European Journal of Sinology 7 (2016)
— M. Woesler, ed. —

# On the Relations between China and Bangladesh · The Lu Zhengxiang Collection · Rituals of death, ancestrality, and the formation of historical consciousness · Word Building and Formation of Chinese Neologisms

# European Journal of Sinology 7 (2016)

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# Editorial

This issue is truly international in several respects. First, the contributors come from India, USA, Europe and China, and also their topics show international connections.

Hans Ruin from Sweden uses Western philosophy to interprete the historical consciousness of Confucius. He applies thoughts from Hegel, Heidegger, Gadamer and comes to such fundamental questions as "What is a grave?".

Wang Gui shows how language is at work: He finds rules behind the building of neologisms in Chinese. He identifies generating mechanisms like metaphors, simplicity, novelty, humor, catharsis, subversion, sarcasm, and euphemism.

John Feng introduces the historical value of the Collection in Bruges, Belgium, of China's forgotten Foreign Minister Lu Zhengxiang, who was frustrated to have signed the Versailles Treaty, which was in favor of Japan instead of China. Few know about his life, including being married to a Belgium woman, converted to Christianity and ordained as a priest.

China in the Indian subcontinent and along the former silk road is a very sensitive topic, China is currently promoting the "One Belt One Road" initiative to build a transportation highway from China to Europe. A lot of countries along the road are underdeveloped and will benefit economically. China is investing a lot also in its soft power to make sure that the countries approached are favorable towards China. Academia of these countries receive massive support from China, including scholarships for students and young researchers.

The contribution by Tanweer Muhammed concentrates on the Turko-Afghan period of the 13th to 16th century. It had to be edited and 'forgotten' references added, to fit international scholarly standards. However, it also refers to current political relations and China's role in a favorable light. We found it important to accept a paper from Bangladesh for documentary purposes and apologize for

the non-standard transcription, and we leave it to the reader to make the final judgment.

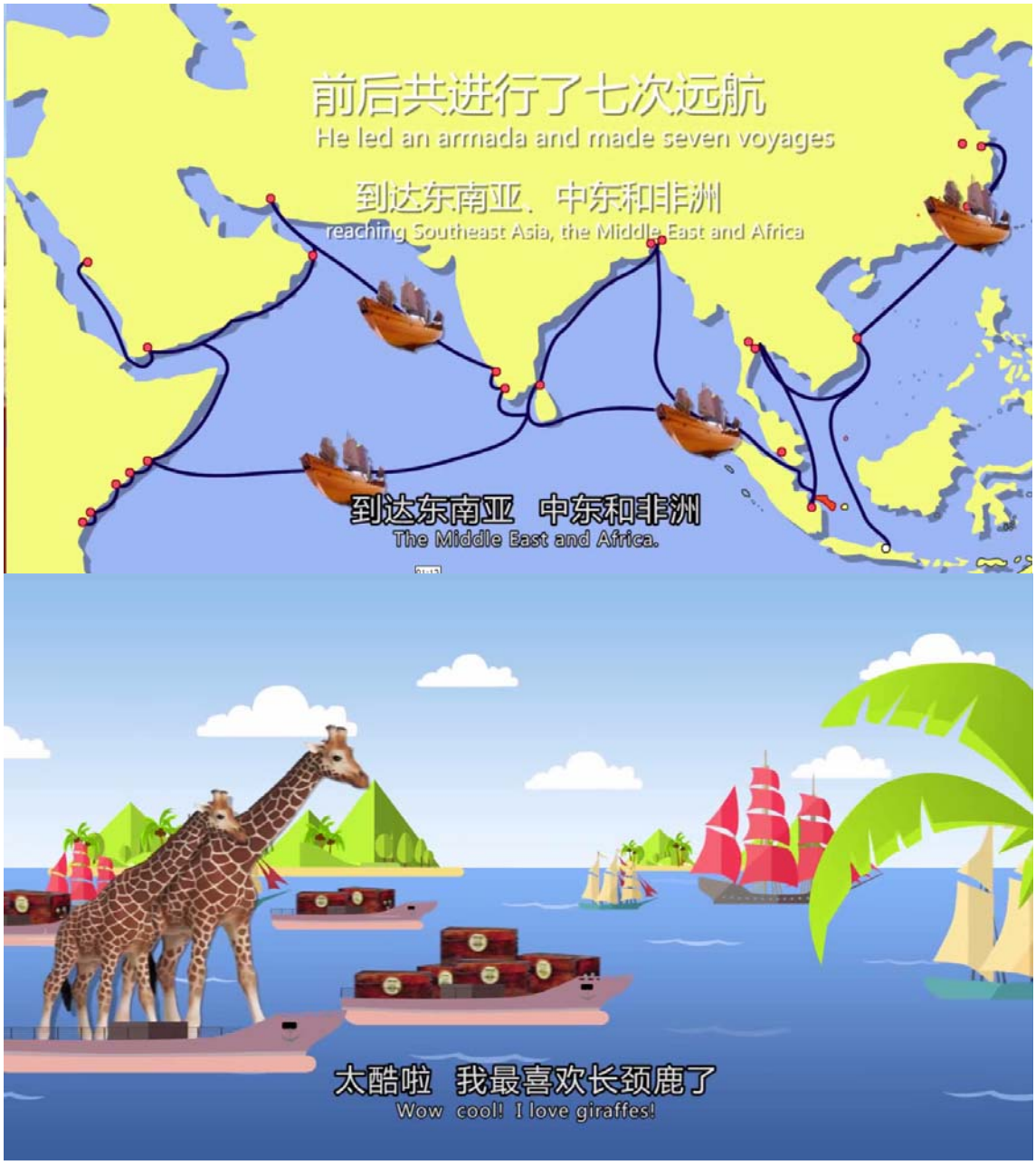
How can the "One Belt one Road" initiative be interpreted? An interesting parallel may be seen in China's policy towards Africa. Chinese engagement in Africa started from the myth of the creation of the TanZam Railway to transport copper from the mines to the coast in the 1950s, when China herself was an underdeveloped country and the Chinese railway workers slept in primitive tents next to the railway. This myth helped to found the "eye-level" aid (in China called "assistance") to African countries.

However, as the check book diplomacy among African countires to replace Taiwan by the PR China in the United Nations showed, China violated its own "No strings attached policy". The main argument to disregard the World Bank's decision and to finance a football stadium for the China-oriented presidential candidate Mkapa (which the World Bank had refused earlier) in Dar es Sallam (Tanzania) in 2005 was, that China did not have a colonial history with Africa. And Mkapa was elected.

In a propaganda video published just now[1] China claims the islands in front of the Japanese, Philipine and Vietnam shores to be Chinese because Zheng He and others discovered them, started trading etc.

At the end of the video it is shown that Zheng He also discovered Africa and brought back a giraffe from there, implying a claim to the African continent. And is Africa not somehow connected to Europe? Maybe in the end, the whole world is Chinese and just has to be reminded.

[1] New China TV: "South China Sea- Grandpa tells a story", YouTube, 29 June 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h2ZqsHT8YH4.




Figs. 1, 2: Propaganda video explicitely claiming islands and implying a claim on Africa.

China invests massively in Africa, especially distributing Chinese culture and sponsoring academic research e.g. with scholarships. The relation is worth to be observed in its future development.

Scholarly independence is a valuable good.

Martin Woesler

# On the Relations between China and Bangladesh in the Turko-Afghan Period (1203-1538)

*Tanweer Muhammed*

**Abstract**

The systematic study of local or regional history is comparatively recent in India and Bangladesh. It is now generally agreed that without proper study of local and regional history, no correct study of national history is possible. Local and regional histories, though undoubtedly a part of national histories, have their own political, economic, social, cultural and religious characteristics. China-Bangladesh relations are, in general, regarded as stable in scholarly literature, and the causes of this stability are often inadequately explained by overemphasizing the geopolitics of bilateral relations. Nonetheless, the geo-economics of China-Bangladesh relations are as significant as the geopolitics of the relations – for both the current state of affairs in bilateral relations and their future. This article focuses on China-Bangladesh relations from the 1st century AD to the Turko-Afghan Period (1203–1538 AD). Primarily from a geopolitical and geo-economic perspective, it explores the implications of political and economic relations for bilateral economic relations, in particular, between China and Bangladesh, and, for bilateral relations in general between the two states.

**Keywords**

China, Bangladesh, geopolitical relations, economic, trade, silk road, South-east Asia

## Introduction

China and Bangladesh are separated by the formidable geographical obstacle of the Himalayas. Today, China and Bangladesh share a border along the Himalayas, with Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar acting as buffer states. It is clear to Bangladesh that China is situated at the crossroads of several inter-nation trading routes. Since the beginning of history, China has known of the enormous properties and wealth of Bengal and Bengal, in turn, knew of China as the cradle of civilization. Both countries have had extensive and close historical cultural contact since the

1st century AD, especially with the transmission of Buddhism from Bangladesh to China. During the Turko-Afghan period, however, these relations became multi-dimensional. Many Chinese monks, scholars and traders, craftsmen, service holders and officers came to Bengal and many people from Bengal went to China for the same reasons.

## Early Chinese contact with Bengal

From the very beginning of Bengalese history, trade routes built a connection between Bangladesh and Chinese seaports. Sea-trade, no doubt, came from Indian ports. The ancient port cities of Bengal, viz. Tamralipti, Gange, Vanga,[1] and Saptagrama (i. e. Satgoan,)[2] were great centers of maritime trade and commerce in ancient days, attracting sailors and merchants from both the eastern and western seas. This contact continued throughout the Turko-Afghan period (1203-1538 AD). Chinese records of this contact are very important sources of Bengal history. In this section, some of the earliest of these records will be considered

Evidences are available to prove the pre-Mauryan or Mauryan control over Bengal. The First two Mauryans were, by no means, the overlords of the Indian subcontinent. Ayaryaborta, Deccan, (south India), Magadha,[3] Pattrikera[4] and Kirata were under Mauryan Rule. It was during the reign of Ashoka that the empire reached its farthest extent and comprised almost the whole subcontinent. The Mauryan image inscription found at Silua in Feni District (Bangladesh), which was written in Brahmi Lipi and the Prakrit language, has been assigned to the

1 Gange, Vanga: Ancient Harikela and Samatata. The author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* gives an account of the area as follows: "Ganges comes into view, and near it, the very last land towards the east Chryse (Suvarnadipa or Sandwip). There is a river near it called the Ganges. On its bank is a market town which has the same name as the river Ganges. Through this place are brought Malabat hrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangatic." Wilfred Harvey Schoff, ed. and trans., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, (New York: Longmans, 1912), 47.

2 Saptagrama: Rakhal Das Banerji, [Bandyopādhyāy, R. D.], "Saptagrāma or Sātgānw," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (N.S.)* 5 (1909), 245-262.

3 Magadha: Modern Bihar in India. From Gupta period to Nawabi period (1764 A D) it was ruled by ruler of Bengal.

4 Pattrikera: Present Comilla, Feni, Bramhonbaria, Lakhsam in Bangladesh. Pattrikera is still a 'pargana' in Tippera.

second century BC.[5]

The great Tibetan Historian, Lama Taranath, writes that, "In the Koki land (which included Chittagong) there existed since the time of King Ashoka, sections of the Sangha." Hiuen-Tsang (Yuan Chwang) states that a stupa of Asoka, stood in the capital of Samatata.[6]

Between the 5th and 7th centuries, many Chinese monks, such as Faxian 法顯 (337–422), Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664), I-tsing and Tan-Kang, travelled to the Buddhist monasteries of ancient Bengal (northern Bangladesh), seeking knowledge of the "Western Heaven" Bengal region. Fa-hien (Faxian) was one of the oldest, and first, Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to leave an account of his travels to Central Asia, India, Bengal and Sri Lanka. (The name of this monk may correctly be pronounced as Faxian but is also written as Fa-hsien and Fa-hien.) He was a native of Sanxi (Shansi) and left home at the tender age of three to join the Buddhist Samha. After his novitiate, Fa-hien wanted to go to India to search for the treatises of the *Vinaya Pitaka,* the monastic rules of Buddhism. He departed for India in 399 AD.[7]

Before his return to China, Fa-hien lived in Tamralipti for two years copying Buddhist sacred books and drawing pictures of Buddhist images. While he did not record any details, he did mention that there were twenty-four Buddhist monasteries and many monks at Tamralipti. Fa-hien returned to China in 414 AD after enduring many hardships at sea.

Starting from China in AD 629, Hiuen-Tsang (Xuanzang 玄奘 602–664) passed through Central Asia by the northern trade route via Kucha and reached Northern India, where he was the guest of Harsavardhana at the city of Kanauj. Hiuen-Tsang (Yuan Chwang) came to Bengal around 638 AD, shortly after the time of the great Indian emperor Shashanka (606–638), who ruled in Bengal, and of Bhaskaravarmana, who ruled in Asam. He visited five principalities of Bengal: viz., Kajangala (north-eastern part of Santaiparganas and Rajmahal), Pundravardhana, Samatata, Karnasuvarna and

5 C.L. Fábri, (ed.), Annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1930–31, 1931–32, 1932–33, and 1933–34. Part I, Containing sections I-III. (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1936).

6 Thomas Watters, (ed.), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629–645 A. D.*, 2 vols. (London: Royal Asiatic Society 1904 [vol. I], 1905 [vol. II]).

7 Geoff Wade, "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* 40 (2), June 2009, 221–265. (Printed in the United Kingdom, The National University of Singapore, 2009.)

Tamralipti. Hiuen-Tsang's account is an important source of Shashanka's history, particularly his hostility with Harsavardhana and his religious policy. Hiuen Tsang recorded several anti-Buddhist actions of Shashanka, who was a devotee of Shiva (and not Buddhist). There are some historians, who have questioned the veracity of Hiuen-Tsang because of his partisan viewpoint.[8]

Hiuen-Tsang's work, the *Xiyuji* (*Hsi-yuchi*), is the longest and most detailed account of the countries of Central and South Asia bestowed upon posterity by a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim. While Hiuen-Tsang's purpose was to obtain Buddhist books and to receive instruction on Buddhism, while in India he ended up doing much more. He preserved records of the political and social aspects of the lands he visited. His record of the places he visited in Bengal has been very helpful in recording the archaeological history of Bengal. His account has also shed welcome light, on the history of 7th century Bengal, especially the Gauda kingdom under Shashanka (even if, at times, Hiuen-Tsang is quite partisan).[9]

Hiuen-Tsang obtained and translated 657 Sanskrit Buddhist works. He received the best education on Buddhism he could find throughout India. Much of this activity is detailed in the *Xiyuji*. For example, he had this to say about Tamralipti:

> Going from this county of Samtatain a westerly direction about 900 *li,* we come to the kingdom of Tamralipti, which lies along a bay of the sea. There are some ten Sangharamas here, and a congregation of about 1000 priests. By the side of the city is a Stupa, about 200 feet high, which was built by *Asoka-raja;* by the side of it are traces where the four past Buddhas walked to and fro.[10]

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8 Lal Paul Pramode, M. A. ; "The Early History of Bengal," *From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest* Vol. 1 (Calcutta: The Indian Research Institute, 1939), 18-26.

9 Geng Yinzeng 耿引曾 (1994) has collected a majority of the Chinese textual records on pre-nineteenth century South Asia in her two-volume work entitled Zhongguozaijizhong Nanyashiliaohui-bian 中國載籍中南亞史料匯編. She (Geng 1990) has also described, in detail, the Chinese sources from where these records have been extracted. Together, these volumes are key resources for accessing Chinese-language material on South Asia. Missing in these works, however, is any critical analysis of the sources. Haraprasad Ray (2004) has provided critical annotations in his translation of some of these materials. However, the caveats about the Chinese sources highlighted here are also not fully addressed in his translated volumes.

10 Shaman Hui li, (The biography of Hiuen-Tsang) *Life of Hiuen- Tsang,* Rev. Samuel Beal, trans., (New Delhi: Gian Publication house, 110 002, Second

Soon after Hiuen-Tsang's death, another famous Chinese monk and traveler, I-tsing by name, started for India in 671 AD. Taking ship at Canton, he found himself deserted by his companions and so proceeded alone to what is known as the southern sea-port, by way of Arakan and the coast of Burma (Myanmar) to Chittagong. From Chittagong, he arrived at Tamralipti in Bengal, (in AD 673) where stood a famous temple called Varaha (*the wild boar*), in which most of the pilgrims stopped awhile to study Sanskrit or Pali. It was in this temple that I-tsing translated the "*friendly letter*" which Nagarjuna had composed and sent to his patron King Sadvaha. [11] Another Chinese traveler Tan-Kang visited Samatata and other ancient localities of Bengal.[12]

From the 1st century to 15th century AD, Chinese traders and merchants sailed their junks from the eastern to the western sea. During that time the ports of Bengal (viz. Chittagong, Sonargaon, Sandwip, Saptagrama) were main business spots for the Chinese. Additionally, Arab and Iranian seamen of the 8th century AD introduced Islam to the Far East. Trading and religious voyages were frequent from the Persian Gulf to the South China coast. In the early eighth century, the South Indian monk Vajrabodhi boarded one of thirty-five "Persian ships" (Posibo 波斯舶) that sailed from Sri Lanka toward China. By the time Vajrabodhi reached China, only one ship, the one on which the monk was traveling, had survived the treacherous journey.[13]

Atish Dipankar Srigana, a Buddhist master from Bikrampur, Bangladesh, travelled to Tibet in the 10th century and established the Sarma schools of Tibetan Buddhism. In 1012 AD, at the age of 32, he set out with a party of gem merchants on a sea voyage to visit Suvaranadvipa, the most important center of Buddhist studies in those days (now in Java and Sumatra of Indonesia). After fourteen months of perilous journeying across the tumultuous sea in a sail-driven wooden ship, Dipankar reached Suvarnadvipa and studied Buddhism for 12 years under Guru Serilingpa Dharmakirti, who was considered the greatest scholar of the age in Asia.

On the way back home from Suvarnadvipa,

edition,1990.)

11 Takakasu, 'I-tsing, ' p x l v i ; *Chavanes, 'Memore de ReligioneEminents*,' 106, 144–145.

12 Ibid.

13 Yuanzhao 圓照, Zhenyuanxindingshijiaomulu 貞元新定釋教目錄 [A catalogue of (the texts concerning) Buddhist teachings newly collated during the Zhenyuan (reign period)], T. 2157 (55): 876a.22–b.9.

he visited Tamralipi, He was about 44 years old when he returned to India. He spent about 15 years in India and visited famous Bihara. After that he became *Adhyaksa* (Principal) of the Vikramshila Vihara which was founded by the great Pala King Dharmapala of Bengal (775–810 AD). Thousands of students at a time studied in this University under 108 professors. The courses of studies included Upanishad, Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism, Veda, Vedanta, Philosophy, Logic, Medicine, Science, Astronomy, Social Sciences etc. Students from India, China, Tibet, Ujjaini, Turkestan and Nepal came to study in this University. At that time, Nalanda was in a declining stage. The Mahayana and Tantric learning which originated in the Nalanda University was subsequently developed and enriched in the Vikramshila Vihara and spread to greater parts of Asia with the missionary activities of Bengal scholars. When Dipankar was the Maha Acharya of Vikramshila Mahavihara, the King of Tibet sent emissaries to invite him to visit Tibet and resurrect Buddhism, for it was in a decaying condition in Tibet. This posed something of a dilemma for Dipankar. In addition to Vikramshila, a number of other large monasteries were run under his guidance. Lama Taranath gives the names of the gatekeeper scholars as Shanti-pa, Vagishvarakirti, Prajnakaramati, Jnanapada, Dipankarabhadra and Bhavabhadra (being the outstanding scholars in this field along with Jetari, Abhayakaragupta, Sakyasribhadra etc.). The head was called Jetari who, at the beginning of his career, was a Dvarapala, and later became its Adhyaksa. A number of *Upadhyaya*s – such as Mahavajrasana and Kamalakulisaetc – are also known to have looked after the scriptural and academic affairs of the Mahavihara. Translation of works was also done in the Mahavihara. Dipankara Srijnana is known to have translated into Tibetan a number of his own works, helped by a monk named Viryasingha. According to Taranatha one thousand monks are known to have permanently resided at the Mahavihara.

The 9th and 10th century was a golden age of Arab and Persian trade. The Arab and Persian traders voyaged though the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean. They also sailed vessels on all the oceans of the East – from the Mediterranean to the Pacific – exporting and importing goods to and from various countries. The South-east Asian seaports were the naval point of those voyages. Arab geographers of the 8th to 10th century AD have written very important accounts about sea-ports and trade marts on the coasts of the Indian Ocean and to South-east seaports.

Many travelers and merchants visited these areas during this period. Among the geographers, Sulaiman is the earliest; he wrote his *Silsilat-ut-Twarikh* about the year 851 AD. In his famous account *Kitab al Masalik wal-Mamalik,* Ibn-Kurdadbih (died 912 AD) was the first among the geographers to have discussed the trade-route from the Arabian coast to the Chinese coast. Al-Idrisi (born near the end of the 11th century) and Al-Masudi (died 956 AD)[14] described the same route, chiefly following the accounts of Ibn Khurdadbih. Arab geographers also recorded the names of trade-marts and sea ports on the sea coast from Arabia to Bengal and China. These centers were listed by Ibn Khurdadbih.[15]

Malay rulers encouraged Muslim traders to settle in their ports and bring the advantages of a strong trading economy with them. Once established, the Muslim neighborhoods needed judges, scribes (people who could write), teachers, religious leaders, and businessmen and so the trading neighborhoods became larger and more influential. The Malay rulers recognized the advantages of becoming Muslim, and many of them converted. As Muslim rulers, they could enter into the larger networks of trade and participate in the Dar al-Islam. Outside the coastal trading centers, Islam developed later. This process was just beginning as Ibn Battuta came to a Malay prince, ruler of Samudra on the coast of Sumatra, who had converted to Islam in the late 13th century. Some of his non-Muslim subjects may well have been pirates that pillaged merchant ships in the Strait of Malacca.

## Chinese contact with Bengal during the Turko-Afghan period (1203–1538 AD)

After the 11th century, the *Sena dynasty* ruled Bengal for little over a century (1097–1225 AD). The emergence of this dynasty (who supplanted the Palas in Bengal towards the close of the 11th century AD), is a very important chapter in the history of ancient India and Bengal. The Sena dynasty brought a revival of Hinduism and cultivated Sanskrit literature in India. The rule of the Senas in Bengal is usually connected with the emergence of orthodox Hinduism in a Hindu-Buddhist society (which had long enjoyed the peaceful coexistence of the two religions resulting in an atmosphere of amalgam of the two). The Senas were very vindictive toward Buddhists for their atheist ideology. An onslaught on the Buddhists in Bengal is

[14] Ali, Mohammad Mohar; History Of The Muslims of Bengal. 1985, Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa`ud Islamic University. Vol-1 A, Page-14

[15] Elliot and Dowson: Op. cit, vol. 1, page-16, 25

believed to have started in this period, which resulted in a large scale Buddhist migration to the neighboring countries. The Senas also hated sea voyages and naval activities so they blocked all sea routes. They even blocked two important trade routes, the *Teliageri* and *Shikligari,* which were mother roads for foreigners.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, Chinese merchants, who were previously absent in Indian Ocean trade, began establishing their own diasporic communities and merchant guilds in Southeast Asian ports. Similar to other foreign traders, the Chinese also eventually took on the role of tax collectors in Java and became involved in Indian Ocean commerce. In the 13th century, Chinese ships began to call directly on Indian ports. It may be noted that Chau-Kua-Kua in his *Chu Fan Chi* (Records of Foreign Peoples [and their Trade]), written in 1225, refers only to ships from South-east Asia and from 'Tashi' (Arab-Iranian) countries calling at Malabar ports, and only those of 'Tashi' at Gujrat ports.[16]

The rulers of all China (at this time) were the powerful descendants of Genghis Khan and the Mongol Dynasty (Yuan Dynasty 1260 - 1368). Muslims were welcomed into China at that time and foreigners were recruited by the emperor. Muslims and even a few Europeans, like Marco Polo, held jobs in China such as tax-collectors, architects, and finance officers. Marco Polo also visited the coastal area of Bengal. He speaks of the extensive cultivation of cotton in Bengal.[17]Yule remarks that, "Marco conceives of Bangala, not in India." [18] Because the Mongol Dynasty had "an open door" policy which encouraged trade, Muslim merchants were welcomed into southern Chinese cities, especially Ch'uan-zhou (Quanzhou) and Canton (Guangzhou) on the southern coast. They generally lived in their own neighborhoods where they built mosques, hospitals, bazaars, and conducted trade by ship reaching all the way back to the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean ports. By the second half of the 13th century, Islam had obviously begun to gain political power, in the sense that rulers of Malaysian principalities

[16] Habib Irfan; Economic history of Medieval India, 1200–1500. PHISPC; Centre for Studies in Civilization. Vol-viii, part-i. Page-165.

[17] TrGibb, Marco Polo, Ser *Marco Polo,* II, p. 115 (Bengal), 393 (Gujarat). Habib Irfan; Economic history of Medieval India, 1200–1500. PHISPC; Centre for Studies in Civilization. Vol-viii, part-i. Page- 47.

