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A Phonological Analysis of Buddhist Borrowings of Chinese Language 佛教汉语借词音韵分析

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Abstract

Buddhist terms borrowed from Indic languages have been instrumental in the evolution of Mandarin Chinese phonology and morphology, and lexicon. Sutra translation resulted in the influx of a considerable number of Buddhist words into the Chinese language and the gradual Sinicization process absorbed them into the native Chinese lexicon. This study has been an attempt to analyse the phonology of these words. It has used transliterations, free translations, and phono-semantic matchings which account for 782 terms in total. The study has found out that the Buddhist vocabulary of Mandarin Chinese possesses unique phonological features in both segmental and supra-segmental levels. Nasals have been widely used in the all three categories while denti-alveolar and retroflex affricate sounds show a very low occurrence in the sample. Syllabic consonants /tsɿ/, /tsʰɿ/, /sɿ/, /tɕɿ/, tɕʰɿ/, ʂɿ/, and ɹɿ/ show a very low occurrence rate. Number of syllables in Buddhist terms is higher than that of the classical Chinese lexicon. It is evident that the early translators have attempted to preserve some of the Indic linguistic features in their work while adhering to Chinese phonology.

Keywords: Mandarin Chinese, Indic languages, Buddhist Borrowings, Sinicization, Phonological Features

Introduction

Buddhist terminology has played a vital role in the evolution of Mandarin Chinese for centuries. A considerable number of Buddhist vocabulary has been transferred into Chinese from Sanskrit, Pali, and many other Indic languages. Few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism to China, probably in 1st century AD, translation of Buddhist scriptures began in large scale by translator groups lead by Kumarajiva (鸠摩罗什), Anshigao (安世高), Xuanzang (玄奘) Zhu Fahu (竺法护) etc. Along with these

translations of major Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist literature such as the Jataka stories, a number of Buddhist words were infused into Chinese language. The influence of these terms has been instrumental in the characterization of lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax of Mandarin Chinese. There is clear evidence that Chinese language has undergone morphological and phonological changes under the influence of Buddhist vocabulary. The present study investigates the phonology of Buddhist terms of Chinese language.

Methodology

The study has adopted both qualitative and quantitative analysis methods. The study has selected 782 Buddhist borrowings from Akira Hirakawa's A Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary. The sample words have been categorized according to their translation method as transliterated words, free translations, and phono-semantic matchings. Phonological differences between Indic languages and Mandarin Chinese have been examined by comparison of the phonological inventories using Set Theory. Distribution of phonemes in each category, sound change patterns, supra-segmental features of Buddhist terms, and the Sinicization process have been the key areas of focus in the analysis.

Significance of the Study

A phonological approach to the Buddhist borrowings in Chinese has not been widely researched although Buddhist borrowings in Chinese language have been studied by many local Chinese scholars. Phonology of Buddhist terms in Chinese language is the only link between the phonologies of Indic languages and Chinese. The study of Chinese language and TCFL (Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language) have received much attention since the dramatic increase in the number of students and professionals studying Chinese language in South Asia. Owing to the large number of affricate and fricative sounds in Mandarin Chinese, one of the key issues in TCFL in South Asia is the acquisition of Mandarin Chinese phonology. The identification of the phonological adaptation patterns in the Sinicization process of borrowings from Sanskrit can be of use in designing teaching strategies for teaching Mandarin phonology in TCFL in these regions. Secondly, this study could be

instrumental in designing Chinese-Sinhala and Sinhala-Chinese translation models especially in terms of transliterations.

Buddhist Borrowings in Chinese Language

Translation of Buddhist scriptures began in China in the official translation period of Eastern Jin (317-420 A.D.) and Sui (581—619 A.D.) Dynasties. Kumarajiva (344-413 A.D.), considered as one of the key early translators, and his translation teams laid the foundation to the development of Buddhist scripture translation in China. The Tang Dynasty is considered the "Golden Age" of Chinese Buddhism and a number of translators have translated hundreds of Buddhist scriptures during this period. Along with these translations, a generous amount of Buddhist borrowings flooded into Chinese language. These Buddhist borrowings have remained an inseparable part of Chinese lexicon and many have undergone complete or partial Sinicization.

Chinese Buddhist borrowings can be categorized from different aspects, the most popular method being according to their translation method. Zhu Ming categorizes them as transliterated words, new constructions, and phono-semantic translations. Due to lack of language knowledge and translation experience in the preliminary ages of Buddhist scripture translation, translators were compelled to transliterate Sanskrit words into Chinese (Zhu, 2014). Qiu Mingchun suggests that the early translators attempted to preserve the original flavour of Buddhist terminology in their Chinese counterparts by using transliteration as their method. Though most of the early script translators who adhered to transliteration were Indian monks, Xuanzang despite being a Chinese monk, was a strong supporter of

transliteration (Qiu, 2015). Xuanzang introduced the “Five Untranslatables” (五不翻) theory, in which five situations are introduced where the translator should limit themselves to transliteration. Most of the transliterated words are names of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Arhats, great Indian teachers, Kings, Gods, and Taoists (Guo, 2016). Guo’s proposal is justified by several transliterated proper names in Chinese language, including Ananda “Ā nán” 阿难; “Ā nán tuó” 阿难陀, Shariputra “Shèlì fú” 舍利弗, Pī shī nú 毗湿奴, and Indra 因陀罗 Yīn tuó luó. However, some transliterated proper names have their semantic translation counterparts. For example, the word for Lord Ganesha is both translated as 韃尼萨 Jiān ní sà and as 象头神 “Xiàng tóu shén” meaning “god with an elephant head”. Having many transliteration forms of the same word is another characteristic of transliterated Buddhist borrowings in Chinese. Li Qinghuan and Yuan

Yu suggest that the diversity of transliterated words reflects the spread of Buddhist vocabulary in different places and the translation of the same word by different translators (Li and Yuan, 2009).

Transliterated words account for a majority of words in Buddhist borrowings in Chinese language. Liu Jiaqi points out that Buddhist borrowings are an integral part of Chinese language, but they have not been widely incorporated into the basic Chinese vocabulary for two main reasons. Firstly, most transliterated words in Buddhist vocabulary are proper nouns in Buddhism. Many new Buddhist concepts which are alien to Chinese culture did not have counterparts in Chinese language and even if semantically translated into Chinese, the possibility for incomplete expression of meaning and

misunderstanding were very high. Thus, the translators were compelled to use meaningless parallel Chinese phonemes to transcribe them. Secondly, owing to the “one word many forms” nature of these transliterations, they are not frequently used in Chinese language (Liu, 2018).

Some of the transliterations have become root words in Chinese with very high production ability. Mostly these are monosyllabic single character words which are called “构词语素” “constructive morphemes” in Chinese language. Zhang Ye and Xin Zhifeng point out that monosyllabic transliterations like “magic” 魔 /mo/, “monk” 僧 /səŋ/, “Buddha” 佛 /fo/, “Brahma” 梵 /fan/, etc. are constructive morphemes which form a large number of disyllabic words. These words have the highest degree of Sinicization. (Zhang Ye, Xin Zhifeng. 2016) These monosyllabic transliterations usually have a high word formation ability. For example, the root word 佛 /fo/ meaning Buddha has generated more than 60 words in Chinese language.

Ancient Chinese language mainly consisted of monosyllabic single character words. Many scholars argue that the introduction of Buddhist vocabulary was a major force behind disyllabification of Chinese words. You Juncheng argues that Buddhist vocabulary not only enriched the Chinese language lexicon, but also accelerated the disyllabification process of Chinese lexicon (You, 1993). Sanskrit words, especially Buddhist words consisted of consonant clusters and usually they were multisyllabic words. In the early translations of Buddhist scriptures very long transliterations can be found. For example, the word Maha Pragna Paramita was initially translated as 摩诃般若波罗蜜多 [mó hē bōrě bōluómì duō]. Later, many of these long

transliterations underwent a process called Jianhua 简化, which literally means “simplification”. Thus, [mó hē bōrě bōluómì duō] was later simplified as 般若波罗蜜多 [bōrě bōluómì duō] and finally as 波罗蜜 [bōluómì]. This is also one aspect of the Sini-cization which is discussed in a later section of this paper.

Phono-semantic matchings are on the second level in the list. Unlike the phono-semantic matchings of most alphabetic languages such as English, French, Hindi or Sinhala, Chinese phono-semantic words consist of one or two characters which are phonetically matched and another character of Chinese meaning. This happens because Chinese words are made of characters which by themselves can stand unaccompanied to give independent meanings. For example, the word 魔王 [mówáng] which means “magic king” consists of the transliterated 魔 [mó] which originated from San-skrit “mara” and the second character 王 [wáng] “king” is originally Chinese phonetically and semantically. These characters are called “形声词” Xíngshēng cí in Chinese language, which means “picto-phonetic characters”. According to Liang Xiaohong, although this kind of newly generated words are small in number, they have very quickly penetrated into the Chinese lexicon making a huge impact on Chinese language. The character 魔 [mó] coupled with other Chinese characters have generated words like 魔鬼 [móguǐ] demon, 魔子 [mózi] demon, 魔女 [mónǚ] she-devil, 魔民 [mó mín] demons, 魔事 [mó shì] devil, 魔病 [mó bìng] magic disease, 魔宫 [mó gōng] devil’s palace, 魔力 [mó lì] magic power, 魔术 [móshù] dark arts, 妖魔 [yāomó] demon, 魔爪

[mózhǎo] devil’s claw, and 魔掌 [mózhǎng] evil force (Liang, 1986).

With the course of time, the Chinese translators gained a linguistic ability in Indic languages and they intended to make Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist borrowings closer to Chinese people by translating the meanings of Buddhist vocabulary into Chinese. This was an arduous process compared to transliterating as it was challenging to find Chinese counterparts for Buddhist concepts. Sutra transliterations were not welcome by the commoners who found bizarre meanings since the Chinese characters in them had been abstractly selected to match phonemes, not meanings. This is when Taoism and Confucianism came into assistance. When Buddhism was introduced into China, Taoism and Confucianism had already been well established in the land. The Taoist and Confucian terminology consisted of many words that were partially similar in meaning to Buddhist concepts. Guang Xing proposes that words such as 无为 [wúwéi] for nirvāṇa, 本无 [běn wú] for tathatā, and 真人 [zhēnrén] for Arahant in the early Buddhist scriptures justify the close relationship between Buddhism and Taoism. The works of Confucians like Kang Seng Hui and Mou Zi testify that they respected Buddhism and Zhi Qian’s translations contain obvious Taoist features (Xing, 2015).

Free translations of Buddhist vocabulary have infiltrated into the daily used language in China. Song Haiyan claims that many free translated Buddhist words have already become comprehensible to the commoner and contributed to the development of Chinese lexicon. 世界 [shìjiè] world、方便 [fāngbiàn] ingenuity、坚固 [jiāngù] steadiness、真实 [zhēnshí] authentic、地狱 [dìyù] hell、自然

[zìrán] nature、欢喜 [huānxǐ] happiness、秘密 [mìmì] secret are good examples of free translations (Song, 2018). These words are phonologically different from their original Indic forms. However, these words have been instrumental in the disyllabification of Chinese words. In this process, disyllabic and polysyllabic words were generated in large scale to meet the needs of the Buddhist scripture translation and monosyllabic words were made disyllabic (Wang, 2014).

Cheng Tao proposes that words such as 过去 [guòqù] ‘past’, 现在 [xiànzài] ‘present’, 未来 [wèilái] ‘future’ were originally from Buddhism and penetrated into Chinese. Later, they became frequently used words in Chinese, that their Buddhist flavour has faded completely (Chen, 2012). Words such as 世界 [shìjiè] loka, 方便 [fāngbiàn] upāya, 法 [fǎ] dharma, and 经 [jīng] sutra have already penetrated so deeply into modern Chinese that their original meanings are seldom known by commoners. In the case of 方便 [fāngbiàn] upāya, and 法 [fǎ] dharma, their modern connotations, respectively “convenience” and “law” have become dominant words in the Chinese language.

Sinicization

Not only Buddhism but Buddhist vocabulary too underwent a Sinicization process throughout the history of Chinese Buddhism. When discussing levels of Sinicization, transliterated words are the least Sinicized out of the three categories, followed by phono-semantic matchings and free translations respectively. Sinicization and phonological changes of Buddhist vocabulary are parallel processes in which the latter depends on the former. According to

Jiang Qiong, while some Buddhist terms underwent syllable simplification, some other terms have undergone syllable complication. The number of syllable simplifications are much higher than the complications. Jiang further points out that there are two major forms of Sinicization of the word form. The first is that the first part is shortened, followed by an ideographic word or morpheme to form a new word. In the second category, the source word is directly transliterated and another transliterated word or morpheme constitutes a new word (Jiang, 2015).

Phonological Differences between Mandarin Chinese and Indic Languages

Mandarin Chinese consists of six stop sounds p^h , t^h , k^h , p , t , k , six affricate sounds $\widehat{ts^h}$, $\widehat{tʂ^h}$, $(\widehat{te^h})$, \widehat{ts} , $\widehat{tʂ}$, (\widehat{te}) , five fricative sounds f , s , ξ , (ϵ) , x , three nasal sounds m , n , η and two liquid sounds l , l . Out of these, the four retroflex sounds $\widehat{tʂ^h}$, $\widehat{tʂ}$, ξ , l and the two dental-alveolar affricate sounds $\widehat{ts^h}$, \widehat{ts} are by far the most distant to Indic speakers. When compared to the Indic languages such as Sanskrit, Pali, Hindi, or Sinhala, Mandarin has a limited sound range. Figure 1 demonstrates the distribution of phonemes in Sanskrit and Mandarin Chinese assets. Phonemes $/m/$, $/f/$, $/n/$, $/l/$, $/x/$, $/s/$, $/\eta/$, $/kh/$, $/k/$, $/th/$, $/t/$, $/ph/$, $/p/$ are shared by both Sanskrit and Chinese. In fact, these are shared between all the Indic and Chinese languages.

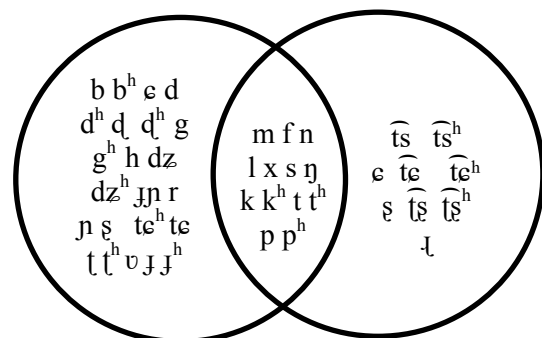


Figure 1 Comparison of Phonological inventories of Sanskrit and Mandarin

Aspirated voiced /b^h/, /d^h/, /d^h/, /c^h/, /j^h/, /g^h/ sounds are unique to Indic languages which are not available in Mandarin Chinese and most of their unaspirated counterparts are also absent. The labio-dental semivowel /v/ is also unavailable in Mandarin. Two of the semi-nasal sounds of Sanskrit /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ are also not found in the Mandarin phonological inventory.

A significant factor about Buddhist transliterations is that the translators have attempted to avoid using sounds that are unfamiliar to the Indic speakers in their transliterations such as the four retroflex sounds /ʈʂ^h/, /ʈʂ/, /ʂ/, /ɭ/ and affricate sounds /tʂ^h/, /tʂ/. The two denti-alveolar affricate sounds /tʂ^h/, /tʂ/ are the least occurred sounds in Chinese Buddhist borrowings. The sounds zi/tsɿ/, ci/tsʰɿ/, /si/sɿ/, /zhi/tʂɿ/, /chi/tʂɿ/, shi/ʂɿ/ and ri/ɿ/ which have their own vowel phoneme, /i/ rarely occur in their syllabic consonant form in Chinese Buddhist transliterations. The early translators were of Indian origin, and they wanted to preserve the Indic spirit of Buddhist terms as much as possible. Therefore, it could be concluded that they attempted to avoid using any alien sounds of the target language to bring the audience closer to the Indic culture.

Distribution of Sounds

This section discusses the distribution of sounds in the sample.

Free Translations (Total 1350 occurrences)					
	Labial	Denti-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Velar
Nasal	m 20(1.48%)	n 207 (15.3%)			ŋ 149(11.3%)
Stop	aspirated p ^h 4 (0.29%)	t ^h 23 (1.7%)			k ^h 14(1.03%)
	unaspirated p 31(2.29%)	t 53 (3.9%)			k 183 (13.5%)
Affricate	aspirated	tʂ ^h 5 (0.37%)	ʈʂ ^h 27 (2%)	tʂ ^h 15(1.11%)	
	unaspirated	tʂ 16 (1.18%)	ʈʂ 49 (3.62%)	tʂ 71 (5.25%)	
Fricative	f 34(2.51%)	s 54(4%)	ʂ 88 (6.51%)	ʃ 71 (5.25%)	x 189 (14%)
Liquid		l 36(2.66%)	ɭ 11 (0.81%)		

Table 1: Distribution of Phonemes in Transliterated Buddhist terms

Nasal /n/ accounts for the highest number of occurrences out of all sounds. Denti-alveolar /tʂ^h/ accounts for the lowest number of sounds in the cluster. /k^h/, /ɭ/, and /tʂ/ also account for very low occurrences which is less than 1%. /l/, /x/, /m/, /tʂ/, /t/, and /tʰ/ have a relatively higher frequency.

Transliterations (Total 1006 occurrences)					
	Labial	Denti-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Velar
Nasal	m 81(8.05%)	n 154(15.3%)			ŋ 16(1.59%)
Stop	aspirated p ^h 57(5.66%)	t ^h 71(7.05%)			k ^h 3(0.29%)
	unaspirated p 52(5.16%)	t 75(7.45%)			k 23(2.28%)
Affricate	aspirated	tʂ ^h 2(0.19%)	ʈʂ ^h 15(1.49%)	tʂ ^h 15(1.49%)	
	unaspirated	tʂ 4 (0.39%)	ʈʂ 14 (1.39%)	tʂ 74(7.35%)	
Fricative	f 23(2.28%)	s 38 (3.77%)	ʂ 41 (4.07%)	ʃ 14 (1.39%)	x 95(9.44%)
Liquid		l 134(13.32%)	ɭ 5 (0.49)		

Table 2: Distribution of Phonemes in Transliterated Buddhist terms

Similar to the transliterations, in the free translated vocabulary list, the highest number of occurrences is recorded by /n/ with a percentage of 15.3% followed by /x/, /k/ and /ŋ/ respectively. In contrast to the transliteration, /ph/ shows a very low percentage of 0/29%. /ʂ/, /tʂ/ and /ɕ/ phonemes show a relatively higher frequency of occurrence.

