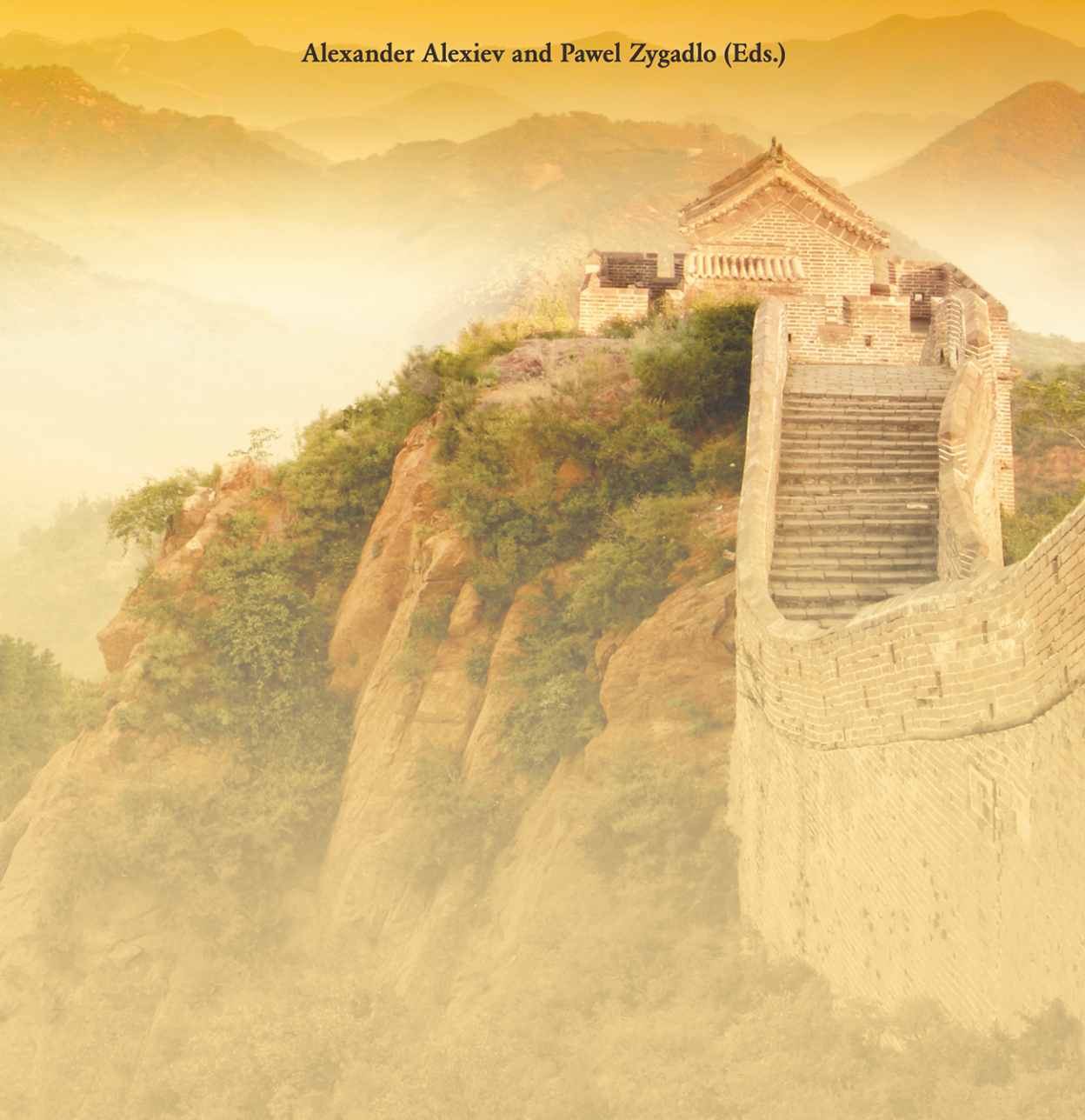


CHINA AND THE WORLD: LANGUAGE, CULTURE, POLITICS

Vol. 2

Alexander Alexiev and Pawel Zygodlo (Eds.)



CHINA AND THE WORLD:
LANGUAGE, CULTURE, POLITICS

Volume 2

КИТАЙ И СВЕТЪТ:
ЕЗИК, КУЛТУРА, ПОЛИТИКА

Том 2



CHINA AND THE WORLD:
LANGUAGE, CULTURE, POLITICS

Papers from the international conference, jointly organized by the Department of Sinology at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski” and the Department of China Studies at Xi'an Jiaotong–Liverpool University, 12-13 December 2019

Volume 2

КИТАЙ И СВЕТЪТ:
ЕЗИК, КУЛТУРА, ПОЛИТИКА

Доклади от международната конференция, организирана от катедра „Китаистика“ на Софийски университет „Св. Климент Охридски“ и Департамента по китаистика на Университета Сиан Дзяотунг – Ливърпул, 12-13 декември 2019 г.

Том 2

Co-editors-and-reviewers-in-chief / Съредактори и главни рецензенти:

Prof. Dr. Alexander Alexiev,
Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Sofia, Bulgaria
Проф. д-р Александър Б. Алексиев,
СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“, София, България

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pawel Zygadlo,
Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University, Suzhou, China
Доц. д-р Павел Зигаadlo,
Университет Сиан Дзяотунг – Ливърпул, Суджоу, Китай

Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“

София, 2021 г.

Editorial Board / Членове на редакционната колегия:

- ас. Мария Маринова, докторант (СУ) / Maria Marinova, Asst. Prof., PhD candidate (Sofia University)
- Dr. Roxana Ribu (Transylvania University, Braşov)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chun-fung (Geoffrey) Chen (Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University)
- Гл.ас. д-р Евелина Хайн (СУ) / Dr. Evelina Hein, Sen. Asst. (Sofia University)
- Dr. Giulia Rampolla (University of Naples “L'Orientale”; International University of Rome)
- Dr. Loredana Cesarino (Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University)
- Dr. Emily Williams (Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik (University of Ljubljana)
- Гл.ас. д-р Теодора Куцарова (СУ) / Dr. Teodora Koutsarova, Sen. Asst. (Sofia University)
- ас. Стефан Иванчев, докторант (СУ) / Stefan Ivanchev, Asst. Prof., PhD student (Sofia University)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mateja Petrovčič (University of Ljubljana)

Peer-review Board Members / Рецензионна колегия:

- Dr. Liu Xi (XJTU)
- Dr. Miguel Hidalgo Martinez (XJTU)
- Доц. д-р Антония Цанкова (СУ) / Assoc. Prof. Dr. Antonia Tsankova (Sofia University)
- ас. Стефан Иванчев, докторант (СУ) / Stefan Ivanchev, Asst. Prof., PhD student (Sofia University)
- Dr. Loredana Cesarino (XJTU)
- Dikai Chao, PhD student (National Taiwan Normal University)
- Dr. Giulia Rampolla (University of Naples “L'Orientale”, International University of Rome)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yu Song (XJTU)
- Dr. Chi Zhang (University of Leeds)
- Assoc. Prof. Riccardo Moratto (Hunan Normal University)
- Asst. Prof. Dr. Katarzyna Golik (Polish Academy of Sciences)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik (University of Ljubljana)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mateja Petrovčič (University of Ljubljana)
- Dr. Dragan Pavlicevic (XJTU)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Keping Wu (XJTU)
- Гл.ас. д-р Евелина Хайн (СУ) / Dr. Evelina Hein, Sen. Asst. (Sofia University)
- Гл.ас. д-р Теодора Куцарова (СУ) / Dr. Teodora Kouzarova, Sen. Asst. (Sofia University)
- Dr. Margaret Chu, Fellow & Council Member (Royal Commonwealth Society in HK)
- ас. Цветелина Недялкова, докторант (СУ) / Dr. Tsvetelina Nedialkova, Asst. prof. (Sofia University)
- Мая Ненчева, лектор (СУ) / Maya Nencheva, lecturer (Sofia University)

© 2021 ZOGRAPH, корица

© 2021 Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“

ISBN: 978-954-07-5128-3

CONTENTS

Foreword	7
On Conceptualizing the Notion of Space in the Chinese Linguistic Worldview	10
<i>Antonia Tsankova</i>	
Critical Analysis of Chinese Lexicographical Discourse: A Case Study of -zhuyi 主义 Entries in the <i>Xiandai hanyu cidian</i> 现代汉语词典	22
<i>Chiara Bertulesi</i>	
乐观 <i>lèguān</i> and 积极乐观的人 <i>jījīlèguānderén</i> in the Chinese Linguistic Worldview	30
<i>Ksenia Naumova</i>	
Modern China in Western Travel Writing: A Discourse-centered Perspective	40
<i>Pavel Petkov</i>	
“Call Hua Tuo”. Medical Topics in the Chinese Language Classes of Sinology Students	47
<i>Galina Struchalina</i>	
Yu Hua and Yan Lianke: Examples of Chinese Literature Translated in Italy	54
<i>Marco Lovisetto</i>	
Cinematic Representation of the Woman Warrior Hua Mulan in the Construction of Chineseness	63
<i>Meng Sijia</i>	
Symbiosis between Tradition and Modernity: Chinese Traditional Residence Preservation and Modernization	71
<i>Jin Xuan</i>	
The Ethnonym Rong 戎 in the “Commentary of Zuo” (《左传》): A Quantitative Analysis	81
<i>Tsvetelina Nedyalkova</i>	
Legal Control of State Activities: Norms and Practices in Contemporary China	89
<i>Qiao Cong-rui</i>	
Foreign Policy Aspect of the Development and Modernization of China	97
<i>Yaroslau Khvastik</i>	
Promotion of Chinese Language as a Tool of Chinese Foreign Policy in Latin America	103
<i>Maxim Garbart</i>	

The EU and China: Strategy of the Project „One Belt and One Road”	108
<i>Gulnara Birimkulova</i>	
The Feminine Oriental Man: Deconstructing Gender Roles in M. Butterfly Using Functional Linguistics	112
<i>Ashton Ng</i>	
The Road Ahead: Victoria’s Secret Goes to China and the Market of Commercial Sexism in the Era of Postfeminism	127
<i>Jia Xintong</i>	
Solving Hieroglyphic Riddles and Puzzles as a Method of Teaching Chinese Written Forms and Idiomatic Expressions	134
<i>Agniya Chistyakova</i>	
AUTHOR DIRECTORY.....	144

Foreword

The year 2020 has certainly been an unusual one. Our physical world came under attack from an invisible enemy. We were reminded of the existence of the mighty microscopic world that is the true master of this planet, having inhabited it for billions of years before us, and continuing to thrive, unaware of our human existence. Outnumbered and outlived, like aliens in this world, we were chased away from public spaces and boxed into our private quarters. Our academic community, like everybody else, was also not able to go about its life as usual, where students and teachers gather together in bright halls and classrooms to teach and learn, to communicate and share knowledge. Lively social life has shifted swiftly into the virtual realm of individual screens on the Internet. Nevertheless, thanks to this new technological parallel world that we have created for ourselves, we have been able not only to conduct our classes, but also to go about our academic lives and continue to do what we do. Slowed down, but not deterred, we were able to finish the work we had started in 2019.

We are happy to announce the publishing of the second digital proceedings volume, which contains selected and revised papers, presented at the international conference ‘China and the World: Language, Culture, Politics’, jointly organised by the Department of Sinology at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski” and the Department of China Studies at Xi’an Jiaotong–Liverpool University in December 2019.

The conference as such was held in commemoration of establishing diplomatic ties between PRC and Bulgaria, with other Central- and Eastern European states following suit. Scholars representing a variety of disciplines gathered for a two-day conference to present their research and discuss perspectives and methodologies applied by them. Attended by almost one hundred scholars from China, Europe, the United States and Australia, the conference marked a new step in interdisciplinary research on China. We were very lucky to have managed to gather all these people in the physical world of our city of Sofia at the last possible time before the massive lockdowns in 2020.

Being one of the major political, military, and cultural global powers, China attracts special attention from the academic world. There is then no lack of interest in ‘Chinese matters’ from linguistics, political sciences, sociology, anthropology, and literary studies. Numerous

volumes and research papers have been published in an attempt to grasp the uniqueness of China as a political power, an attempt to explain its social structure and elaborate on China's history as a cultural and linguistic phenomenon. However, disciplinary specialisation in humanities and social science often results in focusing on just one aspect of the researched phenomenon. As it seems to be an inevitable outcome of science development, it often 'misses' the singularity of the civilisational molecule that is China.

Papers collected in this volume represent different perspectives of academic inquiry. As such, they focus on specific aspects of the phenomenon called 'China'. However, they all were produced out of awareness of the 'disciplinary limitations' and necessity of 'multi-disciplinary' dialogue. As the main theme of the conference was 'China and the World', the subtitle 'Language, Culture, Politics' arose from this awareness of disciplinary limitations and the urgent necessity of a dialogue between different academic fields. It is then our most sincere hope that the papers selected for this volume will make some contribution to a comprehensive understanding of China, yet well-rooted in a specific scientific field.

Many individuals contributed to the organisation of the conference and the fruition of this volume. First of all, we should thank the authors that honoured us with their participation and later on dedicated time and energy to revise their papers and prepare them for publication. Secondly, we owe a debt of gratitude to all the reviewers who despite their busy schedules engaged with the papers' review, making lots of valuable comments and suggestions, contributing greatly to the value of the research works included in this proceedings.

We would like to express our special gratitude to Professor Beibei Tang, the Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at XJTU, and Professor Madeleine Danova, Dean of the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", without whose generous support neither the conference nor the publication of this volume would have been possible.

Last but not least, we would also like to thank our dear friend, Professor Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik of the University of Ljubljana, whose expertise, sharp judgement, and timely advice were of critical importance for the successful outcome of this conference, especially at difficult times during the preparation phase.

Our forum and the process of producing this volume was an uplifting experience for us, as we had the chance to meet and work with colleagues from around the world. We sincerely hope to continue this collaboration in the future and look forward to having international

scholars who research diverse aspects of China getting together yet again, and seeing ourselves in the midst of a fruitful exchange of knowledge and ideas once more, regardless if this is to take place in the virtual or in the physical world.

Paweł Zygałło and Alexander Alexiev

Suzhou and Sofia, October 2020

On Conceptualizing the Notion of Space in the Chinese Linguistic Worldview

Antonia Tsankova

Abstract

The paper explores the formation of the basic terms, related to the semantic domain of space in Modern Chinese, that emerged at the archaic state of establishment of Chinese language and its ideographic system, and thus reflect the Chinese traditional linguistic worldview on the category of space. For the purpose of the study, we examine the etymology of 48 spatial morphemes that contain in whole 93 ideographemes (basic semantic elements), observed in characters in Jiaguwen, Jinwen and Zhuangwen style. By classifying the core semantic components of the studied symbols and analysing their cognitive models we observe that although the category of space may seem to represent objective, static properties of the physical world, in the process of formation of the relevant morphemes in the archaic Chinese hieroglyphs the predominant part of the semantic elements (app. 75% of the studied components) represent anthropomorphic symbols. They usually denote human activities that are dynamic and self-oriented in meaning (also proposed by Tan; Koutsarova). Among symbols from the natural world (around 25% of all components) we observe that more than 65% of them are connected to the notion of Earth, and less of them are semantically linked to Heaven, which corresponds to the traditional perception of Earth as a domain of space and Heaven as a domain of time. Nevertheless, the archaic conceptualization of the semantic category of space as reflected in the Chinese linguistic worldview is obviously based on the experience of exploring and building the surrounding space through the activities of the human kind, i.e. it is in nature a category of anthropomorphic and dynamic semantics, among other linguistic categories.

Keywords: category of space, cognitive models of conceptualization, Chinese linguistic worldview

Space, time and movement are basic physical, ontological and semantic categories, which have their projection in the sphere of language, as through the prism of human perception they are conceptualized, expressed and communicated by linguistic means and images. Although universal categories of human perception, space and time are expressed with variable models within different ethno-linguistic communities, reflecting the specific linguistic view of the world formed within a certain cultural environment.

The linguistic worldview is defined as a system of ideas about the structure and the functioning of the world and the ways of perceiving and conceptualizing reality, historically shaped in the ordinary consciousness of a lingua-cultural community and reflected in the language. The meanings and concepts expressed in the language are integrated in a unified system of notions and views, representing a certain type of collective philosophy, which is imposed as granted for the speakers of certain linguistic community and by the means of their language. The language-specific way of conceptualizing reality is generally universal, but to some extent also nationally typical, so that speakers of different languages may see the world

somewhat differently, through the prism of their language worldview (Kasevich 1996: 5-9, Zaliznyak, Levontina, Shmelev 2005, etc.).

Linguistic meaning is considered to be ethnocentric, i.e. it is oriented towards the ideas of a certain ethno-cultural community (Vezhbitskaya 1996, Tan 2004). In the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of certain language we can observe an encoded worldview, characteristic of the language community, i.e. a way of structuring the world, which may coincide to some extent or differ from the manner of viewing the world, characteristic for speakers of other languages. On these grounds some researchers contemplate about the existence of an internal semantic typology of languages (other than morphological, syntactic, phonetic, genealogical and other linguistic typologies), which characterizes the similarities and differences between languages depending on the ways of conceptualizing the world. In this sense, the closeness between the linguistic worldviews is determined by the similarity in traditions and cultures, the models of civilizational and historical experience of the ethno-cultural communities.

The linguistic view of the world is also called “naive”, which is different from “primitive”, because it “reflects the perception of the surrounding world by a particular ethno-linguistic community not at the modern stage of development, but at the stage of language formation, i.e. at the stage of the primary, naive, pre-scientific knowledge of the world” (Kornilov 2003: 15). Of course, the linguistic view of a given ethno-linguistic community may undergo some changes under the influence of different historical and cultural processes in certain stages of development.

According to G. Lakoff, human experience is largely structured before and independently of the existence of any concepts. Relying on linguistic and philosophical sources, Johnson and Lakoff developed the idea of the existence in our conceptual system of relatively simple pre-conceptual structures, called image-schemata (or embodied schemata), which represent repetitive dynamic patterns of our bodily movement, the outlines of our spatial and temporal orientation, and the forms of our interaction with the realm of objects (Lakoff 2004: 353, Johnson 1987: xix). They function similarly to abstract structures of a certain image and thus are further associated with different types of experience models in order to manifest the same repetitive structure or scheme (Vatova 2012: 63-74). This cognitive approach to the process of conceptualizing the semantic categories in natural language is based also on the observation that human brain has the unique ability to create images, which precedes its ability to create propositional thought, as far as the human mind within the body has a natural tendency to perceive externally through the senses, and it is only through great effort that it reaches its

self-understanding with the help of reasoning (Danesi 2007, cited by Vatova 2012: 65), i.e. perceiving and structuring the reality through senses, images and metaphors is more primal in cognitive aspect than producing propositional reasoning.

The image-schematas as patterns of conceptualization are not seen as a limited group. Some of the most commonly recognized concepts, defined either separately or in relevant pairs/series, include: CONTAINER, OBJECT, MASS – COUNT, COLLECTION, PART – WHOLE, CENTER – PERIPHERY, SOURCE – PATH – GOAL, SURFACE, LINK, CYCLE, FORCE schemas of different types; CONTACT, BALANCE, SUBSTANCE, REPETITION, SCALE; orientational schemas FRONT – BACK, LEFT – RIGHT, UP – DOWN, NEAR – FAR, and others (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 2004, Lakoff – Johnson 1980, cited by Vatova 2012: 67). These structures have a basic logic that can be derived from their configuration, but they function as gestalts, because the whole is psychologically more fundamental than its parts. According to G. Lakoff, image-schematas structure our perceptions and their models are also used in thinking, in this way they reveal themselves as a link between perception and thinking (Lakoff 2004: 369).

The author assumes that, in addition to the image-schematic structure, there is also another type of pre-conceptual structure of experience, viewed as a structure at the basic level, which is determined by human abilities for gestalt perception, formation of rich mental images and schemas of bodily movement. He further states that kinetic types of image-schemata are immediately significant to human mind due to the fact that they structure our perception linked to the physical movement of the body, although in a less complex model. On the next level, pre-conceptual structures can be mapped on relevant abstract configurations that structure the concepts, and from their pre-conceptual structure grows the conceptual structure. However, they are not primitive or elementary constructive units because they have a well-organized internal structure of their own (Lakoff 2004: 156; 348; 393, cited by Vatova 2012: 68-69).

Regarding the conceptualization of basic categories of human experience and knowledge, the experiential approach assumes the idea of the idealized cognitive models, in which Lakoff defines five main types of cognitive models - propositional, figurative, metaphorical, metonymic and symbolic. These cognitive models also characterize the structure of thought (Lakoff 2004: 208), they are connected, directly or indirectly, through systematic connections with the physical, natural or social experience of people. We can often observe combinations of several cognitive models, defined by Lakoff as cluster or complex models (Lakoff 2004: 107–110). According to him, the concepts at the basic level and the image-schematic concepts are the initial material for the construction of the complex cognitive models,

and the image schemata are the source of the structures used in these models, i. e. they set up not only the structure of space but also the structure of the concepts themselves (Lakoff 2004: 368).

According to many scholars, the notions of space as one of the core ontological categories, reflected specifically in the linguistic worldview, occupy the basic level in the categorization of all concepts, and it is often metaphorically mapped on to the cognitive models of expressing other, more abstract semantic categories such as movement, time, etc.

The theory of archetypes of C.G. Jung states the existence of psychological structure models, identical for all humans, that act in bidirectional functions to encode and decode the structure of the universe (Jung 1981). Following this approach, T. Koutsarova defines the basic constituent elements in the models of the archetypes as archetypemes, observed in the archaic form of the Chinese characters (Koutsarova 2017). The ideographic nature of the Chinese hieroglyphs allows us to observe the inner structure and formation of meaning by primary and undividable ideographic components of the morphemes, represented in the completed forms of the characters in the archaic script.

Exploring the ontology of the category of space through the experiential view in cognitive linguistics, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson state that the clearly defined conceptual structure of space arises out of human perception and motor activity and is directly based on our physical experience in the surrounding world. According to the authors, our experience of functioning in space is reduced to simple pre-conceptual structures, including mainly the following pairs of schemes: FRONT – BACK, UP – DOWN, NEAR – FAR, IN – OUT, DEEP – SHALLOW, CENTER – PERIPHERY (Lakoff – Johnson 1980, Johnson 1987, Lakoff 2004). All these image-schemata have a well-developed structure, therefore they are not elementary and indecomposable. They organize and structure our spatial and motor experience and they are formed in the human consciousness on a pre-conceptual level, thus they constitute the conceptual structure of space (Vatova 2012: 20). It is emphasized that human experience of functioning in the world has not only physical but also cultural aspects, as well as aspects determined by the natural and social conditions of the surrounding environment.

L. Talmy offers another point of view on the ontology of space in the linguistic worldview. The author believes that the conceptualization of the spatial structure includes two subsystems – the first subsystem is represented by all outlines that can be perceived and conceptualized as existing in some spatial volume and is revealed as a matrix (for example, *static concepts* from the point of view of this system include *area* and *location*, and *dynamic - path* and *destination*), and the second subsystem consists of the configurations and

interrelations between the substances and elements of the first subsystem (Talmy 1999; 2000, cited by Vatova 2012: 23).

A. Kravchenko, adhering to the views of the philosopher M. Heidegger, believes that space is the reality of being that we receive through our sensations. This reality is divided into two components - the area of real physical experience and the area of sensory, mainly visual and auditory experience, but he emphasizes that the boundary between these two types of experience is not clearly defined. The author reaches further conclusion about the ontological primacy of objectivity, i.e. the concept of PLACE is derived from the concept of OBJECT (Kravchenko 1996).

Following the theoretic approaches of the pre-conceptual cognitive structures and archetypes conceptualizing the semantic category of space, the present study is aiming to explore the cognitive structures and image-schemata, embedded in the spatial morphemes denoting location, orientation and direction, as representing the notion of space in the Chinese linguistic worldview. The scope of the study includes etymological roots, ideographical and semantic components of the morphemes comprising the basic lexical strata of the category of space in Modern Chinese.

The category of space in semantic terms usually includes concepts such as place, position, orientation, direction, directed movement, etc. These concepts may also reflect different aspects and qualities, such as static and dynamic, objective and subjective representation of space notions.

The range of vocabulary studied includes:

1. Morphemes, comprising the basic lexical units for denoting space/place: 空间 ‘space’, 地方 ‘place’ with its synonymous cluster of words: 处所, 场地, 场合, 场所, 地点, 位置, 地址, 所在, 地位, 位子;
2. Morphemes, denoting location or spatial orientation/relation: 东 ‘East’, 南 ‘South’, 西 ‘West’, 北 ‘North’, 上 ‘up’, 下 ‘down’, 前 ‘front’, 后 ‘back’, 左 ‘left’, 右 ‘right’, 里 ‘in’, ‘inside’, 外 ‘outside’, 内 ‘inside’, 中 ‘middle’, 间 ‘between’, 近 ‘near’, 远 ‘far’;
3. Morphemes (verbs), denoting directional movement: 来 ‘come’, 去 ‘go’, 上 ‘go up’, 下 ‘go down’, 进 ‘go in’, 出 ‘go out’, 回 ‘go back’, ‘return’, 过 ‘go by’, ‘pass’, 起 ‘arise’, 开 ‘go apart’, 到 ‘go up to’, ‘reach’;

4. Morphemes (prepositions), denoting spatial relations and location: 在 ‘in’, ‘at’, 于 ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘from’ etc, 从, 自, 由, 打, ‘from’, 朝, 向, 往 ‘towards’, 沿 ‘following’; 到 ‘to’.

The study examines the etymology of all listed above 48 spatial morphemes that contain a total of 93 basic components, or archetypemes, observed in characters in *Jiaguwen*, *Jinwen* and *Zhuangwen* style. The source for examining the etymological roots and defining the archetypes in the researched morphological material is the Pictogram Dictionary of historical etymology and ideographical structure 象形字典¹.

A sample of the basic structural and semantic study of the researched spatial morphemes can be presented in the following table:

Morpheme	甲骨文	篆文	Components	Semantics of the archaic components	Original etymology of the morpheme
空				1) cave, hole, crevice; 2) to produce by work; artificial	a cave created or adapted for life
间				1) door (symbolizes home); 2) moon (evening)	a period when the moon is seen in the frame of the door; later - interval; gap
地				1) sheer rock; 2) man thrown back (for a funeral); 3) twisted corpse; 4) hand → throw; 5) soil → pit	In archaic form – a sheer pit for the burial of the dead; In later form - soil and reptile
方				1) prisoner; 2) neck braces	to release a prisoner at a distant frontier
点				1) black/ ink; 2) to stain	to put a dot in a script (with a brush and ink)

Summarizing the results of the empirical study, we can observe the conceptual primitives, or archetypemes that underlie in the lexicological strata forming the category of space, as well as to analyse the models of conceptualization of spatial meaning in Chinese.

Among all 93 studied ideographemes, we can first divide between the images and archetypes, associated to the natural world and the anthropomorphic symbols or archetypemes, connected to the human kind and human activities.

1. Archetypes associated to the natural world are represented in 22 ideographemes, among them denoting:

¹ Online edition accessible at: <https://www.vividict.com/Public/index/page/index/index.html>

1.1. Earth space – 13, including: soil/earth – 4, cave – 3, river – 2, cliff – 2, valley – 1, pit – 1;

1.2. Sky space – 5, including: sun – 1, star – 1, moon – 1, phases of the sun: morning – 1, late night – 1;

1.3. Living natural world – 4, including: flora – 1, fauna – 3.

2. Archetypes of the human kind and associated with human activities are represented in 71 ideographemes, among them denoting:



2.1. Human being – 15; parts of the human body – 17, including: foot – 5, hand – 6, mouth – 5, nose – 1;






2.2. Instruments and results of human work – 26, including: instruments – 4, archetypes of house/home: door – 1, window – 1, beam – 1, roof – 1, chair – 1, floor – 1, wall – 1; ink – 1, bundle – 2, bondage – 1, rope – 2, boat – 2, drum – 1, burg – 3, flag – 1, vessel – 1, clothing – 1;

2.3. Human activities – 13, including: actions of movement – 9, work – 3, divine – 1.




Summarizing the results of the empirical study we can conclude that the notion of space in the Chinese linguistic worldview is predominantly conceptualized by anthropomorphic archetypes and image-schemata, connected to accomplishments of human work and human activities, that account for about 75% of all ideographemes in the study versus 25% of the symbols, associated to the natural world (earth, sky, flora-fauna).




The main part of the **anthromorphic elements** consists of ideographemes denoting human being in different postures and conditions, as well as parts of the human body (foot, hand, mouth, nose). This observation corresponds with the arguments of other researchers that corporeality in the perception of human self and parts of the human body is fundamental in the cognitive structure of the category of space (Koutsarova 2015: 237-241, Tan 2004, Vatova 2012, etc.). In this regard some authors claim that the human BODY is the **prototype** of the basic image-schemata, denoting space, such as OBJECT, POSITION, CONTAINER, SUBSTANCE, BOUNDARY, PATH, and others.

As an example from the studied morphological material, the Chinese characters for space orientation 左 ‘left’ and 右 ‘right’ originated from the pictograms  ‘left hand’ and  ‘right hand’ (additional components to the pictograms were later added), and this may be interpreted as a metaphorical mapping of the image-schemata BODY → POSITION →

DIRECTION, oriented in regard to the relevant parts of the human body. Another example we can take from the spatial morphemes meaning ‘near’ and ‘far’. The character 进 ‘near’ originates from the combination of the ideographemes  ‘toes/foot’ and  ‘a river with two parallel lines’ → ‘to pass a river’, resulting in the initial etymological meaning explained as ‘a military troop crossing the river by foot to make a shortcut’, which is a prototype semantics for the spatial adjective ‘near’. The character 远 ‘far’ is structured by the ideographic elements  ‘clothing’ +  ‘hand’ +  ‘to walk’, and the combined etymological meaning is ‘to go on a long journey, taking the necessary clothing’. In these two cases we can see a more complex cognitive model of metaphorical mapping BODY/OBJECT → MOVEMENT → PATH → DISTANCE.




The archetypes, associated with **human activities and accomplishments of human work** also comprise a considerable number among all studied ideographic components (54 % of the symbols, associated with the human kind). Among them, it is interesting to note, we can distinguish a semantic group of ideographemes (about 26 %), associated with the notion of house and human habitat (such as door, window, beam, roof, chair, floor, wall etc.), some of them metaphorically used to denote the idea of HOUSE/HOME.







As an example we can analyse the character 址 with the spatial meaning of ‘location’, which originates in Jiaguwen script from the archaic ideogram  , consisting of the ideographeme  ‘earth’/ ‘adobe wall’ and the phonetic-ideographic component  ‘foot’, with the initial etymological meaning explained as ‘foot/foundation of a wall’, resulting further in its derived spatial meanings of ‘site’, ‘location’. Later the graphic form of the components was changed, retaining its semantic value.

Another instance of a similar but more complicated cognitive model we can observe in the ideogram  (present form 处), which is structured by the ideographemes  ‘man’ and  ‘chair (without a back)’ + a horizontal stroke, denoting the state of ‘sitting on a chair’. The original etymology of the whole morpheme is explained as ‘to abide at home, sitting and resting’, and it has been further mapped on to the more abstract meanings of ‘to be situated’, and also transferred to the nominal meaning of ‘place’. Here we can trace the conceptualization of spatial semantics by the metaphorical mapping of the image-schematas BODY/OBJECT → STATE → POSITION → PLACE.

The archetypes associated with the **natural world**, as we have mentioned above, represent 22 ideographemes, or only around 25% of the studied ideographic elements, among them representing the domain of Earth – 13, Heaven – 5, and flora fauna – 4 ideographemes. We can observe that the elements signifying the Earth are almost three times more than those of Heaven, which proves the archaic perception that the Earth is associated with the domain of space, while Heaven was perceived as the domain of time.

Within the semantic group of the elements, associated with the **earth**, we can observe some typical images of “cave”, “pit” “hole”, used to represent the notion of space as an empty VESSEL with certain BOUNDARIES, and respectively the earth as a CONTAINER. On its turn, the VESSEL may be presented as filled with some additional OBJECT/SUBSTANCE to convey a more complex meaning.

We can trace such a cognitive model through the origin of the basic morpheme used to denote space in Chinese - 空, also expressing the meaning of ‘empty’/‘emptiness’. The standard word for “space” in modern Chinese is formed by combining it with the morpheme 间, i.e. 空间. The initial ideogram of 空 is  and it consists of the radical  ‘cave’, ‘dump’, ‘hollow’ and the phonetic-ideographic sign  ‘to work’, ‘make’. The original etymology of the whole ideogram is interpreted as ‘a cave, created or adapted for living’, which shows another example of conceptualizing the notion of space through the perception of human habitat/home/space of living.

The morpheme, meaning ‘earth’ 地 in Chinese is used also metaphorically to denote ‘place’, e.g. 此地 ‘this place’, in modern Chinese it is used in this sense often in combinations with other morphemes in bisyllabic words like 地点, 地方, 场地 with the meaning of ‘place’, ‘site’. The initial ideogram of the word ‘earth’ in Jiaguwen script is , which is a very complex character, consisting of five different elements:  ‘sheer rock’,  ‘a dead man thrown back for burial’,  ‘bounded corpse’,  ‘hand (to throw)’,  ‘soil/pit’, with the archaic etymology interpreted as ‘a pit for burying a dead body’. Through this complex ideogram we can observe a model of conceptualizing the spatial notion of PLACE through the image-schematas of CONTAINER (soil/pit) – ACT (hand/burial) – OBJECT/FIGURE (human corpse), and the resulting meaning of ‘earth’ in the initial ideographic form is interpreted as ‘the place for burying the dead’. In the later Zhuangwen style the notion of EARTH – PLACE

was reconceptualized through a more simplified ideogram 𠩺 containing only the images of ‘soil’ and ‘snake’, and this ideogram later developed into the current character 地 ‘earth’.

The archetypes, representing the **sky** are much more rarely found within morphemes denoting space, and they usually express symbols of a period or span, which naturally prompts a connection to the traditional worldview, perceiving Heaven as the domain of Time. For example, the character 间 which means ‘period (interval) of time’ and also ‘gap’, ‘lumen’, ‘seam’, ‘spacing’ and stands for the second element of the words meaning ‘space’ (空间) and ‘time’ (时间) in modern Chinese, has originated from the ideogram 𠩺. It consists of the ideographs 门 ‘door’ (also signifying ‘home’) and 月 ‘moon’ (also signifying ‘evening’), and the initial etymology of the morpheme is ‘interval of time/space in which the moon can be seen in the frame of the door’. Thus we can see this image-schemata as common for the categories of time and space, structured by the cognitive models of CONTAINER – BOUNDARY – OBJECT → INTERVAL.

Summarizing the analysis of the archetypes within the semantic category of space and its cognitive models of conceptualization, we can reach the following conclusions:

Although the category of space may seem to represent objective, primarily static properties of the physical world, we can observe that in the process of formation of the relevant notions, expressed in the archaic Chinese logograms, the predominant part of the semantic elements represent anthropomorphic symbols. They usually denote human activities of verbal etymology that are dynamic and bodily-oriented in meaning.

The archaic conceptualization of the semantic category of space as reflected in the Chinese linguistic worldview is obviously based on the experience of exploring, interacting and building the surrounding space through the activities of the human kind, i.e. it is in nature a category of anthropomorphic and dynamic semantics, among other linguistic categories.

