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AIM AND SCOPE

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Writing Japan's Orient: Shanghai through the Pen of Yokomitsu Riichi

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Abstract

This article is a case study of Yokomitsu Riichi's (1898-1947) novel *Shanghai* (1928, 1932) and the way the novel reflects changing Japanese views of China during the period of Japanese imperial expansion. Drawing for its theoretical framework on Edward Said's epochal *Orientalism* (1978), the article argues that Japan's perception of China in the early twentieth century was shaped by the emergence of a discursive practice that delineated China as Japan's "Other." Appropriation of China for political and ideological agendas that occurred as a result of Japan's imperial ambitions in Asia, the article further illustrates, was reflected in the latent and manifest displays of a distinct *Japanese Orientalism* that both mirrored and at times diverged from Western Orientalism. Through a close reading of Yokomitsu Riichi novel, I will show how Japanese attitudes toward China were impacted by the urge to control and to speak on behalf of the rest of Asia as well as a desire to demarcate modern Japan from what was perceived of an ancient civilization unfit to survive in the present. At the same time, I will comment on the limitations of Said's original theory when applied to the literature of a country that itself remained part of the West's Orient.

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Keywords: Orientalism; imperialism; inter-war Shanghai; Japanese modernism; Yokomitsu Riichi

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“We must all recognize,” utters Yamaguchi, one of the protagonists in Yokomitsu Riichi’s (1898-1947) novel *Shanghai* (Shanghai 上海) from 1931, “that with Japan’s ninety-nine-year lease of Southern Manchuria now a reality, East-Asia is guaranteed its existence for the next century” (Yokomitsu 2001: 67). Even though merely a fictional character, Yamaguchi expresses a conviction not uncommon among many Japanese in the years of the novel’s publication: Only through Japan’s benign colonial efforts could East Asia’s prosperity and stability be guaranteed for generations to come. At the same time, Yamaguchi voices an opinion that was frequently used to justify Japan’s encroachment upon its neighboring territories in East Asia, first the Korean Peninsula and later mainland China: It had fallen upon Japan to save Asia not only from its own downfall, but also from an otherwise inevitable conquest by European powers. The lease that Yamaguchi refers to had granted Japan control over the southern end of the Liaodong Peninsula and foreshadowed Japan’s eventual colonization of the entire Chinese north-east that culminated in the foundation of Japanese-controlled Manchukuo in 1932, a territory that would form the “crown jewel” in Japan’s imperial empire (Young 1999: 21-53). Overseen by the Southern Manchurian Railway Company, a semi-privately held conglomerate not unlike in the British East Asia Company (especially with regard to its own para-militaristic security forces or its complex entanglement of state and private interests), Japan’s colonization of China was driven from the beginning by a mutually beneficial alliance of business tycoons, militarists, ideologues, and visionaries.²

Yamaguchi’s utterance might remind readers of a similar assertion pronounced by United Kingdom’s Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour in 1910 that is quoted in Edward Said’s seminal study *Orientalism* (1978). Speaking of Britain’s responsibility toward safeguarding Egypt’s interests, Balfour declared that the British were in Egypt “not merely for the sake of the Egyptians, though we are there for their sake; we are there also for the sake of Europe at large” (Said 1978: 33). Balfour’s assertion that Britain’s colonial ambitions in Egypt were not merely motivated by a benign paternalism, but also by cultural and political inevitability aptly illustrates what Said thought to be at the core of Western Orientalism. Said’s main concern in *Orientalism* was to show how Western nations – particularly England and France during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – created a discourse through which they represented and finally exercised control over their respective “Others” in non-European territories, especially the middle-East and the Levant. This discourse, according to Said, manifested itself through three interrelated activities. There existed the academic disciplines of studying and writing about the Orient within the fields of history or philology, sociology or anthropology. Next there was a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between Orient and Occident that permeated the works of those Westerners who wrote about or otherwise imagined the non-Western world. Finally, born out of the two above factors, Said described Orientalism as “a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient,” that is a structure that allowed the West to execute authority and domination over the Orient by institutionalizing knowledge over the regions beyond Europe’s borders. (Said 1978: 2-3).

It has been argued that one of the shortcomings of Said’s work is its failure to accommodate the possibility of difference within Oriental discourse (Gandhi, 1998: 79). In this article, I will illustrate that Said’s Orientalism finds applicability in a socio-political environment that in itself is typically thought to be the object of Orientalism: Japan. While Japan rose to become a serious military and economic competitor for geo-political control of East Asia, Western nations like Britain and France continued to subsume it under their own Orientalist discourses (Pham 1999:163-181). By delineating the gradual institutionalization of state-sponsored imperialism in late Meiji- (1868-1912) and Taishō-era (1912-1926) Japan, I will show how the Asian mainland as well as the island of Taiwan increasingly became the object of an imperial imaginary that sought to define Japan as a modern empire that had risen above its Asian neighbors, and in

² Founded in 1906 in the wake of the Russo-Japanese war, the *Mantetsu* was involved in multiple enterprises beyond railway construction and operation, such as agriculture, coal and oil production, chemical industry, tourism, as well as large-scale infrastructure projects, such as hospitals and public utilities. It also engaged in agricultural research. It was closely connected with the Kwantung Army, a new army that had been dispatched to protect the company’s stock and that was supplemented by independent battalions of railway guards (Young 1999: 28-40).

particular China. Through a close reading of an important twentieth century Japanese modernist novel, Yokomitsu Riichi's novel *Shanghai*, I will then illustrate how China had been subsumed under this new imperial discourse and how the city of Shanghai was exoticized and "orientalized" in Yokomitsu's work. In my final analysis, I will comment on the similarities, and maybe more importantly, on the differences between Western and Japanese Orientalism and the role of China in both discourses.

Modern Japan's rise from an isolated island nation to a modern imperialist state began in earnest with the reforms of the Meiji period, named after the reign of the emperor who had been re-instated by a group of reform-minded samurai who now stood at the head of a constitutional monarchy. Seeing themselves confronted with the expansion of European and US interests in Asia and the Pacific, the Meiji-leaders – a small, self-appointed elite of men who had committed themselves to Western learning – became the proponents of a strategy of *bunmei-kaika* (文明改革), civilization and enlightenment. Ushering in an unprecedented era of economic, political and social change, the Meiji-leaders hoped to guarantee self-preservation and international competitiveness (McClain 2002: 119-153). Experiencing rapid economic development and steep population growth, Japan, with its limited natural resources and arable land, by the late nineteenth century began to emulate Western powers and engaged in aggressive empire building that was backed by its modernized military. As Japan extended its sphere of influence into the Korean Peninsula, conflict with Qing-dynasty China, to which Korea stood in a tributary relationship and from which it thus received military protection, was inevitable. The resulting Sino-Japanese war that erupted in 1894 and that saw Japan triumph over the once mighty neighbor China led to the secession of Taiwan in 1895, which became a colony of Japan, and to the incorporation of Korea, first as a protectorate and later, in 1910, as a colony. Victory over Russia in 1905 not only increased Japan's international prestige as a new military power, but also further enlarged the country's colonial territories to include leaseholds in southern Manchuria previously controlled by Czarist Russia. The formation of Japan's new empire went hand-in-hand with the formation of a Japanese national identity and subjectivity which were, as Jennifer Weidenfeld has observed, unquestionably intertwined with representations of Japan's "Others" (Weidenfeld 2000: 594). As a result, Meiji Japan witnessed the transformation of the archipelago's inhabitants into self-conscious, unified Japanese imperial subjects of a modern nation state whose identity was increasingly defined by contrasting Japan's perceived modernity with that of its Asian neighbor's backwardness.

In fact, intellectuals of the early Meiji-era had been eager to articulate a theory by which Japan could justify its exceptionalism. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), an enlightenment historian and founder of Keio University, had in 1885 authored an essay entitled "On Leaving Asia Behind" (Datsua ron 脱亞論) in which he called for Westernization and dissociation from China and Korea. Predicting both countries' eventual loss of independence because of their stubborn adherence to "Asian tradition and customs," Fukuzawa advocates to leave Asia and "move on with the civilized countries of the West" (Zachmann 2007: 349-350). Hinohara Shōzō (1853-1904), a disciple of Fukuzawa, went even further. Acknowledging a European discourse that labeled Asian countries as "oriental" (*orientaru*) and that considered these countries as inferior, he called for a discursive disassociation from Asia. "Do we have to be content to belong to Asia," he wrote in 1884, "just because the Europeans see China and also Japan as belonging to Asia?" (Ibid. 347). So prevalent had such attitudes become by the early late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that they also found their way into popular print and media culture. Japan's military campaigns, for example, were visualized in colorful woodblock-prints that decorated stores and were printed in newspapers to keep the Japanese population informed about campaigns on the Asian mainland. A Meiji-era woodblock print of the Battle at Fenghuangcheng during the Sino-Japanese from 1894 shows Japanese soldiers clad in Western-style uniforms and equipped with modern firepower crushing a Chinese battalion (Image 1). Cloaked in colorful gowns and armed with tridents, these Chinese soldiers, who appear to lack any clear leadership, are swiftly beaten by the modern disciplined Japanese army. Most striking in this print, however, is the prominence of the Japanese flag. Few symbols are more emblematic of modern nation-ness, Benedict Anderson reminds us, than the national flag under which a nation's citizens unite (Anderson 1983: 133). In the case of Meiji-Japan's military adventures on the Korean Peninsula, the allegorical significance of the

national flag becomes even more poignant. Under Japan's "nisshōki" or "hi no maru" flag that symbolizes a rising sun, the advancing army not only becomes the army of a modern nation state, but also the harbinger a new sun rising over a country that has lost its bearings.



Image 1: "Great Sino-Japanese Battle at Fenghuangcheng" (Hōjō Nisshin dai gekisen no zu), by Toyohara Kuniteru III (1894). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

One of the quintessential propositions put forward in *Orientalism* is the link between power and knowledge. Said argues that “knowledge of the Orient, because generated out of strength, in a sense *creates* the Orient, the Oriental, and his world” (Said 1978: 40). Said again draws on Balfour who, with regard to Britain’s responsibility toward Egypt, announced that “England knows Egypt; Egypt is what Egypt knows, England knows that Egypt cannot have self-government [...]” (Ibid. 34). Knowledge – supported by scholarship, military might or prejudice – legitimized colonial rule. Interestingly, a similar correlation between knowledge production and imperialist legitimization could be observed during Japan’s rise to Asia’s foremost colonial empire. Stefan Tanaka has illustrated how during the Meiji period, Japanese scholars at the newly established national universities not only busied themselves researching, defining, and constructing Japan’s own national heritage, but also that of Japan’s Asian neighbors. The latter enterprise was facilitated by the establishing of a new historical perspective, that of *tōyōshi* 東洋史 or Oriental History (Tanaka 1993: 12-24).³ The term *tōyō* literally translates into “Eastern Sea” and was introduced as a literal translation of the Western term “Orient.” Hinohara and other early Meiji intellectuals had already noted that the Western concept of “Orient” carried associations of despotism and backwardness and had deliberately called for a disassociation from the Western Orient. While in the Japanese imaginary, *tōyō* in many ways correlated with the Western perception of the Orient, its geographical correlate was the area West of Japan, namely the Asian mainland. Similar to the Orient to European scholars of the nineteenth century, *tōyō* also became the place to which Japanese historians turned in order to locate the artifacts that

³ Tokyo University’s “Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo” (東洋文化研究所), Japan’s foremost research institute dedicated to the study of the history and culture of continental Asia, continues to carry the term *tōyō* in its Japanese name. The English name was recently changed from “Institute of Oriental Culture” to “Institute for Advanced Studies of Asia.”

might narrate Japanese and Asian history. Consequently, *tōyō*, and in particular China, which prior to its relative decline in the late nineteenth century had for centuries been the dominant political and economic power in East Asia, also became that by which modernizing Japan could measure its own progress.

Japan's renegotiation of its position vis-à-vis China resulted in yet another neologism that came into use during the late Meiji and Taishō periods. China, which for centuries the Japanese had referred to either by its dynastic epithet – the Great Qing Empire or *daishinkoku* 大清国 in the case of the last dynasty – or else by the more colloquial term *chūgoku* 中国 or Middle Kingdom, was gradually deprived of its centrality within the Asian world. Instead of the term *chūgoku*, which is a Chinese loan word consisting of the Chinese characters for 'middle' and 'kingdom,' the purely phonetic term *shina* 支那 began to gain widespread popularity in Japan.⁴ It was through these linguistic means that Japanese intellectuals managed to bridge the dichotomy that existed between their claims that, on the one hand, Japan was culturally connected to a pre-modern Asian continent, while, on the other hand, modern Japan existed beyond the socio-political confines of those backward nations that constituted the Japanese Orient, or *tōyō*, China in particular. The methodological study of "tōyō" with "shina" at its center thus further embedded the notion of superiority that had been gained after defeating China in the conflict of 1894-5. Yet not unlike Britain in Egypt and other colonies, Japan claimed to have nobler motives than just colonization. The prominent turn-of-the-century cultural ideologue Okakura Tenshin (1862 -1913), for example, justified the Japanese war against Czarist Russia and the subsequent occupation of parts of Manchuria and Korea by asserting that "we fought not only for our motherland, but for ideals of the recent [Meiji] reformation, for the noble heritage of classic culture and for those dreams of peace and harmony in which we saw a glorious rebirth for all Asia" (Okakura 1904: 218-219). Okakura came to be an important spokesperson of another intellectual current prevalent in Meiji- and Taishō era Japan, namely pan-Asianism.⁵ Developing from a vague romantic and idealistic feeling of Asian solidarity that called for Asia's fate to be decided by a united Asia, pan-Asianism increasingly turned into an ideology that also found application in the sphere of Realpolitik, as will be shown below (Saaler 2007: 7).

Just how consciously Meiji-Japan assumed its role as Asia's first modern imperialist power and guardian of Asia's cultural traditions became clear at the 1904 World Fair in St. Louis. In the early twentieth century, the world fair, Carol Christ has shown, had become a stage for Western imperialist powers on which they could display not only their own nation's grandeur, but also could exhibit the cultures of those territories they had brought under their control (Christ 2000: 675-709). Okakura Tenshin, while commenting on the display of Asian art treasures of Chinese and Korean origin in the Japanese pavilions in St. Louis, proclaimed that Japan regarded itself as the "sole guardian of the art inheritance of Asia," a claim he frequently repeated in his later writings. In *The Awakening of Japan*, for example, he wrote that "the fact that we preserved the arts and customs of ancient China and India long after they have become lost in the lands of their birth is sufficient testimony to our reverence for tradition" (Okakura 1904: 186). The display at the World Fair of modern Japanese fine arts that were produced by incorporating Western techniques, on the other hand, illustrated that Japan had broken away from Chinese cultural influences. Furthermore, it had the effect of de-orientalizing Japanese art from the Western gaze. The display of colonial territories and its inhabitants at the St. Louis World Fair moreover served the purpose of allowing these subjugated peoples to be "investigated and experienced by the dominating gaze of the Euro-American fair visitor" and thus helped to "mark out the distinction between subjects and objects of power" (Christ 2000: 687). In 1904, the

⁴ This term, which in the 1920s was still written in Chinese characters as opposed to the exclusively phonetic katakana now used to phonetically transcribe the names of counties, is believed to be a ninth-century Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit term for China, which in itself was a phonetic appropriation of Qin, the name of the first Chinese empire. Its usage in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Japan was meant to replicate the European appellation for China.

⁵ While his impact on early Japanese pan-Asianism was rather limited, as Sven Saaler has illustrated (most of Okakura's early writings were in English and aimed at an Indian audience), Okakura has nevertheless been credited with coining the phrase "Asia is one" (Saaler 2007: 5).

Japanese showed off their educational and infrastructural efforts that had been undertaken in Taiwan on behalf of the “savage” indigenous population of the island. These efforts, the display further implied, had been neglected by an irresponsible and incapable previous Chinese administration. In this regard, the Japanese display of Taiwan at the St. Louis Fair resembled that of the United States and its display of the Philippines, which had been subsumed under the American sphere of influence after the 1898 Spanish-American war. The American display likewise placed considerable emphasis on its effort in “civilizing and uplifting of inferior races” (Ibid. 687). The Japanese and the Americans, it was clear to visitors, had taken on “the dirty work” of putting into place a “working government,” as Balfour put it with regard to Britain’s colonial efforts in Egypt where “experience shows that they have got under it far better government than in the whole history of the world they ever had before” (Said 1978: 33).

By the time Yokomitsu Riichi’s novel *Shanghai* began to be serialized in 1928, Japan had consolidated its overseas possessions and had risen to become a veritable contender for political and economic control in East Asia. Apart from the Korean Peninsula, considerable parts of Manchuria, and the island of Taiwan, Japan further had control over a number of islands in the South Pacific as well Germany’s former possessions in China’s Shandong province, which it had been awarded after fighting on the Allies’ side during World War One. And like England, The United States, and France, Japan had an extra-territorial settlement in Shanghai where Japanese cotton mills competed with Chinese and Western mills and where Japanese business interests thrived. The preceding decade, which roughly corresponded with the Taishō reign period (1912-1926), had seen a flowering of the arts, literature, and film in Japan. Yokomitsu Riichi very much was a child of this era and belonged, according to Dennis Washburn, to the first generation of Japanese to grow up in a modern nation state that saw itself not simply as modernizing, but as modern (Yokomitsu 2001: 219). Modern Japan had acquired a worldliness that manifested itself not only through the co-existence of various ideologies, including socialism, Anglo-American liberalism, conservatism, pan-Asianism and outright nationalism, but also through a rich cultural life that drew on indigenous Japanese traditions as much as literary and artistic currents from Europe and America.

Yet not unlike in Europe at that time, a growing self-consciousness among certain intellectuals and artists led to a skepticism about Japan’s modernity, which seemed to consist of a very shaky hybrid of Western modernity and an artificially constructed Japanese nationalism. Witnessing rapid economic growth that was not spared the effects of the world depression, Western attitudes toward Japan that continued to be shaped by the West’s own Orientalist discourse, and a devastating earthquake that destroyed Tokyo and large parts of Yokohama in 1923, artists sought ways of giving voice to what they perceived of as Japan’s unique struggle with modernity (Harootunian 2000: 3-33). Yokomitsu Riichi found an aesthetic platform for these sentiments in a movement of which he is today remembered as the chief architect, namely the *Shin kankaku-ha* (新感覺派) or New Sensationism School. Defining his aesthetic vision as a broad marker intended to strip away ideology and modern historical consciousness from art and achieve immediate apprehension through the senses, Yokomitsu claimed that the initial motivation for embracing this new, highly expressionistic writing style grew out of the destruction wrought by the great Kantō earthquake. “My prior faith in beauty was completely shattered by this tragedy,” he later recalled, and “[f]aced with these manifestations of modern science in the midst of the burned-out fields, the sensibilities [kankaku] of a youth could not help but be transformed” (Lippit 2002: 80). Inspiration for his new artistic theory that was to achieve fusion of subjective experience and objective perception, however, Yokomitsu Riichi sought on an extended trip to Shanghai. Shanghai during the inter-war years had risen to become the most vibrant metropolis in East-Asia, a cultural matrix of Chinese modernity, as Leo Lee has called it, the fifth-largest city in the world and China’s largest harbor and treaty port (Lee 1999: xi).

Part of the attraction of Shanghai for visitors, including Yokomitsu Riichi and other Japanese who traveled there in the 1920s and 30s, was the cosmopolitan nature of this Chinese city. As a treaty port that had been opened to foreign trade following the first Opium War in 1842, the city continued to be shaped by the presence of foreign settlements: an Anglo-American enclave known as the International Settlement, a French Concession, and, since 1895, also a Japanese enclave. These enclaves within the larger Chinese city were home not only to Western capitalists and imperial administrators, but also to a number of Chinese

intellectuals who enjoyed the protection of the ex-territoriality that had been granted to foreign powers (including Japan) after China's numerous military defeats in the nineteenth century. While it was primarily business opportunities – ranging from financial services to manufacturing built on the availability of cheap Chinese labor – that made Shanghai interesting to foreign investors, it was the city's entertainment industry that was responsible for Shanghai's reputation of being the “Paris of the East.” In Japanese, as Doug Slaymaker points out, Shanghai also became known as “sin-city” (mato 魔都), alluding both to the rampant sex industry, but also the general sense of decadence and destituteness that could be found in Shanghai (Slaymaker 2013: 131). Finally, the city was also an ideological battleground where Chinese and foreign capitalists were increasingly faced with a workforce organized by a nascent Chinese communist movement.⁶

At the center of Yokomitsu Riichi's novel *Shanghai* are four Japanese protagonists whose relationships with each other and with the city of Shanghai provide the basic framework on which the novel is built. The novel lacks a clear plot and primarily consists of a vivid portrayal of the various aspects of life in Shanghai and the protagonists' dealings with a number of Chinese and Japanese politicians, businessmen, and prostitutes. Set in early 1925, the narrative ends with the eruption of the historic May 30 Incident, a violent clash between Chinese workers at a Japanese mill and Japanese security forces. Culminating in a series of strikes in Japanese textile mills, the incident turned into a large anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement in Shanghai. At first glance, Yokomitsu's novel thus seems to share similarities with André Malraux' famous *Man's Fate* (La Condition Humaine, 1933), Malraux' epic existentialist novel that describes Chiang Kai-shek's bloody betrayal of Communist allies during the Shanghai massacre of 12 April 1927. However, while Malraux was outspoken about his sympathy with the Chinese socialist movement, Yokomitsu claimed his New-Sensationist movement to be free from historical consciousness that sustained political ideology. Nevertheless, Yokomitsu's own fermenting political beliefs that can be described as an uneasy mix of pan-Asianism and anti-leftist nationalism are clearly discernible in *Shanghai*. And while the novel's reputation in Japan today rests primarily on its experimental use of modernist literary techniques that sought immediate apprehension of reality through the senses (hence the term New-Sensationism), its discursive power as an example of Japanese Orientalism is equally significant.

The fact that Yokomitsu's novel is inseparable from Japanese political discourse of the inter-war years despite its authors claim to the opposite is hardly surprising. In his work *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, which was published in 1983 but which contains essays that were mainly written before the appearance of *Orientalism* in 1978, Edward Said asserts that “texts have ways of existing that even in their most rarefied form are always enmeshed in circumstance, time, place, and society – in short they are in the world, and hence worldly” (Said 1983: 35). This belief in the “worldliness” of a text, then, is what led Said to his discursive analysis of the three interrelated activities that formed, according to Said, the basis of Western Orientalism. Said in *Orientalism* went on to further distinguish between what he called “manifest” and “latent” Orientalism (Said 1978: 206-224). By manifest Orientalism, Said means the distillation of essential ideas of the Orient into an unchallenged coherence, which was associated with the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history or sociology. Latent Orientalism, however, designates the presence of a set of unconscious and untouchable notions about the Orient that were born out of ideas about the biological bases of racial inequality and moral-political admonishment. In his sequel to *Orientalism* from 1993, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said applies his theory of Orientalism to examples of canonical English-language literature and introduced the concept of contrapuntal reading as a way of giving meaning to latent and manifest articulations of Orientalism. Said here argues that, precisely because we, as readers in a post-colonial age, have knowledge over the text in its larger ideological framework and because we are able to establish to whom the text speaks, we are obliged to “draw out, extend, give emphasis and voice to what is silent or marginally present or ideologically represented in such works” (Said 1993: 65-67).

⁶ The Chinese Communist Party had been founded in Shanghai's French concession in 1921.

And indeed does the larger ideological framework of the novel become apparent once we begin to trace our protagonists' restless journeys through Shanghai of 1925. Kōya, a Japanese businessman active in the lumber trade in Singapore, has come to Shanghai to resolve some business matters, but also to find himself a wife. Throughout the novel, Kōya displays acute awareness of international politics and economics and his main concern is Japan's economic competitiveness vis-à-vis the West, which he believes suffers from the West's unfair competition and monopolistic business practices. His brother Takeshige is a manager in one of the textile mills hit by the strikes that eventually leads to the May 30 incident and represents the faction of ultra-nationalists who eventually would come to dominate Japanese politics that led the country into full-fledged military conflict with China and the West. Their friend Yamaguchi, an architect, is a proponent of pan-Asianism. While this utopian movement that envisaged a free Asia unified by cultural heritage and opposition to the West enjoyed some popularity across Asia, ultra-conservative circles in Japan increasingly appropriated the concept to justify a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere" ruled from Tokyo. And finally, there is Sanki, an employee of a Japanese bank who loses his job and who subsequently drifts through the demimonde of the foreign concessions. While Sanki features most prominently in the novel, he – unlike his three friends – does not define himself via any one political ideology, but in the end comes to the realization that his fate is nevertheless closely tied to that of his Japanese homeland.

Conspicuously absent from the Japanese group of protagonists are representatives of Marxist ideology, which featured prominently in Taishō Japan, in particular among writers and intellectuals. Marxism is personified through the mysterious Chinese *femme-fatale* Fang Qiulan, who is one of the instigators of the labor unrest described in the novel. While Marxism is thus portrayed as harmful to Japan's national interests, capitalism, nationalism, and pan-Asianism are all part of Meiji- and Taishō Japan's new discourse regarding China. For Kōya, Takeshige, Yamaguchi, and even Sanki, China represents a territory that can be exploited economically, that can be colonized and brought under Japanese control, or that should be incorporated into a pan-Asian political order. An Englishman in India or Egypt in the later nineteenth century, Said reminds us in *Orientalism*, took an interest in those countries that was never far from their status in his mind as British colonies (Said 1978: 11). Although strictly speaking Shanghai was in 1925 not yet a colony of Japan, it was increasingly viewed as an extension of the growing Japanese spheres of influence in China and was of course of great importance to Japanese business interests. In 1932, Shanghai also became the test case for Japan's ultra-nationalists' aggressive expansionist stance toward China when the military used anti-Japanese activities as an excuse to bomb large parts of the Chinese parts of the city.