Phono-semantic matchings (Total 426 occurrences)					
	Labial	Denti-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Velar
Nasal	m 13(3.05%)	n 64(15.02%)			ŋ 33(7.74%)
Stop	aspirated p ^h 13(3.05%)	t ^h 13 (3.05%)			k ^h 1(0.23%)
	unaspirated p 9 (2.11%)	t 26(6.1%)			k 43(10.09%)
Affricate	aspirated	tʂ ^h 1 (0.23%)	ʈʂ ^h 12 (2.81%)	tʂ ^h 3(0.70%)	
	unaspirated	tʂ 4(0.93%)	ʈʂ 7 (1.64%)	tʂ 28(6.57%)	
Fricative	f 42(9.85%)	s 16(3.75%)	ʂ 17(3.99%)	ʃ 11(2.58%)	x 45(10.56%)
Liquid		l 23(5.39%)	ɭ 2(0.46%)		

Table 3: Distribution of Phonemes in Phono-Semantic Buddhist terms

Similar to both above categories, /n/ marks a percentage of 15.02% accounting for the highest. The fricative sounds /x/ and /f/ account for higher values in the table. /tʂ^h/, /ɭ/, and /tʂ/ account for the lowest in frequency. Velar stop sound /g/ has also shown a relatively higher percentage of 10.09%.

From the above data, some important conclusions can be drawn. Characters with nasals have been widely used in transliterations. Stop sounds also have a relatively higher rate of occurrence in transliterated terms, apart from /kh/ which accounts for a very low number of occurrences in all three categories. Fricative sound /x/ also shows a relatively high occurrence rate in all three categories of words. Affricate sounds, except for /tʃ/, liquid sound /l/ show a very low percentage in all three categories. /k/ has shown a low occurrence rate in transliterated words, but a very high rate in both free translations and phono-semantic matchings. This proves the hypothesis that the Buddhist translators have attempted to avoid non-Indic phonemes such as dental-alveolar, retroflex, and alveolar palatal affricate sounds in their translation of Buddhist terms into Chinese. A surprising finding reveals that characters with aspirated /kh/ as /kh/ is used to a lesser degree in Sanskrit. For example, the word *Asangkya* /ʌsʌŋkhjə/ has been translated as 阿僧祇 /ā:səŋtʃʒ/, whereas it could have been translated as /səŋkʰ:/ or /səŋkʰh/ with corresponding characters. Similarly, /k/ has also been avoided in many cases such as *sikṣa*: which is translated as 式叉 /ʃɛ̃:tʃhā:/.

Patterns of Sound Substitution

Buddhist Terms have undergone major phonological changes when absorbed by Chinese language. Due to the unavailability of sound ranges such as pre-nasalized sounds, trill sounds and voiced aspirated sounds such as b^h , d^h , $ḍ^h$, $ḍʒ^h$, g^h which are dominant sounds in Sanskrit, substitution of sounds has been a difficult process. However, eight key patterns of sound substitution can be observed in Indic Chinese translations:

1. Indic 'la, ra, lə and ɭə' are substituted by 'l'. eg. Mandala 曼拿罗 /mænna:luó/, Mudrā 母陀罗 /muthuoluo/, Vihāra 毗诃罗 /pihəluo/, Mantra 满怛罗 /manta:luo/, Māra 磨罗 /mo:luo/, Rādhā 罗陀 /luothuo/, Rāhu 罗侯 /luoxou/, Rāma 罗摩 /luomo:/, Lalanā 罗罗拿 /luoluo:na:/, Yashodarā 耶戍达罗 /jeɛtəluo/, Sarva Bala 萨婆婆罗 /saphopholuo/, Sakala 西伽罗 /eɪtəluo/, Dharma 达哩摩多 /talimotuo/, Dharmapāla 达摩波罗 /tamopoluo/, Thushāra 都沙罗 /toʊ ʃəluo/, Pathra 钵多罗 /po:tʊoluo/, As ura 阿叔罗 /a:ʃuluo/, Arhat 阿罗汉 /a:luoxan/, Dharani 陀罗尼 /thʊoluo:ni/, Arjuna 额罗那 /əlʊona/, Pāramithā 波罗密 /bo:luomi:/, Indra 因陀罗 /jintʊoluo/, Brahmin 波罗门 /bo:luomən/, Sutra 修多罗 /eɪtʊoluo/, Dharani 陀罗尼 /thʊoluo:ni/, Uthpala 优钵罗 /joʊpoluo/, Srāvaka 舍罗婆迦 /ʃəlʊopoteia/, Sāgara 沙竭罗 /ʃa:jieluo/, Chandra 旃达罗 /tʃanda:luo/
2. 'θə' is substituted by 'dʊə': Samantha 三曼多 /sanmantʊo/, Pretha 必哩多 /bilitʊo/, Siddhartha 悉达多 /ei:tatʊo/, Guptha 掘多 /teʊetʊo/, Dhutha 杜多 /tu:tʊo/, Revatha 梨婆多 /li:phitʊo/, Dharmathā 达哩摩多 /ta:li:mi:tʊo/, Bhutha 部多 /bʊtʊo/, Thathā 多他 /dʊo:tha/, Thathāgatha 怛他揭多 /ta:tha:təietʊo/
3. 'k' sound is often substituted by 'j'. eg. Giri 姑利 /teili/, Sri Guna 尸梨伽那 /ʃɫiteiana/, Pudgala 富特伽耶 /fʊ:tʰəiaje/, Guptha 掘多 /teʊetʊo/, Mugalan 目犍连 /mʊtəianliæn/, Mahanāga 摩呵那伽 /mohəna:teia/, Ganga 殑伽 /te'hɪteia/, Samgha 僧伽 /səŋteia/, Ghantā 伽陀 /teia:thuo/, Yogi 瑜珈士 /jʊteiaʃ/, Magadha 摩揭陀国 /mo:təietʊokʊo/, Gatha 偈陀 /tei:thuo/, Āganthuka 阿健多 /a:təiantʊo/

Bhagavat 薄伽梵 /paoteianfan/、Garuda 迦楼罗 /teialoʊlo/、Sāgara 沙竭罗 /sa:jielʊo/

4. Sound ‘v’ is usually substituted by ‘b’ or ‘p’. eg. Seetha Vana 尸多婆那 /ʃɛtʊopona/、Vishnu 毗湿奴 /piʃɲi/; 毘 忸 /pini/、Deva 提婆 /thipho/、Ghāndarva 捷閼婆 /teʰianthapo/、Mānava 摩那婆 /mona:pho/、Jetavana 移多婆那 /ji:tʊophona/、Lichchavi 梨车毘 /litʃʰəphi/、Revatha 梨婆多 /liphotʊo/、Pāndava 槃荼婆 /phanʃʰapho/、Visesa 毘尸迦 /phiʃɛia/、Vinaya 毘尼耶 /pinije/、Vipula 毘佛略 /phifolyœ/、Vihāra 毗诃罗 /pihəlo/、Veda 皮陀 /phi:thʊo/、Sarva Bala 萨婆婆罗 /saphopholʊo/、Upavāsa 邬波婆裟 /wuphophoʃa:/、Veda 鞞阡 /piŋthʊo/、Vinā 毗那 /phina/、Nirvāna 涅槃那 /niephanna/、Srāvaka 舍罗婆迦 /ʃɛlʊophoteia/

5. ‘ð’ is often replaced by ‘t’: Buddha 佛陀 /fo:thʊo/、Nanda 难陀 /nanthʊo/、Chandāli 旃陀罗家女 /tʃanthʊolʊoteiany/、Muchilinda 林陀 /linthʊo/、Mudrā 母陀罗 /mʊthʊolʊo/、Veda 皮陀 /phithʊo/、Veda 鞞阡 /piŋthʊo/、Indra 因陀罗 /jinthʊolʊo/、Dāna 陀那 /thʊona/、Dharani 陀罗尼 /thʊolʊoni/、Dāna 檀那 /thanna/、Magadha 摩揭陀国 /mo:teithʊokʊo/、Nidāna 尼陀那 /nithʊona/

6. The syllable ‘ma’ is substituted often with ‘mo’: Samādhi 三摩提修 /sanmothieiu/、Kāma 哥摩 /kəmo:/、Mallikā 摩利 /moli/、Māyā 摩邪 /moie/、Mahānāga 摩呵那伽 /mohənatēia/、Mahā Prajāpathi 摩呵波闍波提 /mohəphotʊphothi/、Mahāmāyā 摩賀摩耶 /mohəmoje/、Yama 炎摩 /jənmo:/、Māgha 磨迦月 /moteiajue/、Māra 磨罗 /molʊo/、Rāma 罗摩 /lʊomo:/、Dharmathā 达哩摩多 /talimotʊo/、Dharmapāla 达摩波罗 /ta:mo:po:lʊo/、Magadha 摩揭

陀 国 /mo: teithʊokʊo/、Mahendra 摩显陀 /mociantʊo/

7. ‘p’ substitutes ‘b’ eg. Ānāpānasathi 安般 /anpan/、Upasatha 布沙他 /pʊʃa:tha:/、Pretha 必哩多 /pilitʊo/、Pāpa 播波 /bobo/、Pātali 波吒梨 /botʃali/、Stupa 窣堵波 /sʊtʊpo/、Padma 跋纳摩 /ponamo/、Dharmapāla 达摩波罗 /tamopolʊo/、Upavāsa 邬波婆裟 /wʊpophoʃa:/、Pātra 钵多罗 /potlʊolʊo/、Kalpa 劫波 /teiepo/、Paramithā 波罗密 /polʊomi/、Upāsaka 优波娑迦 /joʊposʊoteia/、Uthpala 优钵罗 /joʊpolʊo/、Stupa 窣堵波 /sʊtʊpo/

8. Vowel sound ‘a’ is substituted by ‘ʊo’ or ‘o’. eg. Samantha 三曼多 /sanmantʊo/、Arhat 罗汉 /lʊohan/、Sal 娑罗树 /sʊolʊoʃu/、Sādhu 娑度 /sʊotʊ/、Kanthaka 建多歌 /teiaentʊokə/、Pretha 必哩多 /bilitʊo/、Siddhārtha 悉达 /ei:tatʊo/、Shānthā 扇多 /ʃantʊo/、Kolītha 拘利多 /teʊlitʊo/、Guptha 掘多 /teʊetʊo/、Ānanda 阿难陀 /nanthʊo/、Chandāli 旃陀罗家女 /tʃanthʊolʊoteiany/、Rāhula 曷罗怙罗 /xəloxoʊlo/、Mandala 曼拿罗 /mænna:luó/、Dutha 杜多 /tu:tʊo/、Muchilinda 林陀 /linthʊo/、Jetavana 移多婆那 /ji:tʊophona/、Revatha 梨婆多 /liphotʊo/、Mudrā 母陀罗 /mʊthʊolʊo/、Vihāra 毗诃罗 /pihəlo/、Mantra 满怛罗 /mantal ʊo/、Māra 磨罗 /molʊo/、Skandha 私建陀 /sɛiaentʊo/、Rādhā 罗陀 /lʊotʊo/、Lalanā 罗罗拿 /lʊolʊona/、Yashodarā 耶戍达罗 /jeeʊtalʊo/、Sarva Bala 萨婆婆罗 /sapopolʊo/、Sakala 西伽罗 /xiteialʊo/、Dharmathā 达哩摩多 /talimotʊo/、Dharmapāla 达摩波罗 /tamopolʊo/、Bhutha 部多 /putʊo/、Thushāra 都沙罗 /toʊʃalʊo/、Pretha 钵多罗 /po:tʊolʊo/、Asura 阿叔罗 /a:ʃulʊo/、Ārya 阿罗耶 /alʊoje/、Dharani 陀罗尼 /thʊolʊoni/、

Gāthā 伽陀/teiathɔo/, Indra 因陀罗/jintɔolɔo/,
 Vaira 和夷罗/həjilɔo/, Brahmin 波罗门/bo:lɔmən/,
 Dāna 陀那/thɔna/, Sutra 修多罗 ɛɪtɔolɔo/,
 Uthpala 优钵罗/joɔpɔlɔo/, Srāvaka 舍罗婆迦
 /ʃɪlɔphoteia/, Magadha 摩揭陀国/mo:teiethɔokɔo/,
 Yakshini 罗刹女/lɔtʃhanyu/, Gāthā 偈陀/tei:thɔo/,
 Āganthuka 阿健多/a:teiantɔo/, Nidāna 尼陀那
 /nithɔna/, Thathāgatha 怛他揭多/tathateietɔo/,
 Buddha 佛陀/fo:thɔo/, Garuda 迦楼罗/teialoɔlɔo/,
 Sāgara 沙竭罗 /ʃa:jielɔo/, Chandra 旃达罗
 /tʃanda:lɔo/, Arbuda 額部陀/əpɔtɔo/

Phonology of free translated Buddhist terms of Chinese is similar to the native Chinese phonology. The number of syllabic consonants is higher than that of the transliterated Buddhist terms. The contrast between the phonology of Indic languages and Mandarin Chinese is clearly reflected in the phono-semantic matchings.

Suprasegmentally Features

A syllable of Chinese language consists of three components, namely the initial (consonant), final (vowel), and the tone. According to Třísková there are 12 different syllable constituents in Chinese language. V (啊), CV (马), VV (爱), VC (安), GV (呀), GVV (外), GVC (盐), CVV (买), CVC (满), CGV (昧), CGVV (快), and CGVC (面) (Třísková, 2011). As none of these structures contain consonant clusters, they can be contrasted with the Sanskrit syllable structures which contain heavy consonant clusters. The term Sutra /su:trə/ consists of CVCCV structure. Its Chinese transliteration 修多罗 /eəu tʰō: lʰó/ consists of the CVCVCV syllable structure.

The most distinctive syllabic feature of Buddhist terms in Mandarin Chinese is the simplification process. For instance, the simplification of 佛陀 /fotɔo/ as 佛/fo/, Arahant 阿罗汉/alɔoxan/ as 罗汉 /lɔoxan/, Anapanasati 安那般那念/annapannaniæn/ as 安般/anpan/, Ananda 阿难陀/ananthɔo/ as 阿难 /anan/, Bodhisattva 菩提萨埵/phɔthisatɔo/ as 菩萨 /phɔsa/, Stupa 窣堵波/sɔtɔpo/ 塔, and Pātra 钵多罗 /pɔtɔolɔo/ as 钵 /po/.

Although the early Indic translators due to their lack of the phonological rules of classical Chinese and unavailability of corresponding terms in Chinese, translated terms in sutras using the sound method, latter translators simplified these long words or re-translated them with available Chinese terms.

The three dental sibilant sounds z, c, s and four retroflex sounds zh, ch, sh, and r account for a special phonological occurrence in Mandarin Chinese which are called 'syllabic consonants' as explained in a previous section. Although transliterated borrowings from other languages such as 三明治 /sænmiəntʃɜ:/ for sandwiches, and 迪斯科/ti:sɜ:kʰɜ:/ for disco, 镭射 /léiʃɜ:/ laser words contain retroflex sounds, while in many of the Buddhist transliterations there are no retroflex endings without a vowel. Chinese Buddhist transliterations often end with a vowel or vowel cluster. The number of nasals in the sample account for the highest out of all phonemes. Nasalization is a distinctive feature of Indic languages including Sanskrit, Devanagari, and Magadhan which are the major contributors to Chinese loanwords. Nasalization and pre-nasalization are common features of most Indic script languages such as Sinhalese, Tamil, Bengali and Telugu. It could be assumed that the nasalization and pre-nasalization

factors have affected in the nasalization of Chinese language sounds. As in the contribution of Indic borrowings in the disyllabification of Chinese lexicon, the abundance of pre-nasalized sounds and nasals in Indic languages would have affected the na-salization process in Chinese phonology.

The number of syllables of Buddhist loan words in Chinese is generally much higher than in classical Chinese. As mentioned in section 2, the classical Chinese lexicon was monosyllabic and single in character. The Buddhist vocabulary, especially transliterations range from 1 to 15 syllables in general and in some cases, it even exceeds this number. For example, the term 般若波罗蜜多/*ēāupō:zǎ:pō:luó:mǐ:tuō:/* meaning pragna-paramita is considered as a single word in the Chinese language which contains seven syllables. the number of syllables in free translations is much lower than the transliterations. Completely or partially Sinicized free translations usually consist of two syllables.

Conclusion

Buddhist terms in Chinese language have evolved hand in hand with the development of Chinese language and the two have had a mutual effect on each other for centuries. Coexistence of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism was a strong reason behind the fusion of Buddhist vocabulary with the native Chinese vocabulary, often adopting linguistic features from each other. Buddhist vocabulary has had a phonological influence on Chinese language on segmental and supra-segmental levels. The analysis has shown that the Buddhist translations possess unique phonological features which are neither completely Chinese nor Indic.

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Sino-Sri Lankan Relationship and Trikāyastava in an Inscription at Mihintale

米欣塔莱铭文中的中斯关系和特里卡亚斯塔瓦

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Abstract

This article focusses the history of Sino-Sri Lankan relationship from the remote past to the present in brief and discusses the evidence in relation to the inscription called *Trikāyastava*, at Mihintale, Sri Lanka pertaining to the present study. Sri Lanka and China maintained a close relationship especially, in the field of religion and trade, during more than two millennia. There are many records among the Chinese literary sources, which bare evidence to prove the cruse of representatives from Sri Lanka to China and vice-versa. In an Inscription, at Mihintale there are some verses, in Sanskrit and depict the eulogy to the *Trikāya* of the Buddha. Evidence for eulogizing *Trikāya* can be traced from China, Tibet and Sri Lanka only. As the said inscription is a unique piece of evidence in relation to a study on the Sri Lanka-China relationship, a brief discussion relevant to the fact has also been made in this paper.

Keywords: Sino-Sri Lankan, relationship, Trikāyastava, Mihintale

Introduction

History of Sino-Sri Lankan relationship goes back to remote past even up to 2nd millennia B.C.E. Therefore, evidence can be traced from the Sri Lankan, Chinese and other sources for the religious, commercial, and diplomatic relations between the two countries developed by leaps and bounds during the past four millennia (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89).

Trikāyastava in an Inscription at Mihintale, Sri Lanka is a unique piece of evidence related to *Trikāyastava* concept. It eulogizes the *Trikāya* or the three bodies

of the Buddha, developed by Mahāyāna tradition, in Sanskrit and *Śragdharā* meter.

Applicability of the topic mentioned above arises through two ways: (1) *Trikāyastava* has been restored into Sanskrit from Chinese transliteration and from a Tibetan codex. No other country than these three, viz. Sri Lanka, China and Tibet has so far presented *Trikāyastava* in the equal form. (2) *Trikāyastava* too being a Buddhist concept found in both countries and common in the sense too. Therefore, it is certain that Buddhism is the bridge between the two countries relationship through more than two millennia.

This article is based on the literature survey. Among the extent researches related to Sino-Sri Lankan relationship Rohan Gunaratne (1987) wrote specially based on Chinese sources and Professor S.G.M. Weerasinghe (1995) are foremost. Professor B.E.S.J. Bastianpillai also presented a paper to the Goa Conference (UNESCO Maritime Silk Roads Expedition) -1990 and the topic was “China-Sri Lanka: Trade and Diplomatic Relations including the Voyages of Cheng-Ho.”

John M. Seneviratne has translated an article by M.Sylvain Levi published in the Journal Asiatique in 1900 is the most preceding study on the subject. Seneviratne’s translation has been published in the Journal R.A.S. (Ceylon) Vol.xxiv (1915-16). At the beginning of that translation a saying of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, the Vice President to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is Quoted. I Quote the same here as it shows the importance of the Sylvain Levi’s study related to the present study.

