

STUDIA ORIENTALIA SLOVACA

ročník · volume 18

číslo · number 1

2019



Čínsky znak na obálke znamenajúci ‘východ’, pochádzajúci od Liu Xie 劉解 (1781–1840), bol vyrytý do nefritu podľa vzoru zo začiatku nášho letopočtu. · The Chinese character with the meaning ‘east’ employed on the cover is cut as a seal by Liu Xie, on the basis of models from the beginning of our era.

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Univerzita Komenského v Bratislavе
Katedra východoázijských štúdií

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Vedecké štúdie v *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* sú indexované v database SCOPUS. · Research articles in *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* are abstracted and indexed in SCOPUS.

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EV 4938/14

ISSN 1336-3786

Studia Orientalia Slovaca

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Kana or Kanji? Preferences in Orthographic Representation of Japanese Auxiliary Verbs*

Ivona Barešová and Martin Schir

Abstract This paper explores orthographic preferences for writing Japanese auxiliary verbs. After an initial examination of the orthographic tendencies for selected verbs using the BCCWJ corpus and several books on the Japanese language, a small experiment was conducted investigating more closely the orthographic practices and motivations underlining the choice of script. The paper presents the findings of the analysis, offering an insight into the various considerations concerning orthographic choices in general and for writing the selected auxiliary verbs in particular.

Keywords Japanese auxiliary verbs · *kana*, *kanji*, script preferences, language guidelines

Introduction

One of the most salient characteristics of the Japanese language is the complexity of its writing system,¹ which combines logographic Chinese characters (*kanji*) and two phonographic syllabaries (*hiragana* and *katakana*), and also makes use of Arabic numerals and the Latin alphabet. Official language guidelines prescribe conventions concerning script selection, to be observed in official writing, such as laws and ordinances, official documents, newspapers and magazines, but even in these formal settings some deviations from the norm occur. Individuals, however, are subject to a variety of influences affecting their script selection, and learners

* The work is supported by Internal Grant Agency of Palacky University [IGA_FF_2018_024].

¹ See, e.g., Insup Taylor and Martin M. Taylor, *Writing and Literacy in Chinese, Korean and Japanese* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995); Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith, »Japanese Writing«, in *The World's Writing Systems*, ed. by Peter T. Daniels (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 209–217.

of Japanese seeking to emulate authentic modern language often point out various discrepancies between the writing conventions they learn and the actual language they see.

This study investigates orthographic variation in the writing of auxiliary verbs. In principle, auxiliary verbs should be written in *hiragana* rather than *kanji*. A corpus analysis showed that while the practice of writing auxiliary verbs in *hiragana* clearly prevails, *kanji* are used as well, with the overall frequency differing depending on the verb and the type of text. *Kanji* are more often found in literary works and texts written by individuals, as opposed to formal writing bound by institutional conventions. This raises a number of questions: Why choose *kanji* over *kana*? Are the individuals making a conscious choice, or do they intuitively favor one or the other script for a particular case? Are there any consistencies based on the type of verb or context, either for that individual or for most individuals?

The research for this paper involved a small experiment concerning writing practices among a particular demographic of native speakers, Japanese university students. Each of the 20 subjects typed dictated sentences, with a subsequent interview ascertaining their motivation for script choice. This paper presents the findings of the analysis, providing some insight into the various considerations concerning orthographic choices for auxiliary verbs.

1 *Official Language Guidelines for Using the Various Scripts*

As was mentioned above, the Japanese language utilizes several distinct scripts. As a general rule, content words of native or Sino-Japanese origins, including nouns and verbal and adjectival stems, are written in *kanji*. *Hiragana* is used for function words, such as particles and inflectional endings, as well as some content words which would otherwise be written with difficult or uncommon *kanji*. *Katakana* is today used primarily for non-Chinese loanwords, and also for onomatopoeic words, exclamations, specialized scientific terminology, and some other specific purposes, such as the Japanese equivalent of italicization, for emphasis, etc. The Roman

alphabet is used especially for abbreviations and acronyms. Numbers are written either in *kanji* or Arabic numerals.²

The following sentence from an Internet communication illustrates how these scripts work together.

複数	の	YouTube	アカウント	を	1つ	に	したい。
<i>Fukusū</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>YouTube</i>	<i>akaunto</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>hitotsu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>shitai.</i>
plural	GEN ³	YouTube	account	ACC	one-CLS	DAT	make:DES
»I want to merge several YouTube accounts into one.«							

The word *fukusū* (›plural, multiple‹) is a content word and as such is written in *kanji*. The particles *no*, *o* and *ni* are written in *hiragana*, as well as the verb *shitai* (this verb is commonly written in *hiragana* and so is the desiderative suffix—*tai*). *Akaunto* comes from the English word »account« and thus is written in *katakana*. The word *hitotsu* consists of the number one written with an Arabic numeral and the numeral classifier *tsu* written in *hiragana*.

The various conventions for the use of these scripts, including the list of *kanji* to be used in official public writing and consequently required for completing compulsory education, have changed over time.⁴ After the Second World War the

² Shoichi Iwasaki, *Japanese. Revised Edition* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2013), 20; Shibamoto-Smith, »Japanese Writing«, 209–212.

³ The abbreviations used in this paper are based on Iwasaki (*Japanese*, 2013): ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, ADV = adverbial form, ALL = allative, ASP = aspect, ATT = attributive form, AUX = auxiliary, CLS = classifier, COM = comitative, COND = conditional form, COP = copula, DAT = dative, DES = desiderative form, GEN = genitive, H.HON = humble honorific, HON = honorific (respect), IMP = imperative form, INF = infinitive form (*ren'yōkei*), LEX = lexical verb, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, NML = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, NPAST = nonpast, PAST = past, POL = polite suffix, POT = potential suffix, Q = question marker, QT = quotative particle, SE = sentence extender, SFX = suffix, TE = conjunctive (-*te*) form, TOP = topic, VOL = volitional suffix.

⁴ For a detailed description see, e.g. Christopher Seeley, *A History of Writing in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991); Tessa Carroll, *Language Planning and Language Change in Japan* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001); Nanette Gottlieb, *Kanji Politics. Language Policy and Japanese Script* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

government published a Cabinet regulation restricting to 1,850 the number of *kanji* for legislation, administration, newspapers, magazines, and general social life.⁵ The actual number of *kanji* used, for example, in newspapers was, however, much higher, because many *kanji* for personal and place names were not included among the 1,850. This list of *Tōyō kanji* (Chinese characters for daily use) was replaced in 1981 with 1,945 *Jōyō kanji* (Chinese characters for common use), and with the 2010 revision it was extended to the present 2,136. This list is currently complemented by 863 *Jinmeiyō kanji*, a specific list of additional characters for personal and place names.

The list of *Jōyō kanji* is accompanied by a Cabinet directive addressing the use of *kanji* and *hiragana* in official public documents (*Kōyō bun ni okeru kanji shiyō nado ni tsuite* [Cabinet directive on the use of *kanji* in government texts]) and in legal texts (*Hōrei ni okeru kanji shiyō nado ni tsuite* [Cabinet directive on the use of *kanji* in laws and ordinances]), specifying, among other things, which types of words should be written in *hiragana* instead of *kanji*.

The conventions for using *kana* can be found in the current 1986 revision of the 1946 *Gendai kanazukai* (Modern *kana* usage). The current use of *okurigana*⁶ should follow the 1973 revised version of the 1958 *Okurigana no tsukekata* (Rules for using *okurigana*), although some changes are included in the 2010 Cabinet directive on the use of *kanji* in government texts.

These guidelines are elaborated in more detail by numerous books and manuals which illustrate and clarify the brief directives through various examples. Despite all this attention, these official guidelines are viewed more as recommendations rather than actual rules, and the less official the text, the greater the accepted deviation from these conventions, as various other considerations come into play.

5 Max Kuenburg, »Toyo Kanji. The Story of Modern Japanese Characters«, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 8, 1/2 (1952), 230.

6 *Okurigana* is *kana* added on to a *kanji* to clarify the specific reading and meaning.

2 Individual Writing Habits

A person's writing habits are influenced by various factors: their education, conventions of their company or other social group, the various texts to which they have been exposed, their *kanji* competence, etc. A Japanese colleague admitted that his orthographic choices are very much influenced by his favorite author. Orthographic choice also depends on the type of text, and whether it is being typed or hand-written. When writing by hand, people generally tend to use fewer *kanji*, using *hiragana* instead of more complicated *kanji*, but when typing they may end up using *kanji* even in situations when they would otherwise use *hiragana*, because the *hiragana* can be easily converted to one of the suggested *kanji* by just pressing the *kana-kanji* conversion key. According to Gottlieb,⁷ word processing has brought about the revival of very complex *kanji*, and an overuse of *kanji* in general.

Whether typing or writing by hand, some people simply enjoy loading their texts with *kanji*, while others stylistically prefer using more *hiragana*. Some have quite specific preferences. For example, Gottlieb⁸ mentions a university professor whose personal preference is to write *boku* (‘I’) in *katakana*, although it is usually written in *kanji* or *hiragana*. A considerable diversity can be also found in the use of *okurigana*.

Unlike official texts, which are supposed to observe the conventions set by the government, an individual's orthographic choices are more a matter of personal style, for which the script variety provides a rich flexibility of orthographic choice. Nevertheless, it would be logical to assume that the various formal published texts such as newspapers and textbooks should be the substantial influence upon the writing style of the general population.

⁷ Nanette Gottlieb, *Word-processing Technology in Japan: Kanji and the Keyboard* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000); Nanette Gottlieb, *Language and Society in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁸ Gottlieb, *Word-processing Technology in Japan: Kanji and the Keyboard*, 74.

3 Orthography of Selected Auxiliary Verbs in Various Types of Texts

Recommendations concerning the choice of script for auxiliaries in official public texts can be found in the 2010 Cabinet directive on the use of *kanji* in government texts,⁹ the same as in the 1981 directive. Auxiliaries are treated here in two successive paragraphs. The first states that *jodōshi* should be written in *hiragana*. The term *jodōshi* is variously used to refer to either auxiliary suffixes or to auxiliary verbs (derived from lexical verbs), or to both, but here and most commonly it refers only to the former, as in the traditional Japanese school grammar, according to which auxiliary verbs are referred to as *hojodōshi* («subsidiary, auxiliary verbs»). The directive does not explicitly mention *hojodōshi*, but the second paragraph lists a number of verbs that are *hojodōshi*, and they are also recommended to be written in *hiragana*. The table below shows the exact formulation, which can be translated as: »Words and phrases like the following, when used in a similar manner as the examples listed, are in principle to be written in *hiragana*«. This instruction is rather vague, allowing space for individual interpretation. Hirose¹⁰ interprets this to mean that *hojodōshi* should be in principle written in *hiragana*.

- 9 »Kōyō bun ni okeru kanji shiyō nado ni tsuite« 公用文における漢字使用などについて [Cabinet Directive on the Use of *Kanji* in Government Texts], <http://www.bunka.go.jp/kokugo_nihongo/sisaku/joho/joho/kijun/sanko/koyobun/pdf/kunrei.pdf> (last retrieval Nov 1, 2018).
- 10 Hirose Kikuo 廣瀬菊雄, *Kōyō bun: Yōji yōgo no yōten* 公用文—用字用語の要点 [Main Points Concerning the Use of Characters and Word Choice] (Nagoya: Shin Nihon Hōki Shuppan, 2011), I.

Table 1
The Passage Concerning Auxiliary Verbs in the Cabinet Directive »Kōyō bun ni okeru kanji shiyō nado ni tsuite« (1981, 2010)

次のような語句を、（ ）の中に示した例のように用いるときは、原則として、仮名で書く。

例 [other than *bojodōshi* are omitted]

- ・・・てあげる（図書を貸してあげる。）
- ・・・ていく（負担が増えていく。）
- ・・・ていただく（報告していただく。）
- ・・・ておく（通知しておく。）
- ・・・てください（問題点を話してください。）
- ・・・てくる（寒くなってくる。）
- ・・・てしまう（書いてしまう。）
- ・・・てみる（見てみる。）

This study investigated orthographic practices concerning such verbs in the verb construction V-te-AUX,¹¹ initially focusing on the auxiliary use¹² of the following lexical verbs: *iku* (»go«), *kuru* (»come«), *miru* (»see, look, watch«), *oku* (»put, place«), *ageru* (»give«), *sashiageru* (humble counterpart of *ageru*), *kureru* (»give«), *kudasaru* (honorific counterpart of *kureru*), *morau* (»get, receive, be given«), and *itadaku* (humble counterpart of *morau*). When used as lexical verbs, these verbs are usually written in *kanji*, except for *ageru*, *kureru*, and *morau*, which are usually written in *hiragana*. The *kanji* for *morau* is not even among *Jōyō kanji*.

An initial working understanding of actual orthographic tendencies was made using the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ, created by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics) and also by examining several publications on Japanese language. While it was expected that the corpus would reveal various differences between types of text, the books on

11 And also the honorific construction o-V-i-AUX.

12 In an auxiliary verb construction, »the auxiliary serves to aid in the expression of the particular realization of the event type encoded by the lexical verb as grounded in the larger context of the communicative discourse surrounding the event.« Gregory D. S. Anderson, *Auxiliary Verb Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 9.

Japanese language were expected to closely adhere to the recommended *hiragana* orthography.

3.1 *The BCCWJ*

As was already mentioned above, verbs when used as auxiliaries (*bojodōshi*) should generally be written in *hiragana*. Whether this was followed was verified by examining the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (from 1980 to 2010). The following subcorpora of the BCCWJ were searched: newspapers, books on natural science, literary works and written communication from Yahoo! Blogs and Yahoo! Q&A (*Chiebukuro*).¹³ Newspapers and books on natural science were expected to follow the official guidelines the closest, while in literary works it was assumed that the author's style might play some role, and Yahoo communication was expected to be the least bound by official recommendations.

The filter mechanics of the online corpus search application *Chūnagon* did not enable us to successfully select only these verbs in auxiliary function, so it was not practical to filter out all lexical uses of the verbs. Consequently, the data indicates slightly higher use of *kanji* than for auxiliaries alone. The results¹⁴ show that *hiragana* was used in approximately 91 % of cases. In other words, it seems that the recommendations are observed in practice. This number is even higher in official texts—in newspapers it averages 95 % and the same percentage was found for books on natural science. In literary texts it is 87 % and in blogs only 85 %.

For individual verbs the percentage range is even wider, 70–99 %. The highest rate (98–100 %) is observed with the benefactive verbs *ageru*, *kureru*, *morau*. This was expected, as these verbs are usually written in *hiragana* even when used as lexical verbs. A slightly lower rate was observed for the auxiliaries *miru* and *oku*, which are commonly written in *kanji* when used as lexical verbs. At the other end of the spectrum the benefactive verbs *kudasaru* and *itadaku* showed the lowest rates; for *kudasaru* it was in literary works about 60 % and in blogs below 60 %, in the construction *o-V-i-kudasaru* not even reaching 50 %.

¹³ Yahoo! *Chiebukuro* is a question-and-answer website where users submit questions and can also answer questions asked by other users.

¹⁴ The verb *sashiageru* was not included as the number of occurrences was quite low.

The data confirmed that the examined auxiliary verbs are usually written in *hiragana* as recommended by the official guidelines. However, for some of the verbs, the less official the text is, the more varied is the choice of script, meaning a higher tendency to use *kanji*.

3.2 Publications on Japanese language

It could be expected that publications on Japanese language aimed at foreign learners, such as grammar dictionaries and grammar practice books, would observe the official guidelines and use *hiragana* for auxiliary verbs, but a considerable diversity was found.

(*Shokyū o oshieru hito no tame no Nihongo bunpō handobukku*¹⁵) was the only book of those examined in which all auxiliaries were written in *hiragana*. The collection of example sentences (*Gakushūsha no bassō ni yoru Nihongo hyōgen bunkei reibunshū*¹⁶,¹⁷) contained auxiliary verbs written mostly in *hiragana*. An exception was the verb *kudasaru* (V-te-kudasaru, V-te-kudasai), which was for some reason consistently written in *kanji* throughout the book. On the other hand, in (*Kyōshi to gakushūsha no tame no Nihongo bunkei jiten*¹⁸) the orthography of auxiliaries was not unified. For example, *kudasai* in *notte-kudasai*¹⁹ appears in both *hiragana* and *kanji*, with no discernible difference in the contexts in which they are used. Similarly, in V-te-

¹⁵ Iori Isao 鹿功雄 et al., (*Shokyū o oshieru hito no tame no Nihongo bunpō handobukku* (初級を教える人のための)日本語文法ハンドブック [A Handbook of Japanese Grammar for Teaching Beginners] (Tokyo: 3A Corporation, 2000).

¹⁶ The examined books were all first published between 1988 and 2000 but they keep being reprinted, thus influencing current readers. We are citing here the year of the printing we have actually examined, in addition to the year of the first edition, as minor changes could have been made later within the same edition.

¹⁷ Sakamoto Tadashi 坂本正, (*Gakushūsha no bassō ni yoru Nihongo hyōgen bunkei reibunshū* 学習者の発想による日本語表現文型例文集 [A Collection of Example Sentences of Japanese Grammar Patterns Suitable for Learners of Japanese] (Tokyo: Bonjinsha, 1999, first publ. 1996).

¹⁸ Sunakawa Yuriko 砂川有里子, Gurūpu Jamashii グループ・ジャマシイ et al., (*Kyōshi to gakushūsha no tame no Nihongo bunkei jiten* 教師と学習者のための日本語文型辞典 [A Dictionary of Japanese Grammar Patterns for Teachers and Learners] (Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers, 2002, first publ. 1998).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

*oite-kudasai*²⁰ *kudasai* is written once in *hiragana* and once in *kanji*. Auxiliary verbs *iku* and *kuru* are also written both in *hiragana* and *kanji*, but when they are used to express some change over time *hiragana* is chosen. In *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*²¹ the auxiliary verbs *iku* and *kuru* are the only auxiliaries of those examined that are written in *kanji*, consistently in all instances, regardless of their meaning or context, which is surprising considering that all other auxiliaries are in *hiragana*. In the introductory part of *Jodōshi—Auxiliary verbs*²² all the verbs are written in *hiragana*. *Hiragana* prevails in other parts as well, but while, for example, the form V-te-*kudasaru* is written in *hiragana*, the imperative form V-te-*kudasai* is in *kanji*.²³ The verbs *iku* and *kuru* appear in both *hiragana* and *kanji*, again for no discernible reason.

As these examples show, *kanji* are used for auxiliaries to a certain extent in all but one of the mentioned publications. Diversity of script applied to the following verbs: *iku*, *kuru*, *kudasaru* and its imperative form *kudasai*. In some of the publications the use of *hiragana* vs. *kanji* seems to be consistent, but it is not clear what the underlining motivations are, and the practice can differ widely from book to book.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 247.

²¹ Seichi Makino and Michio Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar* (Tokyo: The Japan Times, 2015, first publ. 1989).

²² Kitagawa Chisato and Atsur Iguchi, *Japanese for Foreigners: Auxiliary verbs* (Tokyo: Aratake Shuppan, 1999, first publ. 1988).

²³ E.g., *Ibid.*, 61, 79.

Table 2
Script Choices for Auxiliaries in Selected Books on Japanese Language

	<i>Jodōshi – Auxiliary verbs</i> (1988, 1999)	<i>Nibongo hyōgen bunkei</i> (1996, 1999)	<i>Bumpō bando- bukku</i> (2000)	<i>Nibongo jiten</i> (1998, 2002)	<i>A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar</i> (1989, 2015)
<i>iku</i>	H/K	H	H	H/K	K
<i>kuru</i>	H/K	H	H	H/K	K
<i>miru</i>	H	H	H	H	H
<i>oku</i>	H	H	H	H	H
<i>ageru</i>	H	H	H	H	H
<i>kureru</i>	H	H	H	H	H
<i>morau</i>	H	H	H	H	H
<i>sashiageru</i>	H	-	H	H	H
<i>kudasaru</i>	H	K	H	H/K	H
<i>kudasai</i>	K	K	H	H/K	H
<i>itadaku</i>	H	H	H	H	H

4 The Experiment

Writing practices concerning auxiliary verbs were studied through a small experiment conducted with 20 Japanese university students. They were all medical students, aged 19–30, i.e., well-educated young people who, however, were not specializing in linguistics or even the humanities.

Since most writing is done these days with a word processor with a *kana-kanji* conversion key, which offers a selection of *kanji*, we decided to test under these conditions. We realize that the test results could be quite different if we had students write out the sentences on paper, and this could be the subject of some future comparative study.

Each student was asked to type 32 dictated randomly ordered sentences, selected from the above publications, each of which contained one or more of the

selected verbs. The dictation was followed by an interview ascertaining their motivation for script choice.

In order to limit the time contribution of each student to one hour, and to maintain their attention, the range of verbs to be closely examined was narrowed to the following: aspectual auxiliaries *miru* and *oku*, directional and aspectual *iku* and *kuru*, and benefactive *itadaku* and *kudasaru*. *Miru* and *oku* were selected due to the clear distinction between their meanings when used as lexical verbs and when used as auxiliaries, and also as examples of auxiliary verbs that seem to be consistently written in *hiragana*. *Iku* and *kuru* were chosen as opposite examples, whose orthography was quite varied. Additionally, two verbs of benefaction were selected, *itadaku* and *kudasaru*, including its imperative form *kudasai*, as it was presumed that politeness could well influence script selection.

These verbs were used in the sentences usually as auxiliaries, but in some instances also as lexical, to see whether the respondents had a tendency to differentiate, or whether they used one type of script for the particular verb regardless of its meaning. Special attention was paid to reading lexical verbs with auxiliaries attached (V-*te*-AUX) as one unit, so that they would not be mistaken for two predicates linked by the *-te* form.

5 Findings

5.1 The aspectual auxiliaries *miru* and *oku*

The basic meaning of *miru* when used as a lexical verb is »see, look, watch«. As an auxiliary verb it means »make an attempt at doing something to see what it is like or what will happen«.²⁴ The table below presents the orthographic preferences for the verb *miru*. The first sentence (A1) contains both lexical and auxiliary uses of the verb; the remaining sentences (A2–A4) contain *miru* used as an auxiliary.

²⁴ Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 246.

Table 3
Orthographic Preferences for the Verb Miru

MIRU			H/K
A1	... mite-mitai to omotte-iru.	LEX	o/2o
	... mite-mitai to omotte-iru.	AUX	2o/o
A2	...tsukutte- mite .	AUX	2o/o
A3	...kiite- miyō to omotte-imasu.	AUX	19/1
A4	...tazunete-itte- miyō to omoimasu.	AUX	2o/o

- A1: *Panda wa mada mita koto ga nai. Ichido mite-mitai to omotte-iru.*
 panda TOP yet see:PAST NML NOMNEG:NPAST once see:TE-ASP:DES QT think:TE-ASP:NPAST
 »I have not seen a panda yet. I would like to see one someday.«
- A2: *Totemo kantan da kara, tsukutte-mite.*
 very easy COP:NPAST because make:TE-ASP:TE
 »It's very easy so try to make/cook it by yourself.«
- A3: *Dono kuruma o kau ka kimeru mae ni, kuruma ni kurwashii hito no iken o kiite-miyō to omotte-imasu.*
 which car ACC buy:NPAST Q decide:NPAST before DAT car DAT
 knowledgeable person GEN opinion ACC ask:TE-ASP:VOL QT
 think:TE-ASP:POL:NPAST
 »Before I decide which car to buy, I think I will try to ask an opinion of someone who has good knowledge about cars.«
- A4: *Aite no jūsho wa jibun no tonari no ken na node, hontō-ni tazunete-itte-miyō to omotte-imasu.*
 partner GEN address TOP self GEN neighbor GEN prefecture COP because
 real-COP:ADV visit:TE-go:TE-ASP:VOL QT think:TE-ASP:POL:NPAST
 »The person has an address in the neighboring prefecture, so I think I will really try to visit him.«

As was expected, when used as a lexical verb, *miru* was written in *kanji*, but when used as an auxiliary it was consistently written in *hiragana*, regardless of the verb to which it was attached. Auxiliary *miru* was strongly perceived as being unrelated to the lexical verb *miru*. The only use of *kanji* for this auxiliary (in A₃) was afterwards explained as a typographical error.

Oku as a lexical verb means »put« or »place«. When used as an auxiliary verb it means »do something in advance« or »leave something as it is for future convenience.«²⁵ It indicates the »agent's action in preparation for a future situation.«²⁶

Table 4
Orthographic Preferences for the Verb Oku

OKU		H/K
A5	... oku <i>basho</i> ...	LEX
A6	... <i>irete-okō</i> .	AUX
A7	... <i>kaite-oita</i> .	AUX

A5: *Sono kikai o kau kane ga aru ga, oku basho ga nai.*
that machine ACC buy:NPAST money NOM exist:NPAST but put:NPAST place
NOM exist:NEG:NPAST
»I have the money to buy the machine, but there is no place to put it.«

A6: *Kono wain wa tsumetai bō ga ii. kara, nomu toki made reizōko ni irete-okō.*
this wine TOP cold:NPAST way NOM good:NPAST because drink:NPAST time
made refrigerator DAT put:TE-ASP:VOL
»This wine is better cold so let's put it in the refrigerator until we drink it.«

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 357.

²⁶ Iwasaki, *Japanese*, 147.

- A7: *Momoko ga okurete-kite mo wakaru yō ni,*
 (name) NOM be.late:TE-come:TE also understand:NPAST fashion COP:ADV
dengonban ni chizu o kaite-oita.
 message.board DAT map ACC draw:TE-ASP:PAST
 »I drew a map on the message board ahead of time so that *Momoko* would know even if she comes late.«

Similar to the verb *miru*, *oku* was consistently written in *kanji* when used as a lexical verb (A5), but in *hiragana* when used as an auxiliary, even in A6, where its lexical meaning »put, place« could be somewhat felt.

5.2 *The directional and aspectual kuru and iku*

The verb *kuru* »come« denotes motion »towards the speaker or the speaker's viewpoint or area of empathy«.²⁷ In contrast, *iku* »go« denotes motion »away from the speaker or the speaker's viewpoint«.²⁸ Depending on the type of verb to which these two verbs are attached they can function as directional auxiliaries, expressing direction towards or away from the speaker, respectively,²⁹ and they can also express aspect, where *kuru* »indicates the beginning of some process or continuation of some action up to a current point of time«³⁰ and *iku* expresses that some action or state is expected to keep changing from the point in time at which the speaker first describes the action.³¹ While *kuru* focuses on the end point of a change, *iku* focuses on the point where change is initiated.³²

However, there does not seem to be a general agreement on whether to interpret some particular usages of *kuru* in the V-te-*kuru* construction or *iku* in the V-te-*iku* construction as lexical or auxiliary.³³ For example, according to Iori et

27 Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 221.

28 *Ibid.*, 149.

29 Iwasaki, *Japanese*, 294; cf. Yusuke Kubota, »Aspectual composition with motion verbs in Japanese: A scale-based account«, 2014 <<https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/002737>> (last retrieval Nov 1, 2018).

30 Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 221.

31 *Ibid.*, 151.

32 Iwasaki, *Japanese*, 151.

33 According to Anderson (*Auxiliary Verb Constructions*, 4–5), an auxiliary verb is »an item on the lexical verb-functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically

al.³⁴ all *kuru* and *iku* in B1–B14 are auxiliary. In contrast, Morita³⁵ considers these two verbs auxiliary only in their aspectual use.³⁶ The classification of the various meanings of the V-*te-kuru* and V-*te-iku*, based on the type of verb to which *kuru* and *iku* are attached, differs from author to author, as well as their perception of the verbs in particular verb combinations.³⁷ For example, Kaiser et al.³⁸ and Iori et al.³⁹ classify the verb *iku* in *tabete-itte-kudasai* (B11) as an auxiliary indicating a movement occurring after the action expressed by the main verb, while Morita⁴⁰ considers it lexical. It should be noticed that the guidelines list examples with these two verbs in which they are used only as aspectual auxiliaries (see Table 1).

Table 5
Orthographic Preferences for the Verb Kuru

KURU		H/K
B1	... <i>mukatte-kimasu</i> .	LEX/AUX?
B2	... <i>notte-kite-kudasai</i> .	LEX/AUX?
B3	... <i>motte-kite-kureta-n da</i> .	LEX/AUX?
B4	... <i>okurete-kite mo...</i>	LEX/AUX?
B5	... <i>wasurete-kite-shimatta</i> .	LEX/AUX?
B6	... <i>konran-shite-kita</i> .	AUX

bleached, and grammaticalized to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories, most typically aspectual and modal categories [...], and thus the distinction between lexical and auxiliary uses of a verb is often unclear.

34 Iori et al., *Nibongo bunpō handobukku*, 116–121.

35 Morita Yoshiyuki 森田良行, *Nibongo bunpō no bassō* 日本語文法の発想 [Concept of Japanese grammar] (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 2006).

36 Cf., Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 222–223.

37 This seems to be a common problem observed in many languages (see Anderson, *Auxiliary Verb Constructions*, 5).

38 Stefan Kaiser et al., *Japanese: A Comprehensive Grammar* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 487.

39 Iori et al., *Nibongo bunpō handobukku*, 118.

40 Morita, *Nibongo bunpō no bassō*, 238.

B7	... <i>ganbatte-kita-n</i> da ...	AUX	19/1
B8	... <i>kaeritaku-natte-kimashta.</i>	AUX	20/0

- B1: *Fune wa yakkuri to kochira ni mukatte-kimasu.*
 ship TOP slowly QT here DAT go.towards:TE-come:POL:NPAST
 »A ship is slowly coming in our direction.«
- B2: *Basu wa jikan ga kakaru kara, takushī ni notte-kite-kudasai.*
 bus TOP time NOM take:NPAST because taxi DAT ride:TE-come:TE-give:IMP
 »Because it takes time by bus, please come by taxi.«
- B3: *Watashi ni mo Taiwan-miyage o motte-kite-kureta-n da.*
 I DAT also Taiwan-souvenir ACC carry:TE-come:TE-give:PAST-SE COP:NPAST
 »They brought a souvenir from Taiwan also for me.«
- B4 = A7
- B5: *Sekkaku minna no shashin o totte-ageyō to omotta noni,*
 valuable everybody GENphoto ACC take:TE-give:VOL QT think:PAST though
kamera o wasurete-kite-shimatta.
 camera ACC forget:TE-come:TE-ASP:PAST
 »Even though I wanted to take a photo of everybody, I forgot the camera.«
- B6: *Mondai ga muzukashikute, atama ga konran-shite-kita.*
 question NOM difficult:TE head NOM confusion-do:TE-come:PAST
 »The question was difficult so I became really confused.«
- B7: *Ima made isshōkenmei ganbatte-kita-n da kara,*
 now ALL very.hard do.best:TE-come:PAST-SE COP:NPAST because
zettai-ni daijōbu da.
 absolutely-COP:ADV alright COP:NPAST
 »You have done your best so far, so for sure it will be all right.«

- B8: *Kurisumasu ga chikazuku to, dandan kuni ni kaeritaku-natte-kimashita.*
 Christmas NOM approach COND gradually country DAT return:DES-become:TE-come:POL:PAST
 »As Christmas was drawing near I gradually got the desire to return back to my country.«

Table 6
Orthographic Preferences for the Verb Iku

IKU		H/K
B9	...nobotte- itta .	LEX/AUX?
B10	...kaette- itta .	LEX/AUX?
B11	...tabete- itte -kudasai.	LEX/AUX?
B12	...tazunete- itte -miyō to omoimasu.	LEX/AUX?
B13	...sotsugyō-shite- iku .	AUX
B14	...tsuzukete- iku tsumori desu.	AUX

- B9: *Torakku wa kyū-na sakamichi o yakkuri nobotte-itta.*
 truck TOP steep-COP:ATT hill.road ACC slowly climb:TE-go:PAST
 »A truck was slowly climbing the road up the steep hill.«

- B10: *Ano ko wa tomodachi to kenka-shite naki-nagara kaette-itta.*
 that child TOP friend COM quarrel-do:TE cry:INF-while return:TE-go:PAST
 »That child had a quarrel with his friends and went home crying.«

- B11: *Sonna koto iwanaide, zehi ubi de gohan o tabete-itte-kudasai.*
 such thing say:NEG;TE really home LOC meal ACC eat:TE-go:TE-give:IMP
 »Don't say such things. You must eat a meal with us before going.«

B12 = A4

- B13: *Kono gakkō de wa maitoshi go-hyaku-meい no gakusei ga sotsugyō-shite-iku.*
 this school LOC TOP yearly five-hundred-CLS GEN student NOM graduate-do:TE-go:NPAST
 »500 students graduate from this school every year.«

- B14: *Kekkon-shite kara mo shigoto wa tsuzukete-iku tsumori desu.*
 marriage-do:TE ABL also work TOP continue:TE-go:NPAST intention COP:NPAST
 »I would like to continue with my work even after getting married.«

The results show that when the verbs were used in their aspectual meaning (B6–8, B13–14), the respondents (in all but two cases) preferred *hiragana*, explaining that these *kuru* and *iku* clearly differ in their meaning from their lexical counterparts. The only use of *kanji* in B7 was explained by the desire to express the nuance that the person has come all the way doing his/her best (»*koko made kita*«). The use of *kanji* in B14 was afterwards explained as a typographical error.

When these verbs were used in other than aspectual meanings, some respondents opted for *kanji*. *Hiragana* was preferred by all those who perceived the first verb in the V-te-*kuru* or V-te-*iku* construction semantically more important, and the two verbs as »one unit«. They often mentioned that »there was no need to orthographically stress the less important (second) verb«, thus intuitively differentiating between the lexical and auxiliary meaning. On the other hand, *kanji* was preferred by those who viewed in the particular context the second verb to be just as important as or even more important than the first, and thus writing them both in *kanji*.

The *iku* in B12 (*tazunete-itte-miyō*) received the most responses in *kanji*. Those who chose *kanji* felt the verb *tazuneru* (»visit«) did not sufficiently express the motion. By writing *iku* in *kanji* they felt they were more emphasizing the meaning »to go for a visit«. Those who used *hiragana* felt the visit should be more emphasized than the traveling to get there.