In *Orientalism*, the West's latent and manifest associations with the Orient frequently resulted in depictions of backwardness, chaos, dirt, or despotism. Similar descriptions of backwardness, chaos and decay feature prominently in Yokomitsu's *Shanghai*, especially when the Chinese parts of the city are described. Chapter two opens with a vivid description of a Chinese alley:

A district of crumbling brick buildings. Some Chinese, wearing long-sleeved black robes that were swollen and stagnant like kelp in the depth of the ocean, crowded together on a narrow street. A beggar groveled on the pebble-covered road. In a shop window above him hung fish bladders and bloody torsos of carp. In the fruit stand next door piles of bananas and mangoes spilled out onto the pavement. And next to that a pork butcher. (Yokomitsu 2001: 7)

Passages like this are scattered throughout the text. While the staccato-style is used by Yokomitsu to achieve a dynamic relationship between the observed and the observer, the scene itself conveys a picture of a dying nation. Waning or disintegration, stagnation and dirt, deceit and fraud prevail throughout the novel. The idea of a "dying nation" is pushed to a nearly grotesque extreme through revelation of Yamaguchi's lucrative side business in Shanghai: He buys Chinese corpses and sells the bones to doctors who "need them for teaching" (Ibid. 19). A little later, the reader sees "the pitch-black sails of a junk drifting along between the walls of the buildings like a sneaky thief prowling" (Ibid. 62), and on the next page, we encounter in rapid succession "a Chinese man sleeping with his mouth open amid sticky, wet entrails in a butcher shop", "a coolie, his hair in a queue, emerging from the piles of rotting tires," "a naked man and a woman with diseased eyes squatting around a single candle." Water is normally described as "cloudy"

(Ibid. 62) or outright dirty, as on page 29, where on a canal “garbage gradually drew together and formed an island. The yellow corpse of a chick and a swollen body of a dead cat, their heads touching.”

What is even more striking than these repeated descriptions of decay and dirt is the binary opposition Yokomitsu establishes in the second chapter. “[I]n between the fruit stand and the pork butcher a deep alleyway supported by crooked brick pillars led to the entrance of a building with a sign, ‘Turkish Bath’” (Ibid. 7). This Turkish Bath is run by Oryū, a Japanese woman who is the wife of a wealthy overseas Chinese. Many of the conversations in the novel take place within the steam rooms of this bathhouse, and the four protagonists frequently visit this establishment. All the girls who work here are Japanese, and apart from the four Japanese protagonists, no other (non-Japanese) customers are ever mentioned. This Japanese-style Turkish bath strikes the readers as the only place in the Shanghai portrayed by Yokomitsu that is not contaminated by dirt and filth, with the exception of the international business district inside the foreign concessions. It is in the Japanese-owned bathhouse, it seems, where the protagonists cleanse themselves from the filth they are exposed to when strolling through this Chinese city. Cleanliness and purity is thus something that can only be found in this Japanese bathhouse that exists like an enclave within a city of filth. Interestingly, despite the definitely erotic element of this bathhouse, it is not downrightly depicted as a brothel. Prostitutes in the novel are predominantly Chinese or Russian, but they do not hold any sexual attractiveness for the four protagonists, whose fantasies and desires circle around a number of Japanese women in the novel. Russian prostitutes are nearly always portrayed as sickly and tired, corresponding to the popular image of Russia in Japan after the defeat in 1905, while the Chinese ones only made “Sanki’s desire disappear” (Ibid. 48). The only exception to this is the character of Fang Qiulan, an exceptional Chinese beauty who is a Communist and who is actively involved in organizing the strike in Yamaguchi’s textile mill. Fang Qiulan is pursued by Westerners, Japanese, and Chinese alike, but cannot be possessed by anyone. She is portrayed as a fearless and dangerous woman, and Yamaguchi fantasizes that she might kill him one day in his factory. Sanki alone, after saving her life during the eruption of the protests around the May 30 incident, is rewarded by Fang Qiulan, who “took a violently deep breath and kissed him on the mouth” before disappearing (Ibid. 151). Fang Qiulan exemplifies a woman as a creature of a male power-fantasy that features so prominently in Orientalist discourses and that Said illustrates with the example of Flaubert’s almost uniform association between the Orient and sex. (Said 1978: 188).

However, Yokomitsu’s depiction of Fang Qiulan and other female characters onto which his protagonists’ erotic desires are projected also reveal certain limitations to the applicability of Said’s theory to Yokomitsu’s novel. While Fang Qiulan certainly carries some of the exotic allure of “Oriental” women characters found in Flaubert’s and other European texts, she also possesses an agency that far exceeds that of any man in the novel. It is implied that it was she who brought about the general strike that threatens Japanese business interests, and it was she whom Sanki most desires, even after her alleged death. The woman who Sanki eventually promises to marry, however, is the prostitute Osugi, a destitute young girl originally employed as a sex-worker in Oryū’s bathhouse where she is at one point raped by Kōya. Dismissed by Oryū because of a prank played by Sanki, Osugi subsequently drifts through Shanghai’s demimonde. That Shanghai was also known as sin-city in Japan had, in fact, much to do with the presence of Japanese sex laborers whose presence in Shanghai was mediated by Japanese middlemen. Mark Driscoll has illustrated how Japan’s formal imperial project was fuelled from the very beginning by the predatory profiteering of Japanese business in sync with militarists and colonial administrators that not only exploited destitute Chinese and Korean tenant farmers, but also Japanese rural poverty (Driscoll 2010: 57-80). What this kind of brutal and corrupt practices of empire imply for women like Osugi can also be inferred from Yokomitsu’s novel. If for Sanki, empire meant a career, regardless of how volatile, Osugi was left without agency or means in this foreign city: “Once the mother country was rejected, the only activities for a Japanese in Shanghai,” Sanki observes, “were begging and prostitution” (Yokomitsu 2001: 45), and Kōya, after being confronted by Sanki over his immoral conduct toward Osugi, retorts: “[H]asn’t she been sacrificed by everyone now?” (Yokomitsu 2001: 180). For women like Osugi, the consequences of Japanese imperialism, it seems, could lead to a much more complex view into the issue of national identity than for their male counterparts.

Another aspect of Japan's imperial project that complicates the applicability of Orientalism to the Japanese discourse is of course Japan's own position within Western imperialism. While Japanese expansion into the Asian mainland had from the beginning in large part been driven by the growing need for raw materials for industrial products produced in Japan and for markets for the final commodities, it had, from the very beginning, also been perceived of as a way of preempting Western subjugation of Japan and Asia. As a result, Japan soon became a competitor over raw materials and market shares with other imperial powers. Said vividly illustrated in his contrapuntal reading of Jane Austen's novel *Mansfield Park* that Austen's references to Antigua not only uncover the dependency of British wealth upon overseas holdings, but also lay bare the larger issues of fierce Anglo-French competition over economic and political domination in the Caribbean Sea (Said 1994: 58-60). A similarly fierce competition can be observed in *Shanghai*. Kōya will be called back to Singapore "once we've beaten the competition from Philippine lumber here" (Yokomitsu 2001: 8), and later he reports to Singapore in a telegram that he has "taken care of Philippine lumber" (Ibid. 69). After the Philippines had come under American influence, the Japanese were competing with American business interests in the region. The same is true for the Japanese textile industry that stood in fierce competition with that of Britain:

Sanki knew what this mercantile activity [of promoting British cotton] in England meant. Obviously it would put pressure on Japanese cotton mills. The British were deeply concerned that the development of Japanese capital in China would steadily assail the largest market for British goods [...] in India. And now a wave of Marxism had arisen in China among the workers in the Japanese mills. Japan's capital was under attack from both sides. Gloating American faces appeared in Sanki's mind. Then the faces of Russians rejoicing even more (Ibid. 93).

Several Japanese concerns, including access to overseas markets and threats from Chinese organized labor, are given expression in this passage. Most notable, however, is a deep-seated Japanese conviction that Western powers collectively would rejoice if Japan's economic development was halted. This conviction was the basis for many Japanese pan-Asianist discourses, examples of which can also be found in Yokomitsu's novel. Yamaguchi, who befriends Chinese and Indian pan-Asianists in the novel, frequently reflects on India's destiny under British colonial rule. "Seeing the slit necks of birds lying darkly in the stalls at his feet, he thought of the Indian people," we read, and, a few lines on, Yamaguchi ponders:

But isn't Japanese militarism a unique weapon for rescuing Asia from White Calamity? What else was there? Look at China. Look at India. Look at Siam. Look at Persia. To recognize Japanese militarism was to confront an axiomatic fact of the Orient (Ibid. 66).

The most important difference between Western Orientalism and Japan's own imperialist discourse, then, can be found in Japan's own paradoxical position vis-à-vis the West. While it emulated Western imperialism for its own economic and imperialist goals, it continued to use the potential Western imperialist threat to Japan and other Asian territories as an excuse for its continued expansionism. While early Meiji thinkers such as Hinohara Shōzō had warned that "Japan must not be an Oriental Country" precisely because he feared that Japan might suffer a similar fate than India or parts of China (Zachmann 2007: 347), sociologist Takada Yasuma (1883-1956) in the 1930s believed that Japan's world historical mission lay in the defense of Asia against Western imperialism, which in return necessitated colonial expansion in Manchuria (Harootunian 2002: 408-413).

Nevertheless, the existence of multiple – oftentimes mutually supportive – reasons for imperial expansion did significantly alter the way China was perceived of by the Japanese public. Yokomitsu's China no longer is the middle-kingdom, the center of an East-Asian civilization, but a country whose marginality is further emphasized by referring to it as "shina" throughout the novel.⁷ Shanghai, which

⁷ This point is obviously unperceivable in Dennis Washburn's otherwise excellent translation. In the original Japanese text from 1928, however, there is no occurrence of the term *chūgoku* and *shina* is used to refer to China (Yokomitsu 1981). Interestingly, in recent editions, *shina* has been replaced with the more politically correct *chūgoku* (Yokomitsu 1986).

Yokomitsu had originally intended to depict as an abstract marker of Asia as a whole, ended up being depicted – in Yokomitsu's own words – as the “rubbish heap of all Asia” (Lippit 2002: 86). The chaos that erupts at the end of the novel as a result of Chinese labor protests will not last, the reader is assured. “Tomorrow,” Sanki declares, “the Japanese army will arrive, so I suppose the uprising won't continue much longer” (Yokomitsu 2001: 212). Unable to establish stability and prosperity by itself, China, it seems, requires Japanese control, just like Egypt required, in Balfour's words, English occupation (Said 1978: 34).

While large parts of north-eastern China had already come under Japanese control in 1928, the year Yokomitsu's novel first appeared in serialized form, Shanghai itself was not yet a colony of Japan. Most of the city fell under Japanese control following the Battle of Shanghai in 1936, but only on December 8, 1941 in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor, did the Japanese army occupy all of Shanghai, including the international settlement. While most of the remaining British and American citizens were interned in POW camps, British citizens of Indian descent were left alone. Large propaganda posters were displayed along the Bund, the financial heart of semi-colonial Shanghai, declaring to the population that the Bund had finally returned to Asia (Huang 2005: 7-8). While the brutal war that was waged in large parts of China was a war over territory and resources driven by an ultra-nationalist clique that had usurped power, its course was undoubtedly facilitated by the existence of a complex discourse that – while naturally not unanimously supported – helped legitimize the subjugation of China by imperial Japan. The empire's ideologues continued to legitimize Japan's action with an anti-Western imperialist pan-Asianism and the promise of a “Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere” while Japanese businesses were eager to exploit new markets in China and formerly British or French Asia. While Japan's own position within the discourse of Orientalism is clearly complicated by its dual role as both an object of this very discourse as well as a discourse maker in its own right, China throughout the 1930s and 40s continued to be appropriated by Japan for ideological, cultural, economic, and literary agendas.

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日人眼中的東方主義： 談橫光利一筆下的上海

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【摘要】

本文是關於日本作家橫光利一(1898-1947)著名小說《上海》(1928、1932)的個案研究，研究的目的是分析小說如何反應日本帝國時代日本人對中國的看法的改變。根據愛德華·薩依德(Edward W. Said)的主要論述《東方主義》(1978)，本文提出的觀點是日本對二十世紀初中國的看法被一種新推論所影響，該推論把中國設想為日本的「他者」(the Other)。本文更進一步說明日本是如何利用對中國的此種新觀點做為推廣帝國主義的依據。此種做法可視為一種日本式的東方主義，部分跟薩依德所描寫西方的東方主義是類似的，部分是相異的。通過詳細閱讀橫光利一的小說《上海》，本文說明日本帝國如何實現控制亞洲的欲望。他們認為中國和亞洲其他國家無法於現代生存，需要由已經現代化的日本來領導。本文同時也將討論如何利用薩依德的論述來理解原來屬於西方的東方主義，套用在日本時所受的限制。

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關鍵詞: 東方主義；帝國主義；戰間期上海；日本現代主義；橫光利一

The Heart Sutra: Profound Words, Profound Wisdom An Analysis of Translations throughout Time and Place

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Abstract

As one of the most famous sutras of Buddhism, the Heart Sutra (Xin Jing, 心經) is considered to be the essence of ultimate wisdom, translated the world over into hundreds of languages. This paper will focus on four Chinese translations of the Heart Sutra spanning several hundred years: the Mahaprajnaparamita Great Enlightening Spell (摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經) by Kumarajiva (CE 401), the Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra (般若波羅蜜多心經) by Xuanzang (CE 649), the Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra (般若波羅蜜多心經) by Facheng (CE 856), and the Spoken By the Holy Mother of Buddhas Prajnaparamita Sutra (佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多經) by Danapala (CE 1005). The aim of this study is to investigate methods and tendencies of translation of religious texts, keeping in mind the socio-cultural factors that may be of impact. This paper attempts to ultimately demonstrate that the Heart Sutra is most likely Chinese in origin due to several existing geographical, historical, and cultural elements that surround it.

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Keywords: Buddhism; translation; Prajnaparamita; sutra; Mahayana

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1. Background

The religion of Buddhism is based on the teachings of the historical Buddha, a man who was born as Prince Siddhartha Gautama of the Shakya clan during the sixth century B.C. in modern day India. Despite all of the luxuries of his royal life, Siddhartha was still subjected to the realization of suffering as an inevitable aspect of sentient life and was so moved to find a way to transcend the endless cycle of samsara, or rebirth. At the age of thirty-five (Harvey 2013: 8), Siddhartha reached nirvana, or initial enlightenment, under a Bodhi tree where he thereafter became Shakyamuni², the historical Buddha. After this point, he went on to teach his wisdom known as the buddhadharma up until his ultimate parinirvana at age 80. These teachings can be separated into three distinct stages of texts: the Agamas, the Vaipulya Sutra, and the Prajnaparamita Sutras.

As soon as one hundred years after the Buddha's death, the collective monks and nuns known as the community, or *sangha* in Sanskrit (Chinese: seng jia, 僧伽) found differences within themselves and so split into distinct schools of thought that influenced the works being produced. Each of these branches of Buddhist philosophy offers a specific glimpse into different socio-cultural insights, as every school of Buddhism is inseparably entwined with the surrounding "folk narratives" (Mu 2010: 12) of its regional culture. Some of the languages used to represent Buddhist texts are the Pali Canon of India, the Sanskrit Canon (used in both Indian & Tibetan sects), the Tibetan Canon, and the Chinese Canon, yet it is important to note that there exist many others as well. Each of these groupings of texts, united in buddhadharma spirit and purpose, are different in ways that directly correspond to the accompanying so-called folk narrative of language. Interestingly enough, despite the common links shared across the various traditions of Buddhism and an abundance of holy texts (estimated at around 5000 scriptures (Korahais 2011), there is no one single absolute text or "gospel" (Conze 1985: 12) of Buddhism that is shared across the board as an absolute authority as in other religions (such as the Bible, the Torah, the Koran, the I-Ching, etc.). With this in mind, the concept of the folk narrative is essential to keep in mind when interpreting Buddhist literature.

The Mahayana

At the dawn of the Common Era, the school of the Mahayana or The Great Vehicle (dasheng, 大乘) emerged in Northeast Asia, primarily arising from modern day China. The teachings of the Mahayana are deemed as 'great' (maha) because they serve to tell a previously unknown truth about the nature of reality, making this knowledge available to all beings that are worthy enough to seek and comprehend it. Quite distinct from its predecessor Theravada in several ways, the main identifying characteristics of the Mahayana school could be boiled down to the emphasis on practice of compassion or *karuna* (ci, 慈), along with the wisdom of emptiness or *sunyata* (kong, 空).

A key concept in Mahayana thought is the cultivation of a compassionate Buddha nature: emerging comparatively late in the history of Buddhist ideology, the Mahayana distinguished itself from other schools with an emphasis not only on one's personal liberation through individual enlightenment, but more so towards the eventual enlightenment of all sentient beings throughout all realms over time. The concept of celestial Bodhisattvas emerged from this idea, enlightened beings (Bodhi meaning, 'awakened' in Sanskrit; sattva, 'being') that serve as watchful figures to those on Earth. They have made a commitment, taking what is called the Bodhisattva Vow to help save all sentient beings from the endless cycle of samsara. Nearly a fully realized Buddha themselves but not quite fully, Bodhisattvas promise to put off their final parinirvana until all beings reach that state. They do this because they are inherently compassionate, knowing that by helping one, all will eventually be helped to attain liberation. To make such a vow is a true act of selflessness, for it requires dedication until the end of all time and space. Bodhisattvas are sometimes

² Red Pine (2004:189): Shakyamuni (释迦牟尼), "The sage of the Shakyas"

referred to as “bestowals of fearlessness” (Yoo 2013: 28) because they help take away all fears and anxieties from those who call upon them.

The core concept of *sunyata*, or emptiness (kong, 空), is another aspect of the Mahayana that is distinguishes it from other schools; emptiness is presented as the common characteristic of all perceivable reality. Described as a law or principle (Yifa, Owens & Romaskiewics 2006: 13) as opposed to a state, this idea is the backbone of the Heart Sutra. The core teaching to which all others can be simplified down to, this state of emptiness is described as the ultimate reality of the universe. Simply put, every single imaginable thing in our universe, physical or mental, is essentially empty of any permanent or individual existence,

... Even prajna, the very wisdom that arises through penetratingly deep understanding of emptiness, is also empty, and that ultimately nothing is attained in the practice of paramita because there is nothing to attain and no one to attain it (Yifa, Owens & Romaskiewicz 2006: 14).

Yet the profound emptiness that is being described here is not to be confused with the absence of any thing at all. In fact, the term “empty” can be misleading when approached from a Western perspective – the idea of ‘emptiness’ actually refers to the lack of a permanent self or individual soul. The interrelatedness of all things means that nothing can exist separately on its own; everything exists in accordance with each other. Vietnamese Zen Monk Thich Nhat Hanh refers to this concept as a state of “inter-being”, making the claim that all things “inter-are”. By this, he means that all things inherently exist within each other at any given moment. For example, he explains that when one is looking at a piece of paper, one is also looking at the sunshine, air, and water that helped to nourish the tree, the tree itself from which the paper came, the logger who cut down the tree, on and on like so, up to the creation of the sheet of paper itself. All things are like this, existing in one form temporarily before being changed into another, endlessly. Hanh declares, “to be’ is to inter-be. You cannot just be by yourself alone. You have to inter-be with every other thing” (Hanh 1988: 4). Expanding further on this notion of interrelatedness, John M. Koller is quoted in Fox (1985: 161) saying: “All beings are empty of a self-nature because they are completely dependent on the multitude of interrelated processes.” In the Mahayana canon, all imaginable phenomena are part of one “infinite whole (*dharmakaya*)”.

Another way to conceptualize the transcendent wisdom of empty nature is to use the term “oneness” or “non-duality”. It is through the experience of the realization of the empty nature of all things, understanding that emptiness is not actually the presence of a lacking void, “But it is the absence of particularizing essences” (Fox 1985: 165). This concept is the backbone of the Mahayana, characterizing the sum of its teachings so much so that when Buddhism was initially introduced to China in the first century by way of the Silk Road, it was known as ‘the Religion of *Prajaparamita*’ (Mu 2010: 15) or ‘the Religion of Nothingness’ before it was known as Buddhism.

2. The Heart Sutra

2.1 Long and Short Styles

Existing versions of the Heart Sutra can be grouped into two styles, the short and the long versions. The shorter version, which is significantly more well-known globally, features only two actors throughout, namely: Avalokitesvara, the Bodhisattva of ultimate compassion, and Sariputra, a disciple of the historical Buddha known for his advanced study and understanding of prajna. The sutra is essentially a session of question and answer between the two; it is Sariputra who asks the overarching question, being, how does one practice the perfection of wisdom? Avalokitesvara responds twice: initially with a short answer (“Form is not other than emptiness, emptiness is not other than form; form is just emptiness, emptiness is just form”), then through a long answer, expanded to explain that all constituents through which Buddhists view reality are actually empty. This includes the six sense organs, the six sense objects, the six sense subjects, the 18 dhatus, the twelve nidanas, as well as the Four Noble Truths. Avalokitesvara next declares the perfection of wisdom to be the path to complete and full enlightenment, then introduces the mantra as incomparable to anything else in terms of effectiveness. The sutra closes with Avalokitesvara finally stating the magical Sanskrit phrase, “Gate, gate, gate, paragate, parasamgate Bodhi svaha!” This translates into English as “Gone, gone, way gone, all the way gone to awakening, Hallelujah!”

This shorter version stands out from other sutras straight away as it does not start with the common opening line, “Thus I have heard...” that is very commonly seen in Buddhist sutras. Instead, it opens on the scene of Avalokitesvara practicing prajnaparamita, the Perfection of Wisdom. Additionally, the short Heart Sutra is unusual because it features the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara as the star of the text instead of the Buddha himself - the reason for this is due to the nature of this wisdom. Despite the simple essence of this teaching, it is extremely difficult to fully comprehend as long as one's mind is clouded in illusion. The limitations and inaccuracies that language presents makes comprehending this truth even more of a sizeable feat. With this in mind, the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is merely a vessel for this profound wisdom to be shared. Going on the assumption that the reader of the text is unenlightened and that they therefore would not be able to comprehend these ideas if they came straight from the source (Buddha himself), the reader is expected to not be advanced enough to receive it. Therefore, the Buddha can only share with a being that is truly prepared and worthy to hear this gem of knowledge. As the bodhisattva of unlimited compassion, Avalokitesvara is the most suitable entity through which to explain the prajnaparamita to those underdeveloped beings, including Sariputra. Sariputra, a widely respected disciple of the Buddha, is an appropriate actor for this representative role due to the scope of his foundational understanding of prajna. However, his role in this sutra is more than that of an attentive, inquisitive student - the presence of Sariputra serves as a metaphor for the earlier Hinayana tradition to which Sariputra belongs; he therefore represents the entire abhidharma³ of the Theravada tradition.

In later years starting around the eighth century, the longer version of the Heart Sutra arises appearing in both Chinese and Sanskrit languages. These translations are greater in length because they were expanded to more closely match the structure of earlier existing sutras, including an additional prologue (describing the place, the audience, and the time) and epilogue, featuring two new characters within the sutra in addition to Avalokitesvara and Sariputra. These actors are Shakyamuni Buddha himself, who is in a state of deep concentration (or *samadhi* in Sanskrit) until the closing epilogue of the text in order to enable Avalokitesvara & Sariputra's discussion, as well as the Mother of all Buddhas, Prajnaparamita. This final actor (or actress) is not deliberately pointed out or interactive with the sutra at all, but is quietly present in the background. This is a subtle metaphor to the constant status of sunyata, the ultimate wisdom in question.

³Mu (2010: 11): the Abhidharma as “a compendium of lists and categories for various functions and operations of the human mind that were taught by the Buddha”.

2.2 History & Evolution of Chinese Translations

While the bulk of Prajnaparamita literature is fundamentally Indian in origin existing first as a Pali or Sanskrit text, the earliest known ancestor of the Heart Sutra is in fact a Chinese text that was titled Prajnaparamita Dharani. The author, a central Asian monk named Chih-ch'ien, a second-century monk who was disciple of the Yueh-chih monk Chih-lou-chia-ch'an (Red Pine 2004: 21), composed this translation sometime around 250 A.D. in Luoyang. A functional chant or mantra (zhou, 咒) as opposed to a sutra (as is implied by the Sanskrit term *dharani*, a kind of sacred incantation that has magical or protective abilities (Yifa, Owens & Romaskiewicz 1996: 20). This version became lost as of 519 A.D.

The next known version of the Heart Sutra appears around 400 A.D. by Kuramajiva (鳩摩羅什 344-413 CE), titled Mahaprajnaparamita Great Enlightening Spell (摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經) has survived to the present day. Like Chih-chi'ens' Prajnaparamita Dharani, this text is to be considered as a purposeful mantra to be chanted in a ritual fashion, as implied by the character zhou (咒), and is not to be studied in the same way that a sutra is.

The monk Xuanzang (玄奘) produced a translation of the sutra from Sanskrit into Chinese in 649 A.D. Titling his The Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra (Bore Boluomiduo Xin jing, 般若波羅蜜多心經), he was the first translate this text specifically as a sutra (evident by use of the character jing, 經) as opposed to a mantra, thereby changing the function of the text. Xuanzang is highly esteemed for his concise language - utilizing a total of a mere 260 Chinese characters, he manages to summarize the entirety of the buddhadharma. The brevity of the style used to write the text is even more impressive when one considers the enormity of the topic at hand: the true nature of all things that ever have and ever will come into so-called existence.