[18] The account of Marco Polo translated by Yule. Yule takes Bangala to refer to the entire province of Bengal Vol. I I , p. 98.,note 99, 100; for the account of the Bangala country, see pp. 114 ff. 2 Ibid., p. 128.

became followers of the Faith. One of the first principalities to have entered Islam was Samudra-Pasai where its first Muslim ruler, Malik as-Salih, died in 1297. Tradition adds that he was a Persian; the probability is that he was a Bengali, as Professor Fatemi very convincingly proved.[19] Marco Polo, who was in Perlak in 1292, wrote that in the kingdom of Perlak the natives had been converted to Islam by a Muslim settlement or community in Samudra and they were influential enough to have sent two of their people to China as envoys on an important mission.[20]

The Chinese were not only involved in missionary or mercantile activity across the Indian Ocean, they also participated in maritime diplomacy; launched several naval raids beyond their southern shores; and engaged in trans-oceanic "civilizing" policies by bestowing titles on foreign rulers, exacting tribute and meddling in the internal affairs of kingdoms in South and Southeast Asia. Transformation of China into a maritime power, and the fact that the Bengal coast had emerged as its new frontier, can be discerned from the activities of Chinese maritime voyagers to the Coromandel, Malabar, and Bengal regions between the 13th and the mid-15th centuries.[21]

Traders from China were able to make direct trips to the South Asian coast, a fact witnessed by Ibn Battuta in the 14th century. During Fakhr al-Din Mubarak's rule (1338–1346 AD) in eastern Bengal, Ibn Battuta visited that country. After having travelled extensively through North Africa, Arabia and the Islamic world, and after having served as Qadi at Delhi, the Moroccan traveler started on a tour of the far eastern lands, particularly China. From India, Ibn Battuta and some traveling companions sailed to Chittagong, now the chief port of Bangladesh, a Muslim country next to India. He tells us that Chittagong was a city filled with food, but smelled bad, "a hell crammed with good things." Everything there was cheap, including slaves. He bought "an extremely beautiful" slave girl and his friend bought a young boy slave for a couple of gold dinar. Back in Chittagong he caught a ride on a Chinese junk and went to Samudra on the island of Sumatra. This was really the geographical end of Dar al-Islam since no territory east of this

19 Fatemi, op. cit, p. 35.

20 Ibid., p. 10.

21 Tansen Sen, "Maritime Interactions between China and India: Coastal India and the Ascendancy of Chinese Maritime Power in the Indian Ocean," *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies,* Volume 2 (May 2011): 41–82 9©2011 Center for Central Eurasian Studies).

was ruled by a Muslim ruler. Here he stayed for about two weeks as a guest of the sultan in the wooden walled town. The sultan then provided him with supplies and sent Ibn Battuta on one of his own junks to China. He described the socio-economic condition of Bengal in his famous book *Rehala.*[22] Ibn Battuta makes specific reference to the economic prosperity of the land. The "country of Bangalah is extensive with an abundance of rice," he said. "Nowhere in the world have seen things cheaper than here, but it is unenlightened. People of Khorasan call it *Dozakh-pur-Ni'amat,* meaning that it is a hell full of bounties."[23] Ibn Battuta sailed for about 40 days. His voyage only stopped in two places. He eventually arrived at the busy sea port of Ch'uan-zhou (Quanzhou) on the coast of Fukien (Fujian) Province. He admired much that he saw. He observed that "silk is used for clothing even by poor monks and beggars" and that the porcelain was "the finest of all makes of pottery." But he seems to have suffered from culture shock – discomfort at being in a culture he didn't understand or appreciate.

> China was beautiful, but it did not please me. On the contrary, I was greatly troubled thinking about the way paganism dominated this country. Whenever I went out of my lodging, I saw many blameworthy things. That disturbed me so much that I stayed indoors most of the time and only went out when necessary. During my stay in China, whenever I saw any Muslims I always felt as though I were meeting my own family and close kinsmen.[24]

China was not a Muslim country and that offended Ibn Battuta. He said, "The Chinese themselves are infidels who worship idols and burn their dead like the Hindus …eat the flesh of swine and dogs, and sell it in their markets."[25]

Ibn Battuta had arrived during the last peaceful years before the collapse of Mongol (Yuan dynasty) rule. He described the peaceful environment for travelers in China. "China is the safest and most agreeable country in the world for the traveler" he said. "You can travel all alone across the land for nine months without fear, even if you are carrying

[22] Elliott &Dowson,III, 304; IbnBattuta, op. cit.,611–613.

[23] Ibid., p. 610.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

much wealth."[26]

[26] Ibid.

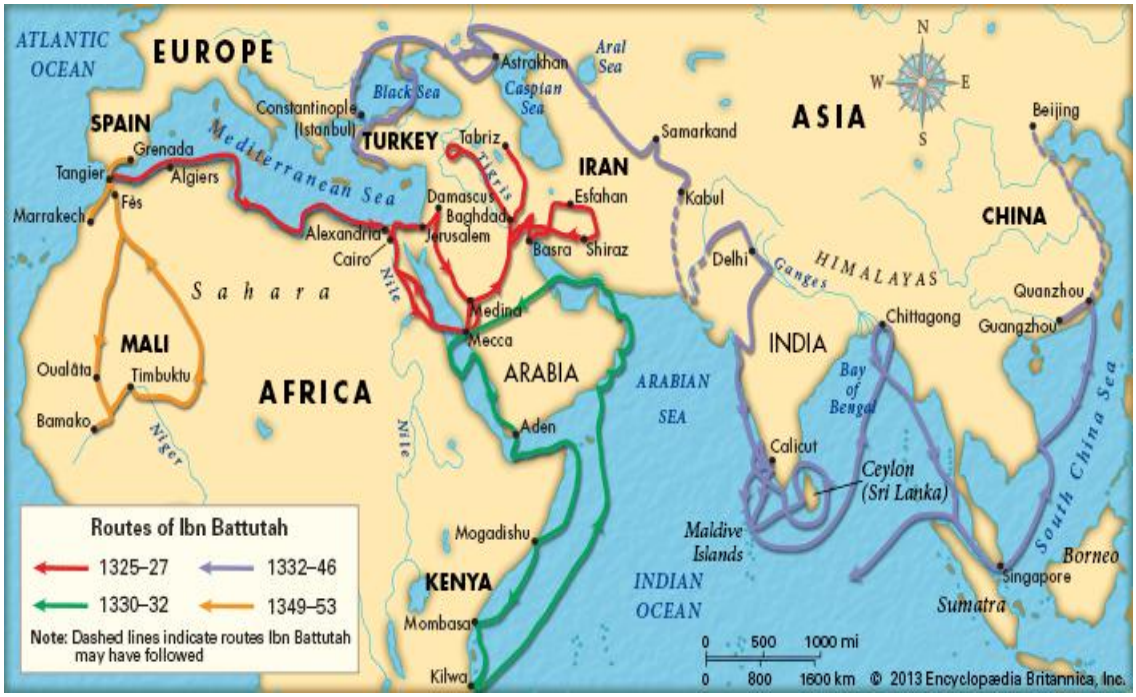



Fig. 1. Chinese, Arab and Persian Trade routes (and Ibn Battuta's route) in Southeast Asia and China during the Turko-Afghan period. (Source: **1**. UC Berkeley. Office of Resources for International and Area Studies. **2.** 2013 Encyclopedia Britannica )

Wang Dayuan visited Bengal with Chinese seafaring traders across the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal in 1330. He wrote an account called Daoyizhilüe 島夷誌略 (Brief records of the island barbarians). Wang's record indicates that by the early 14th century the Indian and Bengal coast had become a key destination for Chinese merchants. Wang Dayuan said,

> "The Five Ranges 五嶺 (i. e. Rajmahal Hills) have rocky summits and are covered by a dense forest. The people [of the kingdom] reside around these [hills]. [The people] engage in plowing and sowing throughout the year, so there are no wastelands. The rice fields and arable lands are spectacular. Three crops are harvested every year. Goods are all reasonably priced. During the ancient times, it was the capital of Sindu.
>
> The climate is always hot. The customs [of the people are to be] extremely pure and honest. Men and women cover their head with a linen cotton cloth and wear long skirts. The official tax rate is twenty percent. The kingdom mints silver coins

are called Tangjia 唐加 (i. e.,tangka), two of which weigh eight hundredths of a Tael (i. e., Chinese ounce), that is circulated and used [by the government]. They can be exchanged for more than 11,520 pieces of cowries shells. The lightness of the coins is convenient and very beneficial to the people.

[The kingdom] produces [fabrics such as] bibu 苎布 (bairami/bata), gaonibu 高你布 (kaincloth?), tuluojin 秃羅錦 (malmal), [and also] kingfishers' feathers. [The Chinese traders] use southern and northern [varieties of] silks, penta chrome tafetas and satins, cloves, nutmegs, blue and white China-ware, white tassels and such things [to trade with native merchants].[1]

Relations flourished during the Early Bengal Sultanate. Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah (1390–1410 AD) sent the first embassies to China in 1405. According to Chinese accounts, ambassadors were sent from Bengal in 1405, 1408, 1409 and 1412 during Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah's reign. The Ming Dynasty and the sultanate frequently exchanged diplomatic missions. Emperor Yongle reciprocated by sending several missions to Bengal between 1406 and 1413.[2] When the ambassador of Bengal reached the port city Cheng Chiang in China in 1410, Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah had already died. After hearing the news, the emperor of China sent royal court representatives to Bengal for the funeral ceremony.[3]

The Chinese influenced Bengal and Jaunpur geo-politics. In 1420, the king of Bengal, Raja Ganesh (Gonesh or Kans.), complained to the Ming ruler that forces of the King of Jaunpur,[4] Ibrahim Sharki (ruled 1402–1440), had carried out several military raids in Bengal territory. The Ming ruler responded by dispatching the eunuch Hou

1 Tatsuro Yamamoto, "International Relations between China and Countries along the Ganga in the Early Ming Period," *The Indian Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (1977): 13–19; P. C. Bagchi, "Political Relations between Bengal and China in the Pathan Period," *Visva- Bharati Annals* 1 (1945): 96–134; For more on the relations between the Ming court and Bengal, see Geo. Phillips, "Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala (Bengal)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895 (July): 523–25; Haraprasad Ray, *Trade and Diplomacy*.

2 Ali, Mohammad Mohar; *History Of The Muslims of Bengal*. Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa`ud Islamic University Vol-1 A (1985),141.

3 Karim, Abdul. *History of Bengal*. (Sultanic Period).

4 Jaunpur was then located on the west of the district of Varanasi in the eastern part of the North Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. In the medieval age Jaunpur was adjacent with Bengal.

Xian (侯顯) and others "with Imperial orders of instruction for them (Bengal and Jaunpur), so that they would both cultivate good relations with their neighbors and would each protect their own territory." The entourage led by Hou Xian arrived in Bengal in August or September of 1420 and was welcomed with a grand reception. It was Hou Xian's second visit to the region and this time he seems to have brought along Chinese soldiers, who were all presented silver coins by the ruler of Bengal. The entourage then proceeded to Jaunpur to convey the Yongle emperor's message to resolve the territorial dispute peacefully.[5]

Chinese explorer Admiral Zheng He (1371–1433 AD) – formal name Cheng Ho – was a Hui Muslim, mariner, explorer, diplomat, and fleet admiral during China's early Ming Dynasty. Zheng commanded expeditionary voyages to Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and East Africa from 1405 to 1433 AD and undertook at least four voyages to Bengal: the 1st time was on his 5th voyage (1417–1419 AD), the 2nd time on his 6th voyage (1421–1422 AD) and the 3rd and 4th time were on his 7th voyage (1430–1433 AD). In an excerpt from the journals of the time, he describes his journey to Sonargaon, Chittagong and Satgaon during the reign of Sultan Gias Uddin Azam Shah.

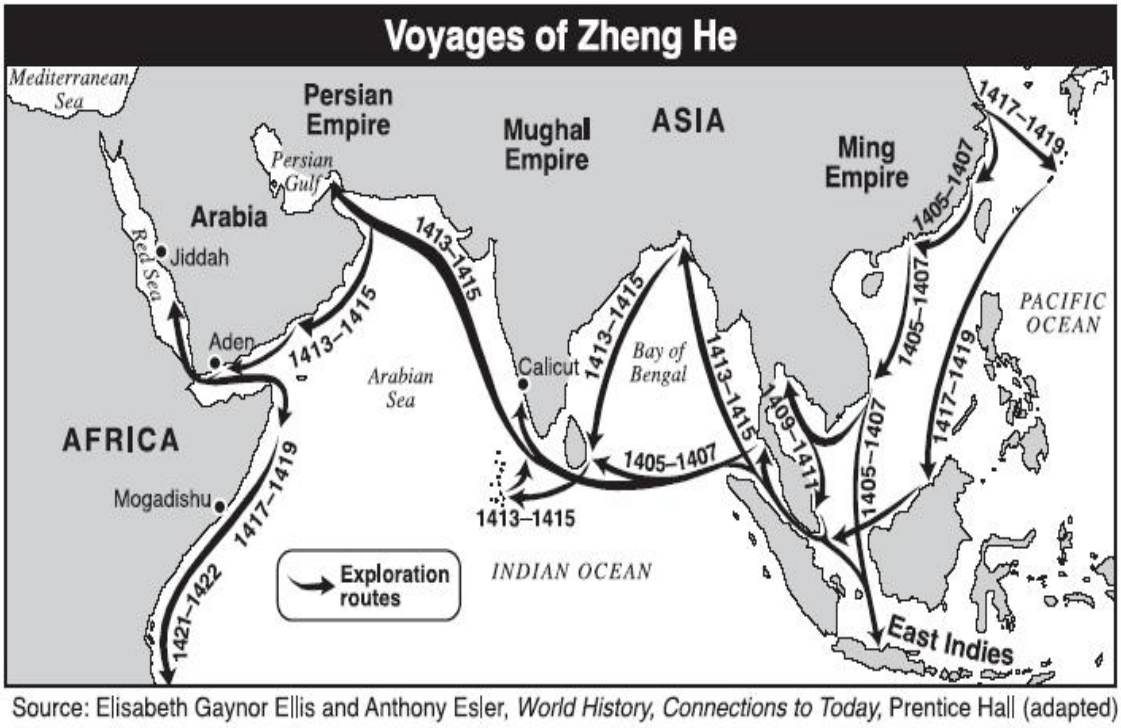
> We started from the Kingdom of Sumatra, sailed with the wind for twenty days and anchored in Chittagong. From there we took small boats for over 500 li (250 kilometers) to Sonargaon. … There was a guard of honor of thousands of people accompanying us along the way. …
> The Sultan's palace was tall and spacious with pillars in the color of brass and decorated with flower and animal carvings. There were long corridors on both sides with thousands of armed cavalry squads inside and extraordinarily strong and dignified soldiers equipped with swords, bows and arrows outside. On the left and right of vermilion steps leading up to the palace there were over a hundred parasols made of peacock feathers. Hundreds of elephant squads were lined up in front of the palace. The Sultan wore a crown studded with eight gems and sat on the throne with a sword on his knees. Two men with silver staffs came and guided the

[5] Tansen Sen, "Maritime Interactions between China and India: Coastal India and the Ascendancy of Chinese Maritime Power in the Indian Ocean," *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies*, Volume 2 (May 2011): 41–82 (©2011 Center for Central Eurasian Studies).

emperor's envoy forward…[6]

Bengal sent at least eight embassies to the Ming court before 1420 and the traders from the region were actively engaged in commerce across the Bay of Bengal.

6 J.V.G. Mills, Ma Huan: Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan, *The overall survey of the ocean's shores* (1433), translated from the Chinese text, edited by Feng Ch'eng-Chun, with introduction, notes and appendices, Cambridge, Hakluyt Society (1970), Extra Series, no. 42, pp. i-xix, 1–393




Source: Elisabeth Gaynor Ellis and Anthony Esler, *World History, Connections to Today*, Prentice Hall (adapted)

Fig. 3. Zheng He's voyages to greater Bengal.

| Order | Time (AD) | Regions along the way |
|---|---|---|
| 5th voyage | 1413–1415 | Ryukyu, Champa, Pahang, Java, Malacca, Samudera, Lambri, Chittagong,Bengal, Ceylon, Sharwayn, Cochin, Calicut, Hormuz, Maldives, Mogadishu, Barawa, Malindi, Aden |
| 6th voyage | 1421–1422 | Champa, Chittagong, Bengal ,Ceylon, Calicut, Cochin, Maldives, Hormuz, Djofar, Aden, Mogadishu, Brava |
| 7th voyage | 1430–1433 | Champa, Java, Palembang, Malacca, Semudera, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chittagong, Bengal, Ceylon, Calicut, Hormuz, Aden, *Ganbali* (possibly Coimbatore), Bengal, Laccadive and Maldive Islands, Djofar, *Lasa*, Aden, Mecca, Mogadishu, Brava |

Another great traveler was Ma Huan (馬歡 – died 1460 AD – Ma Huan is a shortened version of Muhammed Hussain), who was a Muslim voyager and translator who

accompanied Admiral Zheng He on three of his seven expeditions to the Western Oceans. Ma Huan was an interpreter and assistant of the Chinese ambassador. In the 1431 expedition, he visited Bengal, Chittagong, Sonargaon, Gaur and Calicut. From Calicut, he was sent by Eununch Hong Bao as an emissary to Mecca. According to J. V. G. Mills, however, "Ma Huan voyaged in a detached fleet under the Eunuch Hung Pao straight from China to Bengal, which he visited during the first half of 1432."[1] During his expeditions, Ma Huan took notes about the geography, politics, weather conditions, environment, economy, local customs and even the method of punishment for criminals of Bengal.

After returning home from his first expedition, Ma Huan began writing a book about his expedition, the first draft of which was ready around 1416. He expanded and modified his draft during later expeditions. The final version was ready around 1451. The title of his book was *YingyaiShenglan*(The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores). He described Bengal as follows:

> The kingdom of Pang-ko-la (Bengal) is extensive, the population dense, the wealth and property abundant and great. The kingdom Pang-ko-la (Bengala), travelling by sea from Su-men-ta-la (Sumatra), and some Islands (Nicobar Islands) are sighted. Going north-westward for twenty li (sic. days) one arrives at Che-ti-Kiang (Chitta-gong). Here one changes to a small boat and after going five hundred and odd li one comes to so-na-elu-kiang (Sonargaon), whence one reaches the large and small palaces of the nobility and temples –all are, in the city. They are Musalmans.
>
> The customs are pure and honest. The men and women all black colored; white ones are rare. All the men tie up (or cut off) their hair and wear a white cotton turban and on their bodies a long gown with a collar and held around them by an embroidered sash. On their feet they wore leather slippers.
>
> The king and his highest officers follow, in their caps and clothing, the Muslim style. They are very clean and neat. The language in universal use is P'ang-Kei-li (Bengali); there are also those who speak in Pa-eul-si (Persian). … They have two crops of rice a year. They have three or four kinds of wine-coconut, rice tary and kadjong. Spirits are sold in the open market place. The streets are wide. Not having tea, they offer their guests betel nuts in its place. The Streets are well-provided with shops of

[1] J.V. G. Mills, Ma Huan: Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan, pp. 35.

various kinds, drinking and eating houses, and bathing establishments. There are Mo-hei-mo-lah (Mul-mul, Moslin) made up in length of 20 feet or more and widths of four feet. On both sides it has a facing, four to five-tenth in thickness resembling Chinese Twolkein. … Mulberry trees and silk-worms are here. Silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold, painted wares, basins, steel guns, knives and scissors are all to be had here. They manufacture white paper from the bark of a tree which is smooth and glossy like deer skins. … The currency of the country is silver coins, but for small purchase they use sea-shells called Kaoli (cowri). Their Marriages and funerals are both according to the Muslim religion. The climate is constantly as hot as in summer. Their punishments include beating with heavy bamboo and banishment. Their officials have seals and communicate by dispatches. They have a standing army with pay and rations. The commander of the army is called *pa-sse-la-eul* (sipah-salar or chief of commanders). There is a class of musicians. These men go to the house of big officials at four in the morning. When they commence, their tune is always slow, generally increasing near the end when they stop. They go from house to house, where they receive present of food and money. Besides these there are also every other kind of players …"[2]

A few years later when Ghiasuddin's son, Sultan Saifuddin Hamza Shah, was on the throne of Bengal in Pandua, another Chinese Ambassador visited him in about 1411–1412. This ambassador gave the following account of Sonargaon and the splendor of Bengal's court:

… When the king heard that our precious boat had reached their country, he sent the district officials with clothes and presents and thousands of troops to welcome them. They landed at the harbour of Chati (Chittagong). Starting from there, they reached Sona-oul-kiang (Sonargaon) after sixteen stations. It is a walled city with broad temples, tanks and bazaars (markets). All goods are collected and distributed here. He sent elephants and horses to carry presents for the reception. After 20 stations they reached Pantua (Pandua). It is

[2] A) Taifoor, Syed Muhammed. Glimpses of Old Dhaka. The Pioneer Printing Press Ltd. Dhaka- 2), Bangladesh. 1956. p-xv-xvii. B) Dreyer, Edward L. (2007). *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405–1433*. New York: Pearson Longman. ISBN 9780321084439.

the capital of the king. Both the city and the outskirts are decorated. … The place of the king is made of bricks and lime. The building is high and broad. The roof of the building is flat and polished white. There are three inner gates and nine courtyards. The pillars are molded in brass with decorations of flowers, beasts and other animals. On the veranda, there are thousands of horsemen in amour holding swords, bows and arrows. … To the right and left of the platform there are hundreds of fans of peacock feathers. Again, in front of the courtyard there are hundreds of elephants. The king was on a high seat, decorated with eight precious things, sitting cross-legged. The sword was placed on his lap. Then he ordered two men holding silver sticks and turbans to show the way. When advancing, they saluted at every fifth step. They stopped on reaching the middle. Two men again came with golden sticks and received them as before. The king saluted, placing his hand on the forehead and received the Chinese emperor's mandate. This was read and handed to the king. The woolen carpets were spread over the court-yard where our Ambassador and the troops were entertained. It was very ceremonious. They offered roasted beef and mutton: but as there was a prohibition on drinking wine at the court, which changes our nature, they offered instead rose juice and honey for drink. When the feast was over, helmets, belts, vases and golden pots were presented to the Ambassador. The vice Ambassador was presented with helmets, belts, vases and silver pots. The officers of the lower rank were given golden belts a long gowns of Jen (?), Chu (?), and See (?) All soldiers were given silver coins. The country is rich and generous. The king with his own hands put his letter, written on a golden leaf in a golden casket and sent an Ambassador with products of the country as presents to the Emperor (China). Since then, Ambassadors came occasionally from the country."[3]

**Records of some renowned travelers which have visited Bengal**

Hundreds of Chinese monks made pilgrimages to India during the first millennium AD and up to the Turko-Afghan period. The detailed accounts of their journeys make some of them more famous than others:

[3] Ibid., xviii. All Chinese accounts were translated by P. C. Bagchi in the *Visva Bharati Annals, volume- 1*, 1945, pp. 96–134.

"These travel records are important historical resources for several reasons. First, they provide meticulous accounts of the nature of Buddhist doctrines, rituals, and monastic institutions in South, Central, and Southeast Asia. Second, they contain vital information about the social and political conditions in South Asia and kingdoms situated on the routes between China, India and Bengal. Third, they offer remarkable insights into cross-cultural perceptions and interactions. Additionally, these accounts throw light on the arduous nature of long-distance travel, commercial exchanges, and the relationship between Buddhist pilgrims and itinerant merchants."[4]

Some of these records are:

*Tao yicheleo*, compiled by *Wang Ta-yuan* – most probably visited Bengal in the winter of 1349–1350.

*Ying Yai sheng lan*, compiled by Ma Huan between 1425 and 1432. He visited Bengal as interpreter with the first two Chinese missions early in the fifteen century. His description is a general account of Bengal without any reference to its king or court,

*Shing-cha-Sheng-Lan* compiled by *Fei-sin* in 1436 AD. In this record, another Chinese traveller (speaking of Bengal) says,

"The men wear a white cotton turban and a long white cotton shirt. On their feet they wear low sheep-skin shoes with gold thread. The smarter ones think it a correct thing to have designs on them. The women wear a short shirt, wrap around them a piece of cotton, silk or brocade. They do not use cosmetics, for they have a naturally white complexion; in their ears they wear ear rings of precious stones set in gold. Around their necks they hung pendants and they do up their hair in knot behind. On their wrists and ankles are gold bracelets and on their fingers and toes rings."[5]

*Si Yang Ch'ao Kung tien-lu*, complied by Huang Sing-ts'eng (1520 AD) refers to the various embassies sent by the Bengal

4 Boulton,Nancy Elizabeth "Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1982).

5 Karim, Abdul; Social History of the Muslims in Bengal, (Down To A. D 1538), Baitush Sharaf Islamic Research Institute, Chittagong. 1985. 250.

ruler to China until 1438. He says,

> "All men cut off their hair and wrap their head with a cotton turban of white colour. They wear long gowns with a round collar with a coloured sash on the lower part of their body, and put leather slippers on their feet. The women dress their hair in knots on their heads. They wear a short shirt and wrap their body with a piece of coloured cloth, silk or brocade. They wear ear-ring of precious stones set in gold. Around their neck they have pendants, on their wrists and ankle gold bracelets and on their fingers and toes rings."[6]

*Shu yuchoutseulu,* compiled in 1574 by *Yen Ts'ong-kein.* It has been said that, "This is the most complete of all accounts," based "not only on the previous accounts but also on other sources not known to us at present."[7]

**The role of Bengal as a key trading partner of the Chinese**

Bengal was part of a trading network that linked the Southeast Asian islands of Java and Sumatra to the kingdoms of Jaunpur, Delhi, and Tibet. Thus, the coasts of the Bay of Bengal may have been vital to the Chinese because they formed part of a trading network that extended to the Middle East. Bengal provided the Chinese with an access to the South Asian hinterland.