References

- Danesi, M. *Language and the Senses: New Directions in Linguistics*. 2007. Web. <http://faculty.ed.umuc.edu/~jmatthew/articles/metaphor.html>.
- Johnson, M. *The Body in the Mind (The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason)*. Chicago and London, 1987.

- Jung, C. G. *The Archetypes and The Collective Unconscious (Collected Works of C. G. Jung Vol. 9 Part 1)*. Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Kasevich, V. B. Касевич, В. Б. *Buddism. Kartina mira. Yazyik* Буддизм. Картина мира. Язык [Buddhism. Worldview. Language]. Saint-Petersburg СПб, 1996.
- Kornilov, O. A. Корнилов, О. А. *Yazykovye kartiny mira kak proizvodnyie natsionalnyih mentalitetov* Языковые картины мира как производные национальных менталитетов. [Linguistic worldviews as derivatives of national mentality]. Moscow Москва, 2003.
- Koutsarova, T. Куцарова, Т. *Arhetipi na transcendiraneto v rannata daoistka misyl (VI-III cent. BC)* Архетипи на трансцендирането в ранната даоистка мисъл (VI–III в. пр.н.е.) (Докторска дисертация) [Archetypes of Transcendence in Early Taoist Thought (VI-III cent. BC) (PhD dissertation)]. Sofia София, 2017.
- Koutsarova, T. “‘Corporeality’ in the Ancient Chinese Conception of Space and Time”. *Collection of Papers from the Third International Conference on Chinese Studies “The Silk Road”*. Sofia, 2015.
- Kravchenko, A. V. Кравченко, А. В. “Kognitivnyie strukturyi prostranstva i vremeni v estestvennom yazyike” Когнитивные структуры пространства и времени в естественном языке [Cognitive structures of space and time in natural language]. *Izvestiya RAN. Seriya literaturyi i yazyika* Известия РАН. Серия литературы и языка, 3 (1996).
- Lakoff, G. Лакофф, Дж. *Zhenshinyi, ogon i opasnyie veshi. Chto kategorii yazyika govoryat nam o myshlenii* Женщины, огонь и опасные вещи: Что категории языка говорят нам о мышлении [Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind]. Moscow Москва, 2004.
- Lakoff, G. *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*. 1993. Web. http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~market/semiotic/lkof_met.html.
- Lakoff, G., Johnson, M. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London, 1980.
- Radden, Günter. *The Metaphor TIME AS SPACE across Languages*. 2003. Web. <http://www.ualberta.ca/~german/ejournal/Radden1.htm>.
- Talmy, L. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, 1/5 (2000). Web. <http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/talmy/talmyweb/Volume1/chap5.pdf>
- Tan, Aoshuan Тань, Аошун. *Kitajskaya kartina mira. Yazyik, kultura, mentalnost* Китайская картина мира. Язык, культура, ментальность [Chinese Linguistic Worldview. Language, Culture, Mentality]. Moscow Москва, 2004.
- Tversky, B., Kugelmass, S., Winter, A. “Cross-Cultural and Developmental Trends in Graphic Productions”. *Cognitive Psychology*, 23 (1991).

Vatova, M. ВЪТОВА, М. *Predstavi za prostranstvo, vreme i dvizhenie v bylgarskiya ezik (kognitivno izsledvane)* Представи за пространство, време и движение в българския език (когнитивно изследване) [Notions of Space, Time and Movement in the Bulgarian Language (A Cognitive Research)]. Veliko Tarnovo Велико Търново, 2012.

Vezhbitskaya, A. Вежбицкая, А. *Yazyk. Kultura. Poznanie* Язык. Культура. Познание [Language. Culture. Cognition]. Moscow Москва, 1996.

Xiangxing zidian 象形字典 [Pictogram dictionary]. Web. <https://www.vividict.com/Public/index/page/index/index.html>

Zaliznyak, A. A., Levontina, I. B., Shmelev, A. D. Зализняк А. А., Левонтина И. Б., Шмелев А. Д. *Klyuchevyie idei russkoi yazykovoi kartinyi mira* Ключевые идеи русской языковой картины мира [Core concepts of the Russian linguistic worldview]. Moscow Москва, 2005.

Critical Analysis of Chinese Lexicographical Discourse: A Case Study of *-zhuyi* 主义 Entries in the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典

Chiara Bertulesi

Abstract

This paper adopts the theoretical framework of critical analysis of lexicographical discourse to carry out a diachronic analysis of the lexicographical treatment of selected -zhuyi -主义 (-ism) entries in the 1973, 1996, and 2016 editions of the Xiandai hanyu cidian 现代汉语词典. The present research aims to investigate the ways in which a certain meaning is constructed in the definitions as a neutral core meaning of the selected headwords, by also detecting forms of evaluation in the definitions, as well as discussing changes in the successive definitions.

Keywords: Chinese lexicography, critical lexicography, *Xiandai hanyu cidian*, lexicographical discourse

1. Theoretical framework, objectives, and methodology

The present paper adopts the theoretical framework of critical analysis of lexicographical discourse to carry out a diachronic study of selected entries ending in *-zhuyi* -主义 in three different editions of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典 (hereinafter XHC).

Language dictionaries are here regarded as constituting a historically situated form of discourse - lexicographical discourse (Benson 2001). From this perspective, lexicographical works should be understood both as a product of the social and ideological context in which they are compiled and also as tools in the reception and consolidation of those meanings considered as correct by the dominant ideology in that context (Fairclough 1989; Fishman 1995; Bertulesi 2019).

The XHC – now in its 7th edition – was first designed by the leadership of the PRC in the 1950s as part of the project for language standardisation. Compiled by the Institute of Linguistics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, it is regarded as one of the most authoritative monolingual dictionaries of modern standard Chinese.

Following Hornscheidt (2008), the objective of this case study is to investigate the ways in which a certain meaning is constructed in the definitions as a neutral core meaning of the selected headwords by also detecting forms of evaluation in the definitions. A diachronic

perspective is also adopted with the objective to trace changes in the definitions. This is achieved through the comparison of three different print editions of the XHC: the 1973 ‘trial edition’ (*shiyong ben* 试用本); the 3rd edition (1996),¹ and the 7th edition (2016).

As mentioned, the present analysis focuses on a selection of dictionary entries ending in the morpheme *-zhuyi*, which has acquired a suffix-like function in modern Chinese, being used in words to identify a specific doctrine, school of thought, or ideology. The entries ending in this morpheme thus form an interesting category to carry out a critical analysis of lexicographical discourse.

As for methodology, the entries were first selected by consulting the digital version of the 7th edition (2016) of the XHC, a smartphone application released in August 2019.² Specifically, a search based on ‘word end’ on the digital edition was carried out, using a wildcard character (asterisk *), to show only the results ending in *-zhuyi*.³ This resulting search displayed 79 entries. For this case study, and for the sake of relevance within the corpus, a first selection among the 79 entries was carried out by considering only four-character entries (58 out of 79). This was further narrowed down by employing a sampling technique: relying on the phonetic arrangement of the entries in the XHC (based on *pinyin*), the first *-zhuyi* entry for each letter of the roman alphabet was extracted from the first list. Consequently, a new list of 16 four-character *-zhuyi* words was compiled. It should be noted that due to the lexicographical treatment of the entry *Ma-Lie zhuyi* 马列主义, which is an abbreviation of the term *Makesi-Liening zhuyi* 马克思列宁主义 (Marxism-leninism), the pool had to be enlarged. The definition of this entry in the three editions of the XHC consists of a direct or indirect intertextual reference to other entries, which were also included in the corpus. The corpus was consequently enlarged to include the following 19 items, belonging to different domains (mainly philosophy, literature, art and politics): *aiguo zhuyi* 爱国主义, *baquan zhuyi* 霸权主义, *cunzai zhuyi* 存在主义, *diguo zhuyi* 帝国主义, *fengjian zhuyi* 封建主义, *gailiang zhuyi* 改良主义, *jihui zhuyi* 机会主义, *keguan zhuyi* 客观主义, *langman zhuyi* 浪漫主义, *Ma-Lie zhuyi* 马列主义, *Makesi-Liening zhuyi* 马克思列宁主义, *Makesi zhuyi* 马克思主义, *Liening zhuyi* 列宁主义, *pingjun zhuyi* 平均主义, *rendao zhuyi* 人道主义, *sanmin zhuyi* 三民主义, *weimei zhuyi* 唯美主义, *xiandai zhuyi* 现代主义, *zhezong zhuyi* 折中主义. These 19 entries

¹ The print edition consulted was a 1997 reprint of the 3rd edition first published in 1996.

² Accessible from <http://www.cp.com.cn/Content/2019/08-26/1510010203.html>.

³ This automatically excluded the few entries in the dictionary in which *-zhuyi* occurs in the middle of a multi-word expression.

were then consulted in the printed 1973, 1996, and 2016 editions of the XHC and analysed from a critical and diachronic perspective.

Due to space limits, in the following paragraph only four examples of entries from the corpus and belonging to the domain of politics will be discussed in detail, i.e. *aiguo zhuyi*, ‘patriotism’; *diguo zhuyi*, ‘imperialism’; *gailiang zhuyi*, ‘reformism’; *jihui zhuyi*, ‘opportunism’. For the same reason, the integral and original Chinese version of the definitions is not included in the paper, although the analysis provides the reader with an English translation of some of the most relevant points in relation to the objectives of the study. When considered useful to the analysis, the original Chinese wordings are also provided.

The choice to focus here on the four entries indicated above also lies on the nature of their lexicographical treatment in the selected editions of the XHC. As will be discussed below, the four entries have all been subject to considerable and noteworthy changes during the revision processes and present significant elements in relation to the objective of the critical analysis of the XHC lexicographical discourse, both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective.

2. Analysis of the selected entries

The first entry to be analysed here is *aiguo zhuyi*, ‘patriotism’, whose definition is composed of a single word sense in the three selected editions of the XHC (1973, 1996, 2016). These show, however, significant differences. From a critical and ideological perspective, two elements play a key role in the construction of the meaning of the word ‘patriotism’ in the earlier ‘trial’ edition (1973). First, ‘patriotism’ – which is initially presented as “love and loyalty to one’s own motherland” (*dui zuguo de zhongcheng he reai* 对祖国的忠诚和热爱) – is also defined from a Marxist or Maoist perspective. This definition also states that patriotism “has class character” (*you jiejixing* 有阶级性) and that the “patriotism of the working class (*gongren jieji* 工人阶级) is closely connected to the fundamental interests of the Country’s working people (*laodong renmin* 劳动人民)”. Secondly, it defines patriotism as being “closely connected to internationalism” and that “loving one’s own country” does not exclude the need to respect the freedom and rights of the peoples of other nations. The 1973 edition thus relies on (and strengthens) the assumption that patriotism does not imply nationalism, the latter being generally considered as sharply in opposition with (proletarian) internationalism. The meaning constructed by this definition proves to be in line with the official CCP and Maoist

interpretation of the concept of patriotism (Mao 1938: 196).⁴ The 1996 and the 2016 entries share the same definition but show a significant change if compared with the earlier 1973 definition. The two more recent editions describe ‘patriotism’ simply as “love and loyalty to one’s own motherland”. With the removal of references to concepts as “class character” or “internationalism”, the definition is thus not only shorter, but also less ideologically oriented.

The entry *diguo zhuyi*, ‘imperialism’, shows a similar treatment, with the 1973 definition being considerably longer than that provided by the other two. This earlier edition frames the meaning of ‘imperialism’ in highly negative terms, by resorting to adjectives such as “monopolistic” (*longduan* 垄断), “parasitic” (*jisheng* 寄生), and “decadent” (*fluxiu* 腐朽) in the first sentence of the definition. Moreover, it points to the relationship between imperialism – described as the “last (*zuihou* 最后) stage in the development of capitalism” – and the exploitation of the working people within capitalist countries. It also presents the social and economic conditions occurring under imperialism – characterised, for example, by a sharpening of “class contradictions” (*jieji maodun* 阶级矛盾) – as a fertile ground for the emergence of the “proletarian revolution” (*wuchan jieji geming* 无产阶级革命). This earlier definition also includes references to extra-linguistic elements such as historical and political events (the Russian October Revolution and World War II). Encyclopaedic information in lexicographical definitions provide the reader with elements that help to contextualise the meaning of the entry and, in the case of the XHC 1973 edition, this information contributes to construct a definition that heavily relies on assumptions and forms of negative evaluation of the meaning of *diguo zhuyi*, or ‘imperialism’. The definition of ‘imperialism’ is, again, shorter in the two more recent editions, a consequence also of the removal of encyclopaedic information and references to the extra-lexicographical context. The 1996 and 2016 editions thus define imperialism as the “highest (*zuigao* 最高) stage in the development of capitalism”, stressing, for example, its economic features (e.g. “monopoly replaces free competition”). However, much of the ideologically-loaded lexicon and linguistic items of negative evaluation are absent.

Concerning the third entry, *gailiang zhuyi* or ‘reformism’, it should be observed that the 1973 editions describes the meaning of this word as the tendency to prefer gradual reform processes over more radical or subversive actions within society, even when the *status quo* is

⁴ In an essay written in 1938, Mao (1938: 196) affirmed: “Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions”.

what is described, in the definition, as “an irrational” (*bu heli de* 不合理的) social system. This definition also mentions the “modern reformists”, who are presented as promoting “class reconciliation” (*jieji tiaohu* 阶级调和), opposing “class struggle” (*jieji douzheng* 阶级斗争), and ultimately preserving the rule (*tongzhi* 统治) of the bourgeoisie. It thus can be argued that the definition adopts a typical Marxist-Leninist standpoint. In 1996 and 2016, only the first part of this earlier definition (1973) is maintained, while lacking references to concepts that can be broadly defined as ‘revolutionary’, such as class struggle or the abovementioned representation of the reformists and the bourgeoisie.

Finally, the lexicographical treatment of the entry *jihui zhuyi*, ‘opportunism’, presents a significant difference from that of the three examples shown above. The three editions of the XHC provide a (partially) different definition. Despite their differences, however, the 1973, 1996, and 2016 editions all construct the meaning of *jihui zhuyi* by resorting to a typical Maoist interpretation of the concept. According to Mao, opportunism had to be regarded as a negative political tendency, both in its ‘rightist’ and ‘leftist’ form (*you qing* 右倾 and *zuo qing jihui zhuyi* 左倾机会主义) (Mao 1926: 13; 1957: 411), a distinction included in all the three definitions. Further, these editions also define ‘opportunism’ as an “anti-Marxist ideological trend within the workers' movement or the proletarian party”. However, unlike in the 1996 and 2016 editions, the 1973 definition describes the meaning of this word also as a “reflection of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie”. Framing the meaning according to the official Maoist interpretation (see Mao 1957), this earlier definition employs, for example, the word ‘revisionism’ (*xiuzheng zhuyi* 修正主义) – presented as a synonym for “rightist opportunism” – along with the dichotomic opposition between “the enemies” and “us” (*di wo* 敌我), also central to Mao’s approach to the analysis of Chinese society (Mao 1926). In general, the 1973 definition relies on revolutionary lexicon, also mentioning the “revolution” (to which opportunism is presented as detrimental), the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, and the “counterrevolutionary forces”. In the 1996 edition, the definition of *jihui zhuyi* keeps some of these ideologically-loaded elements, such as a reference to the “opposition to the revolution” (*fandui geming* 反对革命) in the rightist form of opportunism and, in general, the distinction between the two forms of opportunism. Some elements, are, however, no longer included in the 1996 definition, e.g. the expression “dictatorship of the proletariat” or the word “revisionism”. Finally, the most significant difference between the 1996 and the 2016 definition lies in the absence, in the latter, of the formula “opposing the revolution”. However, it should be noted that even the most recent edition is not left without references to

revolutionary elements, as shown by the fact that the prototypical interpretation of ‘opportunism’ is still central to the construction of the meaning of this entry, and that much of the ideologically-loaded lexicon has not been removed in the latest revision, as shown, for example, by the presence of the expression “surrender to the counterrevolutionary forces” (*xiang geming shili touxiang* 向反对革命势力投降).

3. Concluding remarks

Based on the critical analysis carried out on the selected sample, some conclusions on the lexicographical treatment of *-zhuyi* entries in the XHC can be drawn.

First, concerning the four entries analysed above, it has been observed that the 1973 definitions tend to be longer, including more linguistic items with a strongly evaluative connotation and references to the extra-textual reality compared to the 1996 and the 2016 editions. This is particularly true for words that belong to the domain of politics and, specifically, for words that have played (or still play) a key role in the official narrative and ideology of the PRC leadership. Moreover, the analysis has shown that the two more recent editions (1996 and 2016) often share very similar, when not identical, definitions, while the 1973 edition tends to present its own distinctive features in terms of length and evaluative items.

From a more general perspective, some of the elements that characterise the selected definitions also depend on the nature of the 19 entries of the corpus. As entries ending in the morpheme *-zhuyi*, they represent words designating specific schools of thought or doctrines and their definitions often show a markedly encyclopaedic nature as a result, including more encyclopaedic than linguistic information (although the two frequently overlap). This is also reflected in the absence of usage examples in all definitions of the 19 entries of the corpus.

However, it should also be noted that the corpus shows a certain degree of variability. For example, the considerations on the length of the definitions and on the presence of more evaluative and negatively connoted items in the trial edition do not hold true for some of the other entries in the corpus (e.g. *langman zhuyi*, ‘romanticism’; *sanmin zhuyi*, ‘Three principles of the people’). Another element of variability worth mentioning is represented by those entries that are not included in all the three editions, having been added to the entry-list in the successive processes of lexicographical revisions (e.g. *baquan zhuyi*, ‘hegemonism’; *xiandai zhuyi*, ‘modernism’).

In light of the results of this case study and of the wider research I conducted on the XHC from a critical, ideological, and diachronic perspective (Bertulesi 2019), it can be argued that, apart from some recurring patterns, an eminently qualitative approach should be adopted when carrying out a critical analysis of lexicographical discourse of each entry of the XHC. In this regard, as also suggested by Hornscheidt (2008), due to the role the social, political, and ideological context plays in lexicographical activities, reference to the extra-textual reality and other sources should also be made in the process of critical analysis.

References

- Benson, Phil. *Ethnocentrism and the English Dictionary*. London, New York: Routledge, 2001. Print.
- Bertulesi, Chiara. “Analisi critica del discorso lessicografico cinese: uno studio diacronico dello *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典”. Diss. University of Milan, 2019. Print.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power*. New York: Longman, 1989. Print.
- Fishman, Joshua A. “Dictionaries as culturally constructed and culture-constructing artefacts: the reciprocity view as seen from Yiddish sources”. *Cultures, Ideologies and the Dictionary: Studies in Honor of Ladislav Zgusta*, Ed. Braj B. Kachru and Henry Kahane. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995: 29-34. Print.
- Hornscheidt, Antje. “A Concrete Research Agenda for Critical Lexicographic Research within Critical Discourse Studies: An Investigation into Racism/Colonialism in Monolingual Danish, German, and Swedish Dictionaries”. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 5.2 (2009): 107-132. Web. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900801990066>.
- Mao, Zedong. “On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions among the People”. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong Volume V*. Pergamon Press, 1957 [1977]: 384-421. Print.
- , “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society”. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong Volume I*. Pergamon Press, 1926 [1965]: 13-19. Print.
- , “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong Volume II*. Pergamon Press, 1938 [1965]: 195-212. Print.

Zhongguo kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi 中国科学院语言研究所词典编辑
[Division for Dictionary Compilation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences]. *Xiandai
hanyu cidian shiyongben* 现代汉语词典 – 试用本 [XHC trial edition]. Beijing: Shangwu
yinshuguan, 1973. Print.

Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi 中国社会科学院语言研究所
词典编辑室 [Division for Dictionary Compilation of the Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences]. *Xiandai hanyu cidian xiudingben* 现代汉语词典 - 修订本 [XHC revision (3rd
edition)]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996 [1997]. Print.

---, *Xiandai hanyu cidian xiudingben di qi ban* 现代汉语词典第七版 [XHC 7th edition].
Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2016. Print.

乐观 *lèguān* and 积极乐观的人 *jījīlèguānderén* in the Chinese Linguistic Worldview

Ksenia Naumova

Abstract

As the title implies the article describes optimistic attitudes of the Chinese as a part of their national character, illustrated with a detailed analysis of the key word 乐观 'optimism' and 积极乐观的人 'an optimist' that was performed with the help of lexicographic and corpora data, accompanied with the results of the psycholinguistic experiment among the native speakers. In conclusion the author says that 乐观 is a cultural-specific concept for the Chinese and gives a brief cross-cultural comparison with the same notion in Russian and American lingvocultures.

Keywords: Chinese language, mentality, key words, optimism, linguistic worldview

Introduction

It is well-known that a language is the easiest way to get to the human conceptosphere, its structure and content (Speshnev 2011: 101). Alternatively, there is language knowledge that is stored in grammar and vocabulary of a particular language which is called *a linguistic worldview* (Kasevich 1996: 179). In this paper we assume that 乐观 *lèguān* is not only a key word for the Chinese culture and its *national linguistic worldview* as defined by (Kornilov 2014: 112), but also that it is a part of a wider national-specific view of happiness. By *the national character* we mean a specific set of universal features of cultural and national community (Ter-Minasova 2004: 137) that reflects their collective psychology (Lurye 2004: 49). According to a famous Chinese philosopher Zhan Dainian (张岱年), the national character (精神) includes the ideas that are popular among the nation's majority and encourage to take action (Yu, Zhao 2005: 5). *The keyword* is a frequent meaningful word of a particular culture that has a complex semantic structure and forms many phraseological units (Weirzbicka 1997). Thus, in our work we applied the methodology, approved for the key words, that means that first of all, we will study its etymology, definitions, and derivatives. Then we will look closer at the broad wordnet of its synonymic and antonymic relations, accompanied with the list of phraseological units to find other ways of expressing an optimistic outlook or, vice versa, to show the disapproval of a pessimistic one. Furthermore, following the keyword methodology,

we need to perform the analysis of its collocations based on the monolingual corpus, in order to obtain the most commonly used phrases and look into the associations that an optimistic attitude arises. Finally, the pilot psychological experiment will be performed among the native speakers, so that we may see the views of common people on this notion and form the image of a person who thinks positively from the point of view of the Chinese. We assume that these steps would prove that 乐观 *lèguān* is not merely a significant word, but that it also reflects the traditional Chinese philosophical worldview, claiming that everything should be in harmony and interchangeable: luck turns to failure and vice versa, but one should remain calm and hopeful for the better.

Etymology, definitions, and derivatives

First of all, we will look in detail at the key word 乐观 *lèguān*. It consists of two morphemes ‘happy, cheerful’ + ‘view, attitude’. As corpora shows, we meet the word 乐观 *lèguān* in 礼记 (“The Book of Rites”) that was written in the times of Confucius. If we look at the Chinese-Russian dictionary (Xia 2000), we see that the morphem 乐 *lè* is quite productive, and there are about 20 language units that are made with the help of this morpheme. Secondly, the vocabulary definition of 乐观 *lèguān*, according to (BKRS; Zdic; Chinese-Russian dictionary 2000; Bol’shoy kitaysko-russkiy slovar’ 1983; Kitaysko-russkiy slovar’ 2000; Jingxuan yinghan hanying cidian 2004; Russko-kitayskiy slovar’ 1990), can be summarized as follows:

1) a cheerful attitude when a person believes in better future or in success; hopeful. It is a call to smile and to rejoice in spite of the real state of affairs (a loan from the American lingvoculture, according to BKRS): 别悲观，常笑笑 *biébēiguān, chángxiàoxiào*; 保持微笑 *bǎochí wēixiào* ‘keep smiling!’.

2) to be an optimist; optimistic: 乐观的看法 *lèguānde kànfǎ*. Also, one of the dictionaries (Chinese-Russian dictionary 2000) gives the word 大观 *dàguān* “to take life as it is; be philosophical no matter what happens” as the closest synonym of our key word.

Thirdly, 乐观 *lèguān* has many derivatives and wordforms: 乐观主义 *lèguānzhǔyì* / 乐观论 *lèguānlùn* “optimism”; 乐观主义者 *lèguānzhǔyìzhě*/ 乐观者 *lèguānzhě*/ 乐观论者 *lèguānlùnzhě* “an optimist”; 乐观的 *lèguānde*/ 乐观主义的 *lèguānzhǔyìde* “optimistic” (Ibid.). This also illustrates high productivity of the key word analyzed and confirms our thesis that 乐

观 *lèguān* is a meaningful lingvocultural unit, a key word, that has a wide range of possible usage in the language, thus showing the importance of the whole notion of being happy and optimistic in the Chinese culture.

Synonyms, antonyms, and phraseological units

Moreover, the key word 乐观 *lèguān* has many synonyms, according to (CILIN 1996; BKRS; Zdic): 乐天 *lètiān* “carefree, happy-go-lucky”, 积极 *jījí* “active, energetic”, 达观 *dáguān* “philosophical”, 开阔 *kāikuò* “broad, open”, 开豁 *kāihuò* “opened up; broadened (in outlook); without a worry”, 开展 *kāizhǎn* “open-minded” (思想~), 明朗 *mínglǎng* “bright and cheerful; open-minded”, 心胸 *xīnxiōng* “broad-minded: ambitious”, 正面 *zhèngmiàn* “open”, 豁达 *huòdá* “generous, open-minded”, 开朗 *kāilǎng* “cheerful”, 肯定的 *kěndìngde* “positive, affirmative, definite”, 良好 *liánghǎo* “good”; and 2 antonyms: 悲观 *bēiguān* “pessimistic”, (郁郁) 寡欢 *(yùyù) guǎhuān* “depressed”. So, we may say that this word is lexically elaborated, which does not contradict the requirements of the key word’s features and proves it to be a key word (Weirzbicka 1997).

Apart from the things mentioned above, the Chinese linguistic worldview has a number of fixed expressions and phraseological units most part of which expresses the necessity to be patient, to continue working hard regardless of the situation, and to be happy with life as it goes: 乐天知命 *lètiānzhīmìng* “to be happy with what you have”, 天助自助者 *tiānzhù zìzhùzhě* “Heaven helps those who help themselves”, 天下无难事, 只怕有心人 *tiānxià wú nán shì, zhǐ pà yǒuxīn rén* “nothing in the world is difficult for one who sets his mind to it”, 别往心里去 *bié wǎng xīnlǐ qù* “no to take close to the heart”, 想得开 *xiǎngde kāi* “try to look on the bright side of things; not take to heart; take philosophically”, 看得开 *kànde kāi* “not take to heart”, 有志者事竟成 *yǒu zhì zhě shì jìng chéng* “where there is a will, there is a way”, 迎难而上 *yíng nán ér shàng* “to keep moving even if there are some difficulties”, 既来之, 则安之 *jìláizhī, zéānzhī* “you would take things as they came”, 天无绝人之路 *tiān wú jué rén zhī lù* “Heaven will always leave a door open”, 知足常乐 *zhī zú cháng lè* “be content with one's lot”, 忘怀得失 *wànghuái déshī* “not concerned about personal gain or loss”, 雨过天晴 *yǔguò tiānqíng* “every cloud has a silver lining”, 随遇而安 *suí yù ér ān* “to accept circumstances with good will”, 放心吧 *fàngxīn ba* / 不要紧 *bùyào jǐn* / 不着急 *bù zháojí* “be calm; not to worry; it

does not matter”, 无忧无虑 *wúyōu wúlǜ* “carefree and without worries”, 乐安天命 *lè'ān tiānmìng* “happy with one's lot”, 豁然开朗 *huò rán kāi lǎng* “suddenly become clear-minded”, 自得其乐 *zì dé qí lè* “be content with one's lot; find enjoyment in smth.”, 逍遥自得 *xiāoyáo zì dé* “doing as one pleases”, 生龙活虎 *shēng lóng huó hǔ* “full of life and energy; working hard and happily”, 量体裁衣 *liàng tǐ cái yī* “act according to actual circumstances (conditions); be realistic”, 水滴石穿 *shuǐ dī shí chuān* “constant effort brings success”, 愚公移山 *yú gōng yí shān* “where there's a will, there's a way”, 移山填海 *yí shān tián hǎi* “remove mountains and fill seas”, 苦中作乐 *kǔ zhōng zuò lè* “to find joy in sorrows”, 塞翁失马, 焉知非福 *sài wēng shī mǎ, yān zhī fēi fú* “no harm, no good”, 水涨船高 *shuǐ zhǎng chuán gāo* “particular things improve with the improvement of the general situation”, 天有不测风云, 人有旦夕祸福 *tiān yǒu bù cè fēng yún, rén yǒu dàn xī huò fú* “sudden storms spring up in nature and men's fortunes may change overnight”, 及时行乐 *jí shí xíng lè* “to enjoy the present”, 老当益壮, 穷当益坚 *lǎo dāng yì zhuàng, qióng dāng yì jiān* “old but vigorous, poor but ambitious”, 死马当活马医 *sǐ mǎ dāng huó mǎ yī* “to keep trying everything in a desperate situation”, 不入虎穴, 焉得虎子 *bù rù hǔ xué, yān dé hǔ zǐ* “nothing ventured, nothing gained”, 吃一堑, 长一智 *chī yī qiàn, zhǎng yī zhì* “a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit”, 死灰复燃 *sǐ huī fù rán* “dying embers may glow again” (CILIN 1996; BKRS; Zdic; Hu Hong 2019; Kornilov Zhemchuzhiny ... 2014; Yin 2010; Zhou, He 2010)

Compared to the amount of phraseological units mentioned above, the phrases depicting the loss of optimism and self-belief is slightly lower. Thus, we may suggest that there is a setting for a positive attitude towards life's hardships in the Chinese society which is reflected in a language. Besides, one should work hard and be active while perusing his or her happiness and life's goals: 自怨自艾 *zì yuàn zì yì* “to be full of remorse”, 自暴自弃 *zì bào zì qì* “give oneself up as hopeless”, 心灰意冷 *xīn huī yì lěng* “to be discouraged”, 哀莫大于心死 *āi mò dà yú xīn sǐ* “despair is the greatest sorrow”, 万念俱灰 *wàn niàn jù huī* “all hopes are dashed to pieces”, 意志消沉 *yì zhì xiāo chén* “to be depressed”, 一蹶不振 *yī jué bù zhèn* “never to rise again”, 怨天尤人 *yuàn tiān yóu rén* “to blame the gods and accuse others”, 想不开 *xiǎng bu kāi* “take things too hard”, 看不开 *kàn bù kāi* “look at the dark side”, 悲观失望 *bēi guān shī wàng* “become pessimistic and despondent; lose faith in ...”, 杞人忧天 *qǐ rén yōu tiān* “groundless fears”, 忧天悯人 *yōu tiān mǐn rén* “worry about the destiny of mankind”, 听天由命 *tīng tiān*

yóu mìng “resign oneself to one's fate”, 心如死灰 xīnrúsīhuī “hopelessly apathetic”, 槁木死灰 gǎomù sīhuī/ 死灰槁木 sīhuī gǎomù “be utterly destitute of passions and desires as rotten wood and dead ashes; complete apathy”, 风无常顺, 兵无常胜 fēng wúcháng shùn, bīng wúcháng sheng “a boat can't always sail with the wind; an army can't always win battles” (Ibid.).

Corpora data

Now we shall move further to a contextual analysis done on the basis of two on-line corpora (Balanced corpora of the Chinese language; Leeds University Chinese corpora). 300 examples were looked at and grouped to show the combinations of 乐观 *lèguān* with such parts of speech as the noun, the verb, and the adjective. The corpus frequency of the most popular collocations is shown in brackets:

乐观 *lèguān* + NOUN: 精神 *jīngshén* “a spirit” (10), 情绪 *qíngxù* “emotions, an attitude” (9), 估计 *gūji* “a plan, an estimation” (5), 革命精神 *gémìng jīngshen* “a revolutionary spirit” (5), 人 *rén* “a person” (4), 态度 *tàidu* “an attitude” (4), 前景 *qiánjǐng*/前景 *qiánjǐng* “prospects” (3), 方面 *fāngmiàn*/一面 *yīmiàn* “a part, a side” (2), 情调 *qíngdiào* “mood”, 色彩 *sècǎi* “a feature”, 大度 *dàdù* “generosity”, 天性 *tiānxìng* “nature, character”, 精神状态 *jīngshén zhuàngtài* “moral state”, 情趣 *qíngqù* “an inclination, mood”, 方式 *fāngshì* “method”, 情况 *qíngkuàng* “a situation”, 想头 *xiǎngtóu* “hope, thought”, 信念 *xìnniàn*/信心 *xìnxīn* “faith, conviction”, 气氛 *qìfēn* “an atmosphere”, 逗人 *dòurén* “merry fellow”, 口气 *kǒuqì* “tone, manner of speech”, 性情 *xìngqíng* “a character, nature”, 形势 *xíngshì* “a situation”, 心情 *xīnqíng*/心态 *xīntài* “feelings, emotions”, 派 *pài* “style, manner”, 原因 *yuányīn* “a reason”, 分析 *fēnxī* “analysis”, 民族性格 *mínzú xìnggé* “a national character”, 自信 *zìxìn* “belief in yourself”, 讲话 *jiǎnghuà* “a report”, 看法 *kànfǎ* “point of view”.

VERB + 乐观 *lèguān*: 保持 *bǎochí* / 抱 *bào* “to keep” (6), 向上 *xiàngshàng* “to look to, to go for” (5), 充满 *chōngmǎn* “filled” (2), 起 *qǐ* “to support”, 总 *zǒng* “to summarize”, 杀 *shā* “to destroy”, 受到 *shòudào* “to get, to receive”, 不赞 *bùzàn* “do not support”, 吸引 *xīyǐn* “to attract”, 培养 *péiyǎng* “to educate”, 感到 *gǎndào* “to feel, to experience”, 表示 *biǎoshì* “to express”, 传染 *chuánrǎn* “to infect”, 讲话 *jiǎnghuà* “to speak”, 认为 *rènwéi* “to assume”, 持

chí “to adhere”, 构筑 gòuzhù “to build”, 显示 xiǎnshì “to show”, 展望 zhǎnwàng “to look with ... into the future”, 产生 chǎnshēng “to arise”.

ADJECTIVE + 乐观 *lèguān*: 盲目 mángmù “blind” (2), 开朗 kāilǎng “bright” (2), 活泼 huópo “vivid, active” (2), 相当 xiāngdāng “sufficient” (2), 坚强 jiānqiáng “strong” (2), 憨厚 hānhòu “innocent, simple” (2), 那么 nàme “such” (2), 健康 jiànkāng “healthy”, 愉快 yúkuài “joyful”, 一样 yīyàng “same, identical”, 成熟 chéngshú “mature”, 自信 zìxìn “self-confident”, 爽直 shuǎngzhí “sincere”, 难 nán “difficult”, 那样 nà yàng “such”.

This data shows that the key word 乐观 *lèguān* is used in various combinations and contexts, thus being well elaborated lexically in the Chinese language. Thanks to the contextual analysis we could also look at the associations that the word arises in the minds of the native speakers. So, according to the data received with its help, we may presume that a spirit, your emotions, attitudes, and a person can be optimistic. It is vital to keep and support this positive attitude, to go for it and to be filled with it. However, one should not underestimate the up-to-date situation and avoid being overoptimistic, because optimism can be blind.