Preceding Xuanzang by about two hundred years, it is assumed that he utilized Kuramajiva's Mahaprajnaparamita Great Enlightening Spell (摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經) as a blueprint because it retains most of Kuramajiva's original text: "...except for making a few character changes peculiar to him and deleting a few phrases negating the Sarvastivadin⁴ conception of time, he followed Kumarajiva's translation word for word." (Red Pine 2004: 22) It has also been said that Xuanzang's text "...appears to be a more refined version of his rather than a new translation" (Yifa, Owens & Romaskiewicz 2006: 19).

Surprisingly, it is not until the eighth century that Sanskrit editions and Indian commentaries appear. Generally much longer than the previous Chinese translations of Kumarajiva and Xuanzang, the longer Sanskrit versions added explanatory elements and add extra actors so as to more closely match the format of earlier existing sutras. During the Pala Dynasty (750-1150 CE) the study of the Perfection of Wisdom Sutras became especially popular (Lopez Jr 1988: 4), however by the end of this dynasty Buddhism gradually died out in India to be replaced by Hinduism. Undoubtedly influenced by the emergence of these Sanskrit versions is the Tibetan monk Facheng (法成, ?-865) who lived during the 8th century. A prominent translator of Sanskrit and Tibetan texts into Chinese commonly known as "the Most Virtuous Tripitaka Master of Great Tibet" (Rong 2013: 354), his Chinese translation titled Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra (bore boluomiduo xin jing, 般若波羅蜜多心經) came about in 856 CE (Yifa, Owens & Romaskiewicz, 2006: 23). Considerably longer than its precedents, it includes the traditional epilogue and prologue, and additionally features a segment in which Shariputra himself postulates the main question to Avalokitesvara, something not seen in the earlier Chinese translations of Kumarajiva and Xuanzang.

Similarly influenced by the more traditional Sanskrit style, the final Chinese translation to be analyzed in this study was written by Danapala (施護 fl. 985) (Red Pine 2004: 190). Composed in CE 1005, The Sutra Spoken by the Holy Mother of Buddhas (Fo shuo sheng fo mu bore boluomiduo jing, 佛說聖佛母般若波

⁴Mu (2010:17): Sarvastivadin Abhidharma: the idea of pluralism; the existence of momentary entities (dharma) simultaneously in the past, present and future.

羅蜜多經) also contains the two extra agents seen in Indian texts. Danapala's translation stands out with its title, explicitly referencing prajnaparamita as the holy mother of all Buddhas, as in sheng fo mu (聖佛母), and emphasizes the fact that this sutra is the spoken word of the Buddha himself, as indicated by the use of fo shuo (佛說).

3. Translations of the Heart Sutra

I have chosen to split up my analysis of the total four Chinese translations of the Heart Sutra based on their formatting as either a 'short' or 'long' version: the short, earlier style is demonstrated by Xuanzang (CE 649) and Kuramajiva (CE 401), while the longer style is represented through by Facheng (CE 856) and Danapala (CE 1005).

For the sake of clarity and conciseness, I have split up my analysis of the Sutra into orderly sections, namely: The Title, The Introduction, The Short Answer, the Long Answer, The Confirmation, and finally the Mantra. In the case of analyzing longer versions that have roots to the Sanskrit, I've added three extra sections of study: The Questioning, the Prologue and Epilogue.

3.1 Short Translations: Kumarajiva & Xuanzang

3.1.1 The Title

The difference in interpretation between Kumarajiva & Xuanzang of this legendary wisdom is immediately apparent just by comparing their respective titles: the Maha Prajanparamita Great Enlightening Spell (mahe panruo boluomi daming zhoujing, 摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經), and the Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra (panruo boluomiduo xin jing, 般若波羅蜜多心經). The use of the term zhou jing (咒經) by Kumarajiva implies that this is a mystical incantation or mantra, something that should be said aloud in order to fully activate its powerful qualities. Xuanzang's Heart Sutra (xin jing, 心經), by comparison, designates this incantation as an actual sutra, or scripture, of Buddhist doctrine. It implies that this text ought to be studied and read carefully in addition to being chanted aloud. Xuanzang is the first translator to treat the title in this way, which is why his edition is so groundbreaking.

Additionally, one can observe Kumarajiva's preference for retaining the Sanskrit terminology into transliterations in contrast to Xuanzang's preference of retaining some Sanskrit but moreso translating the base concepts to fit a Chinese frame. Looking first at Kumarajiva's Mahe Panruo Boluomi Daming Zhoujing (摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經), he has preserved the Sanskrit Maha, meaning 'great', in the form of mohe (摩訶), prajna (wisdom) as panruo (般若), and paramita as boluomi (波羅蜜). The final four characters of the title are the Chinese words, being daming (大明), meaning 'great enlightening', and zhoujing (咒經), literally 'incantation sutra'. Xuanzang retains the Sanskrit to a certain degree, but he does so more sparingly. In his updated title, Panruo Boluomiduo Xin Jing (般若波羅蜜多心經), the same term for prajna as in Kumarajiva's appears, but the loanword for paramita, boluomiduo (波羅蜜多) is a slightly different version of the previously used boluomi (波羅蜜), featuring the ending duo (多) to imitate the '-ta' sound of the Sanskrit. Additionally, Xuanzang's title of Xin Jing (心經) is a rendering of the Sanskrit *hridaya*, or heart. Not as much a reference not to the blood-pumping organ, this word signifies the so-called heart or center of all wisdom, of all things. This sutra gets down to the very bottom of existence itself, and therefore is considered to be the foundational 'heart' of all other knowledge, as is demonstrated by Xuanzang's title.

3.1.2 The Introduction

Right away in both texts, we are introduced to the main actor of the sutra: Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, known as Guanyin Pusa (觀音菩薩) in Chinese. Comparing Kumarajiva & Xuanzang’s translations will show that the two chose to highlight different aspects of this celestial Bodhisattva: Kumarajiva refers to her as Guanshiyin Pusa (觀世音菩薩) while Xuanzang calls her Guanzizai Pusa (觀自在菩薩). Kumarajiva’s preference, which includes the word shi (世) or ‘world’ emphasizes Guanyin’s role as the Bodhisattva ‘(she) who hears and sees the cries of the world’ and is a saving grace to all who call upon her. Xuanzang’s description of the Bodhisattva as zizai (自在), meaning ‘free’ or ‘unrestrained’, emphasizes the nature of her wisdom; it has the potential to ‘free’ a person from their suffering in reality. Although both translators are referring to the same entity, the way in which each has presented the Bodhisattva has slightly different contexts.

Also worthy of mention within the introduction is the loanword for the five *skandhas*, or aggregates, rendered as wu yin (五陰) by Kumarajiva and wu yun (五蘊) by Xuanzang. Kumarajiva’s yin (陰) by itself refers to the quality of darkness or that of a shadow (riying, 日影) that serves to describe the nature of the skandhas themselves; just as a shadow cannot exist by itself, appearing only around something that is receiving a source of light, the skandhas are also conditional in this way. However, instead of requiring a certain level of sunlight the existence of the five skandhas requires a certain level of awareness or consciousness within a being in order to manifest. Although Guanyin will elaborate further on these skandhas in what is to come, Kumarajiva’s term of choice to render the term as “yin” already gives the Chinese reader an idea of the meaning through visual clues within the character. Xuanzang’s later developed term, using the character yun (蘊) conveys more a direct sense of the meaning of a skandha – ‘yun’, meaning a collection or store of something, more closely matches the semantic value of the Sanskrit term skandha, most commonly translated into English as a ‘heap’ or ‘culmination’. This communicates to the reader more clearly the purpose of the skandhas, giving the sense that they are storehouses of sensation and perception. Therefore, the description is elevated beyond their inherent nature, as Kumarajiva does, and moves instead toward describing their active function.

3.1.3 The Short Answer

Avalokitesvara’s initial explanation on the practice of the Perfection of Wisdom differs slightly from Kumarajiva to Xuanzang; this section is perhaps the landmark of the entire text, featuring the famous line (se bu yi kong, kong bu yi se, se jishi kong, kong jishi se, 色不異空空不異色 色即是空空即是色) in English as “form (se, 色) is no different (bu yi, 不異) from empty (kong, 空), empty no different from form; form is (jishi, 即是) empty, empty is form”. In this one line, the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara simplifies the entire essence of reality as one in using this one example, the first skandha: in emptiness there is form, and in form, there is emptiness. Going further into the second part of this short answer, this statement is continued on by reinforcing this truth against the other four skandhas, saying, shou xiang xing shi yi fu rushi (受想行識 亦復如是), meaning “sensations, conceptualizations, impulses, and consciousness are also thus”. By listing out the other four elements of a sentient being in addition to form, the bodhisattva has covered all the bases of explanation.

Looking now to Kumarajiva, his style is comparatively more wordy delivering this short answer in 57 characters as opposed to Xuanzang’s 24. He explains the empty nature of the skandhas in significantly more detail, spending time to explain the lacking of each: starting with form, he writes, se kong gu wu nao huai xiang (色空故無惱壞相), meaning due to the emptiness of form, therefore (gu, 故) there is no (wu, 無) degenerative (naohuai, 惱壞) aspect of it, since it is not actually there in the first place. He goes on to do this with each of the skandhas: for sensations (shou, 受) there is nothing to be received (wu shouxian, 無

受相), in conceptualizations (xiang, 想) there is nothing to be perceived (wu zhixiang, 無知相), in impulse (xing, 行) there is nothing to be done (wu zuoxiang, 無作相), and finally in consciousness (zhi, 識) there is nothing to feel or be aware of (wu juexiang, 無覺相). Each of these statements serves to fully explain the true depths to which this emptiness permeates all things conceivable. Before continuing on with this initial answering of Sariputra's question, he poses a rhetorical question, saying, heyi gu (何以故?), meaning "why is this so?" It is only after this point that we see the infamous negation of reality in four lines (form is emptiness, emptiness is form...), familiar to us from Xuanzang's translation. However, Kumarajiva's rendering differs slightly, using the character fei (非): fei se yi kong (非色異空). A character more commonly seen in classical texts, Xuanzang's use of the term bu (不) is significantly more colloquial and is representative of modern Chinese. As Kumarajiva wrote his translation about 200 years prior to Xuanzang, this difference in terminology signals an attempt by Xuanzang to utilize baihua (白話), the vernacular, as opposed to a more formal literary style like that of Kumarajiva.

3.1.4 The Long Answer

Starting the long answer is the qualifying states of all dharmas, which both examples retain until the final wu zeng wu jian (不增不減), "not increasing or decreasing". To follow, Kumarajiva has an extra set of four additional characteristics: it is empty teaching, not past, not future, not present (shi kong fa, fei guoqu, fei weilai, fei xianzai, 是空法、非過去、非未來、非現在). This further emphasizes the timelessness or non-temporality of this perfect wisdom, a very important concept in the Mahayana vehicle.

Next, the five skandhas are once more reduced to emptiness, followed by the Eighteen Dhatus. The negation of the Twelve Nidanas, starting with no ignorance (wu wuming, 無無明) and ending with with no extinction of aging and death (wu lao si jin, 無老死盡), are almost entirely the same in each version, aside from the fact that Xuanzang utilizes an extra word, yi (亦), meaning also or likewise. Finally, the Four Noble truths are also called out as inherently empty, with both translators listing suffering (ku, 苦), cause (ji, 集), ceasing (mie, 滅), or path (dao, 道). They also share the passage "no knowledge..." (wuzhi, 無智) "...and nothing to attain" (yi wude, 亦無得), moving into "therefore" (以) "because there nothing to attain..." (wu suo de gu, 無所得故).

Now into the conclusion of Avalokitesvara's extended response, Xuanzang specifically mentions the bodhisattvas, using the term putisaduo (菩提薩埵) to identify them. Kumarajiva on the other hand simply uses puti (菩提), which is from the Sanskrit *bodhi*, normally used to reference enlightenment or awakening, but here alludes to the bodhisattva - the 'enlightened' one(s). This goes on further to explain precisely how one may rely upon it: the heart (xin, 心) is without any obstruction (wu gua'ai, 無罣礙), and then because there is nothing to obstruct (wu gua'ai gu, 無罣礙故), they are without fear (wuyou kongbu, 無有恐怖). It is within the phrasing of this next passage, "they see through delusion..." that differs between the two: Kumarajiva has written "離一切顛倒夢想苦惱", which can be broken down as leaving (li, 離) all (yiqie, 一切) upside-down dream-like thinking (diandao meng, 顛倒夢) and worry (kunao, 苦惱). Xuanzang, in contrast, seems to have simplified his phrasing by removing yiqie and kunao, but added yuanli (遠離), meaning far away. Finally, both translators retain the conclusion of the long answer: the realization of nirvana (niepan, 涅槃), the dependence (yi, 依) of all three Buddhas of the past, present and future (三世諸佛) on prajnaparamita, and their attainment (de, 得) of *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi* (A nuo duo luo san miao san puti, 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提), meaning supreme, full enlightenment.

3.1.5 The Confirmation

Building up to the all-important mantra comes the declaration of its supreme power. Kumarajiva describes this in three layers: stating that it is first the great enlightening mantra (daming zhou, 大明咒), then the utmost mantra (wushang ming zhou, 無上明咒), and last, the mantra without comparison (wu dengdeng ming zhou, 無等等明咒). Xuanzang retains each of these three qualities, but adds in a fourth at the beginning as the great divine mantra (da shen zhou, 大神咒) further suggesting that this is something beyond what humans are capable of producing – the mantra itself is a link, channeling the bliss of complete understanding found within that wondrous celestial realm. The closing of this portion of the text is identical to both translations, asserting that this mantra has the capability to relieve (neng chu, 能除) all kinds of suffering, being absolutely genuine (zhenshi, 真實), not at all false (xu, 虛).

3.1.6 The Mantra

Having finally reached the concluding mantra, both translators retain the original sounds of the incantation. However, the ways in which they render the Sanskrit words into Chinese differs slightly. For instance, *gate* is *jiedi* (竭帝) for Kumarajiva and *jiedi* (揭諦) for Xuanzang. Despite being similar, the characters and pronunciation differ slightly: the first ‘jie’ is pronounced using the first tone, the latter is second tone. Kumarajiva’s ‘jie’ can be broken down literally as to exhaust and empower, but these terms together have no meaning. Xuanzang’s term, on the other hand, translates into ‘revealer’, and has the connotation of calling onto a supreme force or being. Additionally, a distinction is made at the final word of the mantra, namely the *svaha!* in *bodhi svaha!* Kumarajiva renders the Sanskrit word as *seng sha’ah!* (僧莎呵). Broken down, the character *seng* (僧) means monk, while both ‘sha’ and ‘ah’ don’t have any particular meanings in this context of the word; ‘sha’ is a phonetic term commonly used in transliterations, while ‘ah’ is an onomatopoeic word imitating an exhaled breath. Xuanzang, in comparison, translates *svaha* as *suo po he* (娑婆訶) which does not have any specific meaning independently. A transliteration over a rendering, Xuanzang places a preference over retaining the chant as true to its Sanskrit sounds over capturing the literal meaning.

3.2 Long Translations: Facheng & Danapala

3.2.1 The Title

Facheng retains the title utilized by Xuanzang, calling his translation the Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra (般若波羅蜜多心經), while it is Danapala who stands out with, *Fo shou sheng fomu panruo boluomiduo jing* (佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多經). In English, this translates into something like, Spoken By the Holy Mother of Buddhas Prajnaparamita Sutra. Danapala preserves the same Sanskrit term for *prajnaparamita* as the other translations, he nonetheless expands his title to include the holy mother of Buddhas, further emphasizing that this wisdom is indeed the most ultimate that there is. Additionally, the beginning two characters *fo shuo* (佛說) indicates that this sacred knowledge comes directly from the Buddha himself.

3.2.2 The Prologue

Both of these translations of the Heart Sutra imitate the traditional Sanskrit layout of a sutra, so therefore we begin with a description of the setting: the time, the place and the assembly present. But before any of those things, there is first and foremost the Buddha himself, described with as a different name in each example. Facheng refers to him as *bojiafan* (薄伽梵), the Sanskrit term *bhagavan*, a term commonly used

in Indian religious texts. Usually, the word is translated into English as Lord. Alternatively, Danapala calls the Buddha by *shizun* (世尊); literally world/era and respect/veneration, this refers to the earthly Buddha and is more commonly known as The World Honored One or The Revered One of the World. Both translators place the Buddha into the context of “at one time...” (*yishi*, 一时), not necessarily referring to a specific time in the past. The idea here is that the subject matter of this text, namely the practice of *prajnaparamita*, is a timeless practice that is truly endless; “one time...” does not refer to just this *one* time, but *every* and *each* time throughout eternity. Regarding this aspect of the text, it is critical to note that only Danapala begins his version with the classic Sanskrit opening line, “Thus I did hear...” (*Rushi wo ting*, 如是 我闻) as a preamble to the sutra. This demonstrates Danapala’s context behind the sutra as comparatively more Sanskrit than Facheng who retains a more Chinese essence.

Next is the description of the place, set in the ancient city of Rajgir (Wangshecheng, 王舍城) on Vulture Peak (Jiufeng, 鷲峰) in ancient India. Both of these locations are actual places, significant in Buddhism due to their being frequented by the Buddha during the many travels of his lifetime around the Indian Subcontinent. Aside from the place, the audience is also vividly described. Facheng limits this description to the presence of *bhikhus* (*bichu*, 苾刍), the Sanskrit term for monks & nuns, and Bodhisattva Mahasattva (*pusa mohe sa*, 菩薩摩訶薩), the great Bodhisattvas, all assembled together in a large group. Danapala takes this roll call of sorts a little more in-depth, providing in his a specific number of those present: One thousand, two hundred and fifty people total (*qianerbaiwushi ren ju*, 千二百五十人俱).

In the final portion of the prologue, our attention is once-again called to the Buddha himself, present at this gathering as an overseer of sorts. Before Avalokitesvara and Sariputra begin their question & answering, the Buddha is at this point referred to in both translations as The World Honored One (*shizun*, 世尊), who is then described as entering the deep state of meditation known as *samadhi*, enabling the entire discussion to take place.

3.2.3 The Introduction

It is in the introduction that we are first introduced to Avalokitesvara, seen practicing the perfection of wisdom and realizing that the five skandhas are inherently empty. To describe the quality of this emptiness, Facheng refers to the *tixing* (體性) or disposition or the skandhas, while Danapala regards them as *zixing* (自性) or self-nature.

3.2.4 The Questioning

Now in the second of the total three unique Sanskrit portions of the sutra, Sariputra directly asks Avalokitesvara how to practice *prajnaparamita*. Empowered by the Buddhas previously described state of *Samadhi*, this is described by Facheng as the might (*weili*, 威力) of the Buddha, and by Danapala as his spirit (*weishen*, 威神). Sariputra asks: “How should a child of good lineage practice the perfection of wisdom?” When he asks of this ‘lineage’, he is not referring to an actual bloodline of kin, but rather a spiritual family. Facheng limits this to a male practitioner (*ruoshan nanzi*, 若善男子) while Danapala expands this to include women as well, writing, “*ruoshan nanzi shan nvzi* (若善男子善女人)”.

3.2.5 The Short Answer

As Avalokitesvara responds to Shariputra’s question, Facheng and Danapala both render the response a little differently. Starting with Facheng first, Avalokitesvara responds to this question saying that a son or daughter of good lineage who wishes to practice profound wisdom must look upon the five skandhas and see that each one’s disposition (*tixing*, 體性) is empty of a separate essence. After this declarative

statement, Facheng then begins into the fourfold profundity (Lopez 1957, 58), but does so differently than Xuanzang did before him; Facheng in fact switches the order, starting instead with “se jishi kong. Kong jishi se (色即是空空即是色)”, in English as form is emptiness, emptiness is form. He closes this statement with “se buyi kong, kong buyi se (色不異空空不異色)” meaning, form is no different than emptiness, emptiness is no different from form. Facheng’s short answer ends with Avalokitesvara continuing on to say that each of the other skandas are also empty, saying, “Like so, (rushì, 如是)[they] are each empty (yì fù jiē kong, 亦復皆空)”.

Danapala handles this short answer with a bit more elaboration than Facheng, evident even in the first line of Avalokitesvara’s response. Unique to Danapala’s Chinese translation, Avalokitesvara first and foremost says, as you have just asked, I shall tell you, writing “ru jin diting, wei ru xuan shuo (汝今諦聽，為汝宣說)”, before then going into the actual response. The way in which Danapala refers to a person who wants to practice the perfection of wisdom is distinct from Facheng, describing the individual as “shen panruo boluomiduo famenzhe (深般若波羅密多法門者)”, or One of the Door of Perfect Wisdom. At this point, we know that panruo boluomiduo (深般若波羅密多) is representative of the Sanskrit prajnaparamita, but famenzhe (法門者) is a term not yet encountered in this study: ‘famen’, literally the door of the law refers to a Buddhist practitioner. This term, as opposed to boluomiduozhe (深般若波羅密多者) in Facheng’s translation, is considerably more deliberate in Buddhist-specific imagery, as it implies that those who seek the perfection of wisdom are not simply devoted to this only this wisdom, but more completely to Buddhism as a whole.

As in the other translations we’ve seen, Avalokitesvara first proclaims that one needs to look at the five skandhas and see that they are empty; Danapala prefers the term zixing (自性) in his explanation, meaning self or self nature. But before moving into the fourfold statement, he first prefaces with a clarifying question: Avalokitesvara poses a rhetorical question, asking, how are these named five aggregates empty of self (He ming wuyun zixing kong ye, 何名五蘊自性空耶)? It is after this question that he moves onto the core of the text, saying in the first two lines, “suowei ji se shi kong, ji kong shi se (所謂即色是空，即空是色)”, or, that which is so-called (suowei ji, 所謂即) form is emptiness, that which is emptiness is form. Then onto the second set, saying, “se wuyi yu kong, kong wuyi yu se (色無異於空，空無異於色)”; in English as, form is no different than (wu yi, 無異) empty, empty is no other than form. Like Facheng before him, Danapala also concludes this section by declaring the other four skandhas to also be of empty nature, yet the phrasing is the opposite. As Facheng opens his concluding statement with ‘Like so...(rushì, 如是)’, Danapala closes his with said phrase, first listing out the other four aggregates beforehand.

3.2.6 The Long Answer

The first part of Avalokitesvara’s extended answer is regarding all dharmas. To summarize this grand idea, Facheng writes, “yiqie fa kongxing (一切法空性)”, meaning all dharmas have an empty nature, while Danapala describes this same idea as “ci yiqie fa rushi kongxiang (此一切法如是空相)”, or, in this way all of these dharmas are of an empty nature.

As the bodhisattva continues on to elaborate on this inherent, we arrive at the first degree of existence: illustrated with the verbs sheng (生) and mie (滅), Facheng describes the dharmas as not produced and not destroyed (wusheng wumie, 無生無滅); Danapala phrases this same instance with one additional character, suo (所), translating as “wusuosheng, wusuomie”. The difference here is grammatical: while Facheng’s selection translates simply as not produced, not destroyed, Danapala reads as nothing born of, nothing eliminated by. Moving onto the additional two degrees, quality and quantity, both translators handle these sections about the same, utilizing the character wu (無) to indicate that dharmas are not the described states.

The next portion of Avalokitesvara’s explanation is the listing of all discernable phenomena and its

subsequent negation. Starting with a repeat of the emptiness of the five skandhas, the Eighteen Dhatus are then recalled. Facheng does this by listing out each element separately, specifically deeming each as empty by pairing it together with wu (無). In doing so, the reader can explicitly see that each individual pieces that create consciousness, including any of the five skandhas, the six sense organs, sense objects or realms of consciousness are each without their own individual substance; they are one and all empty in nature. Danapala, in this section, imitates Xuanzang’s original in his choice to list each grouping of skandhas, sense organs, and so on together, negating each aspect of the category by heading the section with wu (無). Danapala clusters each grouping together, writing “wu yan er bi she shen yi (無眼耳鼻舌身意)” instead of “wu yan, wu er...” as Facheng.

Regarding the Twelve Nidanas, both translators preserve the four basic links of ignorance (wu ming, 無明), enlightenment (wu ming jin, 無明盡), aging & death (silao, 老死) and the elimination of aging and death (老死盡) in the same order, utilizing the same Chinese characters. Next, the Four Noble Truths are laid out to be included in this profound emptiness, again with both translators rendering similarly as “wu ku ji mie dao”(無苦集滅道) meaning no suffering, no cause, no cessation, no path. From these we go further into the negation of the Eightfold Noble Path, represented as “wu zhi wu suode yi wu wude (無智無所得亦無無得)”, meaning, no knowledge, nothing to be attained, and nothing to be unattained. In this instance as well as the other two previously discussed, both Facheng and Danapala reproduce this part of the text in the same fashion.

3.2.7 The Confirmation

It is now time to turn attention away from the nature of phenomena and towards the ultimate power of the mantra at the end. This mantra is so powerful that even the bodhisattvas utilize it, or rather, *rely* on it; Facheng writes that all bodhisattvas, (zhu pusa zhong, 諸菩薩眾), depend on (yizhi, 依止), prajnaparamita. Danapala expresses this by identifying the bodhisattvas using the complete Sanskrit term of “pusa mohesa (菩薩摩訶薩)”, i.e. Mahasattva Bodhisattvas.

Next comes the description of the powerful effect this mantra has on a bodhisattva, with the power to calm ones heart, remove all obstructions and fear. Facheng translates this section as simply, “xin wu zhan’ai (心無障礙)”, or, the heart/mind is unobstructed, followed by, “wu you kongbu (無有恐怖)”, [and is] without fear. Danapala’s section is comparatively wordier, writing each of the phrases into two verses: the first as “xin wu suozhe, yi wu gua’ai (心無所著，亦無罣礙)”, in English as, the heart is without these and is without hindrance; the second phrase as “yi wuzhe wu degu, wuyou kongbu (以無著無礙故，無有恐怖)”, or with nothing to impede [the mind], there is no fear.