Bangladesh and China have a rich heritage of trade interactions which developed on the south-west silk route, the ancient tea route and the maritime silk road. The Silk Route in Sikkim is an offshoot of an ancient trade route which came from Lhasa, crossing the Chumbi (Cumbi) Valley, passing through Nathula Pass and finally on to the port of Tamralipti (present West Bengal). From Tamralipti, this trade route took to the sea and reached Samatata, Harikela, Sri Lanka, Bali, Java Palembang (Sribhoja), Canton (Gaungzhou), Hangzhou and other parts of the Far East. We find mention of Tamralipti, Gange and Herikela (Chittagong) as a busy sea-route on Bay of Bengal in Fa Hein's accounts as early as AD 400. This portion of the Old Silk route through Bhutan, East Sikkim and West Bengal was quite less travelled but is expected

6 Ibid, 1985:250–251.

7 All Chinese accounts were translated by P. C. Bagchi with the help of his Chinese "friend and colleague in the Visvabharati, Mr. Hsiang-ling Wu," and published in the *Visva Bharati Annals, volume- 1.,*1945, 96–134.

to have been discovered by traders as early as the First Century AD. Most of the Mountain Passes in this region of the Eastern Himalayas are around 14,000 feet above sea-level and stay snow covered from November to April. That makes this route one of the most inhospitable regions on earth. The distance between Lhasa and Tamralipti, through this nearly obscure part of the Ancient Silk Route, was around 900 km, which is significantly shorter than other seaports from Lhasa and this route was (comparatively) a safer land route option for the traders' caravans. Most popularly termed the South West Silk Route, this is one of the most ancient parts of the route which connected the Yunnan Province of China to Tibet and finally to India and as far as North Bengal. This trade route was very familiar to traders and religious teachers and preachers, especially of Buddhism, and was used to visit that land since at least the time of the Palas. There was also traffic, as Minhaj-i-Siraj mentions, in horses which were brought through Tibet to Kamrup and thence to Bengal.[8] The first Muslim ruler of Bengal, Amir Ikhtiyar al-Din Muhaammad bin Bakhtitar Khilji (1203–1206), wanted to go back to his country by this silk route, and also, perhaps, to discover a short-cut route to Turkistan through Tibet. This route was controlled by the Mech, the Kooch and the Tharu (Thiharu). The converted Muslim Ali Mech was Bakhtiar's guide to the silk route.[9] According to Minhaj-i-Siraj, his starting point was Bardhawankuti, most probably the cantonment town near Deokot (Dinajpur or Bogra in the present Bangladesh).[10] In the end, however, Bakhtiar did not reach to his motherland; he was defeated by a Tibetan king and returned with great loss.[11] It proves, however, that the South West Silk Route was open in the 13th century and that large numbers of merchants came to Bengal and India at that time.

Sarat Chandra Das (1849–1917) was a Bangali scholar of Tibetan language and culture most noted for his two journeys to Tibet in 1879 and in 1881–1882. He described the ancient silk route from Bengal to China through Tibet in his famous book *Journey to Lhasa & Central Tibet*. Das focused on the

8 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,* tr, Elliot& Dawson, Vol. ll, p. 310.

9 Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. 1., p. 59, in Elliot & Dawson, Vol. ll, p. 310.

10 Following Blochmann, most scholars believe that the town of "Bardhawankuti" was some town in north Bengal, then also known as "Pundravardana," where the great Buddhist Bihar Mahasthangor Bihar was situated.

11 Ali,Mohammad Mohar; History Of The Muslims of Bengal. 1985, Imam Muhammad IbnSa`udIslamic University. Vol-1 A, Page-68.

religious, economic, and political facets of ancient and contemporary Tibet. Much of the modern history of the South West Silk Route through Sikkim would remain unfinished without the mention of *Sir Francis Edward Younghusband* – the famous British Explorer and Army officer. [12] According to Das' account, the British Government captured Tibet in 1903–1904. [13] Sir Francis Edward Younghusband was the captain of this successful mission.

Interestingly, silk was not the most treasured item traded in this part of the route – it was horses, cloth and tea, so the Chinese often referred this route as Dianzang Chama Gudao (ancient road of tea, cloths and horses between Yunnan, Tibet and India). Other important items traded on this route were sugar, salt, copper and cotton. Unlike its counterparts in Central Asia, the caravans on the South West Silk Route were horse caravans and not Bactrian camel caravans.

P. C. Bagchi pointed out that the Ming records of Bengal confirm Wang Dayuan's description of the kingdom and the trading goods. [14] Haraprasad Ray has suggested that Bengal may have been exporting as many as sixty items, including cotton and horses, to China during the Ming period. [15]

There were further offshoots of this South West Silk Route from Lhasa and Lanzhou which crossed the Eastern Himalayas and reached Sikkim at different high altitude passes (other than Nathula) like Jelep La and Dhonka La. All these routes converged at Eastern Sikkim and finally led to the plains of Bengal from where they bifurcated to various sea ports and trade centers of the coastal Bay of Bengal – like Tamralipta in India, and Wari-Bateshwar, [16] Bhitagarh, Mahasthangarh,

12 Francis, Sir Younghusband ,Indiaand Tibet, South Asia Books; Facsimile of 1910 edition (January 1, 1993), 5.

13 Das, Sarat Chandra. *Journey To Lhasa & Central Tibet.* 1st Edition: John Murray (England) 1902. Kessinger Publishing.

14 P. C. Bagchi, "Political Relations between Bengal and China in the Pathan Period," *Visva-Bharati Annals* 1 (1945): 96–134;

15 Ray, Trade and Diplomacy, 131.

16 The Wari-Bateshwar region in Narsingdi, Bangladesh is the site of an ancient fort city dating back to 450 BCE. The 2500 year old ruins, being unearthed near the old course of the Brahmaputra River, are a major archaeological discovery in South Asia. It challenges the earlier notions of early urban civilization in Bengal. The current scientific study is being carried out by a team from the Archaeology Department of Jahangirnagar University led by Professor Sufi Mostafizur Rahman. Prof. Rahman believes that Wari-Bateshwar is the rich, well planned, ancient emporium (a commercial city) "Sounagora" mentioned by Greek geographer, astronomer and mathematician Ptolemy in his book

Bikrampur, Chittagong and Sonargaon in present Bangladesh. A section of the South West Silk Route crossed Lhasa and entered India through Nathula from China whereas another section of the route crossed Burma (present Myanmar) and entered India through Assam (Kamrup) and further on to the sea ports of Bengal and present Bangladesh.

Bengal was not only linked to the Chinese, it was also part of a trading network that linked the Southeast Asian islands of Java and Sumatra to the kingdoms of Jaunpur, Delhi, and Tibet. Though Bengal was the center of trading and international business it has been ignored in South East Asian studies. As Tansen Sen pointed out, modern scholars have underscored the role of Bengal as a key trading partner of the Chinese.[17]

## Conclusion

During 16th to 18th century, the presence of European colonial power in the regions around the Far East and Indian Ocean made the China – Bangladesh relation temporarily stagnant. China and Bangladesh had relatively little modern political contact before 1971. However, after the Great Independence war in 1971, the relation was revived and as of now it is growing quite steadily for the mutual benefit of the people of China and Bangladesh. In recent years, this relation has become a focal point of discussion among world geo-political leaders. There are numerous research works on all kinds of relations between China and Bangladesh. Surprisingly, no single work focuses on the Turko-Afghan Period (1204–1538) when the China-Bangladesh relation was at its peak and could be called the golden period. This study aims to fill the gap and hopes to act as a catalyst to intensify all relations between China and Bangladesh.

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# Other than the Political and the Institutional: The Lu Zhengxiang Collection at St. Andrew's Abbey, Bruges, Belgium and Its Historical Significance and Value

*John H. Feng*[*]

**Abstract**

In December 2015, Academia Sinica in Taipei signed a cooperative agreement with St. Andrew's Abbey (Sint-Andriesabdij Zevenkerken) to digitize Lu Zhengxiang's (Lou Tseng-tsiang, 1871-1949) collection and set up an exclusive database. After briefly comparing Lu's own memoir and two biographies, this article concludes that there are still unexplored and under-explored areas about his life and career. This collection can help us fill these lacunae. It is indeed of unique significance and worth our greater attention. Apart from political and institutional histories, Christianity seems to be a potential topic. We can expect that in the near future, researchers will have an excellent e-source to further explore the history of cultural exchanges between China and Europe.

**Keywords**

Lu Zhengxiang (Lou Tseng-tsiang), Chinese Catholic, Christianity in China, Sino-Vatican relations

## Introduction

If we accept that historical memory continues to undergo social and political reconstruction, we may notice that historians and the reading public have developed increasing interest recently in the historical narratives of the Beiyang government during China's early Republican era. A few decades ago, it was seen as corrupt and impotent. Nowadays, we would rather believe those who once steered the government were patriotic. They shaped China's political modernity with their bare hands and their legacies constitute the very foundation of China's wealth and power today.

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The centenary of the 1911 Revolution reinforced our memory of those statesmen. As the centenaries of China's participation in World War I and the Paris Peace Conference are approaching, another key historical figure—Lu Zhengxiang (Lou Tseng-tsiang, 1871-1949), China's Foreign Minister in the 1910s—has become the latest to be remembered. The Lu Zhengxiang Collection, kept in St. Andrew's Abbey (Sint-Andriesabdij Zevenkerken), a Benedictine monastery near Bruges, Belgium, has scarcely caught our attention. In December 2015, Academia Sinica in Taipei signed a cooperative agreement with the abbey to digitise the collection.[1] As I was writing this article, this project was completed in March 2017.[2] It is certainly of great value for historians. If we wish to advance our understanding of Lu Zhengxiang and modern Chinese history, it is vital to evaluate the current historiography of him. Accordingly, this article seeks to briefly compare his memoir and two major biographies, and ponder to what extent the collection can contribute to the historiography of modern China. Ultimately, this article aims to point to researchers working on the Republican period in China the potential significance and value of the Lu Zhengxiang Collection for the history of diplomacy and cultural interaction and exchanges between China and Europe during the era.

## 1. Who was Lu Zhengxiang?

Lu Zhengxiang might not be as well-known as his friends such as Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), and Gu Weijun (also known as V. K. Wellington Koo, 1888-1985). He was born in Shanghai on 12 June 1871. His father worked for the London Missionary Society.[3] He studied French at *Guang fangyan guan* [Shanghai College of Foreign Languages] and then *Tongwen guan* [Imperial Peking College of Foreign Languages]. Soon after he graduated, he was appointed

1 "Academia Sinica, Belgian abbey sign document deal", *Taipei Times*, 20 December 2015. URL: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/12/20/2003635234>

2 "Chenfeng bainian waijiao xinmi, Lu Zhengxiang wenwu jiang gongkai" [The bitter diplomatic secrets concealed for one hundred year, Lu Zhengxiang's historiography is to open to the public], Central News Agency [Zhongyang tongxun she] 10 March 2017. URL:< http://www.cna.com.tw/news/aopl/201703100059-1.aspx>

3 Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Ways of Confucius and of Christ* (London: Burns Oates, 1948), 2.

as an interpreter and later the Chargé d'affaires at the Chinese legation in St. Petersburg, where he began his diplomatic career in 1892. While the Boxers unleashed their xenophobic anger across North China, in Russia, he married a Belgian lady, Berthe Bovy (1855-1926) in spite of his friends' opposition. In 1907, he served as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Second Hague Peace Conference. Using his diplomatic skills, Lu asserted China's role in several international conventions and upheld China's position as an independent, sovereign nation-state in the international community.[4]

After the establishment of the Beiyang government in Beijing, Lu returned to China and was in turn appointed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs — the first one in the Republican era. He recruited young and talented diplomats such as Gu Weijun and endeavoured to modernize China's diplomatic institutions. During his public service in the Beiyang government, the Twenty-one Demands and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 were the two major diplomatic crises confronting him. The former was started by Japan in order to increase its dominance over China, particularly in Manchuria and Shandong. Being the chief negotiator, Lu deployed as many viable tactics as he could to protect China's sovereignty and integrity. Yet in the end, he painfully signed a revised version of the Twenty-One Demands under the heavy pressure of Japan's ultimatum. The Allies' victory in World War I gave Lu a rather unrealistic expectation that China would be treated equally and could annihilate the Twenty-one Demands. Carrying these hopes, he led the Chinese delegation to attend the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Yet the Western powers and Japan's red-in-tooth-and-claw politics greatly frustrated Lu. Pressured by Japan's threat to veto the proposal for the League of Nations, US President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) ignored China's demand for equal treatment and allowed Japan to take over Germany's privileges in Shandong.[5] Lu had

4 Tang Qihua, "Qingmo minchu zhongguo dui haiya baohe hui zhi canyu, 1899-1917" [China's participation in The Hague Peace Conference during the late Qing and early Republican period, 1899-1917], *Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* [National Chengchi University journal of history], no. 23 (2005), 45-90.

5 Bruce Elleman, *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shandong Question* (Armonk, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 88.

no choice but to refuse signing the Versailles Treaty. This was a disheartening betrayal not only for China but also for Lu himself.

Lu said, "…… it was profitless for me to remain any longer at the helm of the Department for Foreign Affairs, or to be made responsible before my country and before history for that accumulation of blunders before which so many others were withdrawing." [6] The bitterness of China's experience in the conference made him disillusioned and eventually led to his retirement. In 1922, his wife suffered from illness and he decided to move to Switzerland for her health treatment. Yet she passed away in 1926. "After the death of my wife I felt myself isolated. *That was the only time I have sought for something — for a retreat*. At that time I began to pray, to seek, with the idea of entering a House of the good God. …… And the good God caused me to go forward ……"[7] One year later, he joined St. Andrew's Abbey, devoting himself to Christianity for the rest of his life. He was ordained as a priest in 1935. On 15 January 1949, Lu passed away due to failing health.

## 2. One Memoir and Two Biographies

Along with Lu Zhengxiang's memoir, quite a few works, including at least three biographies and dozens of articles, have explored his dramatic life. Unfortunately, most of them either focus on a specific issue or serve popular reading purpose. [8]

Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2001), 331-353.

6 Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Ways of Confucius and of Christ*, 43.

7 Ibid., 73.

8 For example, Huang Zunyan has discussed Lu Zhengxiang's role in the Paris Peace Conference. Nicholas Keegan has written a quite condensed biography of Lu Zhengxiang, whereas Hu Xinding and two of his colleagues have published another popular biography. See Huang Zunyan, "Ye lun Lu Zhengxiang zai bali hehui zhong de zuoyong: yu Shi Jianguo xiansheng shangque" [Re-examining Lu Zhengxiang's influence in the Paris Peace Conference: discussion with Mr. Shi Jianguo], *Lishi dang'an* [Historical archives], no. 4 (2003), 97-102. 97-102. Keegan, "From Chancery to Cloister: The Chinese Diplomat Who Became a Benedictine Monk," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, iss. 10 no.1 (1999), 172-185. DOI: 10.1080/09592299908406114. Hu Xinding et al, *Ruoguo waizhang Lu Zhengxiang: xiangei xinhai geming yibai zhounian* [A weak country's foreign minister Lu Zhengxiang: a dedication to the centenary of the Xinhai Revolution] (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2011).

Only Luo Guang and Shi Jianguo have offered their own comprehensive accounts of Lu.[9] Their biographies are therefore the most widely cited in the scholarship.

Interviewing Lu in person in 1939 and 1948, Luo Guang published his biography of Lu in Hong Kong in 1949, the year Lu passed away.[10] It was largely based on the author's first-hand observation and Lu's personal statements. This biography is of great use, though it seems obsolete nowadays. Lu's own memoir can be seen as a supplement to Luo's biography of him. Lu himself seemed to think that the memoir lacked substantial length to be called as such. "These pages do not constitute my Memoirs. They do no more than bringing together some memories and reflections."[11] In fact, it tells Lu's life from the first person's point-of-view. It can be considered as his memoir, albeit in brevity. The memoir consists of four speeches Lu gave when Nazi troops occupied Bruges in World War II. The manuscript was written in 1943 and was published in French in 1945.[12] It was translated into English in 1948. Until very recently, then, a Chinese translation has been available.[13]

Many parts of Luo Guang's biography of Lu are coherent with the memoir. For example, in the second half of 1915, Yuan Shikai intended to re-establish imperial institutions and proclaim himself emperor. After learning about Yuan's intent, Lu urged Yuan not to do so and proposed to extend the presidency for life. Yuan did not accept this compromise and moved on with his scheme. In the end, Yuan Shikai's reign as emperor was short-lived. The

9 Luo Guang, *Lu Zhengxiang zhuan* [Biography of Lu Zhengxiang] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967). Shi Jianguo, *Waijiao zongzhang Lu Zhengxiang* [Foreign Minister Lu Zhengxiang] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015).

10 Luo Guang also published his diaries of the interviews. See Luo Guang, "Fangwen Lu Zhengxiang shenfu riji" [Diaries of interview with Father Lu Zhengxiang], *Zhuanji wenxue* [Biographical literature], vol. 19 no. 2 (1971), 46-51; vol. 19 no. 4 (1971), 80-84; vol. 19 no. 5 (1971), 79-84; vol. 19 no. 5 (1971), 79-84.

11 Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Ways of Confucius and of Christ*, vii.

12 Ibid., vii-ix. For more details on the memoir, see Luo Guang, *Lu Zhengxiang zhuan*, 223-231.

13 Lu Zhengxiang, Wang Mei trans., *Huiyi yu suixiang: cong minguo waijiao zongzhang dao bilishi xiudaoyuan xiushi* [Memories and reflections: From the Republican Foreign Minister to a monk at a Belgian abbey] (Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 2016).

biography and the memoir both mention this anecdote.[14] The former was written on the basis of Luo's two interviews with Lu. The latter was published before the biography but between the two interviews. We can hardly deny the memoir did not affect the biography. To a certain extent, the memoir is a condensed oral history whereas the biography is its expanded version with Luo's account. While the former is less widely circulated, the latter has become an alternative but reliable source to examine Lu's life.

Nevertheless, Luo Guang was a Catholic bishop and had a strong interest in Lu Zhengxiang's devotion. This biography places an overt emphasis on Lu Zhengxiang's spiritual life. Roughly half of its length is dedicated to his faith in God, his path toward Benedictine priesthood, and his idea of Christianity. If we wish to appreciate Lu as a devout believer, Luo has left us with the most detailed account of this matter. While narrating Lu's political career, Luo tends not to contextualise what Lu thought and did. Instead, he cites anecdotes to demonstrate that Lu was a good man and a sincere patriot. For example, immediately after receiving the Twenty-One Demands, Yuan Shikai summoned a confidential meeting to seek advice. According to Luo's biography, during the meeting, Lu felt that the Beiyang government had to negotiate with Japan no matter how difficult it was. On the contrary, Deputy Foreign Minister Cao Rulin (1877-1966), usually seen a pro-Japanese politician, opined that China would need to accept the Demands unconditionally.[15] It is an implicit accusation of Cao's disloyalty to China. In his own memoir, Cao particularly pointed out that Luo's accusation was nonsense; he never said China should accept the Twenty-One Demands without negotiation.[16] So far, no further document has proved this anecdote. In fact, in order to get the negotiation of the Twenty-one Demands going, Yuan Shikai re-appointed Lu as Foreign Minister and reshuffled the Ministry. However, Cao Rulin did not leave the Ministry as he was not re-assigned to a new post. Along with Lu, Cao was one of the delegates representing China. If he had ever said China should accept the Twenty-

14 Luo Guang, *Lu Zhengxiang zhuan*, 92. Lou Tseng-Tsiang, *Ways of Confucius and of Christ*, 38.

15 Luo Guang, *Lu Zhengxiang zhuan*, 98.

16 Cao Rulin, *Yisheng zhi huiyi* [Reminiscence of my life] (Hong Kong: Chunqiu zazhishe, 1966), 116

one Demands unconditionally, why should he have been included in the Chinese delegation to put China's negotiation position at risk? Cao's role was in reality far more complicated than what is implied in Luo Guang's biography. Unfortunately, Luo did not explore this issue further. The biography, fairly speaking, is a good source material concerning Lu's spirituality, but regrettably lacks real historical depth.

The inadequacy of Luo Guang's biography is Shi Jianguo's strength. Shi's biography of Lu Zhengxiang was initially published at the turn of the millennium and the latest revision was published at the beginning of 2015. We may say that Shi's biography reflects Chinese historians' awareness to move beyond ideological historiography, reconsider the Beiyang government's performance, and rediscover the legacies of key historical personalities during the early Republican era for contemporary China. In other words, Shi's biography is primarily devoted to examining Lu's political career. Lu is portrayed as an honourable public servant rather than a selfish, short-sighted politician. Agreeing with Huang Yuanyong (1884-1915)—a journalist in the early Republican era, Shi believes that Lu was too gentleman-like to be involved in conflicts with others. Such personality was his critical weakness in politics. As the tension between Yuan Shikai and the Nationalist Party (Guomindang or Kuomintang) was exacerbated, Lu was appointed as the Premier in the autumn of 1912. Being one of President Yuan's appointees, he was completely obedient to Yuan. He was also accountable to the congress largely controlled by the Nationalist Party. Lu's personality made him unable to deal with the congressmen's hostility. After only a few months, he resigned from the position in humiliation. Shi remarks that Lu was a great gentleman but never an able statesman.[17]

Discussing the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Shi Jianguo seems to agree that Lu Zhengxiang's political weakness caused greater difficulty for himself. Heading the Chinese delegation to the Paris Conference, Lu harboured naïve hopes that Japan could return Shandong to China. The complex and treacherous internal politics within the Chinese delegation was unfortunately well beyond Lu's control. The composition of

17 Shi Jianguo, *Waijiao zongzhang Lu Zhengxiang*, 99-111.

the delegation mirrored the domestic politics within the Beiyang government that Lu found so exhausting to deal with. The Beiyang government was at that that in the hands of Duan Qirui (1865-1936), a warlord financed by Japan; the government was ambivalent in endorsing Lu's attempt to contest Japan over the Shandong question. Meanwhile, the Nationalist Party had established a rival central government in Canton in 1917, though it was not officially recognised by the foreign powers. One of the delegates, Wang Zhengting (1882-1961), represented the Canton government's interests; he ambitiously challenged Lu's leadership. The factional divisions not only gave rise to internal conflicts in the delegation but also led to severe difficulties for China in bargaining with other countries, particularly an aggressive Japan. Although the Beiyang government insisted that he should stay in office, Lu came to feel that such perplexing situation was simply too overwhelming for him to overcome and requested several times to resign during the Paris Conference.

Shi Jianguo is critical of Lu Zhengxiang's reluctance to respond to Wang Zhengting's challenge but feels sympathetic to the harsh situation that Lu was confronted with. Furthermore, he is strongly in favour of Lu's dogged determination that Japan had to return Shandong to China.[18] As Japan was unwilling to do so and demanded to take over Germany's privileges there, the Chinese delegation refused to sign the Versailles Treaty in the end. Shi concludes that it was Lu's firm stand that led to this outcome; consequently, Shandong was not ceded to Japan.[19] On the contrary, Stephen Craft argues that the refusal to sign the treaty solely resulted from Gu Weijun's courageous deeds since he was "possessed with the knowledge that Lu did not intend to demand the return of Qingdao".[20] Shi Jianguo relies on Chinese-language memoirs and documents, whereas Craft is dependent on the English-language records of the American delegation. As a result, they present different images of Lu. Did he ever think of giving up Shandong? It is a rather puzzling question. We might need to re-examine both historians' sources and compare with other materials so that we

18 Ibid., 223-225.

19 Ibid., 218, 223.

20 Qingdao is Shandong's capital; see Stephen Craft, *V. K. Wellington Koo and the Emergence of Modern China* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 51.

can determine whose interpretation is closer to the fact.

In general, Shi Jianguo is positive about Lu Zhengxiang's public service. Lu had embarrassing moments during his premiership and his gentleman-like personality made him submissive to Yuan Shikai. Nevertheless, Lu tried hard to protect China's sovereignty internationally. His dedication to China's diplomacy was remarkable. From the first edition to the latest revision, Shi has not yet changed this fundamental viewpoint of Lu. As to what has been added in the revised biography, the most important is a new section on Lu's negotiation with Russia in the autumn of 1911 shortly before the demise of the Qing Empire. This talk was terminated due to the political transition in China. It was the prelude to the negotiation over Outer Mongolia in the beginning of the Republican era.[21] Apart from this section, there are also a few more rare photos as well as some rather emotional comments on Lu by the author. We can feel the author's admiration of Lu; Reading this biography feels like getting ourselves involved in Shi's conversations with Lu. In brief, the memoir is a condensed oral history. Whereas Luo Guang offers a detailed story on Lu's spirituality, Shi Jianguo presents a contextualized narrative of Lu's public career. If we wish to know what Lu achieved throughout his life and career, these works are excellent secondary sources.

## 3. The Lu Zhengxiang Collection (1): Objects

Lu Zhengxiang's memoir and his two biographers together give us an overall view of his dramatic life. Yet the Lu Zhengxiang Collection at St. Andrew's Abbey, this article argues, can lead us to different perspectives of this highly important personality. Lu was a diplomat, a Catholic, and an overseas Chinese. The collection reflects his multiple identities and can potentially shed light on China's cultural exchanges with Europe and its relations with the Vatican. Lu left thousands of objects and papers in the abbey after his death. The collection comprises two parts. Firstly, a special room is set up to exhibit his belongings, including a desk, shelves, calligraphy, books, photos, medals, stamps, and so on. Secondly, his papers—correspondence,

[21] Shi Jianguo, *Waijiao zongzhang Lu Zhengxiang*, 75-78.

diaries, etc.—amount to 52 boxes in total, all kept in the archives of the abbey. So far, Anne Vansteelandt has briefly introduced Lu Zhengxiang's papers. What she has explored are mainly the documents concerning Christianity. She has barely mentioned the Chinese-language documents.[22] Historians have paid little attention to this collection. In 2011, a portrait of Lu was displayed in an exhibition in Brussels that commemorated the centenary of the 1911 Revolution in China. Within the temporal contexts of the centenary of the outbreak of World War I in 2014 and the forthcoming centenary of the Paris Peace Conference in 2019, Lu and his accomplishment are being remembered. It is necessary for us to rethink the significance of the collection.

In October 2014, supported by the Vice-President of Academia Sinica, Prof. Wang Fan-sen, the Academia Sinica Digital Center sent a team led by Prof. Chung Shu-ming to the abbey to inspect the current condition of the Lu Zhengxiang Collection in order to work out a feasible preservation plan.[23] The investigation revealed that the collection has not been in a well-organised state; dozens of items are damaged. There is indeed an urgent need to reorganise, categorise, and repair these precious materials for preservation and future academic research.