The three respondents who opted for *kanji* in B1 also stated that they strongly felt the actual movement (»coming«) of the ship and thus orthographically emphasized to verb *kuru*, »come« (those who chose *hiragana* perceived the movement as being already included in the meaning of the first verb and the verb *kuru* for them indicated the direction »towards the speaker«). Similarly, the

respondents who preferred *kanji* in B10 (*kaette-itta*) did so because they imagined from the verb *iku* the movement of going away. Stronger perception of actual physical movement was also stated as the reason for preferring *kanji* in B3 and B9.

According to Makino and Tsutsui,⁴¹ the verb *kuru* in *notte-kuru* (as in B2) and *motte-kuru* (as in B3) is »used more as a full verb than as an auxiliary verb«.⁴² Those who used *kanji* in B2 interpreted the meaning of *notte-kuru* as *notte kara kuru* (»get on the bus and come«), while the majority of the respondents perceived only the verb *noru* as lexical and the verb *kuru* as not expressing movement but direction. Similarly in B3, three respondents viewed both the verbs, *motsu* and *kuru*, in *motte-kite-kureta* semantically equally important and therefore preferred *kanji* for both, the majority perceived the latter as directional. One other person who opted for *kanji* was afterwards surprised at his own choice and explained it as accidentally pressing the *kana-kanji* conversion key.

While it was expected that in *okurete-kite mo* (B4) some respondents might also opt for *kanji* to express the motion, in that particular context all but one respondent felt that the more important part of the information (that *Momoko* would come late) was that she would be late, rather than that she was coming.

It should also be noted that for some of the respondents the choice between *hiragana* and *kanji* did not seem clear-cut. Some hesitated and repeatedly adjusted their choices, later explaining that either choice was fine with them.

In addition to considering the meaning of the verb in the particular context, some also considered the *kanji-kana* proportion. In structures V-te-AUX₁-AUX₂ (as in B11) some preferred to write one of the two auxiliaries in *kanji* so that there would not be too many *hiragana* in a row.

There were also various individual reasons for the choice of one or the other script in the particular sentence. One student, for example, uses *hiragana* for the polite form *kimasu* (as in *mukatte-kimasu* in B1) but *kanji* for the plain form *kuru* (*mukatte-kuru*). Concerning the same verb, another respondent uses *kanji* whenever writing the plain form *kuru*, but *hiragana* when the stem vowel /u/

⁴¹ Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 222.

⁴² Kaiser et al. (*Japanese: A Comprehensive Grammar*, 505) consider *motte-kuru* »bring something« a lexical expression.

changes to /i/ or /o/ (*kimasu*, *konai*, etc.). Therefore, the script preference does not always reflect the perception of the verb as lexical or auxiliary.

5.3 The benefactory *itadaku* and *kudasaru*

The verb *itadaku* is the humble counterpart to the verb *morau*, meaning »get, receive, be given«, and is also the humble and polite verb meaning »eat, drink«. As such it is usually written in *kanji*.⁴³ But as an auxiliary verb (V-te-*itadaku*) it means »receive some benefit from someone's action« or »have someone do something for somebody's sake«.⁴⁴ In official public texts, constructions such as V-i-*itadaku* and go-N-*itadaku* are also commonly written in *hiragana*.⁴⁵

Table 7
Orthographic Preferences for the Verb Itadaku

ITADAKU		H/K
C ₁	...o-hana o itadakimashita .	LEX 6/14
C ₂	...kansō o itadaku koto...	LEX 11/9
C ₃	...matte- itadakemasen ka.	AUX 13/7
C ₄	...hokan-shite- itadaku yō...	AUX 15/5
C ₅	...o-koshi- itadaki ...	AUX 14/6

C₁: *O-toribikisaki no mina-sama kara takusan-no o-hana o itadakimashita.*
 receive:H.HON:POL:PAST
 »We have received many flowers from you, our clients.«

C₂: *Anata no kansō o itadaku koto ga dekireba*
 you GEN impression ACC receive:H.HON:NPAST NML NOM can.do:COND

43 Hirose, *Kōyō bun: Yōji yōgo no yōten*, 57.

44 Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 264.

45 Hirose, *Kōyō bun: Yōji yōgo no yōten*, 58.

kōei desu.

honor COP:NPAST

»I would be very honored if I could get your impression.«

- C3: *Go-chūmon no o-shina desu ga, toriyosemasu node, mikka bodo matte-itadakemasen ka.*
 PFX-order GEN PFX-item COP but order:POL:NPAST because three.days approximately wait:TE-receive:H.HON:POT:NEG:POL:NPAST Q
 »As for the item you ordered, we will arrange it, so could you please wait for about three days?«

- C4: *Chiketto wa taisetsu-ni hokan-shite-itadaku yō onegai-itashimasu.*
 ticket TOP careful-COP:ADV storage-do:TE-receive:HUM:NPAST fashion wish-do:H.HON:POL:NPAST
 »Please keep your tickets safe.«

- C5: *Tabō no naka o-koshi-itadaki makoto-ni arigatō-gozaimasu.*
 busyness GEN in PFX-come:HON:INF-receive:H.HON:INF really-COP:ADV thank.you-SFX:POL
 »Thank you very much for coming here for us when you are so busy.«

The lexical *itadaku* (C1 and C2) and auxiliary *itadaku* (C3–C5) can be relatively clearly distinguished, but this distinction is not so clearly reflected in script choice as in the case of the verbs *miru* and *oku* (see 5.1). In C1 *kanji* prevailed. The verb was perceived as lexical, the sentence as polite, business-like.⁴⁶ In several instances *hiragana* was found more suitable for the overall balance of the sentence. However, in C2 the perception of *itadaku* as a lexical verb was weaker, as the object to be

46 One respondent used the *kanji* 戴く, perceiving it as more suitable in a polite, business text. In official texts, however, it should not be used because as a *Jōyō kanji* it only has the reading /tai/. Newspapers, for example, unified the use of 戴 and 頂, using just 頂 (Hirose, *Kōyō bun: Yōji yōgo no yōten*, 58).

received was abstract, resulting in higher use of *hiragana*. From the point of view of sentence balance, *kanji* was preferred here also for the purpose of graphically shortening the phrase *itadaku koto*.

In C₃–C₅ the reasons for choosing *hiragana*, in addition to perceiving the verb as auxiliary, included being »less heavy« and »more friendly«. Those who preferred *kanji* did so exclusively for politeness, as in formal polite text *kanji* are generally viewed as more suitable. In C₅, which utilizes the construction V-i-itadaku (a more formal version of V-te-itadaku), however, the use of *kanji* was not higher, as *kanji* here is by some perceived as »too stiff«, »too heavy« and »not good for the overall balance of the text«.

The honorific *kudasaru* means »give« and as an auxiliary verb it means »someone does the first person (or someone with whom the speaker empathizes) a favor by doing something«.⁴⁷ *Kudasai* is the imperative form of *kudasaru*. When requesting things (N o *kudasai*) it is, according to Hirose,⁴⁸ common to use *kanji*. When used as an auxiliary, politely requesting an action (V-te-*kudasai*), it is supposed to be written in *hiragana*.

Table 8
Orthographic Preferences for the Verb Kudasaru

KUDASARU			H/K
C ₆	... <i>bon o kudasaimashita</i> .	LEX	15/5
C ₇	... <i>keikaku-shite-kudasatta</i> ...	AUX	13/7
C ₈	... <i>chekku-shite-kudasaimasen ka</i> .	AUX	14/6
C ₉	... <i>o-koshi-kudasaru koto</i> ...	AUX	17/3
C ₁₀	... <i>notte-kite-kudasai</i> .	AUX	16/4
C ₁₁	... <i>tabete-itte-kudasai</i> .	AUX	15/5
C ₁₂	... <i>go-riyō-kudasai</i> .	AUX	17/3

47 Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, 217.

48 Hirose, *Kōyō bun: Yōji yōgo no yōten*, 166.

- C6: *Sensei wa watashi ni ni-satsu no bon o kudasaimashita.*
 teacher TOP I DAT two-CLS GEN book ACC give:HON:POL:PAST
 »My teacher gave me two books.«

- C7: *Sekkaku iroiro keikaku-shite-kudasatta noni, dame ni natte-shimatte mōshiwake arimasen.*
 great.effort various plan-do:TE-give:HON:PAST though no.good DAT become:TE-ASP:TE excuse exist:NEG:POL:NPAST
 »After all your hard planning, I am very sorry that it turned out like this.«

- C8: *Chotto kono shorui, misu ga nai ka dōka chekku-shite-kudasaimasen ka.*
 a.little this document mistake NOM exist:NEG Q or.not check-do:TE-give:HON:NEG:POL:NPAST Q
 »Could you please check this document to see if there are any mistakes?«

- C9: *Mata chikai uchi-ni o-kyaku-sama ga o-koshi-kudasaru koto o o-machi-shite-orimasu.*
 again close while PFX-guest-SFX:HON NOM PFX-come:HON:INF-give:HON:NPAST NML ACC PFX-wait:INF-do:TE-ASP:POL:NPAST
 »I await your next visit, dear customer.«

C₁₀ = B₂

C₁₁ = B₁₁

- C12: *Kyūka-kikan-chū no kinkyū no go-renrakusaki to shite go-riyō-kudasai.*
 holiday-period-while GEN emergency GEN PFX-contact.address as do:TE PFX-use-give:IMP
 »Please use this contact address in an emergency during the holiday period.«

Interestingly, unlike in the case of *itadaku*, *hiragana* prevailed even in C6 when the verb (*kudasaimashita*) was used as lexical. The reason that some chose *kanji* in C7–C12, when the verb was used as an auxiliary, was again politeness, and in some cases

also formal tone. Those who used *hiragana*, repeatedly stated that they often see this verb written in *hiragana* (e.g., in the phrase *go-riyō-kudasai*, as in C₁₂). In C₁₀ and C₁₁ there are verbal constructions containing two auxiliaries (*notte-kite-kudasai* and *tabete-itte-kudasai*). Some of those who used *kanji* for the first auxiliary avoided using it for *kudasai*, thus again considering the overall balance of the sentence from the graphic point of view rather than whether the verb is an auxiliary.

The main reason why the preference for *kanji* was lower for *kudasaru* than *itadaku* is that, according to some respondents, the *kanji* 下, with which the verb *kudasaru* is written, »does not give a good image« or »gives an image of lowering«, because of its meanings »below«, »down«, »descend«, etc. Needless to say, the verb *kudasaru* logically has the opposite meaning. It raises the giver by expressing the up-down direction from the giver to the receiver. As a result, while some respondents preferred *kanji* in order to express politeness, some other respondents avoided it for the very same reason. Some also mentioned that since they do not use this verb as often as the verb *itadaku* in written discourse, consequently they are less confident about the script and therefore chose *hiragana*.

6 Summary

The experiment showed that the respondents actually did use *hiragana* more than *kanji*, but they showed very little awareness that this choice was to be governed by some official convention. Several mentioned they had probably learned in elementary or junior high school that auxiliaries should be written in *hiragana*, but they did not seem to recall any specific details. Some were even convinced they had not studied this at school at all. Some students explained that they follow advice from more senior students at school clubs or emulate other *senpai* at their workplace, etc. Those who most favored *hiragana* also mentioned that they are used to seeing auxiliaries written that way.

Except for the verbs *miru* and *oku*, the students' orthographic preferences did not seem to be clear-cut, and in some cases they repeatedly mentioned that the other orthographic choice would have been just as good. However, when several of them tried to write the same verb again using the other script, they felt uncomfortable (*iwakan*) with the result. Several also admitted that their choices

are somewhat influenced by the *kana-kanji* conversion key,⁴⁹ often simply selecting the option first on the list, which might not have been their first choice if they had been writing by hand. The several typographical errors that occurred during the experiment are consistent with Gottlieb's⁵⁰ claim that the easy conversion from *kana* to *kanji* may lead to an overuse of *kanji*.

The choices the students made did not seem to be based on any conscious application of the conventions concerning auxiliaries, but instead on one or more of the following considerations. The main criterion was the degree to which they felt the original lexical meaning of the verb in that particular verb construction, thus into some extent intuitively distinguishing between lexical and auxiliary use. This was especially apparent with the verbs *kuru* and *iku*. When they were used as aspectual auxiliaries, they were perceived as distinct from the lexical verbs, and this distinction was indicated by using a different script, or more precisely, by avoiding the *kanji* which would have implied an unwanted meaning. The same was true for the verbs *miru* and *oku*. However, when the verbs *kuru* and *iku* were used to express direction, some students opted for *kanji* due to their strong perception of the motion. A weaker perception of the original meaning of the verb *itadaku* in its lexical use in C2 also led to a higher preference for *hiragana* compared to its lexical use in C1 (5.3).

In the case of benefactive auxiliaries the orthographic choice was in some cases influenced by the level of politeness and formality, leading to higher proportion of *kanji*, although as was discussed above, the negative perception of the *kanji* 下, with which the verb *kudasaru* is written, prevented some students from using it more than the fact that the verb was used as an auxiliary.

Considering the overall balance of the sentence also played some role in script choice, as texts that contain higher-than-usual proportion of *kanji*, as well as those that use only few *kanji*, are generally considered difficult to read. Often a student switched scripts when writing a particular word, or went back and changed the

49 When writing in Japanese, the space bar functions as a *kana-kanji* conversion key. Depending on when this key is pressed, whether immediately after the verb or at some later point, the suggested *kana/kanji* list may be in a different order.

50 Gottlieb, *Word-processing Technology in Japan: Kanji and the Keyboard*; Gottlieb, *Language and Society in Japan*.

script after having checked the whole sentence. An accumulation of several *kanji* in a row (as, for example, in *go-riyō-kudasai* in C12), was the reason why some respondents decided to write the auxiliary in *hiragana*, although elsewhere they would use *kanji* to better express politeness. On the other hand, two auxiliaries in a row (as, for example, in *tabete-itte-kudasai* in C11) was a good enough reason for some students to write one of them in *kanji*.

The discussions following the dictation also revealed various specific individual preferences for writing a particular verb using one or the other script, which were variously motivated (e.g., some concerning the verb *kuru* were mentioned in 5.2).

Finally, formal writing style generally involves a higher proportion of *kanji* than casual writing and the nature of the text that is being typed seems to be an important aspect even for writing auxiliaries. The experiment utilized isolated sentences, not a coherent text, and some respondents mentioned that they used *hiragana* when writing a particular sentence, but if the sentence were part of a larger text they might prefer *kanji*.

7 Conclusion

When writing in Japanese, in addition to considering the choice of words, one has to make orthographic choices as well. Japanese utilizes several different scripts, and script choice is covered by official conventions, but outside of official public documents these guidelines are considered more as recommendations than rules, in part because they often consist of examples that do not definitively draw clear distinctions.

From the limited examples given in the guidelines it seems clear that the verbs examined in this paper when used as auxiliaries should be written in *hiragana*. However, unlike the clear-cut examples, whether a particular verb is being used primarily as an auxiliary or retains its lexical intent is in some cases quite subjective, resulting in varied use of script even in books on the Japanese language.

But even when this is not a problem, we can conclude from the small sample size that native speakers do not always write auxiliary verbs in *hiragana* as directed by the official guidelines. When deciding which script to use people usually draw upon various cultural and stylistic influences to choose the script they feel is most

appropriate for the particular situation. The orthographic choices they make during the process of writing are partially a matter of intuitively favoring one or the other script based mainly on previous experience or the suggestion made by a word processor, but they are also a matter of conscious choice based on the perceived meaning of the written word, the immediate context, the overall *kana-kanji* balance of the sentence (and the whole text), and also various specific individual considerations.

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Adapting Japanese Chrematonyms into Chinese from the Sociolinguistic Perspective: Strategies and Approaches*

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Abstract For this study we analyzed more than one thousand Japanese company and brand names. We selected those available in China and analyzed the mode of adaptation into Chinese. We decided to utilize six different categories and seven subcategories to differentiate and evaluate the strategies various Japanese companies use to make their brand name more suitable and understandable for Chinese consumers. This article also discusses the specific nature of Chinese loanword strategies and the peculiarity of ideographic writing system, which makes it more difficult for foreign companies to understand the cultural and linguistic background behind it.

Keywords Japanese chrematonyms, Chinese graphemes · naming strategies, adaptation methods

Introduction

Beginning in the late 1970s, China began its policy of opening up to the world and reforming its economy under the so-called socialism with Chinese characteristics.

* Writing of this article was supported by the specific research grant awarded by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports for Palacký University Olomouc in 2014. Our project titled »The choice of syllable and character within the transcribing of proper names into Chinese« was supervised by the Department of General Linguistics at Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic under the project number IGA_FF_2014_079. The research aim of our project was to analyze the translation and transition of proper nouns into Chinese language and the Chinese script from English, German and Japanese. We focused on foreign propria, such as anthroponyms, toponyms and chrematonyms translated into Chinese language and used in People's Republic of China, excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan because of the slightly different language situation.

Many western companies realized the size of Chinese market as well as all the unmatchable opportunities the »opener« China could offer, and started to expand into this *terra incognita*. At the beginning of the 1980s, the main drive was a competitively cheap labor and tax reliefs in the so-called Special economic zones (SEZ) which were designed to bring new technologies and US dollars to China and export cheaply produced goods abroad. However, the increasingly growing middle class began to gradually transform into a significant consumer force for the foreign companies and their products.

The specific problem these enterprises had to solve was how to make their brand names understandable for Chinese market and its consumers, who might find the Latin script, commonly used in foreign brands and their advertisings, incomprehensible. Compared to other emerging markets, the language situation was even more challenging for China because it was necessary to consider the great variety of dialects across the country, often mutually unintelligible. Nevertheless, a foreign company needed to enter the Chinese market (or its product) under a specific and generally comprehensible brand name. Chinese language is far from being uniform¹ and therefore, it is not sufficient enough to consider only standard Chinese and omit other Chinese dialects. The concern should not be only understandability but also semantic aspect and possible connotations. For example, a certain word acceptable as normal in the »common Chinese language« (*pǔtōnghuà* 普通话), might have a completely negative meaning or connotation in Cantonese (*guǎngdōnghuà* 广东话) and vice versa. Especially the bad connotation could cause a significant damage to a brand and its popularity among consumers. This could be illustrated by a French car brand Peugeot and its Chinese name *biāozhì* 标致, meaning »pretty« or »beautiful«. At the first sight, this could be seen as very aptly chosen Chinese name for a car brand, however, in southern parts of China, it sounds to locals as *biǎozi* 媚子 meaning »a prostitute«.

Another problem for foreign companies and their brands is that Chinese consumers, unfamiliar with western products for decades, do not possess the necessary familiarity with the type and quality of a specific brand. Brand names are important as symbols, carrying not only the name but also other aspects that are

¹ John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 39.

difficult to transfer with the translation and are linked with the lexical borrowing or new word creations. As Novotná explains »lexical borrowing or the creation of new words denoting newly introduced foreign concepts by native lexical means may be purposefully directed by the collective effort of the intellectual circles.«² The language and its written form are the basic means of marketing communications either in the process of brand name creation or in advertising.³ The primal function of a brand is to identify the maker and make it recognizable among the consumers.⁴

Until the official recognition of Hanyu pinyin transcription of Chinese language in 1958 and the ISO standard for Chinese transcription in 1982, common Chinese people did not have many opportunities to get familiar with the Latin script. For that reason, brands written in Latin alphabet would seem too alien, hard to comprehend and too foreign for Chinese mind. Success of such a brand on Chinese market, without a localized name, would be endangered.⁵ Hence, foreign companies should consider not only the form but also the style and content their brand carries.⁶

What adaptation strategies can be used to substitute this information vacuum? Can Chinese ideographic writing system help to add extra semantic information

- 2 Zdenka Heřmanová-Novotná, »Contribution to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese I«, *Archiv Orientální* 35 (1967), 613–648.
- 3 June N. P. Francis, Janet P. Y. Lam and Jan Walls, »The Impact of Linguistic Differences on International Brand Name Standardization: A Comparison of English and Chinese Brand Names of Fortune—500 Companies«, *Journal of International Marketing* 10,1 (2002), 99.
- 4 Giep Franzen and Sandra E. Moriarty, *The Science and Art of Branding* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), 70.
- 5 Bernd H. Schmitt, Nader T. Tavassoli, and Robert Millard, »Memory for Print Ads: Understanding Relations Among Brand Name, Copy and Picture«, *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 21 (1993), 55.
- 6 Frank Hong, Anthony Pecotich, and Clifford J. Shultz, »Brand Name Translation: Language Constraints, Product Attributes and Consumer Perceptions of Quality in East and Southeast Asia«, *Journal of International Marketing* 10,2 (2002), 29.

to brand name? What would be the possibly best strategy to adapt Japanese brand names and what is the actual situation?

This paper is concerned with the question how the Japanese brands are adapted into Chinese with reference to the similar script, shared history, yet enormous cultural and linguistic differences. Thus, our primary hypothesis is that if a foreign word is translated into Chinese, then there is a certain algorithm of the adaptation that the Chinese language adheres to.

Our approach is to begin with the analysis of the cultural background of Japanese and Chinese brand naming strategies. Then we continue with the analysis of our research sample of adapted Japanese brand names available in China. We analyze the ways these brand names are adapted into Chinese and divide them into categories corresponding with the type of adaptation. We utilized the six categories suggested by Novotná in her study of morphemic reproductions of foreign lexical models in modern Chinese.⁷ However we felt the necessity to add specific subcategories in order to distinguish various nuances between adaptation methods. Accordingly, the main categories are: phonemic loans, phonemic-semantic loans, semantic loans, graphic loans, neologisms and hybrids. Brand names that are not adapted into Chinese were not considered as an adaptation method category. We further analyzed the distribution of the brand names in chosen categories and in case of phonemic adaptations, the selected morphemes used for translating Japanese brand names into Chinese. The analysis focuses on phonetic adaptation of selected propria, respectively, on the choice of syllables. For those interested, we have included a table with the complex frequency list and correspondence of Chinese syllables and characters as an attachment to this article.

1 *Choosing the Right Name in Chinese Culture*

Although European given names have historical or biblical backgrounds, such origin and history behind it is usually not perceived as the decisive factor. It is more important that given name goes well with surname; has some family history or is currently trending. However, situation in Japan and China is very different.

⁷ Zdenka Heřmanová-Novotná, »Morphemic Reproductions of Foreign Lexical Models in Modern Chinese«, *Archiv Orientalní* 43,2 (1975), 146–171.

Because of the ideographic writing system, not only the phonemic aspect of the name is important; it is also critical what graphemes such name uses in its written form. In both languages, the graphemes used in names are often meant to symbolize the virtues and bright future of the person. Moreover, they can often relate to some famous historical figures and also illustrate important historical events happening at given time. Because of the homophonic nature of Chinese language, it is essential to understand whether the desired name does not resemble anything negative, in particular connected with illness, death or bad luck. Besides, this specific aspect of Chinese language and its ideographic writing system can be utilized in creating names carrying positive connotations.

Analogically, similar situation can be found in the process of selecting the accurate brand name in China. It is a specially demanding task for Asian firms to choose the right names that do not carry any negative connotation. For such purposes there exist many »naming businesses« specializing in creating and selecting good corporate and brand names. Chinese language is not that supportive towards intense lexical borrowings from other languages⁸ and therefore creation of the »new« and localized brand name is the only solution. As Pan and Schmitt explain: »Asian firms spend an extraordinary amount of time and resources on selecting corporate and brand names. Some of the resources are spent on research. Others are spent on metaphysical inquiries: there are hundreds of »nomology« books on the market that interpret the »fate« of a name, and many companies consult fortunetellers as part of the naming decision.⁹ However, many foreign companies tend to neglect these cultural and linguistic complexities and do not possess necessary cultural background knowledge when entering Chinese market with their products. They do not realize that the cost of changing an inappropriate name and damaged reputation is much higher than hiring »nomology« specialist.

8 Heřmanová-Novotná, »Contribution to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese II«, *Archiv Orientální* 36 (1968), 322.

9 Bernd H Schmitt and Yigang Pan, »Managing Corporate and Brand Identities in the Asia-Pacific Region«, *California Management Review* 36,4 (1994), 38.

2 *The Specific Nature of Chinese and Japanese Language*

Alphabetic writing, including Latin alphabet or Cyrillic and Arabic script can be adapted to various languages,¹⁰ however, the ideographic character of Chinese writing does not offer a desirable portion of phonemic combinations and requires semantic relation between the graph and morpheme.¹¹ Chinese writing system allows differentiating homophonous morphemes and it also allows to bridge time and dialects to a certain level.¹² The situation in Japanese is different because of its more adaptable system of writing. The Japanese syllabary *katakana* and *hiragana* allow the loanwords, predominantly from European languages, to be recorded without the necessity of attributing them to particular ideographs.

As we demonstrate in our analysis, the easiest way for Chinese is to adapt Japanese brand names by using their original graphic form. This graphic adaptation is simply conducted by taking over Japanese graphemes and using them in Chinese without transferring their phonemic attributes. These names would retain the graphic form, but would be read differently in Chinese.

The potential similarity between Japanese and Chinese pronunciation in some of the graphic loans can be attributed to the Sino-Japanese reading of Chinese graphemes which began to find their way from China to Japan and reflected close contacts between these two countries since the 5th century.¹³ We can differentiate words coming from China—*kango* 漢語—from loanwords coming from the western languages during the Meiji period (1868–1912) known as *gairaigo* 外来語. Even today, up to 50 percent of Japanese vocabulary is originally from Chinese.¹⁴ There is a special group of Sino-Japanese words which were created to express various new concepts concerning western science called *shinkango* 新漢語.

¹⁰ Jerry Norman, *Chinese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 74.

¹¹ Zdenka Heřmanová-Novotná, »Contribution to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese II«, 295–326.

¹² Ping Chen, *Modern Chinese—History and Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 140.

¹³ Nanette Gottlieb, *Language and Society in Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 11.

¹⁴ Karen Steffen Chung, »Some Returned Loans: Japanese Loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin«, in *Language Change in East Asia*, ed. by T. E. McAuley (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001), 161.

However, nowadays, both *kango* and *shinkango* are not perceived as loanwords by Japanese.¹⁵ Honna estimates that about 10% of standard Japanese lexicon and 13% of words in daily conversation are foreign, originating mostly from English.¹⁶ Native Japanese words covering the necessary vocabulary of everyday life, the so-called Japanese core vocabulary,¹⁷ are called *wago* 和語 or *yamato kotoba* 大和言葉, and they make up up to sixty percent of the basic Japanese vocabulary.¹⁸

3 Translation Methods—Loanwords Characteristics

Loanwords adaptation in Chinese languages follows different paths according the language it borrows from. There are considerable similarities when borrowing from the European languages; however, these characteristics cannot be fully applicable to Japanese language which was part of our research. Especially when discussing the chrematonyms,¹⁹ logic of borrowing is more challenging to decipher because of the specific nature of these names and other factors involved in the borrowing process. The number of the loanwords in Chinese is influenced and determined by both social and linguistic factors; however, some researches²⁰ have argued that the social factors are rather marginal regarding the Chinese language. We argue that in the case of Japanese chrematonyms, the situation is different and the social aspect plays crucial role in the borrowing strategy. In general, some

15 Nanette Gottlieb, *Language and Society in Japan*, 11.

16 Nobuyuki Honna, »English in Japanese Society: Language within Language«, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 16,1–2 (1995), 45.

17 Mark Irwin, *Loanwords in Japanese* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2011), 5.

18 Minoru Watanabe, *Nibongo Gaisetsu* 日本語概説 [Outline of Japanese Language] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 113–114.

19 The International Council of Onomastic studies defines it as a name of a politico-economic or commercial or cultural institution or thing.

20 Heřmanová-Novotná, »Contribution to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese II«, 321–322.

linguists differentiate between necessary loans and unnecessary loans²¹ that could be compared to cultural borrowing and core borrowing as suggested by Myers-Scotton.²² This can be aptly applied to the case of Japanese chrematonyms.

For this study, we analyzed 1056 of Japanese chrematonyms (brand-names) listed in *Nikkei Kaisha Jōhō*.²³ We selected only those which were introduced to Chinese market and therefore underwent certain type of adaptation. According to these criteria, we extracted 203 of them. Each brand name was further analyzed and sorted into one of the six groups, depending on the applied adaptation method (Number 7—no adaptation, is not counted as a method). Numbers of chrematonyms in each group are shown in the following Table 1.

Table 1
Number of analyzed brand names depending on their adaptation method

Type of adaptation	Number
Graphic adaptation - total	120
- Synchronic	-89
- Diachronic	-31
Phonemic adaptation	30
Phonemic-semantic adaptation - total	30
- Type a (with semantic connotation)	-21
- Type b (with semantic component)	-9
Semantic adaptation	8
Hybrids - total	9
- Semantic-graphic hybrid (adapted)	-3
- Semantic-graphic hybrid (translated)	-2
- Phonemic-graphic hybrid	-4
Neologisms	3

²¹ Shahrzad Mahootian, *Code Switching and Mixing. Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (Elsevier, 2006), 511.

²² Carol Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 299.

²³ *Nikkei Kaisha Jōhō* 日経会社情報 [Nikkei Corporate Directory] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun Sha 2014).

No adaptation	3
Total	203

3.1 Phonemic loans—phonemic adaptation

It is hard to resolve whether the phonemic adaptation of Japanese brand names into Chinese is purely phonemic, or phonemic-semantic. This problem is caused by the complexity of Chinese graphic system in which each Chinese grapheme can carry a »hidden« semantic connotation. This connotation can be perceived as a homophonic resemblance with another Chinese grapheme, which may or may not be familiar to Chinese native speakers. It is even more complex when dealing with a polysyllabic loanword adapted into Chinese. Due to the monosyllabic nature of Chinese, the phonemic adaptation begins with the substitution of Japanese phonemes by the Chinese phonemes. Then each of these phonemes needs to be attached to a Chinese grapheme. However, one grapheme can record only one syllable; therefore once the borrowed lexical unit is recorded by the Chinese graphic system, complete phonemic substitution and recoding take place immediately.²⁴

This can be illustrated by Chinese character *fú* 福, meaning happiness. Its meaning has completely positive associations, therefore in Chinese, the syllable *fú* is perceived as a syllable carrying a positive connotation. Chinese word for a bat is *biānfú* 蝙蝠, where the *fú* is homophonous, but the grapheme *fú* 蝠 is different. Thus, because of its homophonic resemblance with the *fú* »happiness«, the bat itself is perceived in China as a symbol carrying a positive connotation of good luck.²⁵ This might be odd for the westerners where a bat is usually seen as a demon like animal of the night. There are many examples like this to be found in Chinese language.

Such resemblances, caused by the homophonous nature of Chinese language, could cause positive, but also negative connotations. It is particularly challenging

²⁴ Heřmanová-Novotná, »Contribution to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese I«, 298–299.

²⁵ Fadé Wang, »An Approach to the Translation of Brand Names«, *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2,9 (2012), 1946.

for foreign companies to decipher these hidden aspects of Chinese language, but such knowledge is also extremely important in order to successfully access the market with their brands. Without the thorough understanding of Chinese language, it is very hard to differentiate between phonemic and phonemic-semantic adaptations. Therefore, in certain ambiguous cases, we asked our Chinese colleagues to decide and mark on the scale from -2 to +2 (where minus means negative, zero neutral and plus positive), whether they feel any positive or negative connotation when hearing certain brand names.

As per our analysis, 16% of Japanese brand names translated into Chinese used the phonemic adaptations. An interesting fact is that the majority of the original Japanese brand names were of the group called *gairaigo*, not the originally Japanese or Sino-Japanese words, but rather foreign words, written in *katakana* without being attributed to particular Japanese grapheme. This could be explained by looking back at the first half of 20th century, when »[...] English words were instrumental in the modernization of Japan [...] and [...] katakana, the phonetic script for writing foreign words was formalized and quickly found its place alongside kanji, Chinese characters used for Japanese words, and hiragana, the Japanese cursive script derived from kanji.«²⁶ The phonemic adaptation seems to be one of the most feasible and relatively easiest ways to adapt Japanese brand name into Chinese and keep the identity and conformity with the original form. We put those names, marked by native speaker +1 and +2 (noting positive and very positive connotation), into phonemic-semantic adaptation discussed in the following section as a *Type A* category of phonemic-semantic adaptation. We consider such connotation significant enough; it cannot be neglected or left unnoticed.

3.2 Phonemic-semantic loans

In the examined sample of Japanese brand names in China, we decided to divide the phonemic-semantic adaptation into two groups. The *Type A* category is a bit ambiguous group of brand names, which from the phonemic side, correspond to the Japanese original, yet the selection of Chinese graphemes adds extra characteristics to it from the semantic perspective. The *Type B* group consists of names in which the original name is phonetically adapted into Chinese, but the

²⁶ Laura MacGregor, »The Language of Shop Signs in Tokyo«, *English Today* 73, 19–1 (2003), 18.

semantic part of the brand name is translated into Chinese, or it is added to clarify the type or function of product or brand. The phonemic similarity with the original Japanese brand name can vary significantly.

To illustrate differences between *Type A* and *Type B* phonemic-semantic adaptation we can consider following equations. In these, X means the Japanese brand, F means phonetic component and S means semantic component of Chinese adaptation:

Type A category: $X = FS$

Type B category: $X = F + S$

Both types can be called the phonemic-semantic loans, yet their structure is not the same. For that reason, we decided to distinguish two sub-categories of phonemic-semantic adaptations. In the first category *Type A*, Japanese brand name is adapted phonetically, but the morpheme carries a positive connotation (FS). In the second *Type B*, Japanese brand name is not adapted as one single morpheme, but it is divided into two. First morpheme is adapted phonetically and the second semantically, creating a hybrid of phonemic and semantic adaptation (F+S).

In total 30 brand names of the examined sample were identified as phonemic-semantic loans, which means almost 15% of the total number. By the phonemic-semantic adaptation, the majority of Japanese brands would fall into the first group of phonetically adapted nouns with additional semantic connotation. We have identified 21 brand names in this category. As an example we can have a closer look at the Japanese brand Minolta (*Minoruta* ミノルタ), which is adapted into Chinese as *Méinéngdá* 美能达. This Chinese adaptation can be translated as »reaching beauty«, therefore carrying a very positive connotation especially for an appliance such as cameras. Another example is the Japanese yoghurt drink Yakult (*Yakuruto* ヤクルト), which is adapted into Chinese as *Yǎnglèduō* 养乐多. This adaptation can be translated as »giving nourishment and happiness«, which carries a positive connotation that is actually connected to the function of the product that is supposed to be healthy and nourishing. Another example in this group could be the brand Lotte (*Rotte* ロッテ), famous among others for its sweets. This brand-name was adapted into Chinese as *Lètiān* 乐天, meaning »a happy day« or »a day of happiness«, giving Chinese consumers particularly tempting image of having

»happy day« after consuming such a product. These few examples show that by being creative, skillful adaptation of foreign brand names could add extra positive connotations to the phonemic side of the adaptation by using appropriate Chinese characters.