Psychological experiment

In order to check our assumptions, we conducted a pilot experiment in a form of an on-line interview with 18 native speakers (8 women aged from 25 to 54 and 10 men aged from 27 to 56). The majority of them have higher education, and two of them are retired. The informants were given two tasks. First, they had to answer the following questions in Chinese: 1. How would you describe a person who thinks positively? 2. Are you an optimist yourself? If yes, then in what spheres of your life is it expressed and how? Secondly, they had to express their opinion in a form of a short essay on the topic given: «Positive thinking and optimism cannot solve all my problems».

If we summarize the answers, we would see that an optimist (积极乐观的人 *jījīlèguānderén*) is a self-confident person, who has his favorite business/job/hobby, who prefers not to complain, but to seek the possible solution. He can enjoy life as it is, ready for self-development and is on good terms with others. However, if you have an optimistic view without any actions taken, it is considered to be useless and unproductive. This attitude is very close to the American point of view where it is necessary not only to seem happy and successful, but also to do something to improve the circumstances (Naumova, Ryzhkina 2012). One should

avoid being overoptimistic and losing control of the real situation. 16 out of 18 people claimed that they are optimists. This attitude really helps them to overcome difficulties, to be happier with life, to be better at work or studies, and to live a healthy life (微笑面对每一天 *wēixiào miànduì měiyītiān* “to meet each day with a smile”). This analysis confirmed our hypothesis that, on the one hand, positive thinking is a norm, on the other hand, the Chinese try to keep balance and not to lose connection with reality: “We believe optimism may lead to longevity and stay positive, good things and good people will be drawn to you. Just like Tai Chi (太极), 阴 (darkness) and 阳 (brightness) complement each other, the great harmony or balance make things grow”, “We have a proverb 人无千日好, 化无百日红 (*rén wú qiān rì hǎo, huà wú bǎi rì hóng*) saying that one can certainly have misfortunes in lifetime, but it is important to remain realistic and not to be overwhelmed by them”.

So, a positive attitude may also help you to be successful at your career, because you make necessary personal connections, “*guanxi*”, easily. The Chinese are well-known for their life-style principle – 全身 *quánshēn* which means that you are deeply involved in your life and feel harmony with the outside world because your body and spirit are united (Maliyavin 2002; Lin 2010). Moreover, there is a famous notion of 五福 *wǔfú* (‘five blessings’ or ‘full happiness’), which includes longevity, wealth, honor, peace or happiness (安乐 *ānlè*), and many children (preferably, sons), where a good deal of optimism is needed if one wants to have a long happy and healthy life. Greatly influenced by Taoism, the pursuit of happiness, exhibited through the use of the key word 乐观 and portrayed in the answers of our informants, is not merely a popular notion, it is also a part of Chinese national character. Hard work, accompanied with optimism, can be more effective, thus the Communist Party of China via mass-media channels often promotes an optimistic attitude (Fishman 2007). Nevertheless, Chinese, as well as Russians, usually do not show their happiness openly to the strangers, because they are afraid of seeming immodest. This behavior illustrates that, regardless of the openness to the new ideas from the West, the Chinese still keep their traditional patterns.

Conclusion

Our research, based on the approved key word’s methodology, has shown that the word 乐观 *lèguān* can be looked upon as a key word of Chinese lingvoculture and national character

for several reasons. First of all, it has a long history in the language. Secondly, it is lexically elaborated and can be found in various contexts. Thirdly, there are many phraseological units that reflect the necessity to be optimistic and not to lose one's heart at difficult times. However, compared to the same notion of the American and Russian lingvocultures, we may conclude that the Chinese optimism is mostly realistic and well-balanced, it goes together with hope and luck, but one should feel the natural way of life and not regret if something goes wrong unexpectedly. So, being influenced by the traditional Chinese culture, the word itself, together with the notions of "happiness", "hard-work", "longevity", describes one of the most important values in the Chinese society.

References

- Kasevich, Vadim Borisovich Касевич, Вадим Борисович. *Buddizm. Kartina mira. Yazyk* Буддизм. Картина мира. Язык [Buddism. The Picture of the World. Language]. Saint-Petersburg Санкт-Петербург, 1996. Print.
- Kornilov, Oleg Alexandrovich, Корнилов, Олег Александрович. *Zhemchuzhiny kitayskoy phraseologii* Жемчужины китайской фразеологии [The Pearls of Chinese Wisdom]. Moscow Москва, 2014. Print.
- Kornilov, Oleg Alexandrovich, Корнилов, Олег Александрович. *Yazykoviye kartini mira kak proizvodniye natsional'nykh mentalitetov* Языковые картины мира как производные национальных менталитетов [Linguistic Worldviews as the Derivatives of the National Mentalities]. Moscow Москва, 2014. Print.
- Lin, Yutang Линь, Юйтан. *Kitaitsi: moya strana i moj narod* Китайцы: моя страна и мой народ [The Chinese: my Country and my People]. Moscow Москва, 2010. Print.
- Lurye, Svetlana Vladimirovna, Лурье, Светлана Владимировна. *Istoricheskaya etnologiya* Историческая этнология [Historical Ethnology]. Moscow Москва, 2004. Print.
- Malyavin, Vladimir Vyacheslavovich Малявин, Владимир Вячеславович. *Kitajskaya tsivilizatsiya* Китайская цивилизация [Chinese Civilization]. Moscow Москва, 2002. Print.
- Naumova, Ksenia Mikhailovna, Ryzhkina, Olga Alexandrovna Наумова, Ксения Михайловна, Рыжкина, Ольга Александровна. "Koncept Thinking Positively v sovremennoy amerikanskoj lingvokul'ture (s privlecheniem dannykh russkoj lingvokul'tury)" Концепт Thinking Positively в современной американской

- лингвокультуре (с привлечением данных русской лингвокультуры) [Concept Thinking Positively in a Contemporary American Lingvoculture (with Data from Russian Lingvoculture)]. *Vestnik Novosibirskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, Seriya: Lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaya kommunikatsiya* Вестник Новосибирского государственного университета, Серия: Лингвистика и межкультурная коммуникация 10.1 (2012): 89-97. Print.
- Ter-Minasova, Svetlana Georgievna Тер-Минасова, Светлана Георгиевна. *Yazyk I mezhkul'turnaya kommunikatsiya* Язык и межкультурная коммуникация [Language and Intercultural Communication]. Moscow Москва, 2004. Print.
- Fishman, Ted Фишман, Тед. *Kitay Inc. Voskhod sverkhmotschnogo konkurenta* Китай Inc. Восход сверхмощного глобального конкурента [China Inc. How the Rise of the Next Superpower Challenges America and the World]. Moscow Москва, 2007. Print.
- Speshnev, Nikolay Alekseevich Спешнев, Николай Алексеевич. *Kitaytsy. Osobennosti natsional'noy psikhologii* Китайцы. Особенности национальной психологии [The Chinese. The Peculiarities of the National Psychology]. Saint-Petersburg Санкт-Петербург, 2011. Print.
- Yu, Zuhua, Zhao, Huifeng 俞祖华, 赵慧峰. *Zhongguo minzu jingshen xin lun* 中国民族精神新论 [A New Interpretation of the Chinese National Spirit]. Qingdao 青岛, 2005. Print.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1997. Print.
- Bol'shoy Kitaysko-Russkiy slovar': po graphicheskoy sisteme v 4 tomakh: okolo 250 000 slov i vyrazheniy* Большой китайско-русский словарь: по графической системе в четырех томах: около 250 000 слов и выражений [Big Chinese-Russian Dictionary: with Graphic System in 4 Volumes: About 250 000 words and expressions]. Ed. I.M. Oshanin И. М. Ошанин. Moscow Москва, 1983 - 1984. Print.
- BKRS, *Bol'shoy Kitaysko-Russkiy slovar'* Большой китайско-русский словарь [Big Chinese-Russian Dictionary], 29 Aug. 2019, www.bkrs.info.
- CILIN 同义词词林. *Tongyici cilin* [Chinese Thesaurus of the Hanlin Academy]. Shanghai 上海, 1996. Print.
- Chinese Language Balanced Corpora, Web. www.aihanyu.org/cncorpus/index.aspx. 18 June 2019.

- Hu, Hong Xu, Хун. *Ustoychivye vyrazheniya kitayskogo yazyka* Устойчивые выражения китайского языка [Fixed Expression of the Chinese Language]. Moscow Москва, 2019. Print.
- Jingxuan yinghan hanying cidian* 精选英汉汉英词典 [Concise English-Chinese/Chinese-English Dictionary]. Beijing 北京, 2004. Print.
- Kitajsko-Russkij slovar'* Китайско-русский словарь [Chinese-Russian Dictionary], Ed. Xia Zhongyi, 2000. Print.
- Kitajsko-russkiy slovar': okolo 60 000 slov* Китайско-русский словарь: Около 60 000 слов [Chinese-Russian Dictionary: about 60 000 words]. Ed. B.G. Mudrov Б. Г. Мудров. Moscow Москва, 1988. Print.
- Leeds University Corpora of the Chinese Language*, corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html. Web. 15 July 2019.
- Russko-kitajskiy slovar': okolo 40 000 slov* Русско-китайский словарь 俄汉词典: около 40 000 слов [Russian-Chinese Dictionary. About 40 000 words]. Ed. Z.I. Baranova, A. V. Kotov. З.И. Баранова, А.В. Котов. Moscow Москва, 1990. Print.
- Yin, Binyong 尹斌庸. *Yuyan 100: hanying duizhao* 谚语 100: 汉英对照 [100 Pearls of Chinese Wisdom]. Beijing 北京, 2010. Print.
- Zdic Thesaurus of the Chinese Language*, www.zdic.net. Web. 16 Sept. 2019.
- Zhou, Lingzhong, He, Zeren 周苓仲, 何泽人. *Diangu 100: hanying duizhao* 典故 100: 汉英对照 [The Stories Behind 100 Chinese Idioms]. Beijing 北京, 2010. Print.

Modern China in Western Travel Writing: A Discourse-centered Perspective

Pavel Petkov

Abstract

The paper discusses the concept of discourse in the context of contemporary image production in English-language travel writing about China. In recent decades China has been visited by an enormous number of writing travelers who have produced an array of different (sometimes contradictory) images. When we study these images it is practically inevitable that we use analytical tools and theoretical concepts provided by modern postcolonial critique. Discourse is among the most important of those concepts. My analysis is largely theoretical and draws on the opinions and vantage points of reputed contemporary scholars whose models are relevant to imagology in a contemporary Chinese context.

Keywords: Travel writing, China, Discourse, Imagology

When we study contemporary images of China produced in western travel accounts, it is inevitable that we use analytical tools and theoretical concepts provided by modern postcolonial critique. Among these are the concept of *discourse* and the idea of the relation between knowledge and power. ‘Discourse’ is not a stable concept and has been used by theorists in various ways. One definition of Foucauldian discourses describes them as “ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them” (Weedon 1987: 105). The second part of the definition has a more direct relation to the concept of ‘power’: “Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the ‘nature’ of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern” (105). Within this paradigm, the world itself is brought into being through the discourse, and knowledge and power are joined together.

Edward Said found the concept of discourse appropriate for his analysis. It helped him dissect various colonial textual practices and bring to the surface the instances of Western domination and the link between political and scholarly imperialism: “I have found it useful here to employ Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse... to identify Orientalism. My contention is that without examining “Orientalism” as a discourse one cannot possibly understand this enormously systematic discipline...” (Said 1978: 3). Loomba points out that by using the concept of discourse he “re-orders” the study of colonialism (42).

The examination of the construction of images by Western travelers in China benefits from taking the form of a discourse-centered approach. Such an analysis would make it easier to “identify the prevailing discourses shaping contemporary travelogues... [It] uncovers and gives voice to that which is made silent within the discursive imposition of order” (Lisle 2006: 13-14). The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century semi-colonial practices of the European powers in China, as well as the imperialist attitude of the majority of the writing travelers there, were no different in their substance from those described by Said. Ernest Renan, for example, writes:

“Nature has made a race of workers, the Chinese race, who have wonderful manual dexterity and almost no sense of honor; govern them with justice, levying from them, in return for the blessing of such a government, an ample allowance for the conquering race, and they will be satisfied” (qtd. in Césaire 1950: 4).

The late twentieth-century remnants of these practices: the tendency to engage in the production of imaginative geographies, reductionist images and to pronounce judgment on the Chinese people, are detectable in the accounts produced by contemporary travelers – even by those purporting to adopt a cosmopolitan attitude. This is what Gandhi has in mind when she writes that “Orientalism becomes a discourse at the point at which it starts systematically to produce stereotypes about Orientals and the Orient, such as the heat and dust, the teeming marketplace, the terrorist, the courtesan, the Asian despot, the child-like native, the mystical East” (77). The adoption of a discursive approach allows the scholar to gain analytical access to certain obscure connections: between the created images and the conditioning role of the traveler’s background, between the political and the artistic, between the visible and the hidden implications of the produced texts. Foucault makes it clear that that the aim of such an analysis is “to re-examine evidence and assumptions, to shake up habitual ways of working and thinking, to dissipate conventional familiarities” (Foucault 1996: 462). This type of inquiry, referred to as ‘archaeology’, is “a crucial investigation of disciplinary systems of knowledge with the goal of understanding the discursive practices that produced those systems of knowledge” (Prado 2000: 24).

The production of stereotypes is considered to be one of the key features of Orientalist discourse. As is evident from the multitude of travelogues produced during the twentieth century, this is especially true in the case of China. Since the time of Marco Polo the European discursive practices had been characterized by an extremely intense process of stereotyping, one of the reasons for this intensity lying, I think, in the extreme remoteness of China which caused many Europeans to view it as especially strange and bizarre. It would be intuitive to

assume that the gradual accumulation of factual information by travelers throughout the centuries would slow this process down, but in fact this was not the case. The stereotypes varied in different historical periods but their production did not decrease its momentum. Applying the methods of discourse analysis, I will attempt to demonstrate that the twentieth-century travelers writing about China have not managed to escape the paradigm of the binaries and remain very much affected by the textual practices of their predecessors. In her study of the images of the Balkans in nineteenth-century British writing Ludmilla Kostova points out that “only a small minority of the texts I read occasionally transcends this binarism. On the whole, most of them perpetuate it” (Kostova 1997: 11-12). This can be claimed with the same level of validity about twentieth-century travel writing about China. It would be a mistake, however, to view stereotyping and essentializing as simple victimizing processes, especially in the case of China. If we look at the period between the sixteenth and the twenty-first century, we will notice that the stereotypes circulating in the West have always been subject to extreme vacillation. Periods of Sinophile attitudes (in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, for example) were followed by periods of strong hostility. The textual evidence shows that during the twentieth century this vacillation became more pronounced, even violent. Positive essentializing, in other words, played an important role in the creation of images of China.

From this contention is not difficult to come to the idea that the positive Orientalist stereotypes could be used by discontented colonial subjects – or, in the case of China, by the inhabitants of a semi-colonized territory – in a way that highlighted their own cultural peculiarities, or ‘essences’, against the intrusive background of Western domination. In this way the Orientalist discourse “was strategically available not only to the empire but also to its antagonists. Moreover, the affirmative stereotypes attached to this discourse were instrumental in fashioning the ‘East’ as a utopian alternative to Europe” (Gandhi 1998: 78). This, of course, is nothing less than an instance of auto-essentializing. In her book *Outside in the Teaching Machine* Gayatri Spivak issues a warning against a strategy whereby the postcolonial societies accept and even foster positive cultural identities ascribed to them by the West. “When a cultural identity is thrust upon one because the center wants an identifiable margin, claims for marginality assure validation from the center” (Spivak 1993: 55). This, in turn, can lead to a slippery slope at the foot of which awaits perpetual marginality. In a Chinese context, a case in point is Lin Yutang – one of the most famous twentieth-century Chinese authors writing in English. In his celebrated 1935 book *My Country and My People* he undertakes to make a list of Chinese typical characteristics and to set out the differences between China and the West.

The twentieth-century travel writing about China offers plenty of illustrations of this tendency. The Western travelers ascribe various ‘essential’ characteristics to the people they communicate with. What is more striking is that many of the Chinese people presented in these travelogues appear to make an effort to accommodate their own identity within the boundaries of the paradigm of marginality and exoticism constructed by the West. Invariably, however, their attempts to achieve a positive differentiation or moral superiority through this strategy remain futile because the essentializing features forming the paradigm have been constructed in the West and assigned to them through various discursive practices. Even the discourse of modern cartography, emphasizing – or even creating – the ultimate remoteness of China, could be viewed as part of this paradigm. The traveling westerner “surveys the Orient from above, with the aim of getting hold of the whole sprawling panorama before him—culture, religion, mind, history, society. To do this he must see every detail through the device of a set of reductive categories” (Said 1978: 239). It has been demonstrated by contemporary postcolonial critique that the discourse-centered analysis can be a valuable tool in destructing such paradigms.

One problematic area in the context of discourse analysis lies in the interpretation of the concept itself. Within their narrower definition, related chiefly to the sphere of textual practices, the discourses and their examination could, according to some critics, eclipse an important part of the postcolonial situation. Gina Wisker, for instance, articulates the problem in the following way: “Inscribing postcolonial object in (specifically literary) discourse reduces the lived experience - blurring the relationship between material reality and ideologically charged representation in text”, also warning that discursive versions of events “could hide and distance their painfulness, and turn the colonial experience into a literary product” (Wisker 2007: 39). We can find the same sentiment in Boehmer who argues that the reality of empire – such as the victims of colonial wars, labor gangs and starvation - could be obscured by discussions of text and images (20). Loomba describes such misgivings even more directly:

It has been often noted that colonial discourse studies present a distorted picture of colonial rule in which cultural effects are inflated at the expense of economic and political institutions. They claim that ‘discourse’ in practice comes to mean literary texts and other cultural representations. In other words, colonial discourse studies erase any distinction between the material and the ideological because they simply concentrate on the latter. (51)

According to these critics the extreme focusing on discourse analysis could lead to the depoliticization of the critical endeavor, blunting the analysis and even to “aestheticizing colonialism” (Dirks 1992: 5). It is indeed not difficult to fall into this theoretical trap when one

analyzes travel accounts dealing with China, especially those produced within the last three decades, since the extra cultural (or extra textual) part of their narrative is not always visible at a glance: all too often the political implications of the travelogues and the legacy of the empire occupy a discursive level deeper within the narrative, the discernment of which requires a strong analytical focus. An excellent example in this respect is Peter Hessler. His cosmopolitan outlook on China is present in all his travel books and articles, which may lower the guard of the critic and create the false impression that the author has managed to free himself from all prejudices against and preconceptions about the Chinese. This difficulty can be circumvented by adopting a somewhat wider definition of discourse according to which discourse is not composed by images and texts only, but includes a variety of colonial and postcolonial practices.

In their analyses some critics employ a rather slippery definition of ‘discourse’ which clearly borders on the edge of relativism. At the extreme end of this type of definition of discourse is the equalizing contention that practically nothing is outside the discourse, that discourse and ‘reality’ are indivisible because one creates the other. This, apparently, is also problematic because, if we accept this premise, the term ‘discourse’ is rendered so general that it is practically useless. If something denotes everything, it practically denotes nothing. The need, however, to adopt a definition that includes more than strictly textual practices seems beyond doubt. To my mind, ‘colonial/postcolonial’ discourse should be designated to include all human actions and practices that influence, in any conceivable way, the interactions between the (semi)colonizer (such as Great Britain or the USA) and the (semi)colonized (China), as well as the manifest and hidden mechanisms of construction of images of the Other and subjugation of peripheral knowledge. This way we can avoid the hampering assumption that everything that is happening is part of the discourse but still keep the concept broad enough to optimize its theoretical application. To illustrate: a tree falling in the forests of a colonized country would not be a part of the discourse but a group of men felling a tree in order to use the wood for the benefit of the colonizing country would.

Such a broader definition would explain why some contemporary critics, such as Mary Louise Pratt and Debbie Lisle have no misgivings about Foucauldian discourse analysis and even recommend it as a means of avoiding the depoliticization of analysis. To Lisle such an analysis is by no means politically blunt and, far from considering only textual and other ‘cultural’ practices, provides the critic with a valuable tool for revealing the grim realities of the empire. “[D]iscourse analysis examines how power arranges certain subjects, objects and meanings into an incontrovertible reality and excludes other possible ways of being and

knowing” (Lisle 2006: 12). I would like to emphasize that this particular consideration is extremely pertinent when discursive practices related to China are concerned. Twentieth-century travel writing about China is by no means exempt from responsibility when it comes to creating images reinforcing the power relation between a colonizer and a semi-colony. This is important to bear in mind because just like the West ‘makes’ China through a variety of discursive practices, including the production of travelogues, so has China ‘made’ the West, throughout colonial history, by providing natural resources or by being used as a market for foreign economies. It would be impossible to achieve a good understanding of the image production process in a Chinese context without acknowledging the geopolitical aspects of this process, not least because the Middle Kingdom – constantly peripherized in European and North American imagined geographies – has always been something different from a genuine periphery.

The twentieth-century situation, although different from the semi-colonial paradigm of Sino-Western interaction in the period between the seventeenth and the end of the nineteenth century, is still very much haunted by similarities with that time. These similarities have given rise to the widespread opinion that today's situation in China can be described as neocolonial. The active outsourcing of Western factories and enterprises to China because of the cheap labor is just one of the modern symptoms of dependence. Largely supportive of this opinion is the fact that the bulk of even the most ‘cosmopolitan’ contemporary travel writing about China reproduces both the categories of empire and the colonial vision. At the same time we need to keep in mind that the dichotomy between the Orient and the Occident still possesses certain validity and that, as Kostova writes, “the time is not yet ripe for us to discard it” (Kostova 1997: 20).

References

- Boehmer, Elleke. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Print.
- Césaire, Aimé. *Discourse on Colonialism*. 1950. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1972. Print.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. *Colonialism and Culture*. Michigan: University of Michigan, 1992. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology*. Ed. Lawrence Cahone. 1996. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. Print.

- Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: a Critical Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998. Print.
- Kostova, Ludmilla. *Tales of the Periphery: the Balkans in Nineteenth-Century British Writing*. V. Turnovo: St. Cyril and St. Methodius University Press, 1997. Print.
- Lisle, Debbie. *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Print.
- Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism / Postcolonialism*. 1998. New York: Routledge, 2008. Print.
- Prado, C. G. *Starting with Foucault: An Introduction to Genealogy*. Oxford: Westview Press, 2000. Print.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. 1978. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1995. Print.
- Spivak, Gayatri C. *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. New York: Routledge, 1993. Print.
- Weedon, Chris. *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. Print.
- Wisker, Gina. *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.

“Call Hua Tuo”. Medical Topics in the Chinese Language Classes of Sinology Students

Galina Struchalina

Abstract

The article describes the three-year experience of conducting an experimental one-semester course “Medicine and Health. Traditional Chinese Medicine” for sinology students. Along with the traditional forms of classes, the course includes first aid practical classes and translation practice in the clinic of traditional Chinese medicine, the development and implementation of case study scenarios, joint seminars with medical students, thematic audio-visual translation and dubbing in Chinese.

Keywords: Chinese language, practice-oriented lessons, experimental pedagogical techniques, medicine, Traditional Chinese medicine, language teaching

1. Introduction. The peculiarities of the work of a translator are quick searching, analysis and selection of information related to the field of translation, the ability to learn new fields of knowledge, penetrate into the essence of an entire industry as soon as possible, master professional slang and technical metaphors, often without being a certified specialist in the technical profession; for example, without being a doctor, engineer, chemist, agronomist and so on. This skill should also be cultivated in conditions in which it is technically and psychologically convenient to find friendly consultants in the field that the future translator is mastering. These observations and conclusions led to the development of integrated seminars on the topic “Medicine and Health. Traditional Chinese Medicine” for third-year sinology students. Such one-semester classes are held for three years, during this time the experimental activity went through the stages of implementation, analysis of the intermediate results, variable revision, and still continues to improve.

Challenges, faced by sinology students and teachers in the process of learning and mastering knowledge and competencies. Firstly, it is the lack of context and cultural background. Yes, teachers and students are outside the environment of the studied language. So, students have no need to be “eagle-eyed”, they have no need to be “all ears” and they have no need to learn both the language and context by ear, just from survival instinct. And the teachers, even though they are confident and are considered to be experts in the classroom, they are not able to demonstrate multiplicity, diversity and variability of communicative decisions using various language resources, as native speakers and ordinary citizens would have done in

their own country. Teachers are limited by time and curriculum and they need to work with a group of students of varying abilities. They have standardized ways of consolidating knowledge and skills, and “control points” with prescribed requirements for examiners. And if teachers invite native speakers to the classroom, they have even more problems, which are dialectical in nature. They try to speak only in the native language and thus immerse students in the language environment. But they are outside the environment of their own society, in a country with different traditions, rules, language and culture, and, as expats, they are not deeply involved in this new society. In this case, the principle they often follow – “do as I do”– works only in the classroom. Language knowledge and the communication experience of students are not supported by real-life situations in which they can be successfully applied. Therefore, classroom knowledge is not psychologically perceived as information for practical daily use. Also, a deep explanation of the nuances in Chinese is not accessible to the understanding of novice students, and a foreign language explanation is not always available to Chinese teachers, nor do they try to resort to it, trying not to destroy the integrity of the language environment in their classes. On the other side, university students, when it comes to their mother language, have almost formed, mature linguistic personalities. They have linguistic identity, and try to express themselves in the languages they study. Students in the first two years of their study feel a gap between the level of knowledge in their native language, the foreign language they studied at school (usually English) and the new foreign language – Chinese. The feeling that the intelligence of an adult is trapped for a long time in a child’s vocabulary, as if in a child’s body, in the students’ own words, is very depressing and deprives many of them of the motivation to study. But we have one other circumstance. Entry-level students do not have enough life experience to imagine themselves in situations requiring responsibility – for example, being responsible for the life, health, and well-being of themselves and of others. All of the above alienates students from the understanding that language is not a goal, but a means to carry out professional tasks. In the case of the profession of translators, it is a means of realizing full communication between the communicating parties. Seeing the main problem in the language they study, some students try to learn it at an accelerated pace and often feel disappointed; others quickly get used to the idea that they have Chinese classes as an exotic and decorative component of the curriculum. At times, both students and teachers are too keen on playing Happy Chinese, ignoring the fact of how stressful communication is in difficult everyday situations at work and in public places. Stress and sense of anxiety are associated with a sense of responsibility for the development of the situation. It’s natural: this is all just a “part of the natural human emotional response to circumstances in our lives” (Swift et al. 2014:

www). But the sense of anxiety is greatly amplified if the students had no experience in accepting responsibility before, or if it was negative. So the way they feel afterwards, is with guilt and the sense of helplessness. And, as for the case of the topic “Medicine and Health”; for future translators it is not enough to learn a glossary and dialogues about the common cold, indigestion or headaches — that are all the problems of the heroes of Chinese language textbooks. In real life, they may be faced (and had such an experience during their internship program at partner universities) with all sorts of allergies and Quincke's edema, serious injuries and accidents, viral infections requiring immediate hospitalization. And with the exacerbation of chronic diseases, they will have to arrange insurance formalities. Even filling out an outpatient chart or using a computer application, or self-recording machine for making an appointment with a doctor will be a serious test for inexperienced young people. In addition, especially if the translator intends to specialize in medical areas, he or she is obliged to imagine a system of traditional Chinese medicine at least in general terms.

1.2. Chinese University Course opportunities. One of the main opportunities provided by higher education is integration. Keeping in mind the Latin roots of the words “seminar” (“breeding ground, plant nursery”) and “university” (“universality; academic community”), it is possible to organize educational and extracurricular activities of students with the involvement of specialized sources and specialists from the studied areas. Another opportunity that can and should be realized at the university is a practice-oriented approach to learning. The practice-oriented approach has always been a part of both secondary vocational and higher education. According to Nizamova’s wording: “a practice-oriented education is aimed at acquiring, in addition to knowledge, both the skills and practical experience in order to achieve professionally and socially significant competencies. This ensures that the involvement of students in their work and their activity is comparable to the activity of a teacher. Motivation to study theoretical material comes from the need to solve a practical problem” (Nizamova 2015: www).

2. Materials and methods. By actualizing the social and professional significance of the topics studied, to promote the assimilation of knowledge in a responsible way; to promote students’ motivation to study; to balance the objective contradictions of the university course of language education; to expand the cultural representations of students; to provide their adaptation to linguistic and extra-linguistic reality, and to increase students’ sense of responsibility for their own competencies. The main participants of the pilot training course “Medicine and Health. Tradition Chinese Medicine” were students of the translation department of Belgorod State University’s Institute of Intercultural Communication and

International Relations. All of them were studying English as their first foreign language and Chinese as their second foreign language. During the time they took part in the experiment, students were in their third year of study at the University. In parallel with learning foreign languages, that year they began to master disciplines related to the chosen specialty, such as “Translation theory”, “Translation in the field of communication”, etc. Students in their second year of study at the Medical institute at the same University were attracted as “experts” from the field of medicine.

Teachers of the Chinese language (the author of this paper) and the Anatomy of human body, that period conducted classes with relevant groups of future doctors and translators, acting as consultants directing the work of students. Students in their second year of study of the translation department were invited as listeners to open seminars with the participation of medical students and sinology students. Thus, about thirty to forty people attended the seminars annually.

2.3. The methods' content. In the first year of the seminars (2017), students of two specialties (“Translation” and “General Medicine”) were invited to prepare thematic presentations for making a collective performance in front of the audience (in Russian). Future translators had to talk about the basics of Chinese traditional medicine, the concept of the five elements, and the differences between principles of diagnosis and treatment of Chinese medicine and Western medicine. To study issues and prepare for the public presentation, students were recommended a list of books and informative resources, and also attended introductory thematic classes on working with information (they were allowed also use self-selected materials in available languages, in Russian, English and Chinese). As for the students of the medical institute, the topic “Assistance in emergency situations” was proposed to them as a topic for public speaking. In addition, medical students, under the guidance of their teacher, prepared a study case for joint training with “translators”. During the preliminary discussion by the teachers of the Chinese language and anatomy, a general plan for the case was developed: a group of doctors and translators jointly provide first aid to the passengers of a foreign sightseeing bus which had crashed. Medical students developed the details of this scenario on their own, while during the training they played the roles of doctors and victims of road accident. Since students of the Medical Institute studied only European languages as their foreign language choice, it was decided to provide the training in English. After the training and discussion of the results, students of the Translation department compiled an up-to-date glossary in Chinese on the topic of first aid in emergency situations.

The following year (2018), students in their second and third years of study, respectively, also participated in seminars. At the same time, the participants in the training were those sinology students who, a year ago, attended it as spectators. Therefore, the scenario of the case was changed; medical and translation students united in small groups of three to four people, jointly prepared stories about the actions of others in cases when a person next to them collapsed. So, among the tasks were: “Heart attack”, “Stroke”, “Diabetic crisis”, “Hypertensive crisis”, “Allergy attack”, “High temperature”, etc. All performances were accompanied by a practical demonstration. Exactly the same as future translators did a year ago, the “next generation” compiled a glossary in Chinese based on the results of the training. In addition, they also spoke to medical and junior students about traditional Chinese medicine. In the third year of the seminars, the circumstances were such that it was technically inconvenient to conduct joint classes with medical students as classes at the Medical institute and the Institute of Intercultural Communication took place on distant sites. Therefore, students in their third and fourth years of study were invited to the clinic of traditional Chinese medicine for some practical training. Students met a doctor from China and talked with her in Chinese. Then the doctor performed a demonstration on diagnostics, and the students participated in pairs: one of the students as a patient, the other as a translator. Students also presented reports on traditional Chinese medicine at a seminar lesson prior to visiting the clinic.

The experimental activities described above have been combined for three years with Chinese classes, where students have studied the topic of “Medicine and Health” as well. Students read and translated educational texts about traditional and modern medicine in China, performed exercises, compiled glossaries and learned them by heart; they watched, listened, translated training videos and audio materials, and reproduced the dialogs such as “At the reception” and “At the doctor’s appointment”. In addition, fragments from educational and feature films, in which communication on medical subjects occurs in a natural and immediate speed, characteristic of everyday communication, were duplicated (vocally) by heart. The exam at the end of the semester included listening and translating a text regarding medical topics, performing a lexical and grammar test based on vocabulary of glossaries and texts students read during the semester, and an oral speech in Chinese based on one of the examination cases dedicated to first aid.

3. Results. The results of the examination sessions for the semester, in which the topic “Medicine and Health” was studied for three years, were consistently good, students passed exams with positive marks; there were no cases of academic debt due to lack of learning. Students, both physicians and sinologists, showed interest in studying new material, both

independently in preparation for seminars, and as part of groups during classes. According to students who visited China for a language internship after studying the topic “Medicine and Health”, the knowledge gained in “medical” Chinese classes came in handy when studying abroad. Two years after mastering medical topics, during state examinations, texts with medical specifics, including those relating to traditional Chinese medicine did not cause students any difficulties.

4. Discussion. In the second century AD, the greatest physician in the ancient history of China, Hua Tuo collected many schools of natural remedial exercises, and made up his own version of the complex. This practice is today known as the “Exercise of the Five Animals”. Dr. Hua Tuo was well-versed not only in Chinese medicine’s bio-energetic and natural pharmacology, but also in anatomy. He is known for successfully conducting surgical operations, developing his own method of anesthesia. Therefore, the “form” or complex of exercise developed by him was verified by both physics and energy knowledge, and knowledge in the field of psychology and psychosomatics as well. The deep integration of knowledge that we see in the example of Hua Tuo is not only an occasion to talk about it during lessons of Chinese language and culture, but also an occasion to apply the same principles of thinking and organizing information in the learning environment, in particular when teaching languages and translation. Reliance on the naturalness of knowledge and its connection with the processes of socialization helps us to strengthen the motivation of students, and push them to make a step to creatively mastering the disciplines of the training course.

5. Conclusions. A University Chinese language course can be a platform for various experimental methods that implement the competency-based approach in education. Problem-based methods, methods of integration; practice-oriented teaching methods in combination with traditional teaching methods could help to educate and train a competent specialist, as well as help young people gain some resilience, based on professionalism and experience.

References

Nizamova 2015: Nizamova, Khalida Mahmutovna. Низамова, Халида Махмутовна. *Praktiko-orientirovannyi podkhod put k povysheniiu effektivnosti obucheniia* Практико-ориентированный подход – путь к повышению эффективности обучения [A Practice-oriented Approach is the Path to Improving Learning Efficiency].

<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/praktiko-orientirovannyy-podhod-put-k-povysheniyu-effektivnosti-obucheniya>, 08 May 2015.

Swift et al. 2014: Swift, Paul, Eva Cyhlarova, Isabela Goldie, Chris O'Sullivan. *Living with Anxiety. Understanding the Role and Impact of Anxiety in Our Lives. Mental Health Awareness Week.* London 2014.
<https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/sites/default/files/living-with-anxiety-report.pdf>, 02 September 2019.

Yu Hua and Yan Lianke: Examples of Chinese Literature Translated in Italy

Marco Lovisetto

Abstract

In this paper I argue that within the process of disseminating contemporary Chinese literature translation plays an essential role in conveying the translated text to the Italian readership but translators must navigate complex issues such as the cultural mores of the target culture. Chinese authors would not enjoy the same level of regard in Italy that they do without this intervention, yet translators are not the only ones involved in literary dissemination and their work is limited by editorial concerns. Focusing on the translation-editorial relationship, I present works by Yu Hua and Yan Lianke, discussing translational issues, publishing standards, and overall impact.