“The whole series of Chinese records about Ceylon, which M. Sylvain Levi has collected in the Journal Asiatique (1900), is most interesting and valuable, not only in respect of information about Ceylon and its relations with China, but also as a means of checking the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* during many centuries. So checked, the accuracy of the Sinhalese chronicle is, in spite of slight disagreements, placed on a solid basis. M. Levi’s article, so far as it relates to Ceylon, should be early translated in full and embodied in our Journal” (Seneviratne, 1915, p.74).

Historical evidence found about the relationship between Sri Lanka and China

According to the Indian epic *Mahābhārata*, Chinese and Sri Lankan representatives attended the sacrifice, *Rājasūya* of Yudhishthira at Hastināpura, India. Referring to the *Mahābhārata*, some scholars have mentioned that the relationship between China and Sri

Lanka goes back to the second millennia B.C.E. (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89) Referring to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and contemporary texts, some scholars have agreed to a trade relationship between China and Sri Lanka which goes back up to the 15th century B.C.E. According to them, Chinese ships transported cinnamon to Dynastic Egypt from Sri Lanka which was known, during the prehistoric time, as “the land in which cinnamon grew” (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89).

An ancient Sinhala text, the *Sīhalavattthupparāṇa*, states that 32 Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka and four *Arahats* from India visited the capital of China. This occurred in and around the 2nd or 1st century B.C.E.

“Diplomatic relations between ancient Sri Lanka and China commenced around the first century B.C.E. While the Sinhalese visited China, Chinese too have reached *Sīhaladvīpa*. Some of the Chinese visitors to Sri Lanka might have permanently remained here owing to various reasons, such as religious activities and matrimonial ties (Weerasinghe, 1995, p.98).”

Chinese text *Han Shu* records that a Chinese mission to South India met with disaster and returned to China after visiting Sinhaladvīpa. This incident, according to the record, had occurred at the beginning of the Christian era (1-6 C.E.) (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89).

The Roman chronicler Pliny (24-79 C.E.) and the Greek Cosmos Indicopleustes (6th century C.E.) described Sri Lanka as a “great emporium”, which the Chinese used to visit frequently from early times. Sri Lanka used to export items of value such as honey, amber and pepper. In the 14th and 15th centuries items imported from China included cotton, rose water and musk. It has been already mentioned that the transportation of cinnamon from Sri Lanka to Egypt was done by Chinese ships.

Another information provided us by Pliny was that Sinhala ambassadors from the court of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka sat on right side of the Roman Emperor Claudius Caesar in 47 C.E. when captives from England, including two early kings Caradoc and Caractacus were paraded before him. Sri Lankans had by then also visited China and these ambassadors were able to give a description of China to the Roman Court. Pliny noted that the Sinhala travellers had reached China overland, passing through India along the foot of the Himalayan range of mountains (Weerasinghe, 1995, p.98).

The Sinhala king in Anuradhapura dispatched a number of conjurors who performed wonderful sleight of hand tricks to liven the life of the emperor. It is interesting to note that the whole of Asia sent artists some of them sculptures, magicians and conjurors to please the emperor, but the conjurors who had performed for the Sinhala king before coming to China were unique.

When the Chinese requested for the identity of these men the reply was, “We are men of the western seas. To the west of the sea (Bay of Bengal), Southwest of Shen (Sinhala) lies Tats’ in Syria and the two are in close communication. Some scholars disagree that the identity of Shen is Sinhala” (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89).

An embassy of, probably during the reign of king Gajabahu reached China in 120 C.E., included several conjurers who entertained the emperor in 121 C.E., the emperor conferred on the Sinhala king the honorary distinction of the “Mantses and the Golden Chersonese” (Seneviratne, 1915, p.74).

A mission from Sri Lanka, which reached the Chinese Court in 405 C.E., had travelled overland via India and Central Asia in a journey, which had taken ten years. Another mission, which reached China during

the time of emperor Zhouti of the Sung Dynasty, travelled overland and by sea and took three years to end the journey. According to Weerasinghe, this mission was sent by the king Upatissa I. A Buddhist monk (*śramaṇa*) was also included the mission. Weerasinghe, referring to Seneviratne, Liyanagamage and Ponnampereuma mentions: Another mission from Sri Lanka is recorded to have reached the Chinese Court overland in 405 C.E. They are said to have reached China via India and Central Asia. This appears to be an embassy sent by the Sri Lankan king Upatissa I (360-410 C.E.) to the Chinese Emperor of the Tsing Dynasty. This tedious journey was long and has taken ten years. “A Jade-stone image of the Buddha exhibiting every colour in purity and richness, in workmanship unique, and appearing to be beyond human art” is mentioned to have been sent to the Chinese Emperor through this embassy (Weerasinghe, 1995, p.98).

An important record is that of the Chinese monk, Ven. Fa Xian, who set off for India in 399 C.E. in search of Buddhist texts and sojourned two years in Sri Lanka while studying Buddhism. He resided principally at the Abhayagiri Viharaya in Anuradhapura, where there were five thousand monks at that time. Major establishments (*pirivenas*) being the Mahavihara and the Jetavana and Abhayagiri monasteries. (Ven. Fa Xian noted that there were 3000 bhikkhus in the Mahavihara. The refectory rice boat in the Mahavihara was large enough to hold cooked rice for 3800 monks, while those in the Jetavana and Abhayagiri monasteries could hold sufficient to feed 3000 and 5000 respectively.) Fa Xian was aligned to Mahāyāna but also studied the *Theravada* practiced by *Hinayanists* before he left the country in 414 C.E. While Ven. Fa Xian was in Sri Lanka, he had seen a

merchant from China offering a white silk fan to the Buddha image. Ven. Fa Xian records:

“Fa Xian had been many years from the land of Han; the people with whom he had been thrown into connection had all been foreigners; the hills, streams, plants, and trees on which his eyes lighted were not those of former times; moreover, those who had travelled with him were separated from him-some having remained behind, and others having died. Now, beholding only his own shadow, he was frequently sorrowful at heart; and when suddenly by the side of this jade image he saw a merchant make offering of a white silk fan from China, his feelings overcame him and his eyes filled with tears” (Giles, 1877).

At a time, when the Abhayagiriya fraternity was enjoying a very prosperous period, Chinese traveller monk Ven. Fa Xian (C.E. 412-414) arrived in Sri Lanka. Sanskrit works belonging to the Mahāyāna tradition, such as *Dīrghāgama*, *Saṃyuktāgama*, *Saṃyuktasañcayapiṭaka* and the *Vinaya Piṭaka* based on the Mahīmsāsaka tradition, which he took to China, are believed to have been obtained from Abhayagiri.

The fifth century C.E. was one of considerable activity in several respects. These activities included Buddhist missionary works.

Chinese and Roman ships were dealing directly with the Sinhalese from about the year 125 C.E. to the 4th century C.E. By the time of King Dhatusena (459-477 C.E.) of Sri Lanka. The ancient port of Mahatittha known as “Mantota” was becoming an entre-port (mart or emporium) for trans-shipment and barter of goods from Beijing, Rome and other cities. Exports from Lanka since early times included gems, pearls, spices, aromatic gum, ivory, metallic mercury, muslin and elephants. Imports included gold, silver, silk, perfumes, medicinal drugs, glass, porcelain, wine, diamonds, red sea coral and horses.

Three Sinhalese Bhikkhunis in 429 C.E. and five Bhikkhus in 456 C.E. were sent as an embassy to the emperor (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89).

The king Silakala (522-535 C.E.) in his respectful letter to the Chinese court mentioned that despite the great distance between Sri Lanka and China, there was awareness in Sri Lanka regarding the developments in China. Silakala was also adhering to the dhamma and wished that the relationship between the two countries would strengthen with the blessings of the Triple Gem (Weerasinghe, 1995, p.98). Mahāyāna Buddhism was flourishing in Sri Lanka at that time and Silakala’s contemporary in China, Emperor Wu was an ardent supporter of Buddhism. Subsequent encounters of the peoples of the two countries have been numerous and documented. For instance, Chinese chronicles state that there were constant voyages between China and Sri Lanka in the period between the two monks Ven. Fa Xian (5th century) and Ven. Itsing (7th century). However, many written records have undoubtedly been destroyed or lost over the years. These losses have occurred more frequently as regards the Sri Lankan than the Chinese accounts. The loss of records of such events, which occurred in the pre-colonial age of Sri Lanka, contributed to the delay of awareness until recently of substantial and important chapters of Sri Lankan history.

An order of Bhikkhunis (Buddhist nuns) was active in Sri Lanka during the 4th century C.E. The nuns of the order belonged to the Mahavihara as well as to the Abhayagiri Vihara. Eleven Bhikkhunis went from Sri Lanka to China and conferred higher ordination over 300 Chinese nuns in 434 C.E.

A number of Chinese personalities have visited Sri Lanka during the past millennia for various purposes.

Those who visited with a religious purpose especially held pleasant memories.

There are, at least, three Chinese monk travellers, scholars or translators and disseminators of the Buddha's noble Dharma teachings around the world, whose names are constantly mentioned with the history of Sri Lanka. They are: (1) Ven. Fa Xian or Fa-Hsien 法显; *Fǎxiǎn*; (337-422 CE), (2) Ven. Xuan Zang 玄奘; *Hsūan-tsang* (602-664 CE) and (3) Ven. Yi Jing; 義淨; Iching or Itsing as appearing in some 19th century publications 635-713 CE).

Out of these three monks Ven. Fa Xian stayed for two years in Sri Lanka while Ven. Xuan Zang profiled in detail the Buddhist affairs of Sri Lanka from the various documents and numerous eyewitness accounts of other travellers and pilgrims whom he met in India. There were number of diplomatic missions to China dating from the time of King Gajabahu I (114-136 C.E.). There were six recorded missions between 618-905 C.E. Out of them four were during the time of Aggabodhi VI (733-772 C.E.). Chinese coins belonging to every emperor from 976 C.E. to 1265 C.E. have been found in Sri Lanka. Envoys were sent regularly to China in 13th and 14th centuries. Chinese records indicate that China offered to help the Sinhala king get back the sacred tooth relic when in 1284 Pandya king Manavarman Kulasekhara (1268-1310C.E.) got hold of it.

Between 1273 and 1294 C.E., there were five missions. Parakramabahu VI (1412-1467 C.E.) dispatched six missions. *Kāvyāśekhara* refers that there were Chinese soldiers in the army of Parakramabahu III (1287-1293 C.E.). China has shown respect for Sri Lanka. When Cheng Ho, an envoy of the Chinese emperor was attacked in Sri Lanka, in the 15th century C.E., China took a lenient

view. Instead of beheading the Sinhala offenders, who were taken to China, sent them back with food and clothes.

During European colonialism, the historical episodes of Sino-Sri Lanka relations were dormant for almost five hundred years until Sri Lanka gained its independence from the Portuguese, the Dutch, and lastly from the British in 1948. The newly independent island established its first bilateral agreement - the Rubber-Rice Pact-with China in 1952 soon after the establishing of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Since 1957, formal diplomatic relations began to expand, as several heads of state have visited each other's capitals. The completion of the massive Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH) in 1973 was a landmark of friendship, among other projects.

More recently, Sri Lanka established close relations as China provided military, financial, and diplomatic support for Sri Lanka to defeat the separatist Tamil Tigers, ending the over-quarter-century-old Eelam War in 2009.

Trikāyastava in an inscription at Mihintale, Sri Lanka.

This inscription is inscribed on a rock lying to the north of the Ambasthala *dāgāba* at Mihintale. The inscription consists of 19 lines. Unfortunately, much of the inscription has been effaced and lines 1-16 have not been deciphered. Lines 16-19 of the inscription consist of the *Trikāyastava* (i.e. eulogy of the three *kāyas* (or bodies) of the Buddha) in three Sanskrit stanzas composed in the *Sragdharā* metre. Considering the words: "Bodhisattva Guṇākara" are carried by the inscription, Dr. Paranavitana, Sri

Lankan well versed Archaeologist, suggests that the author might be a Buddhist monk who aspires to Buddhahood (Epigraphia Zeylanica, 1943, p.243). Parānavitana, for the first time, published two verses of this inscription in his paper *Mahayanism in Ceylon*. Sylvain Levy, having read Parānavitana's paper, passed the information to Parānavitana on *Trikāyastava*. Parānavitana records: "The late professor Sylvain Levy, who happened to read my paper, was kind enough to inform me that the verses in question belong to the *Trikāyastava* which he restored into Sanskrit from a Chinese transliteration and published for the first time in 1896, and which was later published in 1911, from a Tibetan codex, by Baron A. von Stael-Holsten" (Epigraphia Zeylanica, 1943, p.243). Therefore, the scholars have been successful in deciphering the inscription with the help of Chinese and Tibetan texts. Parānavitana, says that the *Trikāyastava* was taken to China by Ven. Fa Xian (Epigraphia Zeylanica, 1943, p.243). There is a time bar, at least 200 years, between the *Trikāyastava* in an inscription (dated about 7-8 centuries C.E.) and Ven. Fa Xian's (337-422 C.E.) visited Sri Lanka. No other source place or evidence can be traced in Sri Lanka, then the inscription mentioned here, which bears the *Trikāyastava*. Therefore, a problem arises from where Ven. Fa Xian brought *Trikāyastava* to China.

Stavas or hymns in praise or adoration to the Buddha or related are popular in many countries including India, China, Tibet and Sri Lanka. The common people as well as learned people used to practice such recitations and contemplations of hymns because they believed that the harmony and peace in the individual mind can be brought by that practice. Among the *Stavas Catustava* ascribed to Nagarjuna is prominent. *Trikāya* is a result of the later development of the Buddha concept under the Mahāyāna tradition. It is

said that the *Yāna* concept has made the fertile soil for this development of the Buddha concept. There are three *Yānas* or vehicles to attain *Nibbana* viz. *Shrāvakayāna*, *Pratyekabuddhayāna* and *Buddhayāna*. *Shrāvakayāna*, the vehicle of the ordinary *Bhikkhū* who hopes to become an *Arahat*, the *Pratyekabuddhayāna* for the rare beings who are able to become Buddhas but do not preach the Dhamma to others, and in contrast to both of these the *Buddhayāna*, Mahāyāna or the great vehicle of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Due to those who praise only the *Yāna*, *Buddhayāna* along with the *Bodhisattvayāna*, are called Mahāyāna.

The facts, mentioned below, are found in the inscription:

- i. The ideal of the Bodhisattva has been extolled.
- ii. *Trikāya* of the Buddha is eulogized.
- iii. The language used is Sanskrit (Epigraphia Zeylanica, 1943, p.243).

Parānavitana claims that the *Trikāyastava* found in Sri Lanka is closer to the same of Tibetan than Chinese. He gives two reasons to prove his opinion, viz.

- i. First line of the verse 2 of the Sri Lankan is "*sukṛta śataphalam*" which is similar to the Tibetan version, while the Chinese one reads as "*sukṛta śamaphalam*".
- ii. The fourth verse seen in the Chinese has been omitted in Sri Lankan and Tibetan.

Prof. Mudiyanse, also agrees to say that the accordance of the text of the *Trikāyastava* is closer to that of Tibetan than Chinese version.

"The text has been found to be more in accord with the Tibetan manuscript than with Chinese, except with regard to orthography regarding which the inscription is more reliable. The Chinese text contains four verses, the Tibetan manuscript and the inscription only three" (Mudiyanse, 1997, p.90).

There is much evidence, archaeological and literary to justify the existence of Chinese relationships with Sri Lankan Mahāyāna monasteries. However, there is no proof of Tibetan relationships except the similarity seen between the *Trikāyastava* and Tibetan tradition. Certainly, there is no sufficient evidence to prove whether the *Trikāyastava* found in Sri Lanka is closer to Chinese one or to Tibetan version. However, there are some points to be discussed in this respect.

- i. It is not clear in Paranavitana's note, from where Fa Xian brought *Trikāyastava* to China.
- ii. It is not clear according to the records, made by Fa Xian, whether Fa Xian brought *Trikāyastava* along with him among the texts he had taken from Sri Lanka.
- iii. If we agree to accept that Ven. Fa Xian brought *Trikāyastava* to China from Sri Lanka, it means that we agree to accept that by the time, Fa Xian visited Sri Lanka, *Trikāyastava* prevailed in another form, Text or inscription other than the inscription at Mihintale. It can also be accepted, because there were some occasions texts were burnt due to the rivalry of both Mahavihara and Abhayagiriya. Therefore, if the *Trikāyastava* prevailed in text form in Sri Lanka when Fa Xian arrived, it may have been caused to burn at a later time.
- iv. Or probably, Fa Xian brought *Trikāyastava* from India to China.
- v. Inclusion of the fourth verse as appear in the Chinese version may not be compulsory, because the content of the fourth may be personal and different as appearing in the last line which is in the fragmentary form of the inscription.
- vi. The difference between Sri Lankan and Chinese *Trikāyastava* may probably occur due to the

transliteration. Once it was transliterated into Chinese from Sanskrit and then from Chinese to Sanskrit.

- vii. Unlike the relationship between Sri Lanka and China the relationship between the two countries Sri Lanka and Tibet is very poor.
- viii. If, we consider the fact that the *Trikāyastava* was brought to China from India, after that the Indian *Trikāyastava* disappeared at a later time in India.
- ix. There may be another suggestion that the *Trikāyastava* was created in Sri Lanka, though it has historical development, even from the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, and was taken into China and also into Tibet.

It is open to prove, because the most of the lines are effaced in the inscription and the content as a whole and the purpose of the inscription is unclear to us.

However, it is clear that the Mihintale-*Trikāyastava* inscription too bears evidence for the expansion of the Mahāyāna tradition in Sri Lanka during the period between the 7th and 9th centuries C.E. Besides this inscriptional evidence, there are a number of monuments associated with the Mahāyāna tradition, found in various places in Sri Lanka. The most important fact is that the *Trikāyastava* inscription bears evidence to the fact that the monastery of Mihintale, where Venerable Mahinda paid his first visit and made his first sermon, had become a Mahāyāna monastery.

The greatest bond between China and Sri Lanka was that of Buddhism. The king Mahanama (412-434 C.E.) in his letter, brought by four Buddhist monk Ambassadors, to the Chinese emperor said that a government based on Buddhist principles is the ideal government and said that the bond of friendship between the two countries was based on their

adherence to the Triple Gem. The content of the letter sent by the king is included in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol.II (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89), (Weerasinghe, 1995, p.98). According to Gunaratne the letter starts: “I respectfully inform the illustrious lord of the great sung that, though mountains and seas separate us news of him reaches us from time to time ...” letter continues: “Our ancient kings considered hitherto the practice of virtue as their only duty; they knew how to rule without being severe, they served and honoured the three jewels...” The letter concludes: “I desire his Majesty to send me a letter to make known his instructions to me.”