The second group of the phonemic-semantic adaptation consists of 9 brands, which differentiate from the first group by the primary intent to include the semantic component that clearly informs the consumers about the type of brand or product or translates the original meaning into Chinese. This component can be either part of the brand name, or it can be added to the phonemic adaptation of the borrowed name. We can see this on the example of brand Advantest (*Adobantesuto* アドバンテスト) which is adapted into Chinese as *Aìdéwàn cèshì* 爱德万测试. The first part of the Japanese brand-name *adoban* アドバン, is phonetically adapted as *ài dé wàn* 爱德万 in Chinese and the *tesuto* テスト is simply semantically translated into Chinese as *cèshì* 测试, meaning a test in Chinese.

The name of the Japanese company Mabuchi Motor (*Mabuchi mōtā* マブチモータ) in Chinese *Màobǎozhì mōtā* 万宝至马达, is another quite interesting example. When borrowing this brand name, *Mabuchi* マブチ is phonetically adapted into Chinese as *màobǎozhì*. The interesting part is how Chinese deals with the second part *mōtā* モータ which is an English noun adapted into Japanese language (part of the *gairaigo* vocabulary) meaning motor. In Chinese vocabulary, there is a phonemic loanword for motor *mǎdá* 马达, however it is probably not a direct phonemic adaptation of the English word, but rather of the Japanese phonemic adaptation of the English word motor. This could be explained in the context of history, when the majority of loanwords during the late 19th and early 20th century came to China from Japan. We could argue that this particular brand name is a hybrid of synchronic and diachronic phonemic adaptation, synchronic by the *màobǎozhì* 万宝至 and diachronic in case of the morpheme *mǎdá* 马达. However, considering that *mǎdá* 马达 is already a part of Chinese vocabulary and a synonym to Chinese word for motor *fādòngjī* 发动机, we consider its Chinese adaptation as primarily semantic, and therefore, we included this adaptation into the second group of phonemic-semantic loans.

3.3 Semantic loans

Semantic adaptation is limited to those Japanese brand names in which the clear meaning can be identified and the corresponding variant can be chosen in Chinese.

In our research sample, we identified 10 brands that were semantically adapted into Chinese. One of the reasons for relatively meagre use of this adaptation technique is that Japanese brands have a tendency to be fashionable and foreign sounding, therefore it is often very challenging to recognize the real meaning behind it. Another reason is that because of the semantic adaptation into Chinese, the brand name loses its phonemic attributes which can be important for the brand and corporate identity. For example, the IT brand Brother (*Burazā* ブラザ) is adapted into Chinese as *Xiōngdì* 兄弟, meaning brother(s). Company Fast Retailing (*Fāsutoriteiringu* ファーストリテイリング) is adapted into Chinese as *Xùnxiāo* 迅銷. The grapheme *xùn* 迅 refers to *xùnsù* 迅速, meaning »fast«, and the grapheme *xiāo* 銷, referring to word *xiāohuò* 销货, means »to sell goods«.

3.4 Graphic loans

All loans taken over into Chinese have to be transferred into a completely different system of writing, which can be described by the term total graphic substitution.²⁷ Because of the phono-ideographic writing, this might not be the case for Japanese brand names. It is logical to assume that the majority of brand names are adapted graphically. This assumption is theoretically correct, but we have come across interesting aspects of graphic adaptation of Japanese brand names. In this group we have collected 120 examples. We have decided to divide them into two groups of graphic loans.

The first is the synchronic graphic adaptation, which accounted for 89 samples. This adaptation means that the Japanese brand name is written in Japan and China with the same graphemes, but the phonetic aspect changes diametrically. For example, the Japanese brand Honda (*Honda* 本田) has the same graphemes in Japan and China, but the pronunciation in Chinese is *Běntián*. Japanese brand Toshiba (*Toshiba* 東芝) is then known to Chinese as *Dōngzhī*, written with the same graphemes (in the simplified Chinese in case of the first grapheme 東=东).

The second group, we call the diachronic graphic adaptation. It means that a Japanese brand name was attributed to particular Japanese graphemes, but

²⁷ Heřmanová-Novotná, »Contribution to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese II«, 315.

nowadays it is only written in *katakana* or *hiragana* (in two cases). We have found out that many of these brand names in Chinese adopt the original Japanese graphemes that are not used in Japan anymore. This aspect of our research was particularly time-consuming because we had to check each brand's history to see whether the brand name used in Chinese is somehow connected to the original Japanese name. We have identified 31 brand names falling into this category.

3.5 *Neologisms*

Only three Japanese brand names from our sample qualified as neologisms. It is logical that foreign companies and brands tend to keep their visual style and enter the Chinese market with the same brand name (in case of Japanese by the graphic adaptation), or phonetically similar name as discussed above. These »new« Chinese names for Japanese brands include car brand Lexus (*rekusasu* レクサス), stationery producer Pentel (*Penteru* ペンてる) and a department store chain Sogo (*Sogō* ソごう). The luxury car brand Lexus is *Líng zhì* 凌志 in Chinese and can be translated as »surpassing ambition«. The stationery brand Pentel is known in China as *Fēilóng wénjù* 飛龍文具, meaning »flying dragon stationary«. The last example is the Sogo department store, in Chinese *Chóng guāng bǎi huò* 崇光百货, which could be translated as »respecting glory store«.

3.6 *Graphic hybrids*

In total 9 hybrid adaptations were found among our examined sample. Four of them were graphic-phonemic hybrids, where a part of a brand name was adapted phonetically and the remaining part used the same graphemes as in Japanese, usually denoting the original founder's name e.g. Anest Iwata (*Anesuto Iwata* アネスト岩田) or Ezaki Glico (*Ezaki Guriko* 江崎グリコ), where Iwata (*Iwata* 岩田) and Ezaki (*Ezaki* 江崎) are surnames adapted graphically. Anest (*Anesuto* アネスト) and Glico (*Guriko* グリコ) are then adapted phonetically because they are not attributed to any grapheme in Japanese that could be adapted graphically into Chinese.

Three of our graphic hybrids can be distinguished as adapted graphic-semantic hybrids. These brands consist of a part which is graphically adapted from Japanese and the rest of it is adapted semantically. This can be illustrated by the example of brand Nipponham (*nippon hamu* 日本ハム) which is adapted into Chinese as *Riběn huōtū* 日本火腿. First two graphemes meaning Japan are kept intact, however

hamu ハム is semantically adapted as *huǒtǐ* 火腿, meaning ham in Chinese. The other two examples underwent a lexical adaptation process. For example, in case of Nakajima Aircraft Company (*Nakajima hikōki* 中島飛行機) the Chinese name was adapted as *Zhōngdǎo fēiji* 中島飛機, where the toponym *Nakajima* 中島 is adapted graphically and *Hikōki* 飛行機, meaning airplane in Japanese, is adapted as *fēiji* 飞機, meaning airplane in Chinese. The second interesting example is the Japanese beer brand Kirin (*Kirin bīru* 麒麟麦酒), where *qilín* 麒麟 is originally a mythical beast from China, therefore same graphemes are used in both countries. However, Japanese word for beer is actually a loanword from English with attributed Japanese graphemes *bīru* 麦酒, and is adapted into Chinese as *píjiǔ* 啤酒, meaning beer in Chinese.

We decided to distinguish these cases from two examples of what we call: translated semantic-graphic adaptation. One example is the company name Kyocera (*Kyōsera* 京セラ), in Chinese *Jīngcí* 京瓷, where the *jīng* 京 is used in both languages as abbreviation for Kyoto, however the Japanese *sera* セラ, which refers to ceramics, is translated into Chinese as *cí* 瓷 meaning »porcelain« or even to *táoci* 陶瓷, meaning »ceramics« in Chinese.

3.7 No translations

We have identified only three Japanese brand names falling into this category, which is consistent with the premise that in the majority of cases, Chinese adapts foreign names and attributes them to certain graphemes. The situation is different from the Japanese, where the usage of Latin script is more common and Japanese consumers are familiar with such names. Even though the situation is rapidly changing in China, thorough knowledge and familiarity with the Latin script among Chinese consumers is not that common. In general, foreign brands in China without adapted brand name are scarce and usually short e.g. 3M and IBM, where the brand-name also serves as a visual symbol or logo (Pan, Schmitt 1994, 39). Japanese brands without adaptation in China are Aniplex (*Anipurekksu* アニプレックス), Oriental Land (*Orientarurando* オリエンタルランド), and VAIO (*Baio* バイオ). All three of these brands have a company logo incorporating the Latin script, which could be the decisive argument for keeping the brand name in its original form without adapting it into Chinese.

4 Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to illustrate the specific nature of adaptation of Japanese brand names into Chinese. Our theoretical approach was derived from Novotná's work on loanwords, and therefore, we divided our sample into six different categories depending on the method of adaptation. To refine her theoretical approach, we decided to include more subcategories to differentiate all the nuances between adaptation processes. We succeeded in confirming our hypothesis that in case of Chinese, the graphic adaptation is the most common way to take over Japanese brands because of the ideographic writing system base in both languages.

Because of diverse levels of lexical internationalization of Japanese and Chinese, there are other possible choices of adaptation methods, often seen as more appropriate. As we explained in our analysis, the phonemic-semantic adaptation method can be perceived as the most advantageous strategy to adapt Japanese chrematonyms into Chinese. By using this technique, brand name retains maximum of its phonemic characteristics and therefore keeps its international brand identity. Additionally, the semantic aspect of the ideographic writing system can considerably improve the otherwise purely phonemic adaptation with a positive connotation. As we have discussed, such connotation can make the product sound more desirable for Chinese consumers; in case of food products tastier and healthier, in case of technology more reliable or hi-tech. From our examined sample, 15% of Japanese brand names were adapted into Chinese using this method. We consider it as a significant number, especially when adapting brand names from Japanese. Our finding is in the conformity with traditional »naming culture« both in China and Japan, where naming processes require a thorough knowledge of linguistics and history. Without them, as many foreign companies have already experienced, success of a brand entering a Chinese market can be significantly endangered and the company reputation irrevocably harmed.

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Appendix

Table 2

Frequency list and correspondence of Chinese syllables and characters from: Phonemic, Phonemic-semantic adaptation Type A, Phonemic-semantic adaptation Type B (without semantic component) and phonemic graphic hybrid adaptation (without graphic element)

Grapheme	Hanyu pinyin	Frequency	Japanese syllable(s)							
			Variant A	readin g	Variant B	readin g	Variant C	readin g	Variant D	readin g
乐	lè	6	口 (2)	ro	口一 (2)	rō	ヲ	ra	ル	ru
科	kē	5	コ (3)	ko	ク	ku	ツク	kku		
尼爱	ní ài	5 4	ニ (5) アイ (2)	ni ai	ア	a	エ	e		
得美普西百	de měi pǔ xī bǎi	4 4 4 4 3	タ (2) ミ (4) ブ (3) シ (2) ボ	ta mi bu shi po	ト ブ セ シ ボ	to bu se pu	デ ブ セ シ ボ	de pai		
佳	jiā	3	チャ一	chā	カイ	kai	カイ	kiy	ka	ヤ
卡力龙	kǎ lì lóng	3 3 3	カ (3) リ (3) ロン (3)	ka ri ron						
姆欧	mǔ ōu	3 3	ム (3) オ (3)	mu o						

Grapheme	Hanyu pinyin	Frequency	Japanese syllable(s)				readin g	vari ant C	readin g	vari ant D	readin g
			varia nt A	rea din g	vari ant B	rea din g					
士	shì	3	ス (3)	su							
雅	yǎ	3	ヤ (2)	ya	ア	a					
巴	bā	2	バ	ba	バ	pa					
必	bì	2	ビ	bi	バ	ba					
达	dá	2	タ	ta	ダ	da					
敦	dūn	2	ト	to							
多	duō	2	ト	to	ト一	tō					
康	kāng	2	コン (2)	kon							
可	kě	2	ク	ku	ケ	ke					
丽	lí	2	リ	ri	レ	re					
利	lì	2	リ	ri	リ	rī					
罗	luó	2	ド	do	ロ一	rō					
马	mǎ	2	マ (2)	ma							
那	nà	2	ナ	na	(2)						
能	néng	2	ノ	no	ノン	non					
三	sān	2	サン (2)	san							
斯	sī	2	ス(2)	su							
索	suǒ	2	ソ(2)	so							
天	tiān	2	ツテ	tte	タム	tam					
万	wàn/mò	2	バン	ban	マ	ma					
阿	ā	1	ア	a							
安	ān	1	オン	on							
奥	ào	1	オ	o							

Grapheme	Hanyu pinyin	Frequency	Japanese syllable(s)							
			varia nt A	rea din g	vari ant B	rea din g	vari ant C	rea din g	vari ant D	rea din g
霸	bà	I	バ	ba						
宝	bǎo	I	ブ	bu						
蓓	bèi	I	ベ	be						
宾	bīn	I	ペン	pen						
丹	dān	I	ド	do						
德	dé	I	ド	do						
恩	ēn	I	エン	en						
尔	ěr	I	ス	su						
迩	ér	I	ヤ	ya						
发	fā	I	ファ	fa						
富	fu	I	フ	fu						
功	gōng	I	ゴン	kon						
宫	gōng	I	コ	ko						
固	gù	I	グ	gu						
果	guǒ	I	コ	ko						
哈	hā	I	ハ	ha						
豪	háo	I	ホ一	hō						
华	huá	I	ワ	wa						
城	chéng	I	ズン	zun						
吉	jí	I	チ	chi						
基	jī	I	キ	kiy						
				a						
嘉	jiā	I	ガ	ga						
建	jiàn	I	ケン	ken						
津	jīn	I	ズ	zu						
凯	kǎi	I	カ	ka						
柯	kē	I	コ	ko						
空	kōng	I	コン	kon						

Grapheme	Hanyu pinyin	Frequency	Japanese syllable(s)				reading A	reading B	reading C	reading D	reading E
			varia	readin	vari	readin					
库	kù	I	ク	ku							
兰	lán	I	ラン	ran							
乐	lè	I	ロー	rō							
理	lǐ	I	リ	ri							
林	lín	I	リン	rin							
陆	lù	I	ル	ru							
伦	lún	I	ル	ru							
漫	màn	I	マン	ma							
				n							
梦	mèng	I	ム	mu							
米	mǐ	I	ミ	mi							
莫	mò	I	モ	mo							
拿	ná	I	ナ	na							
纳	nà	I	ナ	na							
耐	nài	I	ネ	ne							
南	nán	I	ナ	na							
妮	nī	I	ニ	ni							
浓	nóng	I	ノ	no							
鸥	ōu	I	オ	o							
奇	qí	I	ッキ	kkī							
				一							
桥	qiáo	I	キョ	kyō							
				一							
生	shēng	I	ソン	son							
世	shì	I	セ	se							
仕	shì	I	ス	su							
司	sī	I	ス	su							
思	sī	I	ス	su							
思	sī	I	ス	su							
速	sù	I	ス	su							

Grapheme	Hanyu pinyin	Frequency	Japanese syllable(s)							
			varia nt A	rea din g	vari ant B	rea din g	vari ant C	rea din g	vari ant D	rea din g
特	tè	I	ト	to						
腾	téng	I	タム	tam	u					
铁	tiě	I	チ	chi						
通	tōng	I	トン	ton						
伍	wǔ	I	ウ	u						
夏	xià	I	シャ	shā						
			一							
信	xìn	I	シン	shi						
				n						
亚	yà	I	ア	a						
养	yǎng	I	ヤク	yak	u					
艺	yì	I	エイ	ei						
衣	yī	I	ニ	ni						
尤	yóu	I	ユ	yu						
优	yōu	I	ユ	yu						
造	zào	I	ゾ	zo						
智	zhì	I	チ	chi						
至	zhì	I	チ	chi						
卓	zhuó	I	ゾ	zo						
自	zì	I	ツ	tsu						
滋	zī	I	ツツ	ttsu						

A Chinese Comic Book and the Anti-schistosomiasis Campaign during the Cultural Revolution

Fan Ka-wai 范家偉

Abstract This paper focuses on a Chinese comic book named *The Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis* published during the Cultural Revolution. The anti-schistosomiasis campaign was a nationwide public health campaign that started in the 1950s but was terminated during the early period of the Cultural Revolution. In 1970, the People's Republic of China revived this campaign, and it published during this period serve to fulfill the political aims and to promote the ideologies of the central government. The aims of this comic book were four-fold: (1) To regain Chairman Mao's authority and charisma; (2) To concurrently promote agricultural production and revolutionary work; (3) To criticize the Revisionism and political enemies; and (4) To promote the national policy of »preparing for war and famine«.

Keywords China, Chairman Mao, comic book · Schistosomiasis, ideology, public health · *The Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis* (*Xuefang xiashang* 血防線上)

Introduction

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, different propaganda tools have been used to promote the ideologies of the central government and the Communist Party of China (CPC). The anti-schistosomiasis campaign is one of the most important public health movements in the history of

PRC.¹ The campaign is a mark of Chairman Mao Zedong's (1893–1976) success in eradicating this disease.²

The central government and the CPC made great efforts to control this disease in the 1950s. *Schistosomiasis japonica* is a parasite that causes a fatal illness in tropical and subtropical areas inhabited by water snails, which are intermediate hosts of the parasite. This disease was a serious threat in the southern provinces and cities of China such as Anhui, Fujian, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang, and the rural areas of Shanghai. The spread of schistosomiasis, which adversely affected agricultural production, prompted Chairman Mao Zedong to initiate a mass anti-schistosomiasis campaign in 1955 with the slogan »Schistosomiasis has to be eradicated« (*Yideng yao xiaomie xuexichong bing* 一定要消滅血吸蟲病). The campaign, which integrated mass mobilization, science, agricultural production, local construction projects and preventive works, aimed at ultimately removing one of the obstacles to the development of agriculture.³

¹ Francis Sandback, »Farewell to the god of plague—the control of schistosomiasis in China«, *Social Science and Medicine*, 11(1977), 27–33; Kenneth S. Warren, »Farewell to the plague spirit: Chairman Mao's crusade against schistosomiasis«, in *Science and Medicine in Twentieth-Century China: Research and Education*, ed. by John Z. Bowers, William Hess and Nathan Sivin (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1998), 123–140; Kawai Fan and Honkei Lai, »Mao Zedong's Fight Against Schistosomiasis«, *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 51:2 (2008), 176–187.

² As epidemiologist Dirk Engels notes: »In many respects, schistosomiasis control in China could be considered as exemplary. It shows that strong political commitment is the key element in successful control.« Actually, the disease has never been eliminated in China. See also Dirk Engels, Wang Li-Ying and Kevin L. Palmer, »Control of schistosomiasis in China«, *Acta Tropica*, 96 (2005), 67–68; Thomas L. Hall and Victor W. Sidel, »Diseases of the Modern period in China«, in ed. by Kenneth F. Kiple *The Cambridge World History of Human Diseases* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 366; John Farley, »Schistosomiasis«, in *The Cambridge World History of Human Diseases*, ed. by Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 997.

³ See Kawai Fan and Honkei Lai, »Mao Zedong's Fight Against Schistosomiasis«, 176–187; Ka-wai Fan, »Mass Mobilization and the Anti-Schistosomiasis Campaign in Maoist China (1955–1960)«,

Under Mao's rule, the campaign was implemented until the Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966, as a result of which the campaign was temporarily halted on account of the ensuing chaos. However, the campaign was revived and gained new political support in 1970.⁴ In this context, a comic book named *The Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis* (*Xuefang xiānshàng* 血防線上) was produced and widely disseminated; the aim of this comic was to promote the ideologies of the central government and the CPC. This article explores this comic book and discusses how the contents of the comic book reflect the CPC's ideologies.

I Literature Review

Comics have been used time and time again as tools for spreading propaganda because comics have always held the interest and imagination of the masses.⁵ Fredrik Strömberg listed three reasons for this: (1) the intimate combination of words and pictures; (2) the use of speech balloons, captions, and onomatopoetic words; and (3) the combination of two or more images that forms a sequence.⁶

in *Handbook of Disease Outbreaks: Prevention, Detection and Control*, ed. by Albin Holmgren and Gerhard Borg (NC: Nova Science Publishers, 2010), 277–293.

- 4 Schistosomiasis has plagued China for over 2000 years. *S. japonicum* eggs were found in the remains of a noble woman, whose tomb of Han dynasty was discovered in Mawangdui, Hunan Province, in 1973. In 2007, it was estimated that more than 800,000 people in China were infected with schistosomiasis and 6.5 million more people were at risk. Environmental degradation of constructions of the Three Gorges Dam, frequent floods, and weak public awareness have contributed significantly to the return of the plague in recent years. See Jiang Zheng, et al., »Relationship between the transmission of *Schistosomiasis japonica* and the construction of the Three Gorge Reservoir«, *Acta Tropica*, 82 (2002), 147–156.
- 5 Matthew P. McAllister, Edward H. Sewell and Ian Gordon »Introducing Comics and Ideology«, in *Comics & Ideology*, ed. by Matthew P. McAllister, Edward H. Sewell and Ian Gordon (NC: Peter Lang, 2001), 1–15.
- 6 Frederik Strömberg and Peter Kuper, *Comic Art Propaganda: A Graphic History* (East Sussex: St. Martin's Griffin, 2010), 9.

Therefore, in comics, ideas and information can be clearly conveyed in the form of images that easily perk the readers' interest.

Previous studies on comic books center on the comic books published in the US, with the topics covering superheroes, politics, war and race. Comic books are used to promote the idea of national identity and devotion to the nation.⁷

Considering that comic books are a means for the promotion of public health and medical information, Michael Green and Kimberly Myers consider graphic stories including adult-themed comics to be a popular new cultural trend. They are clearly a valuable tool in the field of medicine, particularly with regard to spreading awareness about diseases and their prevention and control. Graphic stories are a novel and creative way of learning and teaching about illnesses, and they have been integrated into medical education and practice.⁸ Bert Hansen argues that comic books can also be used to teach medical history, development and contributions; to cultivate an appreciation for medicine; to set models for career roles; to gain public support for science, etc.⁹

7 See Bradford Wright, *Comic Book Nation: the Transformation of Youth Culture in America* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Marc DiPaolo, *War, Politics and Superheroes: Ethics and Propaganda in Comics and Film* (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2011).

8 Michael Green, Kimberly Myers, »Graphic medicine: use of comics in medical education and patient care«, *British Medical Journal*, 340 (2010), 574–577.

9 The term »propaganda« always carries a negative meaning. As Richard Taylor described, »propaganda« aims to make its audience accept certain values, and to sometimes act upon that acceptance. Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1998), 13. Richard Nelson offers the following neutral definition: »Propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of specified target audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels«. Richard Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996). See also Bert Hansen,

Both totalitarian and democratic states intentionally produce national culture, identity and image, as well as engage in nation-building through popular culture media such as films, posters, and comic books.¹⁰ Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union are examples of how a totalitarian state or a centralized state can apply a combination of censorship and control the media such as the press, the educational department and the film industry to disseminate political and ideological themes.¹¹ These centralized states used propaganda tools to instruct the masses to follow central policies and to accept state ideologies.¹² Their purpose was to control mass opinion and influence thoughts and beliefs.

Comic books met the CPC's expectations in terms of propaganda function in the anti-schistosomiasis campaign. Hu Guanghan's study shows the importance of health education and health promotion in the control of schistosomiasis.¹³ Yuan Hongcheng also shows that using cartoons, videos, print material, and face-to-face educational methods can increase children's knowledge of

Picturing Medical Progress from Pasteur to Polio: a History of Mass Media Images and Popular Attitudes in America (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 171–203.

- ¹⁰ France in Focus: *Film and National Identity*, ed. by Elizabeth Ezra and Sue Harris (Oxford: Berg, 2000); *Cinema and Nation*, ed. by Mette Hjort, M and Scott Mackenzie (London: Routledge, 2000); Shu-chu Wei, »Shaping a Cultural Identity: The Picture Book and Cartoons on Taiwan, 1945–1980«, in *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines, and Picture Books*, ed. by John A. Lent (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 64–80.
- ¹¹ Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1985).
- ¹² See David Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001); David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London: Routledge, 2002); Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1998), 13; Hilmar Hoffmann, *The Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism 1933–1945* (Oxford: Berhahn Books, 1996); Susan Tegel, *Nazis and the Cinema* (London: The Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 2009).
- ¹³ Guan-Han Hu *et al.*, »The role of health education and health promotion in the control of schistosomiasis: experiences from a 12-year intervention study in the Poyang Lake area«, *Acta Tropica*, 96 (2005), 232–241.

schistosomiasis.¹⁴ This experiment was conducted by the departments of public health and education, and the results show that using cartoons and print material is an effective way of educating children about disease prevention. These results were published recently, but as Wang Longde points out, in reality, health education in China has been characterized by centrally led, top-down messages and methods since the 1950s.¹⁵ In the 1950s, the central government and the CPC promoted health education related to schistosomiasis and linked it with their political agenda.

The publication industry was nationalized and incorporated into the political and administrative structure of the CPC and the central government and could be easily controlled from the center in terms of funding, censorship, and distribution. The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC played a critical role in the dissemination of information. According to the CPC, there are many advantages of using comic books as a means of communicating with the masses. The first reason is that it is cheap and easy to transport as well as carry in person. Secondly, it offers an effective way of reaching a wide audience, especially in remote rural areas.¹⁶ The disease was common in the villages of the Southern regions and peasants were the major victims, but they were illiterate. Comic books use illustrations and simple language to disseminate the information that the CPC and the state wished to disseminate to the illiterate peasants.

Undoubtedly, comic books are an important propaganda tool of the CPC because children and working people alike love reading comic books.¹⁷ In China,

¹⁴ Yuan, Hongchang *et al.*, »Achievements of Schistosomiasis Control in China«, *Memórias Instituto Oswaldo Cruz*, 97 (2002), 187–189.

¹⁵ Long-De Wang *et al.*, »A strategy to control transmission of Schistosoma japonicum in China«, *New England Journal of Medicine*, 360:2(2010), 121–128.

¹⁶ Kevin Latham, *Pop Culture China: Media, Arts and Lifestyle* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 165.

¹⁷ See Mary Ann Farquhar, »Through the Looking Glass: Children's Stories and Social Change in China, 1918–1976«, in *Society and the Writer: Essays on Literature in Modern Asia*, ed. by Guanwu Wang (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1981), 173–198;

comic book is called *lianhuanhua* 連環畫, which can be literally translated as »linked pictures«; simple text is placed under the pictures.¹⁸ Normally, the *lianhuanhua* is pocket-sized with a colorful cover and the pictures are in black and white. The British Library has a collection of over 100 Chinese comic books produced in the 1960s, and the Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaii at Monoa has a collection of more than 150 titles published during the Cultural Revolution. They are an excellent historical resource and represent an extraordinary example of how official sources can promote select values and visions using material that is visually enjoyable. According to the statistics, over ten thousand genres of comic books were published and over 2.6 hundred million copies were sold during the 1950s–60s. The genres included classical literature, drama, movie, foreign literature, fairy tale, myth, heroic model and revolutionary hero. Shanghai was the publishing base.¹⁹ Today, *lianhuanhua* is regarded as a collectible. Studies on the use of comic books as a historical source are still rare.

There is some general history available about Chinese comic books, but they only offers simple descriptions and categorizes the themes during the PRC period.²⁰ The Cultural Revolution was a period in which politics were prioritized. The themes of *Lianhuanhua* included various elements of the Communist revolution such as class struggle, the Red Guard, revolutionary heroes and educated urban youth. In this study, the complexities of the contents and contexts of *The Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis* will be discussed. This study will also explore

Mary Ann Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China: From Lu Xun to Mao Zedong* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

- 18 Kuiyi Shen, »Lianhuanhua and Manhua—Picture Books and Comics in Old Shanghai«, in *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines, and Picture Books*, 100–120.
- 19 *Xin Zhongguo lianhuanhua wushi-liushi niandai* 新中國連環畫五六十代 [Communist China Linking Pictures in China During 1950s–60s], ed. by Wang, Guanqing 汪觀清 and Li Minghai 李明海 (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 2001), 11.
- 20 Jiang Xinping 蔣新平, *Xin Zhongguo lianhuanhua chuanbo tushi* 新中國連環畫傳播圖史 [Illustrated History of Dissemination of Linking Pictures in Communist China] (Guilin: Lijiang chubanshe, 2012); Liu Yongsheng 劉永勝, *Xin Zhongguo lianhuanhua tushi* 新中國連環畫圖史 1949–1999 [History of Linking Pictures in Communist China 1949–1999] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 2011).

the relationship between the anti-schistosomiasis campaign and the political situation, as well as the ideologies of the CPC and the central government.

2 *The Ideologies of the Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis*

In March 1973, Shanghai People's Publishing House published *The Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis* (henceforth abbreviated as *Frontline*, Plate 1).²¹ *Frontline* was adapted from storytelling (*pingtan* 評彈) created by the People's Storytelling Group of Shanghai. The story was created by Shanghai renmin piantan tuan 上海人民評彈團 between 1970 and 1972. The illustrator was Xu Youwu 徐有武, who is renowned for this comic book. This comic book was nominated for a national Lianhuanhua exhibition in 1973. About 8.8 hundred thousand copies of *Frontline* were sold out and used as propaganda material for the prevention of schistosomiasis.²²

2.1 *How great is Chairman Mao*

The aim of *Frontline* was to depict how dangerous and harmful this disease was. The setting of the story is the Xiangyang 向陽 production brigade, a rural village and area of Shanghai. The story begins with a small girl finding a live snail in the village. The snails had originally vanished in the Xiangyang production brigade because of the preventive work undertaken by the villages. Hence, the local leadership and the villages discussed the matter along with other stories (from the local leaderships' memories). The story revolves around two leaders—Liang

²¹ *Xuefangxianshang* 血防線上 [The Frontline of Anti-schistosomiasis], ed. by Shanghai Xuefangxianshang lianhuanhua yeyu chongzuo zu 上海血防線上連環畫業餘創作組 (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1973).

²² Fang Zhaohai 方昭海, *Zhongguo lianhuanhua shoucang zhinan* 中國連環畫收藏指南 [A Guide to Collectibles of Chinese Linking Pictures] (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2008), 64; *Dangdai Zhongguo de weisheng shiye* 當代中國的衛生事業 [Works of Public Health in Contemporary China], ed. by Dangdai Zhongguo congshu bianji bu 當代中國叢書編輯部 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1986), 200.

Guoxiang 梁國興, the chief leader of the Xiangyang production brigade, and Chen Huiqin 陳慧琴, the Xiangyang production brigade branch secretary. Their investigation revealed that a villager had brought the snail from another village in order to undermine the anti-schistosomiasis campaign.

Chairman Mao's famous statement »Schistosomiasis has to be eradicated« was quoted twice in the comic strip. In addition, Mao's instruction to inspect snails was also implemented. According to an old lady in the Xiangyang production brigade who was infected with schistosomiasis before the liberation in 1949, the disease was common. Her husband had died of the disease. After 1949, she moved to this village. Chairman Mao sent a team of medical staff and the People's Liberation Army to the village. (Plate 2) They visited all the houses and inspected the diseased, and set up medical stations to treat the poor peasants. Many people were cured. This showed the concern of the CPC for the people.²³ With support from the People's Liberation Army, schistosomiasis was basically eradicated in the Xiangyang production brigade in 1960. Chen Huiqin heard this story and concluded that under direction from Chairman Mao' poems »Farewell to Plague Spirit« (Song wen shen 送瘟神), the masses in infected areas were mobilized to fight the disease.

Frontline reaffirmed that the national anti-schistosomiasis campaign was guided by the brilliant ideas of Mao in his poems, and criticized Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇(1898–1968, President of the PRC April 1959–Dec 1968)'s mistaken order that »organizing the mass movement is a boondoggle, eradication of schistosomiasis is impossible, as is elimination of *Oncomelania* snails«.²⁴ It was argued that Liu followed the idea of health revisionism, as a result of which many poor peasants were reinfected. Therefore, the anti-schistosomiasis campaign should not be halted and the *Oncomelania* population must be kept under control. Mao's poems regained status as the guiding ideology in public health, and the PRC learnt from the case of Yujiang County in Jiangxi that thorough elimination of *Oncomelania* was essential. Chen Huiqin used Chairman Mao's poems to convince Liang that

²³ *Renmin ribao* 人民日報 [People's Daily], April 10, 1960, 13.

²⁴ Suzhou zhuanqu fangzhi xuexichong bing lingdao xiaozu 蘇州專區防治血吸蟲病領導小組 [The Leading Group of Anti-schistosomiasis of the Suzhou Prefecture], *Yideng yao xiaomie xuefang chongbing* 一定要消滅血防蟲病 [Schistosomiasis has to be Eliminated] (no publication data, 1970), 3.

it was important to listen to Chairman Mao's words and to continue with the campaign. (Plate 3) After reviewing Mao's poems, Liang was confident enough to insist on the campaign.

On June 30, 1958, Mao read an article in the *People's Daily* that announced the successful eradication of the disease in Yujiang County, Jiangxi Province. Excited and unable to sleep, Mao wrote two poems entitled »Farewell to the Plague Spirit« to commemorate the campaign. Therefore, it was also called the »Farewell to the Plague Spirit« campaign. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao's poems were published and disseminated in rural areas, which encouraged people in the infected areas.

The Cultural Revolution started in 1966, and in order to actively promote his reforms, Chairman Mao gathered Red Guards from all over China and initiated a campaign to eradicate the »Four Olds« (Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas). This movement enabled the Red Guards to destroy society as it was then. The situation got out of control and led to a series of tragedies. All the people who were mobilized participated in the movement.

However, the entire campaign was terminated during the Cultural Revolution. In the early 1960s, Mao's reputation and status in the party were severely weakened by his failure in the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960), and the struggle between Mao and Liu Shaoqi steadily became conspicuous. Mao utilized the anti-schistosomiasis campaign, as a unit of the large-scale political movement, to strike down Liu Shaoqi, although Liu was originally groomed as the successor to Mao. In 1967, Chairman Mao gradually regained his status and authority. *Frontline* emphasized on Mao's poems because this was a symbol of Mao's great contribution.