In the exhibition room, three items have been given the status of important cultural heritage by the Flemish government. They are (1) a Chinese-language report of the Paris Peace Conference concerning the League of Nations, (2) an album of the Paris Peace Conference, and (3) Enrico Arcioni's (1875-1954) oil portrait of Lu Zhengxiang. They are now placed under governmental regulation and protection. The remaining items are not recognised by the government, for they have yet not been integrated into the local historical memory. Moreover, it is regrettable that there seems to be missing items. The monks said Lu enjoyed collecting pens and he never gave them away before he died. There were

[22] Anne Vansteelandt, "Lu Zhengxiang (Lou Tseng Tsiang), a Benedictine Monk of the Abbey of Sint-Andries," in *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* ed. Jeroom Heyndrickx (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1994), 223-230.

[23] Recommended by Prof. Wang Fan-sen, I participated in the endeavour as one of the team members.

dozens in the exhibition room. Unfortunately, there is only one left now. Whether this is due to theft or misplacement, the abbey most certainly needs to implement a stricter management policy.

The three most significant categories of materials on display in the exhibition room are books, Chinese calligraphy, and photos. According to Lu's own diary, he often ordered books from British and French dealers. He bought not only Chinese-language titles, but also foreign-language titles as well. In his late years, Lu donated most of his law-related books to the Library of the Catholic University of Louvain.[24] The library however discarded some of the books. Most fortunately, a few years ago, Prof. Philip Vanhaelemeersch of Howest University Confucius Institute retrieved them from a recycling bin by the aisle of the library and returned them to the abbey. The books that are now kept in the exhibition room are mostly in Chinese. Their subjects cover Chinese classics, botany, and other areas. Although it is not the complete collection of Lu Zhengxiang's books, the exhibits leave no doubt that he had wide-ranging reading interests. Several pieces of calligraphy are dampened because there is no adequate equipment to adjust and control temperature and humidity. Since 2011, with Prof. Vanhaelemeersch's assistance, Madam Yuan Lee Mine—spouse of retired Belgian diplomat Victor Wei—has endeavoured to preserve and create a record of all existing materials. There is now a complete inventory.

Lu Zhengxiang left dozens of photos. These can be seen as a kind of visual biography telling the stories of his time. Interestingly, there are few rarely seen photos of the Beiyang government Foreign Ministry. These amazingly show that the interior was of a luxurious Western design (Picture 1 and 2). It was however not for personal indulgence. From the perspective of proper diplomatic etiquette, Western luxury served the purpose of demonstrating China's respect for the Minister's visitors—Western diplomats who represented their own countries in China. In other words, it concerned China's face. Historians tend to follow Shi Jianguo's argument that Lu reorganised the Ministry and introduced consular

[24] Luo Guang, "Fangwen Lu Zhengxiang shenfu riji (san)" [Diaries of interview with Father Lu Zhengxiang (part 3)], *Zhuanji wenxue* [Biographical literature], vol. 19 no. 5 (1971), 83.

examinations to recruit young, talented, and Western-educated graduates who possessed university degrees in political science or international law. The most well-known recruit to the Chinese diplomatic service was Gu Weijun. Lu wanted to make the Ministry similar to its Western counterparts. It was Lu who laid the foundation for China's modern diplomacy.[25] Such an argument has not been explored further for decades because existing diplomatic and foreign affairs document collections in the Second Historical Archives of China in Nanjing and the Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History in Taipei do not yield as much information as one would like to obtain. The photos of Lu's luxurious office provide a clue. His intention was beyond institutional change. One may argue that Lu endeavoured to organisationally as well as culturally make young Chinese diplomats act like Western diplomats and remake China's diplomatic agencies to resemble those of its Western counterparts.

## 4. The Lu Zhengxiang Collection (2): Papers

Secondly, all the 52 boxes of Lu Zhengxiang's papers are stored in the archives of the abbey. They are mainly in Chinese and French; only a few of them are in English. The oldest can be traced back to the 1890s. There are also a few documents on his death. These papers might disappoint a historian if he or she only wishes to look for unrevealed secrets concerning China's crucial international negotiations during Lu Zhengxiang's diplomatic career, especially the Twenty-one Demands and the Paris Peace Conference. According to Lu's diaries, he often cleaned up his correspondence in his late years.[26] The original inventory indicates that there should have been a box marked "Politiek (Versailles)". Yet it is missing. No one knows if the documents were destroyed by Lu himself or someone else, taken away, or moved to somewhere else. There are also Henri de Codt's manuscripts.[27] He was a Belgian advisor to the Foreign Ministry and worked for Lu in the 1910s. The manuscripts, written in French, are the Foreign Ministry's internal

[25] Shi Jianguo, *Waijiao zongzhang Lu Zhengxiang*, 82-86.

[26] For example, see diary entry on 29 March 1933, Box 9, diary on 30 September 1937, Box 10, and diary entry on 22 April 1941, Box 11, Lu Zhengxiang Papers.

[27] His Chinese name was Di Gu.

reports. Upon his grandson's request, they were all returned to his grandson who is living in Brussels. In the archives of the abbey, the original manuscripts are all replaced with photocopies.

The abbey is not a professional archival repository. Although it tries hard to preserve Lu Zhengxiang's papers, the conditions are worrisome. Clips and staples have rusted many documents. Furthermore, some documents damaged due to human factors. One of the previous archivists marked his serial note on a French-language letter written by Soong May-ling (Madam Chiang Kai-shek, 1897-2003) (Picture 3).[28] Another letter from *Junshi weiyuanhui* [Commission on Military Affairs], possibly also written by Soong during the early stage of China's War of Resistance against Japan, is found seriously damaged. The signature part was cut off intentionally (Picture 4).[29] Needless to say, it is critical to offer the abbey professional assistance to prevent the papers from being damaged further in the future.

The current conditions are discouraging but it is unnecessary to be pessimistic. Mr. and Mrs. Wei and Prof. Vanhaelemeersch have volunteered to reorganise Lu Zhengxiang's papers for few years. Hundreds of his letters are now placed in an ideal order. One might wonder why a retired diplomat and his wife are so passionate about such a demanding job. Mr. Wei's grandfather, Wei Chenzu (Wei Sun-Tchou, 1885-1942), was once the Chinese Minister to Belgium and was in the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Lu was his chief. Mr. and Mrs. Wei feel it is their duty toward history to be involved with and to contribute wholeheartedly to the preservation of the collection of their grandfather's chief.

Moreover, after Prof. Chung Shu-ming's team left Bruges, there was a long negotiation between Academia Sinica and St. Andrew's Abbey. In December 2015, Father René Fobe, Abbot of St. Andrew's Abbey, finally agreed to sign a cooperative agreement with Academia Sinica. It will render substantial help to preserve the Lu Zhengxiang Collection. Meanwhile, Academia Sinica is now digitalising his papers and planning to set up a database

[28] Soong to Lu Zhengxiang, letter, 14 September 1939, Box 8, Lu Zhengxiang Papers.

[29] *Junshi weiyuanhui* to Lu Zhengxiang, letter, 20 October (unknown year), Box 7, Lu Zhengxiang Papers.

dedicated to Lu's papers for researchers who are interested in working on these materials. We may expect that in the near future, Lu's papers will not only be protected in a satisfying way but also made electronically accessible to researchers from all over the world.

**6. Historical Significance**

For several reasons, Lu Zhengxiang left a frustratingly small number of political documents; it is hardly possible for a historian to claim new discoveries on China's major political events. The remaining documents are predominantly about his social, cultural, and religious activities across China and Europe. Accordingly, their value lies beyond the realm of political and institutional histories. This article asserts that these materials provide us a highly useful and viable means to further explore China's cultural interaction with Europe in modern times.

As a diplomat, Lu needed to attend social events. For example, there are an 1897 banquet menu (Picture 5) and an 1899 music programme (Picture 6). Lu was sent to St. Petersburg and was appointed as an interpreter in 1890s. These two items reflect Chinese diplomats' social activities in foreign countries. The menu was written in French and had the symbol of the Qing Empire printed at the top. The banquet served Western dishes. The music programme was written in Chinese and had no imperial symbol. The items in the programme, including the Russian national anthem, were all Western. Both events were held in the Chinese legation in St. Petersburg. While Lu was taking charge of the consular service there, he was taught the Western table manners and dress codes in order to act properly in front of foreigners.[30] He was highly assimilated into Western lifestyle. The Chinese legation arranged Western-style social events but employed flexible cultural strategies. If one tries to relate these materials to the photos of Lu's luxuriously furnished and decorated office in the Beiyang government Foreign Ministry, one may argue that Lu's intention to transform China's diplomacy originated from his cultural preference and it was indeed a greater cultural project to change China.

Foreign diplomats in China, on the other hand, tried to maintain their own lifestyles as much as they could. As Albert

30 Luo Guang, *Lu Zhengxiang zhuan*, 27-30.

Feuerwerker points out, "life in the Peking (Beijing) foreign community, diplomatic and private, was characteristically one of self-imposed isolation, of which the most dedicated exponents were probably the British who 'allayed their nostalgia with dinners and dancing, gossip and golf, happily ignorant of the customs or language or feelings of the people they lived among.'"[31] Julia Boyd also provides an interesting example of a lunch party at the Ming tombs hosted by diplomat Daniel Varè, with "a table laden with steaming pasta, chicken cutlets, galantine, salads, puddings, stewed fruit, coffee and wine."[32] Chinese diplomats in foreign countries and foreign diplomats in China present a sharp contrast. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, China was gradually incorporated into the Westphalian system as it gradually did away with its centuries-old tributary system. We used to know that the transition originated from the Western powers' gunboat diplomacy. Lu's papers indicate that behind this transition, there was an obscure yet steadily growing impetus driven by Chinese diplomats who had acquired and adopted specific Western cultural tastes. For them, China's integration into the Westphalian system had to include the adaptation of a host of Western-lifestyle practices. The transition, in this sense, was inherently cultural.

Meanwhile, Lu Zhengxiang was a Catholic and had a sincere wish to spread Catholicism in China. According to Ernest Young, towards the end of World War I, Lu tried to bring about the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the Vatican and China. Yet France, regarding itself as the sole protector of all Catholics in China, opposed Lu's attempt and demanded that China should approach the Vatican through France.[33] Obstruction from France did not discourage Lu's endeavour in minimizing the distance between the Vatican and China. After his entry to the abbey, he continued to introduce Catholicism to Chinese officials

31 Albert Feuerwerker, "The Foreign Presence in China," in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12: Republican China 1912-1949, Part 1* eds. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 159.

32 Julia Boyd, *A Dance with the Dragon: The Vanished World of Peking's Foreign Colony* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 123.

33 Ernest Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 191.

who were thousands of miles away from Europe. According to the above-mentioned letter from *Junshi weiyuanhui*, after the outbreak of China's War of Resistance against Japan, Lu mailed Chiang Kai-shek a biography of King Albert of Belgium (1875-1934), who was a Catholic and led the Belgians in their fight against the German troops during World War I. Lu wanted to use this example to inspire Chiang and encouraged him to keep his faith in God and lead Chinese people to defend China against Japan's invasion.

In the second half of the 1940s, Chiang Kai-shek gained victory over Japan but then was trapped in the civil war against Mao Zedong (1893-1976) and the Chinese Communist Party. In the meantime, there were requests for Lu Zhengxiang's return. Yan Huiqing (W. W. Yen, 1877-1950), retired Premier, wrote to thank Lu for sending a Benedictine booklet and expressed his hope that Lu could return to China to bring about "moral and spiritual regeneration" of the country.[34] An official in the Foreign Ministry also wrote to Lu and asked if he would go back to "guide your own people to God".[35] Lu did not return and sadly passed away in January 1949. During his expatriation in Belgium, Lu's enthusiasm for spreading Catholicism in China never vanished. He deployed a top-down strategy and approached Chinese political leaders and officials as his starting point. Although the Vatican had by then established formal diplomatic relations with China, he was looking for a more spiritual Sino-Vatican relationship. Luo Guang's biography has mentioned that he firmly believed Catholicism was able to make Chinese minds stronger and wished to convert the Chinese people as many as possible.[36] This point has not yet been examined in a wider global-historical context. Lu's papers demonstrate that he had intimate religious links with Chiang Kai-shek as well as the Nationalist government. He used these links to convey Catholic messages from Europe to China. In this sense, Lu's papers constitute a prism of the cultural dimension of the Vatican's relations with the Nationalist government. To a certain extent, the cultural links between the Vatican and the

34 W. W. Yen to Lu Zhengxiang, letter, 10 June 1947, Box 33, Lu Zhengxiang Papers.

35 P. K. C. Tyau to Lu Zhengxiang, letter, 4 August 1947, Box 35, Lu Zhengxiang Papers.

36 Luo Guang, *Lu Zhengxiang zhuan*, 198-199.

Nationalist government partly explains why Mao Zedong deported the Apostolic Nuncio Antonio Riberi (1897-1967) after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Lu's papers offer an avenue for us to explore his cultural role in Sino-Vatican relations and expand our understanding of the global history of Christianity.

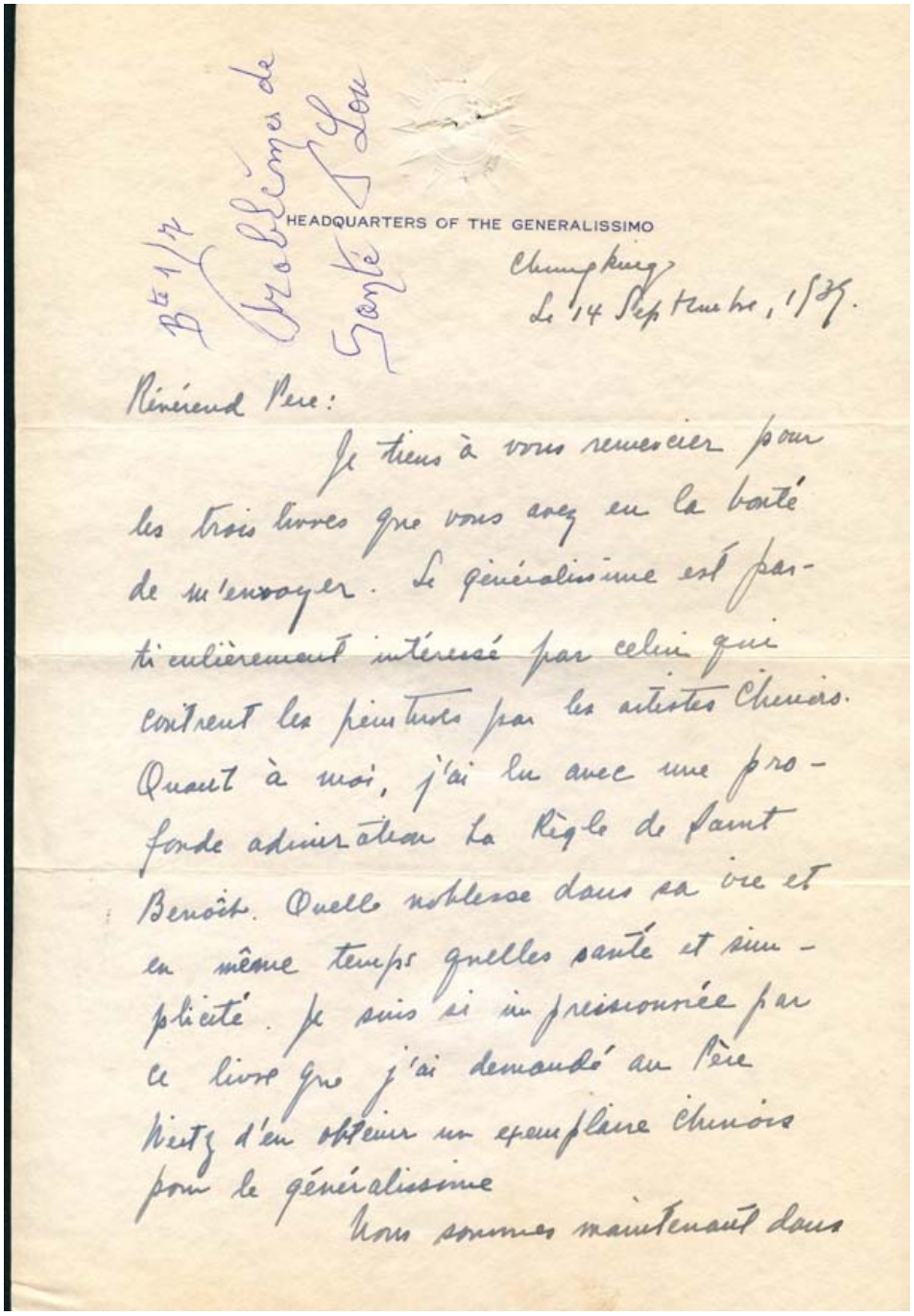
We have been depending on Lu Zhengxiang's memoir and the two biographies of Lu written by Luo Guang and Shi Jianguo for decades. Although these three publications have contributed much to our knowledge of his life and career, there are still many unexplored or under-explored areas. The Lu Zhengxiang Collection at the St Andrew's Abbey can help us fill these lacunae. The collection is indeed of unique significance and worth our greater attention. It is likely that Lu will be one of the key historical figures to be remembered for the centenary of the Paris Peace Conference in 2019. Apart from political and institutional histories, we might wonder what else the collection can tell us. Christianity in China seems to be a potential topic. Today, the Vatican and Beijing both have the intention to establish formal diplomatic relations. Yet the matter is still in an unsettled state. In view of this development, the Lu Zhengxiang Collection offers us important experiences and lessons from history. We can learn from the past for the present. Academia Sinica is preparing to build up a database dedicated to Lu's papers. We can expect that in the near future, researchers will have an excellent e-source to further explore the history of cultural exchanges between China and Europe.

**Fig. 1: Interior of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1)**

* From the Lu Zhengxiang Exhibition Room

**Fig. 2: Interior of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2)**

* From the Lu Zhengxiang Exhibition Room



HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENERALISSIMO

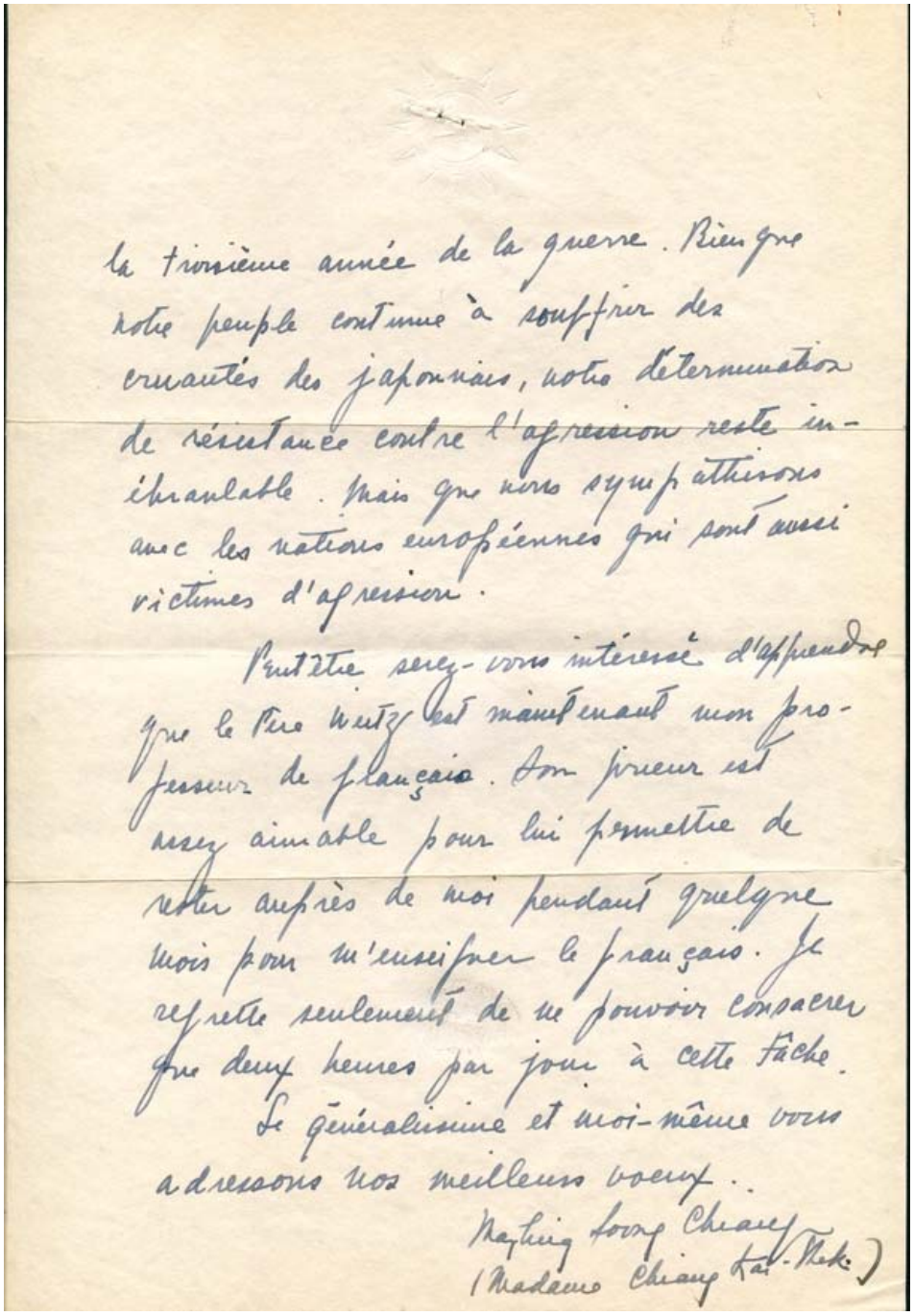
Chungking,
Le 14 Septembre, 1937.

Révérend Père:

Je tiens à vous remercier pour les trois livres que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer. Le généralissime est particulièrement intéressé par celui qui contient les peintures par les artistes chinois. Quant à moi, j'ai lu avec une profonde admiration la Règle de Saint Benoît. Quelle noblesse dans sa vie et en même temps quelles santé et simplicité. Je suis si impressionnée par ce livre que j'ai demandé au Père Wentz d'en obtenir un exemplaire chinois pour le généralissime

Nous sommes maintenant dans

**Fig. 3: Soong May-ling's French letter**



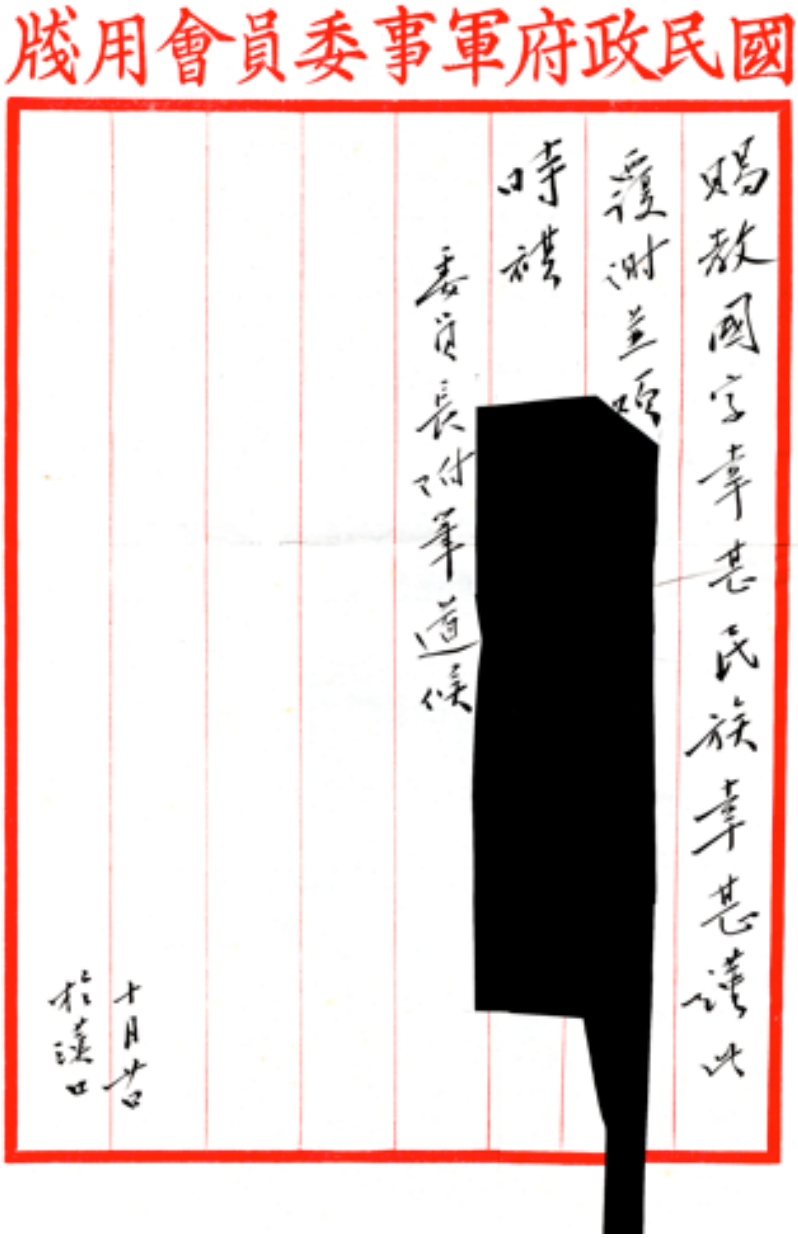
la troisième année de la guerre. Bien que notre peuple continue à souffrir des cruautés des japonais, notre détermination de résistance contre l'agression reste inébranlable. Mais que nous sympathisons avec les nations européennes qui sont aussi victimes d'agression.