After this loss of fear the mind can then reach enlightenment, described in the sutra as the ability to finally surpass so-called ‘upside-down thinking’, translated by Facheng as “chaoguo diandao (超過顛倒)” and Danapala as “yuanli yiqie diandao wangxiang (遠離一切顛倒妄想)”. Facheng’s terminology implies exceeding or overpowering delusional thinking, as implied by the term chaoguo (超過). Danapala, on the other hand, gives a sense of traveling far from or removing oneself from this kind of dream-like world. After one manages to get beyond this described delusion, one reaches enlightenment, rendered by Facheng as niepan (涅槃), the Sanskrit transliteration, and by Danapala as yuanji (圓寂), a Buddhist term shrouded in description: the characters apart mean circle (yuan, 圓) and alone (ji, 寂), alluding to the completion of a circle, namely, the wheel of dharma. When an enlightened person reaches nirvana, it is said that they escape the wheel into the formless realm. Therefore, the meaning of ‘yuanji’ is to reach this place of final enlightenment.

As previously stated, Avalokitesvara explains that Bodhisattvas rely on the practice of the Perfection of Wisdom to help them reach enlightenment. However, it is not just the Bodhisattvas that benefit from this

wisdom: the three Buddhas of the past, present and future all utilize it as well. Facheng references these three Buddhas across time as “san shi yiqie zhu fo (三世一切諸佛)”, or, the three world Buddhas together, while Danapala calls them “san shi zhu fu”(三世諸佛)”, or the Buddhas of the Three Eras, utilizing the more formal style of the numeral three. But Avalokitesvara is not merely saying that all Buddhas call upon the same wisdom, more that they use it as a means to become supremely enlightened. Facheng translates this uniquely, writing, “zhengde wushang zhengdeng puti (證得無上正等菩提)”, which reads in English as attaining supreme enlightenment. Danapala does differently, using instead the Sanskrit term of “de a nuo duo luo san miao san puti (得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提)”, in Sanskrit as *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*.

Lastly, before we actually learn of the sacred incantation itself Avalokitesvara summarizes by saying that it takes away all suffering, going on to say that it is an absolute, universal truth. Facheng describes this as that mantra that is able to avoid all bitterness and pain (neng chu yiqie zhu ku” 能除一切諸苦), and that it is not illusionary (wudao, 無倒). Danapala’s treatment of this statement, on the other hand, is to expand it slightly, writing that it is able to cease all suffering and worry (erneng xichu yiqie kunao, 而能息除一切苦惱), and that is true (shiji zhenshi, 是即真實), not a false teaching (wu xuwang fa, 無虛妄法).

3.2.8 The Mantra

As we have now arrived at the ending mystical incantation, both translators have chosen to retain the sounds of the original Sanskrit, yet their Chinese characters of choice vary: Facheng transcribes *gate* as e di (峨帝), Danapala as jie di (揭帝), utilizing the same characters as Kumarajiva. *Paragate* is boluo e di (波羅峨帝) and boluojiedi (播羅揭帝) respectively. *Parasamgate* is bo luo seng e di (波羅僧峨帝) and bo luo seng jie di (播羅僧揭帝), differing only by one character. Finally, *Bodhi Svaha!* is rendered as puti shahe (菩提莎訶) and maoti shahe (冒提莎賀). While all of these put together as *gate, gate, paragate, parasamgate bodhi svaha!* is the essential incantation, Danapala’s version of this sacred mantra begins with an extra few words, namely, da ye ta an (怛地他唵). This is an example of the Sanskrit *tadyatha om*, meaning “Thus, oh you who are...[gone]”(Fox 1985: 81).

3.2.9 The Epilogue

Finally having reached the very end of the long style, we arrive at the concluding epilogue. Here, we once again are revisited by the Historical Buddha who is referred to as shizun (世尊); up until now, he has throughout the entirety of Avalokitesvara & Shariputras discussion has been in the deep, meditative trance of samadhi, empowering both Avalokitesvara and Shariputra to have the discussion on the practice of profound wisdom through this mental state.

The first thing that the Buddha does is to praise the Bodhisattva, saying, ‘well done’ as shanzhai (善哉) and, it is just like that (or ‘it is just as you said’) as ru ru suoshuo (如汝所說) by both Facheng and Danapala. After the Buddha (referred to as baogafan(薄伽梵) from the Sanskrit *baghavan*) by Facheng, and simply fo (佛) by Danapala) is finished praising Avalokitesvara, the focus now is on the feeling of all the beings present: there are monks and nuns, also known as bhikkus (bichu, 苾芻), Asuras (axiuluo, 阿修羅) and Gandharvans (gantapo, 乾闥婆), in addition to other sentient beings (dazong, 大眾). After all has been said, all of these present beings have been filled with joy upon hearing this wisdom.

3.3 Origins of the Heart Sutra

While the earliest known version of The Heart Sutra emerged as a Chinese text, the true origins of this text have long been the subject of scholarly debate. There are some who believe that the sutra first existed in India and was lost over time, eventually re-emerging in eastern Asia hundreds of years later before being brought back to India by travelling monks from China. However, based on the appearance of Indian commentaries nearly two hundred years after the earliest Chinese texts, there is little evidence to support the idea of the Heart Sutra existing in India prior to the sixth century. The contemporary monk Red Pine believes that the sutra may originate from places much further northwest, such as modern day Afghanistan and Pakistan:

Although the teachings that make up the *Prajnaparamita* are thought to have originated in Southern India in the first or second century B.C., the Heart Sutra was most likely composed during the first century A.D. further north, in the territory under the control of the Kushans if not in Bactria (Afghanistan) or Gandhara (Pakistan) then perhaps in Sogdia (Uzbekistan) or Mathur (India's Uttar Pradesh) (Red Pine 2004: 21).

He goes on to postulate that the Heart Sutra as we know it came to be as a mixture of selected text from an earlier sutra, which was then manually put in combination with a preexisting mantra. After being transformed through translation from Chinese to Sanskrit, the text evolved into multiple forms:

... The most likely scenario was that the first half of the Chinese *Heart Sutra* was extracted and condensed from the Chinese Large Sutra, additional material added to the beginning (where the Buddha is replaced by Avalokitesvara) and a mantra (already in circulation) added to the end, and the resulting Chinese text then taken to India, where it was translated into Sanskrit, resulting in the differences we see today (Red Pine 2004: 23).

Indeed, scholar Douglas A. Fox estimates that the Heart Sutra first appeared in the 4th century (Fox 1985, 76) based on the fact that it has certain striking elements of Tantric practice, such as the recited mantra that appears at the end. Additionally, the presence of Avalokitesvara as the main actor in the text is especially significant as it wasn't until the emergence of the Mahayana vehicle in East Asia throughout the first five hundred years or so of the Common Era that the bodhisattva began to receive a popular following that would eventually evolve into cult worship. This lends further evidence to the idea that the Heart Sutra was most likely written later than the other Prajnaparamita texts by comparison, from a place in which the Mahayana was the dominant school of Buddhist practice, much more than likely China.

4. Conclusion

Through comparing the translations of Kumarajiva, Xuanzang, Facheng and Danapala, it is clear to see that the Heart Sutra as a text stands subject to a multitude of folk-narrative elements that impact translations over time and place. From the short translations of Kumarajiva and Xuanzang, both defy the typical structure of a sutra, yet Kumarajiva tends to transliterate terms from Sanskrit into Chinese while Xuanzang does more translation into Chinese. Both Facheng and Danapala are heavily influenced by the Sanskrit tradition of doctrine writing, each including elaborated bonus passages that include extra actors and descriptions of setting and context. Irregardless, each translator chooses to transliterate certain terms slightly differently as according to preference.

The origin of the Heart Sutra is an issue of great debate: it is ultimately unknown whether it first appeared as a longer sutra in Sanskrit from Buddhist India and then was brought to China, or if it first appeared in the short Chinese version and was then later brought back to India. While the true source of the Heart Sutra will likely never be known for certain, evidence points to a lineage in northwestern Asia, particularly in China: the presence of Avalokitesvara, or Guanshiyin Pusa (觀世音菩薩) as the main role is

critical evidence as it is in China where the bodhisattva has evolved to attain cult following.

Regardless of its place of origin, the Heart Sutra has stood the test of time. Even if it had existed before the earliest known Chinese and could be proven as such, it is the numerous Chinese language translations that have since colored, and continue to color the way many (if not most) Buddhists approach the perfection of ultimate wisdom. Regarded as a classic text from the old world, the Heart Sutra continues to touch the world with its bold wisdom, subtly interlaced with cultural-linguistic clues left behind by translators long since past.

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無上咒、無等等咒、無等等譯語： 四種《心經》漢譯本之比較

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【摘要】

《心經》是佛教最廣為人知的一篇經文，也被認為是至高無上的智慧精髓；此經亦被翻譯成多種語言。本文聚焦於四種流傳數百年的《心經》譯本，分別為：《摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經》(401)、《般若波羅蜜多心經》(649)、《般若波羅蜜多心經》(856)和《佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多經》(1005)。本文將探討宗教文本在受到社會文化影響下所產生的翻譯模式與趨勢。鑑於《心經》經文中含括多種漢文化之地理、歷史以及文化元素，《心經》原文為漢語的可能性極高，這也是本研究最終的結論之一。

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關鍵詞: 心經；翻譯；般若波羅蜜多；大乘佛教；佛法

Disenchanting Urban Allures: Fur and Animal Images in Liu Na'ou's Neo-Sensationalist Narration

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Abstract

This essay calls attention to the urban threats and human atavism revealed in the short stories of Liu Na'ou (1900-1939). Liu, who in his stories depicts the modern Shanghai of the 1920s, is largely recognized as a writer who flaunts the allures of modern urban living. Nevertheless, there is a keenly felt sense of anxiety in his writing, manifested precisely through the use of animal images, and in particular, the image of fur. This essay traces and analyzes Liu's Neo-Sensationalist style of narration and specifically the fur and animal imagery employed so as to shed light on the implications behind these images within the contextual setting of 1920s Shanghai, ultimately leading to the conclusion that the fur and the wild animals embody urban uneasiness, signify human atavism, and disenchant the readers of urban allures.

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Keywords: Chinese modernism; urban literature; Neo-Sensationalism; 1920s Shanghai; Liu Na'ou

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In Hermann Hesse's 1927 novel *Steppenwolf*, the protagonist, a self-proclaimed "lonesome coyote of the steppes", came to symbolize the torn personalities of the forlorn individual dwelling alone in the urban centers of twentieth century Europe, an example of a modernist writer using the wild animal as a metaphor for the restless human mind. Likewise, in 1920s Shanghai, a group of fashionable young writers known as the Neo-Sensationalists also tried to capture the uneasiness and distorted personalities of urban life, among whom was Liu Na'ou (刘呐鸥), whose use of animal imagery mirrored that of Hesse. Unlike Hesse however, he did not limit himself to wild beasts in their animated form, but extended his symbolism to include animal furs.

The aim of this essay is to offer some tentative interpretations of the fur and the various animal images used in Liu Na'ou's fictional works. We begin with an introduction to Liu's life and works and an examination of his style of Chinese Neo-Sensationalist narration in relation to its Japanese inspiration and counterpart, namely, the Japanese Shinkankaku ha (Neo-Sensationalist School 新感觉派). The bulk of this essay attempts to explore the implications of the particular imagery of fur, as well as the various animal images such as "eel", "beast", "dove", "bird", "mantis", and "beetle". I will argue that the fur symbolizes the urban threat and human atavism, and the animals represent various characteristics of urban life and residents within the setting of 1920s modern Shanghai. Shih (2001) has noted that Liu flaunts the many modern excitements of the city, in spite of the fact that he is simultaneously critical of urban immorality. And with Liu's "metaphorical language" and techniques, "Even the moral degradation of the city becomes seductive in such linguistic feast" (Shih 2001: 287). While Shih explains how Liu's innovative language captures the essence of urban fancies, this essay proposes a reconsideration of the keenly felt sense of anxiety revealed in Liu's use of fur and animal imagery. That is to say, the fur and animals foreground the anxious sense and reduce the appeal of the urban allures. Moreover, as I will try to explicate in this essay, the similarities shared by Liu and F. Scott. Fitzgerald (1896-1940) in their fictional works, including the paradoxical attitudes towards urban cultures and the iconic flapper figure, further demonstrate that Liu simultaneously depicts and disabuses the readers of modern urban fancies.

Liu Na'ou was essentially an urban writer whose literary activities were mostly based in cities. Taiwan-born and Tokyo-educated Liu moved to Shanghai in 1924 to study French at Jesuit Aurora University. In the late 1920s, Liu, as a well-educated and polyglot young writer, founded two significant avant-garde journals entitled *Trackless Train* (Wugui lieche) and *La Nouvelle Littérature* (Xin wenyi), in which he published his literary translations and reviews (Lee 1999: 191). Amongst Shanghai-based avant-garde intellectuals, Liu was the first to self-consciously promote French and Japanese modernist literature (Shih 2001: 241). These writings, which included works by Japanese modernist writers such as Yokomitsu Riichi (横光利一, 1898-1947), Satō Haruo (佐藤春夫, 1892-1964), and Kataoka Teppei (片岡鉄兵, 1894-1944), as well as works by the French writer-diplomat Paul Morand (1888-1976), were referred to as "neoromanticist" writings and were considered to be the "latest development in literature" in the 1910s and 1920s (Ibid. 56). Liu also had a broad interest in major turn-of-the-century literary movements such as symbolism and aestheticism (Ibid. 239). Among Liu's translations, most notably, the Japanese Shinkankaku ha came to exert a profound influence on his style. It also impacted the choice of subjects for his own fictional works. Beyond disseminating European and Japanese modernist writings to the Chinese readers, Liu himself, as a forerunner, initiated a literary movement in Shanghai known as Chinese Neo-Sensationalism (新感觉主义), which he started with Mu Shiyong (穆时英, 1912-1940) and Shi Zhecun (施蛰存, 1905-2003), with whom Liu had become familiar at university, in the year of 1924. In 1932, Liu departed for Japan, not long after his bookstore had been bombed by warplanes as a result of the Shanghai Incident (January 28 - March 3, 1932). Following the incident, Liu disappeared from the Shanghai literary scene. After his arrival in Japan, Liu forsook the writing of fiction, but shifted his attention to film-making and edited a film magazine entitled *Modern Cinema* (Lee 1999: 191). In 1939, two years after the Sino-Japanese war had broken out, Liu became the editor of a newspaper under the collaborationist regime of

Wang Jingwei (Ibid. 191), for which reason he was denounced as a traitor. In the same year, Liu was assassinated at the age of 39, presumably by secret agents or underground militia with connections to the Nationalist Party (Ibid. 191).

In Liu's ambitious life, other than translations and reviews, he produced only one collection of eight short stories entitled *Scenes of the City* (都市风景线, 1930), and two other short stories with the titles of "A Lady to Keep You Company" and "Below the Equator". The eight stories collected in *Scenes of the City* include "Games" (游戏), "Scenery" (风景), "Flow" (流), "The Bone of Passion" (热情之内), "Two Men Impervious to Time" (两个时间的不感症者), "Etiquette and Hygiene" (礼仪和卫生), "Bereavement" (残留), and "Formula" (方程式). Engaging closely with urban subjects and themes, Liu's works focus on the quintessential settings of the modern metropolis and the distinct experiences of modern life. Thus, one finds his fashionable characters obsessed with nightclubs, ballrooms, cafes, jazz music, theaters, foreign movies, imported cars, horse racing, and department stores. This essay will focus on five of the eight stories, namely, "Games", "Scenery", "Flow", "Two Men Impervious to Time", and "Etiquette and Hygiene" — stories which appear to be more homogenous in terms of theme and style.

As mentioned above, Liu's own narrative style and form show heavy Japanese modernist influences. Though the monicker "Neo-Sensationalist School" has never been technically defined, Seiji Lippit points out that the term "was applied by the critic Chiba Kameo to a group of young writers who had founded the journal *Bungei Jidai* (文艺时代) in 1924, motivated by a general sense of rebellion against the literary establishment" (Lippit 2002: 78). As the spokesman of the Japanese Neo-Sensationalist School, Yokomitsu Riichi himself explained the "new sensation" in his article "Shinkankakuron", published in *Bungei Jidai* in 1925. In this article, which is considered "the central theoretical document of the Shinkankakuha" (Keene 1999: 78), Yokomitsu distinguishes "sensation" from "new sensation":

The objectivity of the object which bursts into life is not purely objective, but is rather the representation of that emotional cognition which has broken away from subjective objectivity, incorporating as it does both a formal appearance and also the idea of a generalized consciousness within it. And it is thus that the new sensationalist method is able to appear in a more dynamic form to the understanding than the sensationalist method by virtue of the fact that it gives a more material representation of an emotional apprehension (Keene 1999: 80).

It is worth noting that Yokomitsu differentiates "representational objectivity" (new sensation) from "subjective objectivity" (sensation). That is to say, as the Neo-Sensationalist writers put emphasis on subjectivity, which is seen to be capable of molding the cognitive apprehension of external objectivity, they endeavor to present environmental objects and images for the revelation of internal emotions and sentiments. In the year of 1928, Liu wrote an introduction to Japanese Neo-Sensationalism, which he included in a special issue dedicated to his translations of a group of Japanese Neo-Sensationalist works. These included Kataoka's "Erotic Culture", Yokomitsu's "Activities of the Seventh Floor", and Iketani Shinz-aburo's "Bridge". In this introduction, Liu explains that the formula of Neo-Sensationalism is "a combination of (symbolic) modernism, (anticapitalist) socialism, and (imported) exorcism" (Shih 2001: 260-261). In fact, these features are also typical of Liu's own writing. As one can see, Liu's works showcase exoticism (Westernized city, foreign arts, modern femininity), explore symbolic functions (such as fast trains that embody urban fast culture and the various animal symbols that I will explain later), and charge against capitalist exploitation (particularly manifested in the story "Flow").

Typically, Chinese Neo-Sensationalists delineate in a new narrative form varying sensations and sentiments that are mostly, if not exclusively, responsive to urban experiences. The Chinese Neo-Sensationalist works, as fervent experimental attempts pioneered by Liu and his friends, are intimately related to urban themes and European-Japanese modernist movements, as can be seen in Shih's explanation of "modern life" in Neo-Sensationalist literature:

The so-called modern life includes various idiosyncratic forms: harbors lined with large steamers, factories clamoring with noise, mines burrowing deep into the earth, dancing floors playing jazz music, sky-scraping

department stores, air battles, spacious race courses.... Even the natural scenery is different from that of earlier periods (Shih 2001: 251).

In view of this, the sensations are “new”, for they are, as byproducts of Westernized Shanghai, closely engaged with Western culture and urban industries imported by imperial colonialists. On this account, these new sensations necessitate the replacement of the “old”, conventional language with a new one that is more adequate for urban narratives. In this respect, Liu’s “new language” is not merely an “evolution” from Classical Chinese, but appears to be born of linguistic experiments pertaining to the agenda of his new school of writing. Liu’s multicultural background and multilingual ability might be part of the reason why he wrote in such a distinct unorthodox style that distances him from the calibrated normative form and structure. More precisely, Liu’s language is characterized by nontraditional semantic and syntactic propensities. Direct phonetic translations and use of foreign words from French (*matérielle*, *charmante*, *Madame votre femme*, etc), English (Jazz, Saxophone, week-end, cocktail, melancholia, etc), and Japanese Kanji (喫茶店, 不感症者, 横断, etc) are liberally embedded in the texts. Grammatical rules are largely neglected.

Fragmented short sentences are clustered without sequential coherence. Descriptive images are abundant. Symbols and metaphors are heavily loaded. In addition, techniques borrowed from film-making, such as the filmic montage method, and the third-person narrator who links the plot and the images, are also integrated into Liu’s narration. Altogether, Liu’s narrative explores multidimensional sensations, encouraging the reader to imagine the beat of Jazz music in the nightclub illustrated in “Games” (Liu 2015: 6), the aroma of Brazilian coffee described in “Scenery” (Ibid. 22), and the noisiness at the horse racecourse and the fragrance of French perfume depicted in “Two Men Impervious to Time” (Ibid. 91, 93). It is safe to say that Liu’s Neo-Sensationalist narrative is *avant-garde*.

As Georg Simmel asserts, “rapid crowding of changing images” make for more intense stimulation of individual nerves and consciousness than stably lasting impressions (Simmel 1950: 409). That is to say, psychologically-speaking, the individual mind forms more lasting impressions from momentary images than from constant unchanging images. The Metropolis undoubtedly is more suited to providing momentary images than a rural environment. Reflecting on the abundant images in Liu’s narrative, one can find that these fleeting objective images serve to highlight various urban sensations. To analyze the functional purpose of images in Liu’s stories, we turn to the Japanese Neo-Sensationalist tradition of employing of rich imagery. In Yokomitsu’s early works, the writer significantly employed an “image system” for “representation of the psychological and corporeal sensations” (Lippit 2002: 202). That is to say, in Yokomitsu’s narration, the image system functions to mirror subjectivity through objective images selected from the external world. We see this in the opening imagistic description in Yokomitsu’s novel *Shanghai* (1928-1932):

At the high tide the river swelled and flowed backward. Prows of darkened motorboats lined up in a wave pattern. A row of rudders drawn up. Mountains of off-loaded cargo. The black legs of a wharf bound in chains. A signal showing calm winds raised atop a weather station tower. A customs house spire dimly visible through evening fog. Coolies on barrels stacked on the embankment, becoming soaked in the damp air. A black sail, torn and titled, creaking along, adrift on brackish waves (Yokomitsu and Washburn 2001: 3).

What can be perceived from these lines, on the one hand, is that in effect such a peculiar narrative method of listing visual descriptions of objects resembles the manner of flashing pictures taken by a camera consecutively. On the other hand, the images, such as “high tide”, “prows”, and “cargo”, bring about a sense of urban pressure typical of an industrialized harbor city. The other images, including “evening fog”, “damp air”, and “brackish waves”, make the sensations of individual exile and forlornness come alive.

Shih notes that Yokomitsu was “very influential among Chinese new sensationist writers” (Shih 2001: 27), and was also “the most frequently translated Japanese new sensationist writer” (Ibid. 241). The fragmented images clustered in Liu’s narrative show an affinity with Yokomitsu’s “image system”. The

opening scene of Liu's short story "Games" is a case in point: "Everything in this 'Tango Palace' is swaying with the melody—male and female bodies, lights in multiple colors, shining wine goblets, liquor in red or green, slender fingers, garnet lips, burning eyes" (Liu 2015: 3). In this opening description, not only is the external environment of the exotic, intoxicating nightclub visualized, the dizzying sensation of exhilaration is also vividly refracted through this image cluster. Subjective sensation is made tangible through objective images in a manner similar to Yokomitsu's "image system".

Of all the various images employed in Liu's fiction, the ones that are particularly worth noting are the images of fur and the various animal images. "Fur" appears several times in Liu's different stories with different implications. Likewise, Liu's marked preference of using animal images is also too prevalent to neglect.

The peculiar image of "fur" first appears in "Games", which is the inaugural story of Liu's collection. As the plot develops, the modern urban girl Yiguang is going to leave her boyfriend Buqing, the male protagonist, for a richer man who buys her a 1928 Viper sports car. In an exotic, intoxicating nightclub, Buqing divulges to Yiguang his phantom vision of the boisterous street, and here the "fur" is mentioned:

The weirdest thing was that I thought there was a wild tiger jumping towards me at that moment. I was terribly shocked, and was trying hard to keep my eyes widely open to see it more clearly. Then, I found that it was actually a piece of leopard cat fur, wrapped around the shoulders of a young lady, who was approaching me (Liu 2015: 5; English translations are my own unless otherwise indicated).

Buqing is tortured by the uncertainty of whether or not his girlfriend loves him, and if she does, why she is leaving him. Before her departure, Yiguang suggests to Buqing to sleep together, and that makes Buqing feel terribly guilty for her future husband. After Yiguang has gone, Buqing feels abandoned, emotionally alienated, and disillusioned as a forlorn urban dweller.

What is noteworthy is that the image of fur in "Games" is indicative of the dehumanizing nature of modern urban society that transmutes people into animals. Meanwhile, the fur image also reflects the narrator-protagonist's emotional unease and disenchantment with metropolitan life. Before seeing the "wild tiger", Buqing has the illusion that "everything in this city has been dead", when he "walks on a bustling street" (Liu 2015: 4). This vision is not delusional but implicative, and from such vision a conspicuous irony could be sensed behind the two juxtaposed adjectives of "dead" and "bustling". Obviously, the word "dead" reflects the male protagonist's subjective perception of the city, while "bustling" is the objective description of the outer environment, as manifested in the narration that the street is tumultuously crowded with "cars", "trains", "billboards", "shop-signs", and "pedestrians" (Ibid. 4). As a result, the juxtaposition gives rise to a sarcastic bent, for all the objects on the streets are products of modern civilization. But what Buqing senses is a deserted realm, where "everything has disappeared" (Ibid. 4). At this point, the ghostly "tiger" appears, harboring malice, and coming to stand in for the demise of civilization. In this light, the anxious sense is not derived from catching sight of the "tiger" but, rather, is provoked by the surrounding milieu, where Buqing awakes to find that all traces of human civilization are "gone", and the people, covered in animal furs, have been transformed into fierce and insensitive beasts, for the fast lifestyle poses a fatal threat to urban relationships, and the epidemic of materialism harms genuine affection. Buqing's vision of the "deserted city" subtly echoes his final predicament: his urban girlfriend forsakes him, demolishes his lingering belief of lasting love, and leaves him with disenchantment for urban life.

Liu depicts an urban materialism that supersedes genuine affection. The correlation between money and urban relationships has long been bridged by urban writers and scholars. Arguing that modern urban minds become calculating, Simmel points out that while emotional relations are founded in individuality, rational relations are measurable by and only interested in social achievements (Simmel 1950: 410). That is to say, urban relations appear to be profoundly influenced by the significance of economics. In this aspect, Liu draws out a noticeable connection between commodities and urban relationships. This is exemplified in the story "Games", in which the urban girl Yiguang leaves her boyfriend for a Viper sports car.