2.2 Agricultural production and the anti-schistosomiasis campaign

The story also describes how Liang advocated the suspension of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign and used the manpower for agricultural production instead. However, according to the story, Chen insisted that the anti-schistosomiasis campaigns should not be slackened, and that both agricultural production and the campaign were essential.

Their quarrel reflected the conflict between agricultural production and the work of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign. The aim of the campaign was to use mass mobilization to improve agriculture practices and promote water conservation, in order to increase agricultural production and to eliminate water snails and schistosomiasis.²⁵ One of the measures taken to prevent the disease was to investigate the distribution of the snails. Therefore, manpower in large numbers was required.

After the establishment of the PRC, schistosomiasis reached epidemic proportions. Some scholars have estimated that in 1955, at least 10.5 million people were infected with schistosomiasis.²⁶ In 1955, Chairman Mao Zedong proposed a national prevention program to fight the disease and considered this disease to be an important national issue. Transmission of the disease does not occur in areas that are not inhabited by water snails. During the 1950s–70s, the most common method to eliminate the disease was by eradicating the water snails, for which there was no emphasis on the use of chemical molluscicides. The campaign was implemented by local and rural communes. In rural villages, the production brigades would organize the peasants to participate in water conservation²⁷ and to capture the snails.²⁸

²⁵ Kawai Fan and Honkei Lai, »Mao Zedong's Fight Against Schistosomiasis«, 176–187; Miriam Gross and Kawai Fan, »Schistosomiasis«, in *Medical Transitions in Twentieth Century China*, ed. by Bridie Andrews and Mary Brown Bullock (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 106–125.

²⁶ Tien-Hsi Cheng, »Schistosomiasis in Mainland China«, *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 20:1 (1971), 26.

²⁷ Poorly drained, marshy, sunlit ponds and canals are the best environments for the Oncomelama snails. The techniques used to control the spread of snails during this time likely to carry schistosomiasis included: (1) burning bulrushes after harvesting them; (2) dredging new irrigation channels and blocking old ones in order to eliminate the snails, which typically lived within 10 cm of the surface of the mud, near the water level; and (3) changing the water level, which disrupted the snail's life cycle and killed them. See Kawai Fan and Honkei Lai, »Mao Zedong's Fight Against Schistosomiasis«, 176–187.

²⁸ Kawai Fan and Honkei Lai, »Mao Zedong's Fight Against Schistosomiasis«, 176–187; Ka-wai Fan,

The anti-schistosomiasis campaign during the 1950s–1960s was also tied to the construction of communist society. Mao pointed out that schistosomiasis was the only obstacle to economic development in rural areas in 1955. In 1957, the central government described the prevention of schistosomiasis as a national issue and explained that since the most susceptible group is the young, who cease working once infected, agricultural production has been directly affected.²⁹ Obviously, there was a close relationship between agricultural development and Mao's anti-schistosomiasis policy. Schistosomiasis was ranked first among other serious diseases at that time. It was treated as a national agricultural issue not simply because of the public health problem it posed, but also because of the obstacle it created to transforming the country into a fully cooperative socialist nation.

After 1949, the PRC's public health policies, proposed by Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898–1976, Premier of the PRC October 1949–January 1976) in 1952, were codified under four guiding principles. One of them was that health work should be carried out through mass movements.³⁰ This was the principle that guided the campaign. In fact, mobilizing the masses to participate in any kind of movement, including political and public health movements, was the most crucial policy of the CPC. Mao believed that mass participation could help promote political

²⁹ »Mass Mobilization and the Anti-Schistosomiasis Campaign in Maoist China (1955–1960)«, 277–

293.

- 29 China National Radio, »1956–1967 Quanguo nongye fazhan gangyao (xiu zheng cao an jiang hua) 1956–1967 全國農業發展綱要 [1956–1967 Speech of the Outline of National Development of Agriculture, Revised Draft] (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian publisher, 1958), 185; See also Kawai Fan and Honkei Lai, »Mao Zedong's Fight Against Schistosomiasis«, *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 51:2 (2008), 176–187.
- 30 Meei-Shia Chen, »The Great Reversal: Transformation of Health Care in the People's Republic of China«, in *The Blackwell Companion to Medical Sociology*, ed. by William C. Cockerham (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 456–482.

awareness and politicize the public.³¹ The use of propaganda tools was the most important method used to mobilize and educate the masses to participate in the anti-schistosomiasis campaign and to lead the masses to follow the directions set by the central government and CPC.

From the 1950s–1960s, before the Cultural Revolution, the PRC relied on different propaganda tools to educate the peasants in rural areas about schistosomiasis and the methods that could be used to prevent it.³² When the Cultural Revolution broke out, agricultural and industrial production was greatly affected. The central government specified that »the Cultural Revolution is the main focus; we revolutionize and produce at the same time without any delay«. The slogan »Accelerate revolution, increase production« was one of the main ideologies of the revolution. Revolution and production could not be delayed.³³ Liang Guoxiang was criticized because he neglected the works of the campaign. The comic book disseminated information to the effect that both the revolution and production were important and could be achieved at the same time.

3 Criticism of Political Enemies

In the 1970s, the anti-schistosomiasis campaign was launched not only to tackle national and public health issues but also to attack political enemies.

Frontline described an incident that occurred in 1965: one day, a »capitalist roader« brought along a girl to the Xiangyang production brigade, who he claimed had the gift of discovering *Oncomelania* snails living even up to three feet deep in the soil. The girl walked around the Xiangyang production brigade and picked up *Oncomelania* snails from every location. However, the masses eventually realized that they were being deceived, as the snails that the girl dug up from the soil were

³¹ James Roger Townsend, *Political Participation in Communist China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

³² The central government tried to use a film to mobilize the peasants to participate in the campaign. Ka-wai Fan, »Film Propaganda and the Anti-schistosomiasis Campaign in Communist China«, *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies*, 12:1 (2012), 1–17.

³³ Ka wai Fan, »Epidemic Cerebrospinal Meningitis during the Cultural Revolution«, *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident*, 37 (2014), 197–232.

concealed in her hand before she dug her hand into the soil. The capitalist roader used this demonstration to claim that it would be impossible to eliminate all the snails as they were almost omnipresent in the soil. However, Chen claimed that »we must not forget the class struggle«, and informed the capitalist roader that his claim could not be true, as many districts had already annihilated *Oncomelania* species. (Plate 4) The conclusion drawn by Chen from this incident was that the reappearance of *Oncomelania* snails was simply a trick played by the class enemy.

Frontline actually reflects the criticisms against Wei Wenbo 魏文伯 (1905–1987) by the new anti-schistosomiasis committee led by Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋 (1917–2005, a member of the »Gang of Four«): Wei was criticized for the mass anti-schistosomiasis movement he led, which was believed to have allowed the epidemic to escalate. He did not do his best to prevent the disease. Another critique was that schistosomiasis could not be eradicated. The committee was of the opinion that Wei's notion of eradicating schistosomiasis completely was nonsense from an ideological perspective. The committee argued that on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, Wei extolled the »*Oncomelania* girls« (the ones who claimed to have the gift to find where the snails lived and pick them out) and admired their ability. He brought such girls from Suzhou to Shanghai, where they »discovered« *Oncomelania* snails in Shanghai areas. These girls even found snails in several provinces that had never before reported the existence of *Oncomelania* snails. Wei was mobilizing the girls to advocate the reactionary fallacy—»where there is soil, there are *Oncomelania* snails«, which meant that *Oncomelania* species and schistosomiasis could never be eradicated. When the girls were sent to Fujian, the masses there realized that their claims were false.³⁴ Wei did, in fact, enter several epidemic areas to make investigations, but it is uncertain whether he brought the *Oncomelania* girls to the villages and actually did what the new anti-schistosomiasis committee describes.

³⁴ Poor Peasants from the Dulu Bridge of Nanjiao Commune of Taicang Province, »Bringing down the God of Pledge—Wei Wenbo«, in The Leading Group of Anti-schistosomiasis of the Suzhou Prefecture, *Schistosomiasis has to be Eliminated*, 85–87.

In fact, the measures used for the campaign in the 1970s were not different from those used in the campaign of the 1950s. Chairman Mao's slogan was still in use in the 1970s. However, the revival of the campaign as a national issue was a result of the criticism against Liu Shaoqi. Liu was the president of the PRC from 1959 to 1968, but he diverged from Mao's strategies. Liu was a threat to Mao's leadership at that time. Finally, Mao won and Liu was expelled from the CPC and relieved of all his duties. Liu died on 12 November 1969, but even after his death, the CPC continued to criticize him and accuse him of being a traitor and capitalist roader. Originally, Liu had no relation with the anti-schistosomiasis campaign. Wei Wanbo, the Deputy Justice Minister of the Ministry of Justice and Liu's follower, was appointed as the Secretary of Huadong Ju (person in charge in the Eastern region of China) of the CPC. During the Cultural Revolution, Wei was labeled as a member of Liu's group. Since 1955, Wei had been appointed as a member of the nine-man committee of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign and issued directives for implementation of the campaign.

At the end of 1969, following a series of critical accusations against Liu, Wei was involved. Wei was regarded as a representative of Liu. Wei's works, suggestions and opinions about the anti-schistosomiasis campaign were totally opposed. Wei also produced a pamphlet called »*Three Character Classic of the Anti-schistosomiasis Campaign*« which made light of Mao's poems *Farewell to the Plague Spirit*. During the Cultural Revolution, this was one of the most heinous crimes committed.

The CPC started to hold opposition sessions against Wei. On 25–29 December 1969, a working meeting about schistosomiasis that included members from the thirteen southern provinces and cities was held in Shanghai. One of the purposes of the meeting was to bring in Wei to the session so that he could be critiqued and purged. At the meeting, the nine-man committee of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign was reformed and expanded to include nineteen members. Zhang Chunqiao was appointed as the leader of the group. It was also decided that the members were required to consistently and openly criticize Wei via the medium of newspapers.

In May 1970, the central government and CPC re-emphasized that the campaign as the most important task. In a working report, it stated »The criticism of Liu and Wei, as political plague spirits, was to demonstrate their offenses in destroying and interfering with the works of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign.

Through these activities, awareness of class struggle and revolutionary line struggle could be enhanced. Furthermore, these activities could further influence the cadres and the masses widely to love Chairman Mao and to detest the leadership of Liu and Wei, in order to promote the works of the campaign«.³⁵

It was clear that the central government and the CPC wished to shift the blame of ceasing the campaign to Liu and Wei. According to them, Liu promoted counter-revolutionary revisionism and destroyed and interfered with the works of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign. The time limit of two years that was stated in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development* had already been exceeded and the task of eradicating the disease had not been completed.³⁶ As a consequence, Liu and Wei were regularly critiqued in the newspapers.

This wave of criticism of the two former leaders was to re-emphasize Chairman Mao's slogan and to re-acknowledge Mao's authority in the campaign. Liu and Wei's offenses were specifically stated: "Liu and his followers have slandered the masses working on the anti-schistosomiasis campaign. For example, they claimed that the campaign was grandiose but useless, and that it was a

35 Zhonggong zhongyang xuefang lingdao xiaozu 中共中央血防領導小組 [Leading Team of the Prevention of Schistosomiasis of PRC], »Nanfang shisan sheng, shi, qu xuexichong bing fangzhi gongzuo jinzhuan qingkuang baogao« 南方十三省、市、區血吸蟲病防治工作進展情況報告 [The Progress Report on the Works of the Anti-schistosomiasis in the 13 Southern Provinces, Cities and Districts], in Pengye xian geming weiyuanhui xiaomie xuexichong bing zhihui bu 彭澤縣革命委員會消滅血吸蟲病指揮部 [The Headquarter of Eliminating Schistosomiasis of Pengze County Revolutionary Committee], *Mao zhuxi, dang zhongyang dui xuefang weisheng gongzuo zhishi* 毛主席、黨中央對血防衛生工作指示 [The Instructions of the Works of the Anti-schistosomiasis and Public Health from Chairman Mao and the CPC] (no publication data, 1970), 95–96.

36 Zhonggong zhongyang zhuanfa 中共中央轉發 [The Central Government], »“Guanyu nanfang shisan sheng, shi, qu xuexichong bing fangzhi gongzuo tuyi de qingkuang baogao” de tongzhi« 關於南方十三省、市、區血吸蟲病防治工作會議的情況報告”的通知 [Working Plan of Eliminating Schistosomiasis in 13 Southern Provinces, Cities and Regions], 1970.01.31; 中發 [1970] 2 號, <<http://www.wengwang.org/read.php?tid=8883>> (last retrieval January 28, 2019).

washinese, translated into Englishte of money and manpower. Liu and his representative Wei advocated that the snail could not be totally killed and that the disease could not be eradicated. These statements were a reactionary fallacy that was against Mao's instructions.”³⁷ In addition, Wei was criticized because he trusted experts and science and not the masses. He was criticized for embracing the ideas and opinions of capitalist experts and authorities. Wei's opinions on the works of the campaign were regarded as a poisonous arrow shot at Mao.³⁸ Finally, Wei was imprisoned, criticized and regarded as a traitor for 10 years.

The central government and CPC ordered the local leaders of all the affected regions to learn, promote and implement Mao's thoughts regarding the campaign. It would set off a momentous mass movement to implement Mao's insightful thoughts. All levels of localities including provinces, cities and counties were asked to launch classes and seminars, and publish a large number of instructions from Mao to be distributed to poor peasants. A promotion team for the anti-schistosomiasis campaign was also formed. The call for eradication of the disease from Mao had to be deeply rooted among the people.³⁹ The promotional publication material shifted from Wei's pamphlet to Mao's poems. *Frontline* drew on the criticisms of Wei's perspectives on the anti-schistosomiasis campaigns, and became significant propaganda material.

4 *Following the Central Policy*

Chen Huiqin expressed that the county government thought highly of Chairman Mao's instruction »to be prepared for war, be prepared for famine, and serve the people«. The original purpose of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign in the 1950s was mentioned before. The aim of the campaign in the 1970s was also to increase agricultural production under the threat of the war.

³⁷ The Leading Group of Anti-schistosomiasis of the Suzhou Prefecture, *Schistosomiasis has to be Eliminated*, 85–87.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ The Central Government, »Working plan of Eliminating Schistosmiasis in 13 Southern Provinces, Cities and Regions«, (last retrieval January 28, 2019).

Sino-Soviet relations had been broken since 1958. Chairman Mao and Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971, leader of Soviet Union 1953–1964) were suspicious of each other, and the two countries could not be at peace any more. Nikita Khrushchev retired from his offices in 1964, which further increased the tension between the two countries. There were small-scale military conflicts between the two countries. In response to the possibility of invasion and war, Mao and Zhou Enlai proposed »preparing for war and famine« as slogan for the most important national strategies. In 1969, which was a year in which frequent military conflicts occurred between the two countries, the Sino-Soviet border conflict occurred at Zhenbao Island in March. It was believed that the two countries would start firing at any time. As mentioned before, the launch of the anti-schistosomiasis campaign was rooted in economic agendas too. The main task in »preparing for war and famine« was to store grain reserves. Because schistosomiasis was still common and still affected agricultural production in southern China in 1970, the campaign was proposed as a crucial national strategy.

According to an official document, the anti-schistosomiasis campaign was a part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and struggle-criticism-transformation (Cultural Revolution slogan). It also considered »preparing for war and famine« to be one of the most important strategies. The campaign was to be a part of every meeting agenda. Protecting working people's health and fighting capacity was considered as a responsibility of the campaign. According to Chairman Mao's directives, the main health care work was to be the responsibility of the village authorities. Schistosomiasis was the most life-threatening disease in the southern villages. The main health care work on the village had to be implemented.⁴⁰

Obviously, the central government required that revolutionary organizations and committees at all levels prioritize the anti-schistosomiasis campaign, as the disease would damage not only people's health but also their fighting capacity. In addition, it would directly affect the socialist revolution and its constructions.

⁴⁰ The Leading Group of Anti-schistosomiasis of the Suzhou Prefecture, *Schistosomiasis has to be Eliminated*, 85–87.

Therefore, all actions were expected to be taken from the viewpoint of preparing for war and famine as well as serving the people, and efforts were made to eradicate the disease in a short period.⁴¹ In addition to its aim of crushing the invasion of Soviet revisionism, ensuring agricultural production was the top priority.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Frontline gave the masses hope and led them to believe that schistosomiasis could be eradicated if Chairman Mao's directives were followed and the capitalist roaders' unscrupulous directives were ignored. *Frontline* reaffirmed Mao's personal charisma and authority by reintroducing his famous poems in the campaign. Its political background reflected the political mission of *Frontline*. Potentially infected people in the villages of the southern provinces. They were illiterate and poor but the central government assigned the educated urban youth to tell them the story.⁴² *Frontline* delivered a clear message: CPC could cure the disease, but why was it still prevalent? Liu Shaoqi and Wei Wenbo were considered to be culpable and expected to take the responsibility.

The ideologies of *Frontline* came from articles published in the *People's Daily*. Although Lianhuanhua could be treated as a cultural commodity, it was not intended for children's education and entertainment during the period of the Cultural Revolution. The following two conclusions can be made from this article:

(1) Although the Cultural Revolution was the most important period in the history of the PRC, the history of the Cultural Revolution shows a focus on the political, social and economic aspects instead. With regard to the cultural aspect, especially popular culture, all cultural activities served to fulfill the political ambitions of the central government and CPC, so the artistic value of these cultural activities is doubtful. Among these cultural activities, model plays

⁴¹ The Central Government, »Working plan of Eliminating Schistosmiasis in 13 Southern provinces, cities and regions«, (last retrieval January 28, 2019).

⁴² Barbara Mittler, »Popular Propaganda? Art and Culture in Revolutionary China«, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 152:4 (2008), 466–489.

(yangbanxi) attract scholars' attention.⁴³ This study shows that comic books are important historical sources of information about this period. Comic books could picturize ideologies that could not be animatedly expressed in words. For example, *Frontline* includes an illustration in which Chairman Mao's image is placed on the wall to be worshipped. (Plate 5) For an in-depth study of the Cultural Revolution, there are over 150 titles of comic books that can be studied. In particular, many comic books were intended to create images of revolutionary heroes and communist models. Some specific comic books were intended to support the ideas and actions of the state and the CPC. For example, *Counter Attack in Self-defence in Zhenbo Island* describes the invasion of the Soviet and the defensive action undertaken by Chairman Mao and the state.

(2) The second conclusion that can be drawn is that the central government and the CPC promoted their ideologies among the illiterate and peasants by using model plays, posters and films. However, the role of comic books is not fully explored. Compared with comic books, model plays and films reach less people, and posters cannot contain much information. Comic books can be read over and over again and easily passed on to others. Comic books can be used to target different age groups including children. Comic books would therefore be able to have a greater influence. The most important slogans may also be emphasized again and again. It was obvious that the ideologies promoted by the central government and CPC in newspapers reached more people in rural areas, and were picturized and rooted in people's minds through comic books. It would be interesting to study why young people were easily mobilized to participate in political movements during this period.

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43 *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution: Music, Politics, and Cultural Continuities*, ed. by Paul Clark, Pang Laikwan and Tsai Tsan-Huang (NC: Palgrave Macmillian, 2015).



Plate 1

Cover.



(52) 蔡妈妈听着，激情难抑，拉住慧琴的手，说：“旧社会，地主把生血吸虫病的穷人说成‘怪’；新社会，毛主席、共产党号召我们消灭血吸虫病，我的病也得到了治疗，真是两个社会两重天呀！”接着她叙说起悲惨的往事来——

Plate 2

An old lady was telling her story.



(29) 慧琴说着，拿过钉螺仔细一看，发现是只干钉螺，就要钉螺姑娘再找一只。当钉螺姑娘又要弄花招时，红英看得真切，大喝一声：“钉螺是从她的长指甲里落出来的！”说着就夺过钉螺姑娘手里的钉螺。

Plate 3
Mao's Poems on the wall.



(65) 接着，慧琴指指悬挂在墙上的毛主席的光辉诗篇《送瘟神》，对老梁说：“抬起头来，让我们重温一下毛主席的伟大教导。”

Plate 4
Oncomelania girls.



(67) 深夜，大家各自回家了。慧琴回到家里，仰望着毛主席像，“备战、备荒、为人民”的伟大教导在耳边回响，止不住心潮澎湃，她手执镰刀，出门朝田头走去。

Plate 5
Mao's image on the wall

Slovak–Taiwanese Relations under »One China« Policy

Eunika Rejtová

Abstract The main task of this paper is to analyze the bilateral relations between Slovakia and Taiwan under different Slovak governments. Due to the space limitation, the emphasis is laid on the unofficial inter-parliamentary linkages and the influence of the »One China« policy that shows to be hindering the deeper development of dialogue between Taiwan and Slovakia, and at the same time unnecessarily reducing the potential offered by this collaboration.

Keywords Slovak Republic, Republic of China (Taiwan) · Slovak–Taiwanese relations, »One China« policy (*Yige Zhongguo zhengce* 一個中國政策)

Introduction

In Slovakia, the awareness about Taiwan is rather limited either by its geographical distance or by China's shadow. Indeed, China with its prospering economy and grand global projects takes center stage. Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the countries wish to engage in partnership with China. However, one of the preconditions to this promising (but really delivering?) relationship is the recognition of the so-called »One China« policy (*Yige Zhongguo zhengce* 一個中國政策), which regards Taiwan as a part of China, and thus deprives it of its international status.¹

¹ Recently, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Burkina Faso, Sao Tome and Principe and El Salvador cut their diplomatic relations with Taiwan in favor of establishing diplomatic dialogue with China

Most likely because of the »One China« policy, not only is Taiwan overlooked as a country by the Slovak society, but is also not receiving enough credits for its activities in Slovakia. Taiwan represents Slovakia's second largest non-European trade partner (right after South Korea).² Total Taiwanese investments in Slovakia reach 445 million Euro³ (which is almost 10 times more, compared to the 49 million Euro of Chinese investments in the last 16 years⁴). Moreover, Taiwan has been engaged in Slovakia also in the spheres of healthcare education, science and culture; which as a part of the Taiwanese public diplomacy, compensates the diplomatic disadvantage. These kinds of activities are promoted by the Slovak Economic and Cultural Office, Taipei (SECO) and Taipei Representative Office, Bratislava (TROB) established in 2003. Prior to their opening, the relations were limited to very few contacts due to the Slovak government's foreign policy orientation to the PRC.

and to deepen their economic cooperation. Taiwan thus remains with only 17 diplomatic allies.

See *Reuters* (August 21 2018), »Taiwan says 'China out of control' as it loses El Salvador to Beijing« <<https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-taiwan-diplomacy/taiwan-loses-another-ally-to-chinaidUKKCNI6o5z?feedType=RSS&feedName=worldNews&rpc=6>> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).

² A significant influx of investment from Taiwan to Slovakia began in 2006 when Delta Electronics came to Slovakia. Other important investors in Slovakia are Foxconn, AU Optronics, and ESON. See a report issued by the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic (Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí Slovenskej republiky, hereafter MZV a EZ SR,), »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018« [Economic Information about Territory, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2018] <www.mzv.sk/documents/748032/620840/Taiwan++ekonomicke%C3%A9+informa%C3%A9+o+terit%C3%BD+2018> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Thilo Hanemann and Mikko Huotari, »Record Flows and Imbalances—Chinese Investment in Europe in 2016«, Mercator Institute for China Studies, 3/2017 (Berlin: Merics, 2016), <https://www.merics.org/fileadmin/user_upload/downloads/MPOC/COFDI_2017/MPOC_o3_Update_COFDI_Web.pdf> (last retrieval January 4, 2019).

I *The »One China« Policy and the »One China« Principle*

To explain relations between Slovakia and Taiwan, we need to keep the geopolitical arguments in mind. As China, as an outside actor, plays a crucial role in these, the perspective and the influence of China must be incorporated in the research as well.

In Cross-strait literature, there are two terms that we have to define before continuing: the PRC's »One China« principle (*Yige Zhongguo yuanze* 一個中國原則) and the »One China« policy (*Yige Zhongguo zhengce* 一個中國政策) adapted and articulated in response.

The »One China« principle requires all the countries wishing to establish official relations with Beijing to recognize the PRC as the only government of China and sever or refrain from establishing official contacts with Taiwan.⁵

On the other hand, the »One China« policy is a country's individual approach towards Taiwan and China adopted when establishing official diplomatic relations with the PRC.⁶

2 *Slovak–Taiwanese Relations in the EU-context*

As it has the power to influence and shape the attitude of governments towards the East-Asian Tiger, when looking at the international relations of Taiwan, we must always keep in mind the existence of the »One China« policy. The international position of Taiwan is thus strictly determined by the existence of a higher authority that relies on the advantage of being one of the world's superpowers. This status makes most of the countries willing to engage in lucrative relations with China, rather than with small and often overlooked Taiwan.

5 »I.The Basis For One China, De Facto and De Jure«, <<http://en.people.cn/features/taiwanpaper/taiwanb.html>> (last retrieval January 04, 2019).

6 Every country subscribes to its own »One China« policy and the language used in this context reflects the country's specific historical interactions with the PRC and the ROC. See Center for Advanced China Research, »One China, Multiple Interpretations«, <www.ccpwatch.org/single-post/2017/12/29/One-China-Multiple-Interpretations> (last retrieval January 4, 2019).

The European Union belongs to this majority as well.⁷ Because Slovakia is a member of the EU, the Slovak-Taiwanese relations have to be analyzed first through the EU-Taiwanese relations. Hungdah Su defines this relationship as a triangular structure of relations between the EU, the PRC and Taiwan, together with the EU's »One China« policy, which constitutes the regulatory institutional context for the EU-Taiwan relations.⁸ In this relationship structure, the »One China« policy and the attractiveness of the growing economy of the PRC has constrained further development of relations; but the commercial interests and the exchanges between Taiwan and the EU as well as their non-official inter-parliamentary linkages have acted as counter-balances to the EU's »One China« policy. Regarding the normative institutional context, common values such as the promotion of human rights and democracy in Taiwan and the EU have contributed to the consolidation of bilateral relations and the EU engagement in the Strait.⁹

As Slovakia is a member of the EU, the potential of relations between Taiwan and Slovakia has been reduced and challenged by the »One China« policy in a similar way. Slovakia, in line with the EU's common foreign and security policy, maintains relations with Taiwan only through non-governmental bodies, recognizes Taiwan only as an economic and business entity (as it is a full WTO member), and as long as there are benefits for both sides, Slovakia also supports Taiwanese participation in international organizations.¹⁰

7 »EU reaffirms One-China policy (05/11/05)« <www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/t195148.htm> (last retrieval January 25, 2019).

8 See Hungdah Su, »The EU's Taiwan policy in a New Context«, *Issues & Studies* 46,1 (March 2010), 1–53, here 16.

9 Ibid.

10 MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018«, (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

3 Early Relations between Slovakia and Taiwan

Slovakia, as a part of the former Czechoslovakia, first established relations with the Republic of China on the mainland after the WWI.¹¹ However, following the foundation of People's Republic of China in 1949, communist Czechoslovakia was one of the first countries to acknowledge and establish official contact with this new Asian regime. As one of the conditions to have relations with the PRC was to interrupt all ties with the »reactionary« Republic of China exiled in Taiwan, no significant interaction between Czechoslovakia and Taiwan was established till 1989.¹²

In early 1990s, a systematic transformation of the former Soviet allies created a favorable environment for a reciprocal relationship between Taiwan and post-communist Europe. Taipei saw potential especially in Central Europe's Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, whose anti-communist sentiments and—above all—the need for developmental assistance rendered them susceptible to the influence attempts based on aid, trade and investment instruments.¹³

At this time, Taiwan, seeking for diplomatic ties, found support in President of Czechoslovakia, Václav Havel, who led by the conviction that Taiwan needed more international recognition, initiated relatively intense interactions with the ROC.¹⁴ However, the PRC worked to contain any development of ROC

¹¹ The government of Republic of China recognized the Czechoslovak Legion as a proper Czechoslovak army by the so-called *Vladivostok Declaration* in 1918, and thus granted Czechoslovakia (one of the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy) its de facto official recognition. Ivana Bakešová, *Československo–Čína 1918–1949* [Czechoslovakia–China 1918–1949] (Praha: vlastním nákladem, 1997), 11.

¹² Czesław Tubicewicz, »Promising Eldorado: Taiwan's Diplomatic Offensive in East Central Europe, 1989–1999«, *East Asia* 18(1), March 2000, 34–60.

¹³ Czesław Tubicewicz, *Taiwan and Post-communist Europe: Shopping for Allies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 46.

¹⁴ In 1990, the very first Taiwanese delegation to Czechoslovakia was held; the Czechoslovak president's wife visited Taiwan and met with President Lee Denghui. At the same time, the Agreement on cooperation and exchange of business information between the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and CETRA was concluded. See Rudolf Fürst, Ivana Bakešová and

establishing closer relations with Central Europe; be it economic, cultural or political. In 1991, the PRC revived suspended ties with Czechoslovakia by Prague's restatement of the »One China« policy, which stopped Czechoslovakia from entering a diplomatic partnership with Taiwan. As a result, Taipei resigned itself to fostering economic cooperation with Prague, which in November 1991 finally led to the opening of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Prague.¹⁵ The counterpart office in Taipei opened in 1993. However, after the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1993, the office remained administered by the new Czech government. Slovakia opened its representative office only 10 years later.

4 *Relations after 1993*

4.1 *The government of Vladimír Mečiar (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, 1993–1998)*

Following the division of Czechoslovakia, friendly relations continued between Taiwan and the Czech Republic, which resulted especially in economic cooperation.¹⁶ The main reason was the Czechs' common ideological sentiments shared with Taiwan and the international support offered to Taiwan several times. The Czech President Havel had repeatedly expressed support for Taiwan joining the UN (1994, 1996), publicly recognized the existence of two Chinas (1995), officially welcomed the Taiwanese delegation headed by Premier of the ROC Lien Chan 連戰 (1996), and during the visit of the Chinese delegation headed by Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen 錢其琛, openly announced Taiwan as a political reality which cannot be ignored.¹⁷

On the other hand, Slovakia under the leadership of Prime Minister Vladimír

Zdenka Heřmanová, *Dějiny Taiwanu* [History of Taiwan] (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2004), 249.

¹⁵ Tibilewicz, *Taiwan and Post-communist Europe*, 53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

Mečiar and his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko, HZDS) adopted a policy of isolation from the West, and for geostrategic and economic reasons prioritized partnership with the PRC. Even though President Michal Kováč, the political opponent of Mečiar, appealed to the government to initiate economic or political dialogue with Taiwan, Slovak–Taiwanese relations were left to non-governmental trade bodies.¹⁸ The Slovak government, unlike its Czech neighbor, rather than engage in confrontation, decided to pursue a smooth political dialogue with China. As a proof, not only was the Parliamentary Friendship Group with the PRC established in 1995,¹⁹ but also President Kováč in 1996 assured the Chinese delegation that even though Bratislava does not exclude economic cooperation, the government does not plan to establish official relations with Taiwan.²⁰

The completely different approach of the Czech Republic and Slovakia towards Taiwan has ultimately been reflected in the results of mutual cooperation. While Czechs, thanks to their determination and friendship in establishing relations with Taiwan have since gained several benefits in the field of economy and education,²¹ Slovakia signed its very first agreement with Taiwan only in 1996. The Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Research between the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Slovenská akadémia vied, SAV) and the ROC National Science Council (*Guojia kexue weiyuanhui* 國家科學委員會)²² enabled future exchanges of scientists from SAV and scientific workers from the Taiwan

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁹ Rudolf Fürst and Gabriela Pleschová, »Czech and Slovak Relations with China: Contenders for China's Favour«, in *Europe-Asia Studies* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2010), 1363–1381, here 1372.

²⁰ Tibilewicz, *Taiwan and Post-communist Europe*, 62.

²¹ For more details see MZV CZ, Česká ekonomická a kultúrni kancelár v Tchaj-peji, »Souhrnná teritoriální informace Tchaj-wan, Česká republika–Tchajwan: smluvní dokumenty o spolupráci v letech 1990–2017« [Summary of Territorial Information about Taiwan, Czech Republic–Taiwan: Bilateral Agreements from the period of 1990–2017], <[publiccontent.sinpro.cz/PublicFiles/2018/04/18/Nahled%20STI%20\(PDF\)%20Tchaj-wan%20%20Souhrnnna%20teritorialni%20informace%20-%202018.092](http://publiccontent.sinpro.cz/PublicFiles/2018/04/18/Nahled%20STI%20(PDF)%20Tchaj-wan%20%20Souhrnnna%20teritorialni%20informace%20-%202018.092)> (last retrieval January 28, 2019).

²² MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018«, (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

Science Commission. In order to intensify cooperation with Taiwan, the agreement was supplemented by amendments in May 2009 and September 2010.²³

4.2 The government of Mikuláš Dzurinda (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union, SDKÚ–DS, 1998–2006)

The government transition in 1998 marked a rather promising period for the Slovak–Taiwan relations. A significant step was the first Memorandum of Understanding (hereafter MOU) on customs cooperation between Taiwan Customs Administration, Ministry of Finance (*Caizhengbu guanwu shu* 財政部關務署) and Customs Administration of the SR (Colné riaditeľstvo SR) signed in 1998.²⁴ In order to deepen mutual business contacts and learn from examples of neighboring countries, in 1998, Slovakia and Taiwan finally signed the Cooperation Agreement between Slovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Slovenská obchodná priemyselná komora, SOPK) and the Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce (*Zhonghua Minguo gongshang xiejinhui* 中華民國工商協進會).²⁵ The Ratification of the document enabled the creation of a systemic framework for mutual economic cooperation and at the same time facilitated the exchange of information on business opportunities and cooperation in particular industries with the possibility of setting up joint ventures. On occasion of the commission meeting, bilateral trade negotiations between Slovak and Taiwanese companies were held for the first time. The very first official mission of Slovak entrepreneurs in Taiwan under the auspices of SOPK took place a year later.²⁶

²³ František Fundárek, »O spolupráci s Taiwanom« [About the Cooperation with Taiwan], <http://www.sav.sk/?lang=sk& charset=ascii& doc=services-news& news_no=1774> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).