A letter similar to the above was sent by the king *Silākāla* (522C.E.-535C.E.) to the emperor (Weerasinghe, 1995, P98). This evidence proves that the relationship between two countries; China and Sri Lanka existed for a long time. It is clear that the main cause behind this relationship, even from the remote past, whether it would be Theravāda, Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, is Buddhism.

A story, which says that a group of Sri Lankan monks 33 in number, along with 4 Arahant from India, visited China through India, included in the *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa* mentioned above, also determine the same. According to the story of the *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa* the Chinese Emperor was influenced by Brahmins and learned Brahmins were the Counsellors to the Emperor. The day, when the incident took place, the emperor was at the balcony along with Brahmins saw a group of monks compassionately walking towards the palace. At the moment, Brahmins observing the senses of the emperor who was enthusiast to meet the group of monks, said to the emperor, “Sir, they are a group of dangerous spies. They have come to cause disaster to

your empire and before they do it you should sentence them to death”. The emperor, believing the word of Brahmins and having without any investigation, ordered the sentence of death to the group of monks. A layman, *upāsaka*, having heard about the sentence, approached the emperor, and asked him to release the monks and on behalf to give gold equal to the weight of each one of them. The emperor agreed and he saved 34 out of 37 and for the rest he gave his children, servants, animals and the house and committed to poor as a slave.

The emperor, having considered the whole incident, requested the monks to preach the doctrine, they listened to him. Then he, having pleased to monks, ordered to establish temples in every village and treated the layman well (Gunaratne, 1987, p.89).

The son Mahinda and daughter Sanghamitta, the two Buddhist emissaries of the Great Emperor Ashoka of India (268-232 B.C.), brought Buddhism to Sri Lanka. Over the course of history, Arab traders introduced Islam; Indian rulers promoted Hinduism; European colonists presented Christianity to the indigenous Buddhist people. Yet, throughout the millennia the island nation has remained predominantly a Buddhist depositary of teaching and learning in its original form of Theravada tradition (the lesser vehicle) while accommodating various other Buddhist sects and co-existing with the Mahāyāna tradition (the greater vehicle) of Buddhism, as Fa Xian documented in the shared destiny of the Buddhist Kingdom.

Conclusion

Although the records, to prove the relationship between the two countries, are inadequate from the Sri Lankan side, various scholars have discovered numerous the same from the Chinese side. Sri Lankan

literary sources, mostly, limited to names of China such as *Cīna*, *Jīna*, *Cīnaya* and *Mahācīnaya* etc. while Chinese sources have been preserved even letters sent by Sri Lankan monarch to Chinese monarch.

Ven. Fa Xian is the famous Chinese visitor to Sri Lanka from China and he stayed in Sri Lanka for two years and according to Chinese sources many delegates visited China in time to time. Various sources evidenced that China interceded in the trade between Sri Lanka and the other remote countries.

According to the historical evidence the Buddhism was the cultural bridge between the two countries Sri Lanka and China. Since, no rivalry has been recorded between the two countries Sri Lanka and China, in the history, although abided Theravada and Mahāyāna respectively.

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Sri Lanka China Economic Relations based on Chinese Investments in Sri Lanka 中国在斯里兰卡投资中斯中经济关系研究

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Abstract

Sri Lanka and China have strong bilateral ties since historical times. Though many historical records describe Sri Lanka and China as well-developed countries in the past, currently Sri Lanka is named as a lower-middle income country. In contrast to that, China is soon becoming an economic supremacy in the world. As a method of increasing Chinese soft power globally, China offers a large number of investments to developing countries that could benefit China in their long-term goal of gaining the economic and political supremacy. Hence, China has identified several reasons for investing in Sri Lanka that could benefit both countries. One such reason is the geo-strategic location of Sri Lanka which has a high potential of converting to a trade hub in the future. Through the “Belt and Road initiative”, Sino-Sri Lanka relations have further strengthened during the past decade. Despite such initiatives, the Chinese investment inflows to Sri Lanka are looked at from different perspectives. Using the qualitative method, especially with inductive analysis, this research identifies the economic benefits that can be gained through the bilateral relations and the positive impacts of recent Chinese investments in Sri Lanka. Moreover, as Sri Lanka has a high potential of attracting further investments in the future, referring to scholarly materials, the researcher will suggest several measures that can be taken to enhance investment opportunities and economic ties between the two countries.

Keywords: Chinese Investments, Potential Benefits, Positivity, Sri Lanka-China relations.

Introduction

With the end of civil war in 2009, Sri Lanka's fate has changed for the better. By 2010, the Sri Lankan economy recorded an impressive growth of 8 percent (Premaratne, 2011). As in other Asian countries who are looking toward Chinese investment opportunities, Sri Lanka is also trying to create strong economic

relations with China. However, from the ancient times itself, China and Sri Lanka had positive ties (Bastiampillai, 1990). Networking with China further developed in the mid-1990s. Due to this strong friendship and cooperation between the two countries, China has supported Sri Lanka when Sri Lanka was in real need. Examples of such support include the aid

received during the Tsunami disaster and the civil war in order to reconstruct the destructed areas. Furthermore, Chinese investments and trade opportunities started flowing into the country with the project “The Belt & Road initiative”. The Geostrategic location of Sri Lanka has always won the interest of China as the most important shipping lines to China pass across the Sri Lankan maritime territory (Deyshappriya, 2016). Furthermore, China has identified Sri Lanka as a potential location to become a trade hub in the future that could connect the Asia-Pacific region with the Gulf, African, and European Regions. These reasons have made China willingly invest in Sri Lanka in order to keep strong and friendly bilateral relations that could be more advantageous in the future.

The Hambantota port will further enable access across the Indian Ocean, stretching to the far East, to Europe, and across the globe. Sri Lanka will be well positioned to play a strategic role in the One Belt One Road initiative of the government of People’s Republic of China - by Hu Jianhua (China’s merchant executive vice president) (news, 2017).

Chinese Investment in Sri Lanka

Due to the civil war, Sri Lanka lost many opportunities for development. The most critical time for Sri Lanka came during the last phase of the war which started from 2005 to 2009. However due to instability of the government, insecurity of the business environment, and the unpredictability of the future, Sri Lanka could receive very few foreign investment opportunities. As a result of that, FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) inflows from China to Sri Lanka were also reduced until 2008. Hence, from

2003-2008, it has only counted for UD\$ 61.7 million (Samaranayake, 2011).

However, with the end of the civil war in 2009, the former president Mahinda Rajapakse’s government implemented a vast number of projects across the country; especially in the under developed areas like Hambantota with Chinese government support. It has also helped to strengthen the relations between the two countries. Moreover, with the gradual implementation of investment projects all around the country, China became the key sponsor for Mega infrastructure development projects in Sri Lanka.

After the civil war in 2009, Sri Lanka was in extreme need of infrastructure development due to the mass destruction that took place for 30 years. Sri Lanka had to rebuild the destroyed buildings, roads, railways, irrigation systems, and build housing complexes for the war victims. However, due to high expenses for security purposes, the Sri Lankan government was in a serious economic crisis with little available resources to allocate a budget for development of the country. Thus, Sri Lanka had to invite and request foreigners to invest in the country.

Beside this situation, the Sri Lankan government has also undergone many challenges in the post war period. With the end of the war, international Organizations started to accuse the Sri Lankan government of war crimes and violating Human rights (BBCNews, 2011). Due to Sri Lanka’s tarnished reputation, and other security and trust issues, most international investors and organizations had lot of pre-conditions and restrictions (Deyshappriya, 2017). One of the best examples is the Economic and Technological Cooperation Agreement (ETCA) which Sri Lanka hesitated to sign (Economic and Technological Cooperation Agreement (ETCA),

2017). Therefore, at some points Sri Lanka was less benefited or merely trapped. As an alternative option, Sri Lanka then turned to get the support of its regional powers like India and China, but were, however, unable to gain the expected support. Moreover, Sri Lanka lost many World Bank loans and International Monetary Fund (IMF) aid when it reached the level of a lower-middle income country (Deyshappriya, 2016). At a critical time like that, Sri Lanka was assisted by China to continue its development plans. Furthermore, Sri Lanka was seeking fast loans, assistance, and support with the least pre-requisites, conditions or any restrictions, and it was only Chinese offers that fit with Sri Lanka's requirements (Deyshappriya, 2016). This finally resulted in China becoming the top investor in Sri Lanka. "China's aid to Sri Lanka jumped from a few million dollars in 2005 to almost one billion dollars last year (2008), replacing Japan as the biggest foreign donor" – Times of London, May 2009 (Samaranayake, 2011).

Sri Lanka and China found a common interest and strengthened their relations through investments. China has not just become the most trusted and the largest investor in Sri Lanka, but also provided assistance to rebuild the country after the war. Thus, China has invested much on infrastructure development projects than any other country. From the Chinese perspective, China understood the importance of Sri Lanka for their future global trade. Therefore, China focused much on harbours, ports, and airports in addition to developing the roads and energy sector in Sri Lanka. The strengthened relationships between the two countries led China to start mega investments projects in Sri Lanka.

According to MOF (2013) China became Sri Lanka's largest lender in 2009 and 2010, investing US\$ 1.2

billion and US\$ 821 million respectively. It has accounted as 54% in 2009 while it has accounted as 25% in 2010. In 2011 also China became the largest financier for Sri Lanka giving US\$ 760 million loan even surpassing Japan's US\$ 413 million and US\$ 105 million from the World Bank (Silva, China tops Sri Lanka loan commitments, 2011) Further to that, in June 2011, China Development Bank has agreed to sponsor infrastructure projects for the next 3 years in Sri Lanka with US\$1.5 billion (Silva, Sri Lanka to get US\$1.5bn from China bank, 2011).

Thus, up to 2011, China has made a lot of investments in Sri Lanka such as: Norochcholai Power Plant, Southern Expressway, Mattala Rajapaksa International Airport, Hambanthota Harbor Project, Nelum Pokuna (Lotus Pond) theatre, Lotus Tower, Colombo Port City Project, Moragahakanda-Kaluganga development project, Mahinda Rajapaksa National Tele Cinema Park, Mahinda Rajapaksa International Cricket Stadium, Exclusive Economic Zone, Mirigama, Colombo Katunayake Express way, Rebuilding of Northern roads and many similar projects (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2005-2015).

These significant investment projects started in Sri Lanka gained the international attention of those who were doubting the Chinese power establishment within Sri Lanka. However, it is worth mentioning that China's interference in local affairs of the Government of Sri Lanka is minimal. "We do not seek to simply transfer aid to host countries like Sri Lanka, but we hope to help them improve their economic opportunities and ours too. It is not a donor-recipient relationship, but win-win economic co-operation" (Wheeler, 2011).

Further, there was a high improvement of Chinese investments after 2011 which resulted in China

surpassing India who was the top investor Sri Lanka. President Rajapakshe's relationships with the Chinese Government than with India and western powers as well as Indian prejudices against Sri Lanka after the civil war were the main reasons behind China being the top investor in Sri Lanka.

The data derived from board of investment reports (2011-2014) indicates that Chinese investments in Sri Lanka has drastically increased after 2011. China even surpassed India in 2012. Moreover, China then became the 3rd largest FDI donor in Sri Lanka by 2012. According to reports, the FDI to Sri Lanka was US\$ 185 million. However, it is also seen that the FDI from both Hong Kong and United Arab Emirates has gone down from 2012, while Chinese investments have increased drastically and brought US\$ 403 million FDI by 2014. With this rapid increment of Chinese investments, China became Sri Lanka's largest donor by 2014. As a share, it is 24.53% of the total FDI to Sri Lanka in 2014. Further this rapid growth is indicated as 117.84% of the growing rate of investments to Sri Lanka (BOI, 2011-2016) as cited in (Deyshappriya, 2016). These investments are mainly focused on Infrastructure development, energy and power, telecommunication, garments, and electric manufacturing sectors in Sri Lanka.

The government of Sri Lanka from 2005-2015 was under the president Mahinda Rajapakshe who maintained close relations with China. Thus, in this period, the Sri Lankan government successfully obtained investments from China. Nevertheless, the change of government in 2015 significantly affected the bilateral relations between the two countries. The former president Maithreepala Sirisena, who came to power after president Rajapakshe made significant changes in the government and even presidential

powers. Compared to the former government, President Sirisena and Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe have been slightly pro-Western at the beginning of the government. As a result of that, the new government tried to cut-off so many Chinese investment projects that have been implemented by the previous government (Barry, 2015). They have even stopped the on-going mega projects at that time without identifying the long-term consequences. Because by this time, China has been the largest investor as well as the donor to Sri Lanka. When the Chinese investments were cut-off, it could not be covered by other investors as there was a high gap between Chinese investments and other foreign investments to Sri Lanka. Thus, the total FDI that increased to US\$ 1,635 million by 2014 drastically reduced to US\$ 1,161 million by the end of 2015. However, it became even worse by the next year (2016) where it has even gone down to US\$ 445 million letting the country under an economic crisis as well as high debts (CBSL, 2000-2016).

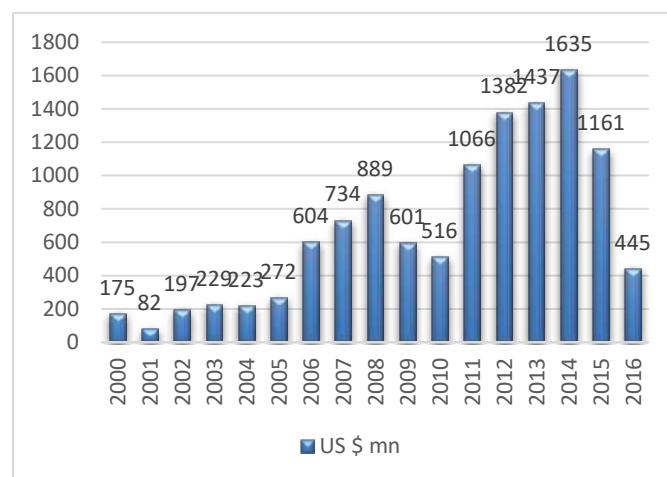


Table 1 Foreign Direct Investment Inflows

The main reason for the downfall of these investments can be identified as the loss of Chinese investments. Because, President Sirisena's government has cut-off most of the mega projects planned by China. The best

example is the “Colombo Port City Project” (Reuters, 2016).

However, the new government understood the mistake done by cutting-off Chinese Investments. It was not easy to develop the country without Chinese Investments because Sri Lanka was highly depending on Chinese Investments. Although the President Sirisena’s government had more expectations about west and their support than from China, Sri Lanka didn’t get the expected support from west (Goodhand & Walton, 2017). Hence, Sri Lanka lost lot of investments that has never even had during the most critical time of the war after 2005.

Understanding the situation, Sri Lanka changed their policy and decided to become a founding member of AIIB in 2016 and to re-continue the Chinese investments with a new phase. Thus, the former agreements were renewed and signed to re-continue the investments. Therefore, not only continuation of half-done projects, but also new projects have started with the invitation by the Sri Lankan government for further investments.

As a result of that, in 2017 even surpassing India who was once the top investors in Sri Lanka, China has accounted for 35% of foreign direct investments (FDI) into Sri Lanka according to the Ministry of Development Strategies and International Trade in Sri Lanka. Hence, by the end of 2017 FDI inflows has reached up to \$1.37 billion (World Bank). As Ministry of Development Strategies and International Trade states, “Data from the Board of Investment indicates Sri Lanka; a substantial uptick in FDI inflows has been recognized to the country of \$795.5 million during January to September in 2017, which is 80 % higher than the same period in 2016 and already exceeding the full year 2016” (ChinaDaily, 2017).

Due to further investment projects by China, the FDI has increased up to \$1.61 billion by 2018 (World Bank). Nevertheless, due to Easter bomb attack, FDI flows to Sri Lanka have decreased from \$1.6 billion in 2018 to \$758 million in 2019. (UNCTAD, 2020). Despite of this downfall due to terror attacks and Covid-19 pandemic issues, the current government is expecting to attract \$4 billion FDI to Sri Lanka by 2022 (Sri Lanka: Country Risk, 2020).

When considering the FDI inflows, China (with Hong Kong) ranks first throughout this period, India and Singapore rank second and third respectively in the top investing countries in Sri Lanka. Moreover, a distinctive gap between Chinese investments and the rest is significant. Hence, it can be assumed that China would be the top investor to Sri Lanka even in the future. Therefore, maintaining friendly relations with China is extremely important to Sri Lanka.

Why Sri Lanka prefers Chinese investments? (From the perspective of Sri Lanka)

Sri Lanka has borrowed a considerable amount of loans from China. Thus, Sri Lanka is in high debts to China. Despite this, Sri Lanka still prioritizes Chinese investments.

As a small economy recovering from terrorism, investments are crucial to develop the country’s economy. Nevertheless, it is not an easy task to develop the country without international support. In order to achieve its targets, Sri Lanka needs the support from economically stable countries. Thus, accepting Chinese FDI it is one of the remaining best options. China’s confidence to invest in economically unstable countries compared to Westerners is worth noting. By helping economically unstable countries to develop, China creates strong ties with them. By

establishing good relations around the world, China would be stronger both economically and politically. Nevertheless, some scholars even from Oxford and Cambridge argue that Chinese investments can affect Sri Lanka negatively due high debts resulted of borrowing billions of dollars to build domestic infrastructure during the former government (Goh, 2016) & (Pathirana, 2020). By 2017, Sri Lanka's estimated national debt was US\$ 64.9 billion, of which US\$ 8 billion is owed to China. Further Sri Lanka borrowed US\$ 301 million from China with an interest rate of 6.3 per cent, while the interest rates on soft loans from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) were only 0.25–3 per cent. (Veasna Var, 2017). As a consequence of that, now Sri Lanka undergoes a critical condition where it is impossible to repay the debts as the economic growth of the country is comparatively slow. Thus, Sri Lanka has converted these debts into equity by handing over 80% of the total share of Hambanthta port for 99 years to China (Veasna Var, 2017). The same issue has happened with the Mattala Airport which was built with \$300–400 million Chinese loans. It was difficult for Sri Lanka to maintain its expense which costs around US\$ 100-200 million annually (Veasna Var, 2017). In addition to these projects that have already completed, there are some on-going projects that created a debate among Sri Lankans. The Colombo Port City project which costs around \$1.4 billion is one of them.

Although majority accuse China for the debts Sri Lanka undergoes, it is important to understand that Sri Lanka should be more responsible for the debts than China. If these valuable opportunities are used in the right manner being more accountable, the situation could have been different. This was also stated by the

former president Sirisena during his visit to Beijing after being elected as the president “the current problems facing the Colombo Port City project are temporary and the problems do not lie with China”. Chinese President Xi Jinping in return expressed his hope that “Sri Lanka could ensure the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese enterprises” (Xi Jinping Holds Talks with President Maithripala Sirisena of Sri Lanka, 2015).

Furthermore, it is often seen that the opposition political parties to the government always try to antagonize the public creating a negative impression about China with the intention of elasticizing their political career. However, they have been successful in their intention to a significant level and a tunnel view among certain communities. Thus, some people have misunderstood the Chinese investments as a conspiracy of selling Sri Lanka to China.