Liu self-consciously records urban fancies and delusional love with a sense of style, which is reminiscent

of the talented but pessimistic F. Scott, Fitzgerald, who oscillated between an indulgent insider and a sober bystander of the ostentatious Jazz Age of 1920s America. The material love in Liu's stories can be compared with Jay Gatsby's extravagant parties, grand mansion, and luxury garments that are exhibited to impress Daisy Buchanan. Berryman uses three phrases to describe the world Fitzgerald lived in: "the fast cars, the bloom of youth, and the beat of jazz" (Berryman 1946: 103). 1920s Shanghai, incidentally, is described by Shih as "a city of sin, pleasure, and carnality, awash with the phantasmagoria of urban consumption and commodification" (Shih 2001: 232). Evidently, both Liu and Fitzgerald excel at penetrating the semblances to show the unfeeling indifference and the libertine games of the wealthy classes of Shanghai and New York-Long Island. This emotional indifference certainly reminds one of Simmel's "blasé attitude", induced by the relentless pursuit of pleasure, for "a life in boundless pursuit of pleasure makes one blasé because it agitates the nerves to their strongest reactivity for such a long that they finally cease to react at all." (Simmel 1950: 411).

Alongside the fur, a "leopard cat story" is told by Buqing that warrants attention. "The leopard cat, Buqing recounts, "used to be a tiger, who was caught by a hunter when it was mourning for lost love. The hunter kept it and fed it, so it was reduced to a pet cat. Later on, it returned to the deep forest to regain its love. Consequently, it became a leopard cat" (Liu 2015: 5). Attention should be paid to this "leopard cat story" for its key role within the context. One profound implication one can deduce from it is that metaphorically the leopard cat's transformation is in conformity with people's degeneration into lust-driven animals. To be more specific, this pseudo-allegory signifies the "atavism" of urban dwellers, whose ascent from primitiveness is the ramification of domestication, and degradation back to the savage status is reflected through their permissiveness towards self-indulgence that appears to be prevalent in the metropolis.

Another example of the use of fur can be found in "Flow", the only working-class oriented story in this collection. The male protagonist Jingqiu, an educated young man, works at a mill factory as the "candidate" for the factory's future heir, i.e., future husband of the factory owner's daughter. The image of fur appears at the very beginning, as Jingqiu ensconces himself in a theater with Tangwen, the son of the factory owner, to watch a French porno film. Jingqiu sees "an Alaska black bear sitting next to a thick bald man" (Ibid. 37). Later, Jingqiu and Tangwen find the factory owner's concubine Qingyun in the theater with a date. Jingqiu's censure of the wealthy class and his sympathy for the deprived workers haunt the rest of this story. In Jingqiu's interior monologue, the fur appears again as he wonders, "They are dressed in soft woolen fabrics and luxury furs, but who could tell if they have already been rotting inside?" (Ibid. 44). Jingqiu witnesses the extravagant and scandalized lives of the rich. Eventually, he decides to devote himself to the proletarian revolution.

Here, it is necessary to give further consideration to the fur image in "Flow", for it is mentioned more than once. Fur, as an outer garment or an accessory, is intimately linked to glossy appearance. There can be no doubt that the woman in "black bear fur" is a rich wife or concubine, as fur and theater have been epitomized in this story as luxuries unaffordable for the working-class majority. However, fur essentially represents the semblance, and it masks the substance which might be in decay. What Jingqiu is wondering in fact calls into question the legitimacy of the capitalist system: "Most of them are hysterical women or impotent men. How much strength could be still in their bodies to shoulder the social duties in the future?" (Ibid. 45). When the factory owner gets furious, his very presence does not scare Jingqiu but, instead, makes himself appear like "an aged beast, fighting over the flesh of a measly little rabbit" (Ibid. 65). We are given the sense that capitalist society is neither physically nor systemically sustainable. Moreover, the image of fur is also suggestive of the predatory but mortal nature of capitalist exploitation, for fur easily calls to mind the predatory fox, leopard cat, or bear.

Described by Jingqiu as a "female beast" is the defiant girl Xiaoying, the female protagonist of "Flow", who appears to be energetic and full of vitality, as opposed to the decaying capitalists. Xiaoying is educated, and "masculinized" with "tanned skin color and short hairstyle" (Ibid. 47). Jingqiu is obsessed with Xiaoying, but she seems to be an "iced torch light" (Ibid. 46), who "only appears to be emotional when she is asking about books" (Ibid. 48). Xiaoying repudiates Jingqiu's confession, but still shows up in his

bedroom late at night in thin lingerie. In responding to Jingqiu's question, "Are you really going to marry me?" (Ibid. 54) she replies, "What is the point of talking about marriage? It's cold, just let me get into bed" (Ibid. 54). In the end, Jingqing finds Xiaoying among the protesting crowds. Showing her frisky modern girl side, Xiaoying's facial expression is as if she is saying, "Do you think that I am in love with you? That was just a one-night stand" (Ibid. 66). This assertion derails Jingqiu's romantic delusion. But the frustration spurs him to sublimate his desires into revolutionary activities. In effect, the "female beast" metaphor accounts for the dual-sided image of the urban girl Xiaoying, as she appears to have animal-like vitality, but also seems to be beastlike in that she is unfeeling and incomprehensible. As one can see, to the male protagonist there is a mysterious opaqueness in the "modern girl", which is also part of the girl's appeal. Crucial to such a "bridgeless gulf" of comprehensibility is usually the essential differences between the male and female characters. In "Flow", Xiaoying is practical and rational. She sets her mind on revolution but eludes affectionate feelings. Jingqiu is sensitive, and inclined to romance. It is from the fundamental discrepancies that we see why the male protagonist, who is somewhat left behind in the trajectory of modernization, cannot keep up with the "modern girl".

In commenting on *The Great Gatsby*, Gurko and Gurko (1944: 372) write that Fitzgerald "will no doubt be remembered in the year to come as the chronicler of the jazz age, the amanuensis of the flapper and her boyfriends". Though Liu may not be acclaimed as the spokesman of 1920s Shanghai, his Shanghai modern girl, similar to Fitzgerald's American flapper, who is fashionably attractive, playfully unfaithful, and leads the male protagonist to his predicament, is prominently noteworthy as a combined image of the femme fatale and urban flapper. In contrast to the conventional reference to the Chinese female, who tends to be more submissive, Liu's Shanghai girl appears to be a Westernized native figure. Various attempts are made by Liu to vivify this iconic image, from the girl's exotic appearance to her unrestrained behavior. Of all the highly detailed descriptions provided, the metaphorical "eel", which appears twice as a felicitous trope, effectively buttresses the flapper image. As in "Games", where the male protagonist Buqing observes his girlfriend's body when they are dancing to the beat of the mesmerizing Jazz music, what is noticeable is that he describes the woman's legs as "soft and smooth like an eel" (Liu 2015: 7). This specific metaphor exposes the male protagonist's erotic desire, and vivifies the sexual attraction of the matured female body because the eel seems lusciously tempting. When Buqing is plagued by the thought that "this eel-like girl is slipping away" (Ibid. 9), here the smooth "eel" not only suffices to highlight her sensuality, but is also essential to embody the uncontrollable feature of the modern girl. Buqing describes the girl as "lovable, but simultaneously irritating" (Ibid. 10), because she is out of his control. It is also the fundamental discrepancies that distance them. Buqing perceives the city to be a dying desert with a brain full of pessimist sensations, whereas Yinguang pursues tangible materials, fast speed excitement, and sexual pleasure, which are the indispensable ingredients of urban excitements. With the image of the eel, the uncontrollableness of the urban girl is vividly bolstered.

Equally laden with meaning are the images of "dove" and "bird" appearing in the story "Scenery", which offer further insight into Liu's "modern girl". The male protagonist Ranqing meets a fashionable young lady on a train. She is "a product of the modern city" (Ibid. 23). Ranqing is going to the new capital Nanjing for a conference while the woman is to see her husband for the weekend. Their conversation begins with the woman's interruption of Ranqing's secret gaze by saying, "What good is it for me for you to gaze at me like this?" (Ibid. 23). Such unexpected straightforwardness captivates Ranqing, who is an admirer of modern cultures. As a compliment, Ranqing describes the lady's high heels as lovely "doves" (Ibid. 27). They talk and flirt. After that, this lady invites Ranqing to a hidden meadow to make love. At that moment, Ranqing feels that she is like an "uncaged bird" (Ibid. 30). In the dusk, they get on another train headed for the originally planned destinations.

The paired images of "dove" and "bird" appear to be emblems of women's liberation. Additionally, the specific image of "uncaged bird" is also likely to be a metaphor for released desire. The "dove-like high heels" allow for an imaginary association with the magical shoes of the wizardly land of Oz, which entail a sense of freedom and emancipation, for they can take people flying away. Unlike the dove image, the "uncaged bird", on the one hand, suggests that this lady is unbound from her identity as a wife, and, on the

other hand, implies the release of her desire “trapped” by social obligations and morality, especially as she claims, “People can only get happiness when they have learned to reveal true feelings like primitive men” (Ibid. 26). Like pre-scripted film, the occurrence of the casual affair is quite predictable, as “having an affair” is the foreordained direction in which the plot typically develops in Liu’s urban stories. Not that any sexual scene is plainly written. As a matter of fact, Liu’s description is nebulous. In “Scenery”, what is emphasized during the sexual scene is the meadow. It is described as a “jade bed sheet”, an image closely associated with “nature” in terms of both the natural world and human nature. How peculiarly true Liu’s stories are to social reality is not essentially important. Liu’s writing, as an experimental attempt, tends to represent his aesthetic taste as part of the agenda of his modernist narration, while the truly serious topics of that era are largely dismissed. Liu’s fiction can be seen as mockery of urban love, for genuine love appears to be elusive. Conversely, lust and sexual attraction seem to be prevalent and are what is mostly depicted. Thus, the “paradox” presented in Liu’s fiction is that these modern characters are true to their inner desires, but disloyal to their marital partners. Therefore, what are unmasked by the images of “dove” and “bird” are these urban dwellers, who lust after pleasures and carelessly permit self-indulgence.

More often than not, judging from how these stories typically culminate, one is given the impression that Liu’s male characters are by comparison “weaker” than the female characters. By “weak” here what is referred to is their mindset, conduct, or even personality that are less adapted to Shanghai. In other words, the girls seem to be more at ease in the modern city, for they are the ones who have more control, always win in the end without any unnecessary entanglement, and leave the men with stigma. The male protagonists, on the other hand, only come to awake from self-inflicted delusions by losing to the women. By comparison, Liu’s male characters are usually depicted as skinny, while the women’s bodies are well developed. The male characters are always the gazers, and the female characters are the ones to initiate action. The male characters are more sensitive and idealistic, while the female characters are rational and practical. There are scenes in which we see the male protagonists weep, while the women appear to be more composed or even unfeeling.

I argue here that the image of the “female mantis”, the predacious insect that eats the male mantis, is suggestive that “the male is weaker”. The mantis image appears twice in two different stories. Its appearances highlight recognizably sore points of the male characters, showing that the men somehow undeniably relish their submission to female seduction and domination. In “Flow”, Liu uses a male and female mantis as a euphemism to refer to a man and a woman in a French porno film. He writes, “The defeated male mantis faints, is intoxicated, but satisfied. He is waiting for the female mantis to come and slowly devour him. Who says that the female is weaker?” (Ibid. 40). In “Etiquette and Hygiene”, the mantis metaphor appears in the Frenchman’s remark, “They always take on the female mantis instinct, and see the men as eatables” (Ibid. 133). These two examples clearly refer to Western women, but perhaps are not confined to such, for there can be little doubt that Liu’s “Shanghai girl”, defined by Liu himself as a “product of the modern city” in different stories, is certainly less representative of the native Chinese woman, but rather appears to be depicting a Westernized character. The Shanghai girl, who is tanned, bob-haired, clothed in Western or semi-Western style, interested in new ideas, and disdains conventionality, turns to be the incarnation of exotic appeal, and the object of desperate desire to those who are attracted to the modern city. With this in mind, the effect of emasculation achieved through use of the female mantis image can hardly be overlooked.

Shanghai in the 1920s, as presented in Liu’s fiction, was a city of lust, a lust that is often projected through images of animals. Some passages write of female characters observed by male characters as if through an animal’s eyes. Given this perspective, the men appear to play the role of either predator or prey. In “Games”, Buqing sees “a pair of delicate, carnelian feet” as his girlfriend Yiguang is approaching him (Ibid. 12). When it occurs to Buqing that Yiguang is about to leave him for another man, he “eagerly wants to devour her body” (Ibid. 3). In these two examples, the woman is seen as the desirable “prey”, while the man plays the role of the salivating “predator” who displays a deep yearning to conquer. In these two examples, Liu associates the female body with a sense of edibility. In contrast, when Jingqiu, the male protagonist of “Flow”, is confronting the woman’s seduction, he feels that “his arm has been bitten by an

unexpected delicious bait that has already sunk into his flexible skin” (Ibid. 27). In his role as “prey”, the woman thus appears to him to be the desperately desired “bait”, and the man submissively surrenders to her sexual overtures. What is behind the animal’s “eyes” is none other than the so called libido, a raw force of sexual satisfaction. As readers are granted this unique perspective, what is visually brought to light is the animality that resides in the civilized urban dwellers. Such predator’s and prey’s visions, as a variant form of inner confession, serve to confirm the fact that Shanghai is a city of lust.

Furthermore, a sense of urban anxiety also permeates Liu’s fiction. Shanghai by the 1920s had become industrialized, a fact that manifested itself in many detailed descriptions. Interestingly, there are also animal images that reveal a sense of anxiety towards urban industrialization Lee observes the following:

At the same time, however, the protagonist of "Games" also compares the crowd of automobiles in the city streets during "RUSH HOUR" (Liu uses the English term) to little monsters (jiachong, or "beetles") that "devour" and "vomit" people. It seems that even in the fetishization of this most conspicuous item of modern convenience, both exhilaration and anxiety are implicated (Lee 1999: 206).

Lee is perfectly correct in stating that an ambivalence with regard to both exhilaration and anxiety towards urban industrialization is to be found in Liu’s narration, manifest through the metaphorical “beetles”, for it is difficult not to associate the image of “beetles spitting people out” with a sense of wordless revulsion. The disturbing connotation carried by such an image stems from the sense that the invasive machines and engines, mushrooming and buzzing like bugs, have been increasingly taking control of human beings and the city. As such, it is no exaggeration to say that the “beetle” image is the distillation of the revelation of an anxious sense around cars, which have played a major role in speeding up the pace of urban living. In this view, Liu’s collection is not merely a record of the urban allures of semi-colonial Shanghai, as the “colonial and native feudal structures” coexisted (Shih 2001: 31), but rather is saturated with intertwined sensations and paradoxical perceptions of the modern yet distorted urban space. Such notable ambivalence about urban cultures is characteristic of modernist literature and is linked to Liu’s interpretation of Shanghai modernism.

In Liu’s and Fitzgerald’s fictions alike, the car, a product of urban industrialization, takes on a negative connotation as a symbol of rapidity that represents transient ecstasy. The material girl in “Games” is excited by fast speed, and quickly jumps into the arms of another man for a sports car. The frisky female protagonist in “Two Men Impervious to Time” proposes having quick casual sex in the backseat of a car. Likewise, in *The Great Gatsby*, female protagonist Daisy kills a woman while speeding in a car, which becomes the root cause for Gatsby’s death. Jordan Baker, Daisy’s flapper friend, whose name is the combination of two automobile brands, “the sporty Jordan and the conservative Baker electric” (Brucoli 1991: 184), embodies urban “fast” culture of the 1920s Jazz Age. We see in these parallels in the fiction of Liu and Fitzgerald an anxiety over the fast urban lifestyle.

What represents the aspect of urban anxiety emerging from consumption and materialization is the image of the “monster”, which is used to refer to the department store. In “Flow”, we find the silk department of a department store described as “where all the greedy women have been gathered” (Liu 2015: 58). The wealthy concubine Qingyun, carrying an armful of merchandise and standing by the front entrance of a department store, looks “as if she was spit out from the monstrous building” (Ibid. 58). This rich idle lady is not satisfied with what she has purchased, but continues to sweep the shelves of another department store. Here readers are led to see the department store as a symbol of the sin of greed, and the metaphorical image of the predatory “monster” serves as a warning sign of the demise of spirituality and humanity. What is truly sarcastic is the reversal of the roles of agent and patient, or to look at it another way, the human’s descent from active consumers to passive prey. This devolution suggests that it is not the human beings who are walking into the department store as consumers, but, instead, humans are consumed by endemic urban consumerism. The entrance of the department store turns into a black hole, pulling people in with the temptation of commodities as its irresistibly strong gravity. As long as the hunger for material pleasures remains, there is no emancipation from such imprisonment.

Thus, a panoramic view of a concrete jungle of savagery, with an added sense of absurdity, is revealed as we follow the animal images. While it might be bewildering to juxtapose Shanghai at the height of modernity with a primordial forest, the whole picture clearly surfaces as the various animal images are considered to be metaphors or archetypes. With this in mind, the modern city fades out to make way for a figurative, unwelcoming, barbarian jungle, where authentic love becomes elusive, urban residents cycle back into the personification of lust-driven animals, and urban industrialization turns out to be a man-eating monster.

There are animal images other than those I have examined that together serve to foster a more complete picture of the urban jungle. In “Games”, the waitstaff in white, effortlessly offering service in the nightclub, are described as “butterflies flying among the flower shrubs” (Ibid. 3). The “teeth” of the laughing middle-aged man in the nightclub are emphasized to highlight the animality hidden in human nature. The image of “two bats flitting to the willow grove on the other side of the pond” is used to describe Buqing’s girlfriend leaving with another man (Ibid. 11). And those who are gathering outside the theater are described as “a swarm of ants”, faceless and unrecognizable (Ibid. 13). In “Flow”, a bunch of animals, “tiger, elephant, lion, monkeys, large ear dog, black cat, rats”, are brought together to symbolize complicit imperialist bullying (Ibid. 56). As such, the chaotic yet mysterious, modernized but still disordered, Far-Eastern city is presented as an imaginary quasi-surreal jungle, where the inhabitants are all nonhuman wildlife. Liu proposes an expository rejoinder to the common understandings of urban life and allures by transforming prodigious modernity into uncivilized primitiveness, or to be more precise, by drawing analogies between various aspects of the modern city and animals or animal behavior.

It is not difficult to see Liu Na’ou’s penchant for urban life, as it is manifest in the various detailed urban excitements that Liu describes, and in the fashionable style with which Liu depicts these urban fancies. Underneath the gloss however, Liu brings up the question of whether the metropolis is a symbol of advanced civilization, or if it harms humanity with the weight of industrialization and consumerism. In Liu’s writings, amid the varied images, fur and animal imagery reveal or even heighten the sense of urban anxiety. Fur embodies urban threats and human atavism, whereas the various wild animals bring to mind a concrete jungle where pragmatism is the key to survival. These images together debunk the myth that Liu’s collection solely flaunts urban fancies. Other than that, Liu simultaneously illustrates and takes down the Shanghai allures in his narration.

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都会魅惑的幻灭：刘呐鸥「新感觉主义」 叙述手法中的皮毛及动物意象

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【摘要】

本文着重剖析刘呐鸥(1900-1939)短篇小说中对都会人以及都会文化的负面表述。刘呐鸥被普遍视为擅于描绘都市魅力的作者，因其作品主要以二十世纪二十年代的摩登上海为舞台。然而，频繁出现于刘呐鸥作品中的「皮毛」以及「动物」意象，明显折射出都会居民的负面情绪。本文通过梳理并分析「皮毛」与多种「动物」的意象，并结合刘呐鸥「新感觉主义」的叙述方法，试图阐释这些意象背后的深层含义。即，在刘呐鸥的作品中，「皮毛」以及「动物」的意象，既象征了大都会犹如丛林般给人们的生活带来威胁与不安，且反映出都会人犹如「返祖」般依从本能行事而漠视真情与道德规范。此外，这些意象亦将读者从大上海的都会魅惑中唤醒。

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關鍵詞: 中国现代主义；都市文学；新感觉派；1920年代上海；刘呐鸥

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美國英語母語者學習漢語時的「有+VP」現象

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【摘要】

本文重點研究漢語副詞化動詞「有」+VP的現象在美國英語為母語的漢語學習者中的存在情況。經過對舊金山一所英漢雙語沉浸式小學部分小學生的調查，發現這些以英語為母語的漢語學習者在講漢語時，普遍存在著使用「有+VP」的現象，並且使用率遠高於蔡瑱（2009）的報告中提到的漢語母語者使用「有+VP」的頻率。大多歷史文獻認為，漢語母語者使用「有+VP」是受內部方言的影響。然而 Li Ling (1991: 66) 則指出，漢語中的「有+VP」中的「有」是受英語的「Have」的影響。本文調查結果也顯示，英語母語者在使用漢語時不但使用「有+VP」，而且使用率比漢語母語者還高。這一現象值得考慮英語對其的影響作用。蔡瑱（2009）提到「誘導性的問題」是導致說話者用「有+VP」的原因。本文中的調查結果也顯示，調查問題中，被調查者在回答第一類問題「有沒有VP？」和第二類問題「VP了沒有？」的時候，明顯使用「有」或「有+VP」的頻率高於回答其它兩類問題，「VP了嗎？」和「VP沒VP」。這個結果也支持了蔡瑱（2009）提出的「誘導性問題」作用的觀點。

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關鍵詞: 有+VP；漢語語法；語言接觸；方言影響

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1. 引言

漢語中有一種副詞性動詞「有」+VP 現象。馮佳（2009）指出，「有+VP」中的「有」只能是動詞虛化後的副詞，表示確定或者強調。比如，下面對話中「有」字就有強調的作用。A：「你把鑰匙給我了嗎？」B：「我有給你。」本文將對此現象進行調查，並試圖發現這種現象是否在美國英語為母語的漢語學習者中普遍存在。另外，漢語和英語中都有借助動詞的變化來表示完成體意義的構式（李力維 2012：84），那麼英語中的「Have + V-ed」是否對漢語的「有+VP」現象的產生發揮作用？本文還將在對美國英語母語者學習漢語時是否廣泛使用「有+VP」句型問題的調查基礎上，進一步分析英文是否對漢語「有+VP」的現象有所影響。

2. 理論背景

2.1 漢語中「有+VP」的定義

漢語中「有+VP」的現象指的是在「有」的後面跟著動詞或動詞短語。這種用法在現代漢語中是不合語法規範的（朱德熙 1979: 79；趙元任 1979: 296）。在傳統漢語中，「我有吃過飯」借助「有」來強調已經吃過飯的經驗是不正確的說法。趙元任先生在《漢語口語語法》（1979: 296）中也指出，「沒有+VP」的肯定形式應是句末加「了」，而不是「有+VP」。黎錦熙先生也在《新著國語語法》中提出，「有」表示領屬和存在，後面總是跟著人物或事件的成份（黎錦熙 1924: 49-51; 130-132）。朱德熙先生在《朱德熙文集》（1979: 72）中也指出，「有」作為准謂語動詞，後面可以帶的動詞是有限的，比如：能說「有研究」和「有分析」，但不能說「有同意」或「有喜歡」。付習濤（2006: 99）在分析「有+VP」中「VP」的性質時指出，「有」作為准謂賓動詞，後面的「VP」已經名詞化。馮佳（2009）認為，在「經過努力，他的韓語水平有提高」和「他們的居住條件有改善」兩句話中，儘管「提高」和「改善」都具有動詞性，但都已名詞化。而「有」作為准謂語動詞，後面帶具有名詞性的「VP」時，不同於本文所調查的「有+VP」的現象。

2.2 「有+VP」的由來

2.2.1. 古語中的「有+VP」現象

鄭禮立（2012: 88）在《「有+VP」形式小議》一文中指出，古漢語中的「有+VP」結構中的「有」作動詞，表示存在和擁有。比如：《詩經 邶風 泉水》中就出現過「女子有行，遠父母兄弟」的句子。另外《國語·晉語八》中也有這樣的例子：「且吾子之心有出焉，可征訊」。劉利（1997: 66-68）在《古漢語「有 VP」結構中「有」的表體功能》也表示，「有+VP」在古漢語中還帶有副詞「既」或「已經」的意思。

2.2.2. 南方話對普通話中「有+VP」現象的影響

(1) 「有+VP」在南方方言中的源頭

趙元任先生 (1979: 296) 在他的《漢語口語語法》中提到, 「有沒有」隻有廣州話和福建話有這種用法。「沒有 VP」的否定回答「有 VP」應是閩粵語的說法。陳葉紅 (2007: 95-96) 在《南方方言的形成看「有+VP」結構的來源》中提到, 「有+VP」結構來自古越語。「有+VP」隻在吳語中的甌方言中出現過, 而甌方言又與閩語十分接近。文獻中証實自漢代, 「有+VP」結構幾乎在漢語中見不到。

(2) 「有+VP」在現代語言階段的發展

馮佳 (2009: 107) 表示, 「時至現代漢語階段, ‘有+VP’ 結構主要廣泛地存在於吳語區、閩語區和粵語區的諸多方言中」。刁晏斌 (2012: 36) 在《兩岸四地「有+VP」形式考察》中也發現, 香港地區的報紙出現「有+VP」的頻率遠高於台灣的三倍, 原因是港區有沿用古語「有+VP」的形式, 另外還受到粵語方言固有的「有+VP」形式的影響。考察中也發現, 大陸地區雖然也有「有+VP」的現象, 但使用頻率明顯比港澳台地區低。刁晏斌 (2012:43) 還表示, 普通話中的「有+VP」現象的主要原因是語言的引進和多元化, 也就是普通話受到了粵語方言的影響。

