

這個 Forbidden City，禁忌的城市，或說：「閒人勿入」的城市，若從其字面意義來理解，也可以作為利瑪竇在北京城的一種隱喻，在這個不得傳教的城市裏，羅明堅、利瑪竇及其跟隨者，如何從沿海走向京師，從邊緣到中心，奠定中國天主教的基礎，也是一種合理的用法。

如同前面所說，古今中外有關利瑪竇的研究，無論質量都相當多。相關史料涉及的語言種類繁多，常令研究者望之生畏。本書能納入現有成果，又充分利用大量中外文一手史料，運用淺白文字，而非生硬的學術語言，娓娓道出利瑪竇一生的經歷，已經是一大貢獻。此外，本書不以教會內部歌功頌德的敘事角度，而是透過資料的重建呈現相對中性的第三方觀點，更使本書在諸多利瑪竇傳當中，占有一席之地。

An Anatomy of Chinese: Rhythm, Metaphor, Politics. By Perry Link. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2013. Pp. viii+367.

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In this monograph combining the rigor of scientific research with an informal, even entertaining approach, Perry Link sums up the first-hand observations and the scattered notes about the Chinese language gathered over three decades. The task he undertakes is an ambitious one: to probe a number of features of modern Chinese—namely rhythmic patterns, metaphorical devices, and the “language game,” and rhetoric prevalent in the realm of officialdom—that go normally unnoticed by native Chinese speakers, but affect nonetheless the meaning of the utterance, making a significant difference in what is communicated.

In the introductory chapter, having outlined the genesis of his study—incidentally devoting some space to motivating his choice of avoiding unnecessary academic jargon (pp. 1-2)—Link announces the structure of his work and the basic ideas underlying the three main chapters, devoted—as indicated in the book title—to rhythm, metaphor, and politics respectively. In the case of rhythm, Link argues, the more or less conscious use of such features adds something to the phrase: not only

the feeling that the phrase sounds “right” and aesthetically pleasant, but also “meaning” in the sense that rhythm conveys implications that can be successfully construed by native Chinese readers or listeners. (p. 6) When shifting his focus to metaphors, the author acknowledges his indebtedness towards Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of metaphor³² and the later developments in the field of cognitive linguistics. (pp. 8-9) Link is led to argue that Chinese and English—despite the tendency by Western languages to complicate meaning by stressing entities and abstraction over processes and action—present more similarities than differences in everyday metaphorical usage (e.g. the use of space as a metaphor for time), partly by virtue of a universally shared experiential basis. (pp. 10-11) In reflecting about the “meaning” of rhythms and the thought-structuring function of established metaphors, Link begins to investigate how these factors can be involved in the language used in the official sphere. Although less pervasive in scope than it was during the years of high Maoism, officialese continues to play a major role in the PRC as a specific register of the Chinese language. It remains largely separate from everyday expression, and is characterized by its “implicit claim to moral weight” (p. 15) and “goal orientation.” (p. 17) In the final section of the introduction, the author divulges that the following chapters will investigate the question of how such common features as rhythm, metaphor and political rhetoric can be related to the way we think. (pp. 19-20)

At the beginning of the first chapter, Link states that the focus of the section is the analysis of “conventional rhythmic patterns,” (p. 21) whether or not they present occasional exceptions. Link then proceeds to give an account of the prevalence of rhythmic patterns in Chinese: what interests the author is not creative or complex rhythms, such as those that can be found in oratory and literature, but rather those observable in everyday communication. For example, the pervasive *wuyan* 五言 and *qiyān* 七言 patterns, extremely common in poetry and folk songs, can also be found in more popular and non-elite forms such as graffiti, chants, menus, ball game cheers, popular ditties (*shunkouliu* 順口溜), comic dialogues (*xiangsheng* 相聲), etc.

³² George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live by* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

(pp. 24-32) The use of rhythmic pattern is also common in Mao's personal speech and in the big-character posters (*dazibao* 大字報) of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: there is an evidence, Link suggests, that some people in the government were aware of the importance of rhythm in propaganda work, although they likely were not conscious of the self-contradiction of using such traditional devices to attack "old culture." (pp. 33-34) Nowadays, *wuyan* and *qiyan* rhythms are still widely employed in social and commercial advertisements.