In spite of above-mentioned issues that Sri Lanka under goes, it still has the hopes and ambitions of becoming a trading centre for Asia, especially Sri Lanka wants to be the trading hub in the Indian ocean that could connect both east and west. With this intention, the Sri Lankan government tries to follow the Singapore's model of development in order to leverage its geographic position in the centre of the Indian Ocean. Thus, Sri Lanka needs to restore the economic and political stability to gain further foreign opportunities. As a country with a very high literacy rate, educated workforce, attractive destination with geo-strategic values, Sri Lanka has a high potential of developing if corruption and economic instability can be reduced. Especially at a time China offers investment opportunities through Belt and Road initiative. With the support of China, Sri Lanka can advance its port and border shipping service industry

to build up the economy as in the Singapore model; not only the Colombo port (the biggest transshipment hub in South Asia) but even the Hambantota port can be turned into a trading hub important for the entire world. However, it is the responsibility of the government to take the important measures to develop the shipping industry of the country.

According to Sri Lankan former Central Bank Governor Dr. Indrajit Coomaraswamy, China offers unparalleled opportunities for Sri Lanka with pending FTA and Belt and Road Initiative that creates a strong platform for trade investments. It could also bring solutions to labour restrictions.

Stronger economic relations with China, underpinned by a pending Free Trade Agreement (FTA), should be given the highest priority by Sri Lanka as it provided the best opportunity to attract trade investments and implement important structural transformations in the economy. No other country offers anything as much in terms of capital which is able to be deployed from China. In addition to that, China has been a longstanding and steady friend of this country. Having said that, relations with China must always be given the highest right by Dr. Coomaraswamy. (Jayawardena, 2018).

In addition to the above facts, he also pointed out that Chinese FTA has the potential to increase the market access to Sri Lankan exports to China making a transformative impact on investment and technology in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, that structural changes within Sri Lanka's economy should be encouraged by Chinese investments, with more labour reform over agriculture and other underproductive sectors that could filter into better paying industries and services sector jobs. In supporting the Chinese investments, if Sri Lanka can provide the suitable land and labour

force for these investments, it could develop the infrastructure of the country as well as bring opportunities to labour force in the country.

Another reason for Sri Lanka to prefer Chinese investments is the non-interference in the local affairs of the country. Soon after the war, Sri Lanka invited many powerful nations to invest in Sri Lanka. But majority of investments came as a package of unbearable pre-conditions that were highly interfering the local affairs of the government. One of the best examples is the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) compact which wanted to interfere the local matters by reshaping the laws and institutional framework of the local affairs of Sri Lanka (Bandarage, 2020). Such incidents disappointed Sri Lanka about many international investors as they were trying to fulfil different intentions. Meanwhile, Chinese foreign policy of non-interference in to local matters of trading countries is highly preferred by Sri Lanka. Therefore, China became a good investor and also a strength to Sri Lanka.

Moreover, China's rapid growth of investments made Sri Lanka more confident to open up with China. China has started to invest in Sri Lanka continuously since 2000s. By 2005, Chinese FDI was just few millions and it has turned out to be billions by 2017 with a 117% of rapid growth of investment (Ganeshan Wignaraja, Dinusha Panditaratne, Pabasara Kannangara, & Divya Hundlani, 2020). Also, China has become the top investor for Sri Lanka within very few years while Sri Lankan government became more confident about Chinese loans and investments. Especially as the main stakeholders are more flexible and stable like: Export-Import Bank of China, China Development Bank Corporation, Chinese State-owned Bank and Government of China.

Suggestions to improve Chinese Foreign Direct Investments

Though China is the top investor to Sri Lanka currently, Sri Lanka could still increase the potential benefits by increasing the foreign direct investment inflows coming from all around the world. Therefore, suggestions can be presented referring to scholarly materials (Deyshappriy, 2017).

Firstly, it is important to improve the transparency of the legal system in order to create confidence among foreign investors. This will eventually help to strengthen international rankings regarding a better image about the country. As far as the impression about the country develops internationally, FDI will also increase gradually.

Moreover, Sri Lanka should Strengthen the relationship with international banks like Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) that support the development of developing countries.

Investor friendly atmosphere is very important for a country to gain international investments. Hence, creating such an environment is crucial. Being more flexible and opening up with foreign investors, especially with taxation, investment policies and visas are crucial to attract more investors. While inviting other countries to invest in Sri Lanka, it is also important to strengthen the relations with already existing top investors.

The reference information systems to investments in Sri Lanka should always be attractive and user-friendly. Hence, Sri Lankan business and investments websites, and marketing and promotion pages should be highly pleasing and should be facilitated in multiple languages, especially in Chinese language.

Additionally, more opportunities should be given to talented Sri Lankan students to learn in China and

both governments should take their skill service as they are more familiar with both environment and languages.

China Sri Lanka economic relations from the perspective of international relations

According to the theories of International Relations, China Sri Lanka economic relations can be described using concept of liberalism. Both countries have their own ambitions. China wants to be the economic super power in the world emerging as a peaceful soft power. On the other hand, Sri Lanka wants to recover from the impacts of war and economic crisis that the country is undergoing for a long period. Furthermore, Sri Lanka has an ambition of developing the country as an international hub like Singapore because it has the potential and a geostrategic location. Although the ambitions of the two countries do not clash with each others, they have a shared interest of gaining their maximum development. Therefore, both countries have started cooperating in order achieve their own interests. Both countries have a collective effort where China helps to develop Sri Lanka while Sri Lanka helps China to strengthen their trade to Gulf, Africa and Europe being a trade hub in the Indian Ocean. This interdependency over the mutual benefits has made Sino-Sri Lanka bilateral relations stronger and friendlier. Therefore, both countries see their cooperation as a win-win to both nations. Chinese policy of “Non-Interference” and “Peaceful Coexistence” has also brought more confidence for Sri Lanka. Further, from the Sri Lankan perspective, China is not seen as an intervener for the local matters of the country. Moreover, Sri Lanka as a less powerful country, the smartest decision it can take is not to compete with the most powerful nations in Asia

but to harmoniously cooperate with them for the benefit of the country.

Conclusion

Sri Lanka is a very small country in the world that has been struggling to develop its economy by overcoming the impacts of the 30 years of civil war. Thus, China who had its interest over Sri Lanka started investing in Sri Lanka when it was in real need. As a result of the rapid growth of Chinese FDI to Sri Lanka, China has now become Sri Lanka's top investor. Although there is a risk of debts, the investment opportunities offered to Sri Lanka will however have a positive impact for a rapid economic development of the country. Due to incomparable Chinese investments offered to Sri Lanka, it is clearly seen that Sri Lanka is highly dependent on Chinese investments. Strengthening the Sino-Sri Lanka bilateral relations is directly connected with the economic development of the country.

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Learners' Motivation towards Learning Chinese as a Foreign Language in the General Education System of Sri Lanka

斯里兰卡国民教育体系中汉语学习者对汉语学习动机研究

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Abstract

The “One belt one road initiative” has strengthen Chinese Sri Lankan - bilateral relations considerably during last few years. As a result of it, a vast number of Sri Lankan students are motivated to learn Chinese language based on its significant impact on contemporary Sri Lankan society. Chinese language is now one of the main languages studied among other foreign languages in Sri Lanka's education system. Learning a language is influenced by various factors. One of the most important factors is the learner's motivation towards the target language. This paper studies the motivational factors of Chinese language learners in a foreign language learning environment in Sri Lanka's general education system. The research instruments used in this study consist of interviews and questionnaires. The random sampling method was used to select 72 participants for the study. The questionnaire focused on their motivation towards learning Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL), and how those motivational factors impact Chinese language learning. Regarding the overall level of motivation, the findings of this study showed that the learners had a high level of motivation towards learning Chinese. According to findings, both instrumental and integrative motivation significantly impacted the motivation level of the student-respondents. A majority of school learners are motivated by factors such as future travel in China, immersing themselves in Chinese language and culture, obtaining scholarships to study in China amongst other factors. Finally, the study introduces some pedagogical implications that would help to enhance learners' motivation.

Keywords: Chinese, General education, Learner, Motivation, Sri Lanka

Introduction

Sri Lanka and China have upgraded bilateral relations to a strategic cooperative partnership. Sri Lanka's relationship with China has evolved through Buddhism, trade, and aid to more strategic ties based

on infrastructure development and global connectivity. A language is a tool that enables mutual communication among people. The necessity of learning foreign languages has become essential in the modern world due to the development of advanced

science & technology, trade, transportation, and military factors. Chinese is becoming more and more popular in Sri Lanka and there is a high tendency among students to learn Chinese.

In 1972, teaching Chinese as a foreign language was introduced as a certificate course at the University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. Hence, the University of Kelaniya was recognized as the pioneering institution for Chinese language education in Sri Lanka. At present, five universities, 45 schools, and four Confucius institutes engage in Chinese language teaching and learning in Sri Lanka. According to the statistics issued by the Department of Examinations in year 2019, 302 Chinese language learners are presently engaged in Chinese language learning in Sri Lanka's general education system. The Chinese language curriculum of the schools mainly consist of Chinese language, grammar, culture, and literature.

This study mainly focuses on school-level Chinese language learners' motivation for learning Chinese. This is done to better understand if existing foreign language policies satisfy the learners' needs. Ellis (1997) argues that both internal and external factors play an integral role in learning a foreign language. External factors such as the social milieu in which learning takes place include the opportunities learners may have to hear and speak the target language. Internal factors, however, include the attitudes that learners develop towards the target language, and seem to have a much stronger effect on language learning. In the Sri Lankan Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) context, the learners' views, favours, and disfavours towards Chinese language should be clearly understood as they affect the learners' motivational intensity of learning Chinese. Gardner (1982) states that if we know the learner's

motivation towards the target language, then we can predict the way he or she behaves towards the so-called target language. Hence, Gardner hypothesized that L2 learners with positive motivation towards the target culture will learn the target language more effectively than those who do not have such a positive attitude and motivation.

Objectives

The research objectives are as follows:

- i. To examine the motivation of Sri Lankan students towards learning Chinese as a foreign language in general education;
- ii. To examine the factors that affect student motivation towards learning Chinese.

Literature review

Studies on motivation towards foreign language learning

As Benson and Gao (2008, p. 27) state, since language learning strategies seem to be “malleable”, there have been many studies focusing on the effect of other individual differences such as motivation on this variable (Chang, 2005; Sheikh Al Eslami & Khayer, 2006; Ziahosseini & Salehi, 2007; Yin, 2008). According to Gardner (1983) and Wilkins (1972), there are two main types of motivation, namely, instrumental and integrative motivation. They have explained and clarified “integrative motivation” as: “learning a language because the learner wishes to identify himself with or become integrated into the society of the target language”. In other words, a learner is motivated when they learn a language to integrate with the culture and values of the foreign language group, to make contact with the speakers of the language, or to live in the country concerned. It is believed that students who are most successful when

learning a target language are those who like the people that speak the language, admire the culture, and have a desire to become familiar with or even integrate into the society in which the language is used. Gardner (1983) defines instrumental motivation as “learning a language because of someone or less clearly perceived utility it might have for the learner” (ibid, 1983, p. 203). In other words, a learner is instrumentally motivated when they want to learn a language to pass an examination, to use it in one's job, to use it during a holiday in the country, as a change from watching television, or because the educational system requires it (Wilkins, 1972).

Benson and Gao (2008) classified individual differences of learners into two categories: first, supposedly innate attributes like age, gender, aptitude as well as learning styles; and second, supposedly acquired attributes such as motivation and attitudes. Concerning the relationship between motivation and language learning strategies, Yang (1999) showed that high motivation and learners' beliefs resulted in the use of strategies, and this, in turn, reformed learners' beliefs and elevated motivation. Moreover, strategy training, as McDonough (2005) stated, has positive effects on learners' motivation via increasing self-confidence or self-esteem. Wenden (1991) also suggested that strategic instruction fosters learners' autonomy, a key factor in reaching optimal motivation. The logic behind using language learning strategies is due to factors such as the learner's age, career orientation, gender, attitude, aptitude, and motivation (Oxford, 1986). Besides, the interaction of motivation and learning strategies is obvious in Rubin's representation which states that knowledge and beliefs have five components: task knowledge, self-knowledge, beliefs, background knowledge, and

strategy knowledge. In this model, there is a reciprocal relationship between strategy knowledge and self-knowledge that consists of style and motivation (Rubin, 2005).

The factors affecting the motivation in language learning

Combs (1965) state that a positive teacher is an essential element in creating a supportive classroom. A self-confident teacher normally displays classroom management behaviour that promotes positive pupils and motivates them towards learning. Sternberg & William (2002) state that students are not motivated to learn when their teachers resort to traditional methods of teaching. They need to create a positive environment and develop activities that allow students to practice the language in a meaningful context. Hamidah et al. (2017) state that students with positive attitudes will have better motivation levels and be more successful compared to those with negative attitudes. Jeynes (2005) revealed the fact that academic achievement scores for students whose parents were highly involved in their education were substantially higher than those with less involved parents. The purpose of this study was also to explore the motivation towards the Chinese language learning while examining the learning attitudes, teaching methodologies and other factors which affect the Chinese language learners' motivation.

Methodology

Sampling

The purpose of this study is to find out the motivational factors of Chinese language learners in a foreign language learning environment in Sri Lanka's general education system and explore the factors that

affect motivation. A survey-based questionnaire and a semi-structured interview were used as research instruments. The research sample was recruited from 72 students (female and male) who engage in Chinese language learning in 24 schools in Sri Lanka representing Western, Sabaragamuwa, and Southern provinces.

Instrument

To select the participants of the present study, a simple random sampling method was used. The survey-based questionnaire comprises of Likert scale questions (each of them has five options i.e. Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD)) and open-ended questions which cover the study's objectives. The participants selected for this study are between 16 and 18 years old. All of them were native speakers of Sinhalese who are learning Chinese as O/L and A/L students in the schools. Almost all the students who participated in this study had six months to two years' experience in learning Chinese. The questionnaire was adapted from Gardner's (2004) international version of "Attitude/Motivation Test Battery" (AMTB) to assess the participants' motivation. A questionnaire with four parts was used for this study. The first part of the questionnaire was related to the demographic information of the participants. The second, third, and fourth parts of the questionnaire consisted of a Likert scale. The three parts in the Likert scale dealt with the students' motivation and the factors which affect the motivation towards learning Chinese. The questionnaire was checked for validity or reliability fulfilment.

10 students among the sample were also interviewed to find out what are their attitudes and motivation

towards learning Chinese at school. The purpose of the interview was to fill the gaps in information collected through the questionnaire. The selection of the interview sample was made based on their responses to certain items in the questionnaire. After the theme and scope of the study were introduced and presented to the participants, the interviews were conducted with one participant at a time between 10 minutes to derive the results of the survey and explore students' motivational factors towards learning Chinese. During the interview, the respondents were allowed to express their opinions freely and elaborate more clearly on their viewpoints. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

Results

		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	25	34.72%
	Female	47	65.28%
Grade	10	24	33.33%
	11	18	25%
	12	11	15.28%
	13	19	26.39%

Table 1. Demographic information of the participants

No.	Statement	SA	A	N	D	SD
1	Learning Chinese language and culture is very interesting.	22.22%	37.5%	31.94%	8.33%	-
2	Learning Chinese will help me to get a good job.	52.78%	27.78%	12.5%	6.94%	-
3	It's very difficult to communicate in Chinese.	9.72%	16.67%	37.5%	25%	11.11%
4	Learning Chinese characters is very difficult.	20.83%	23.61%	31.94%	12.5%	11.11%

5	I like to learn more practical than theory related to Chinese.	26.39%	22.22%	44.44%	6.94%	-
6	I watch Chinese movies and videos very often	8.33%	18.06%	37.5%	23.61%	12.5%

Note: SA=Strongly Agree; A=Agree; N=Neutral; D=Disagree; SD=Strongly Disagree.

Table 2. Learners' general attitudes towards learning Chinese as a foreign language at schools

No.	Statement	SA	A	N	D	SD
1	To travel or study in China	26.39%	50%	9.72%	6.94%	6.94%
3	To communicate with Chinese friends	12.5%	22.22%	37.5%	20.83%	6.94%
4	Interest in Chinese language & culture	29.17%	38.89%	19.44%	4.17%	8.33%
5	To participate in Chinese cultural events	20.83%	23.61%	34.72%	12.5%	8.33%
6	To be able to pass the exams	9.72%	12.5%	38.89%	26.39%	12.5%
7	To get a good job	20.83%	33.33%	29.17%	12.5%	4.17%

Table 3. The motivation of the Chinese language learners in schools

No.	Statement	SA	A	N	D	SD
1	Lack of confidence when I have to speak in Chinese.	15.28%	12.5%	36.11%	9.72%	26.39%
2	I practice Chinese every chance I get.	11.11%	9.72%	31.94%	27.78%	19.44%
3	My teacher	29.17%	16.67%	13.89%	34.72%	5.56%

	encourages me to speak in Chinese in class.					
4	Teacher helps me during my learning struggles.	16.67%	24.61%	40.28%	9.72%	9.72%
5	Teacher allows us to do activities in class to practice Chinese.	11.11%	19.44%	37.5%	20.83%	11.11%
6	Teaching content and methods of the study program are very interesting.	13.89%	16.67%	33.33%	29.17%	11.11%
7	My parents encourage me to speak in Chinese.	9.72%	18.06%	23.61%	31.94%	16.67%
8	My parents encourage me to do a Chinese-related job in the future.	15.28%	22.22%	33.33%	23.61%	5.56%

Table 4. The analysis about the factors that affect the motivation of the learner

Discussion

As shown in table 2, the majority of undergraduates held positive attitudes while learning Chinese. A majority agreed that learning Chinese would enhance their employment prospects in the future. They believe that if they can communicate well in Chinese, they will easily get a job related to the tourism or translation fields in the country. China is the main investor in Sri Lanka at present, therefore, knowing Chinese would be helpful for their

future career advancement. According to the point of view of 59.72% of Sri Lankan school learners, learning Chinese is very interesting. But, the interview data reveals that a considerable extent of school learners also believe that learning Chinese is not that easy as they lack considerable exposure or access to learning Chinese at school level. According to the learners, learning Chinese characters and sound are the most difficult learning areas of Chinese language. Hence, although the undergraduates feel interested in learning Chinese, most of them show a negative attitude towards learning Chinese characters. During the interview, students provided various reasons why characters are hard to learn. The majority of them are unable to remember the characters, similarly, most of them believe that character recognition is harder than writing. The data also revealed that 46.61% of Chinese language learners also like to learn Chinese through practical lessons rather than theoretical knowledge. Data also reveals that school learners are motivated by activity-based learning such as group activities, games, Chinese cultural activities which create a 21st century student-centered atmosphere in the classroom. 26.33% of students still want to develop their Chinese language skills by watching Chinese movies and videos.