2.2.3. 漢語「有+VP」與英文「Have +V-ed」

李力維 (2012) 在《英語 Have+ -en 與漢語「有+VP」完成構式對比分析》一文中說明, 漢語「有+VP」與英文的「Have+ en」在形意上相近, 即「有」對應「have」, 「VP」對應「-en」。文章中還特別提到, 隨著國際化交流的發展, 閩粵的「有+VP」更是由於與英文機構的相似而進一步得到強化 (p85)。也就是說, 英文的「Have +en」對漢語的「有+VP」的使用也起到了間接的影響。

2.3 英語「Have + V-ed」是否對漢語的「有+VP」有所影響

目前的文獻中多數認為漢語中「有+VP」現象是語言的傳承以及受內部方言影響的結果 (陳葉紅 2007; 馮佳 2009; 鄭禮立 2012; 刁晏斌 2012)。更有人認為「有+VP」並不是英文的「Have + V-ed」 (付習濤 2007)。然而, 就漢語「有+VP」與英文的「Have+ en」在形意上相近的特點 (李力維 1985), 是否會對美國英語母語者學習漢語時使用「有+VP」句型有影響呢? 而「有+VP」是否有可能源自英語 (Ling Li 1991), 或靠著英語在漢語中得到了加強呢 (李力維 1985)? 就此等問題, 可以先從對美國英語母語的漢語學習者使用「有+VP」句型的情況進行調查著手。

3. 調查試驗：美國英語母語者學習漢語時使用「有+VP」現象

3.1 調查對象

3.1.1. 年齡

被調查的對象全部是在舊金山中國國際學校 (Chinese American International School--中文沉浸式小學) 就學的一年級學生。除一名學生 7 歲外, 其餘的學生都是 6 歲。

3.1.2 人數

接受調查的學生一共有 20 名。其中女生 9 名，男生 11 名。

3.1.3 漢語水平及家庭背景：

被調查的 20 名學生全部在美國出生。其中，5 名為華裔，1 名為華裔與非華裔亞裔混血，7 名為華裔與非亞裔混血，1 名為非裔，6 名為白人後裔（表一）。20 名學生共有 9 名學生是從中美國際學校的幼兒班直接升入中美小學。也就是說這 9 名學生在中美的幼兒班已經接受了兩年的中文沉浸式教育。

另外，20 名被調查的學生家中的中文環境各不相同。6 名白人學生中 4 名學生有在中美上學的哥哥或姐姐，年齡都在 8 歲或以上，其中一名學生的母親會講中文，余下的兩名學生家中沒有人會講中文；7 名華裔與非華裔的混血學生的母親全部會一些中文；5 名華裔學生中有三人在家中講廣東話，另外兩名學生的父母會講一點中文；1 名非洲裔學生家中沒有人會講中文；1 名華裔與非華裔亞裔混血學生的爸爸是韓國裔，母親是華裔且算得上是在全部被調查學生的家長中，中文講得最流利的，佔 5%。其餘 95% 的學生家中有可以講中文的家人，但是中文水平有限。

表一：被調查學生種族及語言環境背景

性別\種族類別	華裔	華裔與非華裔亞裔混血	華裔與非亞裔混血	非洲裔	白人後裔
男生	3		4		4
女生	2	1	3	1	2

3.2 材料

調查問題一共包括四類，每一類有四題。

(1) 第一類：VP 了嗎？

- ① 中秋節的時候，你看月亮了嗎？
- ② 你跟家人吃團圓飯了嗎？
- ③ 你吃月餅了嗎？
- ④ 你夢到嫦娥了嗎？

(2) 第二類：VP（了）沒有？

- ①，今天，你去操場玩兒遊戲了沒有？
- ②，你上中文課／英文課了沒有？
- ③，你最想跟爸爸媽媽去哪兒玩兒？你們去過那兒了沒有？
- ④，你喜歡吃中餐嗎？你最喜歡吃什麼中餐？你吃過餃子沒有？

說明（一）：被調查的所有學生都是半天上中文課，半天上英文課。第二類的第二個問題，針對的隻是學生已經上過的課。而在課後班完成調查的同學，由於已經完成了全天的課程，在回答這個問題時會有兩個答案。

(3) 第三類：VP 沒 VP？

- ①，你喜歡看什麼書？你今天看沒看書？
- ②，你看過沒看過動畫片《西游記》？
- ③，你今天帶沒帶午餐？
- ④，早餐/午餐時，你吃沒吃蔬菜和水果？

說明（二）：第四題調查者是根據調查的時間來決定所問的問題。比如，如果調查時間是在上午課間活動，問題就是：早餐時，你吃沒吃蔬菜和水果？如果調查的時間是下午，問題就是：午餐時，你吃沒吃蔬菜和水果？

(4) 第四類：有沒有 VP？

- ①，在學校，你有好朋友嗎？今天，你有沒有跟好朋友玩？
- ②，你有沒有去過好朋友的家？
- ③，昨天，你有沒有做功課？
- ④，今天你有沒有把功課交給老師？

說明（三）：四類題中包括引誘性回答的問題和非引誘性回答的問題。

3.3 調查時間及地點

時間：調查分別是利用學生的課間活動，課堂活動之余或課後班的時間進行的。每個學生完成問卷最長的需要 10 分鐘，最短的需要 5 分鐘。

地點：全部調查是在學校的教室進行的。課間活動時，教室裡隻有調查者和被調查者。課堂活動之余或課後班時，教室裡除了調查者和被調查者外，還有其他學生。

3.4 調查經過

調查者在對被調查的學生提出正式的問題前，先對學生進行了基本情況了解。了解的問題包括：

- (a) 你喜歡說中文嗎？
- (b) 你在家裡說中文嗎？跟誰說中文？
- (c) 你有哥哥，姐姐，弟弟或者妹妹嗎？你跟他/她（們）說中文嗎？

在完成上述問題後，調查者開始向被調查的學生提出正式的問題。調查者在問問題時使用中文。但是，當被調查者對一些詞語有理解上的困難時，調查者則用英文做適當地解釋。比如：一些被調查者對早餐，午餐，蔬菜或西游記等詞語不理解，調查者則需要用英文對這些詞語稍作解釋。

3.5 調查結果

(1) 第一類：VP 了嗎？

在第一類題中，被調查者的肯定回答中包括「有+VP」，「有」，「VP+了」和 VP 等形式。用「有+VP」和「有」兩種形式回答第一和第三題的人數全部過半。而這其中隻有一個學生的回答是用「有+VP」的形式，其餘學生則隻簡單地回答「有」。另外第一類問題的回答中有 8 個用了「VP+了」的形式，佔全部 80 個回答的 10%，比用「有」或「有+VP」回答的最低比率（第四題）15% 還要低 5%。調查者的否定回答全部用「沒有」，沒有出現「沒有+VP」的形式。第二題和第四題用「沒有」回答的學生人數過半。

表二：第一類問題回答中用「有」/「有+VP」及其它形式回答的人數與比率%

(表二) 答案\題號		1	2	3	4	總數/總比
有/有+VP	人數	13	5	11	3	32
	佔全部比率	65%	25%	55%	15%	40%
沒有	人數	4	11	4	14	33
	佔全部比率	20%	55%	20%	70%	41.25%
VP+了	人數	2	1	3	2	8
	佔全部比率	10%	5%	15%	10%	10%
VP+到	人數	1	0	0	0	0
	佔全部比率	5%	0	0	0	0
是/不是	人數	0	1	1	0	2
	佔全部比率	0	5%	5%	0	2.5%

(2) 第二類：VP (了) 沒有？

第二類題，被調查者在四道題的回答中用「有」和「有+VP」的人數全部過半。其中第二題被調查者的回答全部是「有」，即比率達到了 100%。回答時用「沒有」的人數相對第一類題的人數較少。全部回答中隻有一個回答是「有+VP」形式，但沒有用「沒有+VP」的形式。第二類問題的回答中有 10 個回答用了「VP+過」的形式，佔全部 80 個回答的 12.5%。這個比例遠比平均用「有」或「有+VP」的比例 (78.75%) 低。

表三：第二類問題回答中用「有」/「有+VP」及其它形式回答的人數與比率%

(表三) 答案\題號		5	6	7	8	平均值%
有/有+VP	人數	16	20	13	14	63
	比率	80%	100%	65%	70%	78.75%
沒有	人數	3	0	1	1	5
	比率	15%	0%	5%	5%	6.25%
VP+過	人數	0	0	5	5	10
	比率	0	0	25%	25%	12.5%

(3) 第三類：VP 沒 VP？

第三類題，被調查者回答第二，三和四題用「有」的人數過半，其中隻有一人用「有+VP」。這類題中回答「沒有」的平均佔 25%，第三類回答中兩個回答用了「VP+過」，佔總比 2.5%；兩個回答用了「VP+了」，佔總比 2.5%；兩個回答用「是」，佔總比 2.5%。

表四：第三類問題回答中用「有」/「有+VP」及其它形式回答的人數與比率%

(表四) 答案 題號		9	10	11	12	平均值%
有/有+VP	人數	9	14	11	11	11.25
	比率	45%	70%	55%	55%	56.25%
沒有/沒有+VP+過	人數	5	5	4	6	20
	比率	25%	25%	20%	30%	25%
VP+了	人數	1	0	0	1	2
	比率	5%	0	0	5%	2.5%
VP+過	人數	0	1	0	1	2
	比率	0	5%	0	5%	2.5%
是	人數	1	0	1	0	2
	比率	5%	0	5%	0	2.5%

(4) 第四類：有沒有 VP？

第四類題：四題中調查者回答時用「有」的人數全部過半。總平均值佔四類題中最高。回答中用「沒有」的人數也相對較少。這一表象同第二類題的人數比率類似。全部回答中沒有發現用「有+VP」和「沒有+VP」的形式。第四類問題中有一個回答用了「VP+了」(1.25%)。

表五：第四類問題回答中用「有」/「有+VP」及其它形式回答的人數與比率%

(表四) 答案 題號		13	14	15	16	平均值%
有	人數	17	15	19	18	69
	比率	85%	75%	95%	90%	86.25%
沒有	人數	1	5	0	0	6
	比率	5%	25%	0	0	7.5%
VP+了	人數	0	0	0	1	1
	比率	0	0	0	5%	0.125%

3.6 調查結果分析

調查結果顯示在母語為美國英文的兒童漢語學習者中使用的「有」或「有+VP」的現象比較普遍。20個學生在回答16各問題時共用「有」或「有+VP」的形式209次。其使用率佔全部回答的65.31%。每個問題都有學生用「有」或「有+VP」的形式回答。其中，13個問題的回答中用「有」或「有+VP」的學生人數過半。在過半數目中最高的比率達100%，最低比率是55%。被調查者中，每個學生都用過「有」或「有+VP」的形式回答問題。其中13個學生一半以上的問題用了「有」或「有+VP」的形式回答。

調查結果顯示，用「VP+了」回答的次數佔總回答次數的0.68%（見表六）；用「VP+過」回答的次數佔總回答次數的0.81%（見表六）；用「VP+到」回答的次數佔總回答次數的0.025%（見表六）。這些比率遠比用「有」或「有+VP」的比率低。

表六：四類問題回答中用「有」、「沒有」及其它回答形式的人數比率及平均值%

(表六) 答案\題号		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	平均 值%
		VP了嗎?				VP(了)沒有?				VP沒VP?				有沒有VP?				
有/ 有+VP	人數	13	5	11	3	16	20	13	14	9	14	11	11	17	15	19	18	13.06
	比率%	65	25	55	15	80	100	65	70	45	70	55	55	85	75	95	90	65.31
沒有	人數	4	11	4	14	3	0	1	1	5	5	4	6	1	5	0	0	4
	比率%	20	55	20	70	15	0	5	5	25	25	20	30	5	25	0	0	20
VP+了	人數	2	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.68
	比率%	10	5	15	10	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	3.43
VP+過	人數	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.81
	比率%	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	25	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	4.06
VP+到	人數	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	比率%	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.025
是/不是	人數	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.25
	比率%	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1.25

全部回答中，被調查的學生用「有」回答的次數比「有+VP」頻率高出很多。其原因與進行試驗的環境場所有關。二十個被調查對象中，隻有四個學生是在沒有其他學生在場的情況下完成調查試驗的。這四個被調查者平均每人用了10分鐘。而其余的十六個學生在回答問題時，周圍有其他的學生，不免他們的注意力受到干擾。事實上，這十六個學生平均所用的回答問題時間是6分鐘。被調查者回答問題時有急於完成回答的傾向，用「有」回答似乎比「有+VP」更方便。因此「有」可以看作是「有+VP」的省略形式。同樣的道理，「沒有」則可以看作「沒有+VP」的省略形式。

在四類問題中，回答第四類問題「有沒有VP?」時使用「有」或「有+VP」的平均值最高（86.25%），其次是第二類問題「VP(了)沒有?」（78.75%），再其次是「VP沒VP?」（56.25%），平均值最低的是第一類問題「VP了嗎?」（40%）。

表七：每個調查者使用「有」或「有+VP」回答的頻率比例%

(表七) 學生	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
「有」或「有+vp」人數	5	13	6	13	12	11	7	11	8	13
比率%	25%		30%				35%		40%	
學生	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
「有」或「有+vp」人數	15	10	9	14	15	5	11	13	7	10
比率%			45%			25%			35%	

4. 結論

上述實驗表明，如果說母語為漢語普通話者有「有+VP」的現象，母語為美國英語的漢語學習者也同樣存在「有+VP」的現象。蔡瑱（2009: 80）在他的《上海高校學生「有+VP」句型使用情況調查分析》中提到，被調查的大學生中認為自己完全接受，並常用「有+VP」句型佔總調查人數的14.9%。這個比例遠比本文調查中顯示的用「有」或「有+VP」的人數佔總調查人數的比例（65.31%，見表六）低。從這點可以推測，母語為美國英文的漢語學習者使用「有」或「有+VP」的頻率更高。這樣說來，英語對於「有+VP」的使用的可能有一定的影響。

調查結果顯示第四類問題「有沒有VP?」的回答中「有」的平均幾率最高，其次是第二類問題「VP[了]沒有?」。蔡瑱（2009: 85）在其調查報告中推測，「有沒有+VP」問句會誘導說話者使用「有+VP」句。本文中第二類和第四類問題的調查結果也支持了蔡瑱（2009）的推斷，誘導性的問題與說話者使用「有+VP」句作回答有一定關係。問題中的「有」字成為漢語初學者在回答問題時捕捉到的可利用的信息，並將其作為回答問題的依據。所以，誘導性問題也是使用「有+VP」的另一個因素。

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The “Yǒu+VP” Pattern in Native English-Speaking American Learners of Chinese as a Second Language

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Abstract

This paper aims to study the prevalence of the “You+VP” structure in the spoken Mandarin of native English-speaking learners of Chinese. The recent rise of the “You+VP” structure in Mandarin Chinese is well-documented in the literature (Chen 2007; Feng 2009; Cai 2009; Zhang 2012; Zheng 2012; Diao 2012), and it has been suggested that transfer from similar structures in English, among other factors such as influence from southern dialects and Mandarin usages from Hong Kong and Taiwan, may have contributed to the development (Li 1985; Ling 1991). If so, then one would expect a higher rate of occurrence for the “You+VP” structure in Chinese sentences uttered by native speakers of English than in sentences produced by native speakers of Chinese. This study documents exactly that, namely, by measuring the frequency of the “You+VP” pattern among English-speaking learners of Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) in a bilingual immersion elementary school setting in the United States. Results show that these English-speaking CFL learners do indeed have a higher occurrence rate of the “You+VP” pattern than in the speech of Chinese speakers from Shanghai, Beijing, Shandong and Ningxia (Cai 2009; Zhang 2012), furnishing data in support of the English origin hypothesis. Also, the data confirms

Cai’s (2009) observation in Shanghai speakers that the “You+VP” pattern appears more frequently in response to a specific “Youmeiyou + VP” question type, and is less frequent when speakers reply to other types of questions.

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Keywords: You+VP; Chinese syntax; language contact; substratum influence

吉林长春地区空间指示语使用情况调查研究

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【摘要】

本文从实证研究入手，通过问卷答题的方式对生活在中国大陆东北部吉林长春地区不同年龄层的民众空间指示语使用情况进行调查，从而对他们的指示性心象的使用情况进行研究，并将本文的研究结果与许慧珍(2006)的《中国大陆与台湾大学生空间指示语使用比较研究》一文进行对比，探讨大陆地区民众指示性心象使用的变化趋势。结果表明，受西化文化的冲击和影响，大陆的规范指示性心象已明显从传统上被视为是非西方语言母语者的规范心象直列式心象转变为英语母语者的规范心象镜式心象。这一发现验证了许慧珍的研究结果。从性别来看，相比许慧珍的研究中大陆男性多使用直列式心象的结果，本文发现无论是男性还是女性，使用镜式心象的比例都远远大于使用直列式心象的比例。另外，本文首次发现，从心理语言学方面分析，指示性心象的使用并不是保持不变的，受到物体的自身特性和两个物体位置的影响，指示性心象的使用可能在镜式心象和直列式心象之间转换。即如果两个物体中有一个物体具有显著的前后，人们会倾向于使用镜式心象。如果两个物体都没有显著的前后且物体之间互相不遮挡，使用直列式心象的比例会随之增加。

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关键词: 指示语, 镜式心象, 直列式心象

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1. 绪言

本文将从实证研究入手，通过问卷答题的方式对生活在中国东北部吉林长春地区不同年龄层的民众空间指示语使用情况进行调查，从而对他们的指示性心象的使用情况进行研究，并将本文的研究结果与许慧珍的《中国大陆与台湾大学生空间指示语使用比较研究》一文进行对比，探讨大陆地区民众指示性心象使用的变化趋势。本文根据许慧珍的研究中有关大陆的研究结果提出假设，受西化的影响，大陆规范的指示性心象将从视参照物远离说话人的直列式心象转变为视参照物面向说话人的镜式心象；年龄层较高的人更多使用直列式心象，年轻人更多使用镜式心象；从性别来看，女性更多使用镜式心象，而男性则相反，较多使用直列式心象；从英语学习情况来看，学习英语时间越长的人越倾向使用镜式心象，英语学习时间越短的人越倾向保留传统，使用直列式心象。

2. 文献回顾

关于指示性心象，Hill (1974) 根据英语和豪萨语的个案研究，发现说西非豪萨语的人在描述物体前后时通常会建构一个远离说话人所在位置的区域，即使用直列式心象。而说英语的人则通常会建构一个说话人与参照物彼此面向对方的区域，即使用镜式心象。Hill (1991a, 1991b) 在后来的研究中，通过成分分析的研究方法发现，无论是说英语还是说豪萨语的受试者，其镜式心象与直列式心象的使用并不是一成不变的，而是根据所描述物体的动静状态和能见度可互相转换的。

从不同地区来看，Hill (1974) 指出西非地区所使用的指示性心象以直列式心象为主。其中，女性更多使用镜式心象，与接受较多西方教育有直接关系。北美方面，McKenna (1985) 通过研究发现欧裔美国学生更多使用镜式心象。非裔美国学生中，女性以及年级较高的学生较多使用镜式心象。在东亚地区，Hill (1991b) 最早提及中国地区的指示性心象研究，发现生活地区对指示性心象的使用有一定影响。都市地区的人比来自乡村地区的人更多使用镜式心象。

许慧珍 (2006) 在研究中发现，从整体来看，近四分之三的大陆学生使用直列式心象，近三分之二的台湾学生使用镜式心象。在指示性心象的用法上，台湾学生表现出更多西化的倾向。这是首次发现镜式心象在母语非英语人群中成为主要心象。作者认为，镜式心象现在已经成为台湾的规范心象，但大陆仍然以直列式心象为规范心象。

另外，专业、语言、地理背景和性别这些变量都会影响指示性心象的使用。从专业来看，无论在大陆还是台湾，主修中文的学生都比主修英文的学生更多使用直列式心象。指示性心象的使用与大学主修有明显相关性，主修中文有利于学生更好地保存中国传统文化。从语言变量来看，大陆和台湾都表现出相同的趋势，即用中文答题的学生比用英文答题的学生更倾向于使用直列式心象。从地理背景来看，大陆和台湾来自非都市地区的学生都比来自都市地区的学生更多使用直列式心象。最后从性别来看，大陆男生更多使用直列式心象，但台湾女生反而更多使用直列式心象。

通过研究许慧珍认为，指示性心象的使用是具有易变性的，可能有多个因素促成镜式心象和直列式心象之间的互相转变。大陆和台湾的研究结果证实了指示性心象是现实社会差异的敏感的语言标记。

本篇论文与许慧珍的研究不同之处是，参与本篇论文实验的受试者均来自东北吉林省省会长春地区。年龄上跨度较大，不局限于大学生，从 10 岁至 60 岁以上不等。受试者的专业分布较广，不局限于中英文。另外，题目全部用中文作答。

3. 研究方法

3.1 受试者

此次试验的目的是调查东北部吉林省首府长春地区的民众空间指示语使用情况，因此所选取的受试者均来自吉林省，并且现今在长春生活至少五年。由此保证了受试者语言环境的纯净度，最大程度降低了来自其他方言的影响。从年龄来看，受试者共分为五个年龄段，其中包括 10 岁至 20 岁，21 至 30 岁，31 至 40 岁，41 至 50 岁，51 至 60 岁，60 岁以上。每个年龄段选取四个人做调查，因此受试者共有 24 人。从性别来看，每个年龄段男女比例均为 1:1。从受试者的职业来看，分布在各个领域，除学生外，有公务员、护士、电脑工程师等等。另外受试者所学的专业也不尽相同，主要包括金融、会计、地质、计算机等。从受试者的教育程度来看，大部分人为本科毕业，一些人为大专毕业，另外一些为小学、初高中在读。受试者中最高学历为硕士，但只有一人。从对受试者语言学习的背景调查中可以得知，大部分受试者均有过英语学习经历，在一两年至十几年不等。但英语都不是现在的工作和生活中经常使用的语言。有少部分受试者，特别是年龄较长的人，没有接受过英语教育。

3.2 试验材料

本论文从实证研究入手，采用填写网络调查问卷的形式进行试验。问卷共分为两个部分。第一部分是选择题，共 10 道。其中有 6 道题实验者实际要测试的实验项目，另外有 4 道题干扰题，防止受试者凭借题目猜测出答题者所考察的要素。每道选择题有配有一张图片和四个选项。（详见附件一：目标测试题样题）图片中有两种或两种以上物体，题目为询问其中一个物体的位置。在主要考察项的 6 道题目中，图片中的物体均处于一前一后的位置，其中有些图片两个物体前后的距离较大，有些较小，有些则彼此紧挨着。从物体大小来看，有些两个物体的外观大小大体相同，比如两个茶杯，有些可能相差较大，比如红旗和教学楼。有些图片中，其中一个物体可能被另一个物体遮蔽。有一些图片中，距离较远的物体可能被虚化掉，而近处的物体看起来更为清晰。另外不同的图片中，受试者所看物体的角度也略有不同，有些是仰视，有些是平视，有些是俯视。通过以上这些变量因素来考察物体的大小、距离、清晰度以及视角是否会对受试者空间指示语“前、后”的使用产生一定影响，从而进一步分析镜式和直列式这两种不同的指示性心象的使用方式是一成不变的，还是受试者会根据一些外界因素的变化来临时判断的。

试卷的第二部分为个人背景调查，即对受试者的性别、所在年龄段、出生地、居住 5 年以上的城市和年数、学历、专业、职业以及外语学习水平和学习年数进行简要调查，以此作为后期数据分析和原因分析时的依据。

3.3 试验步骤

实验者将调查问卷的 word 文档（可修改模式）一一通过电子邮件发送给受试者。受试者在收到调查问卷后立即开始通过电脑作答。受试者需要在四个选项中选出自己认为最正确的或者最常用的位置描述方式。总答题的时间基本控制在 10 分钟以内。受试者被要求独立作答，不可以与他人讨论或查阅相关材料。这一要求在试卷中特别用红色字体标注。受试者先回答第一部分的选择題，之后再填写第二部分的背景调查。选择题的部分要求受试者凭第一感觉从四个选项中选择自己认为最正确的或者自己最有可能使用的空间描述方式，并将答案写在题目后面的括号内。答案一旦填写便不能更改。受试者在完成调查问卷后立即将问卷通过邮件寄回给实验者。

4. 实验结果分析

因为同一位受试者在答题时并不是所有的目标测试题都采用同一种指示心象，而是随着题目的变化，有些采用了直列式心象，有些采用了镜式心象，因此将答题者所有指示心象的使用情况以列表的形式呈现，目的在于更清楚地显示受试者不同目标测试题指示心象使用情况。

表一：不同受试者指示心象使用情况总表

受试者	1 蜗牛和方块	2 红旗和教学楼	3 面包和水果甜点	4 高楼和大树	5 相机和树	6 空杯子和咖啡杯
11-20 女1	镜式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式	直列式
11-20 女2	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
11-20 男1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
11-20 男2	直列式	镜式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式
21-30 女1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
21-30 女2	镜式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式	镜式
21-30 男1	直列式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式	镜式
21-30 男2	镜式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式	镜式
31-40 女1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
31-40 女2	镜式	镜式	直列式	直列式	镜式	直列式
31-40 男1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
31-40 男2	直列式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式	镜式
41-50 女1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
41-50 女2	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
41-50 男1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	直列式
41-50 男2	直列式	镜式	直列式	直列式	镜式	镜式
51-60 女1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
51-60 女2	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
51-60 男1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
51-60 男2	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
61 以上女1	直列式	镜式	直列式	直列式	直列式	直列式
61 以上女2	镜式	直列式	直列式	直列式	镜式	镜式
61 以上男1	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式	镜式
61 以上男2	镜式	镜式	直列式	镜式	镜式	镜式