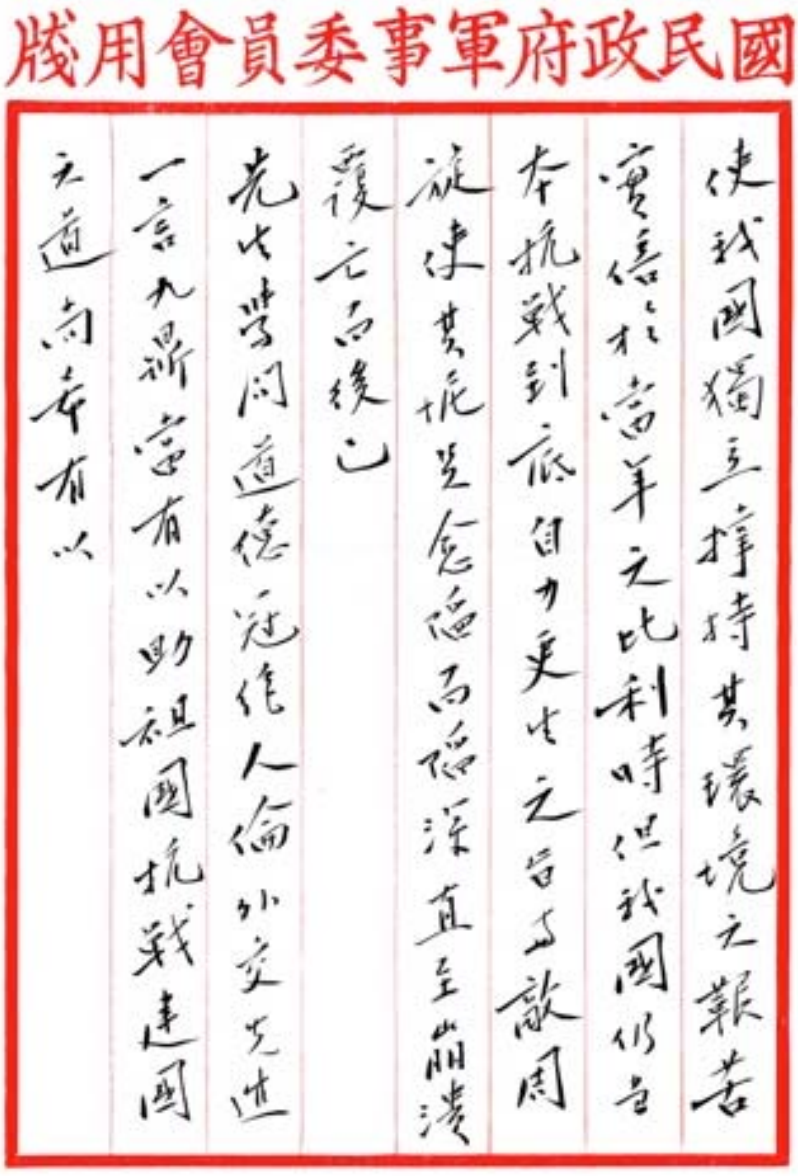
Peut-être serez-vous intéressé d'apprendre que le Père Wentz est maintenant mon professeur de français. Son jeune est assez aimable pour lui permettre de rester auprès de moi pendant quelques mois pour m'enseigner le français. Je regrette seulement de ne pouvoir consacrer que deux heures par jour à cette tâche.

Le Généralissime et moi-même vous adressons nos meilleurs voeux..

Mayling Soong Chiang
(Madame Chiang Kai-Shek)

From Box 8, Lu Zhengxiang Papers


國民政府軍事委員會用牋


國民政府軍事委員會用牋

使我國獨立撐持其環境之艱苦
實倍於當年之比利時但我國仍自
本抗戰到底自力更生之旨不敢稍
旋使其抵生念德而陷深直至崩潰
覆亡而後已

先生學問道德冠絕人倫外交生涯
一言九鼎實有以助祖國抗戰建國
之道尚希有以

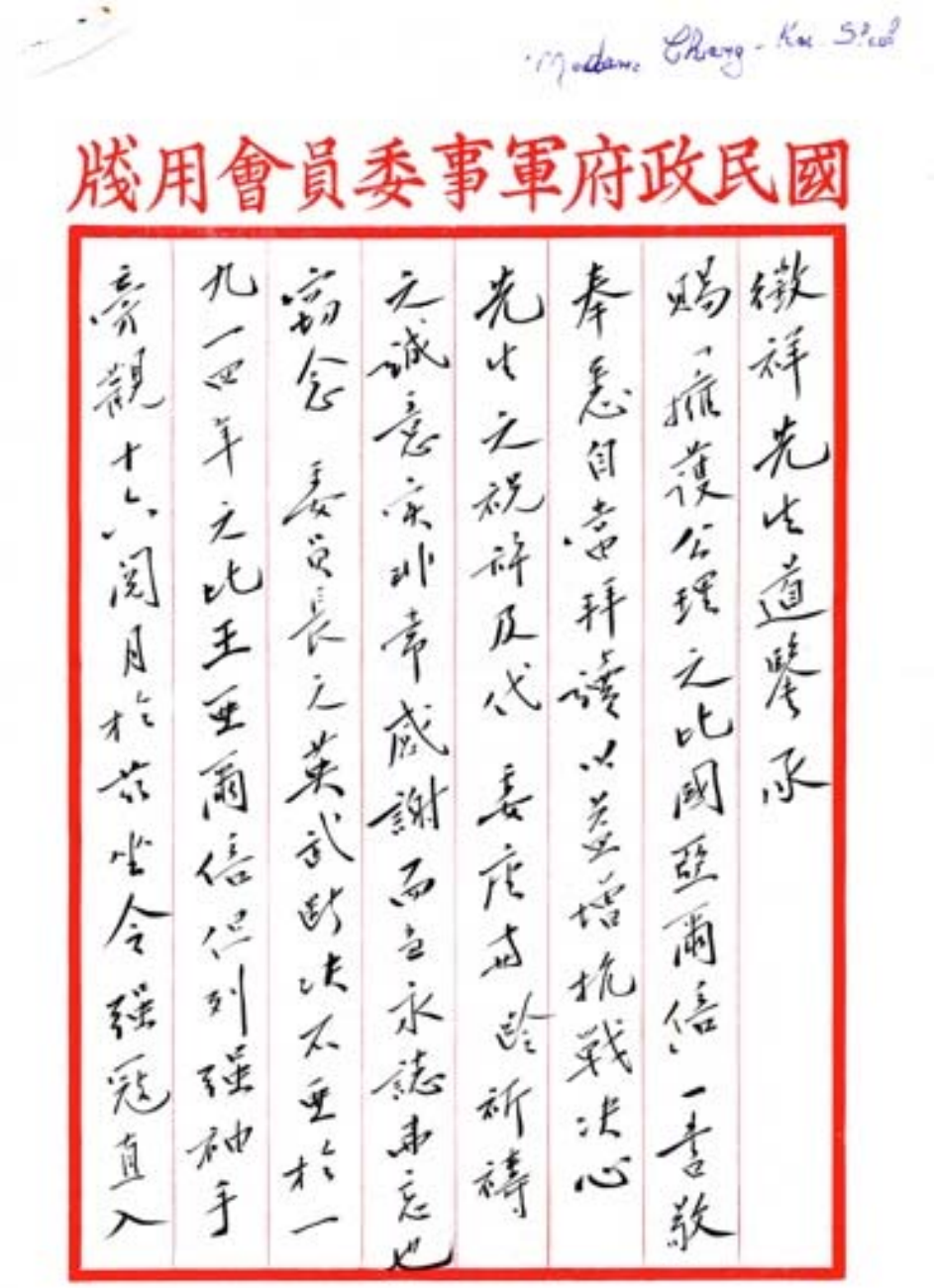



**Fig. 4: The damaged letter from the Military Affairs Commission**

* From Box 7, Lu Zhengxiang Papers

MENU

**Dîner**

du 28 Juin / 10 Juillet 1897, St. Pétersbourg.

*Hors-d'œuvres*

*Potages:* *Tortue* / *St. Germain*

*Petits pâtés*

*Sterlet Dwinskoë à la Russe*

*Noisettes de Veau, Périgord*

*Chaufroix d'Orlolans, Cumberland*

*Punsch Victoria*

*Rôtis: Jeunes Poulardes et Bécasses*

*Salade Romaine*

*Asperges, sauce* *Hollandaise* / *Polonaise*

*Plombière Nesselrode*

*Tarteletles aux Framboises*

*Fruits.*

ТИПО-ЛИТОГР. В. КЕНЕ и КЕ,

**Fig. 5: A banquet menu in 1897**

* From Box 13, Lu Zhengxiang Papers

**Fig. 6: A music programme in 1899**

* From Box 40, Lu Zhengxiang Papers.

**Glossary**

Cao Rulin 曹汝霖

Di Gu 狄谷

Duan Qirui 段祺瑞

Gu Weijun 顾维钧

*Guang fangyan guan* 广方言馆

Huang Yuanyong 黄远庸

*Junshi weiyuanhui* 军事委员会

Lu Zhengxiang 陆征祥

*Tongwen guan* 同文馆

Wang Zhengting 王正廷

Wei Chenzu 魏宸组

Xu Shichang 徐世昌

Yan Huiqing 颜惠庆

Yuan Shikai 袁世凯

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Huang Zunyan黄尊严，"也论陆征祥在巴黎和会中作用"，《历史档案》，第4期（2003），97-102页。

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——，"访问陆征祥神父日记（上）"，《传记文学》，第19卷第2期（1971），46-51页。

——，"访问陆征祥神父日记（二）"，《传记文学》，第19卷第4期（1971），80-84页。

——，"访问陆征祥神父日记（三）"，《传记文学》，第19卷第5期（1971），79-84页。

——，"访问陆征祥神父日记（续完）"，《传记文学》，第19卷第6期（1971），61-64页。

Shi Jianguo石建国，《外交总长陆征祥》，福州：福建教育出版社，2015。

Tang Qihua唐启华，"清末民初中国对海牙保和会之参与（1899-1917）"，《政治大学历史学报》，第23期（2005），45-90页。

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# Rituals of Death, Ancestrality, and the Formation of Historical Consciousness – Comparative Philosophical Reflections on the *Analects* of Confucius

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**Abstract**

In the Analects, Confucius is quoted to identify Tzu-kung as a "sacrificial vase of jade". This shows that Confucius was very conscious of history and the cult of the dead. Compared with theoretical concerns elicited from Hegel and from Philosophical Hermeneutics, this needs to be placed into the context of "traditionality". The ancestral rites have, by the time of Confucius, become metonymic for the question of the relation to tradition and to the past as such. The subject of learning, the learnt subject, is someone capable of living in a balanced relation to time and to history. It is a subject who has made him- or herself into a receptacle of the forces of the past, so as to live with and towards them in a way that permits him or her to act in the present. In short, it is a temporally defined subjectivity.

**Key words**

Confucius, Analects, Cult of the dead, ancestrality, historical consciousness, traditionality

> "Tzu-kung asked saying, What do you think of me? The Master said, Your are a vessel […] a sacrificial vase of jade", *Analects* V:3.

In one of the conversations between Tzu-Kung and the Master in the *Analects* the former asks (in Waley's translation): "What do you think of me?", to which the Master replies: "you are a vessel" .Tzu-kung then replies: "what kind of vessel?". And to this the Master responds: "a

sacrificial vase of jade". [1] In some commentaries this remark has been interpreted as somewhat derogative, along the line of another remark from *Analects* II:12, that "a gentleman is not a tool". But the fact that the Master qualifies his statement as a "sacrficial vessel of jade" should most likely be seen as a very special complement. But how is this the case? What could it mean to liken someone to a sacrifical vessel, and in particular the kind of vessel used in the cults and the memory of the dead and the ancestral spirits. What does the Master mean here? He seems to suggest that the very being of Tzu-kung is somehow connected to the rituals for the dead? The passage thus seems to be saying that sacrifice is not only what we are expected to *perform*, but also something that we *are*, that our being is somehow of a sacrificial nature. How could this be? What is here the – possibly – hidden relation between sacrifice, subjectivity and and the ancestral, and indirectly also to ethics and learning? These are the questions that will occupy me here.

In short, I would like to take this brief and enigmatic conversation as a starting point for a discussion, about the cult of the dead and the origin and nature of historical consciousness. More specifically, I want to suggest that we find in the *Analects* a text uniquely concerned with its own transmission, in the sense that it marks a passage from what I would call a sacrificial to a hermeneutic sense of self.

My paper is comparative, in the sense that it seeks to make sense of certain quotations from the *Analects* by means of theoretical concerns elicited from Hegel and from Philosophical Hermeneutics. Yet, I would not call it comparative in the sense that it seeks to compare distinct traditions. Instead I want to see it as an attempt to begin to read these older sources from the viewpoint of a general question, which – as I will argue - they have already begun to ask in their own way, namely the questions of the traditionality of tradition as such.

It is a well known fact, indeed a commonplace, that traditional Chinese thought is deeply concerned with role and importance of *ancestral piety*. Yet, this ancestrality, it seems, is rarely made into a speculative philosophical theme in itself

[1] *Analects* V:3, from *The Analects of Confucius*, transl A. Waley (Vintage: New York, 1989/1938), p. 107.

and in its own right. Mostly it is simply taken for granted as having a self-same essence, a kind of transparent - if yet questionable - ethos and comportment, often equated simply with "traditionalism". As such it is also often considered as among the more outdated and least interesting aspect of this teaching for whose who today are trying to revitalize Confucianism as an ethical and political doctrine in the present.[2] In his widespread *Introduction to Confucianism* Hsin-chung Yao states that ghosts and spirits are minor themes in Confucius, who should be more seen as a "religious humanist".[3]

This may very well be the case. But my approach to this matter comes from another angle, as I do not see religious humanism, also in its Western context, as devoid of a preoccupation with spirits and gjosts. My problem concerns the *meaning of traditionality*, or the question of what it means to stand within such a historical space of attentiveness and responsability that we call "tradition", as always already in some sense *being addressed by* and called to *respond* to the past, and thus to the living voices of the dead.[4]

We are familiar with the philosophical problem of tradition, or *Überlieferung*, from Hans-Georg Gadamer's hermeneutics, where it designates the "conversation that we are". But in Gadamer's version, tradition is something highly cultivated, a meaningful technically-spiritually mediated interaction between educated subjects over time. Before this particular space is constituted there has to be an existential space where such an educated interaction can first be experienced and articulated as a specific task. One of the many important contributions of Heidegger's *Being and Time* is how it showed how the *historicity* – or as I would also say, the *traditionality* - of human existence is not dependent on the *writing* of history, or of actual historical *interpretation*, but it is grounded in the temporality of

2 Cf for example the many discussion in the recently published *Renaissance of Confucianism* (2012), where many of the discussions concern the extent to which Confucianism is universal, or susceptible to a universal critical discourse, or to what extent it is compatible to various ethical and political doctrines in the European intellectual tradition.

3 Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge UP, 2000), 26: "Confucius kept a distance from serving spirits and ghosts". Yao is also the editor of the monumental two volume *Routledge Encyclopedia on Confucianism* (2003).

4 For more information on our work, see webpage: www.histcon.se.

human Dasein itself. When exploring the structure of this historical nature of existence Heidegger pointed toward a structure of "repetition" of possibilities from the past, made possible by an inherent pastness of Dasein itself, its peculiar nature of *having-been* (*Da-gewesen*). Thereby he indicated that an original space of historical and temporal awareness has to do with the relation to past Dasein. But he did not pursue it further. In order to purse this question where he left it, I have taken a particular interest in a theme to which he touched upon briefly, namely the phenomenological problem of the being-with-the-dead in general and also more specifically the qustion of burial, and the relation between burial culture, memory and subjectivity. In the present context I will elaborate on some of these questions, but with a particular focus on some passages from the Konfucian *Analects*.

In *Analects* I:9 it is written: "When a proper respect towards the dead is shown at the End and continued after they are far away, the moral force – the *te* – of a people has reached its highest point". A similar ethos is expressed in II:5, where it says about parents: "while they are alive, serve them according to ritual. When they die, bury them according to ritual and sacrifice to them according to ritual". Ritual, and in particular the ritual concerning the deceased, is a duty often repeated throughout the *Analects*. Another quotation along this line is the laudatory remark on King Wu in XX:1, who is described as follows: "what he cared for most was that the people should have food, and the rites of mourning and sacrifice should be fulfilled".

Yet at the same time, the more precise role and enactment of rituation is also a problem toward which the text constantly gravitates. We can look at the passage II:11, where someone asks the master to explain ancestral sacrifice, and to which he responds: "I do not know. Anyone who knew the explanation could deal with all things under Heaven as easily as I lay this here; and he laid his finger upon the palm of his hand". In other words, the true knowledge of the practice of ancestral rites comprises the whole. How to live in relation to the dead at this point seems to cover the entire range of human endeavour. How could this be the case?

My tentative response to this question reads as follows: The ancestral rites have, by the time of Confucius, become metonymic for the question of the relation

to tradition and to the past as such. The subject of learning, the learnt subject, is someone capable of living in a balanced relation to time and to history. It is a subject who has made him- or herself into a receptacle of the forces of the past, so as to live with and towards them in a way that permits him or her to act in the present. In short, it is a temporally defined subjectivity. But in saying this I am already moving ahead toward my conclusion. Let us stop for a moment and think more specifically about what is involved in ancestral sacrifice.

In the *Book of songs*, to which Confucius often refers, some of the verses deal explicitly with ancestral sacrifice, and of the importance of performing them correctly. In one of these Songs we read (again in Waley's translations): "very hallowed was this service of offering; very mighty the forefathers. The spirits and protectors have accepted; the pious descendants shall have happiness, they will reward him with great blessings".[5] It is important here that the spritits are content, that they enjoyed what was offered to them. Also the idea is expressed repeatedly that one should enjoy the feast together with the dead, that one should get drunk together. This is what we with a neologism could call a hermeneutic bachanale. It is a staged communication with the deceased, administred with the help of alchohol or spirits. In one verse we read: "the ducal Dead reposes and is at peace. Your wine is clear, your food smells good. The dead one quietly drinks; blessings are in the making… ". We give to the dead in sacrifice, and thus we take part in the same element, and reciprocally they give to us. To perform these rituals correctly, is a fundamental element in the wellbeing of the community, according to practices that go back and dissappear in non-documented historical times, in the long tradition of *ru* and its intricate rituals.

In the sacrifical ritual the dead become alive again, they become present and take part in the life of the living. This is the heart of the ancestral sacrifice, to maintain the bond, transgress the border between life and death, but to also to thereby protect the living from the potential threat of the dead. For the dead in most known ancient and so called "primitive" societies are surrounded by a sense of fear and awe. To live well in relation to them, and in particular to make sure that their passage

5 *Book of Songs*, transl Arthur Waley (London: Allen & Unwin, 1937), esp. p. 209ff.

into the underworld is administrated correctly, is more important than any other ritual. For a society that does not live well in relation to the dead could become a cursed society.

The rituals surrounding the dead, and the concerns of the living of how to comport oneself toward the spirits of the deceased ancestors marks a fundamental cultural apriori. The centrality of this cultural trait was addressed notably by James Frazer in his book *The Fear of the Dead* from 1933, that gathers an massive collection of transcultural empirical observations on the multitude of ways in which humans have sought to live appropriately in the relation to the dead, through different forms of burial, preservation, reactivation, reanimation, and sacrifice.[6] The empirical material covers such practices as burying the dead children under one's floor, carrying the dead sculls of ones parents as protective shields, and keeping their mummified corpses in the house. In the preface to this study Frazer makes the general remark – in the typical unabashed colonial discourse of his time – that among the "savages" and "uncivilized" people this relation to the dead is mostly one of *fear*, whereas the among the more civilized cultures it is rather one of reverence, piety, and affection. Be that as it may, but the overriding premise for the study is that in all cultures, on whatever level of "civilization", the caring for the dead and for the appropriate relation to the dead appears as a common denominator. Rephrasing Aristotle, we could say that the specifically human is not just to be a *logical* life but also a *thanatology* life, a life in comunication with the dead.

The most profound speculative interpretation of this predicament was once formulated by Hegel, in his famous reflection around Sophocle's *Antigone* in *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807). Here he describes how the human spirit over the course of its historical realization falls apart in two separate ethical substances, *human law* and *divine law* (§445).[7] Human law is embodied in the state, whereas Divine law is concretely manifested in the family. In the state the individual recognizes itself as a universal being under universal obligations, whereas the system of the family binds it to

[6] James Frazer, *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (Macmillan: London, 1933).

[7] *The Phenomenology of Spirit* is here quoted in the English translation by A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977).

an inner and, as he says, "unconscious" ethical order. The central obligation of the family members toward one another is described as concentrated in one particular ritual act, namely the *burial* of family members. When a citizen dies it comes to a universal fulfillment as a member of its community. But from the viewpoint of the family death makes him an "unreal impotent shadow" (§451). The universality that we reach in death is from the viewpoint of the one deceased a non-action, something only undergone and suffered passively by unconscious nature. It is in relation to this passive undergoing of nature's course that the specific obligation of the family manifests itself, or as Hegel writes:

"The duty of the member of a family is on that account to add this aspect, in order that the individual's ultimate being, too, shall not belong solely to nature and remain something irrational, but shall be something done, and the right of consciousness asserted in it" (§452).

By providing a proper burial the family is thus seen as carrying out – unconsciously and unaware - the work of the rational universalization of spirit in and through death. What nature takes away from the individual in death, namely the individual's activity and initiative, the family members symbolically restore through a proper burial. They transform a passive destiny into a consecrated act, restoring its member to his full universality as individual, also across the threshold of destruction of his corporeal existence.

Since destruction is inevitable, the work of the family vis-à-vis the dead cannot ultimately work against nature. Instead it choses to fulfill the work of nature, but now *as a conscious and willing act*. In the place of "every lower irrational individuality" – which is Hegel's euphemism for maggots and worms – it keeps the body from being dishonored by such "unconscious appetites" (§452). By laying the corpse to rest in the ground, and by covering it with earth, the family restores the humanity of the human in the face of blind nature. For Hegel the element of the *earth* is crucial - that the body is ritually placed in the medium with which it will eventually become one - but the argument could carry over to most known burial practices, whether it be by burning, cutting, crushing, drying, or dissolving, or by actually

devouring the corpse.[8]

In Hegel's account, Human Law is connected to light and sky, whereas the Divine Law speaks from the earth and the netherworld. In being bound by the Divine law the members of a family somehow are also bound to and by the dead, in relation to whom their obligations are articulated. Since these obligations are generally not articulated as such, but rather work as forces in relation to which the individual family member experience and perform their actions, they have the character of a *call* from the underworld, and thus form a kind of unconscious *pact* between the dead and the living.

In the case of Sophokles' *Antigone* this demand of the underworld generates a conflict, since the brother of Antigone, for whom she desperately wants to perform the funeral ritual, is a criminal and a terrorist in the eye of the state. So in this particular case the gods of the heavens and the gods of the undeworld enter into tragic conflict. We need not go into this aspect of Hegel's analysis here. My reason for recalling it has more to do with the fact that he, in these passages, provides the most elaborated attempt to forge a secular-philosophical theory of burial. In Hegel's argument the rites and practice of burial is inscribed into a genealogical account of the rational development of spirit, at the center of which we finds its movement toward ever greater freedom and universality.

Confronted by the brute fact of death, by the demise and destruction of the living body of one's own kin, the human being responds by a rite of burial, taking upon itself the work of the dead other. Whatever superstitious beliefs may accompany this rite, its essence is "rational" and in line with the teleology of the human spirit. In response to the inevitable facticity of death human beings takes upon themselves the ritual work of death, making as it were death their own. For George Bataille, one of the most acute readers of Hegel in modern times, this confrontation with mortality was also at the heart of the very act of sacrifice. For in sacrifice the human animal responds to death by making death and destruction its own act, in a kind of unconscious pact with the forces of

[8] The same point is made in an excellent recent article by David Ciavatta "Om Burying the Dead: Funerary Rites and the Dialectic of Freedom and Nature in Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit", in *International Philosophical Quarterly* 47/3 (2007): 278-296.

destruction operating on itself. The thanatological human animal is thus also the sacrificial and sacrificing animal, whose dialogue with the dead take on – universally – the form of ritual sacrifice, of goods and of life itself.[9]

Let us ask now the question: What is a grave? If we take it from the a- or trans-historical perspective, we would define it as: the location where a dead body is placed. But the grave is also the place where the memory of the deceased is preserved concretized in and through art/technics. In other words, the grave appears to us as an original form of memorial, a mnemo-technics dating back to the earliest known traces of human culture. The very birth of human so called "culture" is often identified with precisely the first signs of this practice. The earliest forms of hominids used simple tools, but burial sites are unique to Neolithic homo sapiens and traces of this practice is also found among the Neanderthals. Graves have been found that are indisputably as old as 90 000 years (with some archeologists claiming to have found even older sites). With the emergence of a cult of burial we also have the emergence of what is often interpreted as *religious* beliefs

The grave is a technical artifact created in response to an experience of loss, and in the service of a keeping. As such it provides us with a primary datum of an externalized experience of time and history as passage and continuity at once. In and through the grave the living demonstrate a care for a life which is no longer, and also the continued presence of the dead among the living. It is an artifact created around bodily remains, but not for them as such, but for what they bear witness of, namely the breath and force of life as life, the *spiritus*, *pneuma*, *ruach*, *Seele* etc. Thus the grave is also the site of the spiritual, in all its different forms and interpretations. The grave is a house not for corpses, but for or in the service of the *spirits* of those having lived. From the inception of the grave, the dead are living on among the living, and the earth is shared among them.