²⁴ MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018«, (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Izabela Nagyová, »V obchode s Taiwanom je Slovensko naďalej vysoko pasívne« [In Trade with Taiwan, Slovakia Continues to Be Highly Passive], *Trend* (October 28, 1998),

As for other mutual visits, their frequency only increased during the first years after the opening of the representative offices. In April 2004, Slovakia sent its very first parliamentary visit to Taipei. In August of the same year and in July of the 2005, other visits followed. The next year, the Taiwanese Minister of Economy Ho Mei-yueh 何美玥 led the largest Taiwanese delegation to Slovakia.²⁷ Cooperation increased also in the sphere of education when in 2005 the Ministry of Education (MOE, *Zhonghua Minguo jiaoyubu* 中華民國教育部) launched the MOE Taiwan Scholarship Program in order to encourage Slovak students undertaking undergraduate and postgraduate studies in Taiwan.²⁸

4.3 Opening of the representative offices

From mutually intensified economic relations, the need to open an economic office representing Taiwan in Bratislava and its Slovak counterpart in Taipei emerged. In Slovakia, the Taipei Representative Office, Bratislava (TROB) was opened in August 2003.²⁹ The diplomatic representation of the Slovak Republic in Taiwan–Slovak Economic and Cultural Office Taipei (SECO) was established by agreement between the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovakia (Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí SR, MZV a EZ SR) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA, *Zhonghua Minguo waijiaobu* 中華民國外交部) of ROC (Taiwan) in November 2003. Given the unofficial relations between Taiwan and Slovakia, the head of the Office is a career diplomat who is accredited only at the level of diplomacy departments, i.e. on the basis of the so-called cabinet letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, its level of accreditation differs from the ambassadors of sovereign states, who are accredited to the

<<https://www.etrend.sk/trend-archiv/rok-/cislo-Okt%C3%A9ber/v-obchode-s-taiwanom-je-slovensko-nadalej-vysoko-pasivne.html>> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).

²⁷ Tibilewicz, *Taiwan and Post-communist Europe*, 67.

²⁸ Katarína Dumanová, TROB, Mostová 2, 811 02 Bratislava, Personal communication, April 2016.

²⁹ The role of TROB is to support all aspects of bilateral relations between the Slovak Republic and Taiwan including trade, investment, education, science, and culture. As for its structure, the office is made up of the representative departments and the political and economic divisions that are responsible for the respective areas. Slovakia, with the opening of its own representative office on Taiwan, became the nineteenth European country that did so.

receiving country's head of state.³⁰

The opening of a Taiwanese representative office in Slovakia on August 2003 was, as expected, accompanied by discontent of the PRC whose relations with Slovakia are official. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo waijiaobu* 中華人民共和國外交部) issued a statement, which reminded the Slovak Republic its commitment to the One China policy, and warned that any attempts to destroy friendly relations with China would be vain.³¹ In addition, the Chinese Ambassador in Slovakia demanded that the offices must represent only the capital cities Bratislava and Taipei. The Chinese also did not want the official attributes of Taiwan, the flag and the coat of arms, to be displayed in the office in Bratislava.³² The Slovak diplomacy complied. Moreover, since the Slovak Republic joined the EU in 2004, its national interest has to be consistent with the common interest of the EU as a whole. That is to say, as the EU does not recognize Taiwan as a country, but promotes trade and economic relationship with Taiwan, the bilateral relations between any EU member state with Taiwan can be limited only to this area. This was eventually reflected in the document on the foreign policy focus of the Slovak Republic for the year 2004, where the Slovak government stated that »in relation to the Taiwan issue, Slovakia will continue to abide by the One China policy, yet at the same time advocate support of the Slovak-Taiwan cooperation in the fields of economy and culture, which is

- 30 The primary task of SECO is to attract direct investment into the Slovak Republic and to develop mutual trade relations with the focus on Slovak exports. Other tasks of SECO are the development of cooperation in the fields of culture, education, science and, research, as well as the development of active tourism. The Office was entitled to issue visa until the introduction of visa waiver in 2011.
- 31 »Foreign Ministry Spokesperson on Taiwans' Officially Setting up a Representative Office in Slovakia«, <<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceee/eng/dtxw/t111715.htm>> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).
- 32 SARIO, »Taiwan otvoril zastupiteľstvo v Bratislave«, [Taiwan Opened Representative Office in Bratislava], <<http://www.sario.sk/home>> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

acceptable to the PRC.³³ This stand was once more confirmed for the years 2005 and 2006.³⁴

5 Relations after Opening of the Representative Offices

5.1 The first government of Róbert Fico (Direction–Social Democracy, Smer–sociálna demokracia, 2006–2010)

This period brought again rather increased activity in the Slovak–Chinese relations. The prime minister proposed the economic partnership of the Slovak Republic with China as an alternative to the partnership with the EU.³⁵ That is why one of the first official visits of Fico in 2007 was to the PRC. In addition, President Ivan Gašparovič, Parliament Speaker Pavol Paška (Direction–Social Democracy, Smer–sociálna demokracia) and Minister of foreign affairs Ján Kubis (Smer) visited China as well.³⁶ Bilateral negotiations with the PRC finally reached the peak in 2009, when Chinese President Hu Jintao 胡錦濤 as the first PRC's head visited Slovakia.³⁷

During this period, only one bilateral agreement and two MOU were concluded with Taiwan: In July 2007 it was the Air Services Agreement. The

33 MZV a EZ SR, »Zameranie Zahraničnej politiky SR na rok 2004« [The Focus of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic for the year 2004], <<http://mepoforum.sk/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/zameranie-ZP-SR-2004.pdf>> (last retrieval January 11, 2019).

34 MZV a EZ SR, »Zameranie Zahraničnej politiky SR na rok 2005« [The Focus of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic for the year 2005], <<https://www.mzv.sk/documents/10182/2198827/2005+-+Zameranie+zahrani%C4%8Dnej+politiky+Slovenskej+republiky>> (last retrieval January 11, 2019). MZV a EZ SR, »Zameranie Zahraničnej politiky SR na rok 2006« [The Focus of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic for the year 2006], <www.mzv.sk/zahranicna_politika/dokumenty_k_zahranicnej_politike> (last retrieval, January 11, 2019).

35 Gabriela Pleschová, »The Slovak and Hungarian Partnerships with China: High Hopes that Did Not Come True«, in *China's Comeback in Former Eastern Europe: No Longer Comrades, Not yet Strategic Partners* (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2013), 45–49.

36 Pleschová, »The Slovak and Hungarian Partnerships with China«, 3–4.

37 Ibid.

subject of the agreement was to provide a regular air service between the two countries. Despite the agreement having been closed, there have not been any direct air services between Slovakia and Taiwan to date.³⁸ In October 2008, the Union of Electrical Engineering of the Slovak Republic (Zväz elektrotechnického priemyslu SR, ZEP) and the Taiwan Electrical and Electronic Manufacturers's Association (TEEMA, *Taiwanqu dianji dianzi gongye tongye gonghui* 台灣區電機電子工業同業公會) signed the Memorandum of Cooperation in the electrotechnical industry.³⁹

Given the icy attitude of the Slovak government, in this period Taiwan relied on its public diplomacy and strengthened the institutional cooperation in the field of education by concluding several MOU between Taiwanese and Slovak universities. The MOU for the cooperation of the Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava (Slovenská technická univerzita, STU) with National Science and Technology University of Taipei (*Guoli Taiwan keji daxue* 國立臺灣科技大學), National Taipei University of Technology (*Guoli Taihei keji daxue* 國立臺北科技大學), Taiwan National Sun Yat-sen University (*Guoli Zhongshan daxue* 國立中山大學) in the city of Kaohsiung, all entered into effect on February 2009.⁴⁰ Besides STU, Prešov University (Prešovská univerzita v Prešove) signed an agreement with Soochow University (*Dongwu daxue* 東吳大學) in 2012.⁴¹ The Comenius University in Bratislava has signed an agreement with the National Sun Yat-sen University⁴² and the Jessenius Medical Faculty in Martin (Jesseniova

38 Information provided by the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic, April 2016.

39 MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018«, (last retrieval, January 20, 2019).

40 Dušan Petrás, »Spolupráca s Taiwanom« [Cooperation with Taiwan], <www.stuba.sk/new/docs//stu/informacie_o/diani_na_stu/spektrum/2009/200907.pdf> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

41 Prešovská univerzita, »Medzinárodné zmluvy« [International Agreements], <<http://www.unipo.sk/zahranicnevtahy/medzinarodnezmluvy/>> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

42 Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, »Partnerské zmluvy« [Partnership Agreements],

lekárská fakulta UK) signed a five years agreement with the Research Center for Biomedical Equipment in 2010 (*Sheng yi qicai yanfa ji chanpin shizhi zhongxin* 生醫器材研發暨產品試製中心) at Taipei Medical University (*Taibei yixue daxue* 臺北醫學大學).⁴³ In 2014, the Taipei Medical University signed a MOU with Jessenius Medical Faculty which is valid until 2019.⁴⁴

5.2 The Iveta Radičová's government (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union, SDKÚ–DS, July 2010–April 2012)

Changes in the foreign policy of Slovakia in its relations with the PRC were introduced by the government of Iveta Radičová. Value-oriented diplomacy as a leading force of foreign relations replaced economic interests.⁴⁵

In 2010, Slovakia passed a resolution supporting participation for Taiwan in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.⁴⁶ Slovakia was also the first country in the Schengen area to support the introduction of the visa-free travel to Taiwan. The visa-free contact with Taiwan includes the entire European Union and is valid since 2011.⁴⁷

<<https://uniba.sk/medzinarodne-vztahy/kratkodobe-pobity-pracovnikov/partnerske-zmluvy/>> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

- 43 Jesseniova lekárská fakulta v Martine, »Hodnotiaca správa pedagogickej činnosti Jesseniovej lekárskej fakulty UK v Martine« [Evaluation Report of Pedagogic Activity of Jessenius Medical Faculty UK in Martin], <www.jfmed.uniba.sk/fileadmin/jlf/Dekanat/Sekretariat/Hodnotiace_spravy_pedagogickej_cinnosti/Hodnotiaca_sprava_-_pedagogika_2011_-_konecna_verzia.pdf> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).
- 44 Jesseniova lekárská fakulta v Martine, »Bilaterálne zmluvy«, [Bilateral Agreements], <www.jfmed.uniba.sk/fakulta/medzinarodnevztahy/bilateralne-zmluvy/> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).
- 45 Radičová, for instance, appealed through the National Council of the SR for Human Rights and National Minorities on the PRC government to release Nobel Peace Prize holder, Liu Xiaobo 劉曉波. See Pleschová, »The Slovak and Hungarian Partnerships with China«, 12.
- 46 Office of the President, Republic of China (Taiwan), »President Ma meets delegation led by Slovak Member of European Parliament Eduard Kukan«, <<http://english.president.gov.tw/NEWS/4744>> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).
- 47 *Webnoviny*, »Štefanec potešil bezvízový styk s Taiwanom«, [Štefanec was Pleased by the Free-Visa

The progress in Slovak–Taiwan relations during the government of I. Radičová is possible to notice also through a series of agreements that were concluded between the Slovak and the Taiwanese parties in the period of years 2011–2012. In March 2011, a MOU on the Cooperation of National Associations of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises was signed.⁴⁸ The same month on the occasion of a parliamentary delegation visit to Taiwan headed by I. Štefanec (SDKÚ–DS), the chairman of the Slovak–Taiwan Parliamentary Friendship Group, a Memorandum on Cooperation between the Slovak–Taiwan Friendship Group in Slovakia and the Science and Technology Park in the Taiwanese city of Hsinchu 新竹 was signed.⁴⁹ During this visit, the MEPs tabled a draft agreement on co-operation between the Metrology and Standardization Offices⁵⁰, which was finally concluded in the form of a MOU in early 2012.⁵¹

An important agreement between the Slovak Republic and Taiwan is the Agreement to prevent double taxation and tax evasion in the field of incomes (*Siluofake he guo caizheng bu yu Zhonghua Minguo caizheng bu bimian suodeshui shuangchong ke shui ji fang du taoshui xieding* 斯洛伐克和國財政部與中華民國財政部避免所得稅雙重課稅及防杜逃稅協定) signed in Bratislava on 10 August 2011 between the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of

Contact with Taiwan], <<http://www.webnoviny.sk/slovensko/clanok/257363-stefanca-potesil-bevzivovy-styk-s-taiwanom/>> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

⁴⁸ MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018« (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

⁴⁹ *Aktuality.sk*, »Taiwan: Štefanec dostal vyznamenanie od taiwanského šéfa diplomacie«, [Taiwan: Štefanec Was Awarded by Foreign Minister of Taiwan], <www.aktuality.sk/clanok/184018/taiwan-stefanec-dostal-vyznamenanie-od-taiwanskeho-sefa-diplomacie/> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ »Memorandum For Cooperation Between The Slovak Office of Standards, Metrology and Testing, Slovak Republic and The Bureau of Standards, Metrology and Inspection, Republic of China (Taiwan)«, <www.unms.sk/swift_data/source/2016/mo_zmluvy/cina/MemorandumTaiwan%202012%20EN.pdf> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

Finance of the Republic of China (Taiwan).⁵² The agreement further provides a fair tax environment for investments by Taiwanese companies in Slovakia and facilitates bilateral trade exchanges. The agreement is valid from 1 January 2012.⁵³

Another agreement concluded in this period was the agreement on Cooperation in the Area of eGovernment between the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the SR for the Information Society and the Research, Development, and Evaluation Commission, Taipei City Government (*Taibei shi zhengfu yanjiu fazhan kaohe weiyuanhui* 臺北市政府研究發展考核委員會). The cooperation agreement includes, in particular, exchange of experience and experts between Slovakia and Taiwan, as well as organization of joint events focusing on eGovernment and electronisation of public administration.⁵⁴ On the other hand, opportunities for students and specialists to participate in conferences and panel discussions or their exchange as well as the exchange of learning materials, the training sessions for economic diplomats etc. is guaranteed by the MOU between the Diplomatic Academy of MZV a EZ SR and the Foreign Service Institute of MOFA of the R.O.C. (Taiwan).⁵⁵

During the government of Iveta Radičová, the intensity of mutual visits between Slovakia and Taiwan also increased. The delegation of MP Štefanec in March 2011 was welcomed by the former Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou 馬英九 (2008–2016) and then Parliament Speaker Wang Jin-pyng 王金平. On this occasion, Štefanec received an award from Taiwanese Foreign Affairs Minister Timothy Yang Chin-tian 楊進添 for his contribution to foreign investors' entry

⁵² MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018«, (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

⁵³ MZV a EZ SR, »Dohoda medzi Čínskou republikou (Taiwan) a Slovenskou republikou o zabránení dvojitého zdanenia«, [Agreement Between Republic of China (Taiwan) and the Slovak Republic on Avoidance of Double Taxation].

⁵⁴ »Podpisanie Dohody o spolupráci v oblasti eGovernmentu s Executive Yuan Taiwan«, [Signing of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Area of eGovernment with the Executive Yuan Taiwan], <<http://www.opis.gov.sk/podpisanie-dohody-o-spolupraci-v-oblasti-egovernmentu-s-executive-yuan-taiwan/>> (last retrieval January 15, 2019).

⁵⁵ Slovenský ekonomický a kultúrny úrad v Taipei, »Podpis Memoranda o porozumení«, [Signing of the Memorandum of Understanding], <<https://goo.gl/mdHE4Y>> (last retrieval January 15, 2019).

into Slovakia and the development of contacts in education, culture, and entrepreneurship.⁵⁶ In September 2011, a Taiwanese delegation led by prof. Oliver Hu You-pu 胡幼圃 had a three-day visit to Slovakia and participated in a conference under the auspices of the Chairman of the Committee on European Affairs.⁵⁷ Radičová herself, even though later than her ministry, traveled to Taiwan in November 2012. The purpose of her visit was to give a speech at the World Women Journalist and Writers Meeting (*Shijie nǚ jizhe yu zuojia xiebui* 世界女記者與作家協會) in the city of Taichung.⁵⁸ On the occasion of her visit, Radičová was received by the former President Ma Ying-jeou. During the visit, details for the conclusion of an agreement between the two countries on mutual recognition of the validity of driving licenses were discussed. At the same time, a draft for a working holiday program that would strengthen the interaction between young people from Slovakia and Taiwan was negotiated.⁵⁹ Both proposals have been realized: the Agreement on the mutual recognition of driving licenses entered into validity in 2012.⁶⁰ And the MOU between the Slovak Economic and Cultural Office Taipei and the Taipei Representation Office, Bratislava on a Working Holiday Program was subsequently signed in 2014. The main aim of the MOU is

56 *Aktuality.sk*, »Taiwan: Štefanec dostal vyznamenanie od tajwanského šéfa diplomacie«, (last retrieval January 12, 2019).

57 *Webnoviny*, 30 September 2011, »Taiwan zaujíma ako funguje slovenská štátnej správa« [Taiwan is Interested in the Slovak Government Management], <www.webnoviny.sk/slovensko/clanok/410041-taiwan-zaujima-ako-funguje-slovenska-statna-sprava/> (last retrieval January 16, 2019).

58 The official website of The World Association of Women Journalists and Writers, 2012 World Congress, <http://www.ammpe.tw/Page_Show.asp?Page_ID=349> (last retrieval January 15, 2019).

59 President Ma meets former Prime Minister of Slovakia Iveta Radičová, <<http://english.president.gov.tw/Default.aspxtabid=491&itemid=28603&rmid=2355&word1=Slovakia>> (last retrieval January 15, 2019).

60 Boris Križanek, Odbor dokladov a evidencii Prezidia Policajného zboru, Račianska 45, Bratislava, »Dohoda o vzájomnom uznaní platnosti vodičských preukazov medzi SR a Taiwanom«, [Agreement on mutual recognition of the validity of driving licenses between the Slovak Republic and Taiwan], Personal Communication, April 2016.

to facilitate the necessary procedures for entry and stay of young people aged 18–35 in the Slovak Republic and in Taiwan for up to one year with the purpose of work or study. The program is open annually to one hundred people from Taiwan. Slovakia was the first country in Central and Eastern Europe to officially establish a working holiday program with Taiwan.⁶¹

5.3 The second government of R. Fico (Direction–Social Democracy, Smer–sociálna demokracia, 2012–2016)

After the return of the government of R. Fico, Slovakia again focused on attracting investments from the PRC,⁶² but as Pleschová points out,⁶³ the Slovak government abandoned the excessive prudence in foreign policy with the PRC. The reason for this might be seen in the adoption of the EU Strategic Framework for Human Rights and Democracy at the end of June 2012, in relation to which the Slovak Republic is committed to contributing to the fulfillment of the EU human rights policy.⁶⁴ As a result, Slovakia started to speak for the human rights issue.⁶⁵

Regarding the »Taiwanese question«, the Slovak Government did not change its position. In November 2013, at the summit of the new regional format of cooperation between Central and Eastern European countries with China (16+1, *Zhong dong'ou guojia jingmao luntan* 中東歐國家經貿論壇) in Bucharest, the Prime Minister R. Fico at the meeting with the PRC Prime Minister Li Keqiang 李克強 stressed on the support for the PRC's integrity and non-interference in its internal

61 The Slovak Economic and Cultural Office Taipei, Working Holiday Program, <<https://www.mzv.sk/web/taipei-en/working-holiday-program>> (last retrieval Nov 15, 2017).

62 »Fico chce na Slovensku pobočku čínskej banky«, [Fico Wants a Chinese Bank Branch in Slovakia], SITA, 18 January 2015, <<http://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/7595848/fico-chce-naslovensku-pobocku-cinskejbanky.html>> (last retrieval Nov 16, 2017).

63 Pleschová, »The Slovak and Hungarian Partnerships with China«, 13

64 See a report issued by the MZV a EZ SR, »Zameranie zahraničnej politiky Slovenskej republiky na rok 2013«, (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

65 SITA, »Na čínskeho podpredsedu vlády čakali demonštranti« [Protestors Were Waiting for the Chinese Deputy Prime Minister], SITA, 15 February 2013, <<http://domov.sme.sk/c/6703789/na-cinskehopodpredsedu-vlady-cakali-demonstranti.html>> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

affairs.⁶⁶ Therefore, during the period of the second government of Fico, Taiwan was to be more active in fostering mutual relations. In October 2012, Taiwan invited MPs from the Slovak parliament to join an informative and educational trip to Taiwan. According to the statements of the opposition MPs, representatives of all parliamentary parties were invited to join the trip. However, only the deputies of the opposition, including Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti, OĽaNO) MPs, members of the Freedom and Solidarity (Sloboda a Solidarita, SaS), and the Deputy Chairwoman of Parliament Erika Jurinová (OĽaNO) participated in the trip aimed at deepening contacts with Taiwan. The MEPs met with the representatives of the Economy, Education, Labor and Health Ministries in Taiwan. A meeting was also held with Taiwanese investors in Slovakia such as Delta Electronics, and Soochow University, which cooperates with the University of Prešov.⁶⁷ At the invitation of MOFA of the R.O.C. on 19–24 April 2013, members of the National Council of the Republic of Slovakia Juraj Droba (SAS), Andrej Hrnčiar (Bridge, Most–Híd), László Solymos (Most–Híd), Ivan Štefanec (SDKÚ) and Magdaléna Vásáryová (SDKÚ) visited Taiwan. The program included the visit to the Deputy Speaker of Parliament, the Ministry of Finance (*Zhonghua Minguo caizheng bu* 中華民國財政部), the Ministry of Culture (*Zhonghua Minguo wenhua bu* 中華民國文化部), the Mainland Affairs Council (*Dalu weiyuanhui* 大陸委員會), to the CEO of the Small and Medium Enterprise Administration, MOEA (*Jingjibu bu zhongxiao qiye chu* 經濟部中小企業處), to the Director of the Industrial Development Bureau (*Jingji bu gongye ju* 經濟部工業局) and also visits to the Southern Taiwan

66 MZV a EZ SR, »Stretnutie predsedov vlád Číny a 16 krajín strednej a východnej Európy«, [The Meeting of the Prime Ministers of China and 16 Central and Eastern European Countries], <www.rokovania.sk/File.aspx/Index/Mater-Dokum-170597> (last retrieval January 21, 2019).

67 Kern Miroslav, »Taiwan láka len opozíciu, Smer poslancov na ostrov neposiela«, [Taiwan Attracts only the Opposition, Smer Does Not Send its MEPs to the Island], *Sme*, October 3, 2012, <<http://domov.sme.sk/c/6555844/taiwan-laka-len-opoziciu-smer-poslancov-na-ostrov-neposiela.html>> (last retrieval January 21, 2019).

Science Park (*Nanbu kexue gongye yuanqu* 南部科學工業園區) and the Industrial Technology Research Institute (*Gongye jishu yanjiu yuan* 工業技術研究院).⁶⁸

Rather significant for the Taiwanese side was the visit from a Slovak delegation that took place on 23 September 2015. The delegation was led by MEP Eduard Kukan (SDKÚ–DS). For Taiwan, which is trying to conclude an EU Free Trade Agreement, this visit represented an opportunity to highlight some points of cooperation with Slovakia within the EU. Slovakia supported the free-visa travel for Taiwanese nationals, and the resolution supporting participation for Taiwan in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. In 2013, the Slovak–Taiwanese Parliamentary Friendship Group Chairman I. Štefanec sent a letter on the behalf of the friendship group to the International Civil Aviation Organization to express support for Taiwan's observer status. In addition, in 2015, Slovakia also supported the proposal of Cecilia Malmström, EU Commissioner for Trade, to conclude a bilateral investment agreement between the EU and Taiwan, as well as the EU–Taiwan economic cooperation agreement (ECA, *Tai oumeng jingji bezuo xiyei* 台歐盟經濟合作協議).⁶⁹

So far the last agreement between Slovakia and Taiwan is the Agreement on Science and Research Cooperation between The Slovak Economic and Cultural Office Taipei and the Taipei Representative Office, Bratislava, concluded in 2015.⁷⁰

5.4 *The third government of R. Fico (Direction–Social Democracy, Smer–sociálna democracia, 2016–2018)*

Some events, such as the (unofficial) meeting of the Slovak President Andrej Kiska with the Tibet's exiled spiritual leader Dalai Lama in October 2016⁷¹ signaled a

⁶⁸ Information provided by MZV a EZ SR, February 2016.

⁶⁹ »Office of the President, Republic of China (Taiwan), President Ma meets delegation led by Slovak Member of European Parliament Eduard Kukan«, <<http://english.president.gov.tw/NEWS/4744>> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

⁷⁰ MZV a EZ SR, »Ekonomická informácia o teritóriu, Čínska Republika (Taiwan) 2018« [Economic Information about Territory, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2018], (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

⁷¹ »Dalai Lama Visits Slovakia, Meets President, University Students«, *Sme*, Oct 17, 2016,

possible change in Slovakia's approach towards some sensitive issues to the PRC. Support to Taiwan was, as usual, expressed by the chairman of the Slovak–Taiwan Parliamentary Friendship Group, the Slovak MEP I. Štefanec, who in reaction to the detention of the Taiwanese pro-democracy social media activist Lee Ming-che in China last year⁷², signed the *European Parliament resolution on the cases of Nobel laureate Liu Xiaobo and Lee Ming-che*.⁷³

However, the strategic partnership with China, especially in the context of the current Chinese project OBOR (One Belt One Road), still appeals stronger to the Slovak government than issues such as human rights and pro-democracy values.⁷⁴ Therefore, after challenging the »One China« policy by receiving the »anti-China separatist« Dalai Lama, the Slovak government, alerted by Chinese⁷⁵, guards its steps in order not to undermine the basis of the Slovak–Chinese relations.⁷⁶⁷⁷ In this atmosphere, the development of bilateral relations between

<<https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20358241/dalai-lama-visits-slovakia-meets-president-university-student.html>> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

- 72 »Lee Ming-che: Taiwanese Activists Goes on Trial in China«, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-41222940>> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).
- 73 European Parliament, Joint Motion for a Resolution, <www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+MOTION+P8-RC-2017-0459+0+DOC+XML+Vo//EN> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).
- 74 »Róbert Fico: Čína je pre Slovensko strategickým partnerom«, [Robert Fico: China is a Strategic Partner for Slovakia], <http://www.vlada.gov.sk/robert-fico-cina-je-pre-slovensko-strategickym-partnerom/?day=2017-11-01&art_datum_od=2017-11-27&art_datum_do=2017-11-27> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).
- 75 Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference on October 17, 2016, <<http://www.chinaembassy-fi.org/eng/fyrth/t1406504.htm>> (last retrieval January 10, 2019).
- 76 »Fico na summite SVE16 a Číny: Vztahy SR s Čínou sa normalizujú«, [Fico at the Summit CEE16 and China: Relations of SR and China Are Being Normalized], <<https://www.dobrenoviny.sk/c/117369/fico-na-summite-sve16-a-ciny-vztahy-sr-s-cinou-sa-normalizuju>> (last retrieval January 12, 2019).
- 77 MZV a EZ SR, »Správa o plnení úloh zahraničnej a európskej politiky SR v roku 2017 a jej

Taiwan and Slovakia does not indicate a new direction. Cooperation has been sustained so far on the level of economy and areas where the public diplomacy allows to promote further dialogue. We can thus conclude that in the present context an excessive caution of Slovakia against Taiwan may unnecessarily reduce the potential this cooperation offers. However, as Fürst and Pleschová state, »non-confrontational foreign policy towards the PRC does not guarantee greater economic benefits than a supportive policy for Taiwan and Tibet issues«.⁷⁸ This can be seen on the example of our neighbor Czech Republic that has been enjoying closer economic cooperation with the PRC despite its active criticism of human rights issues and friendly attitude towards Taiwan and Tibet. This fact could be explained by a persistent, albeit informal but fairly intensive support to Taiwan by a significant part of the Czech political, intellectual and media circles of the Czech Republic; which exists despite the lack of consensus among the public and the political spectrum.⁷⁹ In Czech eyes, Taiwan is stereotypically perceived as a small democratic country jeopardized by an anti-democratic policy and military power of the PRC. As Fürst states, this kind of support can be seen as an attempt to introduce a moral stance in foreign policy, as a starting point and inspiration from their own tragic experience.⁸⁰ This inspiration as a force could contribute to a productive collaboration in the Slovak–Taiwanese relations. Unfortunately, in Slovakia, this driving force seems to be still lacking and Taiwan, seeking international support, does not feel sufficient initiative from the Slovak side.

zameranie na rok 2018«, [Report on Fulfillment of the Tasks of Foreign and European Policy of the SR in 2017 and its Focus on 2018], <www.mzv.sk/documents/10182/2686701/2017+Spr%C3%A1va+o+plnen%C3%BD+AD+%C3%BAloh+zahrani%C4%8Dnej+a+eur%C3%BD+B3pskej+politiky+SR+v+roku+2017+a+jej+zameranie+na+rok+2018> (last retrieval January 20, 2019).

78 Fürst and Pleschová, »Czech and Slovak Relations with China«, 1379.

79 Rudolf Fürst, »Podpora Tibetu, Tchaj-wanu a lidských práv v ČLR v české zahraniční politice: Evropská avantgarda nebo český kýč? [Support for Tibet, Taiwan, and Human Rights in the PRC in Czech Foreign Policy: European Avant-garde or Czech Kitsch?], in *Hledání českých zájmů: Obchod, lidská práva a mezinárodní rozvoj* [Searching for Czech Interests: Business, Human Rights and International Development], ed. by Petr Drulák and Ondřej Horký (Praha: Institute of International Relations, 2010), 80–101, 1.

80 Ibid.

6 Conclusion

As we saw in the first part of the paper, Slovakia's foreign policy has to be consistent with the EU's foreign policy and thus abide by the »One China« policy. Prior to the entry to EU, the origin of the relations can be traced back to the end of the WW I. However, due to the communist environment in Central Europe in the 1950s and with the emergence of the PRC, Czechoslovakia renounced its relations with the Kuomintang government. From that moment on, the »One China« policy became an essential factor in shaping the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia towards the PRC and the ROC. After the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic—the two successor states—accordingly adopted this foreign policy. Yet from the very beginning, the Czech government's far friendlier attitude towards Taiwan led to several agreements and cooperation in different spheres. Crucial in promoting this kind of collaboration was the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Prague opened in 1991 and its Czech counterpart opened in 1993, which after the division remained under the administration of the Czech government. Slovakia had to wait until 2003 to open its own representative office. Until that moment, any significant cooperation was suspended due to the Mečiar government's policy orientation to the PRC.

By analyzing the respective periods of the Slovak government and its attitude towards Taiwan, this paper shows the strong influence of Chinese foreign policy as well as the lack of initiative by the Slovak Republic to reduce its impact. Due to the intergovernmental dialogue between the Slovak Republic and the PRC as well as the »One China« policy, which serves to maintain and promote mutual economic relations, contacts between Slovakia and Taiwan continue to remain on an unofficial level. Most often the dialogue between the Slovak Republic and Taiwan is limited to investments or business mission meetings between government officials and Taiwanese investors operating in Slovakia. Therefore, the most intensive cooperation between Slovakia and Taiwan is in the economic sphere. However, Taiwan, through the Taipei Representative Office, Bratislava, has been actively engaged also in the spheres of humanitarian activities, health care, education, science, and culture. Significant in these areas are some bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding concluded mainly after the opening

of the representative offices (2003). However, this paper also argues that the potential of the bilateral relations could be further developed if Slovakia reduced its degree of caution towards the »Taiwan issue«, and recognized the asset of a possible equal cooperation with Taiwan; especially given the very obvious evidence of 445 million Euro of total Taiwanese investments compared to the 49 million of Euro of Chinese investments.

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Ma Yuan's Metafictional Games and the Subversion of the Literary-Political Discourse

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Abstract This article deals with the metafictional character of the works of Chinese avant-garde writer Ma Yuan 马原. It describes the background of Ma Yuan's writings and the shift of the focus from the background to other narrative elements that can be described as metafictional or metanarrative. The first part of the article introduces the basic theoretical definitions of meta-elements in fiction and applies them on specific cases in the works of the author. In the second part, the overall context of the literary-political status quo at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s in China is outlined and then the article deals with the potential subversive effect of the meta-elements in Ma Yuan's fiction within the literary discourse. The article reaches the conclusion that it is the disruption of literary codes and the transfer of creative power from the author to the reader that constitutes the essence of the subversion of Ma Yuan's works.

Keywords Chinese avant-garde literature · Ma Yuan 马原 (b. 1953) · metafiction, subversion

Introduction: Way out of Tibet

Ma Yuan 马原 (b. 1953) is one of the most significant authors of Chinese avant-garde literature of the second half of the 1980s. Together with the woman writer Can Xue 残雪 and partially also with the Nobel Prize laureate Mo Yan 莫言 he is sometimes described as a pioneer of avant-garde literature, the one that the younger generation of authors like Yu Hua 余华, Su Tong 苏童 or Ge Fei 格非 hopelessly tried to overcome.¹ Ma Yuan comes from Liaoning 辽宁 province in

¹ Chen Xiaoming 陈晓明, »Lishi zhuanxing yu houxiandaizhuyi de xingqi« 历史转型与后现代主义的兴起 [The Transformation of History and The Rise of Postmodernism], in *Houxiandaizhuyi* 后

northeastern China and he is a member of the major Chinese ethnic group Han 汉. Most of his works were, however, written in Tibet where he spent several years in the 1980s. Next to other important authors of the so called »new fiction from Tibet« (Xizang xin xiaoshuo 西藏新小说), he became a prominent member of a group of Chinese writers, painters and other artists that Kamila Hladíková calls the »Lhasa Salon«.²

About Tibet Ma Yuan says: »Life here is always filled with stories that make one unable to distinguish if they are made up or real«.³ Hladíková describes Ma Yuan's works as »permeated with strong Tibetan flavor«⁴ and »closely connected to Tibet, both in themes and in literary style«.⁵ But as she observes elsewhere, Ma Yuan was also one of the few Chinese writers of the »Lhasa Salon« who often set their stories in towns, diverting attention from the impelling natural beauty of Tibet, and his inspiration by the place presented itself as »internal Orientalism« making Tibet just a »source of fantastic elements used to embellish the exotic imagination of his experimental short stories«.⁶ Although these statements might seem a little contradictory, they beautifully illustrate Ma Yuan's balancing on the line between motivation and inspiration, between the subject and the object, the work and the tool. The environment of Tibet provides Ma Yuan's works with exotic and from a certain point of view even magical features, which may lead

现代主义 [Postmodernism], ed. by Chen Xiaoming 陈晓明 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2003), 42.