Keywords: Chinese-Italian translation, Yu Hua, Yan Lianke, publishing market, translational issues

1. Translation's Role in Literary Dissemination

In the process of literary dissemination, the iceberg of Chinese culture is conveyed by the translation and publication of its literary works. The implicit elements included in the iceberg are the foundation of the source culture—of which any literary work is an expression. These works include a series of culturally-specific topics and taboos. Writers are active subjects of the source culture, and the deliberate choice to keep silent about a set of cultural values does not mean that those values are not a distinctive representation of the source culture: if a writer does not explicitly refer to any of those taboos, it does not mean that her/his literary production is deprived of its distinctive expression of the source culture in its totality.

Through the interlingual translation process, the partial explication of references to the above-mentioned implicit elements, contributes to the shaping of distinctive literary works which arouse the interest of the target reader, or recreate a representation of an apparently unintelligible reality. In both cases, exemplified here by Yan Lianke and Yu Hua, the target reader's expectations are somehow satisfied by translational strategies which effectively bring into light those cultural values sophisticatedly implied in the source texts.

The evolution of contemporary Chinese literature was also defined around crucial historical events like the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), which led to the “six years of new literature;” the Reforms and Opening-Up, which inaugurated a literary period

(1980s) during which writers experimented with new literary ways of representing reality and their relationship with the world; and the Tiananmen Square Incident, which launched a new period rethinking the content that writers' own literary production should have included. Gao Yu suggests an increasing level of complexity of contemporary literature: "It started particularly simple, became relatively simple during the 1980s, and finally became complex during the 1990s" (Gao 2017: 112).

This complexity was a sign of the level of involvement in the intellectual debate. The need for confrontation of individual positions, sufferings, and frustrations, had become urgent, and literature was one of the instruments that allowed writers to satisfy those needs. The complexity of contemporary literature is also determined by the fact that after 1989 an increasing number of literary figures emigrated and launched new branches of Chinese literature. Here, I will just briefly refer to Chinese American author Qiu Xiaolong who, in his *Enigma of China*, suggests a possible understanding of position of literary circles on social issues:

For the government, "stability" was the main priority... Economic and social progress from China's reforms had been achieved because of that stability. Yet the Party authorities were finding it increasingly hard to maintain that stability, despite their efforts to cover up any "unstable" factors (Qiu 2015: 8-9).

The "unstable factors" Qiu mentions are the ones which bring about dynamism in a cultural environment. They are also what writers are looking for while experimenting with literary ways to redefine their position within world literature (see Yan's point on this below).

For contemporary literature in the PRC, as suggested in a literary review published in Italy, I believe that a virtual generalization of the phenomenon could roughly divide the publication of translated literature into two categories: the mainstream literature of the traditional editorial channels, which easily "prefers a commercialized approach... achieving success but backfiring with the transmission of stereotypes;" and the literature of a bottom-up approach originating from direct contact with authors, which provides "a snapshot of the up-to-date contemporary literary scenario showing its continuous evolution" (De Caro 2008).

In line with this generalized rough division, Qiu's *Enigma of China* confirms the reality of the first approach in describing the attitude of a writer who successfully climbed the hierarchic ladder of the writers Association:

She [An] had written a prize-winning novel portraying... an unfortunate, helpless woman who had fallen prey to the relentless changes of the time... But An had not done anything close

to that level since then... In her new position, she enjoyed the privileges of a ministry-ranking Party cadre. She wouldn't want to write anything that could jeopardize that (Qiu 2015: 13).

On the other hand, there are authors like Yan who are determined to spare no effort in the intellectual struggle to attempt to surpass their creative capabilities: "After *The Four Books* and *The Explosion Chronicles*, the difficulty lies in finding how to shake off the influence of the two novels... I'd like to see if I could transcend those two and write a radically different one" (Yan 2019: 4). Yan's determination in pursuing his goal is also his conviction that Chinese authors need to define their position: "An illuminated intellectual should be convinced that literature is a global chessboard, and an author should know what his or her position is" (Yan 2019: 5).

Proving a similar position, in *Mao Zedong è arrabbiato (Mao Zedong is Angry)*, Yu Hua introduces his work by offering an excursus of the changes of China that includes humorous ways of talking about what characterized life in China since Mao Zedong. As a conclusion to this introduction Yu writes:

Let me try to draw a subtle line of the transformations that occurred via the answers which youths of three different periods would have possibly given to the question: "What would you like to have from life?"

A boy from the Cultural Revolution would have said: "Struggle and revolution."

A boy from the 1980s would have said: "Love and career."

And a boy today would say: "Girls and money" (Yu 2018: Introduzione; English translation is mine).

As authors directly connected to the bottom of society, both Yan and Yu answer the call of literature to be a dynamic tool that explores innovation, denounces social issues and provokes an intellectual reaction in the reader.

Additionally, they share a realist's perception of reality as a source of new materials. Yan argues that "reality is much more absurd and complex than any fiction" ("Chinese Literature": 5:48") explaining that it is his source of inspiration. Yu's early works also exhibit a similar view as they include a "large presence of deadly, sanguinary, violent and distressing elements" (Gao 2017: 142). Both absurdity and cruelty are consistent features of everyday life, and writers like Yan and Yu moved the focus of literary creation from the traditional need for the expression of the positive values of kindness, happiness, gloriousness and peace, to the absurd and cruel contents of real life.

In considering the socio-political control over intellectual activities, both Yan and Yu are particularly conscious about the balance that needs to be adjusted between literary creation

and censorship. In an essay on censorship operating in the different fields of artistic creation, Yu explains:

The primary factors [of censorship] are often economic... Editors are under pressure to make the biggest profit they can. Even if a book carries some political risks, a daring editor will take the gamble if there's a chance it will be a bestseller (Yu 2013).

There are fuzzy borders between what can be published in China. Yan shows how some of his censored works put him in restrained situations:

On the surface it seems like it could bring international fame, but in fact it happened that as soon as *Lenin's Kisses* was published, it was censored; so I was transferred from the army to the Beijing's writers association...; as I arrived there, *Serve the People* was published and was banned, too; as the situation calmed down, *Dream of Ding Village* came out. As it was also censored, I... caused too many troubles to others who had to continuously wipe off my wrongdoings (Yan 2019: 3).

It looks like both Yan and Yu try to explore the limits imposed by the establishment. While they are well-aware of the general limits, both authors have shown that they are not willing to give up their intent to push their creativity, express their views on reality, and provoke their readers:

For *The Four Books*... I wanted to set free the totality of my writing abilities and see what I was capable of. So, I... just wanted to write it this way... For me, this was a moment of personal liberation (Yan 2019: 3).

2. Translating Yan Lianke

A general conviction in the PRC is that many Chinese-speaking writers are selected to be translated and published abroad because they are dissidents who emigrated or authors of controversial works that became victims of domestic censorship. The question is yet complex because authors themselves resist seeing their works banned and because of the readership's expectations differing between the source and target cultures. I argue that in the system of cultural values that originated in the European tradition, commonly shared features are empathy for the weak and an innate aversion toward the strong powers. Surely, the readership seems to be showing interest in literary works related to socio-political issues, but in reality the readership is seeking elements of debate on social inequalities and stories of individuals struggling against unfair conditions.

In 2006, *Servire il popolo* (*Serve the People*) was published by Einaudi. This is Yan's first book published in a European language¹. The fact that it was banned in the PRC gave the book additional value. The translator of *Servire il popolo*, Patrizia Liberati, also translated Mo Yan's *Il supplizio del legno di sandalo* (*Sandalwood Death*) (Einaudi, 2005). This edition of *Servire il popolo* shows the intention of attracting the reader's attention with a provocative cover (see fig. 1) and by the one-sentence description of the novel: lit. "Banned by the Chinese Communist Party for pornography."

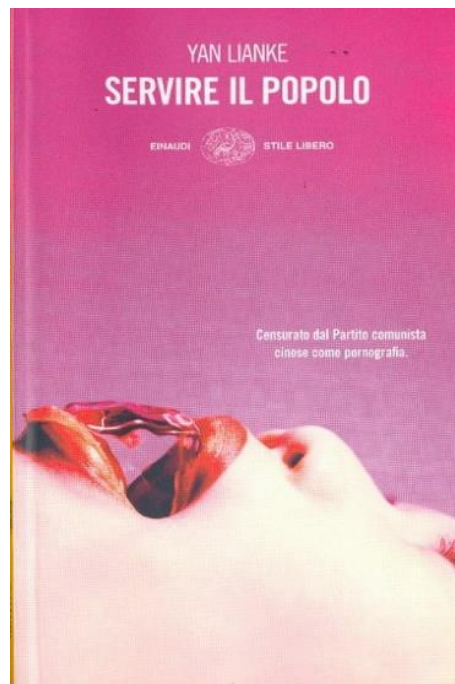


Fig. 1

Front cover of *Servire il popolo* by Yan Lianke ©
Thinkstock / Gettyimages / Laura Ronchi

Additionally, the back cover (see fig. 2) adds two sentences further illustrating the reason for the ban: "Irreverent, foul-mouthed, caustic: the erotic novel against the degeneration of the communist regime that amused and scandalized the Chinese. Immediately seized by the Party, it then reappeared illegally on the Internet."

¹ Between 2006-10, *Serve the People* was published in 11 European languages, including (in chronological order) Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Czech, Slovenian, English, Spanish, German, French, and Romanian.

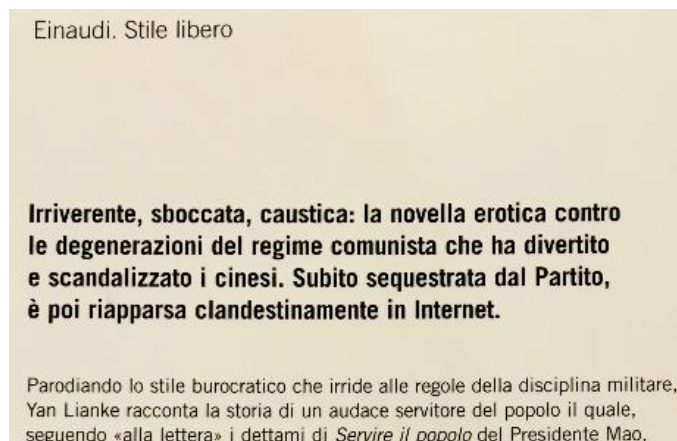


Fig. 2

Back cover of *Servire il popolo* by Yan Lianke ©

Despite the provocative cover and the emphasis on the parodic and transgressive nature of the novel, Yan did not immediately open with success in the Italian market. It took five years to see four other books of Yan's translated by Lucia Regola and published by Nottetempo: *Il sogno del villaggio dei Ding* (*Dream of Ding Village*) (2011), *Pensando a mio padre* (lit. *Father and I*) (2013), *I quattro libri* (*The Four Books*) (2018), *Gli anni, i mesi, i giorni* (*The Years, Months, Days*) (2019). Additionally, launching a new editorial project², Atmosphere introduced to the Italian market a collection of novellas by Yan, *Il podestà Liu e altri racconti* (lit. *Podesta Liu and Other Stories*) (2017), translated by Marco Fumian.

With six books published in Italian, Yan's presence in the Italian market equals Zhang Ai ling's, ranking fourth after Mo Yan, Su Tong, and Yu Hua's. Among the European languages, Italian translations equal Spanish translations, ranking third behind English (9) and French (11).

3. Translating Yu Hua

With 11 books translated, Yu is one of the most well-accepted Chinese writers in Italy. Yu's entrance in the market of Italy was not an immediate success either.

His early production was based on elements that contrasted with the literary tradition of the source culture and through the translation process, those elements reached the readership of the target culture but still aroused feelings of discomfort in the readers. Yu is now considered as an active agent of world literature, as Chen Sihe stresses in an interview on the occasion of

² Translations of Yan Lianke, Liu Heng and Su Tong were published between 2017-19.

the presentation of the series *Reading Companion to Chinese Literature*: “In his work *Reading Companion to Yu Hua*, Prof. Gao explains [that] Yu Hua’s works were shared and discussed around the world, proving that he is not only a writer for Chinese people but also a writer for the world” (Lei 2019). Yu’s works evolved from his personal view on reality—based on sanguinary, violent and deadly images—and he experimented with ways to compensate for his cruel and crude understanding of reality. One of the results of his formative progress is the presence of his works that were published in Italy. The first translation of Yu’s works was *Torture (Tortures)*, a collection of short stories published by Einaudi (1997) and translated by Maria Rita Masci. The editorial choice on the design of the cover does not seem to reveal an effective marketing strategy for readers (see fig. 3):



Fig. 3
Covers of *Torture* by Yu Hua ©
Tullio Pericoli e Pierluigi Cerri

A cursory analysis of the cover seems to suggest that the book is a manual on tortures and its related tools. The cover anticipates a collection of “cruel stories by the most extreme author of contemporary China,” and a sentence in bold of the back cover confirms: “My job is to synthesize human wisdom, and the highest point of all human wisdom is punishment.” Both the lack of cultural context supporting Yu’s literary creation and an ineffective marketing strategy led to a delay in the entrance of Yu into the Italian market. Of the 11 translations, only

Torture and another collection of short stories, *Le cose del mondo sono fumo* (lit. *The Things of the World are Smoke*), are out of print in Italy.

In the same years, however, two presses (Donzelli and Einaudi) published three books of Yu's: *Vivere! (To Live)* (1997), *L'eco della pioggia (Cries in the Drizzle)* (1998), and *Cronache di un venditore di sangue (Chronicle of a Blood Merchant)* (1999). Translated by different individuals, Nicoletta Pesaro and Masci, the books paved the road for Yu's success in Italy. That success was not immediate because between 1999 and 2008 only the collection *Le cose del mondo sono fumo* was published (Einaudi, 2003). Further, apparently due to editorial market reasons, it took a number of years to rearrange the editorial project which resulted in the publication of new books, *Brothers* (2008, 2009), *La Cina in dieci parole (China in Ten Words)* (2012), and *Il settimo giorno (The Seventh Day)* (2016), among others, and the republication of six others by the press Feltrinelli.

4. Conclusions

This study has so far revealed the macroscopic challenges that Chinese literature in Italy has to deal with in the multilayered process of literary dissemination. Not only is literary translation at the center of the interlingual transfer from source to target cultures, but a larger number of interrelated factors influence the translational choices that translators are called to make.

It is evident that the majority of the editorial projects struggle to successfully enter the publishing market. The lack of editorial projects aimed at expanding the range of Chinese authors available in Italian translations is evident. The increasing presence of variegated authors would provide the readership with a comprehensive spectrum of Chinese literature.

References

- "China's 'Mainstream'." *China Media Project*. Oct. 8, 2019. chinamediaproject.org/2019/10/08/chinas-mainstream/, Oct. 24, 2019.
- "Chinese Literature." *YouTube*, Jan. 29, 2014. www.youtube.com/watch?v=7N1k-EDdrMg, Sept. 28, 2019.
- De Caro, Alessandro. "Cina. Undici Scrittori della rivoluzione pop." *Paper Street*. Feb. 8, 2008. http://www.paperstreet.it/cs/leggi/708-Cina_Undici_scrittori_della_Rivoluzione_Pop Dec. 3, 2014.

- Gao, Yu. "Chinese Contemporary Literature and Its Period Division." *Academic Monthly*. 41 (2009): 110-8.
- Gao, Yu 高玉. "Shijie Wenxue Shiyexia de Yu Hua Pingjia." 世界文学视野下的余华评价. *Zhongguo Xiandai Wenxue Yanjiu Chongshu* 《中国现代文学研究丛书》, 7 (2017):141-50.
- Lei, Ceyuan. "Global Vision and Dialogue on Chinese Literature." *Jinhua - China*. Oct. 21, 2019. english.jinhua.gov.cn/hihv/201910/t20191022_4258441_1.html, Oct. 24, 2019.
- Qiu, Xiaolong. *Enigma of China*. London: Mulholland Books, 2015.
- Wong, Edward. "Q. and A.: Detective Novelist Qiu Xiaolong on Chinese Corruption." *Sinosphere* — *The New York Times*. Dec. 24, 2013. sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/12/24/q-and-a-detective-novelist-qiu-xiaolong-on-chinese-corruption/, Oct. 21, 2019.
- Yan, Lianke 阎连科. "Weishenme Women Huozhe Meitian dou Xiang Daku Yichang." 为什么我们活着每天都想大哭一场. *Qingchun* 《青春》. April 4, 2019. http://www.sohu.com/a/305809090_488428, Sept. 28, 2019.
- Yu, Hua. "Introduzione — I Cambiamenti della mia Cina." *Mao Zedong è arrabbiato. Verità e menzogne dal pianeta Cina*. Roma: Feltrinelli, 2018.
- . "Censorship's Many Faces." *The New York Times*. Feb. 27, 2013. nytimes.com/2013/02/28/opinion/you-censorships-many-faces.html, Oct. 15, 2019.

Cinematic Representation of the Woman Warrior Hua Mulan in the Construction of Chineseness

Meng Sijia

Abstract

The story of Hua Mulan 花木兰, the lady warrior who takes her father's place in the army dressed as a male soldier, is a Chinese traditional tale. In the People's Republic of China it was first retold as a film in 1956, yet did not become popular among global audiences until the release of Disney's animated film Mulan in 1998. In 2009, the Mulan story was recast within China with the purpose of reclaiming the Chineseness of the woman warrior. An analysis and comparison of the three versions of Hua Mulan story shows that it has been reinvented repeatedly and that her character represents different agendas in each retelling. These various versions of the Mulan legend reveal the construction of identity at different times, ultimately recasting the connection between women and the nation.

Keywords: Mulan, filial piety, patriotism, femininity

Introduction

The Hua Mulan legend has a long history in China, but Disney's film version made Mulan's story go global. The 1998 Disney's *Mulan* was even considered the "definitive" version of Hua Mulan's story (Liu 2009), yet this "definitive" version failed to win the hearts of many domestic audiences in Mainland China¹. Despite the unsatisfactory reception in the film market of Mainland China, Disney's transnational retelling stimulated heated debates on Hua Mulan's national identity in China's intellectual circles and mainstream media (Li 2018: 363). To reclaim the Chineseness of Hua Mulan, in 2009, China presented its own live-action feature film, *Mulan*, directed by Hong Kong director Jingle Ma 马楚成 and starring mainland actress Zhao Wei 赵薇 to the world in the decade following the release of Disney's *Mulan*. The retelling of Hua Mulan's story highlighted China's will to reclaim the Chineseness of its national heroine. Furthermore, the choice of a Hong Kong director instead of a mainland one to make a film about an iconic Chinese heroine pointed to the possibility that China was going to claim Hong Kong's Chineseness as the PRC's.

The portrayal of Chinese women can be considered as an agency to reshape the grand

¹ Disney's 1998 animated film *Mulan* grossed only about one-sixth of the anticipated box office income in Mainland China, which was \$1.3 million (Chan 2002: 242), the lowest among the thirty-four imported American "megafilms" since 1994 (Dong 2010: 170).

narrative of China's nation-building with which to validate Chinese nationalism domestically, and present China as an ideal model to follow for the rest of the world. The images of three versions of the Chinese national heroine Hua Mulan are compared in their respective film versions: the PRC's *Hua Mulan* (dir. Liu Guoquan 刘国权 and Zhang Xinshi 张新实, 1956), Disney's *Mulan* (dir. Tony Bancroft and Barry Cook, 1998), and Mainland-Hong Kong co-production *Mulan* (dir. Jingle Ma, 2009). The intersectionality between women and nation as narrative framework and politicised trope is rethought by considering how Chineseness is reconstructed through renegotiation of Hua Mulan's female identity in each of these versions.

From Defender of the Family to Servant of the State

When the characterisation of women and the cultural consciousness of nation intersect, the figure Hua Mulan is arguably the most envisioned and mediated female in the history of China's gender imagination (Li 2016: 41). Dong (2010) traces the development of this popular icon and shows how Mulan has been reinvented repeatedly in both China and the United States so that her character presents different agendas in each retelling. Chan (2002: 241) concludes: "*Mulan is not genuinely Chinese, nor is it all American. It has become a transcultural text: a combination of old and new, traditional and modern, East and West, collectivism and individualism, female submissiveness and women's liberation, filial piety and reciprocal love between father and daughter.*" As both Dong and Chan clearly indicate, Mulan represents an idea about female virtue at a particular time and place. Then, one may ask, if she is made to be different from her Disney counterpart, how does China's 2009 film version of Hua Mulan legend construct Mulan's Chineseness and womanhood? And how does this most recent Chinese version communicate the issue of women and nation in today's China?

Both Disney's 1998 animation and China's 2009 film sustain an essential core legend of Hua Mulan's story in which the maiden dresses as a male soldier and fights on the battlefield taking her father's place in the army. Mulan transforms into a heroine who performed heroic deeds in battle and eventually returns home. Yet the main themes dramatically differ. Disney's story constantly emphasises the idea of honouring her ancestors and family. To avoid dishonouring the family, Mushu, a compact-sized and lizard-looking dragon from Mulan's family temple is sent to retrieve Mulan. Rather than accentuating Mulan's war heroism, the Disney film makes filial piety Mulan's fundamental motivation to join the army. Disney's theme of filial piety is also emphasised in the ending of the film. At the closing scene, Mulan returns home with the sword of the foe and the crest of the emperor. Her father's words, "*The*

greatest gift and honor is having you for a daughter”, ultimately join together the family honour with Mulan’s personal achievement. Mulan’s grandmother trivialises Mulan’s heroic experience, however. She remarks with sarcasm: *“Great. She brings home a sword. If you ask me, she should’ve brought home a man.”* The showing up of Mulan’s love interest Captain Li Shang at Mulan’s house puts closure to Mulan’s adventure outside home. The Disney’s film version ends with the likelihood of a good marriage for Mulan and emphasises her accomplishment of filial duty to her family.

In contrast to her Disney counterpart, Hua Mulan in the 2009 film is motivated more by her patriotism and nationalism than filial piety: *“I, Hua Mulan, will never betray my country.”* The 2009 film depicts a journey of self-growth similar to Disney’s, but during which Mulan learns that her country is more important than anything else, and she eventually chooses to be a warrior for her country instead of one for her father or her lover. This is also projected through the film’s ending in which Mulan altruistically chooses to relinquish her love to exchange for the security and peace of her country. Mulan and her lover Wentai 文泰 part at the end, and the film’s ending projects an ambiguous future for Mulan. She indeed returns home but does not truly return to the role that is constrained by Confucian ethics, which reaffirms the film’s core theme of patriotism over filial piety.

The importance of filial piety is not diminished in the PRC Mulan story but it can be legitimately deferred when the nation calls upon an individual. The tension between loyalty to the nation and filial piety is resolved early in the film. When her parents see her off, Mulan comforts them: *“I hope I will win the battle, I will perform my filial piety to you after I return home from defeating the enemy.”* Mulan’s usage of the word “after” here reveals that performing her loyalty to the nation is more important than her filial piety to her parents. The priority given to the role of performing loyalty to the nation displaces the dominance of filial piety. Once Mulan has persuaded her parents that she can pass for a man, the film then provides a solution for her un-filial departure from home. Mulan’s father nods his head approvingly on hearing Mulan’s declaration that her filial service to her parents will be delayed until after her national duties are achieved. Mulan’s elder sister reassures Mulan that she will perform filial duties and care for the family. After twelve years of military service, Mulan, already a general, affirms that she cannot return home and perform her filial piety until victory is secured, and she does not resent the hardship and sacrifice this resolve entails. The 1956 PRC’s film version expressly advocates the value of serving the nation and sacrifice with delayed performance of filial duties.

From Sexless to Feminine

In the 1956 PRC film, Liu Zhong 刘忠 (one of Mulan's comrades in arms) complains that men risk their lives while women rest at home: *"Why are men asked to do all the bad things (fighting a battle)? Yet women are staying at home enjoying life. ... We men have to do all the hard work in the world. But women just eat and take rest at home. Women are more privileged than men."* Mulan disagrees with Liu Zhong and reminds him that women shoulder extra burdens during wartime: *"Elder brother Liu is being very unreasonable, who says that women just take rest? Men fight at the border while women spin and weave at home. They perform the agricultural work left behind by the absent men in day time, and sew shoes and weave cloth for the troops at night. They work diligently day and night so that soldiers can have food to eat and clothes to wear. ... There have been many heroines who made contributions and killed enemies for the country. Why are women not as good as men?"* After listening to Mulan's argument, Liu Zhong agrees with her and is motivated to join the army: *"Elder brother Hua, you're right. You're truly right."* In the PRC's version Mulan is created as an advocate of gender equality that both men and women have valuable duties as citizens of the Chinese nation, albeit in different spheres. Later in the film Mulan's performance as a military leader had so impressed her commander-in-chief that he seeks Mulan as a "son-in-law" for his daughter. The danger of Mulan's cross-dressing is minimised in the PRC version. Rather, the 1956 PRC film endows Mulan with female consciousness and feminist thought, thereby affirming the status of women in Chinese society.

There is an underlying tension around gender norms in the Disney story. For most of her military life in the film, Mulan not only has to disguise herself as a male, but has to give up her real name Mulan and adopts a fake male name Ping. In her ancestors' opinions, Mulan's dressing as a male soldier is shaming her father and disgracing the ancestors. In their words, *"[I]f she's discovered, Fa Zhou (Mulan's father) will be forever shamed. Dishonour will come to the family. Traditional values will disintegrate."* Violation of the gender norm is repeatedly portrayed as a capital crime in the film, underscoring the transgressive aspect of Mulan's action. It is first articulated in her father's words when he finds out that Mulan runs away in disguise: *"If I reveal her, she will be [killed]."* When Captain Li Shang gets lost in the snowstorm, Ping/Mulan rushes without hesitation to his rescue at the risk of losing her own life and eventually saves him. When the soldiers praise Ping/Mulan as their hero, *"the bravest of us all"*, and cheer about her victory, she wins not only the battle but also the captain's trust.

However, Ping's/Mulan's glorious triumph also leads to the revelation of her secret as a cross-dresser. Ping/Mulan has been slashed by the foe's sword; she loses consciousness and is treated by a military doctor, who discovers her female identity. Captain Li Shang spares her life as a way of showing his gratitude, yet, because she has been identified as female, Mulan is not allowed to march with the rest of the troops to the capital city where they will be welcomed as heroes and saviours of China.

The image of Mulan kneeling down on the snow-covered ground, hunching her female body under a thin blanket, is a sharp contrast to the previous celebration in which Captain Li Shang and the soldiers are cheering for the military success attributed to Ping. Suddenly the war hero Ping, who had been admired by the soldiers, has turned into Mulan, a condemned "[t]reachorous snake" who has committed "[h]igh treason" and "[u]ltimate dishonor," to use the counsel's words that reinforce the transgressive nature of Mulan's behaviour. Captain Li Shang, sword in hand, stands high and looks down at Mulan. At this intense moment, the law that elevates masculinity and belittles women takes over the plot, creating tension around the possibility of Mulan losing her life. Later on, after the showdown in the Imperial Palace, the counsel reiterates the charges against Mulan: "*That creature's not worth protecting. ... She's a woman. She'll never be worth anything.*" The potential severe punishment from Mulan reconstructing her gender identity through crossdressing, undoubtedly sharpens the underlying tension around gender norms and, more importantly, suggests Mulan's destined role as a good daughter and wife within Confucian ethics.

In China's 2009 story of Hua Mulan, there is never an enormous tension around gender norms as in Disney's, though her father initially hopes for an appropriate marriage for her. Unlike Disney's Mulan who adopts a male name Ping, Mulan in the 2009 film confidently reports to the recruitment officer in the army under her real name Hua Mulan. Disney shows that Mulan is abandoned by her lover Captain Li Shang after her female identity is revealed; the revelation of Mulan's female identity in the 2009 film, however, only increases the admiration and respect that fellow general Wentai attributed to her. Wentai promises to keep Mulan's gender identity private and asks her to stay in his army. Furthermore, Mulan's femininity is highlighted in the 2009 film. As Li (2018: 372) notes, though Mulan's femininity is not omitted in other Chinese modern cinematic adaptations, it is usually mixed with battlefield masculinity including male mentality. Yet the director conscientiously depicts Mulan's female subjectivity, sensitivity and feelings. In his view, this version deals with the emotional depth of Mulan and focuses on her vulnerabilities and relationships: "*Most people think Hua Mulan is a god, but I think Hua Mulan is a woman*" (Lee 2009). The film provides

a noticeable female subjectivity of Mulan distinguishing her from fellow male soldiers by delving into her trepidation when killing for the first time and confronting the death of her comrades. Mulan falls in love with fellow general Wentai and the fact of being afraid of losing him makes her troops fall into the enemy's trap. Mulan's emotional struggles towards death and reluctance to fight war are projected through close-ups of her crying face and her monologues such as: "*Why does father get excited when he talks about war? I fought one battle after another ... Comrades died one by one, I really don't want to fight anymore ... I don't want to fight anymore ... I don't want to be a general, I want to be an ordinary person.*" In the 2009 film Mulan's femininity is portrayed as the opposite of familiar battlefield masculinity.

Li (2014: 198) argues that the 2009 portrayal of Hua Mulan's female sensitivity allows her to make sense of the war in her own terms and refuse to become like her fellow soldiers who internalise the logic of war. In other words, as Li (2016: 41) writes, Hua Mulan "*gains female agency as a woman before she becomes the trope of the nation*". Instead of being "*a feminist woman who tries to prove that she is as good as a man*", Mulan's final victory establishes her as "*a postfeminist heroine who is strong, confident, and beautiful in a different manner from men*" (Li 2014: 198). Also, Wentai and Xiao Hu's 小虎 support for Mulan's military and political adventures show that these male characters "*have to come to terms with her transgressive postfemininity*" (Li, 2014: 197). However, Li's description of Mulan as "*a postfeminist heroine*" is debatable, considering that she is neither motivated to fight for her personal empowerment as a woman in public sphere; nor does she promote "*femininity as the path to female empowerment*" (Genz 2010: 105). The male character Wentai is portrayed as a saviour in the film, who discovers Mulan's female identity and helps her escape from being executed; fakes his own death to help her; and reveals his secret identity as a prince to save her life. In fact, the portrayal of Wentai emphasises that Mulan's self-growth and success as a national heroine actually depends on the support of her male counterpart.

Conclusion

Each of the three versions of Hua Mulan's story carries a different understanding of "Chineseness". The Disney version emphasises the theme of filial piety by portraying Mulan as a filial daughter to her family, while both the PRC and Mainland-Hong Kong versions stress a strong sense of patriotism and nationhood by portraying Mulan as a patriotic heroine to her state. The spirit of sacrifice is also propagated in the most recent Chinese version. Mulan in this version is depicted as a heroine who sees national interest as paramount, and she even

sacrifices her personal love for it.

Each Mulan film tries to achieve a different understanding of the relationship between womanhood and nation building. The Disney version ends with the likelihood of a good marriage for Mulan and this ending leads to the film's sequel *Mulan II* in which Captain Li Shang and Mulan do get married. In this regard, the Disney version emphasises the traditional role of women as a good daughter and wife within Confucian ethics. However, neither the 1956 version nor the 2009 version provides Mulan with the possibility of marriage. Mulan in the 2009 version sacrifices her personal love for the security and peace of her country, while Mulan in the 1956 version is not involved in a relationship at all.

Mulan in the 1956 version possesses a strong sense of female self-consciousness and independence, as well as pursuing women's social status. She seeks to realise her own value as a woman and become a national heroine who serves her country. She also rebels against gender inequality in society and affirms the contribution of women to society. In the 2009 version, Mulan is transformed from a sexless woman who tries to prove that she is as good as a man in the 1956 version, to a feminine heroine who is strong, confident, and beautiful in a different manner from men. Mulan's feminising renovation of her heroine in the 2009 version serves as a reaction against other previous Mulans, wherein she either has to be made into a man, as Li Shang sings in his "I'll Make a Man out of You" in Disney's *Mulan*, or has to compete with men on their terms, as the 1956 Mulan sonorously delivers in her solo "Who Says Women Are Inferior to Men?". Yet Mulan in the 2009 version lacks female self-consciousness. Her patriotic consciousness and spirit is driven by her male counterpart's faked death, rather than her own self-growth. This implies that a woman's self-growth actually depends on the support of a man.

References

- Chan, Joseph M. "Disneyfying and Globalizing the Chinese Legend Mulan: A Study of Transculturation". *Search of Boundaries: Communication, Nation-States and Cultural Identities* (2002): 225-248. Print.
- Dong, Lan. *Mulan's Legend and Legacy in China and the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010. Print.
- Genz, Stephanie. "Singled Out: Postfeminism's 'New Woman' and the Dilemma of Having It All". *The Journal of Popular Culture* 43.1 (2010): 97-119. Print.

- Lee, Min. "Hong Kong Director Takes on Mulan with Real Actors". *The San Diego Union-Tribune*. 24 November 2009. <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-hong-kong-director-takes-on-mulan-with-real-actors-2009nov24-story.html>, 20 September 2019.
- Li, Jing. "Retelling the Story of a Woman Warrior in Hua Mulan (花木兰, 2009): Constructed Chineseness and the Female Voice". *Marvels & Tales* 32.2 (2018): 362-87. Print.
- Li, Jinhua. "Mulan (1998) and Hua Mulan (2009): National Myth and the Trans-Cultural Intertextuality". *Heroism and Gender in War Films* (2014): 187-205. Print.
- Li, Jinhua. "Identity and the Politics of (Self) Representation: Women in Chinese Cinema 1985-2015". *CineAction* 98 (2016): 35-43. Print.
- Liu, Ling Woo. "China vs. Disney: The Battle for Mulan". *Time*. 3 December 2009. content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1944598,00.html, 17 September 2019.

Symbiosis between Tradition and Modernity: Chinese Traditional Residence Preservation and Modernization

Jin Xuan

Abstract

China is experiencing a rapid development stage in terms of modernization and urbanization. Many traditional residences that cannot meet contemporary needs have been demolished. However, these buildings are important architectural heritages with great cultural, artistic, and scientific value. In fact, tradition and modernity are not irreconcilable contradictions with respect to architecture. Several examples have proven that traditional dwelling spaces can achieve new life through a proper modernization process. This paper focuses on the trends in protection and development of traditional Chinese residences within the context of urbanization, aiming to clarify the relationship between tradition and modernity, and putting forward specific methods for traditional architecture preservation and modernization.

Keywords: Traditional residence, preservation, modernization

1. Introduction

Traditional residential buildings in different regions have unique characteristics due to the different geographical and cultural backgrounds. The forms, structures, materials and construction methods of these buildings represent the wisdom of local people in handling the relationship between human beings and nature. These structures possess certain qualities and high artistic, scientific and cultural value. Therefore, traditional residences are an essential part of the architectural heritage of the world. However, while constantly pursuing higher standards of modern life, residents gradually leave their homes due to the outdated features of these buildings. Furthermore, within the rapid urbanization process, most traditional houses with lower facades and large courtyards cannot adapt to booming populations. Numerous traditional dwelling spaces have been torn down and replaced with the more densely populated skyscrapers. The traditional living environment faces serious threats.

In fact, after meeting basic living conditions, modern residences without traditional living culture and structures will destroy the local identity. This has a detrimental impact on tourism and lead to the loss of the local spirit and the residents' sense of belonging and, finally, will result in a series of social problems. However, as living spaces, pure preservation activities without modernization will also cause these traditional residences to slowly lose their original function because they cannot meet contemporary needs. Therefore, how to modernize traditional residences without degrading their heritage value is always a controversial problem.

