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# Labeled Language

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*On language and gender in the Mengzi.*

*Master thesis for Asian Studies (specialization: History, arts and culture of Asia) 2022/23 at Leiden University, the Netherlands.*

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## INTRODUCTION

As a child I was often baffled by the lack of women told about in early morning Bible tellings at my primary school. My teachers would read from a children's Bible, and each year the stories would become increasingly complex. Yet, I was always missing something. For what my teacher considered a library, that Bible contained only a handful of women in its books. I remember asking my teacher, a woman herself – 'But what about the women? Aren't there any more women in the Bible? Weren't the women in Jesus' life important?'. It is these questions that inspired me to write my Bachelor thesis on women in the four canonical gospels, but to anyone researching religions it becomes apparent quickly that the Bible stories read to children are not the only texts omitting women.

### Women in religions and other systems of meaning

When it comes to ancient religions and other life stances, the absence of women in their works of literature in no way reflects the absence of women among their followers. In fact, women are often more religious than men (see for example the studies by Mahlamäki 2012, 58; Trzebiatowska and Bruce 2013; and Sullins 2006, 838). More women than men are followers of major world religions, and women tend to be more devout than men (Pew Research Center 2016). We might go so far as to call this a gender gap in religion.

It is strange, therefore, that we find an absence of textual women in religious writings. This absence has been noted, most recently, by women's and gender studies of literature, of which many works detect gender inequality in historical texts, with women drawing the proverbial shortest straw. Examples of recent studies that focus on the relationship between religiosity and gender inequality include, for example, "Religion and gender inequality" by Klingorova and Havlíček (2015) and *Women and Religion* by Babacan (2009). In several cases, it has been shown that religious texts tend to use a mostly negative vocabulary when speaking about women. Furthermore, negativity is more often associated with women than men (Greene and Rubin 1991, 81). If women are spoken about more positively, it is not uncommon to see them serve only as examples of expected behavior. Examples of recent studies that underpin the differences seen between women and men in combination with religious literature mention Christianity (Newman 2018; Nyhagen 2019) and Islam (Newman 2018; Jasperse 2012).

But the (academic) discussions on gender are not limited to Christianity and Islam. Women are deemed more religious and yet maintain a lesser role in many of the systems of meaning worldwide. They permeate texts that can be considered religious as well as philosophical in nature – those belonging to Confucianism, for example.

### Women in Confucianism

There is little consensus on the matter of women and Confucianism. Most works on the topic can be placed into two 'camps' – the first, spearheaded by works that see accentuations of women in Confucian texts as objects of lust or temptation (see for example *The Analects* 9.19 and 16.7, discussed in Wang 2003, 63-64). Yet, the role of the 'woman' is never directly mentioned in this library of the Confucian master's sayings (Batista 2017) known as *Lunyu* (論語) or *The Analects* attributed to Confucius 孔子 (551 – 479 BC). Other texts attributed to Confucianism seem to emphasize an image of women that is less concerned with physical attraction but still retains references to female suppression. One example is the *Lienüzhuan* (列女傳) of Liu Xiang (77-6 B.C.). This text emphasizes, according to Associate Professor of comparative literature Sookja Cho, the suicides of women as stand-ins for Confucian ideals (Cho 2016, 45). Women thus serve in the *Lienüzhuan* as literary examples of moral behavior, not as people. It should



be said, however, that the *Lienüzhuan* classifies the biographies of many women<sup>1</sup>, and only a small portion of them commit suicide.

Moving beyond purely religious texts, some recent works on feminism in China, like that of Yuxin Ma (2010) discuss a distinct image of women as ‘good wives and wise mothers’ which came under scrutiny in the previous century. The work by the vice-President of the International Federation of Gynecology and Obstetrics (FIGO), dr. Shahida Zaidi and her colleagues go so far as to attribute an ‘inferior status of women’ in China to Confucianism alone (Zaidi 2009, 151).

Contradicting this spectrum of negative correlations between Confucianism and women we find the smaller second ‘camp’. Among its ranks, references abound to women holding positions similar to, or even better than men. Professor of philosophy at Loyola Marymount University (USA) Robin Wang (2003) finds women in Confucian texts as complementary to men (p. 67), as counselors (p. 73), and, in rare cases, as ritual specialists (82). Academic works of a similar line do not see Confucianism as potentially ‘sexist’, but predict a feminist movement baring philosophical interpretations of Confucian and non-exclusively Confucian concepts. Li-Hsiang Lisa Rosenlee, for example, in *Confucianism and Women* (2006) sees much in ancient Chinese writing that might bare ground in feminist thought, including the complementary female-male categories in the gender ethics of yin-yang, also discussed by Wang (2003, 67).

Based on the academic works above, I can only conclude that opinions regarding gender in Confucian texts are various, scaling between wholly negative and bearing promise for women of the future. The same texts to emphasize negative images of women have also been used to emphasize feminist thought. Their emphasis, and not their sources, define in part the ‘camps’ in the study of women in Confucianism. On the one hand, academic works like that of Batista, Ma, and Zaidi emphasize Confucianism as very anti-woman. They view the texts as ‘sexist’ – but mostly in comparison to today’s understanding of genders. Works like these remain in continuous conversations with those written by the other camp, in which we find works like that of Wang and Rosenlee, who see evidence of pro-women, future feminist aspects in Confucian texts.

We might very well ask ourselves why anywoman would want to become part of a system that is mostly negative about an entire gender. At first glance, at least. Indeed, it is contextualization that is most fenced with when it comes to discussions of gender and religion. Worldviews and their works of literature scarcely mentioning women were written in a time when the relationship between women and men was unlike it is today. It is, for this reason, I feel we must return to what was *actually* written. To achieve this, this thesis focuses on one of four texts upon which Confucianism is based: the *Mengzi* 孟子 (Mencius).

## Women in Mencius

The *Mengzi*, a collection of stories, anecdotes, and conversations attributed to the Confucian philosopher Mencius 孟子 (372 – 289 BC) is one of the founding texts of Confucianism. The book is considered one of thirteen Chinese classics, among which we also find the aforementioned *Lunyu*. The *Mengzi* denotes Mencius’ opinions and worldview on the topics of moral and political philosophy. As the “personal” documentation of Mencius’ worldview, it is an excellent place to search for commentary on gender.

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<sup>1</sup> Including the biography of the mother of Mencius, Meng Mu 孟母 in the chapter *Zou Meng Ke Mu* 鄒孟軻母 (Mother of Meng Ke [Mengzi] from Zou). This chapter praises her ability to raise a young Mencius without a husband, and in poverty.