- ² Kamila Hladíková, *The Exotic Other and Negotiation of Tibetan Self: Representation of Tibet in Chinese and Tibetan Fiction of the 1980s* (Olomouc: Palacky University, 2013), 39.
- ³ Quoted in Yang Xiaobin 杨小滨, »Yiyi di: Pingdie shu zu xushu zhi wu—Ma Yuan xiaoshuo zhong de houxiandaizhuyi« 意嫡：拼贴术与叙述之舞——马原小说中的后现代主义 [Entropy of Meaning: The Dance of Collage and Narration—Postmodernism in Ma Yuan's Fiction], *Wenyi Zhengming* 文艺争鸣, 6 (1987), 57.
- ⁴ Hladíková, *The Exotic Other*, 39
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.
- ⁶ Kamila Hladíková, »The Soul of Tibet: Representations of Landscape in Chinese-medium Literature about Tibet from the 1980s«, *Archiv Orientální, Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 78,1 (2010), 83–85.

some readers to overestimate its overall importance⁷ and to perceive the author's work as a part of the »roots seeking literature« (*xungen wenxue* 寻根文学) school.⁸

In my opinion, the environment of Tibet represents a mere background in Ma Yuan's stories—however suitable in its »orientalist« romanticism, in the mystery of the unknown, it is still not even a construction material, but just a secret, obscure and in a way confusing ingredient. From the thematic point of view, the author's attention is focused on another dimension—from the environment it shifts to the story itself that in many ways goes beyond the simple effect of its location, but then it doesn't even stay there and continues further on to the process of construction of the story, to the language as a construction material and the general principles of ontology of the fictional world. The focus is continuously changing from one point to another back and forth, it moves freely within the narration causing sudden breaks in the narration, lack of closure and obscurity of meaning.

7 As in case of translated material, the commercial aspect definitely plays its role here as well. For example, one of the most extensive translations of Ma Yuan's short fiction bears the subtitle »Stories of Tibet«. I would argue that the stories in that collection are much more *in Tibet* than *of Tibet* and thus the title is (however understandably) misleading. See Ma Yuan, *Ballad of Himalaya: Stories of Tibet*, tr. by Herbert J. Batt (Portland, Maine: MerwinAsia, 2011).

8 »Roots seeking literature« appeared in China a little earlier and for some time ran alongside with the avant-garde literature. Both of these terms that found home in Chinese literary history don't really describe literary schools as such, but general tendencies in literature of the given era. The authors of this kind of literature focused on the roots of Chinese culture, but at the same time they paid less attention to the mainstream culture and more to the culture of minorities. The most prominent representative of the root seeking tendency in Chinese literature is Han Shaogong 韩少功. For a more contemporary study about his literary trend, see: Olga Lomová, »Searching for Roots: Recent Changes in the Attitude Towards Tradition as Reflected in the Beginning of the Literary Debate About "Roots"«, *Mémoires De L'Institut Des Hautes Études Chinoises*, Volume XXXVI, Notion Et Perceptions Du Changement En Chine (2004). For a more recent study about the trend and its most prominent representative, see Mark Leenhou, *Leaving the World to Enter the World: Han Shaogong and Chinese Root-seeking Literature* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005).

1 *The Self-confident God and the Greatest Narcissist of them All*

The abovementioned shift of focus can be very clearly illustrated by the following part of the beginning of the novella »Fabrication« (*Xugou* 虚构):⁹

Some people say I came to Tibet because of writing. I don't want to discuss here the accuracy of such words. It's a fact that I have been to Tibet. Another fact is that I have written tens of thousands of characters about Tibet. In Chinese. It seems that I have spent a long time in Tibet. But I can't say a word in the local language. I just talk about the people there, the environment and the possible stories that might be in that environment. Careful reader would notice that I have used the equivocal word »might«. But I think that the reader would perhaps not realize why I haven't used another word, »happen«. Where other people would use »happen«, I used the single syllabled »be«.

But I am not giving a lesson in linguistics, that topic ends here.¹⁰

This example beautifully illustrates the metafictional, or in this case maybe better metanarrative character of Ma Yuan's work. Narratologist Ansgar Nünning together with Birgit Neumann define metafiction as »the quality of disclosing the fictionality of a narrative«, whereas »metanarration captures those forms of self-reflexive narration in which aspects of narration are addressed in the narratorial

⁹ Although there are translations of Ma Yuan's shorts stories and novellas available in English, I have taken the liberty of translating the quoted parts of Ma Yuan's works myself—for the sake of accuracy and sufficient degree of literality (even if sometimes at the expense of artistry) and also because the other translators sometimes took their own liberty and omitted some parts of the original texts that I consider important. In the particular case of the title of this novella, I am nevertheless using the title J. Q. Sun uses in the translation that appeared in the collection of Chinese avant-garde stories *The Lost Boat, Avant-Garde Fiction From China*, ed. by Henry Y. H. Zhao (London: Wellsweep Press, 1984). I favor this translation over Herbert Batt's »A Fiction«, because *xugou* 虚构, originally a verb in Chinese, means »to make up« something, »to fabricate« (e.g. a story) and thus the title »Fabrication« points better to the process of making up, whereas »A Fiction« is a static word that moreover doesn't really capture meaning of the whole story implied in the title.

¹⁰ Ma Yuan, *Ma Yuan wenji, quan yi: Xugou* 马原文集, 卷一: 虚构 [Collection of Ma Yuan's Works, volume 1: Fabrication] (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 1997), 2.

discourse, i.e. narrative utterances about narrative rather than fiction about fiction.«¹¹

Neumann and Nünning criticize mixing up these two terms as it used to be the general practice, especially in the early stages of exploring the narratological phenomenon of metafiction when the first typologies of meta-elements in literature were created. For the sake of this article I would, however, like to mention some of the early terminology, as it appears to be very fitting for the case of Ma Yuan. In her breakthrough book *Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox* Linda Hutcheon talks about »diegetic narcissism«, i.e. self-reflectivity and self-consciousness within the narration itself, and about »linguistic narcissism«, meaning self-reflectivity, but not necessary self-consciousness on the level of language.¹² Both types can have an overt or a covert form and of course they can blend on some occasions. Hutcheon writes: »In diegetic narcissism, the text displays itself as narrative, as the gradual building of a fictive universe complete with character and action. In the linguistic mode, however, the text would actually show its building blocks—the very language whose referents serve to construct that imaginative world«.¹³ When applying this scheme to Ma Yuan, we can—at least in the first steps of analysis—easily reach the conclusion that most of his works clearly demonstrate the overly diegetic type of narcissism, with some ironic digressions towards linguistic narcissism as in the case of the »not giving a lesson in linguistics« comment above. But even if we dug deeper and unearthed something different, what would still need to be underlined in Hutcheon's typology is the common denominator of all the categories described—the narcissism. Hutcheon stresses out that in her theory this word does not bear a pejorative meaning. And nor does it in the case of Ma Yuan. In his works narcissism reveals itself in the frequent thematization of the author and the self-reflectivity and self-confident self-consciousness of the text. But this kind of narcissism doesn't limit

¹¹ Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning, »Metanarration and Metafiction«, in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, ed. by Peter Hühn *et al.* (Hamburg: Hamburg University, 2014), <<http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/metanarration-and-metafiction>> (last retrieval April 29, 2018).

¹² Linda Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox* (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 28–29.

the ways of communication between the work and the reader, nor does it lock the work in some meaningless graphomaniac self-adoration. On the contrary, it brings the reader—in general, but especially the Chinese reader of the 1980s—a unique experience widening the possibilities of participation in the creative process usually reserved for the author and/or the narrator. It is very interesting to notice that—without any clues suggesting that Hutcheon’s text had been known to the author—this feature was actually already described in 1987 by Chinese literary theoretician Wu Liang 吴亮 who mentions the »narcissistic character« (*zilian tezheng* 自恋特征) of Ma Yuan’s narration in his article »Ma Yuan’s Narrative Trap.«¹⁴

The exploration of the phenomenon of metafiction or metanarrative has been one of the topics of narratology for almost last fifty years. In the works of Ma Yuan we can identify most of the elements, overt or covert, that has been described so far. Their deeper formal analysis, division and categorization is, however, a topic for another time. For the sake of this article the simple fact of those elements being present is taken as fundamental and the functional effect of the metafictional features, rather than their typology is further explored here.

Yang Xiaobin in the chapter »Narratorial Parabasis and Mise-en-Abyme: Ma Yuan as a Model« of his study about Chinese postmodernism refuses to use the term metafiction because according to him the fictionality in the author’s works is not intensified, but it is, on the contrary, challenged. Instead, Yang uses the term »permanent parabasis« of German philosopher Friedrich Schlegel. »Parabasis in Ma Yuan, as the author’s self-revelation, serves to unmask the narrator as manipulator and to disclose the conflicts within the narrative voice(s).«¹⁵ But if we consider the narrator a manipulator, which is certainly quite suitable in the case of Ma Yuan, then we do not talk either about intensifying or weakening of fictionality, but about blurring the differences between the (alleged) truth and fiction. This then relates to another general characteristic of metafiction—it

¹⁴ Wu Liang 吴亮, »Ma Yuan de xushu quantao« 马原的叙述圈套 [Ma Yuan’s Narrative Trap], *Dangdai zuojia pinglun* 当代作家评论, 3 (1987), 47.

¹⁵ Yang Xiaobin, *The Chinese Postmodern: Trauma and Irony in Chinese Avant-Garde Fiction* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 160.

doesn't only deal with its own fictionality, but it also transcends into the ontological essence of both narrative reality and empiric reality. To use the words of Patricia Waugh, the writings of metafiction »not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text«.¹⁶ Besides that, metafiction also naturally explores the relationship between the two realities mentioned. Yang's opinion is thus quite problematic, although the term »permanent parabasis« is definitely useful especially when Yang treats it—in the frame of Schelgel's definition—as the essence of irony, which he further elaborates in the specific case of Ma Yuan to be irony structural, or »a narrative madness«.¹⁷

As the title of Yang's book suggests, irony (as a feature that stems from something we could to the same effect call permanent parabasis or metafiction) is one of the basic characteristics of Chinese avant-garde fiction in general. As I will show later, Ma Yuan's works are full of ironic, if not sarcastic utterances that usually show themselves when the narcissistic, metanarrative tendencies of the texts are at their strongest. But before we get to some specific examples of the functional effects of metafiction and irony in Ma Yuan's works, let's stop for a few thoughts about the metafictional character of Chinese avant-garde fiction in general.

It is without doubt that Ma Yuan is not the only author of Chinese avant-garde literature who uses meta-elements in his works. Sun Ganlu 孙甘露 can be another example, or even Can Xue—depending on how wide the approach to the phenomenon of metafiction could be. In his article »The Rise of Metafiction in China«, Henry Zhao identifies metafictional elements in the works of the most important Chinese authors of the second half of the 1980 like Ge Fei, Yu Hua, or Wang Anyi 王安忆. He describes three types of metafiction: The first corresponds to the definition of the self-reflective narration that was offered above. The second type he calls »pre-textual metafiction« and it includes texts that somehow allude to other (groups of) texts. Such work then »intentionally exploits the reader's memory of some previous text or texts and uses it or parodies it to

¹⁶ Patricia Waugh, *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), 2.

¹⁷ Yang Xiaobin, *The Chinese Postmodern*, 166.

achieve a meaning that otherwise cannot be deciphered at all«.¹⁸ Yu Hua with his (anti-)allusions to popular genres such a martial arts literature (*wuxia wenxue* 武侠文学) is an example of this second type of metafiction. With the third type, the author goes even further. Calling it »para-fictional metafiction« he claims that »all meaning systems [...]—consciousness, imagination, experience, knowledge, human relationship, history, culture, ideology, etc., can all be regarded as texts in the broadest sense [...]. In metafiction, however, these are regarded as man-made fictional systems composed more or less in the same way as the narrative text, and human beings are basically “fiction-makers” in their relations to the world«.¹⁹ With this very extensive approach, that originates from the notion that all text are to some extent metafictional; only in *contemporary* metafiction this feature is brought to the foreground, Zhao arrives to some—interconnected, as must be stressed out—conclusions that are worth mentioning and elaborating here.

The first is his notion of parody that permeates both the second and third type of metafiction in his typology. Then there is what Zhao calls »metasensibility«, i.e. the awareness of the inability to reflect the real world and the abandonment of any search for the values of truth. And last but not least, there is the shift from the depiction of experience in the narrative text to the narrative text itself being the experience, which makes the avant-garde »the first genuinely formalist schools in the history of modern Chinese literature«.²⁰

Parody is definitely one of the prominent features of metafiction. Can Xue's novel *Yellow Mud Street* (*Huang ni jie* 黄泥街) with all its allusions to slogans of the Cultural Revolution and the inability of the characters to properly express themselves, to find a language of their own, is a typical example of parodic text in Chinese avant-garde literature falling under the third category of metafiction in Zhao's typology. But as Linda Hutcheon observes: »Parody is [...] an exploration of difference and similarity; in metafiction it invites a more literary reading, a recognition of literary codes. But it is wrong to see the end of this process as

¹⁸ Henry Y. H. Zhao, »The Rise of Metafiction in China«, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 55,1 (1992), 93.

¹⁹ Ibid, 94.

²⁰ Ibid, 98.

mockery, ridicule, or mere destruction«.²¹ The same can be then related to the second and third of Zhao's conclusions. The inability to reflect the real world isn't destructive and it doesn't necessarily lead to the abandonment of the search for the values of truth or to pure formalism devoid of all content. The search actually continues, but it explores new ways of reaching new kinds of truth—formalistic experiment being one of the means, not goals of this search. And although the text undoubtedly becomes the experience, in the literary-political context of Chinese literature, as will be shown later, this experience opens ways to a subversive creation of a new kind of content.

Ma Yuan's position in this context is ultimately eminent. For one, even if approaching metafiction within its narrower definition, i.e. only as the first type in Zhao's definition, his works show complexity and innovation unseen in Chinese literature until then and event after—perhaps with the exception of Sun Ganlu whose »insane« narratives to some extent exceed Ma Yuan (but exceed doesn't necessarily mean overcome). He seems to be continuously destructing the narrative, but in fact it is exactly his (structurally) ironic narcissism, self-parody and formalism that leads to a very creative and open re-definition of the construction of meaning within the narrative text. And if one of the means to achieve that is to constantly turn the attention of the text to the author himself, it might put Ma Yuan in the role of the greatest narcissist of them all, but as we already agreed with Linda Hutcheon, that is not necessarily a bad thing.

Let us now have a look at some concrete manifestations of metafictional elements in Ma Yuan's works. The abovementioned novella »Fabrication« begins with the famous sentence »I am the ethnic Han²² called Ma Yuan and I write fiction«.²³ First chapter of this novella describes the history and creative methods of Ma Yuan as the author and at the same time assures the reader about the authenticity of the following story about his stay in a community of lepers in Maqu

²¹ Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative*, 25.

²² The author uses the Chinese word »Hanren« 汉人, meaning »a person of the major Chinese ethnic group Han«, to describe himself. This word can be and usually is simply translated as »Chinese«, but I chose more literal translation in order to stress the difference between the author/narrator and the local people of Tibet, as I believe that from the context of the following text we can judge that this was also the author's intention.

²³ Ma Yuan, »Xugou«, 1.

cun 玛曲村 village. To affirm his truth-telling position, Ma Yuan writes: »I am not that kind of man who, like Hemingway, settles with “Isn’t it nice to think so” to relieve his anxiety and worry. What I think about, I have to do. And I did«.²⁴ This is the best and clearest example of overt diegetic narcissism. And however serious it might seem from the opening sentences, the inherent irony eventually fully reveals itself.

The metafictional framework of this novella consists not only of the first chapter but also of the ending of the narration of the actual story itself. At the beginning, Ma Yuan as the author talks about spending seven days in Maqu village. Approximately in the middle of the novella, the narrator and the main character at the same time is unable to remember how long he has already been in the village, but he determines his arrival at May 3rd and estimates the length of stay to be four days (which corresponds to the several described overnights in the house of one of the female inhabitants of the village). At the end of the story, however, a time paradox appears—when leaving Maqu, the narrator/main character learns that it is only May 4th,²⁵ as if he only spent a single day in the village. The trustworthiness of the whole story is thus challenged and the relatively realistically described events of the stay in the village suddenly seem unreal and in a certain degree mysterious. At the same time, the structural irony described by Yang fully shows—and the reader realizes that the whole opening chapter is overflowing with it. Not to mention the irony in the relationship between the name of the novella, the opening chapter and the rest of the story.

But to be precise, the real beginning of »Fabrication« is actually not the famous, narcissistic sentence. This novella in fact begins with a quotation of (naturally fictional, at least the contemporary language tells us that much) apocryphal Buddhist sutra that says: »All gods are the same—blindly self-confident, that is where their autocratic mentality comes from. All of them consider themselves unique, but in fact they are all alike in this; for example, in the legends about the creation of the world, their methods are all cut from the same cloth.

²⁴ Ibid., 3–4.

²⁵ The symbolism of this date could deserve a separate analysis elsewhere.

And that is the endlessly repeating fabrication«.²⁶ Here Ma Yuan's ironic winking surpasses the framework of one novella and touches the concept of (literary) creation in general.

This apocryphal sutra also appears in the short story »A Wall Covered with Strange Patterns« (Tuman guguai tu'an de qiangbi 涂满古怪图案的墙壁) as a manuscript found in the inheritance of one of Ma Yuan's frequently used characters Yao Liang 姚亮 after his mysterious death. The discovered manuscript plays an important part of an oracle text that predicts and comments on the events that are still to happen to the characters of the story. Paradoxically, directly in the opening part, the manuscript also mentions the short story itself: »Because of their selfish mentality, some people like using enigmatic language seemingly permeated with symbols. They write stories that can be read from any place in the middle or at the end, and then they give the stories some unfathomable name such as "A Wall Covered with Strange Patterns". They say it's because of the search for understanding; but it's hard to understand those words anyway«.²⁷

This short story revolves around Lu Gao 陆高, another character we can often find in Ma Yuan's stories, and his search for Yao Liang's alleged mistress. Although to be honest and precise, it is doubtful who this story actually is about, or even better put, who is actually who in this story, as it opens with this confusing sentence: »His name is Yao Liang, but Lu Gao will work as well. Seems like this story is about both Lu Gao and Yao Liang. And then again maybe not«.²⁸

In any case, it is a typical example of Ma Yuan's »narrative trap« as described by Wu Liang²⁹ as well as Chen Xiaoming.³⁰ The subject of this story are not the events described in it, but the process of construction of the narration, the crystallization and at the same time deconstruction of narrative reality on various levels. If this is something the reader doesn't realize or refuses to accept, relies too much on the story itself and tries to rationalize it, he or she will never be able to escape the sophisticatedly planted narrative trap. As in other Ma Yuan's works,

²⁶ Ma Yuan, »Xugou«, 1.

²⁷ Ma Yuan, *Ma Yuan wenji, quan san: Aiwu* 马原文集, 卷三: 爱物 [Collection of Ma Yuan's Works, volume 3: Object of Love] (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 1997), 109.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Wu Liang, »Ma Yuan de xushu quantao«, 45.

³⁰ Chen Xiaoming, »Lishi zhuanxing«, 45.

there are more questions than answers and the mighty »might« from the opening of »Fabrication« reaches monstrous proportions here. Lu Gao might have found Yao's mistress, but it also might have been just a dream. The manuscript might exist, but it might as well not and there is only very unclear possibility one might escape its predictions. In one part of the story, Yao Liangs talks through the character of his (might be) mistress directly about Ma Yuan the author. He berates Ma Yuan for the exploitation of his life and criticizes him for his ignorance of the real essence of the characters in his other works, such as the short story »Three Ways of Folding a Paper Kite« (Die zhi he de sanzhong fangfa 叠纸鹤的三种方法). This makes the noose of the narrative trap even tighter and it also marks an even cleverer shift of the metafictional character of Ma Yuan's work into the intertextual sphere.

Last but not least, I would like to mention one of Ma Yuan's earliest and most cited works, »The Spell of Gangdise mountains« (Gangdise de youhuo 冈底斯的诱惑). Besides other characters, we can also find Yao Liang and Lu Gao here. This novella consists of three only very vaguely connected stories – an expedition to find the mythical Yeti, an attempt to participate in the Sky burial, and the fates of two Tibetan shepherds. The way Ma Yuan treats his characters is very well illustrated in the opening section of the second story: »Now I would like to tell another story, one about Lu Gao and Yao Liang. I have to clarify that there is not necessarily such a person as Yao Liang, because it's not sure that Yao Liang was always following Lu Gao that year. But it's also not sure that Yao Liang didn't come to Tibet for work. Alright, let's say Yao Liang came to Tibet as well [...] OK, settled³¹. At the end of the novella the author appears to be trying to answer the questions about the discontinuity and incompleteness of the respective stories and about the »empty spaces« in the narrative tool that Ma Yuan often and gladly uses and that would deserve its own analysis. With his typical irony he only partially answers those questions, and even further teases the reader by saying: »And then [...] Is there any more and then, dear reader?³²

³¹ Ma Yuan, »Xugou«, 63.

³² Ibid., 105.

But of course, there is. Then comes the realization that Yao Liang's death in »A Wall Covered with Strange Patterns«, which »wasn't a suicide, wasn't a murder, wasn't a sudden death after a short illness«³³, was in fact just an insidious will of the author, a tool for construction of his narrative trap. And if we go back to the quotation of the »fake« sutra from the beginning of »Fabrication«, the basic characteristics of Ma Yuan's creative method reveal in front of us: With a high degree of irony and self-irony, but also with a lightness gained by realization of the simplicity, but also the effectivity and above all the natural character of such a process, Ma Yuan simply plays his own, self-confident enough, but definitely not blind, almighty god.

2 Disrupting the Codes—The Ironic Subversion and the Transfer of Power

Ma Yuan started publishing in the middle of 1980s when there appeared a »thaw« on the literary-political scene and a revision of some ideas about the relationship between politics and literature—a relationship that had been clearly defined in Mao Zedong's *Talks At The Yenan Forum On Literature and Art*³⁴ from May 1942. A wider creative space opened for writers, especially in the frame of formal, aesthetic experimentations that could be carried out without the formerly omnipresent fear of persecution—within Mao's theory of political utilitarianism of literature any aesthetic experiment means inherently political statement opposing the official line and as such could be considered subversive and contra-revolutionary and should not be tolerated. The problem with this »thaw«, however, was the unclear line that an author could »legally« cross. In order to clarify the situation on the literary scene of the 1980s and to put the potentially subversive character of Ma

³³ Ma Yuan, »Aiwu«, III.

³⁴ For the needs of this article, I am using the Chinese-English version of the *Talks* published in China in 1972: Mao Tsetung 毛泽东, *Talks At The Yenan Forum On Literature and Art* 在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1972). All quotations are from this edition. For a commented translation of the *Talks*, see: Bonie S. McDougall, *Mao Zedong's Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art: A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 1980).

Yuan's works into a broader context, let me briefly summarize the status quo and the changes on the literary-political scene of that time.

The end of 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s were times when many contradictory things were happening on the literary-political scene. In his introduction to the collection of literary works from the end of 1970s, Perry Link talks about two basic terms that best describe the polarity of literary-political thought not only of the era mapped in his text. The terms, that Link deliberately doesn't translate, are *shou* 守 and *fang* 放,³⁵ the former meaning »advocating more restrictions« and the latter »more tolerance«.³⁶ Of course, there wasn't a clear line between the two camps and most of the people involved in the scene stood somewhere in the middle, but the varied opinions about the changes that were needed still oscillated between these two poles.

The way towards *fang* on the literary scene began unofficially already around 1977-78 with a new kind of stories related to the painful past of Cultural Revolution and other traumatic eras of the turbulent history of the PRC.³⁷ For example, one the first literary trends dealing with the grievances of the past and thus tempting the literary-political rules was the so called »scar literature« (*shanghen wenxue* 伤痕文学), named after the famous short story Scar (Shanghen 伤痕) by Lu Xinhua 卢新华 published in November 1978. Official changes, however careful, in the rhetoric towards literature (and to some extent and more or less covertly also against some of the dogmas of the *Talks*) appeared in 1979 with the Third National Congress of Writers, bringing what Link calls »the fine literary weather«.³⁸

³⁵ Link only offers the words in Hanyu pinyin, for the sake of completion I am adding the Chinese characters as well.

³⁶ Perry Link, »Introduction«, in *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Chinese Literature after the Cultural Revolution*, ed. by Perry Link (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 9.

³⁷ Liu Xunwu's 刘心武 short story »The Class Teacher« (Ban zhuren 班主任), published in the magazine *People's Literature* (Renmin wenxue 人民文学) in Novemebr 1977 is generally considered to be the first work to »break the rules«.

³⁸ Link, »Introduction«, 21.

Although, as Bonnie McDougal puts it, given the political development of the era the writers at the turn of 1970s and 1980s were certainly motivated to penetrate the »forbidden areas« of literature, there were still limits and overstepping them could cause »outright repression«.³⁹ The fact that between the years 1978 and 1982 there were at least two changes in the constitution of the PRC explicitly granting the citizens the right for literary creation can be considered as a symbol of the importance the Party gave literature at that time. It was not unconditioned; the former version subjected all culture to ideological leadership of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, and the latter moreover expressed the slightly changed version of Mao's relationship between literature and politics only by replacing the politics with people and socialism.⁴⁰ These steps can, however, be considered important moves within the principle of *shou* and *fang*. In other words: In the atmosphere of economic modernization as well as awareness that something went wrong in the previous decades that cannot be forever blamed on the Gang of Four or some remaining ultra-leftist tendencies, the ties of Maoist literary discourse were loosened, but they could not be abandoned altogether for the simple reason of the Communist Party and its officials maintaining control over the writing intellectuals—because the rules and the ties, as the ideological basis, could be and certainly were needed once the intellectuals became too daring and started questioning leading role of the Party. During the 1980s, two main political campaigns took place, the »Anti-Spiritual Pollution« (Qingchu jingshen wuran 清除精神污染) campaign (1983–1984) and the »Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization« (Fan zizhanjieji ziyouhua 反资产阶级自由化) campaign (1986–1989), both of which started, expressed in a rather simplified way, because the intellectual circles crossed the lines of tolerable critique toward the leadership.

It is not a coincidence that the most favorable wind on the literary political scene started blowing right between the two abovementioned campaigns—we can call it the warmest *fang* season so far. The Fourth Writers' Congress brought a freedom to writers that was, as Sylvia Chan observes, »not to be confined to a

³⁹ Bonnie S. McDougal, Louie Kam, *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century* (London: Hurst, cop, 1997), 333.

⁴⁰ Michael S. Duke, *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 36.

freedom to develop different forms and styles and to discuss different literary theories, but was also to include the freedom for writers to express their sincere thoughts and feelings».⁴¹ These promises were more or less kept for the next two, three years—before another *shou* season crept in at the end of 1986 and the beginning of 1987, a season that culminated in June 1989 and changed the face of the Chinese literary scene forever.

It is quite obvious from the changing literary climate that no matter how much freedom the authors got and how fruitful this period was, literature and politics were still inseparable in the 1980s and from a certain point of view it can be said that the more literature tried to separate itself from politics the more political it became. As Chan puts it, »the new line was an extension of Mao's line rather than its rejection, for to serve socialism was in essence serving politics [...].»⁴²

For the advocates of the orthodox line of Mao's *Talks*, Ma Yuan would be an easy target. We have already mentioned the inherent political statement hidden in any formal experiment. Then there is for example the fact that the characters in Ma Yuan's works are very often writers or other artists, which puts Ma Yuan in the realm of what Mao critically describes as »many comrades concern themselves with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and analyzing their psychology, and they concentrate on portraying these intellectuals and excusing or defending their shortcomings».⁴³ The same then applies for the all-too-clear inspiration by foreign modernist writers that is so typical not only for Ma Yuan but for the whole Chinese avant-garde literature of the 1980s. Mao says: »Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art».⁴⁴ It is necessary, however, to look deeper than these easily identifiable, in a way superficial elements that actually didn't really constitute a reason for political attack

⁴¹ Sylvia Chan, »Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: Towards a "Free" Literature«, *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 19, 20 (1988), 104.

⁴² Ibid., 90.

⁴³ Mao Tsetung, »Talks«, 29–31.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 43.

anymore—especially in the times of relative artistic freedom, as described above, when Can Xue, heavily influenced by Kafka, was »shamelessly« looking for the universal values of human nature (that doesn't exist according to Mao⁴⁵) in her schizophrenic texts and when the pioneer of aesthetic experimentation in literature Wang Meng 王蒙⁴⁶ became the Minister of Culture. But it is the metafictional element of Ma Yuan's works that represents much more complex and essential, if not insidious, subversion.

For Yang Xiaobin, Chinese avant-garde literature as a whole undermines the dialectical and teleological order of history in the frame of Maoist discourse, the linear progress from struggle to victory⁴⁷. That is true for Ma Yuan as well as Ca Xue, Yu Hua, Ge Fei or other authors of this literary school. Ma Yuan's approach is nevertheless unique in many aspects. He doesn't only point out how our reception of the present could be distorted by damaged memory (as Ge Fei and Yu Hua do for example), nor does he try to replace the representation of the empiric reality with the universal reality of human soul as Can Xue attempts. Ma Yuan's subversion consists of the distortion of ontological order between the reality of the world and the reality of the work of art and at the same time of challenging the mimetic function of literature of realism.⁴⁸ This could bring us

⁴⁵ Ibid., 72.

⁴⁶ His short story »Butterfly« (Hudie 蝴蝶), published in 1980 is considered one of the first literary works in China to experiment with the method of stream-of-consciousness.

⁴⁷ Yang Xiaobin, *The Chinese Postmodern*, 153.

⁴⁸ I am using the term »realism« as in what Hutcheon describes as »formal realism [that] seemed to refuse to give independent power to (or even pay any attention to) its medium, language. Character, action, morality, representation of reality—not words—were its conscious concerns«. See Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative*, 11. It points, therefore, more to what Roland Barthes calls »reality effect« than the European realism of the 19th century. For this reason I am also trying to avoid using terms such as socialist realism, revolutionary realism, proletarian realism or others as the development of this terminology in China ever since the 1930s has been quite complicated and for the sake of this article and the notion—simply put—of the difference between »realistic« portrait of the world as it is (or as it should be in case of socialist realism) in literature and Ma Yuan's stress on fictionality, it is unnecessary to go into further detail. For more information about the development of the term »socialist realism« in China, see: *In the Party Spirit: Socialist Realism*

back all the way to Lenin's theory of reflection that has been perceived as a kind of dogma in China. But reflection theory is a philosophical concept that was applied on a wide variety of things and activities, literature being only one of them and not that important given the existence of sophisticated enough domestic theories of (the function of) literature, the most essential of them being the *Talks*. But even when staying in the realm of pure literary theory, we can clearly see how the metafictional elements in Ma Yuan's stories can, as Hutcheon puts it, »disrupt the codes that now have to be acknowledged«.⁴⁹ And if »realist dogma postulates a common real referent that all readers share, despite individual ideolects«⁵⁰, then Ma Yuan opposes this postulation by pointing out the fact that reality can be in a certain way constructed by literature and thus what literature represents is actually not reality, but another stage of fiction. Ma Yuan openly reveals possible manipulability of reality, especially if the above mentioned ontological potential of literature is concealed. And as he continues »playing god«, Ma Yuan demonstrates that if (and because) our perception of reality is always dependent on language, it on the one hand limits our knowledge, but on the other hand it gives us a certain kind of omnipotent creative tool. This concept goes beyond the frame of narrative fiction and touches upon any existing texts. Patricia Waugh in her study about the character of metafiction mentions that »metafiction suggests not only that writing history is a fictional act, ranging events conceptually through language to form a world-model, but that history itself is invested, like fiction, with interrelating plots which appear to interact independently of human design«.⁵¹ Ma Yuan, however, seems to be denying these independent plots the right to exist, replacing them with ubiquitous doubt. But by doing this he only underlines the manipulative essence of fiction and creates the structural irony Yang talks about.

and Literary Practice in the Soviet Union, East Germany and China, ed. by Hilary Chung, Michael Falchikov, Bonnie S. McDougall and Karin McPherson (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996).

49 Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative*, 39.

50 *Ibid.*, 95.

51 Waugh, *Metafiction*, 49.

It is also important to consider the position of the reader—both as a general object of applied Maoist literary theory and as a specific consumer of Ma Yuan's texts that is being put in the ambiguous role of the player and somebody who is being played with at the same time. One of the most obvious difference between the theory of (socialist) realism⁵² and literature in general of the Soviet Union and Maoist China was the stress Mao put on the readership at the expense of the writer. Ma Yuan, with his continuous re-shifting of attention to himself as the author and master of his stories, is undoubtedly redefining this relationship. He is not only subverting the literary discourse, but on a more specific level, he is also subverting the position of the reader in the discourse. If the realist dogma Hutcheon talks about postulates a set of codes that are naturally shared by the reader; it is exactly this key to decoding the text Ma Yuan is hiding from the reader. But that doesn't mean he is breaking the key in the lock, keeping the door of interpretation closed forever. Ma Yuan might be ironic in his writing, but he is never overly destructive. He always offers an alternative. If he is subverting the position of the reader in the given discourse of literary thought, it is still more the discourse, that is under attack, than reader. And with a certain kind of cleverness and flexibility that the author requires from the reader, to those who can see through this irony and understand, Ma Yuan offers the chance to be part of the construction and at the same time interpretation of the fictional world—to an extent very unusual in Chinese literature until then. Patricia Waugh mentions that »the “dear reader” is no longer quite so passive and becomes in effect an acknowledged fully active player in a new conception of literature as a collective creation rather than a monologic and authoritative version of history«⁵³. For Mao Zedong, the reader is an element whose interests must be taken into account and served, but who in the end always stays a passive consumer of a tailor-made art (as an object of ideological manipulation). Ma Yuan gives his reader much more interpretational freedom and active involvement, which he moreover stimulates with the seemingly limiting despotism of his self-ironic »godly method« that is in the end nothing else than a call for the reader himself to try out the role of the creator.