Actually, “*appropriate use can be an important means of conserving a heritage site.*”¹ Through theoretical research and case analysis, this paper aims to discuss the methods of protecting the traditional residences, revitalizing their function by proper modernization methods and reasonably integrating them into modern living environments, thereby forming a symbiotic relationship between tradition and modernity.

2. Traditional Residences and Protection Policies

2.1 Chinese Traditional Residences

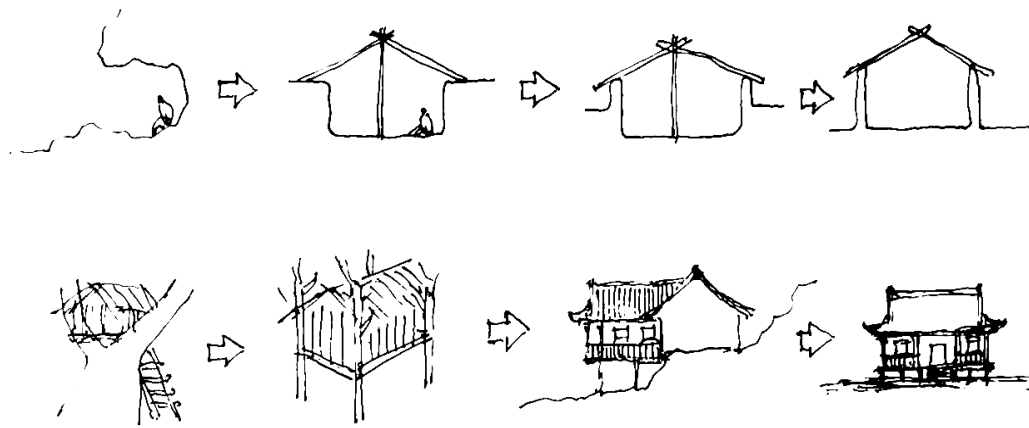


Fig.1. Evolution of the Typical Traditional Residence in Northern China and Southern China

Traditional residences were created since ancient times, according to various factors including local geography, materials, techniques, customs and culture. Passing through various stages of adapting and adjusting, different regional residences reached their mature characteristics (Fig.1). The facades, structures and spatial features of these traditional houses are the results of the interaction between human beings and nature, forming harmonious living environments, such as the Yaodong residences in the Loess Plateau of Northwest China (Fig.2), the Diaojiaolou residences in the southern region of China (Fig.3). On the one hand, traditional residences suit themselves to local conditions and meet the physical needs of residents. On the other hand, these residences gradually become local identities and spirits, which enrich the world’s cultural diversity. Therefore, traditional residences possess high tangible and intangible value concerning history, culture, science, art, and society.

¹ ICOMOS China. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2015, p. 99.

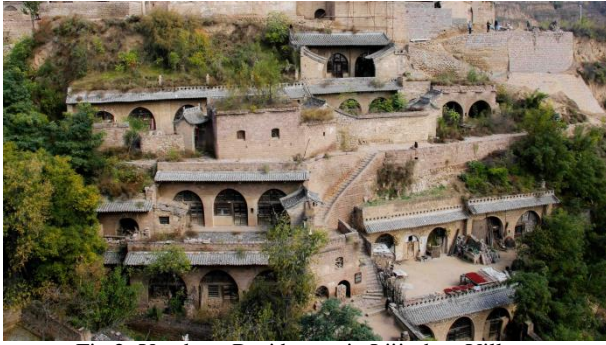


Fig.2. Yaodong Residences in Lijiashan Village,

Shanxi Province



Fig.3. Diaojiaolou Residences in Fenghuang

Ancient Town in Hunan Province

2.2 The Protection Policies for Traditional Residence

In the policy documents of international heritage protection, *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* in 1975 emphasized the value of those structures considered to be part of a lesser buildings group, believing architectural heritage includes “*not only our most important monuments; it also includes the groups of lesser buildings in our old towns and characteristic villages in their natural or manmade settings.*”² Since then, traditional residences and their surroundings were protected as architectural heritage in the International Heritage Policy. In China, in February 1982, the State Council approved the concept of “National Famous Historical and Cultural City” and published *The First List of National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities*. Later, the State Council proposed the concept of “Historical and Cultural Areas” which aimed to protect urban blocks and rural areas that are not famous but possess historic and cultural significance.³ Since then, the protection of less important historic buildings, including local traditional residences, have become an essential part of the architectural heritage protection plan. In November 1982, the Standing Committee of the 5th National People’s Congress promulgated *The Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*. Ancient architecture sites that bear historical, artistic or scientific value, memorial buildings that are highly memorable or are of great significance for education or for the preservation of historical data are all protected by this law.⁴ Since then, the protection of architectural heritage, including significant traditional residences, has been stipulated by the National Constitution. Article 15 of the Constitution stipulated that the

² Council of Europe, *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*, 1975. <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/170-european-charter-of-the-architectural-heritage>.

³ Zheng Jun, “Comparison of Heritage Conservation Philosophies in China and Other Countries”, *International Principles and Local Practices of Cultural Heritage Conservation Conference Proceedings*, 2014, p. 52-53.

⁴ Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, *The Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982.

institutions in charge of buildings designated as national major cultural relics sites “*must strictly abide by the principle of keeping the cultural relics in their original state, and must be responsible for the safety of the buildings and of the affiliated cultural relics, and may not damage, rebuild, extend or dismantle them. Units which use memorial buildings or ancient architectural structures shall be responsible for the maintenance and repair of these buildings or structures.*”⁵

3. The Problems of Traditional Residences within the Urbanization Environment

Our world is undergoing increased urbanization at an unprecedented scale. In 1950, only 30% of the world’s population was living in an urban environment and by 2050, about 68% of the world’s population is going to be urbanized.⁶ In China, “*urbanization started from the second half of the 19th century. In the beginning, its speed was slow and unbalanced. During late 1970s, the urbanization rate was 14%. It was 26% in 1986. And in 2005 it reached 43%. At this rate, by 2020, the Chinese urbanization level will reach 60%.*”⁷

Urbanization has obvious advantages, including narrowing the earnings gap between rural and urban regions, improving industry in rural areas, promoting scientific and technological development. However, with rapid urbanization, numerous negative side effects can result. Densification, heavy traffic, environmental degradation, the destruction of cultural relics and overburdened infrastructure increase stress on the architectural heritage sites and their surroundings. “*There will be 10 million to 20 million of the peasant population moving to the city every year in China. Due to the demand for housing and employment needs, it will inevitably lead to a large-scale expansion of construction. The conflicting new urban construction versus cultural heritage protection is extremely significant.*”⁸ For those local traditional residences or indigenous buildings which are not listed as the official protection heritage, they are most likely to be destroyed and replaced by modern living compounds.

Without traditional living patterns, the residents, especially the elderly, struggle to adapt to the new environment and feel a spiritual loss. At the same time, traditional living style is often the reason why younger generations leave their homes, especially when the outdated facilities cannot meet the needs of their modern life. After older generations pass away, these homes remain empty, lacking regular maintenance for several years and gradually degrading,

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ United Nations, *UN World Urbanization Prospects: Highlights*, 2018.

⁷ Shan Jixiang, *Urbanization and Cultural Heritage Protection*, 2006, p. 8.

⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

becoming shabby, even disappearing. However, these residences witnessed the local history and culture with a full sense of spirit and belonging. The disappearance of the traditional residences is a loss of local history and culture, finally leading to the loss of the local identity. It is obviously not enough to remember a culture only by photography or video in museums. More serious is the fact that the damage of traditional residences will cause a series of negative results that impact the whole area with regards to its economy, culture, society and its long-term ecologic sustainability.

4. Modernization Strategies for Traditional Residences

Given the significance and the current situation of traditional Chinese residences, protecting and revitalizing them is vital to sustain these precious heritages and preserve the local identity. How to modernize these traditional structures while maintaining their unique characteristics is the key question during this process. According to their protection level assigned and their current condition, there are different ways to modernize these residential spaces.

4.1 Authentic Preservation with Facility Updating

For the traditional residences with high artistic, technical and cultural value, which are still in good condition, authentic preservation is essential. “*Authenticity resides in the original materials, workmanship and design of a site and its setting, as well as in its historical, cultural, and social characteristics and qualities. Respecting these aspects through conservation retains authenticity.*”⁹ For this purpose, preventative conservation methods including monitoring, evaluation, maintenance and authentic restoration are necessary. Modern facilities that strengthen structures or adapt to the high-level living standards “*should be reversible. When needed, it should be possible to restore a site to its prior condition.*”¹⁰ For example, during the modernization process of the traditional residence of Mogan Mountain, the unique wood structure of the building was carefully maintained, keeping its historical condition to ensure the integrity, the authenticity and historical significance of this old building. Meanwhile, the updated facilities have brought this traditional space up to modern living standards (Fig.4-5).

⁹ ICOMOS China. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2015, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 104.



Fig.4-5. Modernization of the Traditional Residence Which Was Built in 1920 on Mogan Mountain, Deqing County, Zhejiang Province

It is worth noting that the broken parts of the traditional buildings should be repaired with original materials and techniques, being slightly different from the original building in terms of vision and touch to distinguish between the original building and the restored sections. However, if the defects of the building possess significant historical value, they should be remained in their current condition to record the facts of the events.

4.2 New Function Growing from the Original Structure

With the demand for more functions and spaces, the traditional residences need to be re-expanded from their original scale. However, “*the adaptation of a heritage site for modern use must respect the values of the site and its attributes and ensure its protection without negatively impacting those values.*”¹¹ Therefore, when new spaces need to be created, it is vital to follow the original style of the traditional residence, forming harmonious symbiosis between the new part and the old part. For example, based on protecting the old structures, the new spaces of Huajian Hall, Langyuan, follow the original architectural style, forming a harmonious and consistent spatial atmosphere (Fig.6-7).

¹¹ ICOMOS China. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2015, p. 104.



Fig.6-7. Modernization of the Traditional Residence Which Built in Qing Dynasty on Langyuan, Huajian Hall, Langzhong County, Sichuan Province

4.3 Traditional Relics and Modern Structure Juxtaposition

In fact, numerous traditional buildings are difficult to adapt to modern needs, from structure to function. To maintain their high historical, artistic or cultural value, creating new structures and new functions beside them become necessary. The juxtaposed parts form an obvious difference and contrast, but to some extent, they still should be interrelated to each other and brought to a symbiotic harmony as a whole. Taking the transformation project of traditional residence relics in Dahuanglong Island for example, this area was revitalized by juxtaposing the original relic and the new construction, which allows the maximum possible use of cultural heritage and function, with minimal intervention to the old building. It is worth mentioning that this project was completed in 31 days with an extremely low budget. (Fig.8-9).



Fig.8. The Juxtaposition of Traditional Relics and Modern Structure in Dahuanglong Island, Zhejiang Province



Fig.9. The Contrast Between Tradition and Modernity in Interior Space

4.4 Traditional Elements integrate into the New Construction

Even though reconstruction behavior is not advocated in the heritage preservation policy,

however, in special circumstances, “reconstruction of a lost building in its original location as part of a building ensemble is a means of presenting and interpreting the integrity and appearance of the site.”¹² Especially when a traditional residence with less heritage significance has been severely damaged and cannot be used anymore, it becomes necessary to reconstruct it in conjunction with the remains at the original base to continue the function of this residence while presenting its heritage value. Therefore, the construction method that integrates the historical relics into modern space not only creates a rich spatial experience but also preserves and displays the heritage relics in our daily life (Fig.10-11).



Fig.10. A Ruined Folk House in A Village



Fig.11. Traditional Relics in Modern Space

5. Conclusion

Tradition and modernity are two sides of the same coin, together forming the whole of our society. In terms of architectural heritage, its traditional and modern characteristics reflect the relationship between its preservation and development. Moreover, in addition to the visible physical features, these traditional buildings also form the intangible culture including regional history, local identities, customs, and residents’ sense of belonging. Therefore, on the one hand, traditional residences need to be updated in order to adapt to modern life. On the other hand, it is essential to preserve them to pass on their historical culture. Tradition preservation without adapting to the contemporary era will lead to the stagnation of social development. However, modernization with no respect for tradition will cause the loss of the historical culture of the regions. Dealing with the relationship between tradition and modernity with appropriate methods is the key to the sustainable development of traditional residence.

¹² ICOMOS China. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2015, p. 102.

In summary, preservation and modernization of traditional residences is the process that revitalizes and integrates the traditional area into modern urban life. From the perspective of sustainability, these residences are not only the historical heritages but also part of modern life, which will contribute to the sustainable development of the local economy, regional culture, a harmonious society, and even a benign ecology.

References

- Brandi, Cesare. *Theory of Restoration*. Firenze: Nardini Editore, 2005. Print.
- Council of Europe. “European Charter of the Architectural Heritage” (1975). Web. <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/170-european-charter-of-the-architectural-heritage>. 21 November 2019.
- ICOMOS China. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2015. Print.
- Shan Jixiang 单霁翔. *Chengshihua fazhan yu wenhua yichan baohu* 城市化发展与文化遗产保护 [Urbanization Development and Cultural Heritage Protection]. Tianjin 天津: Tianjin University Press 天津大学出版社, 2006. Print.
- Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress. “The Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics”, 1982. Web. <http://en.pkulaw.cn/display.aspx?cgid=1f635da6d178e690bdfb&lib=law.11> 11 December 2019.
- Stubbs, J. H. *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2009. Print.
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. “UN World Urbanization Prospects 2018: Highlights”. Web. <https://population.un.org/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2018-Highlights.pdf>. 15 November 2019.
- Zheng Jun. “Comparison of Heritage Conservation Philosophies in China and Other Countries”. *International Principles and Local Practices of Cultural Heritage Conservation Conference Proceedings*, (2014), 40-61. Web. https://www.getty.edu/conservation/our_projects/field_projects/china/tsinghua_conf.pdf. 1 December 2019.
- Zuozhen Liu. *The Case of Repatriating China’s Cultural Objects*, New York: Springer Publishing, 2016. Web. <https://www.springer.com/gp/book/9789811005954>. 18 November 2019.

Illustrations List

Figure 1: “The history of Chinese Traditional Residence”. <http://www.xuetangx.com/community/post/1186> (accessed on 02.11.2019).

Figure 2: “A Model of Chinese Cave Dwellings -- Lijiashan Village, Shanxi Province”. <http://mt.sohu.com> (accessed on 02.11.2019).

Figure 3: “Fenghuang Ancient Town”. <http://www.nipic.com/zhuanti/342307.html> (accessed on 02.11.2019).

Figure 4-5: “The Value of Folk House”. http://www.sohu.com/a/241270910_719669 (accessed on 15.11.2019).

Figure 6-7: “Records of the Reconstruction of Langyuan of Huajian Hall in Langzhong, Sichuan”. http://m.sohu.com/a/35285757_256689 (accessed on 28.11.2019).

Figure 8-9: Jianping Yang, “In Just 31 Days, These Historic Chinese Ruins Were Transformed into a Chic B&B”. <https://www.dwell.com/article/evolution-design-china-architecture-zhoushan-renovation-f946560b> (accessed on 26.11.2019).

Figure 10-11: “The Value of Folk House”. http://www.sohu.com/a/241270910_719669 (accessed on 15.11.2019).

The Ethnonym Rong 戎 in the “Commentary of Zuo” (《左传》): A Quantitative Analysis

Tsvetelina Nedyalkova

Abstract

The ethno-political situation in ancient China is one of the fields, which need more extensive research. It is closely related to the understanding of the formation of the Chinese nation, culture and state at a relatively early stage. The majority of the ancient classics, together with the archeological data, are the core, which provides information about the history and the culture of the non-Chinese peoples inhabiting the territories around the states in the Central Plain. Therefore, the linguistic analysis of historical records can play a crucial role in the interpretation of the information they provide. This paper is the first step of the research of the main four groups of foreign peoples, recorded in the ancient chronicles, namely Rong 戎, Di 狄, Man 蛮, and Yi 夷. It presents the results of a quantitative analysis of the ethnonym Rong in „Commentary of Zuo”, which is one of the most prominent records of the period.

Keywords: Zhou dynasty, Spring and Autumn Annals, Commentary of Zuo, Zuozhuan, Rong

The “Zuozhuan” (《左传》) or the “Commentary of Zuo” written in the form of a commentary of the “Spring and Autumn Annals”¹ (《春秋》), is one of the most significant historical sources of ancient China. It is also one of the texts which contain information, shedding light on the ethno-political situation during the Eastern Zhou dynasty 东周 (770-256 BCE).

There are many problems to be considered when researching the “Zuozhuan”. First, the “Spring and Autumn Annals” and the “Commentary of Zuo” are the two most fundamental texts from which the history of the Spring and Autumn period was reconstructed. Nevertheless, as Durrant (2016: XXI) emphasizes, we cannot rely on the authenticity of all details found in these ancient classics (and the pre-Qin texts as a whole). Recent studies reveal that the text consists of strata from different sources gathered over a long period of time, a part of which was added during the next era – the Warring States 战国 (475-221 BCE)², and, unfortunately, very often the different layers cannot be separated from the core, written during the Spring and Autumn period 春秋 (Durrant 2016: XXX, XXXI). Secondly, there are many layers of newly

¹ The authorship of the “Spring and Autumn Annals” is traditionally attributed to Confucius.

² In his translation of the “Commentary of Zuo”, Durrant lays out the research of Yuri Pines, A. Taeko Brooks, and Barry B. Blakeley (2016: XXX – XXXI).

shaped concepts formed throughout the millennia, so it is crucial to comprehend the rhetoric and the logic of the ancient authors, and to avoid the adoption of later or modern ideas and views on the problem (Poo 2005: 3).

Despite all unveiled details related to the “Commentary of Zuo” and the fact that we cannot rely entirely on the objectiveness of the information it provides, the importance of the text for the research of the Eastern Zhou period is beyond doubt. Although a part of the information is not reliable, it can serve as a basis to understand the attitude of the ancient Chinese people towards all of the affairs in the Chinese state. This is also valid for the research on the “barbarians” during the Spring and Autumn period and their relations with the Zhou state.

In addition to the above, the researcher should also take into account that the text was written in the context of the Zhou state. Therefore, the facts concerning the foreign tribes were regarded as supplementary, i.e. as explaining and illustrating the important events within the state. What is more, the text was written to serve the state interests. Thus, the objectiveness of the information related to the four “barbarian peoples” should be questioned on each stage of the research.

Before presenting the analysis of the current paper, it must be placed in a contextual frame. It is a part of a wider research work on the ethno-political situation during the Eastern Zhou dynasty and is only the first step on the path. The paper presents a quantitative analysis of the ethnonym Rong 戎 in the “Commentary of Zuo”. Although this quantitative analysis would not be quite objective and fruitful without study of information regarding the source and the context of use of the ethnonym, at this stage they shall not be taken into account. This approach was chosen because of the specifics of research of historical texts. When we interpret the facts, it is crucial to put the events in chronological order and to classify the information in a “hierarchy” based on its significance. Therefore, the current paper should be considered as a frame or a skeleton of a more extensive research on the Rong people who appear in the “Commentary of Zuo”.

The next step will be to compare the conclusions of the current paper with analogical results from the quantitative analysis of other ethnonyms in the “Commentary of Zuo” – the ethnonyms Di 狄, Man 蛮, and Yi 夷. This will provide data for comparison of the relations of these four tribes with the Central States and the frequency of their contacts with the Chinese. Supposedly, the results could also reveal which political (or cultural) relations with these foreign tribes were most important to Zhou, regardless of their nature (peaceful or hostile).

The current research is focused on the information, found in the “Commentary of Zuo” (and respectively in the “Spring and Autumn Annals”), which presents chronologically the events between 722 and 479 BCE, i.e. the reign of 12 lords of the Lu state, namely Lord Yin 隱公³, Lord Heng 桓公, Lord Zhuang 庄公, Lord Min 閔公, Lord Xi 僖公, Lord Wen 文公, Lord Xuan 宣公, Lord Cheng 成公, Lord Xiang 襄公, Lord Zhao 昭公, Lord Ding 定公 and Lord Ai 哀公. The shortest record among them was the one about Lord Min’s reign which lasted only two years, and the longest one – about Lord Xi’s reign (thirty-three years).

Before the analysis of the text, we should observe the development of the character *rong* 戎, which appeared for the first time in the oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (商朝, 16-11 century BCE). Its meaning during that period was ‘a weapon’ (most likely, it was a general word for all kinds of weapons). In the Zhou records, the character obtained a new meaning of an ethnonym, but it also preserved its original sense and was enriched with several new denotations, such as ‘soldier’, ‘military’, etc. (Guhanyu Changyong Zi Zidian: 325). In “Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters” (《说文解字》) we find the same reference: “戎, 兵也” (Xu Shen). All of these meanings of the character *rong* 戎 are present in the “Commentary of Zuo”.

Secondly, it is important to introduce the specifics of the term *rong* 戎 in the text. One of the questions raised in western research literature is whether *Rong* 戎 is an ethnonym or a ‘blanket word’. Nicola Di Cosmo (1999: 921) argues that as a word, denoting peoples (or tribes), *Rong* 戎 means ‘warlike’ and refers to many different hostile peoples around the Central States, not necessarily having a common ancestor. According to Hsu (1999: 549), the term *Rong* 戎 named several groups scattered to the north of the Zhou state.

In order to determine whether the character was only a ‘blanket term’ denoting different warlike peoples, we shall compare it to the other three ethnonyms documented in the records of the same historical period, namely Di 狄, Man 蠻, and Yi 夷. Firstly, it is supposed that the Yi 夷 were ancient tribes, mentioned in the oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (Kryukov 1978: 187). For this reason, we can accept that Yi 夷 was an ethnonym, denoting an ethnic group, inhabiting the territory of present day China since the Shang dynasty and possibly even earlier. Secondly, like the *Rong* 戎, the Di 狄 also had military conflicts with the Zhou

³ The choice of the translation of the title gong 公 is based on the argument, made by Durrant (2016: XXXVII – XXXVIII).

States (Hsu 1999: 550). Furthermore, very frequently the two terms were used together in the form *Rong Di* 戎狄 (in „Zuozhuan” this combination is used in eight different chapters: “First Year of Lord Min” 《闵公元年》, “Fifteenth Year of Lord Xi” 《僖公十五年》, “Fourth Year of Lord Xiang” 《襄公四年》, “Eleventh Year of Lord Xiang” 《襄公十一年》, “Fourth Year of Lord Zhao” 《昭公四年》, “Ninth Year of Lord Zhao” 《昭公九年》, “Fifteenth Year of Lord Zhao” 《昭公十五年》, “Fourth Year of Lord Ai” 《哀公四年》). Consequently, this provokes the question, if warlike tribes or policies such as the Di already inhabited the region, why would the Zhou people use an additional ‘ethnonym’ or ‘term’ such as ‘Rong’ 戎? If the origin, ethnicity, or other characteristics of the Rong were not important, the existence of another term for antagonistic foreign tribes (or states) would not be necessary, especially in a language that was as laconic as Old Chinese.

All of the above suggests that at least two of the four words were ethnonyms (‘Yi’ 夷 and ‘Di’ 狄). In the ancient texts, these two characters were mentioned together (and in parallel) with the other two (‘Rong’ 戎 and ‘Man’ 蛮). An example of this can be found in the chapter “Second Year of Lord Cheng” (《成公二年》) of the “Commentary of Zuo”, where the four ethnonyms are used in the combination “蛮夷戎狄”⁴. Another example is found in the chapter “Royal Regulations” (《王制》) of the “Book of Rites” (《礼记》): “*The people of those five regions – the Middle states, and the Rong, Yi, (and other wild tribes round them) – had all their several natures, which they could not be made to alter. The tribes on the east were called Yi... Those on the south were called Man... Those on the west were called Rong... Those on the north were called Di*”⁵ (Legge 1885: 229). The passage gives an account of the names and the customs of the four peoples in a corresponding manner. Thus, it can be supposed that these four words were similar in their meaning and that their denotations were analogical, i.e., that the four terms were specific ethnonyms. Since it is unlikely that the term *Rong* 戎 had no specific denotation or that it was used randomly by the ancient Chinese historians, the author of this paper considers that there are grounds to treat the Rong as an ‘ethnonym’, although at this stage the clarification of this question needs more evidence.

⁴Legge’s translation of the expression is: “*wild tribes, south, east, west or north*” (Legge 1872a: 343-349).

⁵《礼记·王制》：中国戎夷，五方之民，皆有其性也，不可推移。东方曰夷，被发文身，有不火食者矣。南方曰蛮，雕题交趾，有不火食者矣。西方曰戎，被发衣皮，有不粒食者矣。北方曰狄，衣羽毛穴居，有不粒食者矣。中国、夷、蛮、戎、狄，皆有安居、和味、宜服、利用、备器，五方之民，言语不通，嗜欲不同。

The quantitative analysis revealed that in the “Commentary of Zuo”, the character 戎 was used most frequently as an ethnonym. In both ancient texts, i.e. the “Spring and Autumn Annals” and the “Commentary”, the character appeared a total of 188 times. In the “Spring and Autumn Annals”, the character is present in only 19 passages and in all of them it is an ethnonym⁶. The language of the Chinese classic is very laconic and very often the text does not include any ‘secondary’ information. This confirms that the most common meaning of the word during this period (or at least in this source) is ‘the Rong people’. Nevertheless, it is clear that the “Annals” do not provide sufficient information regarding the Rong, because the chronicle only includes the most important events and the foreign peoples were not the main topic of the narrative.

In the “Commentary of Zuo”⁷ the character 戎 was mentioned 169 times, and as an ethnonym – 110 times. All of these numbers lead to the conclusion that the appearance of the Rong people in the two ancient chronicles is rather peripheral.

Basing on the quantitative analysis, it can be speculated in which periods the Rong had the most frequent contacts with the Zhou state. For the time span of 243 years, covered by the „Annals” and the “Commentary of Zuo” (722-481 BCE), the Rong were recorded in 59 of the chapters (i.e., in the records of 59 years), which is a relatively low number. Nevertheless, it is most probable that even in the years when the chronicles did not record any events related to the Rong, there were still contacts between them and the Central States, but they were not considered as important or did not serve the aim of the narrative.

The Rong were recorded most regularly during the reign of Lord Xi (in 10 out of the 33 years of his reign). Since among all twelve governors, Lord Xi was the longest-ruling one, the fact that the frequency during this period was the highest seems to be logical. However, this is more dependent on the nature of the political and cultural contacts between the Zhou and the Rong during his reign. In comparison, in „Lord Zhuang” and „Lord Zhao”, both of whom ruled for 32 years (only a year less than Lord Xi), the number of the chapters in which the Rong appeared is 7 and 6 respectively. What is more, during that same period, the records mentioned the Rong in seven successive years, from the 9th to the 16th year of Lord Xi’s rule (except for the 14th year). For this reason, the content of these chapters should be analyzed with special attention at the next stage.

Similar periods were the end of Lord Zhuang’s reign and the reign of his successor Lord Min. Since the 18th year of Lord Zhuang’s rule (18th, 20th, 24th, 26th, 28th, 30th, 31st) and

⁶The whole text of the “Annals” consists of around 17,000 characters (Durrant 2016: XXI).

⁷ The “Commentary of Zuo” consists of around 180,000 characters (Durrant 2016: XXIII).

during the 1st and the 2nd year of Lord Min's reign, the ancient author documented the Rong almost every two years. Another comparable case was the 15th, 16th, and the 17th year of Lord Zhao's reign. The records of the Rong in the other chapters seem rather sporadic.

There are also some periods, when the presence of the ethnonym in the text is very isolated, such as during the 18-year reign of Lord Xuan when the Rong are mentioned only once, the 31-year rule of Lord Xiang (four times), during the reign of Lord Ding (in only one of the 15 chapters), and during the rule of Lord Ai (in two of the 27 chapters). The Rong seem to appear very rarely towards the end of the period – during the 42 years of Lord Ding's and Lord Ai's reign.

What is worth examining is why in the beginning of the period, recorded in the "Commentary of Zuo" and the "Spring and Autumn Annals", the Rong were included more often in the text, while at the end of the period they gradually disappeared from it. The first year of the events in the "Spring and Autumn Annals", and respectively in the "Commentary of Zuo" – 722 BCE – is very close to the end of Western Zhou and the beginning of Eastern Zhou (770 BCE). Therefore, we could assume that the relations with the Rong in the beginning of the Spring and Autumn Period and at the end of Western Zhou must have been similar to some degree. This could help us gain an idea of the situation in the earlier period. On the other hand, at the end of the Spring and Autumn period, the presence of the Rong in the record was more sporadic. This fact gives us a reason to conclude that they were either assimilated or driven away from the territories around the Zhou state. This conclusion would be incomplete without chronologically analyzing the context in which the Rong were mentioned throughout the whole period and, most importantly, towards its end. Of course, this information should be supplemented by further research based on the other related historical records (and archaeological findings).

As stated previously, the results presented in this paper are not final. Separated from the actual facts provided by the ancient text and the additional archeological data, and without their comparison with other texts of the same period, they are not able to give objective and complete information about the Rong. The aim of the quantitative analysis of the character Rong was to create a scheme through which the information in the „Commentary of Zuo” can be interpreted and to find highlights or dependencies of the appearance of the ethnonym in the text.

At this stage of the research on the Rong people, several conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the information about this ethnic group is sporadic and rather secondary, since it served as a mirror, in which the main events in the Central States were reflected. Secondly, the ethnonym appears very seldom during the reign of the last two lords, thus a special attention

should be paid to the last decades to find the reason why the ethnonym Rong disappeared from the text. Thirdly, there were several periods, in which the Rong people were recorded regularly, which suggests that there were moments, when the relations between them and the Zhou state were very consistent. These periods will be a special highlight of the author’s future research.

Table of chapters containing records of the Rong 戎

Ruler	Duration of reign	Years, in which the Rong ethnonym was recorded in the “Spring and Autumn Annals”	Years, in which the Rong ethnonym was recorded in the “Commentary of Zuo”
Lord Yin 隐公	11 years	2 nd , 7 th	2 nd , 7 th , 9 th
Lord Heng 桓公	18 years	2 nd	2 nd , 6 th , 10 th , 11 th , 13 th
Lord Zhuang 庄公	32 years	18 th , 20 th , 24 th , 26 th , 30 th , 31 st	18 th , 28 th , 30 th , 31 st
Lord Min 闵公	2 years		1 st , 2 nd
Lord Xi 僖公	33 years	10 th , 33 rd	2 nd , 9 th , 11 th , 12 th , 13 th , 15 th , 16 th , 22 nd , 33 rd
Lord Wen 文公	18 years	8 th	3 rd , 8 th , 16 th , 17 th
Lord Xuan 宣公	18 years	3 rd	3 rd
Lord Cheng 成公	18 years	1 st	1 st , 2 nd , 6 th , 16 th
Lord Xiang 襄公	31 years		4 th , 5 th , 11 th , 14 th
Lord Zhao 昭公	32 years	16 th , 17 th	4 th , 9 th , 15 th , 16 th , 17 th , 22 nd
Lord Ding 定公	15 years		4 th
Lord Ai 哀公	27 years		4 th , 17 th

References

Guhanyu Changyong Zi Zidian 古汉语常用字字典 [Dictionary of Frequently Used Ancient Chinese Characters]. Shangwu Yinshua Guan 商务印书馆 [Commercial Press], 2005.

- Di Cosmo, Nicola. "The Northern Frontier in Pre-Imperial China". *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, Loewe, M, Shaughnessy, E.L. (Eds.), Cambridge University Press, 1999: 885-967.
- Di Cosmo, Nicola. *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in the East Asian History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Durrant, Stephen, et al. *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan: Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"*. University of Washington Press, 2016. Web. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvcwn3pr. Accessed 23 Nov. 2020.
- Hsu, Cho-yun. "The Spring and Autumn Period." *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, Loewe, M, Shaughnessy, E.L. (Eds.), Cambridge University Press, 1999: 545–87.
- Kryukov, M. V. Крюков, М.В. *Drevnie kitajtsy: problema etnogneza*. Древние китайцы: проблема этногенеза [The Ancient Chinese: the Problem of their Ethno Genesis], Moscow: Science Москва: Наука, 1978.
- Legge, James. *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen. Part I. The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*. Vol. 5, Part 1. Hong Kong and London: Lane, Crawford, 1872a.
- Legge, James. *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen. Part II. The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*. Vol. 5, Part 2. Hong Kong and London: Lane, Crawford, 1872b.
- Legge, James. *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism, Part IV. The Li Ki, XI-XLVI*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885.
- Poo, Mu-Chou. *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Xu, Shen 许慎. *Shuowen Jiezi 说文解字* [Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters]. Web. cctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/ge-bu1. Accessed 26 Nov. 2020

Legal Control of State Activities: Norms and Practices in Contemporary China

Qiao Cong-rui

Abstract

The norm of subjecting State activities to legal control is considered to prevail globally since the 1990s. The current literature is ill updated on regions where legal control of State activities recently started emerging. In China, for example, internal and external review bodies have been playing an increasingly meaningful role in protecting individual rights and regulating public powers following the enactments of administrative litigation law and administrative reconsideration law. To offer a break-down of that under-examined region, I shall examine and explain the normative and implementation aspects of China's legal control regime. I will conclude with a remark on how it may be improved in the future.

Keywords: Legal control, judicial oversight, legislative activities, China

1. Introduction

There is no doubt about the importance of good governance in regulating public powers and protecting individual rights. Scholars from various disciplines have offered abundant interpretations on what good governance means and what it requires and proffered apt suggestions about how to make it materialise. Good governance is believed to be contingent on not only the structural balance of a State's legislative, administrative and judicial powers ('the State governance system', or 'SGS' for short), but also an effective control regime overseeing the functioning of each State power.¹ On the second point, subjecting State activities to legal control has evolved as a recognised way for safeguarding the constitutionality and lawfulness of State actions.²

In this article, I treat the SGS as the context for analysing the emergence of China's legal control regime, in which the State's political power (in the sense of making laws and policies, categorised as 'legislative activities') and judicial one (in the sense of applying and interpreting law, referred to as 'judicial oversight') interact. Following China's governance reform starting in the 1980s, an array of State-controlling norms has been codified to forestall

¹ Addink, Henk, *Good Governance: Concept and Context*. Oxford University Press, 2019:19-20.

² See, for instance, Koopmans, Tim, *Courts and Political Institutions: A Comparative View*. Cambridge University Press, 2010 (online version): 63-97.

the State's illegitimate intervention in the market and its infringement on lawful rights of legal and natural persons. These legislative developments furnished the ground for shifting the Chinese SGS from an asymmetrical one where the State's political power used to be absolutely dominant to a more balanced one in which its legislative activities are subject to some sorts of legal control.

In the following two sections, I will look into norms and practices for controlling legislative activities in China and explain how they evolved. In specific, I shall first present three State governance models (Section 2), outlining each model's basic features concerning the form of legislative activities. Thereafter, I shall examine the procedures for reviewing the State's legislative activities, in particular, the role of the court therein (Section 3). In conclusion, I will refer to some good practices from Europe that may contribute to the future development of judicial oversight of legislative activities in China.

2. Three State Governance Models

2.1. Some Difficulties in Studying China's Legal Control Regime

A most traditional difficulty results from lacking a broadly applicable context against which the Chinese legal control regime can be made sense of. At first sight, there seems to be little that China and say, the United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands (NL) have in common in the area of the SGS. In China, the governing Communist Party of China ('CPC') is prescribed as the defining feature of China's socialist system under the Constitution,³ under which it is prohibited for any other political power to supersede the leadership of the CPC; whereas in the UK and NL, it is not a matter of constitutional dictation, but of winning the general election before a political power becomes the governing party (coalition) in making decisions.