When reflecting on the factors determining the preference for rhythm, Link notices that they sometimes are to be found in the grammar of Chinese: the latter provides considerable rhythmic flexibility and combinatory power due to its morphemic monosyllabism, thus allowing one to easily produce lines of equal length and games or puzzles. Moreover, the question of whether language users make conscious decisions when selecting rhythmic patterns that "sound right" is a subtle one, and the "irony of articulate intent versus inadvertent use of rhythm" is extremely common in, but not limited to, the slogans and chants of the Mao years. (pp. 37-44) Link's hypothesis that rhythms have gone through fads in contemporary Chinese is also supported by evidence, as in the case of four-syllable phrases typical of the Great Leap Forward, or patterns such as *hao de hen* 好得很 in the Cultural Revolution. (pp. 44-49)

An investigation into the origins of rhythms suggests the preference, in Chinese, for syllabic balance both in modifier-modified phrases and in verb-object constructions, commonly in a 2+2 pattern, and consistently following a rule where the stress is received by the component of a phrase that is not the head. Meaning can also be a factor influencing the stress, and even plays a major role in deciding what is "sayable" and what is not. (pp. 49-53) Link then proceeds to explore what he calls external rhythms, i.e. those originating outside grammar or meaning: among these, dominant rhythms are used consciously for artistic purposes, whereas recessive rhythms are culturally defined but are not consciously noticed, nor grammatically explained—such as those at work in grammatically parallel strings of syllables or in item lists. (pp. 54-59) Among the preferred recessive rhythms in Chinese, the author lists common patterns in which each syllable receives equal stress, such as 1+1 and

1+1+1, and—more interestingly—notes the preference for 2+2, 2+3, and 2+2+3 patterns (the latter two being *wuyan* and *qiyan*). Strings of 3+3 or 2+2+2 syllables are less common, while strings of 9 or more syllables tend to be built from shorter phrases. (pp. 60-67) Recessive rhythms can affect a phrase not only because they can cause the addition or subtraction of syllables, but because rhythmic variation can affect the way in which a phrase is construed by the recipient. Recessive rhythms can also affect the number of syllables in a phrase, influence their arrangement, or even alter the standard grammar of a phrase. (pp. 68-74)

As for the universality of rhythmic patterns, Link notes the commonality of some patterns (e.g. 5- and 7-syllable patterns, 4-beat rhythms, and especially the 3-3-7 pattern) across different cultures and epochs, possibly because of the shared structure of the human brain. (pp. 74-82) When reflecting on the “meaning”—in the sense of an understanding or feeling—conveyed by rhythms, the author identifies a number of pragmatic functions. Whereas certain rhythmic patterns can suggest humor or affectionate respect, others (especially *qiyan*) carry a sense of authority, inevitability, wisdom, and accordance with what is “proper” and “true,” and are therefore ubiquitous in formalized language. (pp. 82-94) Of course, Link argues, other formal features besides rhythm can contribute to meaning, i.e. tones, vowels or consonants, pitch, parallelism, and chiasmus: the latter two are particularly significant, because they convey the same authority, naturalness, and persuasiveness that rhythms—with which they often work together—communicate. (pp. 94-109) In the final part of the first chapter, Link argues that “meaning” and conscious use of rhythms are not contradictory: even though rhythms go generally unnoticed, native speakers are well aware of their effects and this seems to reveal a subconscious obedience to the “rules” of rhythms governing what “sounds right,” just in the same way grammar rules operate in the mind. (pp. 109-112)

In the opening of the second chapter, devoted to metaphor, Link states that the study of creative figurative language is not the aim of this section: what interests him is the analysis of metaphors that pervade everyday language. The author then proceeds to give an account of Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of conceptual metaphor (hereinafter CM), starting from the two scholars’ assumption that our normal