As shown in table 3, the data reveals that the item in which the Chinese language learners of Sri Lankan schools showed the highest level of agreement is in item 1, “travel or study in China”, which reflects 76.39%. According to the data analysis, a majority of students are learning Chinese in Sri Lanka so that they can master the language to travel to China or they can obtain a scholarship to continue higher studies in China. 68.06% stated that their initial motivation to begin learning Chinese was due to their desire to understand the culture of Chinese food, Chinese festivals, and Chinese customs. 54.16% of learners are motivated by the fact that after they learn Chinese they can achieve a stable and good job either in the government or private sector. Thus, most students are learning Chinese in Sri Lanka so that after they master the language, they can be employed in Chinese-related companies (port city,

Huawei, China Bank, etc.) where they can be Chinese language translators or interpreters in Sri Lanka. Since Chinese companies are expanding very fast and those who can speak Chinese do not struggle to secure employment. The factor of participating in Chinese cultural events such as “Chinese bride competition” and “summer camp” was also cited as the motivation by 43.99% of learners. The least number of learners are motivated by the factor which states, “I learn Chinese just to be able to pass the exams”. For the overall level of motivation, the findings of this study showed that the Chinese language learners in school had a high level of motivation towards learning Chinese. According to the data analysis, it also appeared that both instrumental and integrative motivation significantly occurred on the motivation level of the student – respondents.

As shown in table 4, the study revealed that learners' factors, teachers' factors, as well as parental factors play a significant role in learning Chinese. During the interviews, a majority of students agreed that the teachers' influence is essential. A majority of students admitted that they are more motivated when teachers create an authentic learning environment in the classroom. 63.89% of students favour their teachers in encouraging them to speak in Chinese, giving them more opportunities to practice the language while helping them to solve language problems in the classroom. Brophy (2000) believed that teachers should provide guidance and assume a supportive role in assisting students to develop understanding because they influence student's education. Therefore, it is recommended to present a favourable learning environment to school learners and share their motivation in a better way to make the learner secure and confident in a learning environment. Xu and Huang (2010) stated that the teacher's role is influential and critical in the learning process; a teacher who can build a warm environment in the classroom can lead to a decrease in motivation, on the other hand, teacher as a facilitator can address students' psychological feelings, help students enjoy the class and actively participate. Chinese language teaching in Sri Lanka's general education

system should be student-centered and this can be managed through the implementation of 21st-century approaches and technologies used in teaching. Stimulating positive attitudes towards the target language is a key factor of success in the foreign language teaching and learning process. Therefore, the teachers should promote a good relationship with students positively and passionately. Language teaching in schools must cater to the potential careers, learners' future aspirations, and needs. Hence, the teachers must understand what the learners' motivational factors are and which factors affect their perceptions of the learners to arouse and maintain them through successful teaching strategies. Further, when designing a curriculum or syllabus for TCF into schools, consideration of students' variety of learning needs and interests is strongly recommended.

The results of the study also showed that the parents have a moderate influence on students' motivation towards learning Chinese. Jeynes (2005) showed that parental involvement is associated with student achievement and that it emerged consistently regardless of measures. Parental encouragement is also considered one of the most important factors of learning Chinese as a foreign language. The parents encourage students to learn the target language better as they want to prepare their children for a better future. Consequently, the students who have positive attitudes and influences will be highly motivated and devote more effort to achieve their goals. The above recommendations will help school learners to be successful in their learning and such a positive environment would lead them to put greater effort into developing 21st-century skills related to Chinese language learning.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to investigate the factors that motivate Chinese language learners in schools, and to use the findings of the study to better equip teachers of TCFL in designing and implementing various techniques and teaching approaches which would improve the quality of Chinese language learning at school level. This study used

both quantitative and qualitative data to address the issue of attitudes and motivational factors towards learning Chinese. Generally, Sri Lanka's school learners have a positive attitude towards learning Chinese. Both instrumental and integrative motivations are evident in the student respondents. It also concluded that the students have a desire and interest in learning the Chinese language and its culture for many reasons and situations wherein there is a need for them to learn and use the target language effectively.

With the awareness of the significance of learning Chinese, Chinese language school learners in Sri Lanka believe that learning Chinese will provide opportunities to travel or study in China which implies a high level of motivation. Also, they believe that learning Chinese will bring them job opportunities after completing their school education which implies a higher level of motivation. Furthermore, the students are interested in Chinese culture which is considered a positive motivation in learning Chinese. Although most of the students are highly interested in Chinese culture and are motivated to acquire communicative skills, their motivation to read and write is not that high.

Wang (2006) regarded foreign language learning to be a complex process influenced by various internal and external factors. In other words, external factors such as parents' encouragement and teachers' strategies play as key influential factors in learning a foreign language.

Limitations

This research is based on a limited sample of 72 students representing three provinces but does not depict a representative distribution of the population. The present study focuses on the motivation of learners in TCFL in secondary schools in Sri Lanka. Teacher's attitudes and motivational strategies have not been explored in this research study. To shed more light on this issue, future research on Chinese language learning in secondary education in Sri Lanka should consider the teachers' motivational strategies in more detail. Such studies would

enable us to design appropriate ways of developing TCFL education in Sri Lanka.

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试论斯里兰卡大学中国文学课程教学存在的问题及课程设计

Study On the Problems and the Course Design Existing in the Teaching Chinese Literature in the Universities in Sri Lanka

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文学与新闻学院四川大学

摘要：斯里兰卡汉语教学已有 50 多年的历史，迄今为止，斯里兰卡的汉语教学已得到迅速发展，汉语越来越受民众欢迎。在斯里兰卡大学汉语专业三年制和四年制学位课程中，中国文学是必修课程之一。本文对斯里兰卡大学中国文学教学现状作了较切实的调查和分析，提出了文学课程在课程设置、教材使用、教学与教学方法、学生主动性等方面存在的一些亟待解决的问题，并针对这一现状，结合教学实践，提出了相应的课程设计构想。

关键词：教学问题，课程设计，斯里兰卡大学，文学课程

斯里兰卡大学中国文学课开设情况与现实意义

凯拉尼亚大学是斯里兰卡第一所汉语教学机构，同时也是最重要的一所教学机构。20 世纪 70 年代，斯里兰卡凯拉尼亚大学现代语言系正式开设汉语教学课程。目前，除凯拉尼亚大学外，另有几所公立大学也开设了汉语专业三年制或四年制学士学位课程。通常，斯里兰卡汉语言专业的学生需花三年或四年时间参照中文专业学习大纲学习汉语语言基础知识，而后才能进一步研读文学、历史、文化等课程。语言障碍的存在固然可能影响学生对于文学内容的理解，但中国文学课对学生汉语能力的提高起着不可忽视的作用，其现实需要意味着汉语专业的学生学习这门课程的必要性。中国文学课程教学可以使斯里兰卡学生

深入了解中国文学，理解在中国人的世界观中文学与人生、生活的关系。中国文学作品中包含了丰富的文学语言，通过教师对文学作品的讲解，斯里兰卡学生会更明确地掌握汉语的语音、词汇的理解与运用、修辞的选择、语法的规范等，为学生将来的汉语学习奠定坚实的基础，通过观察其语篇结构等，学生的阅读能力、写作能力也能得到提高；中国文学作品中包含着丰富的文化现象，也可以帮助斯里兰卡学生了解中国文化，提高学生的跨文化交际能力。

一、促进学生的汉语语言学习

学习中国文学课可以很好地培养斯里兰卡学生的语篇分析能力。对外汉语教学中，留学生通

常要学习的是标准普通话，而中国现当代文学作品则是现代汉语语法规则的来源。文学作品的学习，对斯里兰卡学生写作水平的提升也有很大的作用，尤其是对写作技巧和写作思维的训练有很大的帮助。对诗歌、小说、戏剧等不同体裁的文学作品的学习，能培养学生不同角度的写作思考能力；对作品内容横向的发散思考和纵向的深入思考也能提高学生的写作思维能力。另外，阅读文学作品可以大幅度地提升斯里兰卡学生的阅读能力。在阅读文学作品的过程中，学生还可以在理解文意的基础上体验作者的精神世界。同时，文学作品具有内容丰富、情节引人入胜等特点，能够引起斯里兰卡学生的阅读兴趣。笔者认为，任何一篇文学作品都是值得斯里兰卡学生学习的，因为其不仅拥有着优美的语言，还包含着精彩的故事情节、巧妙的写作手法和完善的语篇结构。所以，学习中国文学课可以很好地培养斯里兰卡学生的语篇分析能力，从而提高其阅读能力和写作能力，促进学生的汉语语言学习。

二、增进学生对中国文化的了解

语言与文化存在着密切的关系。文化是在语言系统的基础上建立的，语言系统是文化的载体，文化通过语言来记录。“语言是文化的重要组成部分，语言与文化是部分与整体的关系，二者不可分割。一种文化不可能没有与之相应的语言；抽去文化，语言也不能独立存在。”（刘珣，2011）如果斯里兰卡学生想要了解中国文化，就必须要进行汉语语言知识的研习，同时学生学习中国文学作品的过程其实就是学习汉语和中国文化的过程。譬如，在中国文化中，有一些词语有特定的涵义，通常它们所表达的并非表面含义，而

是有着更深层的文化含义。教师可以将这些词汇融入到对文学作品的讲解中，让学生更好地感受这些词汇的文化蕴含。学文学，不仅可以让斯里兰卡学生更好地体会中国古代文学的发展脉络和古代作家的创作热情。此外，中国文学课程中还包含一些具有中国特色的汉字，它们能很好地体现中国的社会文化面貌。所以，研习中国文化，可以让斯里兰卡学生在掌握汉语语言技能的同时了解中国文化。

三、提高学生的跨文化交际能力

跨文化交际能力指的是使斯里兰卡学生跟中国人交流时，并不是简单地会点菜、会砍价，而是使之具备与中国人交流的“文化能力”和“文化认知力”。来自不同文化背景的人即使是进行简单的日常交际，他们都深受背后巨大文化差异的影响，容易出现交际障碍，这样的交际不能称为有效交际。跨文化交际的目标是使来自不同文化背景的人可以超越文化差异进行良好的交流，其首要的条件就是了解对方国家的文化。中国文学课可以增进斯里兰卡学生对中国古代或当下文化的了解，提高斯里兰卡学生的跨文化交际能力，一定程度上避免因文化差异而带来的跨文化交际误会。

因此，学习中国文学作品不仅能够培养斯里兰卡学生的基本汉语语言能力，也能够提高学生的汉语语言交际能力、文化能力和跨文化交际能力，从作品中品味中国人的处世哲学、伦理情感。

斯里兰卡大学中国文学教学过程中存在的问题

一、课程设置严重阻碍了教学质量的提高

（一）课时量设置不足

斯里兰卡大学本科学位汉语课程大纲中文学课的设置存在问题。调查结果表明：凯拉尼亚大学三年制本科学位汉语课程大纲中只有两门文学课，四年制本科学位汉语课程大纲也只有两门文学课程；萨巴拉噶木瓦大学四年制本科学位课程中只设置一门文学课。我们可以发现，这样的课程设置，文学课课时量太少，这势必会造成学生的中国文学知识积累不足。

据统计，斯里兰卡大学文学课课时通常为每周两节（每节课1个小时），一学期共30节。据调查，有80%的斯里兰卡汉语言专业学生认为中国文学课的学习时间不足。在教授中国文学课时，斯里兰卡的大学通常采用一边阅读一边讲解的方式。任课教师主要运用直接法、视听法和阅读法等教学方法进行讲授。而且每节课都基本按照复习作家、作品讲解、练习、布置作业等步骤进行。大部分文学作品在讲解的时候，教师都会特别针对作品中展现的中国文化和社会习俗来进行说明，这些教学手段的运用会占用很多的课程时间。而且作品体裁很多，篇幅长短不同，尤其是小说和散文部分需要很多课时才能讲解完一篇，所以会存在课时不足的情况。据统计，83.63%的斯里兰卡学生对中国小说感兴趣，还有76.36%的学生对诗歌感兴趣。在讲解诗歌时，笔者采用了教师朗读诗歌先做示范，然后鼓励学生大胆进行朗读的方式，学生学习兴趣很足。但由于课时不够，为了完成教学目标，教师不得不缩短对文学作品本身的讲解，这无疑阻碍了教学质量的提高。

（二）课程内容难度大

斯里兰卡大学中国文学课程通常开设在第二学年，这存在一定的问题。斯里兰卡学生一般在大学第一学年才开始学习汉语，第二学年时他们

的汉语言能力仍处于初级阶段，而此时学生要学习的中国文学作品中，不仅包括着丰富的文化知识，还存在着大量的生词与复杂的语言点，尽管教师在课上会对这些内容进行讲解，但学生理解起来仍然很难。同时，在各个学校的课程设置中，这门课都是必修课，所以学生在第二学年必须要上这门课程，因为课程内容较难理解，所以最终导致学生对文学课愈发丧失兴趣，影响学生的汉语学习效果。

此外，学生所要学习的中国文学作品通常只采用汉字进行编排、没有注音，这无疑增加了学生理解课程内容的难度，这种语言理解上的障碍导致学生无法读懂作品更无法深入地理解作品的内涵。并且，在课堂观察中，笔者发现教师在讲解时下意识地想把自己懂得的知识全部授予学生，造成讲授的内容过多、过深。这样增加了学生们学习的难度，让学生感到难以理解和接受。

（三）设置课外活动

众所周知，课外活动可以提高学生对某门课的兴趣，对斯里兰卡学生的中国文学学习来说亦是如此。据笔者观察，斯里兰卡大学文学教学过程中，学生主要从书本和教师讲解中学习文学内容。除此常规课程外，学生没有机会参加课外文学活动、体验文学知识，这是一个值得关注的问题。

二、没有系统教材，教学材料选择随机性强

语言教学过程中教材有举足轻重的地位。没有好的教材，就好比是无米之炊，高手也难以施展。据统计，斯里兰卡的大学文学教学从未采用过专门的文学教材。教师通常按照学校的大纲自主选择文学作品或课文进行教学。没有统一的教

材, 对学生的学习准备来说已存在困难。再则, 老师们通常在网上查询资料、选择课文。这些课文的编排几乎都只采用汉字、没有注音, 其中一些汉字学生从未学过, 导致学生无法识别; 同时, 这些课文中的部分词汇和语法点并不适应学生当前汉语水平, 对学生来说理解难度较大。由于老师随机选择的课文在汉字、词汇、语法点上学生理解都有一定困难, 所以他们上课时往往担心自己语言能力不够, 产生焦虑情绪, 最终挫伤了学习积极性。此外, 教学材料选择有随机性, 所以存在某些学习内容在不同课文中重复出现的情况, 长此以往, 学生们不能从课堂上学到更多的新知识, 也不利于学生汉语水平的提高。

三、教学方法呆板, 无法达到教学目标

因斯里兰卡学生的汉语言水平不同, 所以每一个教师的教学方法和教学进度不一样。调查结果发现, 斯里兰卡大学文学课教学时大部分教师经常使用的教学方法是讲授法, 即教师讲、学生听的方式, 其他的教学方法使用的频率都很低。中国文学课程既有语言知识又包含了大量的文化知识, 只是用简单生硬的方法进行教学不够, 所以应该采取合适且多样的教学方法。教师一定要运用多样的方式吸引学生的注意力, 让他们对文学课程产生兴趣。笔者认为不仅要认识到方法的重要性, 还要注意到什么样的任务该使用什么样的方法。

四、学生学习兴趣不高, 学习主动性不强

如前文所述, 斯里兰卡大学文学课程课时量设置不足, 教材没有系统性, 学生所学文学作品难度较大, 包含长句或者一些难懂的超过 HSK 范

围的词汇, 学生学起来较为困难。凡此种种原因, 导致文学作品学习对于斯里兰卡学生而言显得复杂, 从而降低了学生的学习兴趣。因此, 部分斯里兰卡学生对中国文学学习兴致不高。他们常会忘记这门课的作业, 也做不到充分预习, 这便导致学生上课时会出现听不懂教师所讲内容的情况, 影响上课学习的效率。同时, 由于学习缺乏主动性, 课后学生主动学习的时间较少, 学生不会及时复习, 作业完成情况也不容乐观, 形成恶性循环。

针对斯里兰卡学生中国文学课程设计

一、充分了解教学对象

中国文学依赖于现实生活经历的累积, 文学要源于生活, 作品才能与读者产生共鸣。一篇优秀的文章, 则是对普遍人群人生的概括与感悟。中国人能品读中国文学, 与自身或者耳濡目染的生活经历息息相关。然而二语学习者在学习文学课程时, 可谓是几乎完全脱离作品的现实来源的, 学生只有语言基础。因此要求教师正确认识教学对象, 掌握学生的认知起点。

(一) 定位学生的文化认知起点

对比斯里兰卡学生和中国学生的文学习得差异可以发现, 中国学生有文学作品的创作文化背景作为依托, 所以能很快读懂或者学好一篇文章; 但是斯里兰卡学生不同, 两国的文化存在很大的国别差异, 所以他们理解起中国文学来便晦涩难懂, 抛开爱、和平、善良等全人类共同的文化认同, 当触及中国文学或者中国文化时, 斯里兰卡的学生对中国文化的认知起点较低, 所以要求斯里兰卡学生从基础学起, 比如意象与文学、中国人的品性……要求他们不仅能理解文学作品里优美

的语言，还要懂得中国人的为人处事方式和人生哲学；要求学生可以通过一篇具有代表性的文章引申思考作者或着自己相关的人生经历；或者教师可以直接普及中国人的处世哲学，进而引出一篇文章。引导学生一步步积累，为更深层次的学习打好学习基础。

（二）分析斯里兰卡学生的习得方式

斯里兰卡学生习以为常的习得方式大多为接受式，上课依赖于老师的讲解，学习相对被动，且容易对讲授式教学方法产生厌倦，对于中国文学的习得也是如此。因此，要求教师基于接受式习得规律改变自身的教学方法，丰富课堂形式，满足学生的需求。

二、明确课程设计原则

使用正确地课程设计能够避开教学过程中的问题。课程设计，简单说是制定课程。该课程设计包括课程性质、教学目的、教学内容、学时安排、调动学习积极性、教学原则、教学教材、教学方法和课后作业与评估测试。课程性质是指课程具有的某些属性和特性。首先，中国文学课程具有专业性。在斯里兰卡大学中这门课程的对象分为汉语言专业的学生和非汉语言专业的学生。斯里兰卡大学里汉语言专业和非专业学生的主要语言是汉语，所以该课的教学对象没有大的问题。除了这点之外还要注意到学生的汉语水平和中国文化知识。斯里兰卡学生的汉语水平各有高低，一定要注意这个点。中国文学课程具有中国文化性，而面向斯里兰卡学生的中国文学课程目的是向学生普及中国文化，在教学过程中应注意文化差异，接受中国文化。

汪刘生在《教学论》中提出，教学目的是由一系列有递阶关系的教学目标组成的系统，用更简单的话说，教学目的就是“教学为了什么？”。教学是以学生为主体，教师为主导的活动。所以在制定教学目的时应考虑学生与教师的意见。结合调查结果，笔者发现斯里兰卡大学中国文学课程的教学目的主要有：掌握中国文学基本常识、了解中国文化、培养学生对中国文学的兴趣、提高学生的文学欣赏能力以及汉语表达能力。