Gender studies of Confucianism have made active use of the *Mengzi's* text, albeit that the field is not extensive. Not many of studies that focus exclusively on gender in the *Mengzi* exist to date. In a first book-length study in English on this topic, Professor emerita of Philosophy Joanne D. Birdwhistell responds to the assumption that the *Mengzi* contains gender neutrality (2007, 7). Instead, she calls forward an argument in which gender differences, especially those pertaining to men, feature widely. Gender differences in the *Mengzi* are a matter of social-cultural communication (Birdwhistell 2007, 3), as her book explains in detail. She also reminds us that idea of correct behavior is one of the driving forces behind Confucian philosophy. Gender is just one of the many factors that influence what is, and what is not deemed correct. Throughout her book, Birdwhistell continues to compare what is known about social and cultural behavior in ancient China to the text of the *Mengzi*, as well as the current age.

Yet, Birdwhistell does not view the *Mengzi* as anti-women. Her book would fit neatly within the feminist camp, next to Wang (2003). Many of the traits the contemporaries of Mencius would consider feminine fit the ideal of the man in the *Mengzi*, Birdwhistell concludes in her final chapter. Her views are contested, however, for projecting (modern) stereotypical images of gender to ancient Chinese society (Goldin 2009, 126) and over-relying on maternal feminist rhetoric (Rosenlee 2008, 128). The controversy alone allows us to conclude that the nature of gender differences in the *Mengzi* remains a debatable topic. It is here that we find an opportunity for this thesis to reevaluate gender differences in the *Mengzi* from a unique perspective.

## Research question

This thesis seeks to contribute to the discussion by answering the following question:

*How do gender differences feature in the Mengzi?*

The question above will be answered through a shared strategy that combines *text mining* on the *Mengzi*, supplemented by close reading. In doing so, the thesis aims to add to the academic work on the *Mengzi* the uncovered textual patterns surrounding gender that can only be found through computational inquiry, thereby filling in the blanks left by the previous researchers in these fields.

## Sources

This thesis makes use of an English translation of the *Mengzi* by Robert Eno. A prominent figure in studies of early Chinese history, philosophy, and translation, Robert Eno provides us with translations of the *Mengzi* that are made by an authoritative source and can be considered of good quality. Furthermore, the translation by Robert Eno is accessible online for free, providing both the reader and myself open public access to both text and Eno's commentaries on it in English. Such was the aim of Robert Eno's translation (Eno 2016, ii) of the *Mengzi*.

There are two main reasons I chose to work with a translation of the *Mengzi*, instead of its original language, Classical Chinese. First, it should be made clear to the reader that my lack of skill in reading modern and Classical Chinese (or Mandarin Chinese for that matter) is a limiting factor to all parts of this master thesis. Our main source is no exception. Second, it is important to note that many of the tools used in computational linguistic analysis require the language of the data – texts, in this case – to be English. While non-English text processing tools exist, they are not as plentiful nor as accurate as those crafted for processing English-language data. It may be that Robert Eno kept this in mind when he chose to translate the text into the English language.

It is not possible to predict in what ways the computational analyses in this thesis are impacted by the use of a translation of the *Mengzi*. The grammatical structures of English and Chinese are different. Take for example the absence of articles ('the', 'an') and the non-existence of gendered pronouns in Classical

Chinese. These factors have been taken into account in my analysis, and with these caveats in mind, we may reasonably assume that there is no reason for our results to deviate much from the outcome of similar tests done on a document written in Classical Chinese.

Before discussing the process by which our source material is analyzed, it is perhaps best to familiarize ourselves with the structure and contents of Robert Eno's *Mengzi*. The *Mengzi* is made up of fourteen parts, which are often grouped together into seven different books. These books are divided into a part A and a part B in English, mirroring the typical division between upper 上 and lower 下 in Classical Chinese. Eno's teaching translation contains a collection of the seven translated and annotated books of the *Mengzi*. In these books we find an amalgam of different types of texts of various lengths. The entirety of the original document, including its introduction, the translation, and several glossaries counts 185 pages and roughly 90.000 words.

The books contained within the *Mengzi* can be summarized as follows:

The first book, *King Hui of Liang* contains several conversations between Mencius and King Hui of Liang, as well as some members of his court.

The second book, *Gongsun Chou* details a long conversation between Mencius and Gongsun Chou, who was most likely a native of the state of Qi (Eno 2016, 36). In this book, several other actors appear, but their identities are unknown. We can assume, however, that they were natives of Qi or followers of Mencius himself.

Book three *Duke Wen of Teng* can be more easily divided into two parts, with the first detailing a relationship and conversations between Mencius and the Duke Wen of Teng (in part A), and the second part (B) consisting of several different arguments and debates between Mencius and rivaling (Eno 2016, 54) philosophers.

The fourth book, *Li Lou* contains very different text type than the previous three. Next to containing a lot of Mencius' monologues, it contains several aphorisms (Eno 2016, 71) – concise statements that contain a general truth, perhaps best compared to slogans or wise sounding quotes one might find inscribed on a kitchen tile (a much favored Dutch tradition known as *tegeltjeswijsheid*). Robert Eno, furthermore, mentions in the introduction to his translation that the fourth book lacks a thematical coherence (ibid.) he does find in the previous books.

The fifth book is called *Wan Zhang*, and contains disciples' conversations with Mencius on the topics of history and ethics.

Book six, *Gaozi*, fuses debates between Mencius and philosopher Gaozi on the nature of humans in part A. They are fused with several dialogues between Mencius and other philosophers, as well as aphorisms on various topics in part B. Eno refers to this part of the *Mengzi* as "one of the most heterogeneous sections" (2016, 106).

The final book, called *Exhaustion of the Mind*, is almost entirely composed of interlocutor-less aphorisms. It is in this book that we find many of the *Mencius said's* that appear as famous quotes on inspirational websites. Many of these aphorisms are short, and only a handful can be grouped into specific topics of discussion (Eno 2016, 123).

It is imperative to remind our readers, before we move on to our strategy, that the *Mengzi* contains four searchable layers of text. In order of magnitude these are: the book, its part (A or B), its passages, and finally the sentences within these passages. To give an example of the way these layers of text will



be called upon, we might discuss passage 7A.44-1 as a personal motivation for completing one's thesis. The first sentence of the 44th passage of part A of book seven reads:

“Mencius said, “Those who give up pursuing what must not be given up will give up anything.”” (*Mengzi* 7A.44-1 in Eno 2016, 131)

## Strategy

Discussions on gender and religion have oft been focused on looking at source texts (see for example Babacan's 2009 *Women and Religion*). As *Gender and Language of Religion* (July 2005, XI) underpins in its treatise on the relationship between language, gender, and religion, religious texts are both the reflections of one's worldview and the (re-)constructors of them for their readers. And so, just as Wang (2003), we must return to the source texts of Confucianism to ask ourselves how gender appears in these texts.

Until recently it has been impossible to decontextualize our source texts to a degree in which present gender norms of academic authors play no part. In a debate on gender where the connotations of texts continue to be contextualized and reconstructed, it is wise to separate pure text from context. To do this, I propose to make use of a mixed research approach called text mining in this thesis.