52 See note 48.

53 Waugh, *Metafiction*, 43.

Ma Yuan pretends that his texts are a *mere game*, just an obsession with form and the creative method. And it is only fair to say that he pretends very successfully. In the opening of his article, Wu Liang writes: »I have the feeling that Ma Yuan seems to be always untiringly looking for [new] ways of narration, for [new] ways of telling a story. He is a master of the game with the narrative trap, a fanatical methodologist of literature«.⁵⁴ Ma Yuan, however, uses his »fanatical methodology« to divert attention from the fact that his game with the form is becoming a new, subversive content. If an author puts himself in the role of the absolute master of his literary works, the creator who has control and power over each and every component of the text structure and isn't afraid to claim this openly (because, of course, *any* author is to a certain degree an absolute master of his works and it is exactly the open acknowledgement of the fact, if not even flaunting it, what makes such a position unique), then it also implies the refusal of any external control, an ironic grin in the face of such control. And then it is again in a way a mockery of all attempts to control or evaluate literature on the basis of social, political or ideological function, when in his short story »The Master« (Dashi 大师) Ma Yuan says: »I can't go on writing in such detail, or someone will accuse me of naturalism«.⁵⁵

Ma Yuan's subversion thus lies in the achievement of in a way absolute authorial freedom »only« on the basis of a creative method and at the same time transplanting this freedom from the sphere of the author into the sphere of the reader. This makes his subversion much more sophisticated and complex than the other, more superficial elements in his fiction could suggest. By cleverly dismantling the discourse of straightforwardly utilitarian literature with a clear task and responsibility, Ma Yuan offers his reader a passageway into other discourses that might be only very vaguely defined, but they are not externally imposed on the reader and allow him to be a part of their construction. And at the same time, from the political persecution point of view, Ma Yuan stays relatively safe—although at the beginning of the 1990s, he was refused a passport

⁵⁴ Wu Liang, »Ma Yuan de xushu quantao«, 45.

⁵⁵ Ma Yuan, *Lasa de xiao nanren* 拉萨的小男人 [The Little Men od Lhasa] (Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1997), 166.

and was criticized for his sympathetic portrayal of Tibet⁵⁶ (his critics apparently failed to follow the cleverness and flexibility requirements of Ma Yuan's works and thus couldn't see behind the environmental curtain). In his texts, Ma Yuan stresses out the process, the possibilities of the creation of a story, more than the story itself and the »reality« it reflects—and it is exactly the possibility or power to create the fictional world as one wishes, covertly and ingeniously handed over to the reader, that seems to be the essence of Ma Yuan's subversion.

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56 Herbert Batt and Ma Yuan, »Going beyond Reason: An Interview with Ma Yuan«, *Manoa*, 7,2 (1995), 170.

Tēchatā: An Analysis of a Thai Life-Prolonging Ritual

Phra¹ Jakratep Rampungkit

Abstract A life-prolonging ritual, *tēchatā*, is investigated and analyzed with the ritual analytic model. *Tēchatā* is a kind of misfortune expelling rituals, *sadēkhr̄e*. Despite its fringe position in Buddhist terms, it is a popular practice in Thailand. The ritual is performed by monks in Buddhist context mainly for magical purpose as a treatment of personal adversities. The results of the analysis show that the ritual establishes its own discourses by not only utilizing some Buddhist concepts but also bending it to serve personal needs. However, as a social practice the ritual emerges as a coping strategy, and makes some social exchange happen.

Keywords Thailand, Buddhism, Theravada *tēchatā*, ritual, magic

Introduction²

When the life encounters a kind of invisible hindrance causing an unexpected predicament, many of Thai Buddhists³ alleviate the situation by a magico-religious

¹ The title signifies a common Thai Theravada Buddhist monk (Phra พระ). The author's monastic name is Bhaddācāro.

² I would like to thank Dr. Miloš Hubina for the careful reading and corrections, as well as the insightful comments and suggestions on some points. I also would like to express my gratitude to Phrakrū Uthaisuwannakhet (Chalerm Mahāvīro), the current abbot of Wat Thunghēng, for providing some information about the ritual that was unknown to me.

³ From a study of this kind of ritual, this portion of the believers and half-believers occupy 56.9%; see Miloš Hubina, »Preliminaries to the Study of Sadēkhr̄e Rituals: How Rituals Make People Better Buddhists«, *Studia Orientalia Slovaca*, 16,1 (2017), 47.

ritual. This opening statement comes from my long time observation as a Thai, also as a monk who gets involved in the ritual to some extent. This action is neither our norm nor a traditionally legitimate Buddhist practice, but it persists. *Tēchata* ต่อชะตา is one of this kind of ritual which can come in various forms with various names. This paradoxical aspect of Thai culture sounds interesting to numerous scholarly studies. The current article is one of these treatments. My approach here is the upshot of my dissertation⁴ in which I developed a framework to analyze rituals in a comprehensive and systematic way. And this is an application of my framework.

The structure of the paper is: (1) defining *tēchata* ritual; (2) describing the ritual; (3) analyzing the ritual by its components; (4) analyzing the ritual by the ritual analytic model; (5) discussing the results and assessing the method. All these steps will be articulated in due course.

1 Defining Tēchata

If we classify rituals roughly into three types—religious, magical, and social—*tēchata* is fittingly regarded as a magical ritual⁵ which, to some extent, has some religious elements. It can be seen as a variation of, or just another name of, *sadēkhrō* สะเคะเคราะห์ (fixing misfortune) rituals. Sometimes people generally call this kind of activities *sadēkhrō-tēchata*. It can come with different names for different focuses, notably, *gēgam* แก้กรรม (fixing the karma), *tadgam* ตัดกรรม (cutting the karma), *sāb-āyu* สืบอาชีว (prolonging life), *nōnlōng* นอนโลง (lying in a coffin), *ābnāmmon* อาบน้ำมนต์ (bathing with lustral water). Sometimes these activities are

⁴ *A Postulated Reality: A Study of Buddhist Discourses in Thai Merit-Making Rituals*, Ph.D. thesis (Bangkok: Mahidol University, 2018).

⁵ The key idea that marks magical ritual is the purpose to manipulate a state of nature, in contrast with science, using »actions with opaque causal mediation«, see Jesper Sørensen, *A Cognitive Theory of Magic* (Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 2007), 32. Whereas religious ritual has the main purpose to fulfil certain religious commitment, and social ritual has the collective unification as its goal.

accompanied with religious practices, such as merit-making (*thambun* ทำบุญ) or meditation (*samādhi* สมุดี). We also widely see these hybrid rituals, for example, *thambun-sadəkhrə* ทำบุญสะเดาะเคราะห์ (fixing misfortune by merit-making), and *samāthi-gēgam* สามัชิแก้กรรม (fixing the karma by meditation).

I will draw into account only two terms, *sadəkhrə* for it will be treated as the overarching category, and *tēchātā* for it is our main concern. Breaking down *sadəkhrə*, we get two words: »*sadə*« สะ代 meaning »to release by a magical spell, e.g. shackles, locks; to remove or lessen, e.g. *khṛə*«,⁶ and »*khṛə*« meaning »things that bring an unexpected result (in this sense it can be either a good *khṛə* or a bad one), widely used in the negative meaning«.⁷ The word »*sadə*« indeed has a very limited use. I see no other context in which the word is used without certain magical implication. The word »*khṛə*« has Pali/Sanskrit origin (*gaha/graha*) which etymologically means seizing or grasping.⁸ But its technical meaning related to the current use is »planet«—»which seizes men by magical influence«.⁹ Thais subsequently call planets *dāukhrə* ดาวเคราะห์ in both astronomical and astrological senses. However, in astrological usage *grahas* include the sun, the moon, and their nodes (*Rahu* and *Ketu*). These *grahas* are believed to cast certain influence on human affairs. This shows that *sadəkhrə* has something to do with astrology. The belief in the effects of celestial bodies upon human beings is really old and deep-rooted in Theravada cultures. Though I will not go deeply in this area, a point worth noting is that in Indian context planetary influences have an intimate link with karma and rebirth. As Varahamihira, a great Indian astronomer and astrologer (cca 500 AD) puts it, »[t]he science (of horoscopy) treats of the effects of the good and bad deeds (karma) of men in their previous births.«¹⁰ Since this belief came to Thailand together with the astronomical knowledge, most Thais

6 *Thai Dictionary* (Bangkok: Royal Institute of Thailand, 1999), <<http://rirs3.royin.go.th/word40/word-40-a6.asp>> (last retrieval June 3, 2018).

7 *Thai Dictionary*, <<http://rirs3.royin.go.th/word3/word-3-a3.asp>> (last retrieval June 3, 2018).

8 T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary*, vol. 2, pt. 3 (London: Pali Text Society, 1922), 77.

9 Arthur A. MacDonell, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 88.

10 Varaha Mihira, *Brihat Jataka*, tr. by N. Chidambaram Iyer (Madras: Foster Press, 1885), 2.

even today tend to hold that planetary configurations can somehow reflect their past karma.¹¹

Moving to Thai context, as influenced by astrology and a popular belief of karma, when something unexpected happens, Thais see it as a result of their past karma. If it is favourable, they call it *chōk* ທິດ (luck), if not, *khrø*. With this parlance, *khrø* usually has negative meaning. »Bad luck« or »misfortune« is a close translation. When people encounter certain bad circumstance, they attribute it to bad luck (*khrø*). Consequently, they believe some treatment is needed to release or lessen (*sado*) this *khrø*. Astrologically speaking, the *khrø* is attributed to bad planets, typically Saturn and Rahu¹², which are afflicting the person at the moment. With anxiety, people usually ask for a remedy, and the astrologer normally gives them an advice. We call this remedy »*sadøkhrø*«. There is no standard *sadøkhrø* method. So we can see numerous forms of it. *Sadøkhrø* can be a lucrative business for the astrologer for subsequent treatments. And many bring it to Buddhist landscape by incorporating merit-making, strict precept observance, meditation, and even ordination. Apart from these legitimate Buddhist practices which are regarded as doing good karma, some people still feel a need to receive a direct treatment from monks. This requirement engenders a special ritual supposed to be performed by monks. We generally call this ritual, at least in my area, *tēchatā*.

»*Tēchatā*« is composed of two words: »*tē*« ຕ່ອ means to continue, extend, or prolong; »*chatā*« ຂະຕາ in this context means one's destiny. *Chatā* also has an astrological implication, as Thais call a horoscope *duangchatā* ດາວໂຫຼດ. Thus, one's *chatā* means one's path of life dictated by past karma, which is depicted in one's

¹¹ I hardly found any Thais who reject astrology outright, even among Ph.D. holders. In Sri Lanka the belief that the planets represent gods (*graha devata*) and can influence human body, able to make us ill somehow, seems to be common. See G. Ariyapala Perera, *Buddhist Paritta Chanting Ritual* (Dehiwela, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Cultural Centre), 108–109. In Thailand we can see the same line of explanation but not so strong.

¹² In Thai astrological system, Saturn generally means hardship, and Rahu (the ascending node of the sun and the moon) means obscurity or darkness which defiles our well-being. See Thep Salikabut ເພີ້ມ ສາລິກຸດ, *Hōrāsāt nai vannakkhadī* ໄຮຣາສ່າຕ່ນໄວວະນັກຊື້ [Astrology in Literature], (Bangkok: Silpa-bannakan, 1980), 139–143.

planetary configuration at birth. In this context, *chatā* is better seen as the predestined longevity. Hence, *tēchatā* precisely means to prolong one's predestined end of life.

Despite its unorthodox position, *tēchatā* does have a faint and indirect trace in the Pali canon. In the commentary to Dhammapada, there is a story of Ayuvaddhanakumara,¹³ a child who was destined to live for 7 days. With paritta chanting by bhikkhus for 7 days and nights (the Buddha presided on the last day), the child then lived up to 120 years old. The account is somewhat unusual, but its authenticity is unquestionable to most Thai Buddhists. On the ground laid by this story, monks are justified to perform the life-prolonging ritual.

2 Description of Tēchatā

Generally speaking, *tēchatā* is not a common practice, unlike merit-making ceremonies which people perform regularly in houses and temples. In merit-making with blessing,¹⁴ parittas are chanted; then all evils, including misfortune, are supposedly warded off. But addressing *tēchatā*, people seem to require more than that because normal merit-making rituals do not serve this purpose directly. The popularity of *tēchatā* is thus attributable to its specificity in this regard. There is no unified way to do it as we have seen its various names and approaches mentioned above.

The simplest version of life-prolonging ritual is called *bangsugun pen* บังสุกุลเพ็น (*parīsukūla* for the living). When a person undergoes a grave illness where the impending death can be assumed, he or she is covered by a white cloth, monks hold its hem and chant this verse three times:

Acirām vata'yam kāyo pathavīm adhisessati
chuddo apetaviññāno niratthañvā kariñgaram.¹⁵

C. A. F. Rhys Davids renders the verse as:

Ere long indeed this body on the earth will lie

¹³ Dhammapada, 109. For the commentary, see Eugene Watson Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, pt. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), 235–237.

¹⁴ This ceremony is articulated at length in my dissertation thesis.

¹⁵ Dhammapada, 41.

cast down, with mind gone hence, like useless log.¹⁶

While the last word is ending, the cloth is pulled off the person, and that is all.¹⁷ The ritual is not really intended to prolong the person's life, but rather to remind the living, as the verse clearly illustrates, of the impermanence of our body. However, the action is further developed beyond just a teaching or consoling tool. It serves more and more magical concern nowadays.

Now I will describe in detail the life-prolonging ritual as practiced particularly in my former temple. Before going into that, I have to clear some points. Despite its prevalence, *tōchatā* is not a universal practice. Not every temple provides this service. In those temples where the ritual is performed, there are numerous ways to approach it. The ritual is temples' product, so to speak. It may have a long history of practice, or may be a recent innovation.¹⁸ The ritual is not officially endorsed, but it is not outright banned either. The reason for this from the disciplinary point of view is that the action has equivocal status.¹⁹

¹⁶ C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, pt. 1: Dhammapada and Khuddaka-pāṭha* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1931), 17.

¹⁷ On a little more formal occasion, Bojjhaṅga paritta is also chanted before that. See Phya Anuman Rajadhon พระยาอุਮานราชณ, *Prabhēnītāngnaigāt-tāi* ประเพ็ญน่องในการเกิดตาย [The Customs Related to Birth and Death] (Bangkok: Thai Wattanapanit, 1970), 103.

¹⁸ Lying in a coffin (*nōnlōng*), for example, is a relatively new phenomenon.

¹⁹ A direct admonition to monks of using magical acts for a living is in the Suttanta (DN no. 1, 2), not in the Vinaya. So, avoiding the practice is a general guideline for monks. To be specific, monks are not allowed to learn and teach *lokāyata* and *tiracchānavijjā* (Cv 33.2)—metaphysics and worldly knowledge. See *The Book of the Discipline, Vol. 5 (Cullavagga)*, tr. by I. B. Horner (London: Luzac & Company, 1963), 194–195. This means that anything outside the domain of Buddhism (not used for liberation) can be inappropriate to monks, and not just the magical arts. The transgression of this is rated only as wrong-doing (*dukkatā*, the lightest offense) for monks on the level of ill-mannered conduct (but Pācittiya, one-step graver offense to *dukkatā*, no. 49, 50 for bhikkhunī). This, however, can lead to a more serious offense, like Sanghādisesa no. 13, if the action engenders »corrupting« families—»ingratiating himself to lay people to the point where they withdraw their support from bhikkhus who are earnest [...].« For more detail see Thanissaro Bhikkhu, *The Buddhist Monastic Code*, Vols. I & II (Valley Center, CA: Metta Forest Monastery, 3rd ed. rev. 2013),

Wat Thungthēng ทุ่งทอง (Golden Field Temple), in Uthai Thānī อุทัยธานี, is the temple near my hometown where I spent a few years of my monk's life (around 2011–2013). The temple is an old one, built as a monastery in 1781 possibly by a Mon community.²⁰ It is a plain temple without any spectacular monument, except some big trees. There is neither a well-known magical monk nor sought-after amulets here. It is just an ordinary village temple usually resided by five elderly monks. People come here regularly to make merit. Marked by this feature, the temple performs *tēchata*²¹ ritual with a moderate complexity, not as simple as *bangsukun-pen* mentioned earlier, nor as complicated as *sāebchatā* สีบชาต in Northern Thailand.²²

180–182. <https://www.dhammadtalks.org/ebook_index.html#bmc> (last retrieval January 3, 2019).

Hence, performing magical acts itself is not taken seriously. It is the bad consequence of it that matters. Interestingly, in certain condition, making lucky signs when asked is allowed, like stepping on a strip of cloth for the sake of good luck (Cv v 21.4). See Thanissaro, *The Buddhist Monastic Code*, 788; Horner, *Cullavagga*, 179. On the same page, taking a remark from a commentary, Thanissaro notes that monks may accept to perform paritta if people ask for good luck, but not for healing an ill person, because healing is a medical act (worldly knowledge) that is unsuitable for monks.

- 20 A marked indicator of this are swan-posts (the original ones long disappeared now), a reminiscence of Hansavadi/Hanthawaddy/Pegu—the former capital of Mon kingdom. Another salient aspect is that the Buddha image in the Uposatha (the main chamber) faces toward west, the direction of the former Mon kingdom, rather than east.
- 21 As told by the current abbot, the ritual is initiated by Phrakhrū Upakitdhammakun ພຣະຄຮູອຸປົກທິດໝາຍ, Saṅga Kittivāñño (ສັງ ຄືຕິວານີໂພ), his preceptor and a former revered abbot who died in 1991. Roughly speaking as the abbot told me, the ritual has been performed for 50 years. I think that some of his disciples, who are magic-inclined, helped design the ritual because Luangpho Nga (as people call him) himself does not have the image of magical monk the Thais normally call as *phra gēji* ພຣະເຈີ. He was good at administration, meditation, and developing the temple. People love him for these roles, not for his magical concern. He might have a belief in magic as most Thai people do.
- 22 *Suebchatā* has elaborate procedure and components, marked by a big tripod in which the person has to sit while the ceremony is performed. See Suwan Klinpong ສຸວັນ ດິນພົງ and Wandee Chanpradit ວັດທີ ຊັນທີ ປະເມີນ, *Pbitbīgam le Prapbēnī* ພຶບຖິກມແລະ ປະບເມີນ [Ceremonies and Customs] (Bangkok: Department of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Culture, 2009), 104–110.

There are two main reasons people ask for *tōchatā*. First, upon a suggestion of an astrologer, people come here to fix their misfortune (*sadōkhrē*) as per the advice the astrologer gives them. There are some astrologers²³ in nearby towns who are familiar with the temple, so they usually suggest the clients to come here. The second reason people ask for the ritual is when they undergo a troublesome situation, such as a chronic illness, losses, or other life crises. Monks here, as far as I see and as good monks should be, never urge people to do the ritual. We have never advertised that we have this ritual performed at the temple, nor we give any astrological advice, nor we provide articles used by the ritual. People come here on their own accord and have to prepare their own articles (described below). The current procedure of the ritual goes as follows:

(1) When people come and ask for the ritual, four monks are invited and the place is arranged. Seats for monks are set. In front of that, a mat is laid to mark the place where the person will lie down. The person will be asked for his or her age, and asked for (a) one beeswax candle, (b) candles amounting to his or her age plus some more to make up a number ending in nine,²⁴ and (c) incense sticks of the same amount. A bucket of clean water is prepared and placed in front of the first monk, tied three times around clockwise with a white thread (*sāisincana* ສາຍສິ່ງຈານ) linked to a Buddha image. The beeswax candle is put on the bucket's rim in a way that the wax can fall into the water when lit. The thread is then tied to a corner of a white cloth used to cover the person. Then the thread is unrolled so as to be held by all monks. Candles and incense sticks brought by the person are counted and arranged in a bunch by the person. The ritual can be performed for multiple persons at a time, but each of them has his or her own articles.

(2) When everything is well prepared, monks sit in their places. The person is invited to pay homage to the Buddha by lighting two candles and three incenses at the altar table. The bunch of candles is then lit by the person and placed on a plate, not too close to the people around for it can become heated (the temple has a rack for this 5 meters away). The bunch of incenses is also lit and put in its place

²³ The abbot gave me two names: Mō Nī ມອນີ and Mo Mote ມອມໂມຕ. Mō Nī is more active now. Sometimes she leads her clients here herself.

²⁴ For example, if the person is 21, the number will be 29. This number will also be used in chanting.

at some distance for it also can produce a lot of smoke. Then the person comes to the mat prepared and after lying down is covered with the white cloth from head to toe. The first monk lights up the beeswax candle at the water bucket, monks hold a ceremonial fan (*talapat* ตาลปีตร) with the white thread and start chanting.

(3) The chanting goes respectively as follows:

- (a) *namo tassa bhagavato* [...] (paying homage to the Buddha)
- (b) *buddham jīvitam yāva nippānam saraṇam gacchāmi* [...] (taking the refuges until nirvana)
- (c) *itipi so bhagavā* [...] (the characteristics of the Triple Gems)
- (d) *būrabārasmiṁ brabuddhaguṇam* [...] (Bodhipāda Gāthā)
- (e) *anicca vata sañkhārā* [...] (parīnsukūla for the dead), three times²⁵
- (f) *acirām vata'yam kāyo* [...] (parīnsukūla for the living), repeatedly to the number of the age ending with nine (if more than one person participate, the number of the recitation is counted to the oldest one)

While the last verse is ending, the cloth covering the person is gradually pulled off by the first monk; and it is completely pulled away when the chanting ends. The first monk continues reciting some verse²⁶ silently, then dips the beeswax candle to the water bucket; the lustral water, *nammon* น้ำมนต์ (mantra water), is created.

(4) The person offers gifts to monks. Money in an envelope is expected. Then monks chant for thanks-giving and blessing (*anumodanā*). When the first monk starts *yathā vārivahā pūrā* [...], the person pours a cup of provided water into a vessel to transfer the merit earned to the deceased relatives and particularly to the spirits which are supposed to cause the adversity. When monks chant *sabbītiyo vivajjantu* [...], the water is emptied from the cup. The person listens to the recitation hereafter. On this occasion *āyudo balado dbīro* [...] and *so/sā/te atthaladdho sukrito* [...] are normally used, and the last one is typically *bbavatu sabba-mangalarām* [...]. When the chanting is finished, the person bows to the monks three times.

²⁵ As told by the abbot, the original procedure performed by Luangpho Nga counts this verse up to the age number as done with the next verse (*acirām*). So, the overall time used in the former version was double to the current one.

²⁶ The verse used here is not standard. It depends on the leader who may choose whatever he sees suitable. The abbot uses *sakkatva* in this step. It can be a magical spell which has unconventional Pali.

(5) A monk leads the person to the bathing place outside the roof of the building. It is not a particular place in this temple, just an outdoor area behind the building. The person sits on a chair, and the monk pours the lustral water over his or her head while chanting some spell²⁷ silently. This step is called *abnammon* ອານໝໍາມນົມ.²⁸ Sometimes the wax from the candle forms a number-like pattern, and the person regards it as a lucky number. Sometimes it is not convenient to be bathed at the temple, so the water is taken to the house. However, people prefer the bath performed by monks.

3 Constituent Analysis of Tēchatā

After we have learnt how the ritual is performed, we will break it into parts to see it with more precise details. I utilize ritual structural model proposed by Ronald Grimes²⁹ with some adaptation. There are six components to be analysed here:

- (a) Ritual Actions: the ritual event, the »plot« of action, the constituent actions, their form and styles, acts of avoidance, etc.
- (b) Ritual Actors: bodies in motion, persons performing gestures and postures, ritual agents, participants, etc.
- (c) Ritual Places: sacred and non-sacred places, proper placement, settings, etc.
- (d) Ritual Times: temporal markers, duration, phasing, rhythm, cycles, etc.
- (e) Ritual Objects: material culture, properties, costume, arts, food, etc.
- (f) Ritual Languages: utterances, things said or sung, words, text, writing, etc.³⁰

²⁷ The condition is the same as in the previous note, but the verse can be different. The abbot uses *jayanto* on this occasion.

²⁸ In some other temples, if the chanting is not elaborate (the lustral water is prepared in advance) and the main treatment is bathing, the whole ritual is normally called *abnammon*.

²⁹ Ronald Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).

³⁰ Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 237–241. In his model, the ritual group is also mentioned, but I drop this component for its abstractness and vagueness. Ritual group addresses the issues of social distinctions, worldviews, attitudes, values and virtues, vices and taboos, etc., which I find difficult

3.1 *Ritual actions in tēchatā*

As described in the procedure above, the main ritual actions can be enumerated from that account as follows:

- (1) Preparation. If the persons are introduced by astrologers, they normally know what should be prepared and the appointment is done by telephone. Ad hoc cases are accepted if monks do not have other ceremony to perform elsewhere. Sometimes people have to go back to the town to buy the articles needed.
- (2) Lighting up the candles and incenses. This can be seen as a metaphorical action that is supposed to produce a magical effect according to the *similarity* explained thus- the candles and incenses may represent the person with misfortune (*khro*); they are supposed to be burned completely.
- (3) Lying down as dead. This is also a metaphorical action marked by the covering of the white cloth (shroud). A magical effect is also supposed.
- (4) Making lustral water. This is done while monks are chanting. The water is an important tool to cleanse the person's misfortune.
- (5) Chanting. This is the main job of monks. The magical power of words recited by monks is supposed to be effective. The detailed analysis will be done below.
- (6) Offering gifts. In Buddhist purview, this is regarded as merit-making.
- (7) Blessing and transferring the merit. This is a common practice when Buddhists make merit, particularly in a formal situation. Monks thank for the offering, make people rejoice with their giving, and bless them. The persons on this occasion transfer the merit earned to their departed relatives and the spirits in a hope that this will lessen their bad luck and bring good one.
- (8) Bathing with lustral water. This marks the end of the whole ritual. The magical effect of the ritual will be realized completely only by this tangible contact.

3.2 *Ritual actors in tēchatā*

There are both human and non-human actors involved in this ritual.

- (1) Monks. This is an indispensable factor. Although, monks are not officially supposed to do such a ritual, they excel other types of agents in this position. The

to observe in this level. I have my own treatment of these issues in the analytic model described below.

ritual can be performed by magical figures, Brahmans, non-Buddhist ascetics, shamans, or astrologers themselves, but monks are the most desirable actors in Thais' awareness for their moral superiority.³¹ The typical number of monks is four, for it is enough to form a quorum resulting in *saṅgha-dāna*.³² On one occasion, we performed the ritual with ten monks as required by the person, possibly based on the astrologer's suggestion.

(2) The person under a difficulty. This is also indispensable. The person can be a young child or an aged person. There is no limitation on this part. The difficulty also varies, from near-death illness to life-changing circumstances.

(3) Astrologers. These actors often get involved in the ritual, but they are not a necessary factor. People can come on their own accord when they feel unlucky. However, advices from astrologers play a significant role in people's decision. Sometimes monks give an advice in a more »Buddhist« way, but people under a hardship tend to follow astrologers' advice. That is to say, astrologers overrule monks in this matter. By astrologers here, I mean all kinds of practitioners of prognostic arts or fortune-telling, as well as spiritual mediums and figures with extrasensory perceptions, who can make a prediction likewise. I stress on astrology here because it is the commonest form of practice. Nonetheless, it does not always relate to planetary movements like Thai/Hindu and Western astrology. There are numerous applicable methods, such as numerology, palmistry, Burmese astrology, Chinese astrology, and tarot reading, to name but a few.

(4) Inflicting spirits. These non-human actors can come into play as an attributed cause of the problem. In Buddhist context, this can be explained in terms of living beings that the person did harm to in the past life or in this life,

³¹ If monks also have magical ability, they are even more desirable. But, to Buddhists, monks who are mature in their spiritual development are the most desirable. The first criterion to grade this quality is moral conduct, not magical ability. Those who have such ability can be real bad ones (like Devadatta, the Buddha's in-law). The result of ritual performance by such figures can turn unexpectedly adverse. That is why people focus firstly on moral superiority of the performers. It indicates spiritual maturity, which is regarded as superior to any magic.

³² Offering made to a community of monks, not anyone in particular, has incalculable result. See MN iii 256 (no. 142).

and they bring about the problem for retribution. Thais call these spirits *jaogam-nāiwein* เจ้ากรรมนายเรือง (the creditor of karma). It is believed that the ritual can placate the spirits somehow, particularly with the merit transferred.

3.3 *Ritual places in tēchatā*

There is no specific place to perform the ritual. It can be done in houses or in the temple. However, some simple preparation is needed, such as seats for monks have to be suitably set. Normally, the seats are marked by cushions and set apart from the laity's. The altar table for the Buddha can be optionally set and placed on the far right of the monks.

3.4 *Ritual times in tēchatā*

Like the place, *tēchatā* has no limitation on time. If monks are available, people can come anytime. The duration depends on the age of the person because the recitation has to be repeated accordingly. If people come to participate in a group, only the age of the oldest one counts. Normally the overall ritual lasts 30-60 minutes.

3.5 *Ritual objects in tēchatā*

Objects used in the ritual can be listed as follows:

- (1) The number of candles and incense sticks equals the person's age ending with nine. These represent the person with his or her misfortune. The candles and incenses are bunched and lit when the ritual starts, and they are supposed to be burned out when the ritual is finished. That is to say, the candles and incenses used here should be of a moderate size, not too big or too small.
- (2) White cloth. This is used to cover the lying person while monks are chanting. It stands for a shroud metaphorically, signifying that the person is dead.
- (3) A bucket of water. This becomes lustral water when the chanting is done. The water is used to bathe the person at the end.
- (4) White thread (*siñcana*). In Buddhist ceremonies, this thread is indispensable. It functions as a connector. In this case, it conducts magical power produced by monks while chanting to the white cloth and the water.
- (5) A beeswax candle. This special kind of candle is normally used in making lustral water. The candle is also tied to the thread at the edge of the bucket. It conveys the power into the water.

(6) Water for transferring merit. This is a common practice in Buddhist merit-making. When merit is made, people transfer it to their departed relatives, and in this case the inflicting spirits are also the targets.

(7) Ceremonial fans. The fans are normally used by monks during chanting, particularly in death-related rituals.

3.6 *Ritual languages in tēchatā*

As chanting is the main part of the ritual, the language elements play a major role in ritual efficacy. I will articulate here only the significant ones. The common parts of the recitation, such as paying homage to the Buddha, taking the refuges, the Triple Gems, and thanks-giving (*anumodanā*) are left unexplained.

(1) Bodhipāda Gāthā (known by Thais as the protection in ten directions). This is a peculiar and the most interesting one. This passage is a product of Thai magical performance. It is a hybrid Thai-Pali incantation. It is not a *gāthā* (verse) in Pali sense. It is a magical spell which has no root in any Pali scripture, but it appeals to the Triple Gems for their power. This spell is regarded as having the evil-cleansing and life-prolonging efficacy.³³ For its apparently unorthodox position, the passage does not appear in any official chanting book, and it is regarded as non-Buddhist by learned monks and scholars. Yet, most people know it well, and some can recite it fluently. As it cannot be exactly transliterated into Pali with roman script, I therefore depict it in Thai.

บูรพาธิศนิพัทธ์ พระพุทธະคุปต์ บูรพาธิศนิพัทธ์ พระชั้มมดัง บูรพาธิศนิพัทธ์ พระสังฆานัน

³³ Another passage that has the same characteristics and use is *mongkolcakkavān-paedthid* (the protection in eight directions). It is shorter when chanted and not used in this temple. Another verse used for life-prolonging purpose is *Unabissavijayagāthā* mentioned by Kenneth E. Wells. This verse, despite its well-formed Pali, is not in the canon. It is possibly an adaptation from a Mahayana sutra called *Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī Sūtra*. This verse is not used by the temple either. See Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities* (Bangkok: Suriyabun Publishers), 209–212; F. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjiu, *The Ancient Palm-Leaves* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884). For a detailed treatment of *Unabissavijaya-sūtra*, see Peter Skilling, *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers* (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 32–36.

ทุกขะໄວກະກະธັງ ວິວໝູ້ຂໍຍ ສັພພະຖຸກໍ ສັພພະໄສໂຄ ສັພພະໄວກ ສັພພະກັບ ສັພພະເຄຣະທ໌ ເຕົນຍົດຈັງໄວ ວິວໝູ້ຂໍຍ
ສັພພະຂະນຳ ສັພພະລາວັງ ກະວັນດຸ ພ ຮັກບັນດຸ ຖຽກບັນດຸ.³⁴
(the next rounds change ບຸກພາກສົນງ to ອາຄະນະຮັກສົນງ, ທັກຍືພັກສົນງ, ຜຣີກສົນງ,
ນິຈິນຮັກສົນງ, ພາຫັກສົນງ, ອຸດຮັກສົນງ, ອີສານຮັກສົນງ, ອາກສັກສົນງ, and ປະຈູບຮັກສົນງ respectively).

A rough translation can be like this: In the east, may the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha protect us. May all suffering, illness, and danger be destroyed. May all pains, all laments, all ills, all perils, all misfortunes be destroyed. May all wealth, all fortunes be with us. (Then the east is substituted by the southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, north, northeast, sky, and earth respectively).

(2) *Parīsukūla* for the dead. This verse is normally used in all death-related ceremonies, particularly when monks get the robes from the dead body. It goes as follows:

Anicca vata saṅkhārā, uppāda-vaya-dhammino.

Uppajjītvā nirujjhanti, tesam vūpasamo sukho.

T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids render the verse as:

How transient are all component things!
Growth is their nature and decay;
They are produced, they are dissolved again;
To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss.³⁵

This verse is chanted to mark the condition that the person under the white cloth is metaphorically dead.

(3) *Parīsukūla* for the living. This verse has been mentioned already earlier. In this ritual, its chanting takes the longest period of time because it has to be recited as many times as the age of the person plus some extra addition. In this temple monks count the chant by matchsticks, for it can be very confusing when it is counted in mind while chanting.

34 The passage is taken from the most popular chanting book in Thailand. See Phrakrū Arunthammarangsī ພຣະຄຽງອຸພະຮຣມຮັງສື, Iam Sirivanhoo ເຊິ່ງ ສີວິຫຼາໄພ, *Monphithī ມນີທີ* Ceremonial Mantras (Bangkok: Aksonsamai, no dates), 49. The chant also has its own »melody«. See <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P48pV3ucAQk>> (last retrieval June 11, 2018).

35 DN ii 198 (no. 17); C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogue of the Buddha*, pt. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1910), 232. Also SN i 158; Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Samyutta Nikāya* (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 252.

4 *Ritual Analytic Model and Its Application*

Now we know enough about *tēchataā* to reproduce the ritual in an analytical context. However, what we have seen so far was only its surface. To understand the ritual in depth, we have to analyse what is normally invisible about it. That is the reason I developed a ritual analytic model as a framework to illuminate the unnoticeable, as shown in the figure below.