教学目的决定教学内容。选择合适的教学内容是课程设计的重要任务。因此，斯里兰卡在具体教学时，教师必须对教学内容进行选择，选择符合实际教学的内容。笔者结合自身的教学经验，考虑到课时、学生水平、文化差异等因素，就教学内容的选择提出如下几条原则：

第一，数量适中原则。因为大学课时的限制，所以在规定教学时间内无法完成所有教学内容，这就需要老师结合其他数量适中的教学内容进行取舍。由于无法在规定时间内全数完成课件内容，教师可以选几篇课文带领学生进行深入学习，适时地完成内容。

第二，难度适中原则。要根据斯里兰卡学生的语言水平选择难易适当的作品，特别注意不要选取难度太大的，否则学生会在阅读时感到十分困难，更无法理解作品的内涵。如果作品上没有拼音教师可以让学生在课前查难的汉字或提供给学生作品的拼音版。

第三，作品为主，文学史为辅原则。教师应当明确针对斯里兰卡学生与针对中国学生的文学教学在内容上有较大差别，针对中国学生的文学教学侧重文学史及文学理论，而针对斯里兰卡学生的现当代文学教学则以文学作品为中心，向斯

里兰卡学生展示中国文化、展现中国精神。因此在选择教学内容时只需为学生构建起文学史的基本框架即可，教学内容应以作品为主。

除了上述原则外，还要注意各部分内容之间的比例。调查结果表明，大部分学生比较喜欢小说、诗歌和散文的内容。教师在安排教学内容时，可考虑加大这三部分的比例，突出其重要性。

同时，目前大纲里安排的文学课课时量不足，大纲必须进行调整，增加文学课课时量，可以将中国文学课程的授课时间由每周两学时改为每周四学时。如前文所述，部分文学作品讲解需要花费的时间长，尤其是小说、散文类作品，老师需要花更多的时间进行讲解和让学生思考，给学生留更有的时间去复习和预习、讨论文学作品的内容和问题。此外，还有一个重要原因：德国心理学家艾宾浩斯（H. Ebbinghaus）研究发现，遗忘在学习之后立即开始，而且遗忘的进程并不是均匀的。最初遗忘的速度很快，学习完成一天后记忆量为 33.7%，到六天后记忆量就只有 25.4%。有人为了验证艾宾浩斯遗忘曲线做过一个实验。实验者将学生分成两组，两组学生一起学习一段课文，甲组在学习后不复习，一天后记忆量为 36%，一周后只剩 13%。乙组按艾宾浩斯记忆规律复习，一天后记忆量为 98%，一周后仍保持在 86%，乙组的记忆率明显高于甲组。（李方，2011）由此可见，一周两课时会让学生遗忘大部分学习内容，这样教师就需要耗费不少课堂时间对上节课的内容进行复习。而一周四课时，可以让教师在学生的遗忘刚刚开始时就组织他们进行复习，使学生的记忆量保持在一个较高的水平。所以，适量增加课时，基本满足课程本身所要求完成的教学内容十分必要。

三、科学选择教学材料

教材是教师教学和学生所依据的材料。笔者调查发现，100% 的斯里兰卡学生认为他们没有专门的文学教材，所以他们希望有专门的针对文学课的教材可使用。目前在中国已出版发行的对外汉语教学中文学课程教材比较多，但是出版的文学教材都是针对中国学生或普遍外国学生编写的，所以它们的内容很难适应斯里兰卡学生的水平，缺乏科学性、实用性。根据调查显示，斯里兰卡学生认为教师课程使用的资料过难，而且字体小，不易阅读，所以不愿意去学习这门课的内容。而中斯文化差异下，学生可以通过专用的教材就能最快察觉出两国的差异以及最快体会到中国文学的精神内核，所以笔者认为要选择斯里兰卡学生专用的教材，开发本土化教材。

如果长期没有适用于斯里兰卡的针对性教材出现，这就要求斯里兰卡汉语界的有识之士按照大纲要求编写出更多合适斯里兰卡学生使用的中国文学教材。按照斯里兰卡学生的汉语言水平和实际学习情况进行编写教材，这在一定程度上能够避免教材过难、不易读懂的问题。针对斯里兰卡学生编写的文学教材一定包含：中国古代和现当代文学作品、词语僧伽罗语注释、作家生平作品介绍等。此外，还需注意编写出合适的课后练习，因为如果没有课后练习或思考题，教师就无法检测斯里兰卡学生是否掌握当天的知识。教材结构完整有利于斯里兰卡学生进行自学，方便预习和复习。

笔者对斯里兰卡学生希望学习的文学作品进行了调查，其结果可供教材编写者和任课教师参考。调查结果显示，诗歌部分，斯里兰卡学生十分喜欢徐志摩的《再别康桥》，那么在编写教材

时,就可以适当多选取此类型的文学诗篇来供斯里兰卡学生学习赏析;散文部分,斯里兰卡学生最喜欢朱自清的《背影》,因为在这篇文学作品中多触及斯里兰卡学生的情感领域,字里行间透露出父子间的浓浓亲情,教师可以多搜集一些其他作者的此类文学作品;小说部分,斯里兰卡学生最喜欢的是鲁迅的《药》和老舍的《月牙儿》、《养花》,所以编者可以多选择类似的小说作品。

同时,结合斯里兰卡学生的语言水平以及特点,建议教材编辑者在编写斯里兰卡文学教材时可以从简短的现代抒情诗和古代咏物抒情诗歌入手,原因如下:第一,现代抒情散文诗篇幅较短,语法规则贴近现代汉语,理解起来难度低,同时也能避免学生一开始就接触古代诗歌——语法差异与现代汉语较大,导致难以理解,兴趣降低。第二,选择古代咏物抒情诗,是因为中国诗歌注重意象,即每样事物背后都被赋予了某种精神品质,比如中国人喜欢梅花,是因为梅花耐寒,在冬天盛开,具有不惧寒冷的性格,这对于东亚文化圈的学生来说,理解起来比较容易,但是对于斯里兰卡学生来说,这属于文化差异,但经过讲解又很容易理解,能增加学习信心,同时又能更为更复杂的古文学习奠定基础。其次,中国古代诗歌讲求韵律美,这也影响到现代汉语,比如汉语之所以属于“右向音步”型语言,笔者觉得离不开古代诗歌的影响(关于音步在现汉-齐沪扬版和语言学纲要当中有)。学习古代诗歌可以帮助斯里兰卡学生了解古汉和现汉的差异,同时,也能通过学习古代诗歌,快速了解中国人的精神内核,比如对团圆、对家庭的执念等等,有了这样的基础,在进入更高一级文学作品学习时,学生才不会感到吃力。

四、丰富教学方式,激发学习积极性

斯里兰卡大学中国文学课程主要以讲解法为主,调查结果显示 49.09% 的学生对教师的教学方法不太满意,而 76.36% 的学生比较喜欢使用视频等演示教学方法。所以笔者认为利用多媒体技术针对斯里兰卡学生最合适。在多媒体设备普及的今天,综合采用 PPT、音乐、声光影视等方式来辅助教学,增加知识的直观性和趣味性已是非常便利的选择。比如在讲解诗词时,把作家的画像和作品景物的构图通过多媒体设备投射到屏幕上,在视觉上给学生以生动的印象;在讲授戏剧时,播放越剧、昆剧中的经典剧目,帮助学生深度了解中国戏剧的角色分行和表演程式。多样化的教学形式能够吸引学生的注意力,使得学生不致感到文学课太难、太无聊。并且目前许多的文学作品,都已经拍成影视作品,如《西游记》、《水浒传》等,还有一些青春文学作品。国际中文教学的教学对象多为青年,他们容易接受新事物,对当下流行的青春文学作品感兴趣,教师可以引导学生爱上中国文学,这不仅是投其所好,更是因为中国文学课的教学目的之一就是让学生通过文学作品来感受中国文化。

教师还可以采用朗读背诵法、讨论法、比较法等教学方法。对于中国文学这门课来说,朗读是必不可少的环节。朗读背诵法是中国语文教学中常用的方法,教师通过朗读背诵法培养学生语感、朗读能力。讨论法可以帮助学生提高文学思辨能力与口语交际能力,在教学过程中教师可用讨论法引导学生讨论文学作品的优点和缺点、作家的优点与缺点等,激发学生主动了解课文内容、深入对作品的理解。比较法课堂帮助学生了解作品之间的区别和联系,提高学生的文学鉴赏能力,

讲解文学作品时,教师可将其与僧伽罗语作品进行对比,这样斯里兰卡学生可以了解中国和斯里兰卡文学作品的差别与各自的特点。

学习积极性是指主体在学习活动中表现出的一种积极的心理状态。笔者认为,要激发学生的学习积极性,首要的是改善学生的课下学习状态,提高斯里兰卡学生对中国文学课程的兴趣。有的学生认为这种课的开设没有什么好处,对提高语言技能没有任何帮助,所以课下就选择分配较少的时间来学习这门课。教师要改变学生的这种错误观念,让学生明白可以通过中国文学课学到语言知识、文化知识、跨文化交际知识等等,其目的是让学生对中国文学课程产生兴趣,从而调动起学习的积极性。另外,笔者认为,可以增设课外活动,让斯里兰卡学生积极参加到中国文学与中国文化活动中。如,可以开展文学作品讨论会、文学作品展览、电影节、诗歌比赛、朗读诗歌比赛、戏剧欣赏等活动。一方面课外活动能够帮助学生切身体验文学的魅力,另一方面可以帮助教师反思教学中存在的不足,在以后的课程中及时调整。

结论

综上所述,中国文学是斯里兰卡汉语教学中的重要一环,其主要教学目标是通过对中国文学作品的学习,使斯里兰卡学生掌握中国文学基本常识,提高中国文学审美能力和汉语表达能力,加深对中国文化的了解、对中国人精神世界的理解。学好中国文学这门课,不仅可以帮助斯里兰卡学生更好地了解中国文化,同时也可以提高学生的汉语表达能力。通过本次调查研究,笔者认为在中国文学课程教学过程中,正确设计大纲和课程、

使用有效的教学方法、科学地选择教材,可以达成教学目标、提高斯里兰卡学生对这门课程的兴趣和学习积极性。

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浅析中国与斯里兰卡的茶文化

Analysis of the Tea Culture in China and Sri Lanka

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摘要：茶文化是中国传统文化的重要组成部分，其历史悠久，对社会文明作出了巨大贡献。当前，随着社会的不断发展，茶越来越成为人们追求美好生活、提高人文修养的媒介，并在一定程度上推动了社会经济的发展。更重要的是，茶具有很强的包容性，在不同的国家传播，融入当地的风俗习惯，形成独特的区域文化，斯里兰卡亦是如此。本文分析中国和斯里兰卡两国的茶文化。

关键词：茶文化，中国，斯里兰卡

前言

中国是茶的故乡，传说时代就有使用茶叶的踪迹，并且是药食同源。早在汉代，茶叶已成为单独饮品。自唐代以来，饮茶成为了一种日常的社会风尚，深受皇室、朝臣和百姓的喜爱。中国古代的知识分子留下了大量关于茶的诗歌、歌曲、绘画和论著。茶饮被认为是一种高雅的风尚，并由此衍生出茶道和茶艺 (Yang, 2007)。

斯里兰卡盛产茶叶，距今已有 138 年的茶业历史，其品质优良，是斯里兰卡最受欢迎的日常饮品。其中，锡兰茶以独特的味道和无可挑剔的香味闻名全球。早在 1824 年，英国人就把茶树从

中国引入到锡兰，并被种植在皇家植物园，Peradeniya 被认为是斯里兰卡第一棵非商业茶树。

19 世纪中叶，由于咖啡叶锈病对咖啡种植园产生危害，茶叶作为一种经济作物首次被引入斯里兰卡。1867 年，苏格兰人詹姆斯·泰勒 (James Taylor) 在 Lowlander 庄园开辟了第一个商业茶园。斯里兰卡茶叶产业的遗产表明：斯里兰卡是世界上最古老的茶叶生产国之一。在这个国家生产的茶叶通常被称为“锡兰茶”，是国际贸易中最好的茶叶之一。多年来，锡兰这个词已经成为优质茶叶的代名词。

中国茶的发展

（一）中国茶的发展历程

在数千年的历史长河中，中国各种茶类的生产、发展和演变，历经了咀嚼鲜叶、煮羹食饮、晒干收藏、蒸青做饼、炒青散茶的过程。总的来说，中国饮茶文化经历了汉晋萌芽、唐代确立、宋代兴盛、明清简化等阶段，出现了煮茶、煎茶、点茶、泡茶等烹饮方式。茶叶不仅是“琴棋书画诗酒茶”的茶，也是“柴米油盐酱醋茶”的茶，她在千百年来已经深入人们的日常生活中。茶起源于农业文明，具有悠久的文化和精神特征，也成为中国文化不可缺少的一部分。

茶最初主要是作为草药种植在寺庙内，僧侣们用茶来达到平静的效果，并以此作为谦卑和尊重自然的标志。关于茶叶的专业书籍可以追溯到1200年前的唐朝，“茶圣”陆羽撰写了世界上第一部茶学专著《茶经》。当时的茶叶鉴赏家们注重茶叶的制作、饮用和与之相关的精神境界，改变了中国人对茶叶的看法。中国的茶道是由于对自然的尊重和宗教仪式所涉及的对和平的需要而诞生的，将儒家、道家和佛教的哲学思想融合在一起，孕育而成。

中国茶与中国道教、佛教和儒教紧密相连。传统上，喝茶是学习者自我激励的方式：道家曾饮茶自修，保持身心合一；佛教徒过去常常喝茶以加深对禅的理解。在儒家思想中，饮茶寄托着廉俭、高雅、淡洁的君子人格，同时令人头脑清醒，心境平和。随着中国社会的发展和进步，茶叶生产在推动经济发展中发挥了作用。

中国的茶文化

Xu (1999) 和 Yang 等 (2001) 将茶文化定义为茶的衍生物，并以茶为核心的物质、精神、习俗、心理、行为等一系列现象，毫无例外地展示了茶的自然属性和社会文化属性。茶文化在茶的发展过程中，可以广泛地定义为茶的相关物质和精神财富的总和，它结合了有形和无形的产品，包括伦理论证、礼仪规范、审美、宗教、艺术和茶树、茶叶加工技术和材料。

茶文化最初兴起时，主要集中在僧人、文人、君主和官吏之间的上层文化。在金代，喝茶代替酒，是精英阶层的人们与客人见面时表现简朴的一种方式。随着人们喝茶的普及，茶馆迅速兴起，市民饮茶的传统已成为茶文化的一个新特征。

随着时间的推移，茶除了药用目的，中国人开始逐渐欣赏它的乐趣和社会价值。茶道从仅仅是一种宗教的表现形式，发展到在不同的庆祝活动中进行的社会、文化和传统活动，以纪念皇室或纪念人们生活中不同的重要仪式。中国著名的茶道之一是“功夫茶道”，它被称为中国传统茶道。乌龙茶是这个仪式的传统。功夫茶字面上的意思是“努力泡茶”，它实际上代表了准备和端上乌龙茶的仪式，象征着对茶客的尊重，以及对自然的谦逊。

功夫茶道不是中国唯一的茶道，但却是最受欢迎的茶道。中国还有其他的茶道，它们有自己的实践意义，这取决于产地和历史。无我茶道是中国茶道的另一种形式，它鼓励人们忘记自己是谁。参与者必须忘记他们的知识、财富和外表，建立一个没有任何偏见的群体平等。在中国佛教中，无我在梵语中翻译为“anatta”，意思是“没有个体独立存在”。

在中国，与茶相关的外在形式，主要分为以下几方面：

- i. 饮茶。茶是用来解渴的饮料。在中国，无论年龄大小，每个人都喜欢喝茶。人们通常会随身带着茶水壶，在工作、学习和休闲的时候都喜欢喝茶。几乎在所有的中国餐馆里，茶都是在饭前供应的；在许多家庭，主人会用一杯茶表示对客人的欢迎。
- ii. 品茶。以茶的颜色、香气、滋味、水质甚至茶具来判断茶叶的品质，同时，还要注意环境、气氛、音乐、泡茶技艺和人际关系。茶的最高境界是将哲学、伦理和道德都融入到茶文化活动中。人们通过品茶来培养他们的道德和思想，品味生活，从而获得精神的愉悦。在品茶中品情、品理、品德、品人生，享受修身养性、清静心灵的妙处，品茶的最高境界，是人与自然、人与人的和谐统一。
- iii. 茶馆。茶馆是中国茶文化的代表，在历史上，茶馆被称为茶肆、茶寮、茶室、茶坊、茶屋、茶摊等。不同的名字代表不同形式的茶馆。有些很大，有些很小，但是作用通常是一样的。茶馆是茶文化的重要交汇点，茶馆的形成与饮茶传统的发展密切相关。在悠久的历史中，茶馆一直是不同阶层的人聚在一起享受社交生活的地方。它不仅是茶叶消费的场所，更是茶文化展示、传播和传播的平台。如今，在中国，虽然茶馆仍是休闲场所，但喝茶的传统已不再是他们提供的主要服务。在现代中国，尤其是老年人或已退休的人，往往整天泡在

茶馆里，从早茶到夜茶。在茶馆里做各种各样的活动，如下棋、打牌、麻将、读报、聊天、回忆往事、抽烟、演奏中国乐器等等。

茶在中国人民生活中的特殊表现

（一）中国婚礼中的茶

在现代中国婚礼中，敬奉加了特定食材的甜茶表示美好祝福，任何象征着新婚甜蜜的甜茶都适合中国的婚礼。为了简单起见，可以使用加糖的红茶，但一些传统的中国甜茶更受青睐，因为它们有美好的寓意，如莲子红枣茶，象征着新婚夫妇早生贵子；龙眼红枣茶的龙眼代表着“龙”，寓意生男孩的愿望。

（二）茶具

茶艺中一个不可或缺的元素是茶具。没有合适的工具，你不可能泡出好喝的茶。对于茶道来说，完美的茶具是需要的，以确保正确的泡茶和整个茶道的神奇气氛。茶具既要实用又要美观。必须使用的工具是茶壶或盖碗、公道杯、品茗杯等，辅以冲泡盘或壶承、茶匙、茶荷、茶夹、滤网等。

值得一提的是，在中国的婚礼中茶具也被视为一个有传统意义的纪念品，新娘的父母将其作为嫁妆送给女儿。女儿的孩子将来结婚时，新娘将再次使用它。茶具有西式和中式，如今，西式茶杯茶具似乎成了流行的选择。流行的图案包括双喜、龙与凤、牡丹或其他花卉图案和金饰。专为中国婚礼设计的茶具不会有盛奶精或糖的容器。茶壶有各种大小，有圆形的也有椭圆形的。通常四个茶杯和一个托盘就可以组成茶具。

斯里兰卡的饮茶文化

不夸张地说，茶对于斯里兰卡人民来说仅次于水，每个人每天至少喝三杯，这只是最少的量。每一个重要的场合都是用一杯茶来庆祝，兰卡人民不会用其他的饮品代替。不论贫穷或富有，茶都是他们的首选。