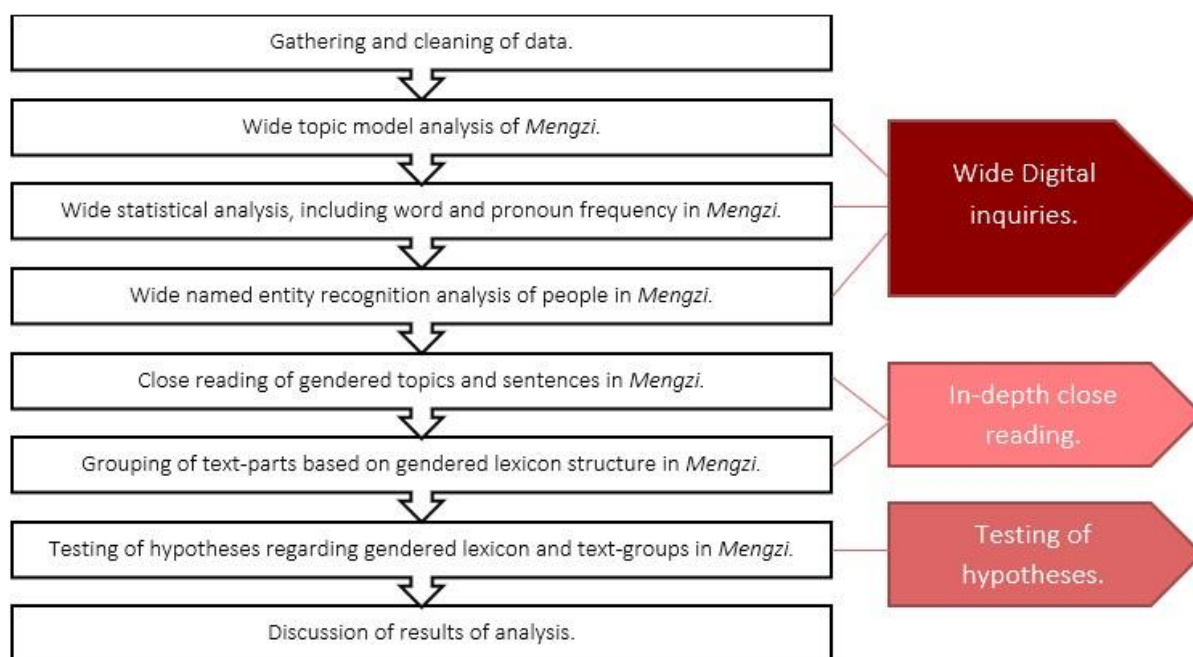
Text mining is a mixed research approach closely related to the discipline of data mining (Hearst 1999) and is often confused with 'text data mining' for this very reason. The scholars within the field of text mining have produced tools through which texts can be parsed, compared, and otherwise researched at great speed and efficiency (Masjedi 2022) – greater than if done by hand. Text mining is not meant to replace the scholar, however, but to serve as an aid to scholars in uncovering patterns in and between texts that they could not detect through close reading alone (Elwert 2021, 173).

Many tools exist within text mining, and nearly all of them are focused on finding linguistic/textual patterns in and between texts. Be it through analysis of grammar, word order, text length, or word use, text mining is the discovery by computer of automatically extracted information from a corpus of written text. Objections and critiques regarding text mining often pit the approach against close reading, traditionally favored for in-depth analyses of text. One such critique is that “computers simply cannot read, i.e. make sense of words in the same way as a human reader” (Elwert 2021, 173). This statement is entirely correct but overlooks the purpose of text mining approaches: pattern detection across vast quantities of data (ibid.).

In an attempt to unify the strengths of close reading and text mining, I propose to make use of both. Computational sociologist Laura K. Nelson (2020) proposed a revolutionary three-step-mixed methodology in which an initial digital analysis of text(s) is followed by a close reading analysis, whose hypotheses are then tested through a second digital analysis. She called it 'Computational Grounded Theory'. The three steps of computational grounded theory make for an efficient, rigorous, and fully reproductional methodology that can be applied to any number or length of texts. Furthermore, it provides us with a new basic guideline for digitalized literary analysis that parries the weaknesses of digital approaches as well as those of traditional ones.

Making use of Nelson's three-step method, this master thesis contains a wide digital inquiry into the *Mengzi*, followed by in-depth close reading, and finishing with testing of hypotheses. These three inquiries follow eight steps in total (see the image below).

Image 1: Overview of strategy



The process of text mining typically uses three steps: the structuring of input text (also known as ‘cleaning’ or ‘preparing’), the deriving of patterns through programmed tools, and finally the evaluation and interpretation of the output. It is for this reason that we must put gathering and cleaning as our first step.

After this first step, our analysis begins with a wide digital inquiry through three different text mining tools to be applied to the whole of the *Mengzi*. The three steps are based on natural language processing (NLP), and make use of different types of algorithms and analytical methods to calculate statistics of word use, a list of named entities, and to provide us with a topic model of the *Mengzi*. An in-depth analysis follows, in which gendered information drawn from the digital analysis is discussed, and the whole text of the *Mengzi* is grouped into text parts based on gendered language use. The hypotheses that are drawn in these two steps are tested in our final inquiry, which is followed by a discussion of the results of our overarching analysis of gender differences in the *Mengzi*.

At the foundation of our analysis lie three assumptions: First, it is possible to approach the *Mengzi* as a text about gender differences because the text discusses several individuals of both female and male genders.

Second, the *Mengzi* contains mentions of gender within its textual structure, and they take the shape of frequency of pronouns (‘he’, ‘she’ in Eno’s English translation), gendered nouns (‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘father’, ‘mother’), as well as its ‘gendered speech patterns’, as described by linguists of gender Eckert (2003) and Lakoff (1972). Female ‘speech patterns’, according to their theories, contain more tentative mitigators (“I think”, “maybe”) and qualifiers (“really amazing”, “so happy”) and are best search for through simple comparison, and are thus best analyzed by computational parsing and statistical tools. By using a computer, the statistics produced provide not only a rigorous search of the entire *Mengzi*, but are also faster and more efficient at uncovering textual patterns in the *Mengzi* than one’s hand (-tallying).

Finally, a value judgment of gender can be extracted from both these aforementioned textual structures as well as the contents of the text of the *Mengzi*. This final assumption is based on a somewhat

heterogeneous group of methodologies in literary studies that sees texts not as self-contained, but rather as the product of their context (Klarer 2013, 94). That is to say, a text will naturally reflect the image of genders held by its author the second people feature in their text. The *Mengzi* therefore inextricably displays judgements of gender in its many conversations, anecdotes, and stories.

## Hypotheses

It is my belief, in light of the dominant ‘camps’ in the study of gender in Confucianism, and meaning systems as a whole, that we shall encounter few women in the *Mengzi*. The women we will encounter shall most likely feature in more negative connotations, as can be expected of texts written in early China.