从表一可以看出，在二十四位受试者中，有一半的受试者会根据题目的不同，有时选择使用直列式心象，有时选择使用镜式心象。另一半受试者不会受题目左右，坚持选择镜式心象。由此我们可以推断，长春地区的民众在描述物体位置时，有一部分人对指示性心象的使用并不是唯一的和一成不变的，选择方式可能会受到一些因素的影响。从纵向来看，不同目标题目受试者所使用的直列式心象次数也有所不同。这一发现与 Hill (1974) 的研究一致，即镜式心象与直列式心象的使用是易变的，操任何语言的人都会使用这两种心象。本篇研究所给出的题目中的两个物体均是不移动的，那么是否物体的能见度会影响说话人指示性心象的使用？人们在什么情况下倾向于使用直列式心象？还有其他什么因素影响了指示性心象的使用？我们根据目标题目，制作了不同题目直列式心象使用次数对比一览表。

表二：目标题目直列式心象使用次数一览表

	1 蜗牛和方块	2 红旗和教学楼	3 面包和水果甜点	4 高楼和大树	5 相机和树	6 空杯子和咖啡杯
直列式使用次数	5	1	10	5	1	4

从表中我们可以看到，六道目标题目直列式心象使用次数大致可以分为三等。第二题红旗和教学楼、以及第五题相机和树的直列式心象使用次数最少。第一题蜗牛和方块、第四题高楼和大树、以及第六题空杯子和咖啡杯的直列式心象使用次数居中，在四到五次左右。第三题面包和水果甜点的直列式心象使用次数最多，达到十次。

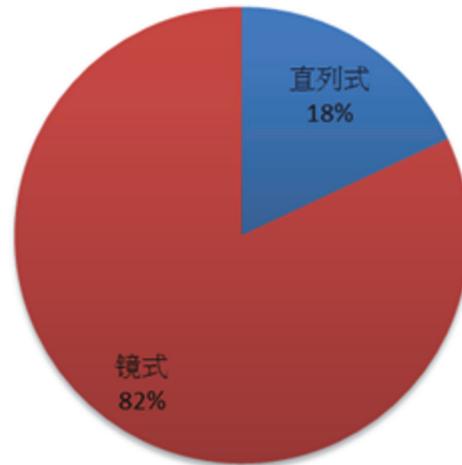
从以上题目特点分析，可以看出在直列式心象使用次数最少的两道题目中，教学楼有明显的正面和背面。人们通常会认为带有正门的一面是教学楼的正面。因此多数人倾向于使用镜式心象，认为红旗在教学楼的前面。只有一人使用了直列式心象来描述此题。另外一道题目中相机也有明显的正面和背面。人们通常会认为相机镜头的一面为相机的正面，没有镜头的一面为相机的背面。因此这道题目多数人也倾向于使用镜式心象，认为大树在相机的后面。只有一人使用了直列式心象来描述。再看直列式心象使用次数最多的第三题，其特点是面包和水果甜点两个物体均没有明显的正面和背面，且图种两个物体没有任何重叠或遮挡的部分，因此有十个人选择了用直列式心象来描述。最后，使用次数居中的三道题目中物体的特点是，题目一种蜗牛带有较为明显的正面和背面，题目四种大树遮挡了后面的高楼一部分，题目六种前面装有咖啡的杯子也遮挡了后面空杯子的一部分。

由此我们可以看出，如果两个物体中有一个物体有明显的正面和背面时，多数人倾向于用镜式心象。另外，如果两个物体均没有明显的正面和背面且物体之间没有任何重叠或遮挡时，直列式心象使用的比例会明显增加。

以上是对目标题目直列式心象使用次数和影响因素的分析。

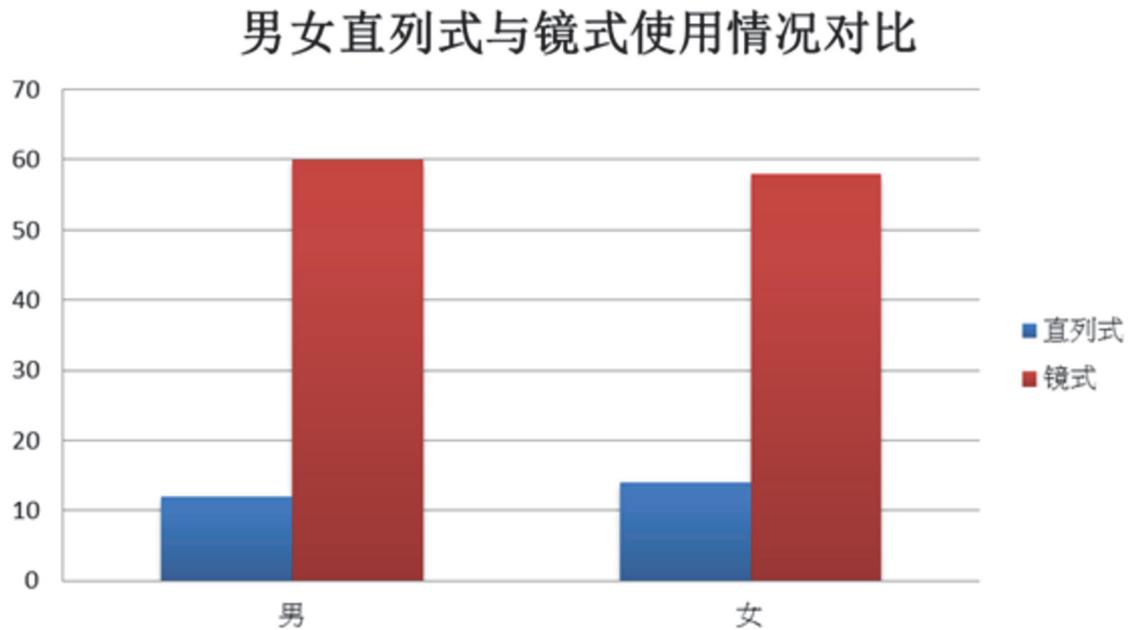
表三：直列式心象与镜式心象使用总数对比

直列式心象与镜式心象使用总数对比



表三显示的统计结果表明，长春地区民众使用视参照物面向说话人的镜式心象（英语母语者的规范心象）的次数占到总题目数量的百分之八十二。而只有少数人在某些因素影响下对其中一小部分题目使用视参照物远离说话人的直列式心象（非西方语言母语者的规范心象），直列式心象的使用次数只占到总题目数量的百分之十八，镜式心象所使用的比重远远高于直列式心象。由此我们可以得出结论，从整体来看，长春地区的民众更多使用镜式心象。从以上统计可以看出，大陆地区的日益西化明显地促成了由直列式心象到镜式心象的转变。这一结果也验证了许慧珍的推测，即西化的深度不仅促成了台湾地区心象使用的转变，大陆的大都市也会发生同样的变化。虽然长春地处内陆，距离经济发达的沿海一带较远，但是西化程度在语言方面的表现仍然不可小视。

表四：男女直列式与镜式使用情况对比

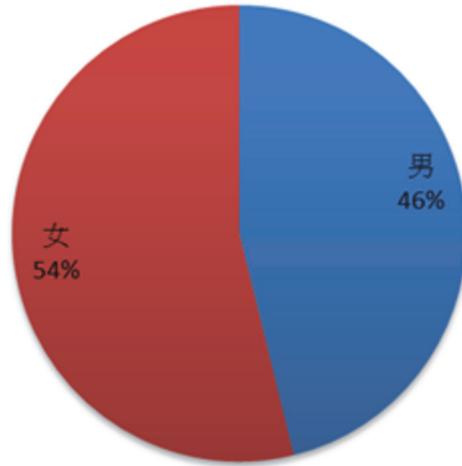


从表四可以看出，长春地区男性和女性在指示性心象的使用上有共同趋势，即大多选择使用镜式心象，只有少数情况下选择使用直列式心象。其中男性使用直列式心象和镜式心象的次数百分比为16.7%比83.3%，女性使用直列式心象和镜式心象的次数百分比为19.4%比80.6%。

接下来我们将探讨，在使用直列式心象的受试者中，男女之间的不同差异。

表五：直列式心象男女使用次数对比

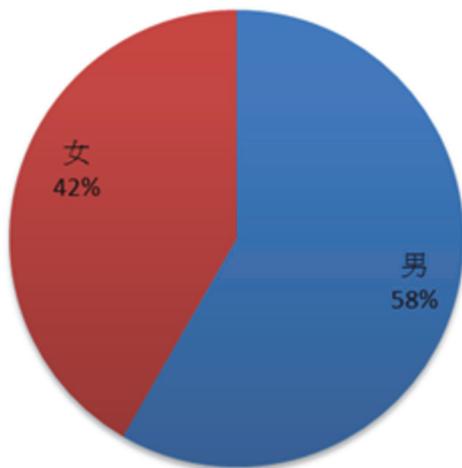
直列式心象男女使用次数对比



在使用直列式心象的情况中，其中男性用直列式心象的次数占到百分之四十六，女性用直列式心象的次数占到百分之五十四。女性受试者使用直列式心象的次数总体比男性受试者多。

表六：直列式心象男女使用人数对比

直列式心象男女使用人数对比

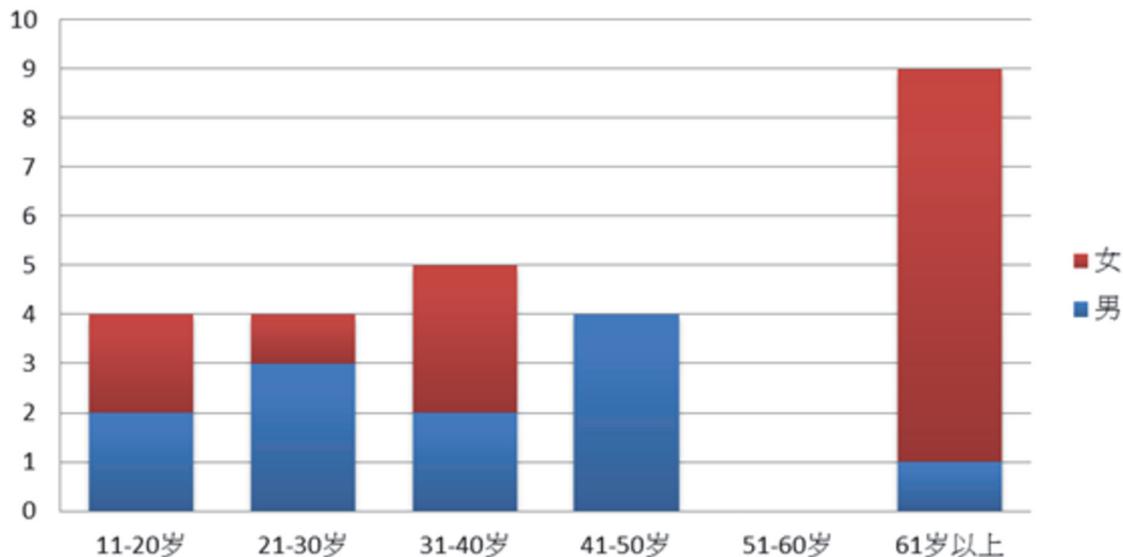


在使用直列式心象的受试者中，共有七位男士使用了至少一次直列式心象，有五为女士使用了至少一次直列式心象，男女使用直列式心象在人数上的比重为百分之五十八比百分之四十二。也就是说，有更多的男生使用了至少一次直列式心象。

通过以上的描述性统计，无法简单判断在使用直列式心象上男女的差别。因此，以下采用推论性统计的方式，试图发现男女在直列式心象使用上呈现出得差别是偶然因素还是必然因素，其差别是否达到统计上的显著性。根据公式计算出女性直列式心象使用的标准差为 1.69669911，男性直列式心象使用的标准差为 1.04446594，由此可以看出，男性在直列式使用上偏差值更小，更为平均。进一步通过 T-test 计算得到男女直列式使用对比 T 值为 0.79，小于临界值 2.064，没有达到统计上的显著性。因此，说明实验结果存在一定的偶然因素。在以后的实验中，应该尽量增加受试者的数量，从而减小偶然因素的产生。

表七：不同年龄段直列式心象使用情况对比

不同年龄段使用直列式心象情况对比



从不同年龄段直列式心象使用情况对比来看，11至50岁的受试者中，不同年龄段直列式心象使用次数基本相同。而61岁以上的受试者使用直列式心象的次数远远高出前几个年龄段，大约在两倍以上。特别是61岁以上的女性使用直列式心象的数量远远高于同年龄段的男性使用直列式心象的数量，同时也远远高于其他年龄段的人使用直列式心象的数量。另外，在此次实验中，41-50岁的女性和51-60岁的女性和男性使用直列式心象的数量为零，由于实验受试者人数较少，在这一结果上可能存在偶然因素。因此，也说明在以后的试验中有必要尽量增加受试者人数。

在其他年龄段的对比中，男女的使用次数对比并没有呈现出明显的规律和趋势。

除以上统计外，根据受试者的学历和英语学习年数，制作一张一览表，试图比较这两个因素对受试者直列式心象的使用是否有影响。

表八：受试者学历和英语学习年数一览表

受试者	直列式心象使用次数	学历	英语学习年数
11-20 女 1	2	小学	5 年
11-20 女 2	0	高中	11 年
11-20 男 1	0	初中	8 年
11-20 男 2	2	初中	5 年
21-30 女 1	0	本科	无
21-30 女 2	1	本科	13 年
21-30 男 1	2	本科	10 年
21-30 男 2	1	本科	12 年
31-40 女 1	0	本科	6 年
31-40 女 2	3	本科	8 年
31-40 男 1	0	大专	无
31-40 男 2	2	本科	10 年
41-50 女 1	0	本科	10 年
41-50 女 2	0	本科	无
41-50 男 1	1	本科	30 年
41-50 男 2	3	硕士	13 年
51-60 女 1	0	大专	无
51-60 女 2	0	大专	3 年
51-60 男 1	0	大专	12 年
51-60 男 2	0	大专	3 年
61 以上女 1	5	小学	无
61 以上女 2	3	初中	无
61 以上男 1	0	初中	无
61 以上男 2	1	本科	3 年

从以上表中可以得出结论，并不能说明英语学习年数越长，直列式心象使用倾向越小。英语学习年数和直列式心象使用倾向并无正比关系。另外，也不能说明学历越高，直列式心象使用倾向越小，学历越低，直列式心象使用倾向越大。学历和直列式心象使用也无正比关系。

5. 结论

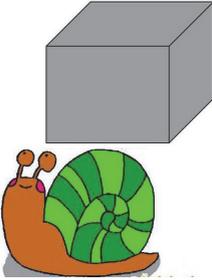
上述實驗表明，如果說母語為漢語普通話者有「有+VP」的現象，母語為美國英語的漢語學習者也同樣存在「有+VP」的現象。蔡瑱（2009: 80）在他的《上海高校學生「有+VP」句型使用情況調查分析》中提到，被調查的大學生中認為自己完全接受，並常用「有+VP」句型佔總調查人數的14.9%。這個比例遠比本文調查中顯示的用「有」或「有+VP」的人數佔總調查人數的比例（65.31%，見表六）低。從這點可以推測，母語為美國英文的漢語學習者使用「有」或「有+VP」的頻率更高。這樣說來，英語對於「有+VP」的使用的可能有一定的影響。

調查結果顯示第四類問題「有沒有VP?」的回答中「有」的平均幾率最高，其次是第二類問題「VP[了]沒有?」。蔡瑱（2009: 85）在其調查報告中推測，「有沒有+VP」問句會誘導說話者使用「有+VP」句。本文中第二類和第四類問題的調查結果也支持了蔡瑱（2009）的推斷，誘導性的問題與說話者使用「有+VP」句作回答有一定關係。問題中的「有」字成為漢語初學者在回答問題時捕捉到的可利用的信息，並將其作為回答問題的依據。所以，誘導性問題也是使用「有+VP」的另一個因素。

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附录：目标题测试题样题

<p>1 蜗牛在哪儿？</p> <p>A. 蜗牛在方块的左面。</p> <p>B. 蜗牛在方块的前面。</p> <p>C. 蜗牛在方块的后面。</p> <p>C. 蜗牛在方块的右面。</p>	
<p>2 教学楼在哪儿？</p> <p>A. 教学楼在红旗的前面。</p> <p>B. 教学楼在红旗的右面。</p> <p>C. 教学楼在红旗的后面。</p> <p>D. 教学楼在红旗的左面。</p>	
<p>3 面包在哪儿？</p> <p>A. 面包在水果甜点的上面。</p> <p>B. 面包在水果甜点的右面。</p> <p>C. 面包在水果甜点的后面。</p> <p>D. 面包在水果甜点的左面。</p>	
<p>4 高楼在哪儿？</p> <p>A. 高楼在大树的前面。</p> <p>B. 高楼在大树的左面。</p> <p>C. 高楼在大树的右面。</p> <p>D. 高楼在大树的后面。</p>	

5	<p>相机在哪儿？</p> <p>A. 相机在树的前面。</p> <p>B. 相机在树的左面。</p> <p>C. 相机在树的后面。</p> <p>D. 相机在树的右面。</p>	 A photograph of a black camera with a lens cap on a gravel path. The camera is positioned in the foreground, and a tree is visible in the background under a blue sky with some clouds.
6	<p>空杯子在哪儿？</p> <p>A. 空杯子在装有咖啡的杯子的右面。</p> <p>B. 空杯子在装有咖啡的杯子的前面。</p> <p>C. 空杯子在装有咖啡的杯子的后面。</p> <p>D. 空杯子在装有咖啡的杯子的左面。</p>	 A photograph of a white cup filled with coffee on a saucer. An empty white cup is placed behind it, tilted upside down. The background is a solid red color.

Spatial Deixis in Northeastern China: A Survey

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Abstract

This study surveys Mandarin speakers of different genders and age groups in the Jilin-Changchun region of Northeastern China to determine their preferred mode of spatial deixis, i.e., mirror imagery vs in-tandem imagery in the determination of “front” vs “back”, and compares the results to those of Hill (2006), who described the encroachment of Western-style mirror imagery deixis upon non-Western cultures in which in-tandem imagery had been traditionally dominant. The results of the study confirm Hill’s hypothesis, namely, ten years after Hill’s landmark study, Western-style mirror imagery is fast replacing traditional Chinese in-tandem imagery in the Mandarin speech of China. Whereas Hill (2006) found that men preferred in-tandem imagery over mirror imagery as opposed to women, who showed the reverse tendency, in the present study, both men and women overwhelmingly favor mirror imagery deixis. The present study finds also that the determination of what is “front” and what is “back” depends to some extent on the properties of the object of reference: those objects with intrinsic directionality tend to skew results, as do reference objects which were large enough to obscure part of the main target.

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Keywords: deixis; mirror imagery; in-tandem imagery

安慶人說普通話真的前、後鼻音不分嗎？

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【摘要】

本文主要針對安慶人（安慶市區人）說普通話時前、後鼻音韻尾分混不清的現象進行了初步探究，通過兩個閱讀實驗，發現不同年齡和不同性別的兩代安慶人在說普通話時確實存在鼻音合流現象，且合流程度表現得不太一致。由於受當地方言的影響，年長組（38-45歲）在說普通話時前、後鼻音不分現象表現得更明顯。相比之下，年輕組（18-23歲）鼻音合流現象則呈現出減弱的趨勢，換句話說，安慶年輕人普通話鼻音韻尾的發音特徵呈現出分流的趨勢。同時，安慶年輕女性鼻音韻尾字的讀音相較於同齡男性的讀音顯得更標準、規範，接近於標準語的發音，說明女性對語言的敏感度比男性要強；在向標準語靠攏時，女性比男性表現得更加積極、主動。

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關鍵詞：安慶方言（江淮官話），安慶普通話，前、後鼻音韻尾

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1. 引言

安慶市位於安徽省的西南部，下轄一市七縣（桐城市、樅陽縣、望江縣、宿松縣、懷寧縣、太湖縣、潛山縣、岳西縣）。安慶西南邊的望江（與江西毗鄰）、宿松（與湖北接壤）、太湖、潛山、岳西和懷寧六縣的方言歷來被劃為漢語贛方言區；而安慶市區以及東邊的樅陽縣和北邊的桐城市被劃為江淮官話區（孫宜志 2006；李慧 2004）。多年以來學者們的研究發現，江淮官話（俗稱下江官話）是官話方言中語言現象較為複雜的一隻，其中比較明顯的一個特徵是前、後鼻音韻尾分混不清（李慧敏 2004）。李慧敏（2004）指出江淮方言普遍不能分別「陳程」、「金京」兩隊；其中絕大多數市縣將收/ŋ/尾的一組讀成與收/n/尾的一組一樣。由於安慶方言存在前、後鼻音不分的發音特點，本文主要從社會語言學的視角，重點考查以下五個方面的問題：安慶方言是否對安慶人普通話的前、後鼻音韻尾字的發音產生影響？如果確實有影響，那影響的程度如何（到底是加強還是減弱）？除了方言因素外，安慶人普通話鼻音韻尾字的發音還受哪些社會因素影響？不同年齡、性別、教育程度的安慶人前、後鼻音發音特徵是否一致？將來的發展趨勢如何？

2. 文獻回顧

漢語鼻音韻尾的不穩定性導致了漢語韻尾系統的進一步簡化。郝志倫（2002）指出鼻音韻尾從古到今的演變經歷了一個由繁趨簡的發展過程，從古音到今音，漢語鼻音韻尾的弱化和消變從未間斷過。正是由於漢語鼻音韻尾的易變性，一直以來，漢語鼻音韻尾的弱化和鬆脫現象引起了語言學者的廣泛關注。中古漢語保留有/m/、/n/和/ŋ/三個鼻音韻尾，自 14 至 16 世紀之間，閉口韻/m/尾全部轉化為/n/尾（不包含粵語、閩南語等少數方言），至此，漢語演變成只有舌頭鼻音/n/和舌根鼻音/ŋ/兩個鼻音韻尾（郝志倫，2000）。另據各地方言志的記載和不少學者的調查研究發現，現代漢語的兩個鼻音韻尾/n/和/ŋ/仍然在不停地演變當中。郝志倫（2000）指出，在不少漢語官話方言區（如北方方言區的華北、西北、西南、江淮等地區）的實際語流中，存在/n/和/ŋ/相混、脫落的演變趨勢，鼻音韻尾/ŋ/常併入/n/尾。吳宗濟等（1989）的研究發現，鼻音韻尾的不穩定性在普通話的語流中也具有明顯的弱化傾向，/ŋ/尾常併入/n/尾。林千哲（2002）對台灣國語鼻音韻尾的發音及演變現象的研究同樣證實了鼻音韻尾的易變性。漢語鼻音韻尾不穩定性的主要動因有內因和外因兩類，內因是語言內部各要素的相互作用，外因是語言（方言）接觸所帶來的演變（孫海英 1994）。在分析語音發展演變的眾多外部因素中，由於語言使用者的地理背景、文化程度、年齡和性別變量、以及語言心態等社會因素的差異，會導致不同的言語行為規範和審美準則（郝志倫 2000）。由此可見，漢語鼻音韻尾的不穩定性與諸多因素有關。

本文主要從社會語言學的視角，通過兩個閱讀發音實驗（發音人為不同年齡、不同性別和不同教育程度的兩代安慶人），仔細分析當下安慶人在說普通話時是否有前、後鼻音分混不清的現象，為未來方言區普通話鼻音韻尾的聲學特徵研究提供一點參考依據。

3. 研究方法

3.1 發音人

本研究的發音人共 10 人，男 4 人，女 6 人，均為土生土長的安慶市人（大觀區和迎江區），全部發音人的母語均為安慶話（江淮官話）。十個發音人按年齡分成兩組：年長組（38-45 歲，男 2 人，女 3 人），年幼組（18-23 歲，男 2 人，女 3 人）。所有發音人都能說流利的普通話，都接受過普通話教育。年長組五人自小學一年級（八歲）開始接觸普通話啟蒙教育，且全部完成了高中教育；年幼組五人全部是安慶籍的在校大學生（目前在大陸地區不同城市不同大學就讀），該組自 3.5 歲（幼兒園小班開始）就接受正規的幼兒普通話啟蒙教育。

3.2 語料

本研究的發音語料採用林千哲（2002）研究台灣國語鼻音韻尾合併現象的 56 個帶有前、後鼻音韻尾的句子和短語（見附錄）。為了減少測試目標項受鄰近音節的影響，以便更好地評估和測試鼻音韻尾的聲學特徵，目標項都安排在句尾，且全部被設計成普通話的第四聲（降調）。之前的研究（林千哲 2002）已經證實，鼻音韻尾/n/和/ŋ/與不同的元音/a/、/ə/、/i/組成音節時，前、後鼻音的發音特徵表現得最不明顯，通常被看作是漢語鼻音韻尾的三對最小對立體，見表一。這三對最小對立體正是本實驗要測試的目標項。目標項總共由 56 個漢語鼻音音節組成（每一個音節對應一個漢字），分成六組，見表二。

表一：普通話的元音和鼻音組成音節的發音特徵（林千哲 2002）

	i	y	u	ə	a	ia	ua	ya
[n]	[in]	[yn]	[uən]	[ən]	[æn]	[jæn]	[uæn]	[yən]
[ŋ]	[iŋ]	[jɔŋ]	[uɔŋ]	[əŋ]/[ɔŋ]	[aŋ]	[jaŋ]	[uaŋ]	*