In the case of burial practices we encounter memory in its essentially dual function, as both preservation and destruction/repression. For in the case of the dead, the grave does not save them for the future. Instead the burial practice,

9 Ref to essay on "Sacrifice".

centered around the remains of the corporeal object, is at the same time the mark of the inescapable *loss* of the deceased. The grave cannot keep the person, because the person is gone. The dead person cannot be kept, this is the tragic facticity of death. The spirit of the dead thus inevitably becomes a problem. Where is it? What the grave and proper burial does is in a sense so seal and to mark a spot where the departed is housed, but knowing that its spirit is no longer there. The grave is supposedly the passage, that should guarantee that the dead can reach a place where it is safe. The graves are artefacts made by the living in order to contain this undefined wanderings of the dead. Why do the dead appear to come back and haunt the living when they have no graves, or when the material memorial sites of the departure are not properly taken care of? It is precisely because the dead are not *in* their graves, but elsewhere. They are all around us. And we have to care for them, in order that they care for us. This is the basic existential reciprocity, whose mythical variations is endless, but whose basic existential predicament is a remaining challenge also for us living in Hegel's and Frazer's completed civilization.

The teleology of the human spirit, its work of speculative recolletion of itself, in the historical and historicist logic that animates Hegel's discourse can not do without the memory of the what has passed. It can only seek itself through the realized thinking throgh of what has been. In this sense also the Hegelian rationality is a work of memory and recollection of the past. In Frazer's book, the non-confessional scholar, for whom all of mankind marks tentative steps towards the educated position of the anthopologist on top of the worlds greatest colonial power, the prefae still testifies to its prevailing and ethos, as he directs his thoughts and his sense of gratitude for all that he is to his dead mentor, without whom he would not be standing were he was. Science and the culture of interpretation, stands in the lineage of tradition, in the volatile space of learning and teaching. To this general predicament also these to works bear testimony.

With these remarks and with the general reflections on the culture of burial and ancestral ritual piety, I would now like to return to my reading of the *Analects*. It is a common conception of the Konfucian writings, echoed notably at the outset by

Hegel himself, in his *Lectures on Religion*, that the Master was first and foremost a moral-religious teacher. In the guise of an eternal, or at least trans-historical doctrine of human conduct it is easy to miss what I would call its inner historicity, in other words the way in which the text reflects on the the problem of tradition and traditionality as such. The reason why this theme seems to have been under-theorized is – this is my hypothesis – that it surfaces primarily in relation to remarks on ritual and ancestral piety, which as strata of the text that from a "modern" and enlightened perspective would seem to be the least relevant. But what I think we can read in and between the lines is in fact a sustained reflection on what tradition is and how it can and should be lived in a free and responsible way. This way of reading the text becomes possible once we pay attention to the way in which mortual and ancestral ritual should be performed. For when commenting on these practices the text is in fact exploring the nature of the traditional as such.

In the sacrifical rites as they are commented on in the *Book of songs* quoted earlier, it is clear that they are concerned with establishing a bond between the living and the dead. If they are performed correctly the living can live on in harmony with the dead. By communicating, ritually with the departed spirits, by sharing of one's own goods with them, they become again living, enyoing the company of the living, living as it were through them. I referred to this feast as a hermeneutic bachanale. I now want to make it clear why I think that we can use the word hermeneutic in this context. Hermes is the mythic messanger between the Gods and men. But Hermes is also the patron saint of historical communication and mediation. When we engage in historical interpretation, we are also – always – engaging in an act of historical application. This is the central point made very clearly by Gadamer in his philosophical hermeneutics; that historical interpretation is a certain making use of and thus a making present of tradition. To read the ancient texts is to make them readable, and thus to make them – as it were – happen in the present. The skilled hermeneut is someone who can perform this event, of making the past strike the present, so as to become living again, not by conjuring up the past for idiosyncratic purposes, but of really making it come alive. This basic and fundamental practice of hermeneutics is

also at the core of ritual, as a making present of the past, or of making the past happen as form of presence. It is having a happy feast with the souls of the departed.

We know also that this transgreesion, this passage from present to past and from past to present, is never guaranteed from the start. On the contrary, the present can become closed off to the past, ignorant of its claims, disrespectful of its pursuits and its wisdom. Also the present can be so enraptured by the sense of the weight of tradition that it collapses under it, and becomes only the feeble veihicle of ritual without content or inner purpose. Those of us who have read Nietzsche's famous so called "Second untimely meditation", *On the Use and Abuse of History for Life*, are familiar with the diagnose: that a culture can succumb to the antiqarian impulse to simply make itself the self-effacing caretaker of what has been, just as it can inflate itself with an boisterous monumentalism, celebrating the endeavors of the past. To find a balance in the relation to the past and to tradition, thus becomes the true and genuine task of the thinker. Stated in more traditional terms, this would mean to carry on the rites and rituals in relation to the dead with a sense of purpose and timeliness.

It is a remarkable aspect of the Analects to what extent this problem of the proper comportment in regard to tradition occupies its author. Unlike, the Hegelian charicature of Confucius as a timeless moral teacher, the writer(s) of the *Analects* appear to be constantly reflecting on what we could call the ethos of cultural inheritance.[10] And what it says about "learning" can often be translated precisely into such an ethics.

Listen for example to the remark "He who by reanimating the Old can gain knowledge of the New is fit to be teacher" (on II:11). The word Chinese word for "reanimate" as I understand it indicated as "warming up", and thus also related to ancestral rituals, in short of bringin to life. Thus in one dense passage we have both a reference to ancestral ritual and a reflection on the hermeneutical task. To understand the past is to make use of the past, it is to make it happen in and for a future. This is

[10] This image of the timeless moral teacher, cast in the form of a kind of personal saint, also animates the most recent scholarly attempts to capture the life and learning of Confucius, as in Annping Chin's biography *Confucius* (Yale UP, 2006).

why it is also said: "He who learns but does not think is lost" (II:15). This is not a doctrine that teaches succumbing to tradition. Instead it is a thinking that makes it a core challenge to think what tradition is and how it should be lived. Unless it is "warmed" or "reanimated" it is dead and will remain so. At the same time there is always a risk of coming to close to the dead, and to be engulfed by them. We need to keep a proper, balanced distance to the spirits. In one passage it is said of the good ruler that "He who devotes himself to securing for his subjects what is right they should have, who by respect for the spirits keep them at a distance, may be termed wise". And perhaps the most drastic expression of this warning comes out in one of the conversations with Tzu-lu: "Tzu-lu asked how one should serve gjosts and spirits. The Master said, Till you have learnt to serve men, how can you serve ghosts? Tzu-lu then ventured upon a question about the dead. The Master said, Till you now about the living, how are you to know about the dead?" (XI: 11).

In other words, if the living do not look toward the living, the past will make no sense to them, or they will fail in their pursuit. The living must care for the bond to the dead and they must do so in the form of ritual. But the genuine performance of ritual is never guaranteed. Ritual can become an empty shell, tradition can become a death in life, and not a way for life to remain living.

The author(s) of the *Analects* clearly think from within a period where the transition from a culture of sacrifice to a culture of learing appears to blend into one another, almost seamlessly. The right performance of ritual serves as model for a culture of learning, thus making learning also into a ritual activity. And the worry and concern for the proper handling of ritual is isomorphic with the concern for a proper and balanced culture of learning. The transmitting of intellectual sources follows and blends with the ritual practices of ancestral piety. In another remarkable passage, that I think brings out this hermeneutical logic of sacrifice, we read: "Of the saying, 'the word 'sacrifice' is like the word 'present'; one should sacrifice to a spirit as though that spirit was present', the Master said, If I am not present at the sacrifice, it is as though there were no sacrifice". Here again we see how the fusion between an older ideal of ancestral sacrifice is gradually internalized as a

practice of reading and learning, and made into the demand that somehow the sacrificer is himself responsable for the event of the past taking place, and thereby coming into his own. The Analects here operates from within a sense of a precarious temporality, where the very pastness of the past is at stake, and where the present is not longer just the repetition of the old, but a living responsibility to care for the intersection between them, and thus to exist in this moment, as moment of the happening of the Old in and for the New.

Much more than simply being the caretaker of ancient traditions, wisdoms, and stable hiarchies, I read the *Analects* as written from within a situation where the very traditionality of tradition has been placed in question. Its concern is with the happening of tradition, and thus of shaping a sense of ethics on the basis of a precarious responsability for the present. In one of the most beautiful and often quoted passages it speaks of how the Love of goodness, wisdom, uprightsness and courage, all degenerates into their opposites if they are not cultivated by learning, in other words by living attentively in relation to the past. But doing so implies not escaping into and behind tradition, but by proving oneself able to let it speak to the present, in other words to listen to the dead.

In another of the conversations with the Maser Tzu-Kung manages to bring his memory of one of the songs into their conversation, letting an enigmatic passage resound as to support what they have just said. The Maste delights in this ability, and says to him: "Now I can really begin to talk to you about the Songs, for when I allude to sayings of the past, you see what bearings they have on what was to come after" (II:15). Tzu-kung has now proven himself to be a genuine hermeneut, someone able not just to repeat the old, but to make it address the present.

It is at this point that we can also understand from a more reflective position the enigmatic complement that the Master gives Tzu-kung in book V, and with which we started our pursuit. When he says of Tzu-kung that he is "a sacrifical vessel of jade", he is saying that he is someone, in whom the memory of the spirits of the past is preserved, so as to be enacted in the present. He is a subject understood as a well performed ritual to the dead, but in favor of the living. He is a precious carrier

of tradition. This is his ethos. This is his learning.[11]

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[11] For a deeper discussion of many of the questions raised in this paper, see my book *Being with the dead: Burial, Ancestral Politics and the Roots of Historical Consciousness* (Stanford UP, 2018, forthcoming).

# Word Building and Formation of Chinese Neologisms

# 汉语新词的构建与生成

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**Abstract**

Chinese neologisms are ever-increasing with the rapid development of social, scientific and technological development. They play a crucial role in today's Chinese society and culture. Therefore, to study Chinese neologisms is of great significance and value. In view of its significance, the author tries to describe the distinctive features of Chinese neologisms in the areas of syllable, structure and affix, followed by the formation and sources of neologisms. Last but not least, the author also analyzes the mechanism and puts forward the Hypothesis of Socio-psycho-linguistic Need for Neologisms.

**Key words**

Chinese Neologisms, Word Building, Formation

## 1. Introduction

Chinese, as a language used by one-fifth of the world's total population, has undergone at least five stages in its development of new words. They are: Wei Jin and Northern and Southern dynasties, Han and Tang dynasties, May Fourth Movement, the founding of New China and Reform and Opening Up. Accordingly, large quantities of new words keep showing up and they are commonly used by people. It makes great impact on the social development and changes of life styles. In the meantime, just as the American sociolinguist W. Bright states in his theory of co-variance: language, a sort of social phenomenon, always varies with the development of the society and culture. Therefore, new words can be regarded as the barometer of the ever-changing society. To study those new words is of great significance and value.

## 2. Literature Review

As a crucial part in a language, neolo-

gisms have drawn researchers' great attention. However, the early research starting from the second half of the last century only focused on the origins and usage of the neologisms. In 1991, John Algeo published *Fifty Years among the New Words: a Dictionary of Neologism, 1941-1991*, giving us a full report on the neologisms from the viewpoints of society and culture. During the same period, the well-known Chinese linguist Lv Shuxiang (1984) successfully aroused people's attention to neologism by giving a detailed analysis of 170 new terms in an academic article. In the same year, another prestigious scholar Chen Yuan (1984) also called on people to show great concern about neologisms commonly appear ing in social contexts. Since then, the study of neologisms has been in full swing. Scholars and researchers intend to describe, explain and decode such an important linguistic component from the perspectives of rhetoric, sociolinguistic, psychology, translation and cognition. To sum up, the studies before the new century centered more on the correlation between neologism and social factors due to Chinese policy of reform and opening up at that period. And the researches in the new century are more closely related to word building, the relevant mechanism and different theoretical analyses. For instance, Shang Yicen (2011), in the MA thesis, argues that a cognitive study of Chinese neologisms can specify the producing mechanism and help us understand the meaning and usage more clearly. And Chinese neologisms should be treated equally as the tool for thinking, communication and understanding because that is the exact way in which we adopt to see the whole world. Meanwhile, Shang shows two major findings: a. the productive mechanism of Chinese neologism is strongly motivated by people's intention, which means the people's attitude is vital to the process of the spreading of neologisms; b. based on that, the new classification of Chinese neologisms has been suggested, i.e. Similarity-type, Proximity-type and Similarity-Proximity-type from the cognitive perspective. That, undoubtedly, provides a new cognitive viewpoint which can contribute to the research of Chinese neologism. After that, Kang Junshuai (2012), in his dissertation, studied the mechanism from the angle of analogy. He points out that analogy is not only the general rule of language structure and application, but the important mechanism of word building. Therefore, he conducted the research on the new word families based on the analo-

gy mechanism. His research opened a new chapter in that research field. Then, Zhou Wei & He Fang (2015) noted that the 21st century witnesses that the influence of Chinese culture is on the rise with the rapid development of Chinese economy, which is reflected in the undeniable fact that Chinese has contributed a lot to creation of English neologism in recent decades. Accordingly, they made a thorough research on the English translation of some Chinese Neologisms on the basis of pragmatics, which is quite valuable to translation practice and teaching. Then, Liu Xiaohuan & Wang Jun (2015) put forward the concept of "meaning gene" that refers to the basic unit of meaning by which the neologisms can be coined according to Halliday's Evolutionary Theory of Meaning. Their study indicates that the microecological and macroecological environment may make great influence on meaning gene mutation and variation. In the same year, Chen Qian (2015) claims that a great many new words are, as a matter of fact, the mirrors of real life and the reflection of public opinion and sentiment. She studied those new words and their corresponding discourse based on the context theory of systemic functional linguistics which consists of field, tenor and mode of discourse. That reveals how the social context might constrain the new word replacement, discourse transition and so on. To be frank, that new assumption seems reasonable, but it is short of sufficient exemplification.

Based on the above literature review, it is not hard to see that the research on Chinese neologisms has always been in need of systematic analysis, plausible explanation, sufficient examples and strong hypothesis. That is the gap this research intends to fill in.

## 3. Distinctive Features of Chinese Neologisms

To begin with, it is highly advisable that we take a close look at the characteristics of Chinese neologisms in the areas of syllable patterns, word structure and affixes, which can shed light on the creation, rules and mechanism of the Chinese new words.

### 3.1 Syllable Patterns

The Old Chinese and Modern Chinese (1950s—2000) are mostly monosyllabic or disyllabic. Comparatively speaking, in recent decades, many polysyllabic words including tri-syllabic or quadric-syllabic words have been drastically increasing. In

particular, there are more and more tri-syllabic words which are in the pattern ABB. As we know, the pattern ABB is not a brand new syllabic pattern in Chinese. And traditionally, it is used as an adjective phrase, depicting the traits of the objects, such as 绿油油 *lǜ yóu yóu*, 'green', 黑乎乎 *hēi hū hū*, 'dark' , etc. However, there is a dramatic semantic change in that pattern now. Its connotation is more closely related to the hot-spot issues in today's Chinese society. And it has become a noun phrase referring to a particular incident. Consequently, as a common concern, that pattern or reduplication is often repeatedly shown in news or social media. The examples are as follows:

躲猫猫 *duǒ māo māo*, 'hide-and-seek': In February 2009, a young prisoner named Li Qiaoming died in the cell. It was explained that his death was an accident. And the reason was that Li hit his head when he played hide and seek with other prisoners. Such an excuse made the phrase "躲猫猫" widespread.

楼脆脆 *lóu cuì cuì*, 'cracked buildings/ fragile buildings'**:** On June 27, 2009, a high-rise building which was still under construction collapsed suddenly in Shanghai. Such an incident was called "楼脆脆".

范跑跑 *fàn pǎo pǎo*, 'Runner Fan': It is the nickname of the teacher named Fan Meizhong because he ran out of the classroom, leaving his students behind when the May 12 earthquake struck. The nickname is given by the news media for his irresponsible and selfish behaviors.

In addition to those tri-syllabic words, polysyllabic words including the words which have five syllables also pop up increasingly, such as 且行且珍惜 *qiě xíng qiě zhēn xī*, 'Being in love is easy, being married is not. It is to be cherished.', 很傻很天真 *hěn shǎ hěn tiān zhēn*, 'very silly and naïve', 有图有真相 *yǒu tú yǒu zhēn xiàng*, 'That's the truth. And that's the picture showing the truth ', 出名要趁早 *chū míng yào chèn zǎo*, 'to be known as early as possible', 做人要厚道 *zuò rén yào hòu dào,* 'integrity makes you a better man', 躺着也中枪 *tǎng zhe yě zhòng qiāng,* 'to be swept up in', 打不死的小强 *dǎ bù sǐ de xiǎo qiáng,* 'Having a strong vitality, just like a cockroach that can survive in any difficult situation', etc.

**3.2 Word Structure**

The Chinese new words often show the following structural patterns:

M-d (modifier-head) construction: 商品房 *shāng pǐn fáng,* 'commercial (residential) housing', 起步价 *qǐ bù jià,* 'base fare/initial charge', 人造蛋 *rén zào dàn,* 'artificial egg', 铁饭碗 *tiě fàn wǎn,* 'to have a stable, lifelong job', 负增长 *fù zēng zhǎng,* 'negative growth', 大甩卖 *dà shuǎi mài,* 'a clearance sale', 凤凰男 *fèng huáng nán,* 'a man who comes from a humble background but worked his way up in the city', 拜金女 *bài jīn nǚ,* 'gold digger', 地沟油 *dì gōu yóu,* 'swill-cooked dirty oil', 浮云 *fú yún,* 'a new idiom referring to nothing', 小鲜肉 *xiǎo xiān ròu,* 'young hunk', 老腊肉 *lǎo là ròu,* 'middle-aged handsome man', 正能量 *zhèng néng liàng,* 'positive energy', 穷游 *qióng yóu,* 'to travel on a budget'.

Subject-predicate structure: 猪坚强 *zhū jiān qiáng,* 'a heroic pig that survived the 2008 earthquake in China's southwestern Sichuan province', 脑洞大开 *nǎo dòng dà kāi,* 'to greatly widen one's horizon', 心塞 *xīn sāi,* 'to feel suffocated', 泪奔 *lèi bēn,* 'to burst into tears'.

Verb-object structure: 包二奶 *bāo èr nǎi,* 'to have a mistress', 打白条 *dǎ bái tiáo,* 'to give you an IOU', 傍大款 *bàng dà kuǎn,* '(of a girl) to find a sugar daddy', 打酱油 *dǎ jiàng yóu,* 'to be a bystander', 拉仇恨 *lā chóu hèn*, 'courting envy', 毁三观 *huǐ sān guān,* 'to subvert the moral values', 烧脑 *shāo nǎo,* 'to think hard to figure sth. out', 给力 *gěi lì,* 'awesome, fantastic', 卖萌 *mài méng,* "to act cute', 坑爹 *kēng diē,* 'to cheat/deceive', 养眼 *yǎng yǎn*, 'eye candy', 救市 *jiù shì,* 'to prop up the stock market',.

Coordinating structure: 高富帅 *gāo fù shuài,* 'a tall, handsome and rich man', 高大上 *gāo dà shàng,* 'classy, highly stylish', 白富美 *bái fù měi,* 'a rich and beautiful girl with fair skin', 矮挫穷 *ǎi cuó qióng,* 'a short, poor and stupid man', 短平快 *duǎn píng kuài,* 'giving quick returns on one's investment', 传帮带 *chuán bāng dài,* 'mentoring', 傻白甜 *shǎ bái tián,* 'a blonde', 学术超男 *xué shù chāo nán,* 'an extraordinary scholar in academic area', 羡慕嫉妒恨 *xiàn mù jí dù hèn,* 'to be green

with envy', 国民初恋 *guó mín chū liàn,* 'an ideal girl who is the best choice for puppy love in all men's eyes', 国民老公 *guó mín lǎo gōng,* 'an ideal man who is the best choice for a husband in all women's eyes', 生态文明 *shēng tài wén míng,* 'ecological civilization'.

### 3.3 Affix

Other than those ever-increasing polysyllabic words, multiple new affixes or word chunks are widely used to form thousands of new words which reflect the dramatic social changes.

Prefixes:

晒 *shài*～: 晒娃 *shài wá,* 'sharenting', 晒工资 *shài gōng zī* , 'to share one's salary online', 晒账单 *shài zhàng dān,* 'to share one's bills online', 晒恩爱 *shài ēn ài* , 'public display of affection', 晒幸福 *shài xìng fú,* 'public display of happiness'.

超 *chāo*～: 超男 *chāo nán,* 'super boy', 超女 *chāo nǚ,* 'super girl', 超有爱 *chāo yǒu ài,* 'very affectionate', 超模 *chāo mó,* 'super model', 超赞 *chāo zàn,* 'awesome' , 超酷 *chāo kù,* 'very cool', 超靓 *chāo liàng,* 'very pretty', 超炫 *chāo xuàn,* 'stunning'.

软 *ruǎn*～: 软实力 *ruǎn shí lì,* 'soft power', 软饮料 *ruǎn yǐn liào,* 'soft drink', 软件 *ruǎn jiàn,* 'software', 软着陆 *ruǎn zhuó lù* , 'soft landing', 软环境 *ruǎn huán jìng,* 'soft environment'.

空 *kōng*～: 空姐 *kōng jiě*, 'air hostess', 空少 *kōng shào,* 'male flight assistant', 空嫂 *kōng sǎo,* 'married stewardess', 空壳 *kōng ké*, 'shell company' , 空客 *kōng kè*, 'airbus'.

裸 *luǒ*～: 裸考 *luǒ kǎo,* 'to take an examination without any preparation', 裸替 *luǒ tì,* 'a body double for nudity', 裸奔 *luǒ bēn,* 'streaking', 裸婚 *luǒ hūn,* 'to get married without a house, car, diamond ring or grand wedding ceremony', 裸妆 *luǒ zhuāng,* 'nude makeup', 裸捐 *luǒ juān,* 'all-out donation'.

网 *wǎng*～: 网考 *wǎng kǎo*, 'internet-based test', 网民 *wǎng mín*, 'netizen', 网虫 *wǎng chóng,* 'nethead', 网恋 *wǎng liàn,* 'cyberlove', 网友 *wǎng yǒu,* 'e-pal', 网站 *wǎng zhàn,* 'website', 网页 *wǎng yè,* 'webpage', 网店 *wǎng diàn*, 'online store', 网点 *wǎng diǎn,* 'bank branches', 网红 *wǎng hóng*, 'online celebrity', 网约车 *wǎng yuē chē,* 'online car-hailing', 网盘

*wǎng pán,* 'cloud storage', 网银 *wǎng yín,* 'e-bank', 网贷 *wǎng dài,* 'online loan'.

炫 *xuàn*～: 炫富 *xuàn fù*, 'flaunting one's wealth', 炫娃 *xuàn wá* , 'to publicly show off one's baby/kid', 炫车 *xuàn chē*, 'to publicly show off one's car', 炫技 *xuàn jì,* 'to show off one's expertise'.

零 *líng*～: 零风险 *líng fēng xiǎn*, 'risk-free', 零利率 *líng lì lǜ,* 'zero-rate', 零利润 *líng lì rùn,* 'zero profit', 零首付 *líng shǒu fù,* 'zero down payment', 零容忍 *líng róng rěn,* 'zero tolerance', 零投诉 *líng tóu sù,* 'zero complaint', 零排放 *líng pái fàng,* 'zero discharge'.

海 *hǎi*～: 海归 *hǎi guī,* 'overseas returnee', 海淘 *hǎi táo,* 'overseas online shopping', 海景房 *hǎi jǐng fáng,* 'sea view room'.

拼 *pīn*～: 拼爹 *pīn diē,* 'parents privilege competition/competition of family background', 拼车 *pīn chē*, 'carpool', 拼饭 *pīn fàn,* 'friends have dinners together and share the bills', 拼房 *pīn fáng,* 'to share a room'.

爆 *bào* ～: 爆炒 *bào chǎo,* 'sensationalization', 爆笑 *bào xiào,* 'hilarious', 爆款 *bào kuǎn,* 'top-selling', 爆料 *bào liào,* 'tip-off', 爆红 *bào hóng,* 'to go viral'.

闪 *shǎn*～: 闪婚 *shǎn hūn,* 'flash marriage', 闪孕 *shǎn yùn*, quick pregnancy', 闪离 *shǎn lí,* 'whirlwind divorce', 闪人 *shǎn rén,* 'to get out of the way'.

微 *wēi*～: 微博 *wēi bó,* 'microblog', 微表情 *wēi biǎo qíng*, 'micro expression', 微电影 *wēi diàn yǐng,* 'micro film', 微胖 *wēi pàng* , 'chubby', 微信 *wēi xìn,* 'WeChat', 微小说 *wēi xiǎo shuō,* 'short story', 微课 *wēi kè,* 'micro course', 微时代 *wēi shí dài,* 'micro-era'.

有*yǒu*～: 有才 *yǒu cái,* 'talented', 有型 *yǒu xíng,* 'stylish', 有料 *yǒu liào,* 'capable', 有闲 *yǒu xián,* 'to have free time'.

大 *dà*～: 大款 *dà kuǎn,* 'rich man', 大腕 *dà wàn,* 'big people', 大牌 *dà pái,* 'a big brand name', 大神 *dà shén,* 'master', 大姐大 *dà jiě dà,* 'head girl', 大数据 *dà shù jù,* 'big data', 大比武 *dà bǐ wǔ,* 'large-scale competition', 大比拼 *dà bǐ pīn,* 'large-scale competition', 大酬宾 *dà chóu bīn,* 'to give a large discount', 大鳄 *dà è,* 'magnate', 大放送 *dà fàng sòng* , 'big sale',

大锅饭 *dà guō fàn,* 'a term used to refer to 'indiscriminate egalitarianism', 大佬 *dà lǎo,* 'tycoon', 大环境 *dà huán jìng,* 'the social, political and economic environment; the overall situation', 大手笔 *dà shǒu bǐ,* 'a great work/a big move', 大气候 *dà qì hòu,* 'circumstances from the outside', 大排档 *dà pái dàng,* 'sidewalk snack booth'.