## Overview

To summarize, the following chapters can be seen as a computationally grounded text-oriented literary context and structure review of gendered speech patterns and lexical worlds found within Robert Eno’s translation of the *Mengzi*, and thus, in a way, of Mencius himself. Chapter one contains the results of the wide digital inquiry into the *Mengzi*, followed by the in-depth close reading in chapter two. This chapter generates hypotheses regarding gender-labeled language for us to test in the third chapter of this thesis. The final chapter of this thesis combines the results of our inquiries into a final analysis, from which we draw conclusions regarding language and gender in the *Mengzi*.

We shall see that women appear much less often than men in the text of the *Mengzi*. However, this thesis demonstrates that women appear to have been described less negatively than men, albeit that neither men or women are written about using a positive textual sentiment. Gender and gender differences in value judgments are among the prominent layers of the text, echoing in the comparative structure of the *Mengzi*. Yet negativity appears more often where men are involved. Women, on the other hand, can almost be seen as part of a more positive lexical world – at least where the *Mengzi* is concerned.

## CHAPTER ONE – THE LEXICON OF THE *MENGZI*

This chapter details one of our three main analyses. We start with a wide analysis of the lexicon in Robert Eno’s translation. The computations used for this chapter of the thesis lay bare the general topics, themes and linguistics layers found in the *Mengzi*. An attempt is made at identifying ‘gendered speech patterns’, as discussed in our introduction. Our wide analysis shows us that gender is one of the themes to be uncovered by our tools. We shall see that mentions of gender appear throughout the text, but that women (as nouns and pronouns) appear most in books one through five of the *Mengzi*. Mentions of women are sporadic, however, if we compare them to mentions of men. It is these results that are further examined in the following chapter during a close reading stage.

### Process and tools

Having identified Robert Eno’s translation of the *Mengzi* as our textual data source, the next step is to process it for the purpose of our analyses. The traditional process of cleaning textual data includes the removal of stop words and conjugated endings (lemmatization), as well as any additions to the text that we do not want to examine such as page numbers, introductions, or the list of contents. This is a step known as parsing. The goal of the traditional parsing stage is to only keep a corpus’ content words (Dalud-Vincent 2011, III) for further analysis. These are more easily identified by their grammatical structure and so easier to process (ibid.) statistically.

Our cleaning process is slightly different. To look for gendered words, the cleaning process of the *Mengzi* preserved all lemmatized content words as well, but did not remove gender-specific nouns and pronouns. A full list of the stopwords removed from the processed *Mengzi* can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

Removed from our processed corpus were also the titles of the books of the *Mengzi*, punctuation and numbers of passages. The introduction to each of the books, as well as the publication’s introduction and glossaries were removed as well, preserving only the content words of the *Mengzi*’s text, and the content words in the additional commentaries added to the *Mengzi* by Robert Eno.

The choice to keep Eno’s sideline comments may affect the results of our analysis, but I chose to not remove them in the text fed to the digital tools. There is one main reason for this.

The reader has to remember that the comments by Eno *will* be read in our close-reading analysis in conjunction to the translated text of the *Mengzi*. The comments by Eno contain explanations of terms, identifications of places and people, and cross references to other parts of the text<sup>2</sup>. In doing so, they do not necessarily contain new information, but rather repeated terms and should therefore not intervene with our statistics all that much by creating unique entries.

All in all, the comments by Eno are indispensable tools for the human close-reader of the *Mengzi*. Why should they be different for a non-human reader, such as a computer? Precisely because we are working with a translation, I believe it is paramount that our different analyses (digital, and non-digital) are performed as equally as possible. This includes the keeping of Eno’s commentaries in the text fed to our digital tools. That way the text examined is the same for both types of analysis.

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<sup>2</sup> These are helpful not just to me as a researcher, but show that Robert Eno has taken the time to not just translate the *Mengzi*, but to also make its text accessible to non-specialists in the field of Confucian studies – as ‘a teaching translation’ should.

After cleaning the *Mengzi* three different digitalized inquiries were made of its content words. These constituted of a topic model analysis, a statistical analysis, and a named entity recognition (NER) analysis. The results of these analyses provide us with a lexicon that can be discussed on content, grammatical and statistical levels.

It should be noted that the programming language used for the following analysis was python3, and the coding process took place in aconda3's Jupyter Notebook.

The first inquiry involved the creation of a topic model of the entire *Mengzi*, as well as its separate books. The term 'topic' refers to a set of ten lists of ten words each. Each set of words, a 'topic', contains words found in close proximity to the rest of the words in that list. The ten topics revealed are those groups of words that appear most often in the text on which the topic model is based.

One of the ten topics drawn from a text about a library could be, for example: "book", "child", "return", "silent", "library", "card", "borrow", "magazine", "librarian" and "building". Words can also be shared between the ten topics drawn from a corpus. Our text about a library might reuse the words "book", "child" and "library" in another of its ten topics, but add new terms like "digital", "printed", "collections", "media", "database", "school", and "studying". More complex, longer texts will produce a wider variety of topics with unique words.

The topic modelling tool chosen for this analysis is based on the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) algorithm. LDA extracts hidden information from a text based on three assumptions (Elwert 2021, 168): First, that certain words often appear in close proximity. Second, that a corpus can only discuss a set amount of topics. Finally, that text-parts like chapters or books all favor one topic over others. LDA is rigorous, so to say, in that it does not consider the order or grammatical function of individual words in the model.

The goal of the topic model is to help us identify where we can find parts of the *Mengzi* that are related to gender, as well as which words are found in close proximity to gender-specific words. These constitute to patterns only the LDA can find based on its algorithm.

The second inquiry of the *Mengzi* can be summarized as a set of smaller statistical analyses. Most of the tools used in these hail from the preprogrammed python suite of statistical natural language processing library, or Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK). The NLTK was created to help computers process, read and analyze written text. Many of the tools used in the statistical analysis make use of the NLTK suite, including our methods of counting word types (a process known as Part-of-speech tagging or POS-tagging), creating a top 100 common words used, as well as preparing, manipulating and parsing our text during the preprocessing phase.

The statistical analyses using NLTK are specifically aimed at uncovering the grammatical structures in the *Mengzi*. To help us in further, all full sentences that mention gendered nouns (including pronouns) were captured from the original (un-processed) text for close reading at a later stage of this thesis' analysis of the *Mengzi*.

A final wide inquiry into the *Mengzi* was the automated extraction and identification of personal names. Called Named Entity Recognition (NER), the NLTK was used to help us automatically recognize parts of

## TOOLS – QUICK REFERENCE GUIDE:

- **LDA Topic Model:** topic model on corpus- and book levels.
- **NLTK library suite:** parsing, manipulations, statistics and NER personal name identification.
- **Matplotlib:** image, plot and table visualizations of data.

texts as personal names. As a type of named entity, the retrieval of names can help us identify sentences in which men and women called by name feature in the *Mengzi*. These sentences were added to our to be read list for use in a later stage of the thesis' analysis.