conceptual scheme is metaphorically structured, that the logical processes of interpretation of CMs are defined by context and by a form of cooperation between the individuals involved in the communication act, and that the implicit claims of such metaphors do not need to be true to work properly. Moreover, CMs are productive in that they can underlie a broad variety of related expressions, and are sometimes strong enough to shape the way individuals absorb new experience. As for “mixed” metaphors, i.e. two or more metaphors used together, Link suggests that having to switch conceptual schemes does not inhibit understanding, although metaphors tend to occur in consistent families. (pp. 115-128) The relation between metaphor and thought, intensely explored since Whorf, is also one of the major aspects focused on by Lakoff and Johnson: if reality is defined by metaphors, the two scholars claim, and metaphors vary across cultures, then so do the realities that metaphors define. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis seems to have been (at least partly) given new credibility by recent studies, confirming that languages tend to shape thought about abstract domains, resulting in speakers being influenced by the metaphorical habits of their own languages. However, Link states, the idea that the structure of the human mind conditions the way we think, regardless of language or culture, does not contradict the point above. In the following sections, the author proceeds to illustrate how Chinese and English reveal different ways of conceiving things. (pp. 128-136)

The use of space as a metaphor for time is a nearly universal one, but this same metaphor can work in different ways, even within a single language. Summing up the results of a number of studies in the field and providing several clarifying examples, Link identifies three time lines existing in both Chinese and English: two kinds of horizontal time lines (one where events form a linear sequence moving out of the future and toward us, and then pass us into the past, and one where we are looking toward a specific direction, i.e. the future) and a vertical one. These three lines can also be mixed. Chinese and English, Link maintains, do not differ in the conceptualization of the time metaphor, but in the relative frequency of the use of these particular time lines. (pp. 136-147) Link then proceeds to investigate the question whether the metaphorical use of color is a cultural invention, and to what

extent the definitions of colors are the same across languages. Although Chinese and English show remarkable differences in color definition (e.g. the spectra covered by *huang* 黃 and *qing* 青 in Chinese are much broader than those entailed by “yellow” or “green” in English), one basis for commonality in the metaphorical use of colors is rooted in the physical experience of the world (e.g. the color green associated with youth, etc.) However, some metaphors cannot be traced to physical bases; moreover, a single color can have different connotations even within a single language, and such connotations can be complicated by linguistic borrowing. Although similarities in metaphors across languages can be explained by simple coincidence, Link argues, a form of experiential basis may be at work in this respect. (pp. 147-155) With reference to the CM “more is up, less is down,” Link notes that it is well established in both Chinese and English, where it can refer—in different ways and to varying extents—to technical or moral quality, status, mood, place (in the administration), etc., although “up” (and *shang* 上) and “down” (and *xia* 下) can also express the idea of “unknown or unsettled” and “under control” respectively. This incongruity, however, does not seem to hinder communication, as both CMs are available to speakers. (pp. 155-162) “North” and “South” are metaphorical conventions, and the reasons for favoring one or the other are rooted in geomancy. Although traditional Chinese topographical maps were conceived to be viewed from any angle, the author notes, the South seems to be preferred as “up” (at least until the Northern Song period), and “pointing South” (*zhinan* 指南) also seems to refer to the “correct” direction. (pp. 163-169) Even though there are exceptions on both sides, the CM “consciousness is up, unconsciousness is down” is typical of English, whereas Chinese generally employs a horizontal metaphor expressed by the directional complements *lai* 來 and *qu* 去. (pp. 169-170) Link then points out that, in ancient Chinese thought, the “self” is often metaphorically conceived as two coexisting but different entities, an active and conscious “Self 1” and a “Self 2” that is acted upon. (pp. 171-174) Finally, when reflecting on the Chinese predilection for dyads, Link observes that a “plus” item generally comes before a “minus” item (a peculiarity largely shared by English), and the first member in a dyad comes first as the default term for measuring attributes. As for the notions of “here” and “there,” the ability of

the speaker to project the center of things to the location associated with the listener is typical of Chinese and does not exist in English. The “male+female” dyad is common (with some exceptions) in both languages: in addition, both Chinese and English often implicitly understand gender-neutral terms as male, and add a gendered term or a prefix to mark their femaleness. (pp. 174-183)