The model is divided into three levels and two planes resulting in six dimensions. I mark the boundaries among them with dotted lines showing that there are always vague or overlapping areas. My intention is not to make clear-cut categories but rather a suitable tool to capture subtle ideas.³⁶

At the individual level, we consider the mind and body that are affected or active in ritual performance. I call these *cognitive* and *bodily* dimensions. On the mental plane, the effects on consciousness and emotion will be taken into account as well as counterintuitive elements, following Pascal Boyer,³⁷ posited by the ritual. On the physical plane, bodily metaphor and metonymy are taken into consideration. The main idea comes from James G. Frazer's account on the efficacy of magic, namely the law of similarity and the law of contagion.³⁸

³⁶ For the detailed accounts of the theoretical background, see my dissertation thesis.

³⁷ Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

³⁸ The former is called by Frazer »homoeopathic magic«, things resembling each other are the same thing—doing something to a replica is equal to doing it to the thing itself. The latter is called »contagious magic«, things once in contact with each other are always in contact—doing something to the part is equal to doing it to the whole. See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (Oxford: OUP, a new abridgement from the 2nd and 3rd eds. 1994), 26.

Table 1
Ritual analytic model

Social level	<i>Discursive dimension</i> (central focus: <i>knowledge</i>)	<i>Constitutive dimension</i> (central focus: <i>practice</i>)
Interpersonal level	<i>Communicative dimension</i> (central focus: <i>signs</i>)	<i>Performative dimension</i> (central focus: <i>actions</i>)
Individual level	<i>Cognitive dimension</i> (central focus: <i>mind</i>)	<i>Bodily dimension</i> (central focus: <i>body</i>)

Mental plane Physical plane

At the interpersonal level, *communicative* and *performative* dimensions will be considered. The former has main focus on signs used in the ritual. I will employ Charles Sanders Peirce's model which recognizes *iconic*, *indexical*, and *symbolic* relations between sign and object.³⁹ The latter dimension is drawn mainly from the theory of speech acts introduced by J. L. Austin, particularly the notion of *locutionary* statements, *illlocutionary* forces, and *perlocutionary* effects.⁴⁰ The key idea is that when signs are used to signify something, they do not just say or convey certain meaning; they also do or make things happen. These two dimensions constitute the transition to the upper ones.

At the social level, we consider knowledge and practice that are established by the ritual. I call these *discursive* and *constitutive* dimensions respectively. The former operates on discourses that determine or condition our reality; the idea is mostly in line with Michel Foucault's. Simply put, discourse establishes knowledge—a strongly bounded area of social knowledge, a system of statements within which the world can be known.⁴¹ The criteria used in the discursive level of analysis are drawn from Norman Fairclough who suggests that discourses establish three things: social identities, social relations, and system of knowledge

³⁹ Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (Oxon: Routledge, 3rd ed., 2017), 41.

⁴⁰ John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

⁴¹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 3rd ed., 2013), 83.

and belief.⁴² The last dimension focuses mainly on practice when the reality posited by discourses is taken for granted. The idea is taken from Pierre Bourdieu⁴³ and adaptively used here, particularly the notion of dispositions (*habitus*) and capitals. For me, this is the very outcome of the ritual as a social phenomenon.

4.1 Cognitive dimension of tēchatā

Like other Buddhist ceremonies which minimize the involvement of emotions, *tēchatā* has a remarkable effect of emotional regulation because the person is kept motionless as dead during the chanting. The rhythmical repetition and the duration of the live *pāmsukūla* help this to a significant degree. This makes the atmosphere solemn, or eerie to some. Calmness is accordingly the dominant emotion. At the consciousness level, a slightly meditative state can be generated correspondingly to the emotion. This can lead to the feeling that something has been done or happened to the person spiritually. In bathing with the lustral water, the change in body temperature can lead to such feeling as well. I think the smell of the incenses, the dimness of the place, and the sound of chanting also help to create that kind of feeling. The counterintuitive elements (supernatural concepts) are also helpful in this regard. The marked component is the power of the incantations, which is believed to expel the invisible afflictions.

4.2 Bodily dimension of tēchatā

Bodily metaphors found in the ritual apparently are the imitation of dying and the cleansing with lustral bathing. All these contribute to the efficacy of the ritual. By imitating death, the person with bad karma is treated as dead, and the person is reborn when the chanting is done. Hence, the bad karma that causes the misfortune is now redeemed. When the person is bathed with the lustral water, evil things that contaminate the person are cleansed off accordingly.

42 Norman Fairclough, »Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities«, *Discourse & Society*, 4,2 (1993), 134.

43 Particularly, Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, tr. by R. Nice (Cambridge: CUP, 1977); and Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, tr. by R. Nice (Stanford: SUP, 1990).

The notion of contagion, the physical contact of two elements that »ensures a transfer of essence«,⁴⁴ can be found in these actions: (a) the use of the white thread to conduct the magical power generated by the chanting; (b) the use of water in bathing; (c) the use of water in the transference of merit. The use of the thread in this manner is common in other rituals as well. Only by physical contact, the power can be directed to the water (in fact what makes the real contact is the wax from the candle) and to the white cloth covering the person. The contact with the water can be seen likewise. The use of water to transfer the merit to the dead can also be seen as a contagion. The action ensures the transference when the water contacts the soil.⁴⁵

4.3 *Communicative dimension of tēchatā*

Signs have iconic relation by virtue of similarity. What can be called »icon« in this context are (a) the act of dying; (b) the white cloth as a shroud; (c) the white thread as a power line; (d) the incantation as the words indicate; (e) the use of »nine«⁴⁶ in counting. Indexical relation of signs is based on direct connection, which can be observed or inferred. We call these signs »index« which apparently in this ritual are (a) monks as the magical power generator; (b) the chanting as the fuel of the generator; (c) the thread as the power line; (d) the water as the power cell. The symbolic relation is marked by conventions. In Peirce's terminology it is called »symbol«. Accordingly, the candles and incenses amounting to the person's age (ending with nine) represent the person.

44 Sørensen, *Cognitive Theory of Magic*, 103.

45 There is an old belief in the goddess of earth that transfers the beneficial power to the deceased. This suggestion comes from Miloš Hubina in personal communication.

46 The number 9 has auspicious meaning in Thai. Linguistically, *gao* ງາມ has nearly identical sound with *gāu* ກ້າ meaning progress or prosperity. Astrologically, the number 9 brings good luck and success, and can protect us from evil things. Thais generally regard the number as sacred. See Pluluang ພູລູຄວ, *Pbunthānkhōngbōrāsat: khvāmmabasajankhōngtualēk* ພູນຫະນຂອງໄທຮາສຕຣ: ຄວາມນໍ້າສອງຕົວເລີ່ມ [Foundation of Astrology: The Miracle of Numbers] (Bangkok: Kasem Bannakich, 1973), 57–58.

4.4 *Performative dimension of tēchata*

There are taxonomies of illocutionary acts⁴⁷ articulated by J. L. Austin, John Searle, and others.⁴⁸ I choose and adapt only some that seem relevant here. I use *declaratives* to include the acts that in the context of ritual declare the states of reality. And, with my own invention, *conjuratives* to include the acts that make a certain state happen by magical means. The idea is hinted by Stanley Tambiah.⁴⁹ These illocutionary acts will be enumerated by locutionary propositions together with their expected perlocutionary effects as shown in the table below.

Table 2
Performative Analysis

Illocutionary acts	Perlocutionary effects
<i>Declaratives</i>	
(a) Adversity has its karmic cause which divination or extrasensory knowledge can describe.	There must be a remedy astrologically or magically, for doctrinally speaking we can do nothing—nt of use for relieving the anxiety.
(b) Bad karmas from the past and the current life are seen as contamination that impedes the progression of life.	This misfortune (<i>khro</i>) is possible to and has to be cleaned off.

47 Illocutionary acts are the utterances or statements (locutionary propositions) that do not convey mere information. They establish certain conventional facts. For example, when a couple say »I do« in the wedding ceremony, they formally make a commitment by assertion. The result of this action is called perlocutionary effects.

48 Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 150–151. John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), 12–20. Kent Bach and Robert M. Harnish, *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), 41, 110.

49 Stanley J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 80.

(c) Some chanting has magical power, and monks have moral status suitable to make the chanting effective.	Monks are supposed to conduct this ritual particularly by chanting certain incantation.
(d) Some other actions can make the ritual more effective.	The ritual incorporates these magical devices, including the acting of dying, the use of candles, incenses, and water.
<i>Conjuratives</i>	
(e) When candles and incenses are burned out, the person would die or the misfortune is rid metaphorically.	The past karmas are redeemed accordingly.
(f) When acting the dying, the person dies metaphorically.	The past karmas are redeemed.
(g) The incantation expels the bad influences of planets, spirits, or past karmas.	The adversity is warded off.
(h) The lustral water cleans off the bad influences.	The adversity is warded off.
(i) The merit earned is transferred to the spirits.	The spirits are pacified.

4.5 Discursive dimension of *tēchata*

In this dimension, system of knowledge and belief, social identities, and social relations, established by the ritual discursively will be analysed using the outcome from the previous dimensions. Notably, *tēchata* creates the following knowledge and relations.

- (a) Karma can be manipulated magically.

This is quite a complex issue. It is a jumble of various conceptual systems, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, as well as psychological drives. However, the very outcome can be stated as mentioned. By the orthodox point of view, karma is a personal matter.⁵⁰ We all are unavoidably subjected to the consequences of past

⁵⁰ »I am the owner of my kamma, the heir of my kamma; I have kamma as my origin, kamma as my relative, kamma as my resort; I will be the heir of whatever kamma, good or bad, that I do«. AN

actions. This well-founded Buddhist doctrine makes people accept undisputedly that it is they themselves who take responsibility of the situation, even though they do not really know what they have done.⁵¹ At psychological level, people under pressure of problems tend to seek another exit to alleviate their anxiety. Astrology is one of the most popular alternatives people resort to. In accommodating to the Buddhist doctrine by attributing the forgotten past karma to the calculable planetary movements, astrology can somehow fill up the missing pieces and provide a remedy guideline.⁵² Even when people do not directly consult an astrologer, they tend to feel that a remedy can be effected in a non-karmic way. This belief is quite common in Thai minds, including some monks who explicitly hold the orthodox position. Although the Buddha rejects the use of astrology,⁵³ by the loophole that happenings in life do not come from past karma exclusively, manipulations can be done on other factors, not directly on the karma. The factor that is relevant to the doctrine in this regard is the spirits who seek revenge from the past life. If these spirits cause the problems, we can somehow pacify them.

iii 72; Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Āṅguttara Nikāya* (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2012), 686. And in Dhammapada, 165, »the pure, the impure, this is of the self; one man cannot another purify«. Rhys Davids, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, pt. 1 (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1931), 58–59.

51 Gananath Obeyesekere calls this situation »psychological indeterminacy«. See Gananath Obeyesekere, *Imaging Karma: Ethical Transformation in Amerindian, Buddhist, and Greek Rebirth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 133.

52 When the causality of karma is taken into consideration, »it becomes imperative to know what particular relationship exists between a cause in the past life and effect in the current life, and astrology becomes the method by which this relationship is discovered and some means of mitigating the ill-effects is found«. See R. S. Perinbanayagam, »Self, Other, and Astrology: Esoteric Therapy in Sri Lanka«, *Psychiatry*, 44,1 (1981), 69–79.

53 »The fool may watch for »lucky days«; Yet luck shall always miss; »Tis luck itself is luck's own star; What can mere stars achieve?«, Jātaka, 49; Robert Chalmers, *The Jātaka: Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1895), 126. However, the Buddha suggested the monks living in the forest to learn the positions of the lunar mansions. See Cv viii 6.2–3; I. B. Horner, *Cullavagga*, 303–305.

This provides the magical manipulation of karma certain place to stand, despite borderline, in Buddhist landscape.⁵⁴ As the Buddhist doctrine does not provide any magical treatment, culture has to invent some of them in the form of rituals, as we see in this case.⁵⁵

(b) Monks are expected to be spiritual healers.

When people are pressed to seek for a remedy, and the treatment does not fall off too far as a heresy, monks are the most appropriate healers in Thai context.⁵⁶ People often ask for this kind of treatment from monks, even if monks know nothing about astrology or feel uneasy of how to conduct the ritual properly in the doctrinal space. Monks normally come up with a simple way to reconcile the situation, as we see in the *pāmsukūla* for the living, which has a long practical history. In modern and more complex situations, ritual innovations thrive. *Tēchatā* is one of these rituals, which monks invent to accommodate this particular need of suffering people. Generally speaking, monks have certain characteristics suitable for this position. They have a higher status spiritually and morally. People hold that rituals performed by such persons are effective. The relation between monks and people thus has this healer vs. patient dimension, in addition to ideal-keeper vs. supporter dimension.

(c) Astrologers outdo monks in psychological counseling.

As we have seen, astrology has no place in Buddhist disciplinary practice. As it is obviously at odds with the principle of self-reliance, monks can deal at best as ad hoc healers. When people who have problems in their life come to consult monks, seriously discuss not just trivially talk, treatments according to the doctrinal stance

⁵⁴ In fact, the Buddha forbids magical healings, as well as astrological practices. See DN i 10–11 (no. 1). Maurice Walsh, *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya* (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 72–73. However, if we consider paritta chanting as a kind of magical treatment, this position sounds ambivalent, at least on practical grounds. See also note 18.

⁵⁵ To Miloš Hubina, the invention that »turned the intentional act into a magical act« can be attributed to the Buddha himself. See Hubina, »Preliminaries to the Study of Sadekhre Rituals«, 59.

⁵⁶ As observed by Phya Anuman Rajadhon, »A monk who has some knowledge of the healing art, or exorcizing and incantations, is always in demand by the villagers«. See Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Popular Buddhism in Siam* (Bangkok: Thai Inter-Religious Commission for Development & Sathirakoses Nagapradipa Foundation, 1986), 29.

will be given in most cases. Observing precepts, meditating, or just letting go are typical advices given by monks. For some people who already have these life skills, these treatments might work, but for most people these practices offer very little solace. Here is the right moment that astrologers come on the scene. Astrologers can explain and give an advice according to the situation in a way more applicable to most people. It is easier to do that than what monks' advice and, importantly, it works most of the time, as the ritual releases the anxiety immediately. By this account, we can see the interrelations among these three parties: to people, monks are the healers and the subject of merit-making, and astrologers are the life counselors. To monks, people are the patients and the donors, and astrologers are the ushers of donors. And to astrologers, monks are the special experts they can refer to, and people are the clients. This picture of relations is not a norm in Thai culture, which is encouraged openly by the religious institution; but *tēchatā* ritual sets up these relations as a prevailing practice.

4.6 *Constitutive dimension of tēchatā*

In the last dimension, we focus on social reality and circumstances made happen discursively by the ritual. Now the significance of such reality is faded into background as taken-for-granted because people in fact do not think about this reality much. They incorporate it seamlessly into practices in the form of certain habits, *habitus*—»a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks«.⁵⁷ Another concept interacting with *habitus* by driving it through the social field is *capital*. Bourdieu introduces a number of capitals used in social interactions, notably economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. By these considerations, *tēchatā* ritual constitutes the following dispositions and capitals.

(a) People rely on monks as healers rather than teachers, they rely more on astrologers than monks as counselors, and they tend to deny their responsibility of the problem.

⁵⁷ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 82–83.

The tripartite relation established by the discourse of *tēchata* ritual constitutes a particular form of social practice. Monks are preferably regarded as spiritual healers, instead of spiritual teachers.⁵⁸ The main reason, I think, is that monks cannot provide what people really need. Ordinary people do not need nirvana.⁵⁹ When the ultimate ideal is not widely appealing, monks and people shift their focus to the practice of merit-making to perpetuate the religious institution and people's moral awareness. Although merit-making ceremonies incorporate some magical elements in a compromising way, markedly by the paritta chanting, they are not their main purpose. When people need a more direct treatment for a particular problem, the approach by religious practice is shifted more toward magic. Now the very act of making merit is only a minor point, and the magical treatment turns out to be the main concern. Apart from their role as a subject of merit-making, monks are also regarded as magical performers.⁶⁰

When religious advice given by monks sounds useless due to its inapplicability or unreachability, people do not reject it outright for it is indisputably authoritative; they turn to astrologers or extra-powered figures instead for the advice. On one hand, this creates a social dynamic and a flow of capitals. On the other hand, people cultivate the habit of solving problems in a way which delegates

⁵⁸ This position is secondary. The most preferable status of monks, by their fruitful field of merit, is the recipient of offerings in merit-making acts. The teaching role, however, is widely visible particularly of the renowned and competent ones. I have no data to backup this point. It is interesting to conduct a research on this. I assert what I have seen for a long time in the countryside of Thailand.

⁵⁹ See an anecdote in Ernest Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe: Being Sketches of the Domestic and Religious Rites and Ceremonies of the Siamese* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1989), 277. In Burma, Melford Spiro also sees the same pattern. See Melford Spiro, *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2nd ed., 1982), 79–80. In Sri Lanka, see Richard Gombrich, *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 16–17.

⁶⁰ It is now a common practice in Thailand when people get a new house or car, even a motorcycle, they ask a monk for an initiative ritual markedly by putting a *yantra* or marks with white powder on the article.

agency to external sources. They tend to rely on others and deal with »straw« problems rather than to face the actual problems.⁶¹

(b) Monks tend to be more magic-concerned, if not trivially compassionate.

When magical treatment is more in demand than Buddhist wisdom, monks consequently involve themselves more in magic to accommodate people's needs. Some monks study astrology to become counselors themselves, or at least to know how to select an auspicious time.⁶² Although the practice goes against the Vinaya, its social acceptance is visible. It is true that some monks are inclined to magic by preference, but some are not, particularly those who have soteriological concerns. If magical treatment is set as a common practice, as we see in initiative blessing of new articles, unwilling monks inevitably fall into an uncomfortable position. They may perform the ritual out of compassion, but they also feel the inadequacy of the action. It is the trivial, ad hoc acting on compassion that the ritual cultivates because the real problem is never addressed, let alone solved. For tough-minded monks, the practice can impede their spiritual progress in a significant way. However, competent teachers can direct people to the traditional treatment effectively by promoting the discourse of meditation fixing karma

61 Those, who take astrological advices seriously, tend to be more nervous than necessary. In some cases, they squander on the pseudo-treatment and subsequently undergo a financial problem; and sometimes it leads to a relationship problem.

62 In fact, some well-known high-ranking monks are known as skilled astrologers, notably Prince Paramānujit, the Patriarch in the reign of Rama IV, who translated *Cakradīpanī*, a manual of astrology held as bedrock of Thai astrology, from Pali to Thai. See a short review in *Journal of the Siam Society*, 40.1 (1952), 119–120, <http://www.siam-society.org/pub_JSS/jss_index.html> (last retrieval July 10, 2018). Stanley Tambiah also notes that astrology flourished in Bangkok temples. See Stanley Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saint and the Forest and the Cult of Amulets* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 165. However, unlike Sri Lanka where »astrology has always been a part of traditional learning« and has been taught in monastic universities, in Thailand the study of astrology has never been officially endorsed by the Sangha. See Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Delhi: Motilal BanarsiDass, 1990), 309; and Richard Gombrich, *Precept and Practice*, 149.

(*gammathāngēgam* กรรมฐานแก้กรรม). A prominent example is the late Luangphē Jarar Thitathammo (หลวงพ่อจรัญ ฐิตธรรมโภ).⁶³

(c) *Tēchata* keeps the interaction between people and temples.

It is undeniable that *tēchata* ritual keeps, or even establishes, the relation between people and temples. I find many people who have hardly gone to any temple to make merit, but come to participate in magical treatments. The ritual in this way can lead to further meritorious actions. They may be successfully suggested to attend a meditation retreat, for example. Developing familiarity with monks in this occasion, people may come to the temple more often to make merit or to feel the serenity. That can lead to a more positive outcome. In this concern, monks feel justified to perform non-canonical rituals in order to keep the transaction active. However, a substantial change in people's life is rarely seen in a short period of time.

(d) Merit and spiritual power are main forms of symbolic capital for the exchange of economic capital in the ritual interaction.

The notion of capital will be addressed in this last analysis. Apart from economic capital as we obviously see in the gift offering, more interesting capital used here is symbolic one. The first form of symbolic capital is »merit as spiritual credit«.⁶⁴ The concept of merit underwent some change long time ago; traces can be found in the Pali canon. Originally, merit was believed to be obtained by the three bases of action, namely giving, morality, and meditation.⁶⁵ By this account,

63 The late Phra Thammasinghaburachan (Charan Thitathammo) was a well-known meditation teacher in Thailand. He promoted notably the practice of meditation using vipassana technique in order to »cure« the bad consequences of karma. With this strategy, many people are drawn to his temple (Wat Amphawan) to attend meditation retreats, usually several hundred at a time. See <<https://www.amphawan.net>> and <<http://www.jarun.org>> (last retrieval December 6, 2018).

64 The analogy of merit as spiritual bank account is used by Richard Gombrich, »“Merit Transference” in Sinhalese Buddhism: A Case Study of the Interaction between Doctrine and Practice«, *History of Religions*, 11,2 (1971), 204. G. P. Malalasekera uses »credit« analogy in his »“Transference of Merit” in Ceylonese Buddhism«, *Philosophy East and West*, 17,1/4 (1967), 85. The metaphor of karma as a price is quite old as found in Milindapanhā, see T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, pt. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 213.

65 The three are dāna, sīla, and bhāvanā. See DN iii 218 (no. 33); Walshe, *The Long Discourses of the Buddha*, 485. Some prefer mental development over meditation, see P. A. Payutto,

having merit means simply doing good karma so as the mind becomes wholesome. Yet, some other instances show that the merit made could be also transferred to the dead.⁶⁶ This development is apparent when the commentators add up three bases of meritorious actions to ten which include *pattidāna*, sharing or giving out merit.⁶⁷ When merit can be accumulated and shared, the analogy to credit or money sounds apt. However, people do not see it as just a metaphor. Merit has a kind of ontological status which is worth exchanging with economic capital.

By believing that good karma, i.e. merit, brings favourable outcome, it is easy to infer simply that when bad circumstances happen, lacking merit is always the case. When merit is perceived as credit, people think that somehow it can be acquired by other ways than a grim, self-reliant practice. Giving things to monks is a common solution to obtain more merit, as well as releasing animals and other charitable actions. That is only one part concerning the life-prolonging ritual.

Another symbolic capital implied by the ritual can be seen as the immunity to evil. When people feel they have bad luck, they regard themselves as having a kind of spiritual sickness. This can be linked to demerit that people accumulate when they do bad actions. According to the doctrine, once the deed is done, the result is assured. People are uncomfortable with this stance, so they see the problem in a different way. They attribute the adversity to the low level of immunity, thus their well-being is contaminated. That means a remedy is possible. By this way of thinking, people see monks as a doctor who has high spiritual power able to clean

Photjanānugromphutthasāt chababpramuantham พจนานุกรมพุทธศาสนา ฉบับประมวลธรรม [Dictionary of Buddhism] (Bangkok: S. R. Printing, 2008), 93. T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids simply use »study« for bhāvanā, see C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 211.

66 Particularly in *Tirokuḍḍa Sutta*, *Khuddaka-pāṭha* 7; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, pt. 1 (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1931), 150–153. See also AN v 270.

67 Apart from the three bases, the rest are humility or reverence, rendering services, sharing or giving out merit, rejoicing in others' merit, listening to the doctrine or right teaching, teaching the doctrine or showing truth, and straightening one's views or forming correct views. The ten bases appear in *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the commentary of the long discourses. See Payutto, *Dictionary of Buddhism*, 93–94.

off their contamination, and the life-prolonging ritual is the very tool in this regard. On this account, spiritual power or level of spiritual immunity can be seen as a symbolic capital, apart from merit which plays a minor role in this ritual. In Bourdieu's terms, however, this can also be seen as cultural capital that monks possess in terms of special knowledge and status capable of doing certain treatment. Astrologers likewise have cultural capital in the form of special knowledge. All these capitals drive the social practice of life-prolonging ritual.

5 Conclusion

Unlike formal merit-making with blessing ceremony which sits quite comfortably in the religious arena as a legitimate Buddhist practice, life-prolonging ritual sits at the border. Although I used to be a performer of the ritual, inevitably because of my junior status in the temple, I hardly encouraged people to do so or referred it as an effective treatment. Yet, in some circumstances I found that it is really helpful to secure people's emotions. Is it better to arm people with wisdom so that they can cope with life problems more effectively? As a monk I have to answer: Definitely yes. But it is far more difficult to do so. It is a life-long learning costing considerable time and effort, and it cannot be simply inserted into people's heads. Even though life-prolonging ritual is not suitable for that ideal purpose, it is still useful for some persons in some situations.⁶⁸ I think it in terms of medication. It is better if no medicine is used. If needed anyway, proper amount of it is useful. But overdose of anything is always harmful, including this treatment. I thus reserve myself to say whether the practice fits the status of monks or not. I see it as a social practice which emerges to solve certain problems and shapes what we call »Thai Buddhism«.

In this essay, I articulate a particular practice of a particular temple with my particular approach. Despite the particularity of *tēchatā* ritual described so far, its

⁶⁸ Miloš Hubina sees that magical rituals in Buddhist context internalize the concept of karma, which is inconceivable to be understood in a direct way. See his »Preliminaries to the Study of Sadēkhrē Rituals«. That is another way to look at this kind of ritual. From that view, the ritual turns out to be a standard practice rather than a marginal one. In the same line of thought, I think astrology in fact plays the major role in making the inconceivable karma explainable.

applicability and variation are ubiquitous. From the framework applied, we can see the minor details of the ritual. This helps us to see clearly how the ritual works, as we decompose a car to study it part by part. In the analytic model, we look at the ritual from several angles and form a comprehensive whole picture. The approach seems reductive at first but holistic at the end. However, with a different perspective the outcome can differ even by applying the same model. Nothing is wrong with that because the model is just a tool that organizes our investigation. Before we make a particular interpretation, it is better to have as much information about the subject as possible. Since the model utilizes a wide range of theories from various disciplines, it helps us to make a reasonable judgement without jumping to conclusion by meagre data. However, a proper selection of analytical criteria is needed when we consider other complex rituals, particularly outside Thai culture on which the model is mainly developed. I hope that the analytic model and the whole framework I use here can make a contribution to ritual studies and related fields.

Abbreviations of the Pali canon

AN (Aṅguttara Nikāya)	The collection of numerical discourses
Cv (Cullavagga)	The collection of minor matters on the discipline
DN (Dīgha Nikāya)	The collection of long discourses
MN (Majjhima Nikāya)	The collection of middle-length discourses
SN (Saṃyutta Nikāya)	The collection of connected discourses

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Tereza Slaměníková, *Čínské znakové písmo: synchronní model tradiční kategorizace* [Chinese Writing System: A Synchronic Model of the Traditional Categorisation]. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2018—291 pp. ISBN 978-80-244-5181-7.

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After analyzing ideograms,¹ one of six traditional categories of Chinese characters as identified by the Han dynasty linguist Xu Shen 许慎 (58–148), Tereza Slaměníková comes up with another extensive study in the field of modern Chinese grammatology (*xiandai hanzixue* 现代汉字学). Compared to the above-mentioned work, its scope is much more complex and its goals are much more ambitious. The main research aim, forming the basis of the book, is a creation of completely new classification of the units of the Chinese script.

The novelty of proposed categorization naturally does not lie in rejection of all existing grammatical concepts and terminology. On the contrary, the author actively works with a wide range of theories and researches on Chinese script and incorporates their outcomes into her own design of the new classification model. Her work therefore could be seen as a segment of the line of concepts starting with Xu Shen's canonical *The Structury Analysis of Primary Characters and Meaning Explanation of Secondary Characters* (*Shuo wen jie zi* 说文解字) and continuing with the wave of renewed interest in exploring the nature and quantitative parameters of the Chinese graphic system by the above mentioned modern grammatologists in China at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. Besides significant Chinese grammatologists, including e.g. Su Peicheng 苏培成, the author also extensively quotes Western linguists and Sinologists such as Florian Coulmas, John DeFrancis or Andreas Guder.

An absolutely crucial feature that characterized Tereza Slaměníková's previous work too, and makes her concept original in the context of existing theories, is a strictly synchronic approach to the issues of Chinese writing system. The methodology of the research is based on the analysis of semantic and phonetic motivation of individual characters, which is the procedure already applied by Xu Shen, however, now focused solely on the present shape of the Chinese characters (their simplified forms). Regarding this fact, she consistently avoids employment of the diachronic etymological interpretation of the units that have experienced

¹ Tereza Slaměníková, *Ideogramy v moderní čínštině* [Ideograms in Contemporary Chinese] (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2013).

significant graphic distortion or meaning or pronunciation shift during the process of their development. These units are subsequently considered as non-motivated from a synchronic point of view. The new classification of characters is designed to reflect the way they are motivated as well as the degree of their motivation. It also covers the complete spectrum of combinations of their components with various parameters, including the non-motivated ones and those with neutralized originally assumed motivation (e.g. many characters traditionally considered as phonograms).

The introductory, theoretical part of the publication deals with the general characteristics of the Chinese script. On approximately thirty pages, issues like the often discussed question of the relationship between Chinese graphic system and Chinese language, the historical development of the Chinese script, the structure of the characters, or the traditional Xu Shen's classification are discussed. The theoretical part concludes with a twenty-page, informationally rich overview of the classification approaches of the representatives of modern Chinese grammatology. Although there are works in Czech and Slovak that deal with the issues of Chinese characters in a more extensive way,² this part of Slaměníková's book is highly valuable for its briefness and compactness on the one hand, and its complexity and richness of information, including a large amount of quantitative data and findings of the latest research on the other. The author uses very comprehensible language, however it still remains within the boundaries of academic style, it makes the text accessible for readers outside of the narrow circle of linguists-Sinologists.

The second half of the book presents the research itself which results in a proposal of a new classification model. It should be noted that the previous, theoretical part, is organically interconnected with the analytical part by pointing out the shortcomings of the traditional classification as well as some of the newer concepts. In order to avoid repetition of these imperfections, the author sets up a set of clear methodological criteria for the decomposition of characters and the assessment of their motivation at the very beginning of the analysis. As for the first problem, Slaměníková insists on a sharp distinction between the *constructional* decomposition of a character into »components« (složky) that have a certain relation to the meaning of the respective linguistic unit (semantic, phonetic or

² See e.g. Lukáš Zádrapa and Michaela Pejčochová, *Čínské písmo* [The Chinese Script] (Praha: Academia, 2009).

neutralized motivation), and the *structural* decomposition into »elements« (prvky), i. e. purely graphic unit standing hierarchically between the character and the stroke. In her classification, the first method is used as the primary one, while the second method is complementarily applied where the constructional decomposition of a character is impracticable. The author repeatedly warns of mixing both practices, which could be often met in the works of Chinese grammatologists. Subsequently, she solves the difficulty of determination and detailed differentiation of the types of component motivation, using some original solutions, such as the requirement of recurrence of a synchronically functional component in a given context, or the creative borrowing of the lexicological concept of semantic field in the case of detailed differentiation of semantically motivated units.

The resulting two-level categorization is constructed on the basis of the above mentioned parameters: firstly, the possibilities of decomposition of the character, and secondly, the character of the motivation of its constituents. A model consisting of 5 groups, subdivided into 20 categories in total (A₁ to E₂), is rather labyrinthine due to relatively large number of items and the absence of their additional designation, however, its unquestionable advantage lies in the inclusion of all fine combination nuances. Another advantage of the new classification is the fact that it is not a result of theoretical fabulation, but is based on a careful analysis of the 2500 most frequent Chinese characters. All of them are, together with their categorization and a commentary on their motivation, presented in an extensive addendum that may also serve as a useful tool for deeper understanding of Chinese characters in the learning process. However, the author points out that due to the limited scope of the character inventory she worked with, the proposed model is only the result of a »pilot study« that means it can only be considered to be a framework for a definitive categorization based on the analysis of a larger data set. The concept of Tereza Slaměníková is not free from disputable issues, whether we speak about terminology (e.g. the use of the term element for designation of further decomposable formations of the first level of structural decomposition, i.e. not only for the elementary, indivisible structural units) or conceptual solutions (e.g. rather questionable definition of E group which, unlike the others, is not based on the decomposition possibilities of the grapheme, but on the heteronomy of the corresponding syllable-sememe; or not quite satisfactorily explained classification of pictographic characters like 目 »eye« or 羊 »goat« as unmotivated units, while similar traditional pictograms such as 木 »tree« or 井 »well« had been designated as semantically motivated). However, these partial problems do not negate the extraordinary contribution of the study to understanding the current functioning of the Chinese graphic system. That

contribution is not only based on quantitative data obtained (e.g. that about 80% of the characters are at least partly motivated from the synchronic point of view), but also on the finding that the division of Chinese characters into traditional categories is not a lifeless concept today, it only needs to be reformulated and got rid of dysfunctional stereotypes.

Tereza Slaměníková's latest publication represents the most complex analytical work in the field of synchronic Chinese grammatology in the Czech and Slovak sinology, where the extensive texts on Chinese writing system are limited to popularizing overviews,³ teaching materials⁴ or historiographic and palaeographic studies.⁵ However, the book is not only unique within domestic academic circles but it is also innovative in the context of whole modern Chinese grammatology. While the contemporary Chinese authors, under the residual influence of Confucian traditionalism, have difficulty with getting rid of the temptations of diachronic etymological interpretation of graphical units, and therefore tend to rather casuistic approach to the matter, often accompanied by the exclusion of empirical generalization, Slaměníková, as a representative of European science, is much more resistant to these temptations, which allows her to adopt a fresh and culturally disinterested position. Her ambitious concept thus combines the inspirational theoretical features of the works of Chinese grammatologists, such as the concept of neutralized component, with novel methods based on a strictly synchronic approach and a consistent differentiation between constructional and structural decomposition of graphemes. The result of her work is not only a proposal of a new comprehensive categorization of Chinese characters, but also a significant number of valuable findings about the relationship between the graphic system and the language in contemporary Chinese.

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³ See e.g. Lukáš Zádrapa and Michaela Pejčochová, *Čínské písmo* [The Chinese Script] (Praha: Academia, 2009).

⁴ See e.g. Jaromír Vochala, Miroslav Novák and Vladimír Pucek, *Úvod do čínského, japonského a korejského písma* [Introduction to Chinese, Japanese and Korean Script] (Praha: SPN, 1989).

⁵ See e.g. David Uher, *Hanská grammatologie* [Han Grammatology] (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2013).

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