A final tool that deserves to be mentioned is Matplotlib, a preprogrammed data visualization tool that is capable of creating and displaying a series of datapoints as tables, plots or other images. Most of the images found in this chapter were made using this tool. By visualizing our data entries and statistics, it becomes easier to both share and analyze our results. Of all of the tools in this list, Matplotlib is perhaps the most crucial, for without it our results would be less easily discussed.

## Results

Our topic model identified a set of ten topics, drawn from our corpus of book in the *Mengzi*. Most of these topics mention 'zhou' (see table below), a term that can denote a surname, a dynasty, a people, and even an animal. Many of the terms below are references to people, places and (Confucian) concepts. References to travel – 'nature', 'land', 'fields', 'dwelling', 'water', and 'food' appear in most topics. References to music, – 'music', and 'song' appear only in topics one, nine and ten. If we look at gendered terms, 'brother' and 'majesty' or 'kings', as well as 'wife' in topic seven stand out. The term 'love' is mentioned twice, in topics four and nine. A final note are references to speaking and teaching, including 'speech' and 'analects' in conjunction to 'majesty' in topic six, as well as 'convey' in topic seven.

First topic	majesty music <b>zhou</b> li term yan wen glossary replied kings
Second topic	gongsun eat guan <b>brother</b> difference goods chou subduing practice unfilial
Third topic	common yao zhang attacked peace teng dwelling <b>zhou</b> fields wen
Fourth topic	yao <b>zhou</b> nature yu li wen <b>brother</b> land respect <u>love</u>
Fifth topic	nature <b>brother</b> respect elder sense land lesser water li yao
Sixth topic	<b>zhou</b> teng labor yan eat sense <i>speech</i> glossary <i>analects</i> majesty
Seventh topic	wen chu kill majesty <b>zhou</b> elders <i>convey</i> dredge <b>wife</b> food
Eighth topic	zhang <b>zhou</b> zizhang respect rank skin yan rules urgent head
Ninth topic	<b>zhou</b> majesty wen chu land <b>brother</b> common song replied <u>love</u>
Tenth topic	majesty music replied li ruled yao hui nature chu children

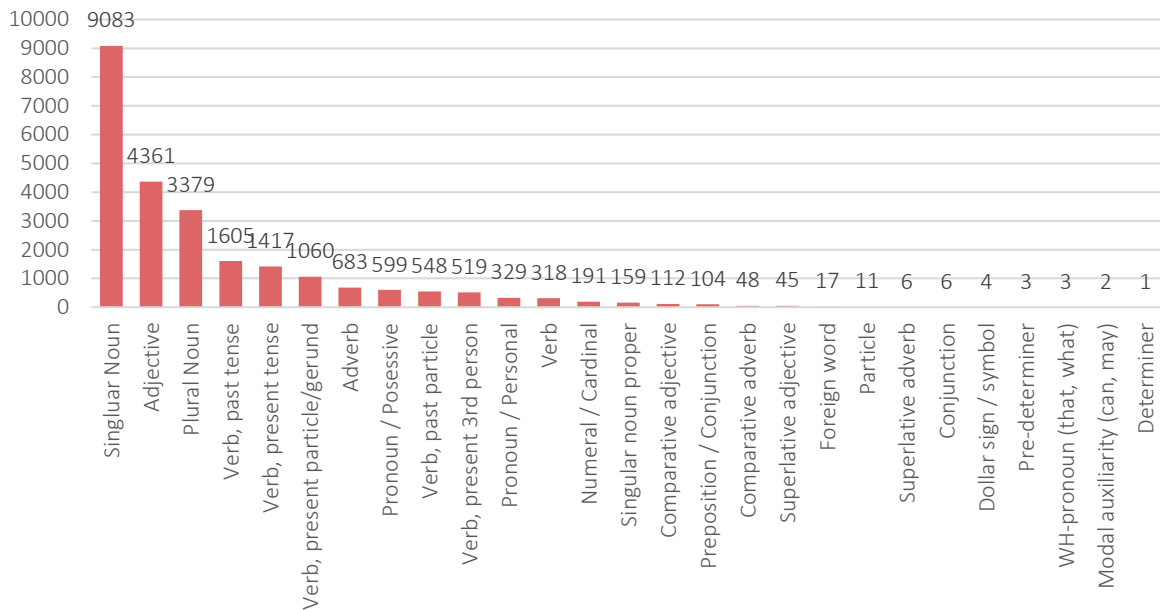
Of the topics above, it is the fourth topic (yao, zhou, nature, yu, li, wen, brother, land, respect, love) that the LDA model identifies as the main topic of the *Mengzi*. It is the most commonly found topic throughout the *Mengzi's* books.

Yao in this topic refers to Yao 堯, a legendary ruler of the Zhou people. Like Yao, Yu 禹 refers to another ruler, this one a founding emperor of Confucian history. Wen, too, refers to a set of people, including King Wen of Zhou 周文王 (ruled 1099-50 CE). King Wen, Yao and Yu are considered exemplary figures in Confucianism, and references to their lives and deeds might explain why they frequent the *Mengzi*. Li in this topic list may refer to either a personal name, or to the concept of *li* 禮, often translated into English as ritual. Eno notes that the concept of *li* denotes a myriad of codes of conduct, ethical behavior and etiquette applicable in daily life and in religious- or stately ceremonies (Eno 2016, 149).

If we look the *Mengzi* grammatically, the cleaned version contained mostly nouns and adjectives. Its most common content words are the 9083 singular nouns, 4361 adjectives and 3379 plural nouns. The least common function word was a single determiner. Pronouns and possessive feature a total of 329 times. A full list of the grammatical tags found among the function words in the text of the *Mengzi* reads as follows:



## Word types in Robert Eno's *Mengzi*



Interestingly, it seems that a dollar sign was detected by the NLTK in the text of the *Mengzi* a total of 4 times. No such symbol can be found in the *Mengzi*, however. Instead, the four words tagged by mistake as dollar signs are the Chinese language terms ‘wen’<sup>3</sup> and ‘zhòu’<sup>4</sup>, as well as two instances of ‘qi’<sup>5</sup>.

More Chinese language terms that have not been translated by Eno appear among the word types. As can be seen above, 17 foreign words were tagged in the *Mengzi*’s text. Just 4 of these instances concern Mengzi’s name. The other instances include the foreign terms ‘kong’, ‘shi’, and ‘mozi’<sup>6</sup>, next to English words like ‘echoes’ and ‘kin’.

Moving on to statistics, the top five most common words found in the *Mengzi* are: mencius, his, people, king, and him (see table below). Together these words appear more than 1500 times.