In the final section of the second chapter, Perry Link undertakes the task of analyzing the similarities and differences in metaphorical usage between Chinese and English. Because of the remarkable overlapping in human experience and in spite of differences in worldviews, many CMs are basically shared in the two languages although with different specific images, e.g. “affection is warmth, unaffection [sic] is coldness,” “stinky is bad,” “difficulties are burdens,” “more form is more content,” “closeness is strength” etc. (pp. 183-198) The thought patterns and values of Chinese and English can lead to significant divergence in metaphorical preferences, too. For instance, the “eating” metaphor is much more productive in Chinese than in American English—which favors metaphors of sports, marketing, and the driving of vehicles. The same can be said of the CM “government is family,” rooted in ancient times and still widely used today. Link then focuses on the “opera/acting” metaphor, arguing that, because the use of language is a form of ethical behavior from the Chinese cultural perspective, the preference for such metaphors reveals the importance of outward performance and the predominance of moral value over the true/false distinction. (pp. 198-209) When investigating these dissimilarities, the author suggests, a useful distinction can be made between differences by custom (the same basic CM is used in the two languages, but with different frequency) and differences by concept (one language uses a CM that the other does not use). Among these conceptual differences, then, Link notes, for example, that the “an instrument is a companion” (“to cut with a knife”) and “seeing is understanding” metaphors do not exist in Chinese. Similarly, the “causation is emergence” (e.g. “to do sth. out of despair”) metaphor is more productive in English than in Chinese, where the directional complement *chulai* 出來 indicates that the main verb results in something being understood or recognized. (pp. 209-215) Link then proceeds to explore what Lakoff and Johnson call ontological metaphors, i.e. “shorthand labels we give to

phenomena whose description in literal detail would involve inordinate difficulty or tedium.” (p. 215) Ontological metaphors are very common in English, where they usually appear in nominal form, but the ideas they convey can usually be expressed using verbs in Chinese. In English, Link claims, things are often conceived in terms of nouns, producing often unnecessary “container metaphors” that are hard to translate into Chinese, whereas the latter appears to be more “eventful” and verb-oriented, and does not usually treat “container metaphors” as if they were physical things. However, because this difference between the two languages is merely the product of a grammatical act, this act has no power to change the real world. (pp. 215-231)

In the final section of the chapter, after this detailed comparison of how CMs work in Chinese and in English, the author draws a number of conclusions. Instead of revealing alternative worldviews, the results of his investigation lead him to ascertain that, in addition to the differences between Chinese and English in the use of CMs, a high degree of incoherence in such use exists even within each of the two languages. Nevertheless, there also exist a large number of similarities, even in examples embedded in different ways in the two languages: the reasons for such a phenomenon, Link insists, can be traced to the shared structure of the human brain and to the commonality of human experience. The main benefit in noticing cultural difference, the author concludes, is the realization of the fact that things can be conceived in different ways across different cultures, as well as of the arbitrariness of all the aspects of one’s culture that one has taken for granted. (pp. 231-233)

In the third and final chapter, devoted to the political, or official language (hereinafter OL) of modern and contemporary China, Perry Link’s in-depth research produces the most remarkable results. The author first stresses how OL reveals a deep bifurcation from ordinary talk in several respects (vocabulary, rhythm, tone, and grammar), the two registers being two varieties of the same language that are expected to operate in their respective proper spheres. Especially during the Mao era, the people had to be able to handle both registers according to the circumstances: since in the Chinese world the OL produces social effects in the real world, in times when the use of wrong political terminology meant a wrong political stance, the incongruity resulting from the mixing of the two levels could bring about serious

consequences. (pp. 234-242)