Consequently, the supremacy of the decision-making power of the Chinese State is vested in the CPC. Resolutions adopted at the annual conference of the CPC's Central Committee (currently composed of 202 full members and 169 alternate members)⁴ underlie a list of agendas to be discussed and adopted at the annual conference of the National People's Congress (China's highest legislature) in the succeeding year. In contrast, the procedure of

³ Paragraph 2 in Article 1 of the CHAPTER I "GENERAL PRINCIPLES" in the Constitution of the Peoples Republic of China, adopted by the National People's Congress on 4 December 1982, amended in 1988, 1993, 1999, 2004 and 2018, available at: www.gov.cn/guoqing/2018-03/22/content_5276318.htm.

⁴ Communiqué of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, accessed 31 October 2019 via: www.xinhuanet.com/2019-10/31/c_1125178024.htm.

integrating political into legislative activities is less straightforward in the UK and NL. As the multi-party political system is rather ineffective in China, norms and practices for judicial oversight developed in other SGS systems are believed to be inapplicable in understanding the Chinese situations.⁵

That observation is not necessarily incorrect, but inaccurately overlooks some more or less generalisable changes to the interaction between legislative activities and judicial oversight. In the English SGS, for instance, the structural and operational separation between the State's political and judicial powers were not complete in one go, but evolved over time.⁶ Hence, I adopt the theoretical stance that the emergence of judicial oversight of legislative activities in China depicts some comparable challenges the European States had faced and later reconciled.⁷

The second difficulty lies in lacking a standard definition of the elements and scope of judicial oversight. Even the most widely accepted criteria may have rather different meanings or at least a different scope. In the United States (US), when a dispute over the constitutionality of State actions occurs, it is the judiciary that has a say over the meaning and scope of the constitutional matter in issue; whereas in the UK, it is hard to find an exact equivalent.⁸ As such, I shall resort to what sociologists call the 'pure form' of major SGSs where legislative activities and judicial oversights are embedded (sections 2.2 to 2.4). As a caveat, each model only serves as a yardstick for making sense of major features of different SGSs. The reader will notice from their experiences that the functioning of a system, in reality, often depicts features of more than one model.

2.2. Model of Parliamentary Supremacy

Under this model, parliamentary decisions are not subject to review by other State organs. The English system is a good example of it. *First* and foremost, no other decision is

⁵ This way of thinking is exemplified in the so-called "Asian century" thesis that focuses on China's differences from other big powers influential in contemporary times, and treats the rise of China, among other emerging powers, as a "post-Western, non-Anglophone" phenomenon. See, for instance, James B. Gardner and Paula Hamilton: "The Past and Future of Public History: Developments and Challenges", in the edited book *The Oxford Handbook of Public History*, Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁶ For the historical account of the competition between the legislature, judiciary and executive in the UK in the 20th century, see: Cane, Peter, *Controlling Administrative Power: An Historical Comparison*. Cambridge University Press, 2016: 40-6.

⁷ The evolutionary theory submits that three institutions - strong State, rule of law and accountability - that characterises the modern State are not necessarily the product of a particular culture but more of economic and social requirements to prevent the least desirable State action. See, for instance: Brouwer, Maria, *Governmental Forms and Economic Development: From Medieval to Modern Times*. Springer, 2016: 43-4.

⁸ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 15-8.

recognised as higher than that of Parliament. As Koopmans aptly put, “even if the courts find that provisions of a given statute are in clear violation of the Human Rights Act, that will not affect the validity or the enforcement of those provisions.”⁹ Historically, under the doctrine of ‘commonweal’ (meaning the welfare of the public), the State was allowed to make a decision in favour of public interests; and when a dispute arose over the conflict between the government decision and the individual right (to property, for example), the court was rather limited to rebuff the government defence of ‘commonweal’.¹⁰ Throughout the nineteenth century, Parliament rose as the main law-making body for the State and thereby, the validity of legislation was established as dependent on whether or not Parliament approves it.¹¹

Second, no authorities other than Parliament shall hold the power to decide on the content and procedure of legislation. Put differently, if a decision has been adopted by the Parliament and subsequently agreed to by the Monarch, it is to become effective. A dissenting party cannot request the court to decide whether Parliament failed to meet procedural requirements in making its decision — “if rules of parliamentary procedure have been violated, that is of no concern to the judges.”¹² Some similarity can be observed in the modern French SGS too. The Fourth Republic of France (1946 to 1958) passed its constitution that excluded judicial review of parliamentary acts.¹³

2.3. Model of Constitutional Supremacy

Under this model, decisions of the legislature are by no means free from external oversight. If a parliament decision is deemed incompatible with higher laws (the supreme form being Constitution), it is invalid. The US system depicts key feature of this model: if the court comes to the conclusion that an act or policy in question is unconstitutional, the court can revoke it and/or order the authority concerned to revise the said act or policy.¹⁴

The power held by the US court to decide the meaning and scope of the Constitution is considered as the result of a somewhat rapid reform in the nineteenth century. As early as in

⁹ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 23.

¹⁰ Baker, John Hamilton, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*, Volume VI: 1483-1558. The Oxford History of the Laws of England. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2003, page 32-4.

¹¹ *Supra* note 7, Cane, 2016: 33-4.

¹² *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 24.

¹³ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 69-70.

¹⁴ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 35.

1803 (that was only 15 years after the ratification of the US Constitution), the Supreme Court established the norm that the courts had (and still have) the power to examine ‘whether an Act, repugnant to the Constitution, can become the law of the land’.¹⁵ Specifically, the Constitution prohibits the Congress from making certain laws (e.g. those conferring titles of nobility or restricting the freedom of the press).¹⁶ In the eyes of the drafters of the Constitution, it was necessary to install some mechanisms for controlling the legislature and the government. As a renowned analogy goes, “if men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary.”¹⁷ What is relevant here is that colonial courts prior to the US Independence had the experience of examining whether the legislation was compatible with the acts of the British Parliament, and that practice retained its sway over the post-Independence US.¹⁸

2.4. Transitional Model

The third model, referred to as transitional here, is similar to the model of parliamentary supremacy in the sense that a legislative decision is not subject to external review. On the other hand, it also recognises the primacy of the constitution whereby laws and policies that are concluded as unconstitutional cannot become effective. The Chinese SGS comes close to this model.

Structurally, the National People’s Congress (NPC) is ‘supreme’ in the sense that no other State organs have the power to overturn its decisions. Under the Chinese Constitution, the NPC is the supreme State organ in relation to the State’s administrative, supervisory, trial and prosecutorial powers, which holds the power to oversee the functioning of the latter four. Hence, it is within the ambit of the NPC power to scrutinise the constitutionality of laws and policies to be introduced by its Constitutional and Law Committee (starting to operate in 2018).¹⁹

¹⁵ See: *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137 (1803).

¹⁶ See, respectively, Art. i, s. 8, and Tenth Amendment to the US Constitution; Art. i, s. 9(3), and First Amendment to the US Constitution. Cited from Koopmans, 2010: 37.

¹⁷ James Madison: “Federalist Papers: No. 51 – The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments”, published in the *Independent Journal* on 6 February 1788, accessed on 6 August 2019 in the edited book *Rethinking the Western Tradition*, page 264.

¹⁸ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 38-9.

¹⁹ Han, Da-yuan 韩大元, “Cong falu weiyuanhui dao xianfa he falu weiyuanhui: Tizhi yu gongneng de zhuanxing” 《从法律委员会到宪法和法律委员会：体制与功能的转型》 [Transition in the Procedure and Function: From Legal Committee to Constitutional and Law Committee], *Huadong Zhengfa Daxue Xuebao* 《华东政法大学学

In parallel to the NPC internal control is an external review mechanism through which government policies (i.e. generally applicable) and specific decisions (i.e. issued to individual parties) are subject to review by the court. The Administrative Litigation Law (ALL), enforced in 1990, not only conferred on the court a power to accept and review complaints about the State's administrative actions, but also laid the groundwork for localising the norms of judicial impartiality and government accountability that used to be rather foreign to the Chinese SGS. As the ALL was passed in 1989, the CPC's Central Committee received over two thousands resignation letters from local party officials, requesting not to enforce the ALL.²⁰ Despite a strong determination of the central authorities to set up a legal control regime, the effectiveness of internal and external review bodies remains to be seen, which I shall detail below.

3. Growth of Judicial Power

As to the effectual functioning of judicial oversight of legislative activities, it can be argued that the role of the court is increasing across various regions. In the UK, by the end of the twentieth century, internal control procedures (e.g. programme-specific tribunals within the government) had been widely considered unacceptable for their lacking independence from the sponsoring government authority, and alternatively, the court's power has been expanded to review certain disputes over the government decision.²¹ In Germany, lawyers are seen as successfully reframing rights violations that were addressed by the ordinary court into human rights issues that fall into the scope of the German Basic Law and the European Convention on Human Rights, whereby the court has a broader scope in reviewing the State's legislative activities.²² In 1983 and 1992, the German court struck down the law that regulated matrimonial property based on the nationality of the husband, provided that the provision violated the equal protection of women.²³

In France where the governance tradition favours the legislative and administrative powers,²⁴ the Constitutional Council started assessing compatibility of legislative proposals

报》, (4) 2018, accessed 28 November 2019 via: www.calaw.cn/article/default.asp?id=12830 .

²⁰ Jiang, Ping, *Ups and Downs: An Autobiographical Account of Past 80 Years*. China's Legal Press, 2010: 341.

²¹ *Supra* note 7, Cane, 2016: 54.

²² *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010 : 64-5.

²³ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010: 67-8.

²⁴ Laurence Burgorgue-Larsen, et. al.: "The Constitution of France in the Context of EU and Transnational Law: An Ongoing Adjustment and Dialogue to Be Improved", In: Albi A., Bardutzky S. (eds.) *National Constitutions in European and Global Governance: Democracy, Rights, the Rule of Law*. T.M.C. Asser Press, 30 May 2019. Accessed 29 November 2019 via: link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-94-6265-273-6_25.pdf .

before the Parliament with the French Constitution (*priori* review) in the 1970s, and later accepted individual complaints challenging the constitutionality of an effective decision (*posteriori* review).²⁵ In the NL where the political culture vests much confidence in the wisdom of the representative bodies, some new elements took shape in the 1980s. The principle of equality prescribed in Article 26 of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,²⁶ for example, was invoked by the Dutch administrative court in striking down social security law that made a distinction between male and female beneficiaries.²⁷

In China, a legal control regime has been materialising since the 1990s. For disputes concerning the fair competition principle, the court was granted the power to review whether the government misused its power to monopolise economic activities.²⁸ Several concluded cases have meaningful implications in which the court stroke down government decisions that amounted to an administrative monopoly.²⁹ For instance, after the district government in Nanjing decided in 2012 (government decision No. 396) that “in order to upgrade the processing of kitchen waste, the Lashing Recycled Resource Company will process kitchen waste produced within the district,” all the slaughter sites registered with the district government must sign the clearance contract with the said company, the failure of which would be subject to administrative penalties; another bio-waste processing company sued the government as its decision No. 396 is allegedly unlawful under the Anti-monopoly Law.³⁰ The reviewing court ruled in favour of the applicant that the procedural unlawfulness was found and therefore the decision No. 396 should be annulled.³¹ In 2015, the Supreme Court in Beijing advised local courts to resolve similar cases in a way that prohibits the government from

²⁵ Constitutional Council, 16 July 1971, Decision No. 71-44 DC, accessed 30 November 2019 via : www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/en/decision/1971/7144DC.htm .

²⁶ Article 26, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, accessed via: www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx .

²⁷ *Supra* note 2, Koopmans, 2010 : 82-83.

²⁸ Chan, Gordon Y. M., “Administrative Monopoly and the Anti-Monopoly Law: an examination of the debate in China”, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 18, 2009, Issue 59, p.p. 264-5.

²⁹ *Supra* note 30, Chan, 2009: 273-4.

³⁰ Article 8, in the Anti-Monopoly Law of the People's Republic of China.

³¹ “Nanjing Faershi xin nenggyan youxian gongsi su Nanjingshi Jiangning qu renmin zhengfu xingzheng jue ding an” 《南京发尔士新能源有限公司诉南京市江宁区人民政府行政决定案》 [Court Decision on the Administrative Case: Nanjing Faershi New Energy Co., Ltd. v. Nanjing Jiangning District Peoples Government], *Zuigao Renmin Fayuan Fabu Renmin Fayuan Jingji Xingzheng Dianxing Anli* 《最高人民法院发布人民法院经济行政典型案例》, 2015.

partially favouring certain companies over others.³²

4. Conclusion

The relationship, or rather competition, between the State's legislative, administrative and juridical powers is nothing new in the modernisation of the SGS. In the past a few decades, the task of overseeing the State's legislative activities is broadly vested in the court. Amongst decision makers and legal-governance scholars in China, there is no dispute over the necessity of introducing the legal control regime. The question is how to make that regime effective. As the Chinese State admits, not every government authority is willing to comply with the court's decision on unlawfulness of its action(s),³³ and extra-judicial interventions by the CPC and government officials are not sufficiently purged.³⁴ The European practices of changing political behaviour of the legislature and administration (as with the case of the UK and France) and enhancing the judicial impact of judges and lawyers (as with the case of the NL and Germany) may provide some inspiration to China for its future development of the legal control regime.

³² *Zuigao Renmin Fayuan Fabu Renmin Fayuan Jingji Xingzheng Dianxing Anli* 《最高人民法院发布人民法院经济行政典型案例》, 2015, accessed on 5 June 2019 via: www.court.gov.cn/zixun-xiangqing-15842.html.

³³ Para. 84, A/HRC/WG.6/31/CHN/1.

³⁴ See the most recent one: Section four in the “Resolutions on several major issues concerning the promotion of the State governance framework and the modernisation of the State's governing capacities so as to adhere to and improve China's socialist system”, adopted at the fourth plenary session of the 19th Central Committee of the CPC, 31 October 2019, accessed via: www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2019-11/05/c_1125195786.htm.

Foreign Policy Aspect of the Development and Modernization of China

Yaroslau Khvatsik

Abstract

The article discusses some aspects of the “policy of openness and reform” and the role of foreign policy in the modernization of China. Separately, the features and principles of the PRC foreign policy at the present stage are considered.

Keywords: modernization, foreign policy aspect, “opening up policy”, “western model of development”, globalization

At the beginning of the 21st century, we are witnessing an unprecedented rise in the PRC. Over the past 30–40 years, the PRC, thanks to its “policy of reforms and openness”, a policy of modernization and development, has managed to achieve significant success in the economy (the second country in terms of GDP in the world after the United States), finances (the yuan is gradually gaining its place among the leading world reserve currencies; large Chinese banks are included in the top ratings of world financial institutions); military sphere (nuclear power with one of the largest and most modern armies); humanities sphere (over the past 10-15 years, interest in Chinese culture and language has grown significantly in the world). Today, Chinese brands such as Huawei, Xiaomi, Lenovo, Alibaba, ZTE and others are known all over the world. Chinese investors participate in purchases of large world companies (Volvo, Nokia).

It can be said that in the 21st century, China is reviving its status as a leading economic power. So, according to some estimates, as early as 1750, China was producing 32% of global GDP. In 1830 – about 29% of world GDP (Delyagin & Sheyanov: 8).

As the ambassador of Belarus to the PRC (Doctor of Economics) Kirill Rudy notes in his book: “For thousands of years, China has been the only economic and political superpower in the world. The peak of economic and cultural prosperity fell on the reign of the Tang Dynasty (618-906), leaving a trace of the Great Silk Road in history. The invention of compass, papermaking, paper money, gunpowder, porcelain, printing appertains to China” (Rudy: 132).

One of the success factors of the Chinese model of modernization is the foreign policy aspect. As the author of the “policy of openness and reform”, Deng Xiaoping, said: “China

must” create a favorable external climate “to solve the country's economic problems and contribute to the growth of the well-being of its citizens” (Starzhinsky & Tsepkalov:48).

Indeed, if we look at the history of the PRC (since 1949), we can see a close connection between the foreign policy aspect and the development of the state.

As early as June 1949, Mao Zedong emphasized the importance of openness in trade and foreign policy: “The Chinese people agree to cooperate with the peoples of the whole world, to restore and develop international trade, so that production can develop further and the economy flourishes” (Li Lanqing: 21). So, during the first five-year period, the PRC pursued a policy of modernization through active cooperation with the countries of the socialist camp, and primarily the USSR. Thanks to this, the PRC has managed to significantly improve the material base of the manufacturing sector over several years, and to improve the quality of education and the socio-cultural life of the population. However, after political changes within the USSR, relations between countries significantly worsened. The period of “closeness” of the PRC has begun, which has led to negative consequences in the political and economic spheres (the policy of the “Great Leap Forward”, “Cultural Revolution”).

After this period, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (hereinafter – the CPC) decides to pursue a new policy – the “policy of openness and reform”. The main postulates and ideas of the new policy were voiced in 1978 at the 3rd plenary session of the XI-th Congress of the CPC Central Committee. Deng Xiaoping put forward new theoretical propositions that “the modern world is a world of openness”, and “the development of China cannot be carried out separately from global development” (Li Lanqing: 3).

Changes are also taking place in China's foreign policy: the resumption of relations with the United States. In 1972, US President Richard Nixon visited Beijing. China and the United States managed to restore relations. Following the political “warming” of relations, the stage of economic cooperation has begun. According to the former Prime Minister and chief ideologist of modernization of Singapore - Lee Kuan Yew, the events of 1972 became a kind of watershed in the development of the “strategic structure of relations between East and West” (Lee Kuan Yew: 50).

It was the “warming” of relations with the United States, the then leader of the “Western world,” that allowed China to make a breakthrough in relations with other states (Japan, Singapore, France, Germany, Great Britain, etc.).

China has actively implemented successful foreign practices and measures to stimulate entrepreneurship, create exchanges and simplify bureaucratic procedures. It was a balanced foreign policy that allowed China to successfully join the WTO in 2001.

Thus, it can be argued that the foreign policy factor has become one of the key elements of Chinese modernization during the implementation of the “policy of openness and reform”.

It should be noted that at the present stage of building a “community of a common destiny of mankind” and developing the PRC, the foreign policy factor plays an important role. However, the approach to this factor has changed significantly.

At the beginning of its existence the PRC relied strongly on the aid of the USSR and other countries of the socialist camp in matters of modernization. Later, starting from the late 1990s, it changed its foreign policy and was relying on active economic cooperation with the USA and Western countries. China is beginning to actively participate in the development and modernization of other countries. Moreover, this participation takes place in the key of interconnected development and differs from the existing “universal western development model” – “westernization”.

An example of such interconnected modernization is the structure of relations between the PRC and African countries. The countries of the African continent do not have a very favorable history of relations with "foreign investors". From the history of this continent, it is known that most of its modern history has been exposed to the outright plunder and pumping of resources. The abandoned “inheritance” from the Western countries of the colonial period (primarily the artificial division of territories) led to numerous ethnic conflicts (civil and regional wars, ethnic cleansing). As a result, one of the richest natural resources region of the world is in a difficult economic and humanitarian condition. Given all the above, it becomes clear how difficult it is for new foreign players to “enter” African markets.

Despite all the existing negative prerequisites, the PRC is, in the beginning of the XXI-th century, one of the key partners of the African continent, along with the USA and the EU (a traditional player in Africa, given the colonial past). So, as stated by the website of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (hereinafter – UNCTAD), according to the results for 2013, the trade turnover between the countries of Africa and China exceeded 200 billion USD (UNCTAD).

In comparison, with the beginning of the 2000s commodity circulation grew almost three times, in 1980 the volume amounted to 1 billion US dollars. Back in 2010, according to UNCTAD, direct Chinese investment in 48 African countries amounted to 50 billion USD (Dergachev).

In the summer of 2017, a unique event took place for the PRC – the opening of the first foreign military base. It happened in Africa (Djibouti). This indicates a high confidence in the Chinese military on the part of local political elites, as well as the strategic importance of Africa for the PRC.

China for Africa is a source of financial resources, low-cost technologies and specialists. In addition, Chinese products, due to their lower cost in comparison with the American and European counterparts, allows, although not to a large extent, to ensure the minimum needs of part of the African population.

It is very important for China to ensure diversification of the resource base for the growth and development of its economy. Also, from the point of view of developing its large construction companies, China is actively involved in investing in infrastructure projects in Africa. The developed infrastructure allows the quick and safe supply of resources from China, as well as the supply of Chinese consumer goods to various regions of Africa.

Thus, one can observe a “mutually beneficial partnership”, which allows both parties to develop. This approach is one of the success factors of many overseas Chinese projects. Regarding the African continent, other features of the PRC foreign policy can also be attributed to such factors: lack of political pressure on partners in domestic policy issues; active participation not only in commercial projects, but also in the construction of social infrastructure (hospitals, schools, sports facilities).

Another important area of the foreign policy aspect of the development and modernization of the PRC at the present stage is integration projects, global trade and interaction projects. These projects become especially relevant in the light of a certain crisis and the revision of the established “rules of the game” of world trade and globalization. So, we are witnessing a crisis in the EU (BREXIT, the clash of interests of “old and new Europe” on the issue of “multi-speed integration”), tough and uncompromising policies of US President Donald Trump (applying sanctions, reviewing the established “rules of global trade and interaction”, exit from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement). In such a situation, when the ideas of protectionism and “curtailing globalization for all” are growing in popularity in the

world, it is precisely the new PRC projects on economic integration and trade development that become a kind of alternative to development.

The PRC put forward the idea of a new round of economic interaction and cooperation in Eurasia. This idea was presented by the leader of the PRC, Xi Jinping (just in Astana) in 2013, as an initiative to jointly build the Silk Road Economic Belt (hereinafter referred to as the SREB). Later SREB became part of, along with the 21st Century Marine Silk Road project, the One Belt and One Road initiative (Tavrovsky: 53).

The essence of the project: an alternative to the existing transport routes of interaction between the two “economic giants” of Eurasia – the EU and China.

Since the announcement of the initiative, more than 100 states and international organizations have expressed support for the One Belt and One Road initiative (including the UN).

One of the distinguishing features of implementing the “One Belt and One Road” initiative is the goal of mutually beneficial development. To this end, the PRC is “synchronizing” the common project with each individual state or association (Xi Jinping).

Thus, it can be noted that the foreign policy factor remains the same important element in the development and modernization of the PRC in the 21st century, as during the reforms of Deng Xiaoping. It is the foreign policy aspect that allows the PRC to become an active participant in the development of the world economy and trade, the leader of a new policy of globalization, acceleration of integration and development of the Eurasian region. As Xi Jinping said in a speech in Boao (April 2018), “Today, the Chinese can proudly say that the policy of reform and openness has become the second revolution of China, which not only fundamentally changed the country, but also had a great impact on the whole world. Over the past four decades, the Chinese have embraced the world with open arms and are actively contributing to the world” (Xi Jinping).

References

Delyagin, Mikhail & Vyacheslav Sheyanov Делягин, Михаил и Вячеслав Шеянов. *Imperia v prizhke. Kitai iznutri. Kak i dlya chego “aleet Vostok”. Glavnoe sobitie XXI veka. Vozmozhnosti i riski dlya Rossii.* Империя в прыжке. Китай изнутри. Как и для чего

- «алеет Восток». Главное событие XXI века. Возможности и риски для России [Empire in a Jump. China From the Inside Out. How and for What “the East Grows Red”. The Main Event of the XXI Century. Opportunities and Risks for Russia]. Moscow Москва, 2015. Print.
- Dergachev, Vladimir Дергачев, Владимир. ““Krasnaya Afrika”. Politika SPK v Afrike” “Красная Африка”. Политика КПК в Африке [“Red Africa”. PRC Policy in Africa]. *Analytical and educational portal of Professor V.A. Dergacheva*. Moscow, 2013, <http://dergachev.ru/Landscapes-of-life/Africa/05.html#.WaLKZChJaUl>, 03 October 2019.
- Lee Kuan Yew Ли, К. Ю. *Moj vzglyad na buschee mira* Мой взгляд на будущее мира [My View of the Future of the World]. Moscow Москва, 2017. Print.
- Li Lanqing Ли, Ланьцин. *Proriv: kak otrivalis' vorota strani: 30 letie nachala reform v Kitae posveshchaet'sya* Прорыв: Как открывались ворота страны: 30-летию начала реформ в Китае посвящается [Breakthrough: How the Country's Gates Opened: Dedicated to the 30th Anniversary of the Start of Reforms in China]. Moscow Москва, 2010. Print.
- Rudy, Kirill Рудый Кирилл. *Finansovaya dieta: reformi gosydarstvenih finansov Belarusi* Финансовая диета: реформы государственных финансов Беларуси [Financial Diet: Public Finance Reforms in Belarus.] Minsk Минск, 2016. Print.
- Starzhinsky, Valery & Valery Tserkalo, Стражинский Валерий и Валерий Цепкало. *Na puti k obshchestvu inovatsii* На пути к обществу инноваций [Towards Innovation Society]. Minsk Минск, 2017. Print.
- Tavrovsky, Yuri Тавровский Юрий. *Si Tsinpin: Po stupenyam kitaiskoi mehti* Си Цзиньпин: По ступеням китайской мечты [Xi Jinping: The Steps of the Chinese Dream.] Moscow Москва, 2015. Print.
- UNCTAD. *Official site website United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, 2019. <http://unctad.org/en/Pages/statistics.aspx>. 03 October 2019.
- Xi Jinping. “Speech at the forum in Boao”. *Xinhua News official portal*. Beijing, 2018. http://russian.news.cn/2018-04/10/c_137099955.htm. 03 October 2019.

Promotion of Chinese Language as a Tool of Chinese Foreign Policy in Latin America

Maxim Garbart

Abstract

The article covers the main features of the Chinese language popularization as a tool for the development of cooperation between the People's Republic of China and Latin American countries. The region acts as an example of a partner with which China seeks to develop cooperation in the context of its own "peaceful rise". The article explores the relationship between the growing popularity of the Chinese language and the improvement of the image of China in Latin American countries.

Keywords: China, Latin America, Chinese language, soft power, public diplomacy

Back in 2007, at the XVII Congress of the Communist Party of China, President Hu Jintao called for more active exploitation of the rich resources of Chinese culture and enhancement of it as part of the country's soft power. The modern generation of Chinese leaders also considers the sphere of culture as one of the top priorities of state policy. One of the tools to expand the cultural influence of China in the world is the popularization of the Chinese language. In recent years, language policy has taken an increasingly important place in China's foreign policy strategy. As stated in the documents of the Ministry of Education of the PRC, promotion of teaching the Chinese language "is of strategic significance to enhance the friendship and mutual understanding as well as the economic and cultural cooperation and exchanges between China and other countries around the world". This approach fits well with the strategy of "peaceful rise" of China and is consistent with the general aspiration of China to expand multilateral cooperation and develop beneficial partnerships with different countries and regions.

The main priorities of cooperation between China and Latin America are set out in China's Policy Paper on Latin America and the Caribbean. The latest version of the document was presented in 2016. Among the main areas of cooperation highlighted in the Paper are the development of humanitarian relations, expansion of cultural exchanges, educational and academic partnerships. The popularization of the Chinese language, as well as the promotion of the work of Confucius institutes and classes, is considered one of the important areas of cooperation between the PRC and the countries of the region. In 2014 a joint plan for the

development of cooperation for 2015-2019 was presented at the China-CELAC forum. Within the framework of this plan, strengthening mutual language exchange was also stated as one of the priority areas of cooperation. The importance of bolstering of language cooperation has been repeatedly emphasized during the visits of Chinese leaders to countries of the region.

Office of Chinese Language Council International, colloquially known as Hanban, coordinates the work of various state departments aimed at popularizing the Chinese language abroad. Today, one of the main activities of Hanban is the opening of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms – cultural and educational centres at schools and universities in different countries. Confucius Institutes offer Chinese language and culture courses, coordinate language and cultural exchange programs, language certification, and other activities aimed at expanding knowledge about China and Chinese culture. Institutes are created by establishing partnerships between universities in China and host countries. The first Confucius Institute was opened in 2004 in Seoul. At the end of 2019, more than 500 Confucius Institutes were operating in the world. In a short time, the institutes have become one of the main tools of cultural and educational activities of the PRC abroad. In addition to coordinating the work of Confucius Institutes, Hanban also organizes international Chinese language competitions, teacher training, and other activities related to teaching Chinese abroad.

The first Confucius Institute in Latin America began was opened in 2006 in Mexico City. This Confucius Institute is one of the few that is not open at the University. The Confucius Institute in Mexico City was established at the Huaxia cultural centre (华夏 huáxià - one of the self-names of China and the Chinese), founded by Chinese immigrants. This suggests that the local Chinese community is one of the agents of Chinese language expansion in the region. A total of 45 Confucius institutes are currently open in the region (11 in Brazil, 5 in Mexico, 4 in Peru, 3 in Colombia, Chile and Argentina, 1 each in Cuba, the Bahamas, Barbados, , Bolivia, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica , Panama, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay) and the number of institutes grows every year. In comparison with other regions of the world, the number of Institutes in Latin America generally corresponds to the size of the population and the potential of the region (for example, the number of institutions in Africa at the end of 2013 is 61, and in South-East Asia is 40). The main activities of Confucius institutes in Latin America, as well as around the world, are focused on organizing Chinese language and culture courses, coordinating educational exchange programs, etc. The problems that institutions face in their work in LA are also generally similar to the problems of institutions in other regions – low awareness of China and

Chinese culture as a whole, concerns about growing Chinese influence among part of local elites and local population, fears of infringement of the interests of local organizations, etc.

The activities of the Confucius Institutes are often viewed as one of the obvious examples of the implementation of the Chinese strategy of soft power. Institutes act as symbols of the “peaceful rise” of China, as the spread of knowledge about the Chinese language and Chinese culture has a positive impact on the Chinese image abroad. However, many believe that Confucius institutes cannot be considered a real manifestation of soft power since they are funded solely by the government and rather act as elements of public diplomacy or one of the directions of humanitarian cooperation. Moreover, the growth in the number of Institutes around the world is often connected not to the rapidly growing interest in China and Chinese culture, but rather to the growth of funding that the Chinese government directs to this area. (Ren 2012: 14)

Confucius institutes are not the only tool for promoting Chinese language and culture in Latin America. Among other areas are direct inter-university cooperation, cooperation with local NGOs, engagement with local Chinese communities, different bilateral initiatives, such as joint conferences, humanitarian exchanges, etc. Chinese state media are also active in the region, providing resources for learning Chinese. Major Chinese media outlets, such as Xinhua, People's Daily, and China International Radio have Spanish and Portuguese language versions of their content.

There are still a significant number of states that do not have diplomatic relations with the PRC in Latin America. However, the absence of diplomatic relations does not prevent the parties from developing various forms of cooperation, including cultural interaction. For example, in 2013 the PRC and the Association of friendship of the peoples of China and Guatemala (Guatemala has no formal relations with the PRC) signed an agreement on expanding educational exchanges and developing Chinese language teaching in Guatemalan schools and universities (Dussel Peters 2015: 11).

China's desire to implement its own strategy of soft power, public diplomacy and cultural expansion is becoming more obvious to the world every year. Determining the success of this direction of Chinese foreign policy is an important task when formulating its current trends and future prospects. According to Chinese estimates, the number of Chinese language learners in the region has increased several times in recent years and now exceeds 150,000 people. Various initiatives are being developed to include Chinese in school and university programs. Public opinion researches suggest that the growing popularity of the Chinese language and culture has influenced the improvement of China's image in Latin America (Cornejo 2015: 7). However,

when considering the results of China's "language expansion", it should be borne in mind that the development of the soft power strategy, public diplomacy and cultural expansion of the PRC, as well as the formation of China's international image, depend profoundly on the economic success of the country. Improvement of public opinion about China is often associated with it becoming one of the major trade partners of particular country. The strengthening of comprehensive cooperation with the PRC is positively met by the local population and contributes to the growth of the popularity of the Chinese language and culture. Thus, assessing the prospects for further development of this area of Chinese foreign policy, it is necessary to take into account the dynamics of the economy and the ability of the PRC to maintain and increase the level of funding for its foreign institutions, language programs and cultural exchanges.

Today China is one of the world leaders in the use of language and culture in foreign policy. The practice of popularizing the Chinese language in Latin America is one of the examples of how China uses tools aimed at improving its own image in the region, creating a positive agenda for the development of cooperation. The study of this experience is important for understanding new dimensions of international relations, the modern transformation of which strongly relies on China.

References

Report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. China.org.cn
<http://www.china.org.cn/english/congress/229611.htm#7>, 25 October 2007.

A Brief Introduction of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) of China. Ministry of education of the People's Republic of China.
<http://old.moe.gov.cn//publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s3917/201007/91583.html>.

China's Policy Paper on Latin America and the Caribbean. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.
http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/t1418254.shtml, 24 November 2016.

Cooperation plan (2015-2019). China-CELAC Forum.
http://www.chinacelacforum.org/eng/zywj_3/t1230944.htm, 23 January 2015.

About Confucius Institutes/Classroom. Confucius Institute Headquarters.
http://english.hanban.org/node_10971.htm.

- Cornejo, Romer. *China en América Latina: perspectivas sobre las relaciones. Observatorio de la Política China*, <https://politica-china.org/areas/politica-exterior/china-en-america-latina-perspectivas-sobre-las-relaciones-culturales>, 2015.
- Ren, Zhe. “The Confucius institutes and China's soft power. IDE Discussion paper No 330”. *Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)*, <https://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Dp/330.html>, 2012.
- Dussel Peters, Enrique. “China’s Evolving Role in Latin America: Can it be a Win-win?”. *The Atlantic Council’s Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center*. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep03629>, 1 September 2015.
- La 'fiebre' del idioma chino en América Latina*. Sputnik. <https://mundo.sputniknews.com/sociedad/201610261064382870-lengua-china-popularidad-american-latina>, 26 October 2016.

The EU and China: Strategy of the Project „One Belt and One Road”

Gulnara Birimkulova

Abstract

In 2018, the EU and China celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Declaration of a comprehensive strategic partnership. In 2003, when it was decided to raise the level of relations, they did not claim a global role. China has pursued a policy of not joining any alliances and has not raised the issue of its leading role in the world. The EU was content with the role of an economic giant and did not seriously discuss the creation of its own armed forces. If at the beginning of the twenty-first century EU leaders tried, and often successfully, to teach the Chinese trade in an open market, today it is a dialogue between two equal partners, with Beijing surpassing Brussels in putting forward alternative models for the development of the world. Today, in terms of trade, the EU and China occupy, respectively, the first and second place in the world, and the volume of trade between them is second only to the volume of trade between the EU and the United States. Today in Europe, more and more people talk about the “European army”, and the Chinese think about the “great Chinese dream”. The proposed article does not give an unambiguous answer to the question of the reality of these plans, but to outline the framework of the processes of their implementation.