The <i>Mengzi</i> ’s top 100 words	
mencius, 598, his, 588, people, 339, king, 254, him, 250, man, 237, state, 214, ruler, 188, men, 185, qi, 170, shun, 143, confucius, 120, dao, 118, yi, 103, duke, 100, humanity, 94, book, 92, good, 88, great, 87, son, 86, tian, 79, yao, 79, ritual, 76, asked, 74, zhou, 73, junzi, 73, court, 67, parents, 67, lord, 66, simply, 64, worthy, 63, time, 62, nature, 61, serve, 59, order, 58, himself, 57, majesty, 54, wen, 54, states, 53, li, 51, tang, 51, yin, 51, true, 50, heart, 50, sage, 49, called, 48, rule, 48, yu, 48, humane, 47, land, 47, rulers, 47, minister, 47, human, 47, heard, 46, person, 46, respect, 46, father, 45, lords, 45, yan, 45, brother, 45, love, 44, years, 43, small, 43, zhang, 42, set, 41, follow, 41, lu, 41, sense, 41, heaven, 40, high, 39, things, 39, poetry, 39, teng, 38, replied, 38, music, 38, office, 38, day, 37, term, 37, virtue, 37, times, 37, gentlemen, 36, war, 36, passage, 36, kings, 36, master, 36, zengzi,	

<sup>3</sup> Referring to King Wen of Zhou 周文王 (ruled 1099-1050).

<sup>4</sup> Referring to the last ruler of the Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-1045 BC), Zhòu (ruled 1086-1045 BC), whom Eno refers to as a tyrant and a wicked ruler (Eno 2016, 37).

<sup>5</sup> Referring to either a place of this name or a metaphysical concept. As a bodily force, life-force energy or substance, qi 氣 features in the *Mengzi* on the topic of self-cultivation. It remains a key concept in Chinese society today, especially in the martial arts and traditional medicine scenes.

<sup>6</sup> All referring to the first or last names of several individuals in the *Mengzi*.

36, surely, 35, chu, 35, passages, 34, speak, 34, common, 34, water, 34, chou, 34, today, 33, **ministers**, 33, gongsun, 33, wan, 33, family, 32, **gentleman**, 32, food, 32

The top 10 words per chapter in the <i>Mengzi</i>	
1 (1A & 1B): <i>King Hui of Liang</i>	people, 109, <b>king</b> , 106, mencius, 84, <b>state</b> , 61, <b>his</b> , 61, <b>majesty</b> , 47, qi, 33, <b>man</b> , 31, <b>ruler</b> , 31, music, 23
2 (2A & 2B): <i>Gongsun Chou</i>	mencius, 88, <b>his</b> , 78, <b>king</b> , 54, qi, 51, <b>him</b> , 41, <b>ruler</b> , 31, people, 29, <b>man</b> , 27, guan, 20, <b>men</b> , 20
3 (3A & 3B): <i>Duke Wen of Teng</i>	<b>his</b> , 93, people, 60, <b>him</b> , 48, <b>mencius</b> , 48, state, 29, <b>man</b> , 27, dao, 25, confucius, 23, yi, 22, <b>men</b> , 22
4 (4A & 4B): <i>Li Lou</i>	<b>his</b> , 89, mencius, 71, <b>man</b> , 40, people, 37, <b>him</b> , 35, <b>ruler</b> , 33, <b>state</b> , 33, dao, 27, <b>men</b> , 23, great, 19
5 (5A & 5B): <i>Wan Zhang</i>	<b>his</b> , 96, shun, 80, <b>him</b> , 52, <b>son</b> , 42, mencius, 41, <b>ruler</b> , 37, yao, 36, tian, 34, confucius, 32, <b>man</b> , 31
6 (6A & 6B): <i>Gaozi</i>	mencius, 73, <b>his</b> , 69, <b>men</b> , 40, <b>man</b> , 38, <b>state</b> , 32, people, 28, humanity, 27, nature, 26, good, 24, <b>him</b> , 24
7 (7A & 7B): <i>Exhaustion of the Mind</i>	mencius, 106, <b>his</b> , 77, <b>men</b> , 45, people, 44, <b>man</b> , 40, good, 26, <b>king</b> , 26, junzi, 26, <b>him</b> , 25, dao, 22

Once again, many of the terms in the table above are references to people, places and (Confucian) concepts. The separate books (1 through 7) of the *Mengzi*, as identified by Eno, also mention the word Mencius a lot. Confucius is mentioned a total of 120 times in the *Mengzi* also, of which 32 times in book five, and 23 times in book three. The rest of the mention of Confucius are not in the top tens. Similar to our topic model, mentions of royalty, ruling and men dominate the tables above. Mentions of family and parents appear in our 100 common words of the *Mengzi* overall, but are not among the top ten words of any of the separate books in the *Mengzi*. Words like ‘nature’, ‘humanity’, and ‘people’, like in our topic model, also feature in our top tens, but mentions to land or traveling do not.

According the glossary of names in Robert Eno’s translation, only one woman is mentioned in the *Mengzi* by a name. Xi Shi 西施, a proverbial woman whose name signifies beauty appears in 4B.25. It is this name that appears in our named entity list as well.

As only a few names appear, the capturing of sentences that mention women and men in other ways becomes more crucial. Interestingly, a set of only 31 sentences that mention women are found in the *Mengzi*, as opposed to 669 sentences that mention men.

### Mencius’ lexical worlds

As we can see at first glance, the speech pattern of Mencius contains mostly nouns that refer to his teachings about man, human nature, ethics and even music. The statistics show that the *Mengzi* frequently mentions the rulers Mencius visits and corresponds with. Mentions to travel are also frequent, as are mentions of men, as we can see in our most common topic (yao, zhou, nature, yu, li, wen, brother, land, respect, love). His verbs, too, betray traveling and speaking, as well as the need to eat and drink.

No evidence for a female speech pattern can be detected. Most female speech indicators (mitigators and qualifiers) have been removed during the cleaning process as non-functional words and could only be found in the text’s adjectives. While a great deal of adjectives are used in the *Mengzi*, only one qualifier, ‘good’ is a commonly found word. Its use changes throughout the text of the *Mengzi*, however. It serves as a noun many more times than as an qualifier of enhancement. Examples of this enhancement include, but are not limited to 1A7 and 7B.32-1:

“Mencius said, “Words that have near application but far reaching implications are good words.” (*Mengzi* 7B.32-1 in Eno 2016, 138).

The *Mengzi*'s use of 'good' alone, even as a qualifier, is not enough to conclude that the *Mengzi* contains a female speech pattern.

As one might expect from a seemingly endless list of conversations, arguments and explanations of teachings, broken up by aphorisms and traveling stories, we can justly conclude that the structure of the *Mengzi* is that of an interview and journal combined. Three traditional text structures are uncovered by our computational statistics: description, comparison and proposition. The structure of the *Mengzi* described by Robert Eno can now be backed up by computational statistics.

Interestingly, gender-specific content words appear in the entire structure of the *Mengzi*. They seem to contain descriptions of lives of others, feature in comparisons Mencius makes to instruct or attack those to whom he speaks, and again throughout proposition in which both proclamations and aphorisms feature.