The author then proceeds to give a detailed account of the characteristics of OL, devoting special attention to the language in use during the years of high Maoism (although the distinction from post-Mao OL is not always a clear-cut one). At the lexical level, Link notes the major role played by Western-derived abstract nouns in the formation of modern Chinese OL. In addition to their ambiguous potential, abstractions (e.g. ubiquitous nouns such as *xingshi* 形勢 or *jumian* 局面 “situation”, empty verbs such as *jinxing* 進行 “to carry out” etc.) allow the preservation of multiple options and the providential avoidance of controversies, without losing their “air of scientific impartiality” (p. 246) and their appearance of irrefutability. (pp. 243-250) The Chinese OL also presents a number of characteristic metaphors, such as “stage” (a traditional trope considerably revived by the Communist movement), military (less pervasive than in the Mao years, but still prominent in issues of a higher political sensitivity), and medical metaphors (originated in the Yan’an era and common throughout the Deng Xiaoping years). When investigating the preference for metaphorical language, the author points out three main reasons: (1) the association abstract = high = good is deeply embedded in the conceptual world of both Chinese and English, and allows considerable room for the instrumental use of euphemism; (2) abstraction adds syllables to empty talk; (3) abstract language associates the speaker with a specific (correct) political trend or style. (pp. 251-260) The syntax and morphology of Chinese OL, the author states, is also heavily influenced by Western-style grammar: for instance, the growing frequency of the aspectual particles *le* 了 and *zhe* 著 seems to be an imitation of the past tense and progressive forms of Western languages. (pp. 260-264) The “correctness” of official statements is also often reinforced by the use of rhythm, repetition, and numbers which, besides lending an air of completeness and correctness to the message, seem—especially in the PRC—to have an “infantizing” function on the recipient. (pp. 265-267) The alleged correctness and moral weight of OL is conveyed through careful lexical, grammatical, and rhythmic choices: for instance, animal terms used to define the enemy are intrinsically negative, whereas some terms (e.g. *kexue* 科學 “scientific”) are presented as unmistakably positive. (pp.

267-270) The tendency to stress goals—without necessarily specifying how to attain them—is indicated by the author as another characteristic of Chinese OL: one of the most striking examples of this goal orientation is the pervasive use, since the 1950s, of the flexible “dummy” verb *gao* 搞, meaning “to bring about” a result without specifying the actor. A similar phenomenon can be observed in political slogans, subject-free predicates that possess, nonetheless, a camouflaged imperative nature. (pp. 270-274) Finally, Link comments, Chinese OL reveals in the most powerful way the intimate equivalence between “fit” and “true”: as a matter of fact, the Party watchwords (*tifa* 提法) are an extension of grammar and a form of power in themselves; they limit the conceptual perspective of their users by cutting off alternative ways of thinking. As a consequence, although the practice of giving fixed names to things is rooted in the Confucian *zhengming* 正名 tradition, in modern Chinese authoritarianism the formal correctness of a message overrides the distinction between “true” and “false.” (pp. 274-278)

The complexity of the factors listed above obliges the citizens of the PRC to engage in what Link calls the “language game” (hereinafter LG) of officialdom. Its basic function is to pragmatically serve the speaker’s interest, even against plausibility if necessary, and the practice of dealing with the official version of things in political issues—particularly inescapable in the Maoist period—can be performed as a form of defense or with a goal in mind: the LG produces actual consequences in the real world, although in some cases reality is bent to fit its official linguistic representation. Under such circumstances, the popular response to the LG can take two forms: one is to stand apart or to satirize it, the other is to actively engage in it in an attempt to seek personal advantage. The LG of the Mao era deeply shaped the linguistic tools available to a whole society, to the point that breaking free from its constraints becomes a hard task. Link points out that even the Tiananmen protesters could not extricate themselves from Maoist language when drafting their documents; in the literary domain, some authors strived to find new means of expression, as in the case of “obscure poetry” (*menglongshi* 朦朧詩), or in that of Chinese writers choosing to abandon their native language. (pp. 278-295)

Link then undertakes the task of analyzing how the LG is played, on opposite

sides, by the rulers and the ruled. From the perspective of those in power, as a distinctive part of the Communist Party of China's "linguistic engineering,"³³ OL has become so well-established and powerful that it often brings about, in a person's mind, a psychological mismatch between their own memory and politically correct language use. Besides the "push" side of the OL, there is also a remarkable "pull" side, whose function is to assert the moral centrality of the Party by stressing the minority status, the displacement and the moral inferiority of its opponents, thereby creating the illusion of a mainstream. Link also lays particular stress on the association between correct language use, moral status, and political legitimacy. After exploring the pervasive use of euphemisms by officials when dealing with problems, the author probes various forms of linguistic vagueness: vague warnings and threats are more frightening and encompass a wider range of activities; vague charges allow for arbitrary targeting and prove useful in obtaining information; unclear or contradictory instructions can be used to shift the blame away from those responsible and veil the identities of the targets, etc. In the end, Link comments, strong-arm language and vague expressions combine to pursue a common goal, though—of course—language is only one of the tools available to those in power to attain their goals. (pp. 295-321)