Keywords: EU, China, trade, investment, security

In a situation where President Trump’s policies have brought uncertainty to relations between the world’s three largest economic partners—the United States, China and the EU, relations between Brussels and Beijing remain one of the most important factors in world politics. Today, according to opinion polls conducted in 2014, 60% of Europeans believe that China has “already replaced” or “will soon replace the United States” as a global superpower. 49% of respondents called China a “leading economic power”, while only 37% consider the United States to be such a country [Pew, 2018]. Brussels is increasingly expressing dissatisfaction with the, that the political role of the EU is not in line with the economic power of the Union, and the French President is increasingly raising the issue of European armed forces independent of NATO. With the US President, Donald Trump questioning the existence of transatlantic relations and launching an economic battle with the EU and China, the strategic partnership between Brussels and Beijing could become a major factor in world politics in the future. However, in the foreseeable future, the chances of such a turn in the alignment of the global world order might not be too great. This can happen if the US continues its policy of destroying economic ties with Europe and China, and the EU turns into an independent military force. Today, China has become one of the EU’s largest trading partners and a country with

which Brussels maintains active political ties. From 1998 to 2018, 20 summits were held, more than 50 regular sectoral meetings were held, and two forums were established-the dialogue on economic and trade issues and the dialogue on strategic relations with the participation of senior officials of both sides. As stated in 2016 European Commission President Jose-Manuel Barroso “the development of strategic, mutually beneficial relations with China is one of the most important priorities of EU foreign policy in this century” [Mahler, 2016].

“16+1” and “One Belt – One Road”

Strengthening its position in Europe, China relies not only on relations with the EU leadership and bilateral ties with the States of the European Union, but also on two global projects in which almost all EU countries have been involved in one form or another – the program “16+1” and “One Belt – One Road.” The China-Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) cooperation program was initiated by Beijing in 2012 and from the first summit in Warsaw in 2012 to the end of 2018, the parties held six more such meetings. The last such meeting was held in Sofia in July 2018. In its relations with these countries China is proceeding from an understanding of their economic and social problems within the framework of the “two-speed” division of Europe into old and new EU members. In Beijing, they felt the natural complex of political inferiority existing among them, sending the Chinese Prime Minister to all the summits. If we talk about the specific economic results of cooperation between the CEE countries and China, from 2013 to 2017, China’s exports to these countries increased from 30.5 billion euros to 43.6 billion euros, and China’s imports increased from 10.8 to 16.5 billion euros. At the same time, in 2017, as in 2013, over 70% of exports and imports accounted for Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. All 16 countries of this group have a negative balance in trade with China, which during this period increased from 19.7 billion euros to 27.2 billion euros. The volume of Chinese investment in the region according to Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang since 2013 amounted to about \$ 10 billion. provided mainly in the form of loans, CEE investments in China are estimated at \$ 1.4 billion [Diplomat, 2018].

In Beijing, it is well understood that the EU leadership sees the 16+1 as an attempt to act in the EU and in Europe, bypassing Brussels. During the summit in Sofia in July 2018, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang assured Brussels that “any country can participate in the 16+1 cooperation”, and “this opportunity to strengthen the partnership is especially important

in an environment where all over the world every now and then restrictive measures are introduced”.

After the summit, the Chinese Premier visited Berlin, where he signed a preliminary agreement with BASF to build a \$ 10 billion chemical complex in Guangdong province. The owner of which for the first time in the history of investment relations between the EU and China will be a foreign company, which was a kind of attempt to reassure Germany about Chinese activity in CEE. China's European policy, including relations with CEE countries, is also closely linked to the “one belt, one road” project put forward by Chinese President XI Jinping in 2013. as a Chinese model of world development. It provided for the construction of land and sea routes between Asia and Europe and the development of economic infrastructure along transport arteries. The project became the centre of China's policy since 2015 and part of the “13th five-year plan”, which began in 2016. the Project affected the interests of countries where more than 60% of the world's population lives, and its cost was estimated at an astronomical amount of 21 trillion dollars. European politics against the background of China's global ambitions and the arrival of Donald Trump was caught between doubts about the inviolability of the transatlantic Alliance and calls for China to build a new world order along the Silk Road.

Both factors are significant and uncertain. No one can predict the future of American politics, nor the fate of the Grand Chinese project, the implementation of which will allow China to control not only the trade routes between Asia and Europe, but also to deprive America of sole leadership in the world. As International Affairs magazine wrote ““Trump's Decision to pull out of the TPP opened up an opportunity for China to realize the dream of making China great again.” In January 2018, the parties to this agreement decided to keep the Union without the United States, and China has stepped up its participation since November 2012. negotiations on the conclusion. The regional Comprehensive - sive Economic Partnership, which includes China, the ASEAN countries, Australia, New Zealand, India, Japan and the Republic of Korea. In fact, the new agreement without the participation of the United States, Canada and three Latin American countries, but with the participation of China, if implemented, will change the balance of power in Asia and in the world in favor of China.

Since the project was of an integration and Intercontinental nature, its implementation became the subject of wide discussion in Europe. On the one hand, the EU leadership showed serious interest in the Chinese initiative, and saw it as an opportunity to expand economic ties between the EU and China. In 2015, the UK was an Active supporter of participation in the Chinese project. During a visit to the UK in may 2015, President XI Jinping and then British

Prime Minister David Cameron proclaimed "the Golden age of relations between China and the UK", one of the foundations of which was cooperation in the Chinese project.

At the same time, there is an ambivalent attitude towards the new silk road in Europe. On the one hand, the development of global trade requires reliable and, most importantly, fast ways of delivering goods. The creation of infrastructure along the transport arteries potentially creates a lot of jobs and require investment. In its relations with the EU and the US, China has managed, without renouncing its ideas of logical principles and pursuing its own national policy, to create strong foundations of relations with the West. Having serious contradictions with the USA on the issue of Taiwan, China maintains relations with the territory it rightly believes part of China, so as this suits all three sides.

The rejection of a forceful solution to the problem has largely enabled China in a short time to create a powerful economy and become one of the great powers the world's largest trading partner is the EU and the USA.

References

- Bazhan A.I. (2018) Shelkovii put: posledstvia dlya EAES I EC, Analiticheskaya zapiska № 47, IE RAN.
- Bradley Michael, AFP February 4, 2016. Biggest Ever Trade Deal Signed as US Seek to Counter China Pew Research Center, 07/14/2018 <http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/07/14/chapter-3-balance-of-power-u-s-vs-china/> (Date of issue 1/10/2019)
- Global Times 5/31/2017 www.globaltimes.cn/content/1049431.shtml European External Action Service (eeas.org)

The Feminine Oriental Man: Deconstructing Gender Roles in *M. Butterfly* Using Functional Linguistics

Ashton Ng

Abstract

In the 1988 Broadway play M. Butterfly, the most feminine character is a Chinese man (Song Liling), closely followed in second place by a Japanese woman (Butterfly). In terms of their femininity, the Oriental duo far surpass three Western women: Helga, Isabelle, and Renee. Through applying Michael Halliday's theory of systemic functional linguistics, this paper reveals what exactly is meant by "masculinity" and "femininity" in M. Butterfly, arguing that both are constructs that exist only in the male characters' minds. This paper then explains why the characters Song Liling and Butterfly are perceived by the play's male characters (Gallimard, Pinkerton, and Marc) to be significantly "more" feminine than the other female characters. A Hallidayan analysis of the play reveals that, in M. Butterfly, "masculine" and "feminine" gender roles cannot exist independently without the other and are variable "scores" more than they are essential traits assigned at birth.

Keywords: M. Butterfly, femininity, masculinity, systemic functional linguistics, Oriental

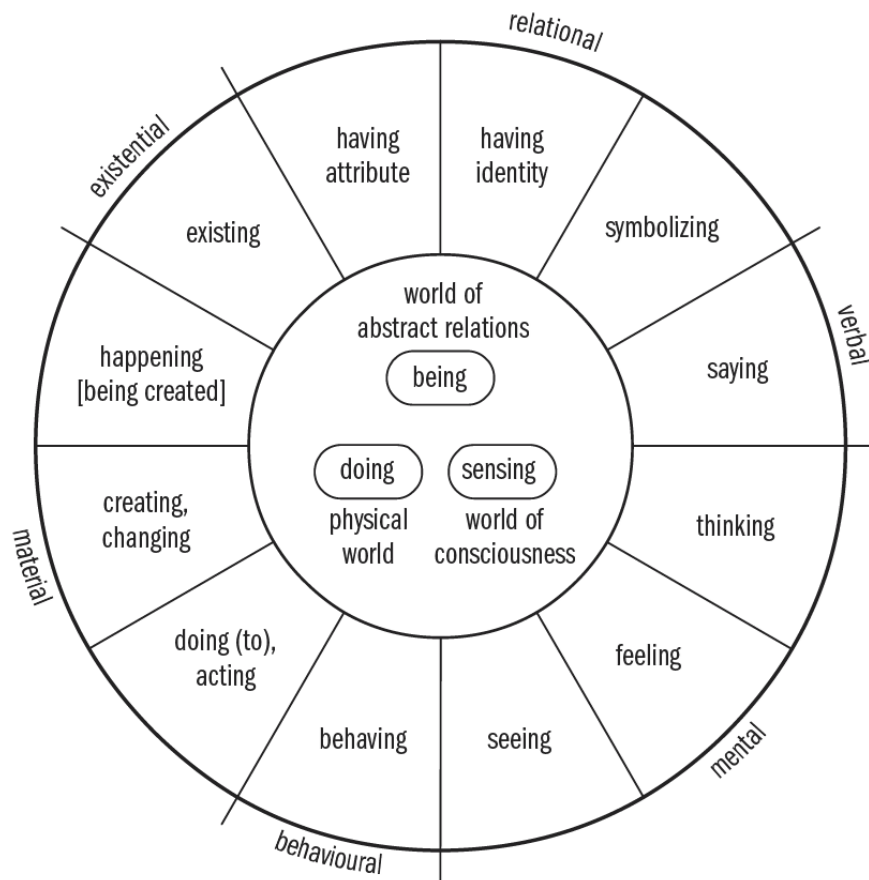
In the Tony Award-winning play *M. Butterfly*, characters play masculine or feminine gender roles that are sometimes opposite to their biological sex. Much has been written on how the play portrays one's gender role as a social construct instead of an essential trait assigned at birth (see, for example, the articles of Kondo and Saal). However, these studies assert that gender roles are "constructed" without explaining how one can be constructed in the first place. This paper investigates how characters in *M. Butterfly* use language to construct and fill their gender roles, starting with the masculine gender roles of the play before proceeding to the feminine gender roles.

The linguist Michael Halliday argued that "language enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality" (1994: 106), and that reality "consists of a flow of events, or 'goings-on'" (2014: 213). The human brain interprets reality by grouping different types of "goings-on" into different categories:

We become aware of at a very early age (three to four months),
between inner and outer experience: between what we
experience as going on 'out there', in the world around us, and

what we experience as going on inside ourselves, in the world of consciousness (2014: 214).

The world of our experience, however, does not seem to be clearly divided into “inner” and “outer” experiences. Halliday points out that these “regions are continuous, shading into one another” (2014: 216). Consider the sentence “Peter exists.” It is unclear if this is an “outer” or “inner” experience, as Peter can be existing either in the physical world or in the perceiver’s mind, or both. Reality consists of three “fuzzy categories”: the physical world, the mental world, and the world of abstract relations (2014: 216):



In the above model, the sentence “Peter kicks a ball” would be categorized as a Material experience, because the kicking occurs in the physical world. “Peter exists” conveys an Existential experience, and it remains unclear whether Peter exists in the perceiver’s “inner” or “outer” world, or both.

“Peter is over there” denotes a Relational experience, with the perceiver drawing an abstract relation between two disparate things: Peter and his location. Verbal processes, such

as “Peter says ‘I’m here,’” could denote either an “outer” or “inner” experience, or both; it is unclear if Peter’s speech is real or imagined.

Mental processes, such as “I pondered,” do not occur outside the perceiver’s mind. Lastly, Behavioral processes such as “Peter laughed” fall between Material and Mental experiences, because the perceiver physically observes Peter’s facial movements while mentally interpreting it as a “laugh”. The above is Halliday’s explanation for how language constructs meaning.

In *M. Butterfly*, there are four male characters who construct masculine or feminine gender roles through their lines: Marc, Rene Gallimard, Pinkerton, and Song Liling. I will focus on the precise moments at which they construct their gender roles.

The protagonist Rene Gallimard is a French diplomat who works at the French embassy in 1960s Beijing. In Act One, Gallimard has an affair with the Peking opera singer Song Liling, who not only is a man disguised as a woman but is also a spy sent by the Chinese government to obtain classified information from Gallimard. In Act Two, Song travels to France where “she” resumes the relationship with Gallimard, and the two live together for 20 years before being arrested.

I begin my analysis with how Marc, who is Gallimard’s high school friend, constructs his masculine identity. In Act One, Scene Four (set in 1947 France, while they are in high school), Marc persuades Gallimard to join him in a sex party. When Gallimard refuses, Marc calls him a “wimp” (9). Shortly afterwards, Marc establishes himself as the more masculine of the duo:

Marc walks over to the other side of the stage, and starts waving and smiling at women in the audience... Gallimard notices Marc making lewd gestures.

Gallimard: Marc, what are you doing?

Marc: Huh? (*Sotto voce*) Rene, there’re a lotta great babes out there. They’re probably lookin’ at me and thinking, “What a dangerous guy (9).”

In the dialogue above, it is in the final sentence where Marc constructs his masculine identity:

Process Type	Process	Sentence (Participant underlined; Processes in bold)
Behavioral	are... lookin'	<u>They're...lookin'</u> at me
Mental	thinking	and thinking , "What a dangerous guy."

A Hallidayan analysis reveals the two key components of Marc's masculine identity: the Behavioral and Mental processes of the women in the audience. Marc's masculine identity is built on the self-perception that he is sexually "dangerous" or irresistible to attractive women. Without the numerous "great babes" noticing and evaluating him, Marc would not be able to construct his sense of masculinity in a vacuum.

Why, then, is Gallimard "less" masculine than Marc at this point in the play? The answer lies in Gallimard's reason for declining Marc's invitation:

Gallimard: Marc, I can't... I'm afraid they'll say no—the girls. So

I never ask.

Marc: You don't have to ask! That's the beauty—don't you see?

They don't have to say yes. It's perfect for a guy like you, really.

Gallimard: You go ahead... I may come later.

Marc: Hey Rene—it doesn't matter that you're clumsy and got zits—they're not looking!

Gallimard: Thank you very much.

Marc: Wimp (8-9).

In the sentence "Peter kicks a ball", "Peter" is what Halliday calls the Actor, who "brings about the unfolding of the process" which "may extend to another participant, the Goal" (2014: 225-6).

Actor	Process	Goal
Peter	kicks	a ball.

Gallimard’s reason for declining Marc’s invitation consists of the following processes:

Actor (Gallimard)	Adjunct	Process	Goal	Process Type
I	can’t	(ask)	(the girls)	Verbal
I	am	afraid	they’ll say no	Mental
I	never	ask	(the girls)	Verbal

For Mental processes, Halliday uses the terms *Senser* and *Phenomenon*, so in the sentence “Peter thinks of Jane”, Peter is the *Senser* and Jane is the *Phenomenon*. Although the three processes presented above appear to be Gallimard’s Verbal and Mental experiences, they all imply the same Mental process undertaken by the girls in Gallimard’s life: evaluation of Gallimard’s sexual desirability.

Sensers	Adjunct	Mental Process	Phenomenon
The girls	would most likely	reject	Gallimard’s sexual request.

Gallimard’s sense of (un)masculinity is built on the Mental processes of women whom he would like to have sexual relations with, while Marc’s masculine identity is constructed based on the Mental and Behavioral processes of sexually desirable women. A Hallidayan analysis reveals that neither of the two men could construct a masculine identity without the presence of sexually desirable women. Their masculine identities resemble a performance rating, scored by “a real or imaginary female audience that functions as a mirror and reflects the performance back to the performer” (Saal, 1998: 636). Later in Act One, Scene Eleven, Marc praises Gallimard for surpassing him in “masculinity”: “Somehow I knew I’d end up in the suburbs working for Renault and you’d be in the Orient picking exotic women off the trees (32).”

As introduced earlier, Song Liling is a male spy disguised as a woman in order to seduce Gallimard. Being a man himself, Song deeply understands the intricacies of masculine identity—in Song’s words, “only a man knows how a woman is supposed to act” (63).

Throughout Acts One and Two, Song adeptly makes Gallimard feel supremely masculine by giving him the delusion of sexual irresistibility. In “her” series of letters to Gallimard, who had deliberately broken off contact for six weeks to see what Song would do, Song begs Gallimard to respond. When Gallimard realizes that “this little flower was waiting for [him] to call” (35), and that he had the power to “wickedly [refuse]” (35), he “felt for the first time that rush of power—the absolute power of a man” (35). Prior to this, the norm in Gallimard’s experiences has been that “women do not flirt with [him]. And [he] normally can’t talk to them” (22).

In Hallidayan terms, there are two fundamental speech roles: “(i) giving, and (ii) demanding... Either the speaker is giving something to the listener... or he is demanding something” (2014: 135). This “something” that is Demanded or Given is “either (a) goods-and-services or (b) information” (2014: 135). When Song pleads for Gallimard’s response, “she” constructs the role of the Demander, with Gallimard as the Giver. Conversely, in Gallimard’s disappointing interactions with women, he plays the role of a Demander who fails to obtain sexual favors from them, the Givers. Halliday is also interested in “status roles (power, either equal or unequal)” (2014: 33):

Demander	Giver	Information or Goods-and-services	Greater social power
Gallimard	The girls	Services (non-platonic relations)	The girls
Song	Gallimard	Services (non-platonic relations)	Gallimard

In his Demands for sexual relations with women, Gallimard is the interlocutor with less social power; in fact, he feels so enfeebled that he does not even dare to ask. In contrast, Gallimard feels “the absolute power of a man” (35) in his interactions with Song because the power dynamics are reversed: Gallimard now wields greater power as the Giver of sexual relations, while Song, as the Demander, practically begs Gallimard for his love. Gallimard’s masculinity is built on sexual control over Song, while Song’s “femininity” is a construct in Gallimard’s mind—based upon Gallimard’s delusion that he “had finally gained power over a beautiful woman” (36).

Having discussed how masculine gender roles in *M. Butterfly* cannot be constructed in the absence of women, I now investigate how femininity is constructed in the play. There are five characters who construct feminine gender roles: Butterfly, Song, Helga, Isabelle, and

Renee. The purpose of this investigation is to explain why Pinkerton—a US Navy sailor who purchases a Japanese bride named Butterfly—and Gallimard perceive Oriental women to be remarkably more feminine than Western women. Gallimard regards Butterfly as a “feminine ideal, beautiful and brave” (5), and perceives Song, who is male, to be far more “feminine” than his wife Helga, his first sexual partner Isabelle, and his mistress Renee, all three of whom are Western, and actual, women.

After marrying Pinkerton, Butterfly becomes her husband’s sexual plaything. In Act One, Scene Five, Gallimard narrates the way Butterfly pleasures Pinkerton:

She arrives with all her possessions in the folds of her sleeves, lays them all out, for her man to do with as he pleases. Even her life itself—she bows her head as she whispers that she's not even worth the hundred yen he paid for her (10).

In this marriage, Pinkerton says in Act One, Scene Three that he feels like a “real man” (6). A Hallidayan analysis reveals the processes upon which Butterfly’s femininity and Pinkerton’s masculinity are constructed:

	Actor: Butterfly	Actor: Pinkerton
Process (underlined)	<u>arrives</u> with all her possessions in the folds of her sleeves	
	<u>lays</u> (possessions) all out, for her man	to <u>do with</u> as he pleases
	<u>bows</u> her head	
	<u>whispers</u>	
	she’s <u>s</u> not even worth the hundred yen	he <u>paid</u>

Pinkerton really only does two things: firstly, he pays one hundred yen which, as Gallimard points out in Act One, Scene Five, is “less than sixty-six cents” (10); secondly, he

gains the opportunity to dominate Butterfly in any way he likes. This is a far cry from his life in the West where, as Gallimard describes in Act One, Scene Three, he is perceived as “not very good-looking, not too bright, and pretty much a wimp” (5). On the basis of such low sexual attractiveness to Western women, Pinkerton is unable to construct a masculine identity when he is in his native country. He can only feel like a “real man” (6) when he is in the Orient, where he can find “women who put their total worth at less than sixty-six cents” (10).

In Act One, Scene Three, Pinkerton gleefully points out that, in the Orient, he has far more opportunities for sexual conquest: “This country... You got all these geisha girls running around” (6), and they are “not like American girls. It's true what they say about Oriental girls. They want to be treated bad (6).” To Pinkerton, Oriental women appear far more feminine than Western women because he can only dominate the former. While Pinkerton’s masculinity is built on his sexual domination of Butterfly, Butterfly’s femininity is based on her ability to “function as a mirror” (Saal, 1998: 636) and reflect machismo back at Pinkerton.

Is this the reason why Gallimard perceives Song—an Oriental man pretending to be a woman—to be more “feminine” than Helga, Isabelle, and Renee? Act Two, Scene Five, in which Gallimard quarrels with his wife Helga before speaking to Song immediately afterwards, provides a comparison of the gender roles played by Song and Helga:

Gallimard (*To us*): And so, over the years 1961, '62, '63, we settled into our routine, Butterfly and I. She would always have prepared a light snack and then, ever so delicately, and only if I agreed, she would start to pleasure me. With her hands, her mouth... too many ways to explain... But mostly we would talk. About my life. Perhaps there is nothing more rare to find a woman who passionately listens (49).

Helga then tells Gallimard that she has seen a doctor, and that there is nothing wrong with her fertility. Gallimard responds:

Gallimard: And I told you, it's only a matter of time. Why did you bring a doctor into this? We just have to keep trying—like a crapshoot, actually.

Helga: I went, I'm sorry. But listen: he says there's nothing wrong with me.

Gallimard: You see? Now, will you stop—?

Helga: Rene, I don't ask for much. One trip! One visit! And then, whatever you want to do about it—you decide.

Gallimard: You're assuming he'll find something defective!

Helga: No! Of course not! Whatever he finds—if he finds nothing, we decide what to do about nothing! But go (49-50)!

After Helga exits the stage, Song—who has been eavesdropping—reassures Gallimard that there cannot possibly be anything wrong with his virility, and that “she” greatly desires having his child:

Song: But what would I love most of all? To feel something inside me—day and night— something I know is yours. (*Pause*) Promise me you won't go to this doctor. Who is this Western Quack to... judge... the man I love? I know who is a man, and who is not (51).

While Helga constructs the role of a Demander who commands Gallimard to have his impotence checked, Song provides unwavering faith in Gallimard's virility:

Demander	Giver	Commodity Demanded/Given	Greater Social Power
-----------------	--------------	---------------------------------	-----------------------------

Gallimard	Song	Sexual pleasure, given with Gallimard's permission	Gallimard
Helga	Gallimard	A visit to the doctor to have his virility checked	Helga
Gallimard	Song	Unwavering reassurance in Gallimard's virility	Gallimard

While Gallimard feels enfeebled and unmanly before a wife who insinuates that he is impotent, he enjoys delusions of virility and masculine attractiveness while he is with Song. The feminine gender roles that Helga and Song construct are no longer related to their biological sex. Rather, their “femininity” is entirely constructed in Gallimard’s mind, based on their abilities (or lack thereof) to make Gallimard feel masculine. Song “scores” so highly on this yardstick that Gallimard introduces “her” to the audience, in Act One, Scene Three, as “the Perfect Woman” (4), even though Song is actually a man.

Other than Song, Isabelle and Renee also succeed in making Gallimard feel masculine and sexually desirable. Despite this, they are greatly surpassed by Song in terms of their “femininity”. I will now analyze why.

Isabelle, who gave Gallimard his first sexual encounter, is a girl of voracious sexual appetite. She is introduced to Gallimard by Marc back in high school. In Act One, Scene Eleven (1960 Beijing), Gallimard recounts his escapade with Isabelle to Marc:

Gallimard: You told me to wait in the bushes by the cafeteria that night. The next thing I knew, she was on me. Dress up in the air.

Marc: She never wore underwear.

Gallimard: My arms were pinned to the dirt.

Marc: She loved the superior position. A girl ahead of her time.

Gallimard: I looked up, and there was this woman... bouncing up and down on my loins.

Marc: Screaming, right?

Gallimard: Screaming, and breaking off the branches all around me, and pounding my butt up and down into the dirt (33).

Isabelle’s gender role is constructed based on the following processes:

Actor	Process (Underlined)	Goal
Marc	<u>told</u> ... to wait in the bushes by the cafeteria	Gallimard
Isabelle	<u>was on</u>	Gallimard
Isabelle	(<u>throws</u>)... up in the air	(Her) dress
Isabelle	never <u>wore</u>	(Her) underwear
Isabelle	<u>pinned</u> ... to the dirt	(Gallimard’s) arms
Isabelle	<u>loved</u>	the superior position
Gallimard	<u>looked up</u>	(None)
Isabelle	<u>bouncing</u> up and down on	Gallimard’s loins
Isabelle	<u>screaming</u>	(None)
Isabelle	<u>breaking off</u>	the branches all around (Gallimard)
Isabelle	<u>pounding</u> ... up and down into the dirt	(Gallimard’s) butt

During the above sexual encounter, Gallimard recounts having “a great time” (33) because, for the first time in his life, he can finally construct a masculine identity based on the self-perception that a woman finds him sexually desirable. Why, then, does Gallimard perceive Song to be more feminine than Isabelle? It is because Song allows Gallimard to feel sexually dominant whereas Isabelle does not. A tabulation of all eleven processes that occurred in Gallimard’s first sexual encounter reveals that Isabelle is almost always the Actor. Also,

excluding inanimate objects such as Isabelle’s dress and underwear, Gallimard is *always* the Goal. In the only instance of Gallimard being the Actor, all he does is to *look* in an upwards direction. Not once is Isabelle the Goal:

	Actor	Goal
Total	11	9
Isabelle	9 (81.8%)	0
Gallimard	1	5 (55.6%)
Marc	1	0
Inanimate objects	0	4 (44.4%)

Clearly, Isabelle’s encounter with Gallimard is nothing but a sexual assault in which she treats Gallimard as a tool for her sexual pleasure.

Despite being incredibly attractive, the Danish student Renee is far less “feminine” than Song in Gallimard’s eyes. Gallimard first meets Renee at a social gathering in Act Two, Scene Six (1963 Beijing). After the two carry out some small talk, Renee abruptly asks Gallimard if he would like to sleep with her:

Renee: Are you married?

Gallimard: Yes. Why?

Renee: You wanna... fool around?

Pause.

Gallimard: Sure.

Renee: I'll wait for you outside. What's your name?

Gallimard: Gallimard. Renee.

Renee: Weird. I'm Renee too (53-54).

Kondo (1990) points out that the French name Rene sounds the same in its feminine and masculine forms, thereby accentuating the theme of gender ambiguity. Although Gallimard enjoys his sexual encounter with Renee, whom he describes as “picture perfect” (54) and “with a body like those girls in the magazines” (54), he does not find Renee very feminine. In fact, he finds her “*too* uninhibited, *too* willing, so as to seem almost *too*... masculine” (54). After their sexual encounter, Renee begins interrogating Gallimard about “the role of the penis in modern society” (58), eventually providing a lengthy exposition on the topic, which Gallimard finds “simply not acceptable” (56). Renee plays the Demander while Gallimard is the passive Giver of sexual relations:

Demander	Giver	Commodity Demanded/Given	Higher Social Power
Gallimard	Song	Sexual pleasure, given with Gallimard's permission	Gallimard
Gallimard	Song	Unwavering reassurance in Gallimard's virility	Gallimard
Renee	Gallimard	Sexual relations	Equal
Renee	Gallimard	Gallimard's general views on the penis	Renee

Although Gallimard feels sexually desirable in both his interactions with Renee and Song, he finds Song to be far more “feminine” than Renee because he enjoys greater power in his interactions with Song. In other words, Song is more “feminine” because “she” is more capable of making Gallimard feel masculine. The implication is that, in the play, femininity is constructed in the minds of male characters—and is thus more dependent on male evaluation than on one's true biological sex.

In conclusion, I applied Hallidayan theory—concerning how language constructs meaning—to *M. Butterfly*, in order to investigate how Gallimard, Marc, and Pinkerton construct their masculine gender roles, and how Butterfly, Song, Helga, Renee and Isabelle construct their feminine gender roles. The results indicate that, in the play, "masculine" and "feminine" gender roles do not exist independently of each other, and are variable “scores” more than they are “fixed, bounded entities containing some essence or substance” (Kondo, 1990). For examples of variability in masculine gender roles, I compared the masculine identities of Gallimard and Marc: while Gallimard is initially “less” masculine than Marc due to his failure at sexually attracting women, he later becomes the “more” masculine man after becoming sexually successful in the Orient, whereas Marc leads a sexually unsatisfying life in the suburbs. As another example, Pinkerton can only construct a masculine identity when he is in the Orient, where he is far more sexually successful than he is in the West. For examples of variability in feminine gender roles, I analyzed why Oriental “women” like Butterfly and Song appear drastically more “feminine” than Western women in the male characters' eyes. I argued that Song, despite being a man, successfully constructs a far more “feminine” gender role than

Helga, Isabelle, and Renee, all three of whom are actual women. While previous research has revealed that a masculine gender role cannot be constructed without a female audience, I would like to add to the discussion by pointing out that, in *M. Butterfly*, feminine gender roles, like masculine ones, are entirely constructed in the minds of Pinkerton, Gallimard and Marc, and that they are variable “scores” too.

References

- Halliday, M.A.K. *On Language and Linguistics. Volume 3 of Collected Works of M.A.K Halliday*. London: A&C Black, 2006. Print.
- Halliday, M.A.K., Matthiessen, Christian M.I.M. (ed.) *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Oxford: Routledge, 2014. Print.
- Hwang, David Henry. *M. Butterfly*. London: Penguin, 1989. Print.
- Kondo, Dorinne K. “‘M. Butterfly’: Orientalism, Gender, and a Critique of Essentialist Identity”. *Cultural Critique* 16 (1990): 5-29. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1354343>, 31 January 2020.
- Saal, Ilka. “Performance and Perception; Gender, Sexuality and Culture in David Henry Hwang's ‘M. Butterfly’”. *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 43.4 (1998): 629-644. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41157422>, 31 January 2020.

The Road Ahead: Victoria's Secret Goes to China and the Market of Commercial Sexism in the Era of Postfeminism

Jia Xintong

Abstract

This article elaborates on Victoria's Secret's selling of sexuality, the promotion of hyper-femininity, and its current strategy of exploring the Chinese market. First, the sexualised representation of lingerie models demonstrates the contradictory nature of postfeminist discourse. Can the representation of hyper-femininity be seen as 'women's success' or as retro-sexism in the era of postfeminism? Second, the shift from an 'Asian type' representation of Chinese model Liu Wen to a hyper-white representation of He Sui exemplifies the dynamic constructions of female beauty. Finally, the collision and fusion of traditional Chinese culture and the sexualisation of culture raise questions about transnational issues involved in gendered, racialised, and nationalised power relations.

Keywords: postfeminism, gender, femininity, whiteness, sexualisation

Introduction

As the largest American retailer of premium women's lingerie and beauty products, Victoria's Secret has become the brand for promoting hyper-femininity catering for assumed-to-be heterosexual women. He Sui is the second Chinese model after Liu Wen modelling for the brand. Liu Wen is famous for her characteristic Asian appearance – yellow/beige skin and slender eyes. He Sui has an idealised white skin which makes her seem brighter and whiter than Western models. He Sui is portrayed as both an 'innocent fairy' and an autonomous sexy stunner, who is aware of her sexual agency and gets fame of it. Can this be seen as 'women's success' or as retro-sexism in the era of postfeminism?

The postfeminist turn

Since the early 1980s, postfeminism, both in terms of its increasingly-mediated existence and its capability to act as a commodity, has become more recognisable as a buzzword (Genz 2009). Notions of postfeminism proclaim that women are now 'empowered', and hence celebrate and encourage their freedom to 'return to femininity' (Gill 2007; Lazar 2009; McRobbie 2009). Postfeminism is based on the rejection of gender inequality and efforts on promoting gender equality is 'a spent force' (McRobbie 2009: 12). Concepts of personal choice and individualism are emphasised within postfeminist discourse (Gill 2007). Ideas of embracing commercialised forms of sexuality and invoking the assertion of 'girl power' or 'raunch culture' are central to postfeminism.

Postfeminism is contested and has been characterised in several ways - an epistemological or political shift within feminism expressing intersections with other 'post' movements (Brooks 1997: 113; Lotz 2001). Postfeminism is also regarded as 'a retreat from feminist ideas' referring to a historical shift, say, a time 'after' the second wave (Dow 1996; Faludi 1992; Press 1991: 4; Whelehan 2000). However, these definitions are insufficient for capturing the complex, and often paradoxical characteristics of postfeminism, especially the ways in which postfeminist discourses offer up an entanglement of feminist and anti-feminist ideas (McRobbie 2004: 255). Rosalind Gill (2007: 147) proposes that postfeminism is best thought of as a 'sensibility', deeply enmeshed with neoliberalism, which is central for exploring the modernised, neoliberal version of femininity embodied in lingerie models. Gill (2007) characterises the postfeminist sensibility as marked by elements such as an intensive preoccupation with the body and an emphasis on femininity as a bodily property. Instead of conducting self-surveillance, women's decisions to embody such new femininity are endowed with freely chosen, self-pleasing notions and empowerment.

The 21st century has witnessed a significant development in the concentration of the sexualisation of culture (Gill 2003). The sexualisation of culture refers to Western societies being increasingly saturated by sexual discourses and representations, and a world in which pornography has become mainstream. Girls and young women are framed with social meanings and displayed through the proliferation of sexualised visual media. They are sexualised by the opposite gender and by themselves within the unequal power relations. The re-sexualisation trend may be a backlash against the 'sex wars' of the early 1980s (Whelehan 2000; Gill 2003). A generation ago women were protesting not to be doubly victimised through their construction as sexual objects and the limited options that compulsory heterosexuality allows, while contemporary women are willing to be represented in a seemingly objectified manner.

Models in neoliberal capitalism can be seen as representing the 'docile body' (Foucault 1977: 11). Referring to Foucault (1977), within the panopticon, the docile body is aware of permanent visibility which in turn assures the automatic functioning of power. Models' self-management and self-discipline consolidate norms for ideal femininity and the sexualisation of culture. The way power acts has undergone a shift from depicting women as docile bodies through the male gaze to constructing women as autonomous individuals who are capable of making the right choice through an internalised self-policing narcissistic gaze (Goldman 1992). In this sense, postfeminism can be understood as a neoliberal sensibility (Gill & Scharff 2011). Understanding neoliberalism as a form of governmentality illuminates how its reach extends beyond economic and political rationality, that is, a mode of governing citizens as well as

conducting conduct (Brown 2003; Rose 1996). In terms of individual subjectivity, neoliberalism can be seen as constructing individuals as, 'autonomous, calculating, and self-regulating subjects', which are similar to the 'active, freely choosing, self-reinventing subjects' of postfeminism (Gill 2007: 164).

Moreover, there are always exclusions involved in sexualised representations (Gill 2008; Levy 2005). We may ask who is capable of being empowered and who has been made invisible? The very notion of individualism should take the individual's preference into account and allow greater diversity, rather than merely results in compulsory heterosexuality.

He Sui: a role model or a model of the role?

There are arguments proclaiming that postfeminism reinforces existing power relations and reproduces inequality as postfeminist discourses function as a mechanism of power and exclusion (Tasker & Negra 2007; Projansky 2001). Researchers who have examined the racialised character of representations conclude that postfeminism works to exclude women of colour and reproduces racial inequality by reinstating (Western) whiteness as a dominant cultural norm (Banet-Weiser 2007; Rose 2008; Springer 2007). I shall explore the ways in which postfeminism marks a racialised modernisation of femininity which re-centres both whiteness and heterosexuality through the representation of Chinese model He Sui.