表二：閱讀實驗中使用的 56 個目標項（林千哲 2002）所對應的漢字、短語和句子請見本文的附錄

種類	目標項（拼音）	種類	目標項（拼音）
[an]	[fan] [pan] [xuan] [tʂan] [tʂʰan] [kʰan] [san] [pʰan] [lan] [tan] (N=10)	[aŋ]	[faŋ] [paŋ] [xu aŋ] [tʂaŋ] [ʂaŋ] [kʰaŋ] [saŋ] [pʰaŋ] [laŋ] [taŋ] (N=10)
[ən]	[fən] [fən] [tʂən] [tʂʰən] [ʂən] [tʂən] [ʂən] [nən] (N=8)	[əŋ]	[fəŋ] [fəŋ] [tʂəŋ] [[tʂʰəŋ] [ʂəŋ] [tʂəŋ] [ʂəŋ] [nəŋ] (N=8)
[in]	[pin] [ein] [tein] [jin] [jin] [tein] [tein] [tein] [tein] [lin] (N=10)	[iŋ]	[piŋ] [eiŋ] [teiŋ] [jiŋ] [jiŋ] [teiŋ] [tein] [tein] [teiŋ] [liŋ] (N=10)

3.3 實驗步驟與結果

3.3.1. 閱讀實驗一（年長者）

（1）年長組受試者背景資料

年齡（歲）	人數和性別（5人）	文化程度	職業
38-45	男 2 人 女 3 人	高中（4人） 兩年制大專（1人）	自由職業者(2人)，公務員，私企職員和小學老師各 1 人

（2）實驗地點及時間：本實驗於 2015 年 2 月 7 號至 2 月 10 號在美國舊金山和安慶市之間通過互聯網進行。

（3）實驗器材：通過微信視頻的方式，同時用蘋果手機 iPhone 5S 的 recorder app 進行錄音。

（4）實驗要求：本實驗只要求每個發音人以自然閱讀速度（平時閱讀時的速度）讀出 56 個含有目標項的短語和句子（見附錄），以便更真實的顯示出不同發音人在自然狀態下說普通話時前、後鼻音不同的聲學特徵。林千哲（2002）的研究結果已經證實台灣受試者的語音產出并不受閱讀速度（分自然閱讀和認真閱讀）的影響，因此本實驗不要求發音人用認真閱讀的速度閱讀 56 個含有目標項的短語和句子。

（5）實驗方法：通過微信視屏，發音人要求用自然閱讀的速度閱讀全部 56 個測試短語和句子，同時用蘋果手機 5S 的錄音軟件將發音人的閱讀語音數據錄下來。

（6）實驗結果和討論

表三：年長組[an]/[aŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 實際發音	[an] N=50		[aŋ] N=50	
	(男) N=20	(女) N=30	(男) N=20	(女) N=30
[æŋ]	20 (100%)	30 (100%)	16 (80%)	24 (80%)
[aŋ]	0	0	4 (20%)	6 (20%)

討論：以上的閱讀數據顯示，38-45 歲的安慶人在發[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，明顯地表現出前、後鼻音不分的現象，即將大多數的後鼻音字都合流成與其對應的前鼻音字，無論男女合流程度都高達 80%。具體表現形式如下：

[an]/[aŋ]合流成[an]的讀音。當發後鼻音[aŋ]時，該組受試者都讀成近似于〔æn〕的前鼻音，很明顯，元音[æ]的發音部位比[a]的發音部位要稍靠前，舌位也稍高，這種前、後鼻音分混不清，正是由於該年齡段的安慶人在說普通話時很大程度上仍然受當地方言的影響。安慶方言就是將前鼻音的[an]發成〔æn〕的讀音，合流以後元音的聲學特徵與標準普通話的發音不太一致。

但當[aŋ]與捲舌音[tʂ]、[ʂ]聲母組成音節時，該組受試者卻能將後鼻音的聲學特徵表現出來，如將目標項的「上」讀成[ʂaŋ]，將「杖」讀成[tʂaŋ]。究其原因，可能是語言演變內部因素所致，因為捲舌音[tʂ]、[ʂ]的發音部位與後鼻音[aŋ]的發音部位都靠後，發音過程中容易發生同化現象，因此發捲舌音與後鼻音組成音節的字反而比發與其對應的前鼻音字要容易。

表四：年長組[ən]/[əŋ]和[ɔŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 實際發音	[ən] N=40		[əŋ] N=35		[ɔŋ] N=5	
	(男) N=16	(女) N=24	(男) N=14	(女) N=21	(男) N=2	(女) N=3
[ən]	16 (100%)	24 (100%)	10 (71.4%)	15 (71.4%)	0	0
[əŋ]	0	0	0	0	0	0
[ɔŋ]	0	0	4 (28.6%)	6 (28.6%)	2 (100%)	3 (100%)

討論：上表的發音結果清楚地顯示出，年長組將中元音[ən]/[əŋ]組的後鼻音字大都合流成與之對應的前鼻音[ən]的讀音，合流率高達 71.4%。由此可見，年長組的安慶人在發該組前、後鼻音字時，受當地方言的影響比較明顯。

只有當[əŋ]與聲母[f]組成音節時，該組受試者（無論男女）都讀成了唇化的[fɔŋ]的後鼻音，比率為 28.6%，例如：受試者將「俸」和「風」都成了唇化後鼻音[fɔŋ]。這種發音特點與當地方言的讀法完全一致。另外，圓唇后元音[ɔ]與後鼻音[ŋ]組成音節時，年長組都能將後鼻音的聲學特徵呈現出來，與之前學者在台灣的實驗結果基本一致（林千哲 2002）。

表五：年長組[in]/[iŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[in] N=50		[iŋ] N=50	
	(男) N=20	(女) N=30	(男) N=20	(女) N=30
[in]	20 (100%)	30 (100%)	20 (100%)	30 (100%)
[iŋ]	0	0	0	0

討論：上表的發音數據顯示，高、前元音[in]/[iŋ]組的鼻音韻尾字的讀音全部合流成了[in]的前鼻音，合流率為100%，這與林千哲（2002）在台灣的實驗結果正好相反。年長組的安慶人在說普通話時，前、後鼻音分混不清正是受當地方言的影響所致。

通過對年長組三組鼻音韻尾發音數據進行認真、仔細地分析，結果說明，性別變量對年長組普通話鼻音韻尾的產出沒有影響。

3.3.2 閱讀實驗二（年幼者）

（1）受試者背景資料：

年齡（歲）	性別	文化程度	職業
18-23	男 2 人 女 3 人	四年制大學	大學生

（2）實驗地點及時間：本實驗於2015年2月7號至2月10號在美國舊金山和安慶籍的在校大學生之間（目前就讀於大陸地區不同城市的不同大學）通過互聯網進行。

（3）實驗器材（同實驗一）：通過微信視頻的方式，同時用蘋果手機 iPhone 5S 的 recorder app 錄音。

（4）實驗要求（同實驗一）：本實驗只要求每個發音人以自然閱讀速度（平時閱讀時的速度）讀出56個含有目標項的短語和句子（見附錄），以便更真實的顯示出不同發音人在自然狀態下說普通話時前、後鼻音不同的聲學特徵。林千哲（2002）的研究結果已經證實台灣受試者的語音產出并不受閱讀速度（分自然閱讀和認真閱讀）的影響，因此本實驗不要求發音人用認真閱讀的速度閱讀56個含有目標項的短語和句子。

(5) 實驗方法 (同實驗一)：通過微信視屏，發音人要求用自然閱讀速度閱讀全部 56 個測試句子和短語，同時用蘋果手機 5S 的錄音軟件將發音人的閱讀語音數據錄下來。

(6) 實驗結果和討論：

表六：年幼組[an]/[aŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[an] N=50		[aŋ] N=50	
	(男) N=20	(女) N=30	(男) N=20	(女) N=30
[an]	20 (100%)	30 (100%)	0	0
[aŋ]	0	0	20 (100%)	30 (100%)

討論：以上數據顯示，年輕一代安慶人在發低元音[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，發音特徵與標準普通話的發音一致，前、後鼻音的聲學特徵分得很清楚。由此可見，當地方言對年輕人普通話的發音影響正在逐漸減弱；換句話說，年輕一代安慶人普通話鼻音韻尾字的發音呈現出分流的發展趨勢。

表七：年幼組[ən]/[eŋ]和[ɔŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[ən] N=40		[eŋ] N=35		[ɔŋ] N=5	
	(男) N=16	(女) N=24	(男) N=14	(女) N=21	(男) N=2	(女) N=3
[ən]	16 (100%)	24 (100%)	2 (14.3%)	0	0	0
[eŋ]	0	0	8 (57.1%)	15 (71.4%)	0	0
[ɔŋ]	0	0	4 (28.6%)	6 (28.6%)	2 (100%)	3 (100%)

討論：上面的發音數據顯示，年輕人在發中元音[əŋ]/[əŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時總體表現比年長一代人的發音要更接近標準語，該組前、後鼻音合流的程度也在減弱。

年輕女性在發該組鼻音字時，比同齡男性的發音要更接近標準語。女性能將大部分[əŋ]的後鼻音字讀成標準普通話的讀音，準確率為71.4%；與女性不同的是年輕男性仍然將少數後鼻音字讀成前鼻音字，但合流率很低，只有14.3%。

當[əŋ]與聲母[f]組成音節時，該組受試者（無論男女）都將[əŋ]讀成[ɔŋ]的圓唇化後鼻音，而且比率相等，均為28.6%，如將目標項的「俸」和「風」都讀成了唇化的後鼻音[fɔŋ]。這與當地方言的發音特徵完全一致，證明方言對年輕一代普通話鼻音韻尾的發音仍然有影響，雖然這種影響呈現出明顯的減弱趨勢。

與年長組的發音相同，當圓唇後元音[ɔ]與[ŋ]組成音節時，每個受試者都能將後鼻音的聲學特徵表現出來，與之前林千哲（2002）在台灣的測試結果一致。

表八：年幼組[in]/[iŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[in] N=50		[iŋ] N=50	
	(男) N=20	(女) N=30	(男) N=20	(女) N=30
[in]	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	15 (75%)	13 (43.3%)
[iŋ]	0	0	5 (25%)	17 (56.7%)

討論：上表的發音數據說明，安慶年輕人在說普通話時，該組鼻音韻尾的發音總體上比年長者要標準，前、後鼻音合流程度呈現出減弱的趨勢。

五個受試者中，只有一個18歲的女生能將該組所有測試項的前、後鼻音字讀得非常標準，與標準普通話的發音特徵完全一致。另外兩個女生仍然將部分的後鼻音字讀成了前鼻音字，如將「病」[piŋ]讀成[pin]，「命」[miŋ]讀成[miŋ]；與同齡女性相比，年輕男性則將該組大部分後鼻音字讀成了前鼻音字，合流率高達75%。

以上發音數據說明，性別差異已成為影響年輕一代安慶人普通話鼻音韻尾發音特徵的重要社會因素。

3.3.3 性別分析

為了更清楚、直觀地反映出性別差異對安慶人普通話鼻音韻尾發音特徵的影響程度，本文以性別為變量，將實驗一、二的發音數據做了進一步的整理和分析，結果如表九、表十、和表十一所示。

(一) 男性發音實驗結果 (性別變量)

表九：男性[an]/[aŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[an] N=40		[aŋ] N=40	
	(長男) N=20	(幼男) N=20	(長男) N=20	(幼男) N=20
[æŋ] (長男發音)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	16 (80%)	0
[an] (幼男發音)				
[aŋ]	0	0	4 (20%)	20 (100%)

討論：年長組男性在發[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，明顯地表現出前、後鼻音不分的現象，後鼻音的[aŋ]合流成了前鼻音[æŋ]的讀音，但是合流後的元音[æ]的發音部位比[a]的發音部位要稍高，也要稍微靠前；另外，當[aŋ]與捲舌音[tʂ]、[ʂ]組成音節時，該組男性的發音才顯示了後鼻音的聲學特色，如將「上」讀成[ʂaŋ]，「杖」讀成[tʂaŋ]，這可能與發音過程中發音部位的同化有關。與年長組不同，年輕男性在發[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時能清楚地發出前、後鼻音不同的聲學特徵，發音基本接近於標準普通話的讀音。

由此可見，由於年齡的差異，兩代安慶人（男性）在發[an]/[aŋ]低元音組的鼻音韻尾字時，前、後鼻音的發音特徵呈現出很大的差異。因此，對男性來說，年齡變量應該是影響該組鼻音韻尾字發音的重要因素。

表十：男性[ən]/[əŋ]和[ɔŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[ən] N=32		[əŋ] N=28		[ɔŋ] N=4	
	(長男) N=16	(幼男) N=16	(長男) N=14	(幼男) N=14	(長男) N=2	(幼男) N=2
[ən]	16 (100%)	16 (100%)	10 (71.4%)	2 (14.3%)	0	0
[əŋ]	0	0	0	8 (57.1%)	0	0
[ɔŋ]	0	0	4 (28.6%)	4 (28.6%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)

討論：最小對立體[ən]/[əŋ]和[ɔŋ]的發音在兩代男性中差異明顯。

當後鼻音[əŋ]與聲母[f]組成音節時，所有男性都將[əŋ]的後鼻音讀成了[ɔŋ]後鼻音，如將兩個目標項「俸」和「風」都讀成了唇化音[fɔŋ]，這與當地方言的讀音完全一致；除此之外，年輕男性則能將大部分[əŋ]的後鼻音的發音特徵呈現出來，而年長組男性卻將其它所有[əŋ]的後鼻音字都合流成前鼻音[ən]的發音。

由此可見，除了受方言發音的影響，年齡變量確實是影響安慶男性鼻音韻尾發音特徵的主要社會因素。

表十一：男性[in]/[iŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[in] N=40		[iŋ] N=40	
	(長男) N=20	(幼男) N=20	(長男) N=20	(幼男) N=20
[in]	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	15 (75%)
[iŋ]	0	0	0	5 (25%)

討論：上表的發音數據顯示，年長組男性將該組後鼻音字全部合流成了前鼻音字；年輕男性雖然能將部分後鼻音字的聲學特徵表現出來，如將「硬」和「應」都讀成了後鼻音的[jiŋ]的讀音，卻將絕大多數的後鼻音字合流成了前鼻音字的讀音，合流率高達 75%。

因此，在發高、前元音[in]/[iŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，當地方言是影響兩代男性普通話鼻音韻尾發音最重要的社會變量。

(二) 兩代女性發音結果如下 (性別變量)：

表十二：女性[an]/[aŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[an] N=60		[aŋ] N=60	
	(長女) N=30	(幼女) N=30	(長女) N=30	(幼女) N=30
[æŋ] (長女發音) [an] (幼女發音)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	24 (80%)	0
[aŋ]	0	0	6 (20%)	30 (100%)

討論：年長組女性在發[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，明顯地表現出前、後鼻音不分的現象，後鼻音的[aŋ]都讀成了前鼻音的[æŋ]；只有當[aŋ]與捲舌音[tʂ]、[ʂ]組成音節時，該組女性和同齡男性的發音都顯示了後鼻音的聲學特色，如將「上」讀成[ʂaŋ]，「杖」讀成[tʂaŋ])，究其原因，可能是語音演變內部因素所致。與年長組不同，年輕女性在發[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，能清楚地發出前、後鼻音不同的聲學特徵，且於標準普通話的讀音一致。

由此可見，除了年長組的發音受當地方言的影響外，年齡變量確實是影響安慶女性鼻音韻尾字發音特徵的主要社會因素。

表十三：女性[ən]/[əŋ]和[ɔŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[ən] N=48		[əŋ] N=42		[ɔŋ] N=6	
	(長女) N=24	(幼女) N=24	(長女) N=21	(幼女) N=21	(長女) N=3	(幼女) N=3
[ən]	24 (100%)	24 (100%)	15 (71.4%)	0	0	0
[əŋ]	0	0	0	15 (71.4%)	0	0
[ɔŋ]	0	0	6 (28.6%)	6 (28.6%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)

討論：最小對立體[ən]/[əŋ]組的發音在不同年齡組的女性中顯得比較特別。

當後鼻音[əŋ]与聲母[f]組成音節時，所有女性都將[əŋ]的後鼻音讀成了[ɔŋ]的圓唇後鼻音，與當地方言發音一致，如將兩個目標項的「俸」和「風」都讀成了[fɔŋ]的唇化後鼻音。除此之外，年長組女性將其它所有[əŋ]的後鼻音字都合流成了前鼻音[ən]的讀音，合流率為 71.4%。與年長組不同的是，年輕女性則能將其它所有[əŋ]的後鼻音字讀得很標準、規範，與標準普通話的發音特徵相同。由此可見，除了方言因素外，年齡變量確實是影響安慶女性鼻音韻尾字發音特徵的主要社會因素。

表十四：女性[in]/[iŋ]的發音結果

標準發音 \ 實際發音	[in] N=60		[iŋ] N=60	
	(長女) N=30	(幼女) N=30	(長女) N=30	(幼女) N=30
[in]	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	13 (43.3%)
[iŋ]	0	0	0	17 (56.7%)

討論：鼻音韻尾[in]/[iŋ]的發音表現得最不穩定。

年長組女性將該組後鼻音字全部合流成前鼻音字；年輕女性在發[iŋ]的後鼻音字時，能將大部分後鼻音字的聲學特徵表現出來，當[iŋ]與[tc]、[tcʰ]、[c]、[j]聲母組成音節時，年輕女性的發音與標準語的發音一致，如將目標項的「靜」、「鏡」、「敬」都讀成了後鼻音的[tcin]。究其原因，可能是音變的內部因素造成，因為聲母[tc]、[tcʰ]、[c]、[j]的發音部位靠後，與後鼻音[ŋ]發音部位靠近，在發音過程中，很容易同化。

從以上數據的分析可以看出，年長組女性普通話鼻音韻尾的發音除了受年齡因素、教育程度的影響外，當地方言是影響其鼻音合流最重要的社會因素。

4. 結論

本文通過兩個閱讀實驗，主要考查了不同年齡、不同性別和不同教育程度的兩代安慶人在說普通話時鼻音韻尾（三對最小對立體[an]/[aŋ]，[ən]/[eŋ]和[in]/[iŋ]）的實際發音在聲學特徵上的差異。

實驗結果顯示，年長組（38-45歲）在說普通話時由於受當地方言的影響，前、後鼻音合流現象比較突出；年輕組（18-23歲）前、後鼻音字的發音普遍比年長組的發音要標準和規範。特別在發低元音[an]/[aŋ]組鼻音韻尾字時，年輕人（無論男女）前、後鼻音的不同聲學特徵都能清楚地表現出來。也就是說，年輕人鼻音韻尾字的發音呈現出明顯的分流趨勢。中元音[ən]/[eŋ]組的鼻音韻尾發音，年長者的合流率為71.4%；年輕人的發音基本與標準語發音一致；有趣的是，年輕人（無論男女）也將[eŋ]的後鼻音讀成了[ɔŋ]的圓唇後鼻音，與年長組的發音一致；同時，年輕女性[ən]/[eŋ]組的發音發比同齡男性要更接近於標準語的發音。兩代人在發高、前元音[in]/[iŋ]的鼻音字時，差異明顯縮小。年長者（無論男女）將所有[iŋ]的後鼻音字都合流成[in]的讀音；年輕男性的讀音與年長組相似，將大部分[iŋ]的讀音都合流成了[in]的讀音，合流率高達75%；年輕女性的合流率比同齡男性明顯要低，只有43%。從總體上來說，當地方言對鼻音韻尾發音的影響仍在繼續，雖然這種影響已經呈現出減弱的趨勢。

從性別方面考量，不同年齡的男性，年幼者前、後鼻音的發音比年長者的發音要更標準；同樣，不同年齡的女性，年幼者的鼻音韻尾字的發音比年長者的要更標準和規範。由此可見，年幼者鼻音合流現象呈現出減弱的趨勢，正在向分流的方向發展。

從教育因素考量，兩代安慶人普通話鼻音韻尾字發音特徵所形成的差異，主要與他們所受的教育程度不同以及接受普通話啟蒙教育時間的遲早不同有直接的關係。年長一代在小學一年級時（8歲）才開始接受普通話啟蒙教育，而年輕一代在幼兒園時（3.5歲）就已經接受正規的幼兒普通話教育，啟蒙教育時間明顯要比上一代人早幾年；不僅如此，年長者只有中等教育水平（高中生），而年幼者全部具有高等教育水平（大學生）。另外，隨著多媒體的發展，年輕人在幼、少兒時期可以通過多種渠道接觸、練習，以致掌握標準普通話的規範讀音，而年長者在幼、少兒時期則根本不具備當今社會這樣的學習環境。

由此可見，我們說安慶人在說普通話時前、後鼻音分混不分，是一種相當籠統的說法。這種不分主要是指年長一代的安慶人在說普通話時，由於受安慶方言和教育程度的影響，將絕大多數的後鼻音字都合流成了與之對應的前鼻音字，如[aŋ]合流成[æn]，[eŋ]合流成[ən]，[iŋ]合流成[in]。與年長一代相比，年輕一代安慶人普通話鼻音韻尾的發音受當地方言的影響已不太明顯，發音比年長一代要更規範和標準，前、後鼻音的不同聲學特徵分得比較清楚。也就是說，安慶年輕人鼻音韻尾的發音特徵呈現出分流的趨勢。

本實驗的研究結果還告訴我們，安慶年輕女性比同齡男性前、後鼻音的發音要更標準，規範，說明女性對語言的敏感度比同齡男性要強；在向標準語靠攏時，女性比男性表現得更加積極、主動。

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附錄：發音材料

實驗中使用的句子和短語取自林千哲（2002）的實驗數據，但改用簡體中文呈現給受試者（由於大陸地區使用的是簡體中文）。

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. 晚上回家吃饭 | 29. 中国的吉祥物是龙与凤 |
| 2. 现在时间八点半 | 30. 这是我一个月的薪俸 |
| 3. 浪子回头金不换 | 31. 行的直坐的正 |
| 4. 相约台北车站 | 32. 我的星座是天秤 |
| 5. 夏天吹电扇 | 33. 小明很好胜 |
| 6. 考试别偷看 | 34. 人人都怕得癌症 |
| 7. 阿宝有点散 | 35. 我的这一票很神圣 |
| 8. 这案子很难判 | 36. 梅花三弄 |
| 9. 色情泛滥 | 37. 不过十年他已白了双鬓 |
| 10. 一月一号是元旦 | 38. 一天一封信 |
| 11. 东西别乱放 | 39. 性相近 |
| 12. 你说我棒不棒 | 40. 心心相印 |
| 13. 到我店里晃一晃 | 41. 我最爱树荫 |
| 14. 有些老人走路用拐杖 | 42. 非请勿进 |
| 15. 有一支笔在桌上 | 43. 违反宵禁 |
| 16. 叫他别反抗 | 44. 他浑身是劲 |
| 17. 失败别沮丧 | 45. 同归于尽 |
| 18. 美环有点胖 | 46. 吝于付出 |
| 19. 乘风破浪 | 47. 牙痛不是病 |
| 20. 教室空荡荡 | 48. 先生贵姓 |
| 21. 做人不能太过分 | 49. 如入仙境 |
| 22. 不要过度兴奋 | 50. 他的命很硬 |
| 23. 晚风一阵又一阵 | 51. 他没有反应 |
| 24. 不需要你来陪衬 | 52. 禅修讲求心静 |
| 25. 小心谨慎 | 53. 我的学习以人为镜 |
| 26. 精神不振 | 54. 王老师很受人尊敬 |
| 27. 她去医院洗肾 | 55. 家里保持干净 |
| 28. 土鸡又油又嫩 | 56. 军人要服从命令 |

Merger of Alveolar and Velar Nasal Endings in Anqing Mandarin

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Abstract

This paper is a study of the merger of the Mandarin nasal codas /n/ and /ŋ/ in standard *putonghua* spoken by natives of Anqing in Anhui Province, China. The study examines the extent of the merger in relation to different phonological environments, as well as differences between different age groups and different genders. It will be shown that, due to influence from the Southern Mandarin dialect of Anqing, elderly Anqing natives (age 38-45) regularly merge the two nasal endings, whereas in the younger age group (age 18-23), most likely due to education in Standard Mandarin, the merger appears to be reversed. In other words, younger Anqing speakers, unlike their predecessors from the previous generation, appear to have little trouble distinguishing between the Standard Mandarin endings /n/ and /ŋ/. The results also show that, within the younger generation, female informants distinguish /n/ and /ŋ/ much better than their male counterparts, illustrating the universal sociolinguistic tendency for females to be more sensitive than males to prestige forms and to be more willing to adopt standard language as opposed to stigmatized local forms.

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Keywords: Anqing Mandarin; Jianghuai Mandarin; nasal endings nasal merger

Notes for Contributors

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- This linguistic advantage over the indigenous population was a big part of what fueled their dominant influence in political and cultural spheres (Her 2009: 387).
- 據周有光 (1999: 3) 指出，大中華地區的都市人口約有百分之八十以國普通話為主要溝通工具。

Bibliography:

JOURNAL ARTICLE:

- Green, Frederik (葛浩德). 2011. "The Making of a Chinese Romantic: Cosmopolitan Nationalism and Lyrical Exoticism in Xu Xu's Early Travel Writings". *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 23.2: 64-99.
- Wong, Ka F. (王格飛) and Yang Xiao (蕭暘). 2010. "Diversity and Difference: Identity Issues of Chinese Heritage Language Learners from Dialect Backgrounds". *Heritage Language Journal* 7.2: 152-187.
- 陳章太, 李如龍. 1983. 〈論閩方言的一致性〉, 《中國語言學報》 1: 25-81.

BOOK:

- Egan, Charles (易徹理). 2010. *Clouds Thick, Whereabouts Unknown: Poems by Zen Monks of China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 李文肇 (Li, Chris Wen-chao). 2005. 《新聞華語》。台北：師大書院。

BOOK CHAPTER:

- Chan, Abraham (陳以信). 2005. "On the Principle of the Four Grades". In *The Chinese Rime Tables: Linguistic Philosophy and Historical-Comparative Phonology*, ed. David Prager Branner, 37-46. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- 郭熙 (Guo, Xi). 1999. 〈试论海峡两岸汉语差异的起源〉, 陈恩泉编, 《双语双方言与现代中国》, 102-114。北京：北京语言文化大学出版社。

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