After examining the problem of how the rulers play the LG, the author shifts his focus onto the ruled. After the bifurcation between official and ordinary language became pervasive (in the late 1950s), the two registers began to operate in different spheres. Under these circumstances, a citizen of the PRC might find it useful, when necessary, to avoid OL and take refuge in ordinary talk and informal contexts, where common language is normally used. Under the authoritarian rule, the ruled can also exploit the distance between OL and common language to make the latter become extraordinary: in this respect, Link lists and analyzes a rich array of forms of expressions (puns, *shunkouliu*, graffiti, internet jokes etc.) that provide tools for resistance against repressive rule. (pp. 321-341)

³³ Fengyuan Ji, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

In the final part of the third chapter, the author touches upon the effects of the LG in the Mao era and in the years that followed. He begins by emphasizing the fact that the demarcation is not a clear one, and that both change and continuity can be observed: if the basic structures remain essentially the same, there has been also undeniable evolution. However, Link concludes, even after the end of Mao's rule two significant dangers remain: (1) the intensification in the use of OL to exploit nationalism, in order to distract from actual problems and improve the image of Party leaders, and (2) the risk of an acceptance, by the citizens of the PRC, of the normality and inevitability of the LG—and therefore, for instance, the general acceptance of the prohibition of certain sensitive topics (above all, the Tian'anmen massacre) from public discussion. (pp. 341-348)

In the epilogue, Link sums up once again the reasons for choosing to explore the topics of rhythm, metaphor, and politics. These topics, he believes, are distinctive features of the Chinese language, and possess two characteristics: (1) they are usually unnoticed by Chinese speakers, who nonetheless master them and rely on them in daily communication, and (2) they affect meaning, because they add specific connotations to the message that can be correctly construed by the linguistic community to which the speakers belong. Link concludes by pointing out the advantages of reflecting on such features: becoming consciously aware of how “meanings” are delivered is a way to cultivate our critical judgment; especially in the case of metaphors, it provides interesting insights on how the human mind works across different languages and helps to avoid cultural misunderstanding. More generally, the author suggests, consciousness about the language used in daily life is a helpful intellectual exercise and can be enjoyable in itself, as a way to gain awareness of the general commonality of human experience.

One of the most eminent merits of Perry Link's book—in addition to the richness and significance of the real-life examples presented—is the ability to analyze a broad variety of materials with remarkable linguistic and cultural awareness, refraining both from drawing sharp distinctions between “China” and “the West” on the one hand, and from jumping to definitive conclusions on the other. What interests the author is the process of analyzing the way the human mind works

across languages and cultures, and the results of his research reveal that the shared aspects—especially in metaphorical conceptualization—outnumber the differences. This is a refreshing change from a large part of the China-West debate, which too often tends to exacerbate the allegedly irreducible distance between the two “worlds.” Moreover, by resorting to a composite methodology—based on the results of research carried out in different domains, from metaphor theory to cognitive sciences, from linguistics to musicology—the author presents and dissects each phenomenon, paying attention also to the inescapable exceptions, without trying to provide a unified theoretical framework that would allow him to account for every facet of the problem. If most features regarding rhythms and metaphors are indeed shared among the different areas of the Sinosphere, it would have been interesting to read a more detailed comparison between the political language used in the PRC with the OL used in other Chinese-speaking areas (a few considerations are made throughout the book, although not systematically). However, since the book essentially focuses on the language used in the PRC, such a task would have exceeded its scope. In the final analysis, Perry Link’s extremely enjoyable book makes acute and enlightening reading for those who wish to study the intimate connection between modern China and its language, as well as to acquire a new set of tools for interpreting the politics and culture of contemporary China by gaining a deeper awareness of the mechanisms and rules of the complex “language game” at play on different levels.

No Man an Island: The Cinema of Hou Hsiao-hsien. By James Udden. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009. Pp. ix+226.

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James Udden’s *No Man an Island: The Cinema of Hou Hsiao-hsien* is the first book in the English language devoted exclusively to Taiwanese director Hou Hsiao-hsien 侯孝賢, one of the most important figures in contemporary art cinema. Before the book was published in 2009, chapters were devoted to Hou Hsiao-hsien in