He Sui is the second model of Chinese heritage after Liu Wen modelling for Victoria's Secret. Liu Wen is characterised by her 'Asian-type' appearance – yellow/beige skin and slender eyes. He Sui features idealised whiteness and smooth, flawless skin, as well as big eyes with double-fold eyelids. He Sui is presented as a beautiful fairy, seemingly unaware of the sexual connotation she conveys. He Sui's possession of idealised whiteness and attractive female body are key elements of her celebrity persona, which bring her plenty of lucrative opportunities and make her a role model among young Chinese women. However, her idealised whiteness is relatively unattainable for the public. Such white and immaculate skin may require time, consumer spending, painful injections and careful self-scrutiny, but also this work itself should be made invisible (Gill 2007; Wolf 1990).

Whiteness is socially constructed with many shades of difference (Graefer 2014). In China, the preference for whiteness should not be understood simply as a reflection of admiration for the West, or as an expression of aesthetic values of female beauty in East Asia (Wagatsuma 1967). More importantly, there is a dichotomy of white/beautiful versus black/ugly involved, which can be illustrated through the popularity of whitening cosmetics in East Asian countries. Properly tanned skin can be a symbol of fitness and beauty that evokes

the semantics of holidays in the West, while in East Asia dark skin represents the identity of the working class involving excessive labour (Graefer 2014).

Mehita Iqani (2012: 96) uses the notion of 'glossiness' to refer to a variety of practices of communication in which smooth and seamless textures are applied in the construction of meanings of flawlessness. 'The presence of glossiness in commercial imagery indicates a realm of fantasised perfection'. The mode of glossiness exists in relation to the discourse of consumerism and the former contributes to the power of the latter. The representations of He Sui personify the mechanics of glossiness and idealised whiteness, thus forming an interpersonal relationship with the viewers. Hyperreal portraits of He Sui and the holy of empowerment around, signify a form of human perfection to which viewers are invited to aspire by means of consuming, or at least desire to contact.

To sum up, instead of taking He Sui as a role model for young girls, it is more appropriate to perceive her as a model of the role emerged from the narrowly circumscribed discourse of femininity reinstating whiteness and heterosexuality as the standard.

Cultural appropriation from a Chinese perspective

In the cultural industry, there are always challenges on how to minimise ambiguities, tensions and 'mistranslations' of one cultural production to distinct contexts outside its origin. In the 2016 Victoria's Secret fashion show, the brand was accused of 'cultural appropriation' during the segment 'The Road Ahead' that drew inspiration from Chinese culture (Matera 2016). In the meantime, it was the first time that four Chinese models had walked the runway. Critics suggest those references are cheap tricks trying to appeal to Chinese customers since the brand had opened its first lingerie store in Shanghai in February 2017 and held its annual fashion show in Shanghai by the end of the same year (Zhen 2017).

The use of dragons and costumes from Peking Opera in the decoration of lingerie models displays an obvious contrast between traditional Chinese culture and the sexualisation of culture in the West. From a Chinese perspective, lingerie cannot be a fitting tribute to the more 'reserved' traditional culture. Western models wearing symbols from Peking opera costumes display a Western-style discourse of female empowerment based on individual rights, whereas the notion of individualism is antithetical to the Confucian ethos of China.

Critics of 'cultural appropriation' also derive from the stereotyped manoeuvres of Victoria's Secret based on the economic pragmatism. Edward Said (1978) used 'Orientalism' to depict a general patronising Western attitude towards the orient's societies, and hence fabricating a concept of the oriental culture can be depicted and reproduced with the act of

stereotyping. Stereotyping refers to the act of reducing a group to ‘a few and simple essentials’ which are ‘vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognised’ (Hall 1997: 249, 258). Stereotyping can fix the essentials without change or development. Thus, it naturalises and fixes the ‘difference’. Stereotyping tends to occur when there is gross inequality of power.

Victoria’s Secret applies symbols of Peking opera in its lingerie show, demonstrating the commodification of cultural difference in globalisation. The construction of the modernised and globalised femininity on the stage of Victoria’s Secret is problematic. We may ask – has the empowered female subjectivity become a globalised identity or has the commodification of emancipated femininity been globalised? Within a global marketplace, racial and cultural difference have been constructed as commodities. Springer (2007: 205) argues within the discourse of ‘commodification of otherness’, national authentic culture becomes a spice used to liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture. Regardless of whether its lingerie design inspiration is Eastern or Western in origin, the commodification of emancipated femininity is becoming globalised and consistent.

Conclusion

This article elaborates the construction of a modernised and globalised femininity through the representation of Chinese lingerie models and Chinese cultural symbols applied in Victoria’s Secret. Lingerie models are portrayed as active and knowing sexual subjects, and Chinese cultural symbols are selected to contribute to the construction of empowered femininity. I address these phenomena by situating them within the context of neoliberalism and globalisation. Drawing on the existing scholarship on postfeminism (Gill 2007; McRobbie 2004), particularly the contradictory nature of postfeminist discourses combining both feminist and anti-feminist themes and the ways in which the body of literature privileges whiteness and heteronormativity, I suggest an intersectional approach to make sense of how the postfeminist discourses reproduce inequalities of race, gender and sexuality. I conclude that all the actions above are used to construct a carefully packaged form of commercialised sexiness, as Victoria’s Secret enters China.

References

Banet-Weiser, Sarah. “What’s Your Flava? Race and Postfeminism in Media Culture”. *Interrogating Postfeminism*. Yvonne Tasker. and Diane Negra (eds.) Durham, NC: Duke University Press, (2007): 201-27. Print.

- Brooks, Ann. *Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural Theory and Cultural Forms*. London: Routledge, 1997. Print.
- Brown, Wendy. "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy". *Theory and Event* 7.1 (2003): 37-59. JSTOR, http://lchc.ucsd.edu/cogn_150/Readings/brown.pdf. Web. 22 November 2019.
- Dow, Bonnie. *Prime Time Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women's Movement Since 1970*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by A. Sheridan. London: Allen Lane, 1977. Print.
- Genz, Stéphanie. *Postfemininities in Popular Culture*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Print.
- Gill, Rosalind. "From Sexual Objectification to Sexual Subjectification". *Feminist Media Studies* 3.1 (2003): 99-106. Print.
- Gill, Rosalind. "Postfeminist Media Culture". *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10.2 (2007): 147-166. Print.
- Gill, Rosalind. "Empowerment/Sexism". *Feminism and Psychology* 18.1 (2008): 35-60. Print.
- Gill, Rosalind and Scharff, Christina. "Introduction" in Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff (eds.) *New femininities: Postfeminism, neoliberalism and subjectivity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2011): 1-17. Print.
- Gill, Rosalind. "The Sexualisation of Culture?". *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 6/7 (2012): 483-498. Print.
- Goldman, Robert. *Reading Ads Socially*. London: Routledge, 1992. Print.
- Graefer, Anne. "White stars and orange celebrities". *Celebrity Studies* 5 (2014): 107-122. Print.
- Hall, Stuart. (ed.) *Representation, Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage, 1997. Print.
- Henry, Astrid. *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third-Wave Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004. Print.
- Iqani, Mehita. *Consumer Culture and the Media: Magazines in the Public Eye*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Print.
- Lazar, Mehita. "Entitled to Consume". *Discourse and Communication* 3.4 (2009): 371-400. Print.
- Levy, Ariel. *Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture*. London: Pocket Books, 2005. Print.
- Lotz, Amanda D. "Postfeminist Television Criticism". *Feminist Media Studies* 1.1 (2010): 105-121. Print.

- Matera, Avery. "Victoria's Secret Accused of Cultural Appropriation for VS Show 2016 Costumes". *Teen Vogue*. <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/victorias-secret-fashion-show-cultural-appropriation-chinese-vs-show-2016>. Web. 20 November 2019.
- McRobbie, Angela. "Postfeminism and Popular Culture". *Feminist Media Studies* 4.3 (2004): 255-264. Print.
- McRobbie, Angela. *The aftermath of Feminism*. London: Sage, 2009. Print.
- Press, Andrea L. *Women Watching Television*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. Print.
- Projansky, Sarah. *Watching Rape*. New York: New York University Press, 2001. Print.
- Rose, Nikolas. *Inventing Ourselves*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Print.
- Rose, Tricia. *The Hip Hop Wars*. New York: Basic Books, 2008. Print.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 1978. Print.
- Springer, Kimberly. "Divas, Evil Black Bitches, and Bitter Black Women". *Interrogating Postfeminism*. Yvonne Tasker. and Diane Negra. (eds.) Durham, NC: Duke University Press, (2007): 249-77. Print.
- Tasker, Yvonne and Diane Negra. (eds.) *Interrogating Postfeminism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Print.
- Wagatsuma, Hiroshi. "The Social Perception of Skin Colour in Japan". *Daedalus* 96.2 (1967): 407-443. Print.
- Whelehan, Imelda. *Overloaded Popular Culture and the Future of Feminism*. London: Women's Press, 2000. Print.
- Wolf, Naomi. *The Beauty Myth*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1990. Print.
- Zhen, Summer. "Victoria's Secret Models are Heading for Shanghai as Brand Opens First Lingerie Store in China". www.cnbc.com/2017/02/26/victorias-secret-models-are-heading-for-shanghai-as-brand-opens-first-lingerie-store-in-china.html. Web. 20 November 2019.

Solving Hieroglyphic Riddles and Puzzles as a Method of Teaching Chinese Written Forms and Idiomatic Expressions

Agniya Chistyakova

Abstract

Hieroglyphic writing system forms are an integral part of studying Chinese language. The author suggests that teaching Chinese characters by solving various hieroglyphic riddles and puzzles may quicken the process of acquiring the language and culture per se. According to the degree of complexity, the author outlines three levels: 1) the use of the 'phonetic similarity' principle: in this case not only a hieroglyph can be replaced with another homophone or paronym but also a foreign, e.g. an English word with similar pronunciation can be used for that purpose. 2) Puzzles that are based on objects representing traditional Chinese culture, such as Mahjong tiles, musical instruments, etc. Finally, traditional forms of hieroglyphic writing may be used here as well, so solving such riddles and puzzles supports a better understanding of the features of Chinese culture.

Keywords: hieroglyphic characters, teaching Chinese, hieroglyphic riddles-puzzles, Chinese language

Many schools and universities in Russia provide Chinese language teaching. Mastering the hieroglyphic writing is an integral part of the process of studying Chinese language, but nevertheless it is either treated as a separate discipline or taught together with other aspects of the language. Regardless of the education program, a teacher needs to address an important issue in selecting a method of teaching Chinese hieroglyphs. It is extremely hard to standardize the process of schooling Chinese hieroglyphic writing, as it depends on the amount of class hours, the type of the program, specialty, etc. Existing systems and techniques of teaching Chinese mostly put an emphasis on the writing order of strokes, the control of their quantity in each hieroglyph, the accuracy, and the beauty of their calligraphy writing in general. That is why each student's book has special copybooks as a supplement to it (Ryunin 2007; Kondreshevskiy 2009). However, one can also create these practical materials with the help of on-line resources¹. All of the above make up a so-called routine type of learning that also makes it possible to achieve good results in the end. However, one of the pitfalls of this method is that no efforts are being made to explain the correlations within the hieroglyph's components.

¹ See for example: <http://hanni.pro>; <https://www.chineseconverter.com/ru/convert/chinese-character-practise-writing-sheets>, etc.

Another widely used teaching technique is the method of visualization accompanied with the associative method or mnemotechnics applied for hieroglyphs based on specific images. It means that the principal way of memorization is to link the images of particular code elements of the information that need to be remembered. “Fun with Chinese Characters” (Tan Huay Peng 1980) and “Chineasy” (Shaolan 2014) are based on this technique because they represent the hieroglyphs by the means of bright images and associations that are easy to remember.

Some teachers create their own mnemonic descriptions together with their students. For example, to learn the hieroglyph 房 *fáng* we may propose the sentence “second Fang is playing on the square plot South-East to the yard” to illustrate the *second* tone in the pronunciation of *fang*, as well as to learn the radicals 户 *hù* “yard” and 方 *fāng* “square” (the examples were created by the author herself). Besides, some hieroglyphic riddles done in China follow the same patterns. For instance, 谜面: 十粒豆豆入口来 (打一字) 谜底: 喜 Riddle: ten beans get in my mouth. The answer is: 喜 *xǐ* “to like, to fancy”. The hieroglyph 喜 consist of the radicals, that can be further decomposed into 十 *shí* “ten”, 豆 *dòu* “bean” and 口 *kǒu* “mouth” (Hanmiwang).

However, this method may have certain drawbacks. For instance, the incorrect use of the mnemonics or the application of inaccurate associations by the students who often substitute proper, logical memorizing with learning by role.

Meanwhile, one of the most widely used methods of working with the hieroglyphic writing in Chinese schools is by solving hieroglyphic riddles and puzzles. One of the prominent example of this technique is “the Unabridged Dictionary of hieroglyphic riddles” (Song 2000). Recently a great number of various websites with the so-called hieroglyphic riddles-in-pictures/ hieroglyphic puzzles have appeared (画谜字谜 / 画字谜). Their structure resembles to a great extent stereotypical riddles and puzzles known to Western culture.

It should be mentioned that the word ‘riddle (or rebus)’ dates to the Latin phrase “*Non verbis sed rebus*” (“Not with the help of words but objects”). The Latin word “*rebus*” originates from ‘*res*’ that means ‘thing, object’. So, a riddle is a guess where a coded word or a phrase is depicted by the combination of figures, letters, or characters (Dictionary of foreign words 1984: 420). Thus, in contemporary understanding a ‘rebus’ is a riddle that consists of the images of some objects (i.e. pictures used together with various letter combinations, characters, or other symbols) sounding similar to search word or to its certain part. Several riddles can be united in one picture or can be represented in a set of pictures that constitute a phrase or a sentence. So,

riddles are not only a thrilling game that helps students to enlarge their active vocabulary and develop logic, but they also improve their attention, focus, and short-term memory.

We examined various Chinese hieroglyphic riddle-puzzles with the aim of offering suggestions about how they can be applied to teaching Chinese language and culture. One should keep in mind that there is a significant difference between Chinese and Russian riddles and puzzles due to their different writing systems (alphabetic and hieroglyphic ones), and thus, the methods of working with them will not be similar.

Relative to their complexity, riddles can be further subdivided into several types and can be used at various stages of education process: 1) simple riddles, i.e. hieroglyph-pictures where one of the hieroglyphic signs is replaced with the image of a real object connected to the general meaning of that hieroglyph; 2) intermediate riddles when one or several hieroglyphic-images can form a word; 3) high complexity riddles when several hieroglyphic-images form a chengyu idiom or an expression of goodwill.

Riddles at the initial stage of studying can be very difficult to acquire as students should, first of all, know the radicals (部首) and some fundamental hieroglyphs for their proper identification. Thus, it is better to propose solving simple riddles (Fig. 1²) at this stage. For instance, in hieroglyphs 鸡 “hen”, 鸭 “duck”, and 鹅 “goose” the radical 鸟 “bird” is replaced with the corresponding images of birds, and in hieroglyphs designating fruit and vegetables some elements are replaced with corresponding pictures. In such cases it is recommended to reproduce elements of hieroglyphs by replacing them with pictures.

Figure 1³:



A more complicated task is to understand what hieroglyph exactly is represented in the picture and to write it down. Let's take, for example, hieroglyph 发 (髮) “hair” (Fig. 2) in both simplified and traditional forms. In the first case the picture contains “a face” and “a haircut” depicting the simplified character (发), while in the second one there are scissors, a brush, a

² All images are taken from open-source Chinese websites and social media.

³ <https://588ku.com/ykeywordart/10482027.html>.

hairpin, and a ribbon that make up the traditional form (髮). Guessing the hieroglyph here is easy if we know the constituent parts and, thus, is easy to remember. However, the major difficulty for the initial stage is to understand the traditional hieroglyph, as in most education programs they are only taught optionally.

Figure 2⁴:



Further we will illustrate our approach with some riddles for characters with various levels of complexity that were gathered especially for educational purposes (Fig. 3).

Figure 3⁵:



In addition to drawn illustrations, we also took a live picture of a social advertising in the Beijing subway (Fig. 4) that was appealing to people not to buy products that are produced from killed wild animals. The poster has four hieroglyphs 象虎熊人 (“elephant”, “tiger”, “bear”, and “human/humanity”), but some of their elements are replaced with blood drops. The sign says: 若象无牙，虎无骨，熊无胆，人？仁？ (If an elephant has no tusks, a tiger has no bones, and a bear has no bile, [then] a human has [no]? humanity/mercy?).

⁴ <http://www.yulu365.net/sucal/show-3808.html>.

⁵ <https://www.photophoto.cn/show/12249722.html>.

Figure 4⁶:



Moving further, complicated riddles can be subdivided into several types as well: 1) hieroglyphic ‘sliding’ puzzles; 2) hieroglyphic pictures that form idiomatic expressions or the expressions of goodwill; and 3) Emoji riddles. Now we will look at them in greater detail.

So, hieroglyphic ‘sliding’ puzzles are a set of hieroglyphs that should be placed in a certain order to form one or several idiomatic expressions (Fig. 5).

Figure 5⁷:



The first set is used to form the following phrases: a) 一臂之力 literally meaning “the power of one hand” in the sense ‘to give a hand, to help, to assist’; b) 以德报怨 “to settle offence by doing good” meaning ‘to pay back with good in exchange for evil’; c) 良药苦口 “good medicine tastes bitter” meaning ‘the truth is hard to accept’.

The second set is used for the following expressions: a) 平分秋色 (variant: 秋色平分) “to divide autumn landscape into halves”, meaning ‘to divide equally, at halves’; b) 气吞山河 “to swallow rivers and mountains in the same breaths” meaning ‘to be imbued with a spirit that can conquer mountains and rivers; full of daring; majestic and powerful’; c) 盲人摸象 “the blind people feeling the elephant” meaning ‘draw conclusions from incomplete data’.

⁶ Photo is made by the author.

⁷ <http://www.pipaw.com/fkccy2/gsjj/55063.html>.

The second type are hieroglyphic riddles that form idiomatic expressions and the expressions of goodwill (Fig. 6).

Figure 6⁸:



Here, the first picture has a hand lifting a heart and a suspended hieroglyph 胆 (“gall bladder”). So, the expression implied is 提心吊胆 “the heart is lifted and the gall bladder is hung” meaning ‘one's heart is in one's mouth; be scared’.

The second picture displays two men carrying hieroglyphs 是 ‘yes’ and 非 ‘no’. The expression encoded is 搬弄是非 “to carry something which does and does not exist” meaning 1) ‘to make mischief; 2) to sow discord, provoke both parties to quarrel, to sneak, to gossip; 3) to wag one’s chin, to pick somebody to pieces’.

The third picture depicts a miner's hammer hitting on a mountain where a tiger lies. The expression embodied is 敲山震虎 or 敲山振虎 and literally means “to hit the mountain and shake a tiger” which is ‘to scare, to frighten’.

In the fourth picture there are two dragonflies touching the water. The expression to be understood is 蜻蜓点水 “the dragonfly touches the water lightly” meaning ‘to touch lightly on something, to skim lightly over the surface’.

Then, the fifth picture displays a Mahjong tile 四萬 “forty thousand” and an illustration of the Ruyi scepter (如意) or “wand of dreams”. The expression implied is 万事如意, lit. “ten thousand concerns, as you wish” meaning “may all your hopes be fulfilled”.

Finally, the last picture has two hands showing the digit 六 ‘six’ and a hieroglyph 顺 ‘favorable, lucky’ placed between them. The expression is 六六大顺, “six, six, great luck” or ‘wish you all the best!’.


⁸ http://k.sina.com.cn/article_6440867442_17fe7d672001003qzv.html?from=edu.


For unriddling the first four phrases one needs to have rich vocabulary and common sense, whereas in order to understand the last two the student should also have a knowledge of some basic cultural features.

In the fifth and the sixth types of riddles, students need to recognize the image of the Ruyi scepter that does not exist in European culture. Thus, to get the answer to this riddle it is necessary to substitute 四萬 *sìwàn* with its positional paronym and 萬四 *wànsì* and to apply the homonymy or principle of punning⁹ in order to replace 四 *sì* with 事 *shì*, because 四 *sì* sounds like 事 *shì*, which is in fact a common colloquial variant of its pronunciation.

For a proper solving of the sixth type of riddles students should be familiar with the special way Chinese people show numbers from six to ten by using the fingers of one hand only, and thus, to understand the combination of a thumb and a little finger which means 六 *liù* ‘six’. For better understanding its meaning can be associated and replaced with two quasi-homophones 流 *liú* or 溜 *liū* ‘to flow’. So, it would then mean “luck is flowing to you”. Such phonosemantic extensions are an integral part of Chinese traditional culture (Alexiev 2011: 9-11).

Finally, the third type of riddles (based on Emojis) appeared quite recently together with the wide spreading of PCs, mobile phones, and other gadgets. Today’s youngsters usually communicate in messengers or social networks with Smileys, and one contemporary gadget may have approximately 800 symbols. Moreover, they may even completely replace some words and add emoticons in the message. So, Chinese students and teachers have started using

them for creating riddles of set expressions. For instance, such icons  are used for the chengyu 虎头虎脑 “tiger’s head, tiger’s brain meaning” or ‘a husky, a tough guy’,

and also for the phrase  九牛二虎 “nine bulls and two tigers” meaning ‘animals or people of great strength’. Below we decided to illustrate this technique with several Emoji riddles (Fig.7).

⁹ By this principle we mean substituting one of two or more words that have the same or similar pronunciation but differ in meaning.

Figure 7¹⁰:



The answers to these riddles are as follows: 1. 走马观花; 2. 心心相惜; 3. 杯水车薪; 4. 哭笑不得; 5. 美中不足; 6. All pictures in these phrases form a paronym of the English set phrase ‘Happy New Year (*hai pi niu ye*)!’

In general, solving riddles helps teachers to explain various aspects of Chinese culture. Thus, a relatively simple way of solving *chengyu* 六六大顺, which means ‘best wishes’, requires an explanation of its origin and the interpretation of the correlation between the state of well-being and the number “six”. First of all, the origin of this expression comes from the ancient Chinese classic *Zuo zhuan* (“Zuo's Commentary” on the “Spring and Autumn [Annals]”) where all six states of well-being have been recited (君义, 臣行, 父慈, 子孝, 兄爱, 弟敬, 此数者累谓六顺也 ‘the lords are fair-minded, the servants are trustful, the fathers are kind, the sons are respectful, the elders love the youngsters, and the youngsters respect the elders’) (*Zuo zhuan* 2002:8). It also should be noted that in modern Chinese language this phrase is intended to mean “happiness in the family, success at work and in all affairs, and good health”. However, there is another interpretation based on the *Yi Jing* (“The Book of Changes”) related to the meaning of the hexagram 坤 *kūn* ‘the earth-female-principle’ (six Yin lines) that is ‘despite misfortune, one can reach success through effort’ (*Shchutsky* 1997:284-287).

It should also be noted that the origin of the welfare connotation associated with the number ‘six’ may also be linked to the sixth day of the sixth month of the traditional lunar calendar in Northern China. This day symbolized the end of gathering the wheat crop and a break in the agricultural work, as well as the best time to visit relatives. On that day young girls usually got married, thus, the “double-six” day became the symbol of “double” or total happiness in marriage (*Baike*).

¹⁰ https://tiebac.baidu.com/p/4414994257?pid=85743245213&see_lz=1&red_tag=1719405983.

Conclusion

As discussed above, we can use hieroglyphic riddles at various stages of studying the Chinese language, as well as in many other subjects relative to the degree of their difficulty. Solving riddles and puzzles is also a perfect means of intellectual training aimed at improving students' memory and attention. The only difference in Chinese riddles compared to European ones is that the latter are normally used in pictures in the education process for kids who cannot read, while for solving Chinese hieroglyphic riddles by adults certain preliminary training is needed.

For a proper interpretation of hieroglyphic riddles, it is important to take into consideration some cultural features. Students should also first learn a core set of hieroglyphs. The next thing to do is introduce the Chinese educational riddles, which should mostly be based on the homonymy or paronymy principle of punning, such as substituting between 六 *liù*, 流 *liú* and 溜 *liū*. Further, in the next stage riddles can also be built upon the objects related to traditional Chinese culture, like Mahjong tiles, Chinese musical instruments, the Ruyi scepter, etc. Subsequently, riddle-pictures can target traditional, not only simplified, writing of hieroglyphs.

All in all, solving riddles can be used both to add vigor to the teaching process and to support better understanding of Chinese cultural features. Furthermore, it is one of the most efficient methods for memorizing Chinese hieroglyphs in general.

References

- Alexiev, A.B. "Main Punning Strategies in Traditional Chinese Culture: A Linguistic Look". *The Silk Road: Papers from the International Conference, Organized by Confucius Institute in Sofia, Bulgaria, June 3-4. 2011: 9-11.*
- Baike: "Liu liu da shun" 六六大顺 [Everything Goes Well!]. <http://www.baike.com/wiki>. (April 08, 2018).
- "Fazi tupian" 发字图片 [Images of Hieroglyph 发] <http://www.yulu365.net/sucai/show-3808.html> (April 08, 2020).
- "Fengkuang Cai Chengyu 2 di 11 Guandao 20 Guande Tupian Daan" 疯狂猜成语 2 第 11 关到 20 关的图片答案 [Guess the Idioms 2. Pictures with Answers. Levels 11 to 20] <http://www.pipaw.com/fkccy2/gsjj/55063.html> (April 08, 2020).

Hanmiwang 汉谜网. <http://www.cmiyu.com/zmmy/20176.html> (April 08, 2020).

“Kantu Cai Chengyu, zhaxie chengyu dou henyoutu , ni neng caichulai ma?” 看图猜成语，这些成语都很有趣，你能猜出来吗？ [Look at the Pictures and Guess the Idioms, These Idioms are Very Interesting, Can You Guess It?] http://k.sina.com.cn/article_6440867442_17fe7d672001003qzv.html?from=edu (April 08, 2020).

Kondrashevskiy, A.F. Кондрашевский, А.Ф: *Prakticheskiy Kurs Kitaiskogo Yazika. Posobiye po Ieroglifike. Chast' 2. Propisi.* Практический курс китайского языка. Пособие по иероглифике. Часть 2. Прописи [Chinese in Use. The Hieroglyphic Textbook. Part 2. Handwriting Worksheet]. Moscow Москва: East-West Publishing Восток -Запад, 2009: 106.

“Meishu ziti bianxing tupian” 美术字体变形图片 [Art Fonts Create Images] <https://www.photophoto.cn/show/12249722.html> (April 08, 2020).

Qiankuwang 千库网. <https://588ku.com/ycwordart/10482027.html> (April 08, 2018).

Ryunin, Yu.V. Рюнин, Ю.В. *Propisi po kitaiskomu ieroglificheskomu pis'mu. 1 etap obucheniya* Прописи по китайскому иероглифическому письму. 1-ый этап обучения [Chinese Hieroglyphic Handwriting Worksheet. 1st Grade]. Moscow Москва AST: East- West АСТ: Восток-Запад, 2007: 158.

Shaolan. *Chineasy. The New Way to Read Chinese.* Harper Design, 2014: 192.

Shchyutskiy, Yu. К. Щуцкий, Ю.К. *Kitaiskaya Klassicheskaya Kniga Peremen Yi-Jing* Китайская Классическая Книга Перемен И-Цзин [The Classical Chinese Book of Changes “Yi Jing”]. Moscow Москва: RAS Oriental Literature РАН Восточная литература, 1997: 606.

Song Yongchang 孙雍长. *Hanzi zimi dadian* 汉字字谜大典 [Unabridged Dictionary of Hieroglyphic Riddles]. Guangzhou 广州: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe 广东教育出版社, 2000: 804.

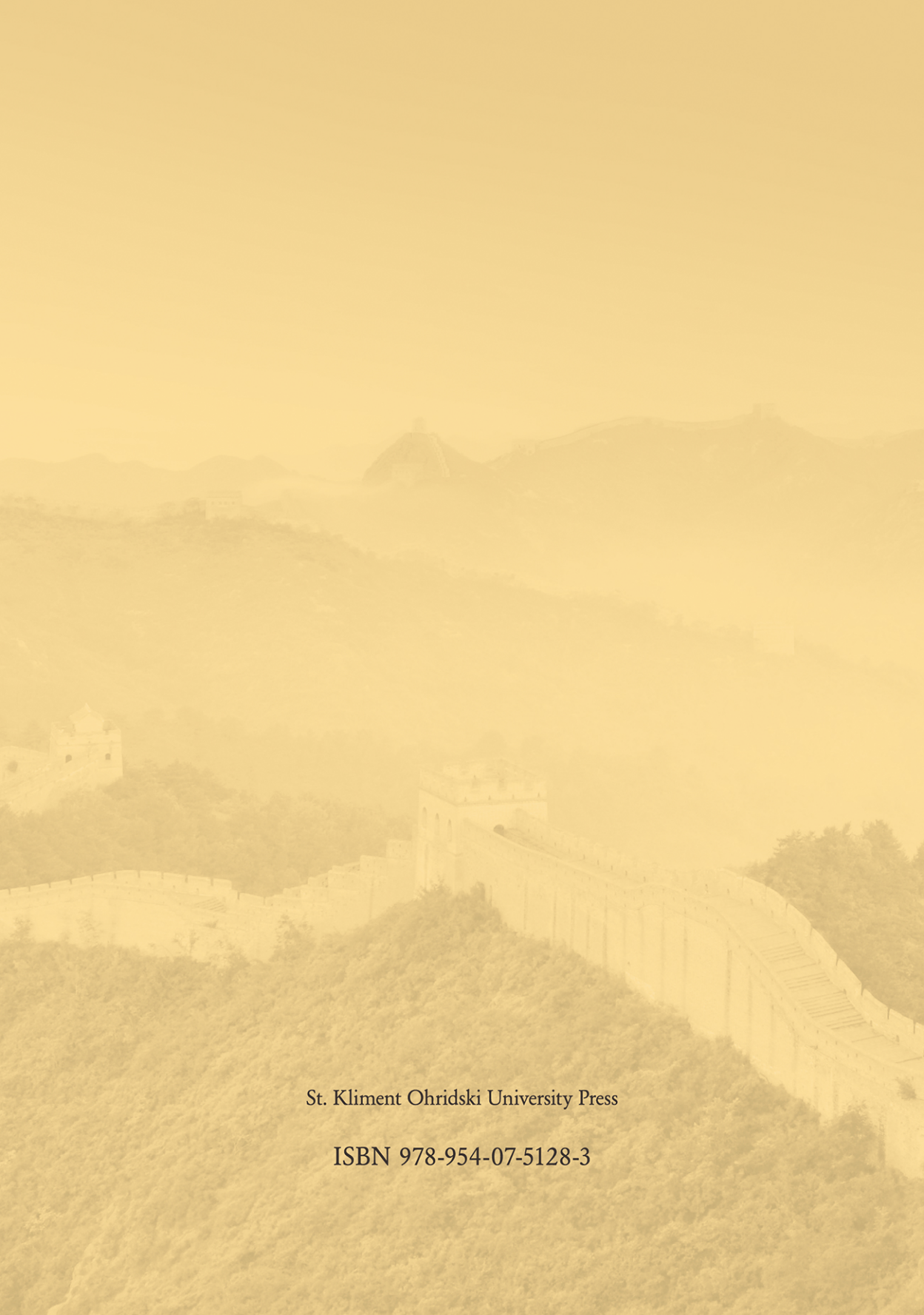
Tan Huay Peng. *Fun with Chinese Characters, Vol. 1.* Federal Publication: Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, 1980: 176.

Slovar' Inostrannih Slo Словарь иностранных слов [The Dictionary of Foreign Words]. Moscow Москва: Russian language Русский язык, 1984: 608.

Zuo zhuan/ (Chunqiu) Zuo Qiumingzhu 左传 / (春秋) 左丘明著 [Zuo's Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn [Annals]” by Zuo Qiuming]. Xi'an 西安: Shaanxi lvyou chubanshe 陕西旅游出版社, 2002: 220.

AUTHOR DIRECTORY

Name:	Country:	Title:	Position:	Institution name:	Major discipline(s):	Fields of interest:	E-mail address:
Agniya Chistyakova	Russia	Candidate of Sciences (History)	Associate Professor	Novosibirsk State Pedagogical	Chinese History, Chinese Language	Chinese language, culture, history and archaeology of China; translation of signs on ancient Chinese lacquerware and mirrors; investigation and solving of hieroglyphic puzzles	Chifeng2008@ya.ru
Antonia Cankova	Bulgaria	PhD	Associate Professor	Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"	Chinese Studies	Chinese Linguistics, Classical Chinese, Chinese Historical Grammar	a.sankova@uni-sofia.bg
Ashton Ng	Singapore	PhD Candidate		University of Cambridge, UK	Chinese Studies	Chinese history, Chinese literature	ajkn2@cam.ac.uk
Chiara Bertulesi	Italy	PhD	Adjunct Professor	Università degli Studi di Milano, Università degli Studi di Bergamo	Chinese Lexicography, Chinese Linguistics	Lexicography, Language and ideology, Lexicology	chiara.bertulesi@uni.mi.it
Galina Struchalina	Russia		Senior Lecturer	Belgorod State University	Chinese Language	Cognitive linguistics, Translation, Linguistic analysis, Metaphor, Pedagogy	struchalina@bsu.edu.ru
Gulnara Birimkulova	Kazakhstan	PhD Student		LN Gumilyov Eurasian National University	Regional Studies		
Jia Xintong	China	PhD Candidate		City, University of London, UK	Sociology	Gender and media, (Post)feminism in China	Xintong.Jia@city.ac.uk
Jin Xuan	China	Dr.	Lecturer	Shandong University of Arts	Environmental Design	Architectural heritage conservation, Landscape design	xuanjin123@yahoo.com
Ksenia Naumova	Russia		Teaching Assistant	St-Petersburg State University	Chinese Linguistics and Culture, Cross-cultural Communication, American Studies	Linguistics, Culture studies, Communication, International relations	KseniaNaumova888@gmail.com
Marco Lovisetto	Italy	PhD Candidate		Soochow University, China	Translation Studies	Translated literature, Literary translation, News translation	mlovisetto@gmail.com
Maxim Garbart	Russia		Graduate Student	Tomsk State University			
Meng Sijia	China	PhD Candidate		Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University	Media and Communication, China Studies	Chinese cinema, Ethnicity, gender and identity, Transnationalism	Sijia.Meng@xjtlu.edu.cn
Pavel Petkov	Bulgaria	PhD	Senior Lecturer	University of Veliko Tarnovo	English Literature of the Enlightenment	Travel writing, China, Imagology, Literature	tefter@yahoo.com
Qiao Cong-ru	Netherlands	Dr.	Postdoc	Free University Amsterdam	Law and Governance Studies	China, Law, Legal control of the government	c.qiao@vu.nl
Tsvetelina Nedyalkova	Bulgaria		Assistant Professor	Sofia University	Chinese Studies	Old Chinese, Ancient history	cdnedjalko@uni-sofia.bg
Yaroslau Khvatsik	Belarus		Political Science Researcher	The Academy of Public Administration under the aegis of the President of the Republic of Belarus	Political Science	Modernization of China, The Belt and Road Initiative, Relations between China and the USA, the states of Europe, Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific	lpny@mail.ru



St. Kliment Ohridski University Press

ISBN 978-954-07-5128-3