茶已成为斯里兰卡文化的一个组成部分，因为它与待客之道紧密相连。每家旅馆都为客人提供茶水，毫无例外。几乎在斯里兰卡的任何节日和聚会上，都能发现茶为人们“服务”的身影。斯里兰卡人喜欢红茶，中国人则更偏爱绿茶。在斯里兰卡家庭里，茶是一种没有任何特殊性的日常习惯。古时候的斯里兰卡，大多数人更喜欢“kahata”，这是在茶粉中加入开水，不加糖，后来人们喜欢加一些糖，制作成甜的饮料，它被当地人称为“清茶”，再加一些牛奶，就做成了“奶茶”。

在英国殖民时期，茶是供给英国和其他欧洲皇室饮用的，后来才在当地平民之间传播开来。

“咕噜咕噜……壶中的水沸腾后的蒸汽从壶嘴飘出，蒸汽冷凝湿润了炉子的角落。艾琳说：‘不要糖’，她递给我一杯热气腾腾的茶，给自己也倒了一杯，然后坐在我旁边。我们已经习惯了不加糖的茶，因为我们支付不起，不是因为我们不喜欢加了糖的茶，如果我们每次都加糖，我们的开支就会超过我们微薄的收入。”以上是卡利年代(kaliyugaya)的 Martin Wickramasinghe 书中的记载，这位伟大的作家是僧伽罗人中最伟大的社会研究员，他描述了 20 世纪 60 年代社会从农村生活向城市生活的演变。我们可以确定，当时无论贫富都能买得起茶，但糖是奢侈品。不加糖，茶的品质才不会改变。他还说，每天喝四到五杯茶，让身体暖和，整个人都有精神。为

保暖，一个人一天会喝四次或五次茶。从此，斯里兰卡工人就开始对茶上瘾了，他们在辛苦地工作和劳累了一天之后都会喝一小口茶。

相比于中国，斯里兰卡没有一个专门的“茶馆”喝茶，但每个餐厅会为客人提供一杯热茶。而在农村的“kadamandiya”（当地集市）我们还可以看到一个特别的斯里兰卡风俗——村民在晚上聚会品茶。在这些集市上，与茶相关的活动还包括玩跳棋、玩牌、讲故事、读报纸和闲聊。

与中国的茶道不同，在斯里兰卡，饮茶没有特定的仪式。它几乎出现在所有需要的场合。在斯里兰卡传统的婚礼上，一桌传统的甜肉和茶摆在餐桌上，欢迎新郎的亲戚。在茶具的使用方面不同于中国传统茶道中使用的茶具或瓷器，斯里兰卡人用茶壶、茶杯和碟子、糖碗、牛奶罐和茶匙。具体用法是：当茶被端上来，从糖碗里舀一茶匙糖加入茶汤中，一个单独的茶匙搭配一套茶杯和茶碟。茶在斯里兰卡虽然没有被用作本土医药的记录，但它仍被认为具有药用价值，并有减肥的效果。在现今的斯里兰卡，“凉茶”很受欢迎，因为茶叶的提取物可以降低胆固醇水平和高血压，也有助于延缓衰老，抑制癌症、感冒、感染、心脏病、高血压、免疫等。

现代茶文化和旅游业的结合

以茶文化为载体进而推动旅游业的发展越来越受到中国及斯里兰卡的重视，在推动两国茶文化的合作交流方面具有重要的作用。Jolliffe 将茶旅游定义为：由于人们对历史、传统以及茶的消费感兴趣（Jolliffe, 2007, p9）所产生的旅游动机。之后她将茶旅游者定义为旅游者关于历史、文化以及茶叶消费传统的体验（Jolliffe, 2007, p10）。

Jolliffe 还谈到了广泛的经验和机会，比如茶可以为旅客提供的包括茶叶店、供茶道和参观的茶园或博物馆。在斯里兰卡的旅游线路中，“茶园火车之旅”吸引了数以百万计的游客的到来。除此之外，当地女士们在郁郁葱葱的茶园斜坡上采摘茶叶也是一道美丽的景色。在斯里兰卡，参观茶园、茶厂，品尝和购买各种口味的茶是非常受欢迎的。

在中国和斯里兰卡的文化中，茶是一种社会习俗，是交往方式，是生活态度，是礼仪，是许多庆祝活动的一部分。用茶来招待客人，表达他们的敬意和感激，这是自古以来的一个悠久传统。在现代社会，人们饮茶、品茶，享受饮茶带来的文化传统和古色古香的生活氛围、以及与茶相关的旅行。虽然人们喝茶的方式不同，但茶是他们生活的必需品，茶在日常生活中仍然对中国和斯里兰卡起着重要的作用。

小结

在中华传统文化中，茶文化可谓灿若星河。斯里兰卡茶文化不同于中国的茶馆和传统茶道，这是中国茶文化中非常独特的一部分。茶艺是饮茶风俗和品茶技艺的艺术结晶，而由此引申的茶文化具有深厚的中华文化底蕴。对斯里兰卡而言也是如此，因此，茶文化对人们甚至整个国家的重要性可见一斑。我们要大力弘扬这样的文化，让更多的人了解甚至爱上它，让这份文明的生命力在时间的长河中愈发旺盛和灿烂。

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新冠疫情背景下斯里兰卡主流英文报纸的中国报道研究

Research on the Report on China in Sri Lanka's Main English Newspapers During the Covid-19 Pandemic Period

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摘要: 自上世纪中叶开始, 学者们对“国家形象”从不同的角度进行了界定。进入 21 世纪的前二十年, 在“全球化”和“去全球化”潮流所带来的挑战和机遇面前, 国家形象研究受到空前的重视。本研究以斯里兰卡的 4 家英文报纸 2020 年的涉华报道为分析对象, 采用内容分析的方法, 融合话语分析、新闻框架等理论, 通过对议题、内容、态度等进行编码和分析, 描绘出新冠疫情期间斯里兰卡主流英文报纸中的中国相关报道。研究发现: 2020 年, 斯里兰卡主流报纸对中国的有关报道关注范围相对比较狭窄, 呈现一定的选择性和片面性。超过大半与新冠疫情相关, 其中消息类新闻居多, 侧重于“事实报道”, 较为客观; 而评论类新闻和深度聚焦较少, “价值评判”居多。其他相关报道集中在中国的经济、外交、科技领域, 教育、宗教和体育也有少量涉及。

关键词: 新冠疫情, 中国形象, 斯里兰卡主流报纸, 事实报道, 价值评判

研究背景

自上世纪中叶开始, 学者们对“国家形象”从不同的角度进行了界定或衡量。比如认知与情感 (Boulding, 1959)、特征总和 (Scott, 1965)、信仰 (Jervis, 1970)、评价和认定 (孙有中, 2009)、主观印象和总体感知 (刘继南、何辉 2006, 吴友富 2009)、舆论反映 (胡晓明, 2011)、相对稳定的总体评价 (梁晓波, 2014) 等。随着二战后世界格局的发展变化和广大发展

中国家的现实需求, 国家形象成为了研究的热门话题。

当然, 国家形象并非一成不变。一方面, 在一定时期内, 某一国家的形象是相对稳定的, 有着较强的客观基础。另一方面, 同一国家的形象会因时代的不同而发生变化, 甚至会因为特定的事件而形成与之前截然相反的呈现。

传播学领域的中国国家形象研究始于 1996 年学者李希光等人的著作, 主要采用内容分析的方

法，聚焦特定时段特定媒体的涉华报道，根据报道内容、报道倾向性等建立类目并进行编码，考察某一类新闻的能见度和态度立场，从而得出世界媒体和民众对中国印象的相关结论。随后，美英、西欧、土耳其、阿根廷等国的主流媒体上的中国形象研究陆续涌现。

此外，进入 21 世纪的前二十年，在“全球化”和“去全球化”潮流所带来的挑战和机遇面前，国家形象成为了一个关注点。斯里兰卡作为“一带一路”沿线的重要国家，与中国在政治、经济、文化、外交、传媒、旅游等方面的交流日益增加。但是，目前对斯里兰卡主流媒体眼中的中国形象研究的资料和成果却并不是很多，很难勾勒出比较清晰的脉络，难以得出客观而准确的评价。

因此，本研究具有一定的应用基础和现实意义。

研究目的

世界对中国的了解主要依赖媒体，而中国的国家形象又以英语话语体系的“他塑”为主。每个国家都有以报道严肃新闻为主的主流报纸，读者通常是社会的精英阶层。通过当地主流报纸对中国的相关报道，基本上可以了解到该国及其民众对中国形象的认知、情感与评价。

基于上述背景，本研究以“一带一路”沿线的重要南亚国家斯里兰卡的 4 家英文报纸 2020 年的涉华报道为分析对象，通过对议题、态度等进行分析，描绘出新冠疫情期间斯里兰卡主流报纸眼中的中国形象，进而分析其背景、原因、趋势等。

研究方法

梵·迪克（Van Dijk）认为，新闻不仅是一种话语，而且是一种意识形态话语，媒体“新闻所再

现的现实本身就是……一种意识形态的构建”。正如福柯所言，话语实际上反映着一个有结构和规律性的整体“世界”，又反过来建构甚至创造出其所描述“世界”。

就像两千多年前柏拉图在其《理想国》中提出的著名的“洞穴”比喻一样。对于生活在现代的人们来说，各类媒体显然就是“洞穴”里面“囚徒”背后“燃烧的火光”，人们只能借助媒体来了解身边的事情和遥远的世界，从而形成脑海中的自我认知。媒体虽然在“对我们怎么去想（what to think）方面很难起作用，却在我们想什么（what to think about）方面发挥着重要的作用。”

1972 年，麦库姆斯和肖在《舆论季刊》上发表了“议程设置功能”理论，认为大众传播天然具有一种为公众设置“议事日程”的功能，通过新闻报道和信息传达活动赋予各种“议题”不同程度的重要性、显著性，从而影响着人们对周围世界的判断。

因而，本研究主要采用内容分析的方法，并融合话语分析、新闻框架等理论，对新冠疫情期间斯里兰卡的主流报纸在 2020 年的涉华报道内容和表达方式进行分析，就有可能挖掘到沃尔特·李普曼在《公众舆论》中提到的背后那个潜藏着的“世界”，得出斯里兰卡媒体和民众对中国的认知、情感和评价。

调查分析

本文主要采用内容分析法对上述问题展开分析。第一手资料来源于斯里兰卡公开发行的四份英文报纸《每日镜报》（Daily Mirror）、《Daily News》（每日新闻）、《Sunday Observer》（周日观察家报）、《The Island》（岛报）的涉华报

道,时间跨度为 2019 年 11 月 1 日-2020 年 10 月 30 日。

(一) 抽样与样本

在以上 4 份报纸中,《Sunday Observer》是周报,其余三份报纸是日报;《Daily News》《Sunday Observer》是国有企业发行的报纸,《Daily Mirror》《The Island》是私营企业发行的报纸。

数据的搜集途径主要是从这四份报纸的公开内容中获得有关中国的相关报道。采用系统抽样(systematic sampling)的方式,日报选择奇数日期,周报选择全部日期作为样本,共搜集了 2019 年 11 月 1 日至 2020 年 10 月 30 日之间的数据,有效样本共 297 个。

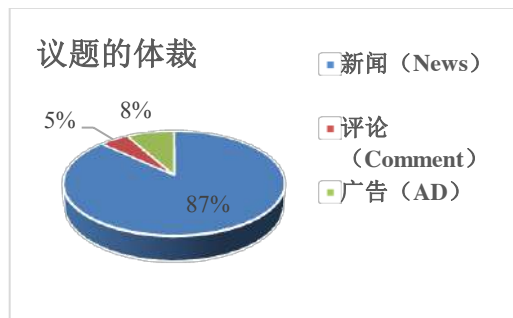
(二) 关键变量与类目建构

在参考相关研究的基础上,依据研究的目标与需要,以斯里兰卡公开发行的四份英文报纸上的涉华报道为研究内容,本文主要考察以下关键变量:1. 议题的体裁; 2. 议题的分布; 3. 议题的关键词; 4. 议题的显著性; 5. 话语表达的调性。

1. 议题的体裁

本文将四份报纸上的涉华报道议题的体裁主要分为:新闻(News)、评论(Comment)和广告(Advertisement)三类。

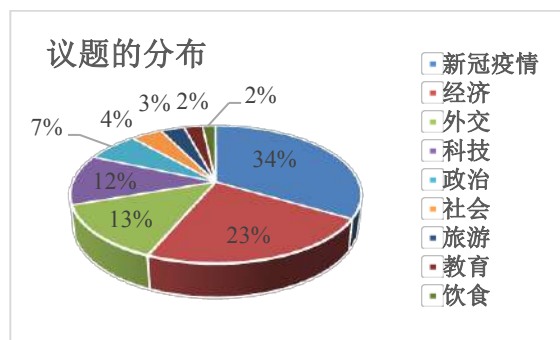
在有效样本中,新闻有 258 篇,占比 87%;评论有 15 篇,占比 5%;广告有 24 篇,占比 8%。



这说明,有中国的报道基本以消息类为主,侧重“客观事实”的报道,评论较少。但值得一提的是,《Daily Mirror》发表的相关评论比其他三家报纸都要多,并且多以“社论”的专版、整版形式出现,体现了该报对评论的重视,以及在与中国相关的问题上的立场、态度和观点。

2. 议题的分布

本文将四份报纸上的涉华报道议题的分布主要分为:新冠疫情、经济、外交、科技、政治、社会、教育、饮食、体育和旅游,共 10 个小类目。



通过统计得出,新冠疫情、经济、外交和科技是 10 个议题中排名前四位的,也是有关中国报道的主要议题。议题的分布呈现出明显的特征。

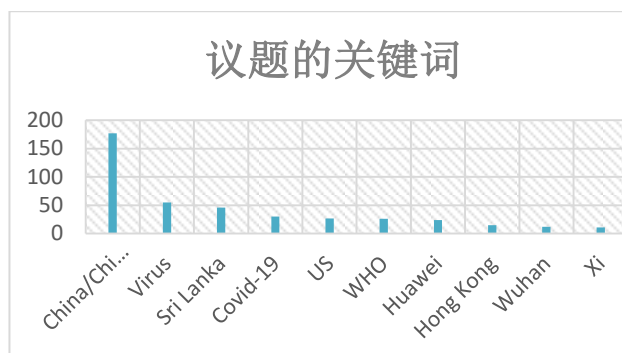
2020 年的特殊之处在于全球都处在新冠疫情广泛传播的背景之下,因此有关“新冠疫情”的报道是重中之重。斯里兰卡的主流报纸自然也会将此议题作为重点和热点来进行报道。

除此以外,斯里兰卡主流报纸对经济、外交和科技三个领域与中国的交往也格外关注。经济方面,近年来中国与斯里兰卡的互动越来越强,

这与中国以经济发展为中心的一贯做法和倡议合作双赢的“一带一路”项目宗旨是一致的，也与斯里兰卡政府谋求经济发展的需求是紧密相连的。外交方面，斯里兰卡作为南亚的重要海岛国家，地理位置十分优越，非常重视与同为亚洲的印度、中国、俄罗斯三国的外交关系，致力于合作友好、和谐、平衡的多边关系。科技方面，华为、小米、OPPO、联想等手机和电脑企业在印度市场表现不俗，近年来也致力于开拓斯里兰卡市场，因此在报纸上进行的广告传播比较多，以期打开知名度。

3. 议题的关键词

通过将四份报纸上的涉华报道的标题进行提炼和统计，共得到以下十大关键词。按照频次出现的高低，依次为：China/Chinese、Virus、Sri Lanka、Covid-19、US、WHO、Huawei、Hong Kong、Wuhan、Xi。



2020年，斯里兰卡主流报纸上的中国与新冠疫情紧密“捆绑”在一起。但凡提到中国，超过一半的内容与新冠疫情有关；而提到新冠疫情，则超过90%的报道都会在标题或者正文中提到中国。武汉因新冠疫情而为斯里兰卡人所熟知，WHO也频频被提起或引证。另外，华为手机、中美贸易战、香港事件也是关注的重点。

4. 议题的显著性

基于客观数据和条件限制，本文通过观察报道所在报纸的版面位置来锁定议题的显著性。分

为四个小类目：头版、二版、3-8版、9版及以后。

在所有样本中，20%的报道是置于报纸版面上最为重要的头版和第二版，这说明斯里兰卡主流报纸非常重视有关的中国报道，将其放在了显著的位置，希望引起读者的关注，并在其认知、态度和行为等方面产生影响。

5. 话语表达的调性

调性指的是评述的感情色彩。本文将评述口吻基本分为如下三种：（1）正面/肯定/积极的；（2）反面/否定/消极的；（3）中性/无法判断的（无明显感情色彩或“两面说理”等）。斯里兰卡的主流报纸有关中国的评论数量较少，但其评述倾向和价值判断却多是属于“反面/否定/消极”和“中性/无法判断的”的。

主要集中在两个方面：一方面是对中国在此次新冠疫情中的责任和行动进行了指责，这与国际舆论中的一部分声音保持了高度一致，如：“Coronavirus Epidemic Reveals China's Dark Side”对中国进行了尖锐的批评；另一方面是在错综复杂的国际环境下，对中斯的平等互信互利共赢的关系前景提出了新的见解和思考，如“Sri Lanka Walks Diplomatic Tight Rope between China and US”、“Three World Powers Engage Sri Lanka on Same Day”。

结论

研究发现：2020年，斯里兰卡主流报纸对中国的有关报道关注范围相对比较狭窄，呈现一定的选择性和片面性。超过大半与新冠疫情相关，其中消息类新闻居多，侧重于“事实报道”，较为客观；而评论类新闻和深度聚焦较少，使用消极话语和负面“价值评判”。其他相关报道集中在中

国的经济、外交、科技领域，教育、旅游和体育也有少量涉及。这种不均衡既有政治和意识形态、国际关系方面的原因，又受经济需求驱动。

建议

本研究认为，不管从内容认知上，还是情感评价上，斯里兰卡主流媒体中的中国国家形象与“一带一路”沿线国家相比，仍存在着很大的距离，有待积极深化。同时，还应尽量避免可能产生“刻板印象”的表述，体现新闻报道的客观性和中立性。

不足

因为客观条件限制与主观能力不足，本研究存在以下缺陷或不足：

第一，本研究课题应该是一个中长期宏观的研究。目前研究的年限比较短，只能揭示出斯里兰卡主流媒体上短期的中国形象结论。因此，本研究将继续进行中长期的观察与分析。

第二，样本数量不够充分，也不可避免地存在着一些技术性的偏差。后续研究中，将会扩大样本总量，减少样本偏差，以期得到更有效更准确的结论。

第三，僧伽罗语的报纸应该也要作为研究对象和数据来源。在斯里兰卡，超过 70% 的人说僧伽罗语，他们当中有很多人不能阅读英文报纸，因此，发行量较大的僧伽罗语报纸《Lankadeepa》《Dinamina》也应该要纳入到研究当中。由于 2020 年疫情影响，本研究小组的斯里兰卡成员均分散在家，不得已放弃了僧伽罗语报纸的研究。未来如果有条件，会填补这项空缺。

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