小 *xiǎo*～: 小确幸 *xiǎo què xìng,* 'a little dose of happiness', 小打小闹 *xiǎo dǎ xiǎo nào,* 'on small scale', 小饿小困 *xiǎo è xiǎo kùn,* 'a little bit hungry and tired', 小蜜 *xiǎo mì,* 'a young mistress', 小萝莉 *xiǎo luó lì,* 'Loli', 小三 *xiǎo sān,* 'mistress', 小时代 *xiǎo shí dài,* the film and novel named 'Tiny Times', 小气候 *xiǎo qì hòu,* 'microclimate', 小工 *xiǎo gōng,* 'coolie/unskilled labourer'.

一 *yī*～: 一哥 *yī gē,* 'the male leading figure', 一姐 *yī jiě,* 'the female leading figure', 一环 *yī huán,* 'the 1st ring road (Beijing)', 一言不合就……*yī yán bù hé jiù*……, 'Whenever we disagree with each other, ... ', 一口闷 *yī kǒu mēn,* 'bottom up', 一把手 *yī bǎ shǒu,* 'chief', 一言堂 *yī yán táng* , 'to rule by the voice of one man alone'.

刷*shuā*～: 刷脸 *shuā liǎn,* 'a payment system based on face recognition technology', 刷卡 *shuā kǎ,* 'to swipe card', 刷存在感 *shuā cún zài gǎn,* 'to validate one's existence' , 刷单 *shuā dān,* 'click farming'.

被 *bèi*～: 被增长 *bèi zēng zhǎng,* 'being increased, the implied meaning is to show the helplessness of a person in controlling his own fate', 被代表 *bèi dài biǎo,* 'being represented', 被就业 *bèi jiù yè*, 'falsification of graduates employment status'.

炒*chǎo*～: 炒房 *chǎo fáng,* 'real estate speculation', 炒股 *chǎo gǔ,* 'to speculate in stocks', 炒金 *chǎo jīn,* 'to speculate in gold', 炒银 *chǎo yín,* 'to speculate in silver', 炒楼 *chǎo lóu,* 'real estate speculation', 炒地皮 *chǎo dì pí,* 'to speculate in land', 炒外汇 *chǎo wài huì,* 'to speculate in foreign currency', 炒债券 *chǎo zhài quàn,* 'to speculate in bonds'.

打*dǎ*～: 打工 *dǎ gōng,* 'to work for other people', 打假 *dǎ jiǎ,* 'anti-counterfeiting', 打非 *dǎ fēi,* 'to eliminate illegal publications', 打包票 *dǎ bāo piào,* 'to vouch for', 打白条 *dǎ bái tiáo,* 'to issue IOU', 打黑 *dǎ hēi,* 'gang crackdown', 打榜歌曲 *dǎ bǎng gē qǔ*, 'a hit song', 打

官腔 *dǎ guān qiāng,* 'to talk like a bureaucrat', 打拼 *dǎ pīn,* 'to fight/struggle', 打洋工 *dǎ yáng gōng,* 'to go abroad for work'.

秒 *miǎo*～: 秒杀 *miǎo shā,* 'seckill', 秒删 *miǎo shān,* 'to delete something as quickly as possible', 秒回 *miǎo huí,* 'to give someone a reply as quickly as possible', 秒拍 *miǎo pāi,* 'a snapshot', 秒懂 *miǎo dǒng,* 'to understand somebody/something quickly.

去 *qù*～: 去库存 *qù kù cún*, 'to reduce inventory', 去产能 *qù chǎn néng,* 'to tackle industrial overcapacity', 去行政化 *qù xíng zhèng huà,* 'de – administration'.

代 *dài*～: 代购 *dài gòu,* ' the overseas purchasing agents', 代驾 *dài jià,* 'designated driver', 代销 *dài xiāo,* 'consignment sale', 代言 *dài yán,* 'spokesperson', 代理 *dài lǐ,* 'agent'.

神 *shén*～: 神剧 *shén jù,* 'ridiculous TV shows', 神曲 *shén qǔ,* 'another version of Divine Comedy which is incomprehensible', 神器 *shén qì,* 'powerful appliances'.

Suffixes:

～族 *zú*: 毕婚族 *bì hūn zú,* 'marry-upon-graduation', 啃老族 *kěn lǎo zú,* 'Boomerang Kids', 蚁族 *yǐ zú,* 'Ant tribe is a vivid metaphor of the groups of low-income college graduates who settle in a compact community', 乐活族 *lè huó zú,* 'LOHAS, Lifestyles of Health and Sustainability', 北漂族 *běi piāo zú,* 'Beijing drifters', 上班族 *shàng bān zú,* 'office worker', 追星族 *zhuī xīng zú,* 'idolater', 月光族 *yuè guāng zú,* ' to live from paycheck to paycheck', 恐婚族 *kǒng hūn zú,* 'people with gamophobia', 慢活族 *màn huó zú,* 'people preferring slow life', 打工族 *dǎ gōng zú,* 'working people', 暴走族 *bào zǒu zú,* 'Bōsōzoku, literally means running-out-of-control (as of customized motorcycles) tribe/mob of driving at full speed', 工薪族 *gōng xīn zú,* ''wage earner', 低头族 *dī tóu zú,* 'phubber', 快闪族 *kuài shǎn zú,* 'flash mob'.

～客 *kè:* 试客 *shì kè,* 'shokey', 黑客 *hēi kè,* 'hacker', 播客 *bō kè,* 'podcast', 创客*chuàng kè,* 'maker', 偷渡客 *tōu dù kè,* 'stowaway', 晒客 *shài kè,* 'Internet sharer', 背包客 *bēi bāo kè,* 'backpacker', 换客 *huàn kè,* 'swapper', 拼客 *pīn kè,* 'mass bargainer'.

～奴 *nú*: 房奴 *fáng nú,* 'mortgage slave, someone under the pressure of

paying back housing mortgage loan', 卡奴 *kǎ nú,* 'credit card slave', 孩奴 *hái nú,* 'child's slave, the parents spending every minute and penny on children', 钱奴 *qián nú,* 'miser', 财奴 *cái nú,* 'miser'.

～友 *yǒu*：藏友 *cáng yǒu,* 'collector', 网友 *wǎng yǒu,* 'e-pal', 损友 *sǔn yǒu,* 'fair-weather friend', 驴友 *lǘ yǒu,* 'travelling companion', 发烧友 *fā shāo yǒu,* 'fancier/audiophile'.

～门 *mén*：闺蜜门 *guī mì mén,* 'the Korean scandal which is about the allegations that the best friend of the former president Park Geun-hye exerted inappropriate influence over the former president and interfered in state affairs', 拉链门 *lā liàn mén,* 'zipper gate, the American scandal of the former president Bill Clinton who was not able to resist the urge to keep his pants zippered up around his administration's interns', 艳照门 *yàn zhào mén,* 'the Hongkong porn-photo-gate', 监控门 *jiān kòng mén,* 'a scandal that the NSA has built an infrastructure which allows it to intercept almost everything', 棱镜门 *léng jìng mén,* 'the scandal about the US surveillance program PRISM'.

～吧 *bā*：水吧 *shuǐ bā*, 'water bar', 网吧 *wǎng bā,* 'internet cafe', 书吧 *shū bā* 'book bar', 氧吧 *yǎng bā,* 'oxygen bar', 贴吧 *tiē bā,* 'Baidu PostBar', 茶吧 *chá bā,* 'tea house', 餐吧 *cān bā,* 'restaurant', 泡吧 *pào bā,* 'to hit the bars/ to go to the bar', 陶吧 *táo bā,* 'Chinese Pottery bar', 酒吧 *jiǔ bā,* 'bar'.

～民 *mín*：股民 *gǔ mín,* 'investor', 网民 *wǎng mín,* 'netizen', 无业游民 *wú yè yóu mín,* 'habitual loafer'.

～党 *dǎng*：飞车党 *fēi chē dǎng,* 'motorbike gangs', 标题党 *biāo tí dǎng,* 'clickbait headlines ', 拆白党 *chāi bái dǎng,* 'swindlers'.

～后 *hòu*：70后 *70 hòu,* 'the generation born in 1970s', 80后 *80 hòu*, 'the generation born in 1980s', 90后 *90 hòu,* 'the generation born in 1990s', 00后 *00 hòu ,* 'millennials', 天后 *tiān hòu*, 'diva'.

～粉 *fěn*：果粉 *guǒ fěn,* 'fans of "Apple" products', 职粉 *zhí fěn,* ' professional fans', 黑粉 *hēi fěn,* 'anti-fan', 脑残粉 *nǎo cán fěn,* 'fanboy', 僵尸粉 *jiāng shī fěn,* 'zombie fan', 吸粉 *xī fěn,* 'to attract fans'.

～品 *pǐn*：人品 *rén pǐn,* 'moral quality', 拍品 *pāi pǐn,* 'lot', 酒品 *jiǔ pǐn,* 'decorum

in drinking'

～哥 *gē*：的哥 *dī gē,* 'male taxi driver', 犀利哥 *xī lì gē,* 'Brother Sharp, a Chinese beggar who was usually seen walking with a model's measured gait, and wearing a rag-tag but well coordinated overcoat', 大衣哥 *dà yī gē,* 'Brother Coat, a Chinese talented singer who is a farmer and often dressed in an old military coat ', 托举哥 *tuō jǔ gē*, 'a young hero who kept holding up an accidentally fallen kid for a long time to save the kid's life'.

～姐 *jiě*：的姐 *dī jiě,* 'woman taxi driver', 草帽姐 *cǎo mào jiě,* 'Sister Straw Hat, a Chinese talented woman singer who is a farmer and often wears a straw hat', 港姐 *gǎng jiě,* 'Miss Hong Kong', 世姐 *shì jiě,* 'Miss World'.

～代 *dài*：富二代 *fù èr dài,* 'rich 2nd generation', 拆二代 *chāi èr dài,* 'the second generation of people who gained a lot of compensations for demolition', 官二代 *guān èr dài* , 'children of privileged government officials'.

～流 *liú*：韩流 *hán liú,* 'Korean Wave', 意识流 *yì shí liú*, 'stream of consciousness', 名流 *míng liú*, 'celebrity', 客流 *kè liú,* 'passenger flow', 清流 *qīng liú*, 'clear stream', 不入流 *bù rù liú,* 'unfashionable'.

～的 *dī*: 面的 *miàn dī,* 'a minibus used as a taxi', 摩的 *mó dī,* 'motorcycle-taxi', 飞的 *fēi dī,* 'by plane'.

～霸 *bà*：学霸 *xué bà*, 'top student', 麦霸 *mài bà,* 'Karaoke master', 菜霸 *cài bà,* 'vegetable seller who controls the local market by dishonest means', 沙霸 *shā bà,* 'sand seller who controls the local market by dishonest means'.

～托 *tuō*： 酒托 *jiǔ tuō*, 'wine hustler', 医托 *yī tuō,* 'hospital scalper', 婚托 *hūn tuō,* 'a scammer who pretends to be romantically involved with the victim just for manipulating the victim into spending as much money as possible '.

～领 *lǐng*：金领 *jīn lǐng,* 'gold collar worker', 白领 *bái lǐng*, 'white collar', 灰领 *huī lǐng*, 'grey collar', 蓝领 *lán lǐng*, 'blue collar'.

～人 *rén*：达人 *dá rén,* 'talent', 素人 *sù rén,* 'amateur', 潮人 *cháo rén* , 'trendsetter', 火星人 *huǒ xīng rén,* 'Martian, a metaphor used to describe a person who is not well-informed', 雷人 *léi rén*, 'shocking'.

～点 *diǎn*：热点 *rè diǎn*, 'hotspot', 亮

点 *liàng diǎn*, 'highlight', 盲点 *máng diǎn,* 'blind spot', 堵点 *dǔ diǎn,* 'the areas in which the traffic jams often occur', 泪点 *lèi diǎn*, 'dacryon/puncta lacrimalia, a medical term used as a metaphor to refer to the touching stuff which makes people cry'.

～热 *rè*: 留学热 *liú xué rè,* ' the upsurge of going abroad for study ', 汉语热 *hàn yǔ rè,* 'a dramatic increase in the number of people who learn Chinese in foreign countries', 考证热 *kǎo zhèng rè,* 'certificate craze', 考研热 *kǎo yán rè,* 'the craze for graduate school', 出国热 *chū guó rè,* ' craze for going abroad'.

～圈 *quān*: 朋友圈 *péng yǒu quān*, 'circle of friends', 时尚圈 *shí shàng quān,* 'fashion circle', 学术圈 *xué shù quān,* 'academic circle', 娱乐圈 *yú lè quān,* 'entertainment circle', 城市圈 *chéng shì quān,* 'urban agglomeration'.

～潮 *cháo*: 返乡潮 *fǎn xiāng cháo*, 'wave of migrant workers' returning home', 民工潮 *mín gōng cháo,* 'wave of migrant workers', 倒闭潮 *dǎo bì cháo,* 'wave of factory closures', 裁员潮 *cái yuán cháo,* 'wave of job cuts', 下岗潮 *xià gǎng cháo,* 'wave of laidoffs'.

～秀 *xiù*: 生活秀 *shēng huó xiù,* 'life show', 时装秀 *shí zhuāng xiù,* 'fashion show', 脱口秀 *tuō kǒu xiù*, 'talk show ', 真人秀 *zhēn rén xiù,* 'reality show', 选秀 *xuǎn xiù*, 'talent show, just like the American Idol', 作秀 *zuò xiù,* 'just for show', 模仿秀 *mó fǎng xiù*, 'imitation show'.

～浴 *yù*: 日光浴 *rì guāng yù*, 'sunbath', 沙滩浴 *shā tān yù*, 'beach bath', 泡泡浴 *pào pào yù,* 'bubble bath', 牛奶浴 *niú nǎi yù*, 'milk bath'.

～市 *shì*: 牛市 *niú shì*, 'bull market', 熊市 *xióng shì,* 'bear market', 股市 *gǔ shì,* 'stock market', 沪市 *hù shì,* 'Shanghai stock market', 深市 *shēn shì,* 'Shenzhen stock market', 救市 *jiù shì,* 'bailout/ to prop up the stock market'.

～男 *nán*: 光棍男 *guāng gùn nán*, 'bachelor', 宅男 *zhái nán,* 'indoorsman', 猥琐男 *wěi suǒ nán,* 'perve', 渣男 *zhā nán,* 'jerk', 经适男 *jīng shì nán*, 'budget husband', 凤凰男 *fèng huáng nán,* 'a man who comes from a humble background but worked his way up in the city', 美男 *měi nán,* 'handsome man', 腹黑男 *fù hēi nán,* 'sneaky man'.

～女 *nǚ*：宅女 *zhái nǚ*, 'indoorswoman', 作女 *zuō nǚ,* 'high-maintenance woman', 剩女 *shèng nǚ,* 'spinster', 熟女 *shú nǚ,* 'cougar,', 轻熟女 *qīng shú nǚ,* 'Bergdorf Blondes', 小资女 *xiǎo zī nǚ,* 'a woman with petty bourgeoisie sentiments', 拜金女 *bài jīn nǚ*, 'gold digger', 美女 *měi nǚ,* "beauty', 心机女 *xīn jī nǚ,* 'a girl who is sneaky, crafty and calculating '.

～体 *tǐ*：梨花体 *lí huā tǐ,* 'the Lihua style', 甄嬛体 *zhēn huán tǐ,* 'Zhenhuan genre', 咆哮体 *páo xiào tǐ,* 'roaring genre'.

～控 *kòng*：技术控 *jì shù kòng*, 'technophilial', 颜值控 *yán zhí kòng*, 'face obsessed', 微博控 *wēi bó kòng,* 'twuilt '.

～风 *fēng*：英伦风 *yīng lún fēng,* 'British style', 党风 *dǎng fēng,* 'Party conduct', 纠风 *jiū fēng*, 'to rectify malpractice', 画风 *huà fēng,* 'painting style', 跟风 *gēn fēng,* 'to follow the trend or fashion'.

～神 *shén*：男神 *nán shén,* 'prince charming', 女神 *nǚ shén*, 'goddess', 考神 *kǎo shén,* 'a student who never fails the tests', 大神 *dà shén,* 'master'.

～手 *shǒu*：一手 *yī shǒu*, 'first-hand', 二手 *èr shǒu*, 'second-hand', 操盘手 *cāo pán shǒu,* 'operator'.

～化 *huà*：一体化 *yī tǐ huà,* 'integration', 智能化 *zhì néng huà,* 'intelligentialize', 博士化 *bó shì huà,* 'teaching staff with doctorate degree'.

～游 *yóu*：手游 *shǒu yóu*, 'mobile game', 深度游 *shēn dù yóu,* 'in-depth travel', 自助游 *zì zhù yóu,* 'self-organized expedition', 出国游 *chū guó yóu,* 'to travel abroad', 乡村游 *xiāng cūn yóu,* 'tour in rural areas'.

～感 *gǎn*: 成就感 *chéng jiù gǎn,* 'sense of achievement', 幸福感 *xìng fú gǎn*, 'happiness', 神秘感 *shén mì gǎn,* 'mystique', 危机感 *wēi jī gǎn,* 'crisis awareness'.

～荒 *huāng*：剧荒 *jù huāng,* 'no good TV series worth seeing' , 用人荒 *yòng rén huāng,* 'labor shortage', 用工荒 *yòng gōng huāng,* 'labor shortage', 民工荒 *mín gōng huāng,* 'migrant worker shortage'.

～界 *jiè*：时尚界 *shí shàng jiè,* 'fashion field', 电影界 *diàn yǐng jiè*, 'the film industry', 文艺界 *wén yì jiè*, 'circle of literature and art', 体育界 *tǐ yù jiè,* 'sports circle'.

## 4. Formation of Neologisms

### 4.1 Rhetorical Devices

#### 4.1.1. Parody

According to *Webster*, parody is a literary or musical work in which the style of an author or work is closely imitated for comic effect or in ridicule. Some typical examples are shown here:

蓝颜知己 *lán yán zhī jǐ,* 'male intimate' (from 红颜知己 *hóng yán zhī jǐ*, 'female intimate'), 生命中不能承受之重 *shēng mìng zhōng bù néng chéng shòu zhī zhòng*, 'the unbearable heaviness in life' (from the Czech novelist Milan Kundera's *L'Insoutenable Legerete de l'Etre ,* English title: *The Unbearable Lightness of Being,* Chinese title: 《不能承受的生命之轻》*bù néng chéng shòu de shēng mìng zhī qīng*), 钱景 *qián jǐng,* 'prospect of profit' (from 前景 *qián jǐng*, 'prospect'), 家庭妇男 *jiā tíng fù nán,* 'house husband' (from 家庭妇女 *jiā tíng fù nǚ,* 'housewife'), 脸盲 *liǎn máng,* 'face blindness' (from 文盲 *wén máng,* 'illiteracy', 法盲 *fǎ máng,* 'law-ignorant'), 剩斗士 *shèng dòu shì,* 'those unmarried men and women in their late twenties or thirties' (from 圣斗士 *shèng dòu shì*, 'saint' from the Japanese cartoon film entitled *Saint Seiya*).

#### 4.1.2. Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a rhetorical device used to exaggerate something for strong effect, emphasis or impression. The typical examples are: 跳楼价 *tiào lóu jià,* 'fire-sale price', 吐血价 *tù xiě jià,* 'fire-sale price', 发烧友 *fā shāo yǒu,* 'audiophile', 爆笑 *bào xiào*, 'to burst out laughing', 泪崩 *lèi bēng*, 'to burst into tears', etc.

#### 4.1.3. Metonymy

Metonymy, according to *Wikipedia*, is a figure of speech in which a thing or concept is called not by its own name but rather by a metonym, the name of something associated in meaning with that thing or concept, such as:

断背 *duàn bèi*: Brokeback. It is from the movie *Brokeback Mountain*, referring to gays now.

银发产业 *yín fà chǎn yè*: 银发 yín fà, in English, is grey hair. It refers to senior citizens. So, 银发产业 *yín fà chǎn yè* is Senior Industry. It includes health care and services for the aged.

她经济 *tā jīng jì:* 她经济, is one of the new words announced by Chinese Ministry of Education in 2007. It indicates the special economic phenomenon about

women's financing and consumption due to the improvement of women's social and economic status in recent decades.

菜篮子工程 *cài lán zǐ gōng chéng:* 菜篮子 *cài lán zǐ,* in English, is the basket for carrying vegetables and food items. It is used to stand for the non-staple food supply project, i.e. a governmental program to help guarantee sufficient food supply in urban districts.

### 4.2 Old words with New Meanings

Another method which is widely used to form Chinese neologisms is to renew the meanings of those old phrases.

山寨 *shān zhài*: Originally, it meant a fortified mountain village. It was mentioned in many Chinese poems and the classical novel *Water Margin*. However, currently, it denotes a knockoff, copycat, lookalike or spoof, representing the act of copying and duplicating brand products.

八卦 *bā guà*: 八卦 was used to refer to Eight Trigrams which is the crucial part in Chinese philosophy and traditional culture. But, at present, it means gossip or paparazzo's tabloid news.

潜水 *qián shuǐ*: Literally, it means diving. But in most cases, it indicates lurking. Lurking is an activity performed on Internet forums or chat rooms that involves wandering the website, reading posts and never actually posting anything.

任性 *rèn xìng*: "Willful" is its literal meaning. However, in today's Chinese society, it implies that some rich people often behave capriciously due to their huge wealth. And such a behavior of flaunting the considerable wealth is often scorned and ridiculed by people. "任性", therefore, is often used in a scornful tone.

剁手 *duò shǒu*: Its surface meaning was the original meaning. But, today, "Hands-chopping people" are those online spenders who self-mockingly say that they would like to chop their hands off after buying too much online. And those online shoppers are mostly females.

偷吃 *tōu chī*: Now, it has nothing to do with any delicious food. Instead, it implies that some men cheat on their wives.

老司机 *lǎo sī jī*: It referred to the experienced and old drivers. Now, it means those veterans or insiders who know everything including the core information and all the rules in certain fields.

小伙伴们 *xiǎo huǒ bàn men*: Originally, it meant the young and familiar playmates or peers at the same age. Today, the phrase can be used to refer to anyone

at any age group no matter whether they know each other or not. It is used everywhere because it sounds so cute.

宝宝 *bǎo bǎo:* In the past, the phrase was only used to refer to babies or kids. Currently, it can be used to refer to any individual including oneself. It has become a cute address form.

下海 *xià hǎi*: The new connotation of the phrase has no connection with the sea. It means some Chinese officials, civil servants and teachers gave up their jobs and begin to do business.

翻墙 *fān qiáng*: The phrase is not related to the real "wall" now. Instead, it means to get around a firewall in order to go to some overseas websites or any websites which are blocked.

中国大妈 *zhōng guó dà mā:* Initially, it only indicated the Chinese women in fifties or sixties. The word Dama was only a respectful form of address to elder women, similar to aunty. Nevertheless, with Chinese rapid development and the great improvement of women's social status, many Chinese women of the above age groups have strong purchasing power. Due to their huge domestic and overseas economic influence, the Wall Street Journal quoted "Dama" directly from Chinese and made it a new term for this specific group of people.

土豪 *tǔ háo*: It used to refer to a local tyrant. For instance, Chinese classic novel *Water Margin* tells us that "after killing the local tyrant Zhen Guanxi, for fear of being jailed, Lu Zhishen fled to Mount Wutai where he stayed in a temple as a monk". In addition to that, from the 1920s to early 1950s, it referred to the landowners who would bully those people beneath them. Apparently, it did have a derogatory sense back then. In spite of that, as time passes by, the phrase has gained popularity again. There have been more than 100 million references to the word "tuhao" on Chinese social media. Currently, it is used to indicate the upstarts who don't have a good family background. They still lack of a good manner and always show off their wealth. It's like the French term "nouveau riche" or American movie Beverly Hillbillies. Its negative connotations suggest a certain vulgarity. Oddly, people often sneer at and envy "tuhao" at the same time.

杯具 *bēi jù:* Its current meaning is not related to any cup, wineglass, tumbler and so on. Because it is the homophone of "悲剧" *bēi jù*, i.e. tragedy in Chinese, so it

means pathetic or bummer now.

极品 *jí pǐn*: It was a phrase with commendatory sense. It meant "supreme official position or best quality". But, at present, it does have both derogatory and commendatory senses, indicating "one of a kind, weirdo".

老干部 *lǎo gàn bù*: It referred to the experienced veteran cadres who made great contributions to the country. Nevertheless, in showbiz, the phrase specifically indicates those talented, decent and experienced middle-aged film stars with moral integrity and no scandals.

枪手 *qiāng shǒu*: Its new meaning has nothing to do with "a shooter". It is used to refer to the imposters, the people who are highly paid to replace the candidates to take the tests and cheat in the tests so as to pass the examinations or get higher grades.

同志 *tóng zhì*: "同志" has been used at different times. Therefore, its translation varies according to the different connotations. During 1950s and 1960s, it was a commonly used address form, referring to "comrade". But, it should be carefully used now because it is the way in which people use to call a "gay".

小姐 *xiǎo jiě*: In ancient times, "小姐" was used to show respect to ladyship or unmarried young lady from the upper middle class. However, the term is often avoided now because it has a derogatory sense, implying prostitutes.

镀金 *dù jīn*: Originally, it meant gilding. But, currently, it is figuratively used to refer to those who improve themselves by going abroad or getting trained.

海带 *hǎi dài*: Literally, it means kelp. But, it is a pun and metaphor now because it is the homophone of the phrase "海待", *hǎi dài* which refers to the Chinese overseas graduates who fail to find satisfactory jobs as they expected after their return to China.

备胎 *bèi tāi*: Its surface meaning is a spare tire. Yet, in today's figurative usage, it is widely used to refer to a rebound girl/boy or back burner girl/boy in a relationship.

### 4.3 Word Building

#### 4.3.1 Clipping

Clipping is one of the commonly used ways to coin the new words or phrases, such as: 博导 *bó dǎo*（博士生导师 *bó shì shēng dǎo shī*, PhD supervisor）, 名记 *míng jì*（知名记者 *zhī míng jì zhě*, renowned journalist）, 娱记 *yú jì* （娱乐

版记者 *yú lè bǎn jì zhě*, showbiz reporter）, 国考 *guó kǎo*（国家公务员考试 *guó jiā gōng wù yuán kǎo shì,* national civil service exam）, 产学研 *chǎn xué yán* （科研、教育、生产环节在功能与资源优势上的协同与集成化 *kē yán jiào yù shēng chǎn huán jié zài gōng néng yú zī yuán yōu shì shàng de xié tóng yú jí chéng huà,* the production-study-research combination）, 国六条 *guó liù tiáo*（调控房地产市场的6条政策 *tiáo kòng fáng dì chǎn shì chǎng de liù tiáo zhèng cè,* 6 measures to regulate the housing market）, 社保 *shè bǎo*（社会保险 *shè huì bǎo xiǎn*, Social Security ）, 扫黄 *sǎo huáng*（扫除黄色文化传播对正常健康人群的毒害 *sǎo chú huáng sè wén huà chuán bō duì zhèng cháng jiàn kāng rén qún de dú hài,* anti-pornography）, 一带一路 *yī dài yī lù*（"丝绸之路经济带"和"21世纪海上丝绸之路" *sī chóu zhī lù jīng jì dài hé èr shí yī shì jì hǎi shàng sī chóu zhī lù*, the Belt and Road Initiative）, 月光族 *yuè guāng zú* （每月都用光 *měi yuè dōu yòng guāng,* to live from paycheck to paycheck）, 城管 *chéng guǎn*（中国地方执法者 *zhōng guó dì fāng zhí fǎ zhě,* according to *The Guardian*, Chengguan, or urban management officers, are employed to deal with low-level crime and disorder, often clearing away unlicensed vendors）, 喜大普奔 *xǐ dà pǔ bēn*（According to *The New York Times*, it means news so exhilarating that everyone is celebrating and spreading it around the world. Actually, it combines 4 Chinese phrases by clipping. They are: 1) 喜闻乐见 (*xǐ wén lè jiàn*, a delight to see and hear); 2) 大快人心 (*dà kuài rén xīn*, to the satisfaction of everyone); 3) 普天同庆 ( *pǔ tiān tóng qìng*, universal rejoicing); 4) 奔走相告 (*bēn zǒu xiāng gào*, running around and telling everyone), 半马（*bàn mǎ,* 二分之一马拉松 *èr fēn zhī yī mǎ lā sōng,* half marathon）, 沪指 *hù zhǐ*（上海证券综合指数 *shàng hǎi zhèng quàn zōng hé zhǐ shù,* the SSE Composite Index）, 十动然拒 *shí dòng rán jù*( "十分感动, 然后拒绝了他 " *shí fēn gǎn dòng, rán hòu jù jué le tā.* being deeply moved, but sb. still rejects that person), 人艰不拆 *rén jiān bù chāi*（"人生已如此艰难, 有些事就不要拆穿", *rén shēng yǐ rú cǐ jiān nán, yǒu xiē shì jiù bù yào chāi chuān.* According to *The New York Times*, Ren Jian Bu Chai

means some lies are better not exposed, as life is already so hard or "cut someone some slack").

### 4.3.2 Compounding

Compounding is always the popular way in word building of new words, such as: 电子商务 *diàn zǐ shāng wù*, 'e-Business', 电子相册 *diàn zǐ xiàng cè,* 'electronic album', 绿色科技 *lǜ sè kē jì,* 'green science and technology', 微观经济 *wēi guān jīng jì,* 'microeconomy', 学术超男 *xué shù chāo nán,* 'superman-scholar/an extraordinary scholar in academic area, ' 国民初恋 *guó mín chū liàn*, 'an ideal girl who is the best choice for puppy love in all men's eyes, ' and so on.

### 4.3.3. Homophone

*Wikipedia* states that a homophone is a word that is pronounced the same as another word but differs in meaning, and may differ in spelling. Chinese users often make the best of homophones to coin many new terms. For instance, "蓝瘦香菇 *lán shòu xiāng gū"* shares a similar pronunciation with "难受想哭", *nán shòu xiǎng kū,* referring to 'down in the dumps'. *"*鸭梨山大 *yā lí shān dà"* is homophonic to "压力大 *yā lì dà,* stressed out". The similar examples are: 童鞋 *tóng xié*（同学 *tóng xué,* classmate）, 杯具 *bēi jù*（悲剧 *bēi jù*, tragedy）, 神马 *shén mǎ*（什么 *shén me*, what）, 家庭煮夫 *jiā ting zhǔ fū*（家庭主夫 *jiā ting zhǔ fū,* house husband）, 妻管严 *qī guǎn yán*（气管炎 *qì guǎn yán,* henpecked）, 斑竹 *bān zhú*（版主 *bǎn zhǔ,* moderator）, 蒜你狠 *suàn nǐ hěn*（算你狠 *suàn nǐ hěn*, skyrocketing or soaring garlic prices in China）, 酱紫 *jiàng zǐ*（这样子 *zhè yàng zi*, like this）, 鸡冻 *jī dòng*（激动 *jī dòng*, excited）, etc.

### 4.3.4. Pictograph

Based on Wikipedia, pictograph is an ideogram that conveys its meaning through the pictorial resemblance to a physical object. Pictographs are often used in writing and graphic systems in which the characters are, to a considerable extent, pictorial in appearance. The Chinese characters like "囧" *jiǒng* and "鞎" *méi* are truly pictographic, showing the human emotions and facial expressions vividly and precisely.

## 5. Sources of Neologism

### 5.1 Mass Media including TV Show, Movie, Drama, Music and Novel

Mass media including TV show, movie, drama, music and novel all make great impact on the coinage of Chinese new terms. The examples are as follows: 洪荒之力 *hóng huāng zhī lì,* 'utilizing prehistorical powers/to have given one's full play（from Chinese TV show entitled *Hua Qiangu*）, 将……进行到底 *jiāng…… jìn xíng dào dǐ,* 'to carry something through to the end'（from Chinese movie entitled *Eternal Moment*）, 一个都不能少 *yī gè dōu bù néng shǎo,* 'no one left behind'（from the well-known Chinese director Zhang Yimou's movie *Not One* Less）, 痛并快乐着 *tòng bìng kuài lè zhe,* 'life interwoven with happiness and bitterness'（from Chinese prominent reporter Bai Yansong's book title）, 都是……惹的祸 *dōu shì……rě de huò,* 'it is all … fault'（from the Chinese singer Zhang Yu's song）, 重头戏 *zhòng tóu xì,* 'highlight'（from Chinese operas）, 变脸 *biàn liǎn,* 'fast mask-changing/ to change one's attitude quickly'（from Sichuan Opera）, 萝莉 *luó lì,* 'Lolita'（from Vladimir Nabokov' s novel entitled *Lolita*）, 玛丽苏 *mǎ lì sū,* 'Mary Sue'（"Mary Sue" is a term referring to an idealized and seemingly perfect young or low-rank girl who saves the day through unrealistic abilities. It comes from the name of a character created by Paula Smith in her fiction）, 壁咚 *bì dōng,* 'kabe-donis a situation in which a guy slams his hand against the wall, pinning a girl against it out of love, flirting or jealousy（a body language which often appears in TV shows or comic books）, 如花 *rú huā*（a character from the Chinese novel and movie named *Hail the Judge*, implying the ugly and ill-mannered woman）, 班底 *bān dǐ,* 'all the staff in the team'(from the jargon of Chinese operas), 包袱 *bāo fu,* 'punchline', 梗*gěng,* 'gag'（from a kind of Chinese traditional art named cross-talk or comic dialogue）, 伤不起 *shāng bù qǐ,* 'vulnerable'（from the name of a Chinese pop song）, 狗血 *gǒu xiě*（from Chinese TV shows or movies and is often used for making fun of the ridiculous plot）, 满血复活 *mǎn xiě fù huó*（from PC game, indicating being resurrected with full HP. HP is the short form for hit point which is

an online game term）.

### 5.2 The Internet

The fast-growing influence from the Internet is also manifested in Chinese new words, such as: GG（哥哥 *gē ge,* any young men who are older than you）, MM（妹妹 *mèi mei*, any young women who are younger than you; 美眉 *měi mei,* an address form for any girl）, QQ (Chinese social media), PK (pair or group competition), N次 *cì*(many times), No作 *zuō* No die (if you don't do stupid things, they won't come back and bite you in the ass/ dig one's own grave), 顶 *dǐng* (thumbs up), 菜鸟*cài niǎo* (greenhand), 青蛙 *qīng wā* (ugly men), 恐龙 *kǒng lóng* (ugly women), 逆袭 *nì xí*(counterattack), 屌丝 *diǎo sī* (loser / plebs), 度娘 *dù niáng*(the Chinese search engine named Baidu), 悲催 *bēi cuī*（miserable, unpleasant）, 杯具 *bēi jù* (tragedy), 拍砖 *pāi zhuān*（to make critical comments）, etc.

### 5.3 Loan Words

Since China has implemented the policy of reform and opening up, the economic, academic, scientific, commercial and intercultural communication between China and other countries are rapidly increasing with each passing day. Accordingly, in recent decades, large quantities of new words coming from the outside world pop up in Chinese.

From English-speaking countries：MP4, Iphone, Ipad, TOFEL, IELTS, GRE, GMAT, DIY, U盘 *pán*(flash drive/disk), IQ, AA制 *zhì(*go dutch), A股 *gǔ*(A-share), B超 *chāo* (B-ultrasound), ATM, SIM卡 *kǎ* (SIM card), 酷 *kù* (cool), CP（couple）, T台 *tái* (catwalk), 迷你裙 *mí nǐ qún* (mini-skirt), 冰淇淋 *bīng qí lín* (icecream), 粉丝 *fěn sī*(fans), K歌 *gē* (Karaoke), 克隆 *kè long*(clone), 基因 *jī yīn* (gene), 推特 *tuī tè* (twitter), DVD, 摆 *bǎi* pose (to pose for a picture), CEO, VIP, IP 地址 *dì zhǐ* (Internet Protocol Address), 比特币 *bǐ tè bì* (bitcoin), 3G (Third-Generation Mobile Communication System), wifi, G20 (The G20 / G-20 / Group of Twenty)"), hold住*zhù* (to hold/ to keep something under control), 小 *xiǎo* case (a piece of cake), 沙拉 *shā lā* (salad), 热狗 *rè gǒu* (hotdog), 吐司 *tǔ sī* (toast), low, high, etc.

From Japan and South Korea：人气

*rén qì*(popularity), 写真 *xiě zhēn* (photo taking), 高颜值 *gāo yán zhí* (gorgeous ), 素颜 *sù yán* (face without makeup/natural look), 壁咚 *bì dōng*(kabe-don, that is a situation in which a guy slams his hand against the wall, pinning a girl against it out of love, flirting or jealousy), 傲娇 *ào jiāo* (proud, arrogant/tsundere), 腹黑 *fù hēi* (sneaky, devious), 宅男 *zhái nán*(indoorsman), 宅女 *zhái nǚ* (indoorswoman), 御姐 *yù jiě* (a mature and able woman), 正太 *zhèng tài* (a cute boy), 么么哒 *mō mō dā* (an onomatopoeia of a kiss showing affection), 欧巴 *ōu bā* (an address form for a handsome man, brother or boyfriend), 国民 *guó mín* (all the men/women in the nation), 料理 *liào lǐ*(cuisine/food), 量贩式 *liàng fàn shì*(hypermarket), etc.

### 5.4 Dialects

Dialects also play the crucial role in the creation of the new words. Mainly, dialects from Beijing, Guandong, Hongkong and Taiwan make more contributions to the coinage due to their stronger economic power.

Beijing (the Northern China)：侃大山 *kǎn dà shā*n, 'to shoot the breeze', 忽悠 *hū yōu*, 'sweet-talk', 大腕 *dà wàn*, 'big people/important people', 傍大款 *bàng dà kuǎn*, '(of a girl) find a sugar daddy; to be a mistress for a rich man', 给力 *gěi lì,* 'superb, cool, exciting', 土鳖 *tǔ biē,* 'hillbilly'.

Guangdong(the Southern China)： 靓 *liàng,* 'beautiful', 搞定 *gǎodìng* , ' get it done', 买单 *mǎi dān*, 'to check', 写字楼 *xiě zì lóu,* 'office building', 无厘头 *wú lí tóu,* 'with nonsensical humor', 大佬 *dà lǎo,* 'tycoon', 废柴 *fèi chái,* 'loser', 拍拖 *pāi tuō,* 'in a relationship', 大排档 *dà pái dàng,* 'sidewalk snack booth'.

Hongkong and Taiwan：狗仔队 *gǒu zǎi duì,* 'paparazzi', 蜀黍 *shǔ shú*, 'uncle', 吐槽 *tǔ cáo,* 'to complain', 咸猪手 *xián zhū shǒu,* 'the hands of the man who takes advantage of overcrowding to grope female passengers', 派对 *pài duì,* 'party'.

### 5.5 Numbers

Thanks to the homophonic feature, some new words related to numbers are widely used today, such as 520(from 我爱你 *wǒ ài nǐ,* I love you), 1314 (from 一生一世 *yī shēng yī shì,* forever), 9494(from

就是就是 *jiù shì jiù shì*, yes).

### 5.6 Stock Market and Sports Events

Since stock market and sports events are the common concern in Chinese people's life, the influences from them also contribute a lot to the increase in new words.

From sports events: 擦边球 *cā biān qiú*, 'edge ball', 小动作 *xiǎo dòng zuò*, 'gamesmanship', 黑哨 *hēi shào*, 'black whistle', 陪练 *péi liàn*, 'ladder player', 出线 *chū xiàn*, 'to get qualification to play next game', 越位 *yuè wèi,* 'offside', 规定动作 *guī dìng dòng zuò*, 'compulsories', 红牌 *hóng pái*, 'red card', 黄牌 *huáng pái,* 'yellow card', 帽子戏法 *mào zi xì fǎ,* 'hat-trick', 禁区 *jìn qū,* 'forbidden zone', 套路 *tào lù*, 'a series of skills and trick in wushu, etc, /routines' , 乌龙 *wū long*, 'own goal'.

From stock market: 崩盘 *bēng pán*, 'a stock-market crash/collapse', 套牢 *tào láo,* 'to tie up', 牛市 *niú shì*, 'bull market', 熊市 *xióng shì*, 'bear market', 绩优股 *jì yōu gǔ,* 'blue chip', 蓝筹股 *lán chóu gǔ*, 'blue chip', 垃圾股 *lā jī gǔ*, 'trash stock', 利好 *lì hǎo*, 'good news', 利空 *lì kōng*, 'bad news', 看涨 *kàn zhǎng*, '(of market prices)to be expected to rise', 行情 *háng qíng*, 'stock market quotations', 波动 *bō dòng,* 'to fluctuate', 救市 *jiù shì,* 'bailout'.

### 5.7 Social Issues

Likewise, the hot-spot issues make some new words come into being, such as: 剩女 *shèng nǚ,* 'spinster', 高富帅 *gāo fù shuài,* 'a tall, rich and handsome man', 白富美 *bái fù měi,* 'a rich and beautiful girl with fair skin', 白骨精 *bái gǔ jīng,* 'a woman who is a white-collar, leader and elite', 躲猫猫 *duǒ māo māo,* 'hide and seek, a term used to refer to an incident happened in February 12th , 2009 on which a young prisoner named Li Qiaoming died in the cell. It was explained that his death was an accident. And the reason was that Li hit his head when he played hide and seek with other prisoners; 楼脆脆 *lóu cuì cuì,* 'cracked buildings/fragile buildings', 范跑跑 *fàn pǎo pǎo,* 'the nickname of the teacher named Fan Meizhong because he ran out of the classroom leaving his students behind when the May 12 earthquake struck. The nickname is given by the news media for his irresponsible and

selfish behaviors; 二奶 *èr nǎi,* 'mistress', 小三 *xiǎo sān*, 'the other woman in one's marriage' , etc.

## 6. Mechanism and Hypothesis

### 6.1 Metaphor Mechanism

#### 6.1.1 The Theory of Metaphor

Metaphor, originally a figure of speech in which an implied comparison is made between the source domain and the target domain based on their similarities, now has become an important cognitive tool. It's more than just ornaments, embellishment or decorative accessories. It's the mapping and a fresh way of thinking, viewing the world and shaping the thoughts of others. Metaphors are everywhere.

As we know, the theory of metaphor was first proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their work *Metaphors We Live By*. George Lakoff (1992) pointed out that *"the generalization governing poetic metaphorical expressions are not in language, but in thought: they are general mappings across conceptual domains. Moreover, these general principles which take the form of conceptual mappings, apply not just to novel poetic expressions, but to much of ordinary everyday language. In short, the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another."*

It is true that conceptual metaphors are seen in our daily conversations, communications, debates, quarrels, news and so on. They shape what we think and how we think.

#### 6.1.2 The Supporting Evidence

Chinese neologism is not the exception. Instead, it is the true manifestation. The following new words are all coined according to the mechanism of metaphor:

红眼病 *hóng yǎn bìng*, 'jealousy', 小儿科 *xiǎo ér kē,* 'a piece of cake', 保护伞 *bǎo hù sǎn*, 'patron', 蜗居 *wō jū,* 'to live in quite a small place', 草根 *cǎo gēn*, 'grassroots', 狗仔队 *gǒu zǎi duì,* 'paparazzi', 瓶颈 *píng jǐng*, 'bottleneck', 潜水 *qián shuǐ*, 'lurking', 花瓶 *huā píng* , 'just for ornament', 花痴 *huā chī,* 'to be crazy about the handsome men', 充电 *chōng diàn,* 'to learn something in order to acquire more knowledge and abilities', 小白鼠 *xiǎo bái shǔ,* 'to make someone guinea pig', 出气筒 *chū qì tǒng,* 'to use someone as a punching bag or take it out on someone', 打水漂 *dǎ shuǐ piāo*, 'in vain', 黄昏恋 *huáng hūn liàn,* 'romance of the elderly', 打气 *dǎ qì,* 'pep talk', 煲电话

粥 *bāo diàn huà zhōu*, 'calling each other for a long time', 钓鱼执法 *diào yú zhí fǎ,* 'entrapment', 炒鱿鱼 *chǎo yóu yú*, 'to fire someone', 心塞 *xīn sāi,* 'to feel suffocated', 枪手 *qiāng shǒu,* 'imposter', 下课 *xià kè,* 'to get fired', 软着陆 *ruǎn zhuó lù*, 'soft landing', 菜鸟 *cài niǎo*, 'green hand', 撒狗粮 *sǎ gǒu liáng,* 'Public Display of Affection', 坑爹 *kēng diē,* 'cheating/deceiving', 挖坑 *wā kēng,* 'trap', 剩女 *shèng nǚ,* 'spinster', 恐龙 *kǒng lóng,* 'ugly woman', 打不死的小强 *dǎ bù sǐ de xiǎo qiáng,* 'a man who can survive all kinds of difficult situations', 包子脸 *bāo zǐ liǎn,* 'big and round face', 沦陷 *lún xiàn*, 'being conquered/occupied', 醉了 *zuì le*, 'speechless', 晕 *yūn,* 'yikes', 躺枪 *tǎng qiāng,* 'innocent people getting involoved in some accuasations', 脑洞大开 *nǎo dòng dà kāi,* ''to greatly widen one's horizon', 井喷 *jǐng pēn,* 'drastic increase', 雷人 *léi rén,* 'shocking/startling', 饥饿营销 *jī è yíng xiāo,* 'hunger marketing', 小虾米 *xiǎo xiā mǐ,* 'small potatoes', 校草 *xiào cǎo,* 'the most handsome schoolboy', 校花 *xiào huā,* 'campus belle', 挖墙角 *wā qiáng jiǎo,* 'to steal one's girlfriend or boyfriend', 旗舰店 *qí jiàn diàn,* 'flagship store', 老油条 *lǎo yóu tiáo,* 'a slippery person', 老腊肉 *lǎo là ròu,* 'middle-aged handsome man' , 桃花运 *táo huā yùn,* 'to have a good luck in romance', 牵红线 *qiān hóng xiàn, '* to set somebody up with…', 踩红线 *cǎi hóng xiàn,* 'to cross the line', 镀金 *dù jīn,* 'to improve onself by going abroad for study or getting trained', 小白脸 *xiǎo bái liǎn,* 'toy boy', 潜规则 *qián guī zé,* 'unspoken rules', 备胎 *bèi tāi,* 'a rebound girl/boy or back burner girl/boy in a relationship'.

### 6.2 The Hypothesis of Socio-psycho-linguistic Need for Neologisms

#### 6.2.1 Socio-psycho-linguistic Need Hypothesis

With regard to the above description and analysis of Chinese neologisms, I intend to put forward a new hypothesis to explain how those new words are created. That is the hypothesis of socio-psycho-linguistic need for neologisms, which reflects the spiritual needs in today's fast-paced and ever-changing information era. Those socio-psycho-linguistic needs for neologisms are the crucial impetus to the coinage of Chinese neologisms. Such a

brand new need hypothesis can be shown in the following chart:

### 6.2.2 The Supporting Evidence

#### 6.2.2.1 Need for Simplicity

The fast pace of modern society requires concise and short expressions. So in today's China, simplicity is highly recommended and valued in the coinage of Chinese new words. As the simplest way to express the ideas, abbreviation is commonly used. Abbreviation is easy and efficient for people to remember and use. "单独 *dān dú*, the Chinese policy that allows the family to have the second baby so long as one of the parents is the only child of his or her family" and "二孩 *èr hái,* the second baby in a family"are both the typical examples showing that kind of psychological mapping. The former was a simple way to call a Chinese policy which was adopted in 2013, saying that if either parent is an only child, then the couple is eligible to have two children of their own. The latter, according to *China Daily*, means the newest "universal two-child policy" which relaxes more than three-decade-old family planning policy in China and actively addresses Chinese ever-increasing aging problem.

#### 6.2.2.2 Need for Novelty

Novelty means being new, striking, original or unusual. It is the indispensable factor which accelerates the fast development of Chinese new words. The Chinese new word "duang" is the best example. "Duang" has already gone viral online in China. According to Wikipedia, it has become a popular hashtag on China's micro-blogging site Weibo with more than 8 million mentions by the start of March 2015. It all seems to have started with Hong Kong movie star Jackie Chan's notoriously bad advertisement for Bawang Shampoo. He kept using the interjection "duang" which alludes to a 2010 scandal in which Bawang was accused of having added carcinogenic chemicals to its hair products. The onomatopoeia "duang" was coined since then. Even the word is written in a combination of Chan's Mandarin names.

#### 6.2.2.3 Need for Humor

Humor, a mode of expression intended to arouse amusement, is also the drive of the neologisms. For example, "女神经" *nǚ shén jīng* adds one Chinese character to the traditional phrase "女神" *nǚ shén* which means goddess to turn the whole meaning upside down. The new phrase transforms the classy image of a 'goddess' into a 'female psychopath', which is obviously a humorous tone. "太平公主" *tài píng gōng zhǔ* is also another typical example. Originally, it denotes an ancient princess named Taiping. But, its novel and extended meaning is correlated with those girls who are not that sexy. It is also obvious that speakers intentionally and playfully make use of polysemy of the Chinese character "平*píng*" which literally means 'flat' to make fun of those girls. The examples like "高富帅" *gāo fù shuài*, 'a tall, rich and handsome man', "矮挫穷" *ǎi cuó qióng*, 'a short, poor and stupid man' and "土肥圆" *tǔ féi yuán,* 'a rustic who is overweight or plump' are all the same.

#### 6.2.2.4 Need for Catharsis

Catharsis is the act or process of releasing a strong emotion and an emotional discharge through which one can be free from anxiety and stress. The new phrases "醉了" *zuì le,* 'a response to something so absurd that one doesn't intend to scold, complain or express disdain' and "抓狂" *zhuā kuáng,* 'to go nuts' are both the examples representing that emotional discharge and release.

#### 6.2.2.5 Need for Subversiveness

Subversiveness is literally the "turning over" of something, such as the authority, traditional concepts and ways of expressions. For instance, nowadays, the comments made by some so-called irresponsible professors or experts are wide of the mark. So, "教授 *jiào shòu,* professor"is called as" 叫兽 *jiào shòu*"and" 专家 *zhuān jiā,* expert" is replaced by "砖家 *zhuān jiā*". Both of them use homonyms to show people's criticism, questioning and mistrust. Another living proof is that "偶像 *ǒu xiàng*" is a synonym for "呕吐的对象 *ǒu tù de duì xiàng*" now. It is because of the misbehaviors or misconducts of those idols that disappoint many people.

#### 6.2.2.6 Need for Sarcasm

Based on Wikipedia, sarcasm is a sharp, bitter, mocking, contemptuous or cutting expression, ironic language or remark intended to show scorn or insult. The phrases like "躲猫猫 *duǒ māo māo*"and "楼脆脆 *lóu cuì cuì*" both reflect people's discontent and sarcasm when such social incidents occurred. Consequently, the new words are coined to satirize what happened.

#### 6.2.2.7 Need for Euphemism

Euphemism is a polite expression used to avoid being blunt, rude and presumptuous in language communication. It deliberately lessens or softens the negative or unpleasant connotations. Euphemisms are used regularly and there are many examples in Chinese neologisms. One of them is "单身贵族" *dān shēn guì zú* which denotes those unmarried middle-aged people in a less harsh way.

## 7. Conclusion

Since China has adopted the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world, the rapid social, scientific, technological, economic and cultural development have brought unprecedented changes to the country. All these changes are also reflected in ever-increasing neologisms because language is by no means stagnant . Just like Hu Zhuanglin(2001) states that what catches our attention most quickly and easily is the changes in lexicon. As a result, according to the official statistics, there were 1, 680 new words emerging from 2006 to 2010. 2011 saw 594 new words appear and the amount of neologisms is still on the rise with each passing year. Those frequently used new words are just like a sensor, a bellwether and a spearhead. Therefore, undoubtedly, those lexical changes can simultaneously mirror the social and cultural transformation.

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