In sum, it is clear that the *Mengzi*'s lexicon contains gender as one of its themes, next to teachings of ethics, encounters with royalty and mentions of travel. Mencius writes mainly by stringing together nouns and adjectives, and shows no definitive sign of using a female speech pattern.

Returning to the topic of our thesis, the *Mengzi*'s mentions of gender will become the focus of our coming chapters. Our analysis shows that mentions of gender appear throughout the text of the *Mengzi*. Women (as nouns and pronouns) appear most in books one through five but are sporadic if we compare them to mentions of men, which feature frequently and throughout the books. It is the gendered lexicon that is further examined in the following chapter during the close reading stage.

## CHAPTER TWO – GENDER IN THE *MENGZI*

In the previous chapter we have seen that mentions of women in the *Mengzi* are sporadic when compared to mentions of men, and that we might identify the structure of the source text as combining description, comparison and proposition. In this chapter we look specifically at the topics of gender and gender difference in the *Mengzi*. We do so by close reading the content of Robert Eno's translation of the *Mengzi*, as well as the sentences we have captured previously that mention gendered pronouns and nouns. This chapter hypothesizes that mentions of women within *Mengzi* often serve as the grammatical objects in sentences, and that a lack of strong sentiments regarding grammatical objects in the *Mengzi* means the sentences that mention women should score mostly neutral in a computational sentiment analysis. Likewise, this chapter hypothesizes that similar neutral scores should appear for sentences that mention men, who feature often as the grammatical subject of sentences in the *Mengzi*.

### Process

Unlike the previous chapter, the process of our close reading analysis does not make use of digital tools or computations. Our close reading practice is, however, informed by the results of that chapter's analysis on the lexicon of the *Mengzi*. As we have seen, only 31 sentences in the *Mengzi* mention of women, and most appear in the first five books. Our named entity list of personal names and our captured sentences include women as well, and it is in their in-text contexts that is the focus of our close reading analysis.

The following results are aimed specifically at the function of women (or rather, mentions of women) in the *Mengzi* of Robert Eno. A form of literary critique, the following results constitute close reading of all passages in the *Mengzi* that mention women, as well as a comparison these to the rest of the text – especially where men are concerned.

### Gender in the *Mengzi*

Most of the sentences that mention women though the pronoun 'she' are found in books one through three. The pronoun 'her' appears in an ever smaller number of books, namely three and four. Book four is the only book that mentions the word 'sister' in 4A.17 that mentions 'sister-in-law', the only instance of 'sisters' appears in 5A.8 together with 'wives'. It is this last term that of our target words for the female gender ('she', 'her', 'hers', 'herself', 'woman', 'women', 'wife', 'wives', 'sister', 'sisters') that appears most, with a total of 14 times. If we read our 31 sentences more closely, it becomes clear that none of the instances in which 'she' or 'her' feature mention female animals, or other non-human entities. Indeed, only textual human women have been captured in our analysis. The same can be said for the sentences that mention male target words.

Of our male target words ('he', 'his', 'him', 'himself', 'man', 'men', 'husband', 'husbands', 'brother', 'brothers'), on the other hand, it is the words 'his' and 'him' that feature most often, as we have seen in our statistics. One way to explain is presents itself at the start of nearly all of the passages in the books: Mencius. As a man, often speaking to men, nouns that mention men should naturally feature more often. This indeed explains why 669 sentences that mention men appear, as opposed to just 31 that mention women.

It is important to remind the reader that while the English pronouns above (he, she) appear in Robert Eno's translation, they do not appear in the Classical Chinese version of the *Mengzi*. They are indicative, however, of the person that is referred to in each passage. As a result the use of pronouns in the English translation accurately illustrates a difference in the amount of references to men and women in the *Mengzi* both in English and in Classical Chinese.

We had already seen that adjectives were common in the translation of Robert Eno (2016), with a total of 4361 remaining after cleaning. As discussed in our previous chapter, more mitigated terms and qualifiers indicative of a ‘female speech pattern’ can be found in the *Mengzi*. Close reading reveals, for example, the use of ‘great/er/est’, ‘powerful’ and ‘such’ to both diminish or enhance the meaning of their affective nouns. All of these appear together in 7B.34:

“Mencius said, “When one counsels a **powerful** man one must view him as very small and ignore his grandeur. Their **great** halls ten yards high, columns and capitals several feet thick: my ambitions have nothing to do with these. Dishes of food lying before them by the yard, attendant concubines by the hundreds: my ambitions have nothing to do with these. Wildly carousing and drinking down wine, then driving full gallop, leading the hunt with a thousand chariots trailing behind: my ambitions have nothing to do with these. **Such** men do nothing I would want anything to do with; I do nothing that is not by the ancient ordinances. Why should I be in awe of **such** men?” (*Mengzi* 7B.34 in Eno 2016, 138)

This passage on the opinion of Mencius of the ruling class, in which he proposes to see powerful men as insignificant contains a total of four mitigators and qualifiers (powerful, great, wildly, such), echoing the large amount of adjectives used in the *Mengzi*. All of these terms are attributable to the subject of the passage: a man. When Mencius mentions the great halls, the powerful man, his wildly carousing, and such men he is actively giving us value judgements of the man associated to them. They are not positive. And, as the passage implies, Mencius asks us to think nothing of the man implied, as the adjectives serve as points of critique – not awe.

### Gender differences in the *Mengzi*

Our 31 sentences all mention women in terms of the roles they fulfill. Of these roles, those of ‘wives’ or ‘wife’ appear most often in the sentences that mention women. One of three passages in which we find sentences that mention women and men is 3B.2, in which the ‘great man’ or ideal of manhood is described alongside the ideal woman:

“Jing Chun said, “How could anyone deny that Gongsun Yan and Zhang Yi were truly great **men**? A moment’s anger would set their lords in fear; if they dwelt content, the world rested easy.” Mencius said, “In what respect were these great **men**? Have you never studied the rites? When a young **man** is capped, **he** receives a charge from his **father**, but when a **girl** is married, it is her **mother** who gives her the charge. As her **daughter** is escorted out the gate **she** admonishes **her**: ‘When you reach your new home, be respectful! Be modest! Never disobey your **husband**!’ To treat compliance as the rule is the *dao* of a **wife** or **concubine**. “But when a **man** dwells in the broad mansion of the world, takes **his** stand in the upright office of the world, and walks the great Dao of the world, then when **he** has a path to reach **his** goals, **he** takes it together with the people, and when **he** cannot reach **his** goals **he** walks the Dao alone. Wealth and noble rank cannot corrupt **him**; poverty and humble rank cannot sway **him**; threats of force cannot bend **him**. Such a one is what we call a ‘great **man**.’” (*Mengzi* 3B.2 in Eno 2016, 64)

Another example hails from passage 5A.8, in which Mencius rectifies a rumor about Confucius and at the same time gives a lecture in ethics:

“Wan Zhang asked, “There are those who say that when Confucius was in Wei, **he** was hosted by Yong Ju, and in Qi **he** was hosted by the eunuch Ji Huan. Is that so?” Mencius said, “No, it is not so. This is the invention of gossips. In Wei Confucius was

hosted by Yan Chouyou. The **wives** of Mizi and of Zilu were **sisters**, and Mizi said to Zilu, 'If Confucius will lodge with me he will be able to become a high minister in Wei.' Zilu reported this to Confucius, who said, 'That is a matter of fate.' Confucius advanced according to ritual and retreated according to right; when it came to whether **he** would succeed or not, **he** said, 'That is a matter of fate.' But to lodge with Yong Ju and the eunuch Ji Huan would have violated both right and fate. "Confucius was not favored in Lu or in Wei, and in Song, Huan, the Minister of War, made plans to assassinate **him**, so Confucius had to travel in disguise. At that time, Confucius was in dire straits. **He** lodged with Sicheng Zhenzi, who was an aide to Zhou, the Marquis of Chen. "I have heard it said that one assesses courtiers by the visitors from afar whom they choose to host, and one assesses visitors from afar by those with whom they choose to lodge. If Confucius had lodged with Yong Ju and the eunuch Ji Huan, how could **he** have been Confucius?" (Mengzi 5A.8 in Eno 2016, 96)

A final example of sentence that mention both women and men shows a difference in the societal roles of both as part of a description of the 'ideal ruler' in the last part of passage 7A.22:

““As for saying that the Lord of the West took good care of the aged, **he** laid out the fields and the homesteads, taught **his** people to care for mulberry trees and raise livestock, and to guide their **wives** in caring for the aged.”” (Mengzi 7A.22.9-12 in Eno 2016, 127)

The sentence from 5A.8 mentions sisters and wives, but gives us no further information or judgements about them. Women might play an active role as ritual assistants of their husbands in passage 3B.3, as they “ceremoniously” prepare silkworms whose silk is used in the creation of ceremonial robes. This assistance can also be seen as a common act of housewife, as women would weave and sew clothes for non-ceremonial purposes as well. The use of “ceremoniously” in this passage might indicate a more active ritual role, however.

A comparison between men and women is made in passage 3B.2, however, which mentions women as obedient daughters, wives and concubines that “never disobey [their] husband”. The *dao*<sup>7</sup> of women, according to this passage, is to be compliant to men and one’s parents. In comparison to being, or rather becoming a ‘great man’, all one has to do, according to this passage, is follow one’s unspecified *dao* without swaying from it. Another comparison can be found in passage 7A.22, in which wives are made responsible for caring for the elderly, whereas men are mentioned either as rulers or as farmers who tend to orchards and livestock.

Only few sentences seem to give a direct value judgement of women, and all of these appear to be positive in nature. Hailing from passage 1B.5, in a conversation between the King Xuan of Qi and Mencius on the weaknesses and strengths of a ruler. In this conversation, the king mentions his love for women. Perceiving it as a weakness, it is Mencius who answers that a love of women is not a weakness if it sets a good example of matrimony:

“The **King** said, “But I have another weakness. I have a love of **women**.” Mencius said, “In past times King Tai had a love of **women** – how **he** cherished **his** consort! The Poetry tells of it: Danfu, the Old Duke, Galloped west at dawn, Along the western waters To the land below Mt. Qí, **Lady Jiang** by **his** side, In search of a new home.

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<sup>7</sup> Dao refers here to “the ideal moral path for individuals, rulers and states to follow” (Eno 2016, 142) and alternatively to various forms of correct ethical behavior. In this passage, we might view the *dao* of a woman to her ethically-correct lifepath, according to which she must behave.



And in those days, no **young woman** could complain **she** lacked a **man** and no **young man** lacked a **wife**. If Your **Majesty's** love of **women** were only shared with the people, what hindrance could there be to ruling as a True King?" (Mengzi 1B.5 in Eno 2016, 29-30)

Passage 1B.6, on the other hand, seems to end on a more critical note, as Mencius uses mistreating of a wife and children by a husband or his friend in comparison to mistreatment of a nation by its king.

"Mencius addressed **King** Xuan of Qi. "Suppose a subject of Your **Majesty** entrusted **his wife** and children to a friend and traveled south to Chu, and when **he** returned, **his** friend had left **his wife** and child to suffer in cold and hunger. What should this **man** do?" The King said, "Discard **him** as a friend." "And what if the **Master** of the Guard could not keep order among his **men**, what then?" "Dismiss **him**." "And what if there were disorder within the borders of the state, what then? The **King** turned to his other courtiers and changed the subject." (Mengzi 1B.5 in Eno 2016, 30)

It seems that we again find criticism of the ruling class men in passage 1B.6. Women are not subjected to a value judgement, and the "wife and children" in the passage serve only as the objects in an example of good (male) behavior.

Likewise, 'the purpose of taking a wife' is discussed in passage 5B.5, which does not judge women. Instead, women function as examples in a comparison between reasons to take up higher and lower ranking jobs and be content with them:

"Mencius said, "The purpose of seeking office is not because one is poor, but there may be times when one does take office for that reason. The purpose of taking a **wife** is not because one wants to nurture one's parents, but there may be times when one does take a **wife** for that reason. If you take office because you are poor, decline exalted positions and occupy a humble one; decline any with high salary and occupy one with a small stipend. What sorts of positions would be appropriate? A keeper of the gate or a watchman of the night. "Confucius once served as a granary manager. All **he** had to say was, 'The accounts are correct.' **He** once served as a tender of livestock. All **he** had to say was, 'The oxen and sheep are well grown.' It is a fault to utter high-sounding words when one's office is humble. It is shameful to stand in the ranks of a ruler's court when the Dao is not practiced." (Mengzi 5B.5 in Eno 2016, 102)

Indeed, the comparisons made in the passage makes it sound like that to take a wife to take care of one's elderly means to be content with only that – and require from one's wife nothing more. It is unlikely, however, that the mention of 'wife' serves as much more than an example. The topic of this passage is not how to take care of one's wife, after all, but on the appropriate positions a man might occupy in light of teachings of the *dao*<sup>8</sup>.

A final example that might be discussed in light of value judgements is found in passage 4A.17, in which the only mentions of a 'sister-in-law' appear in discussion between Mencius and Chunyu Kun, a courtier in Qi, on the importance of rules and the breaking of them for moral purposes. In the passage, Mencius speaks about men who do not save their sister-in-law from drowning because ritual propriety prevents them from touching women. He refers to such men as 'wild beast[s]', a grave insult:

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<sup>8</sup> Dao refers here to "the ideal moral path for individuals, rulers and states to follow" (Eno 2016, 142).

“Chunyu Kun said, “Is it true that according to the rites, **men** and **women** must not touch one another?” “That is what the rites prescribe,” said Mencius. “If your **sister-in-law** were drowning, would you extend **her** your hand?” Mencius said, “A **man** who would not extend **his** hand to a drowning **sister-in-law** would be a wild beast. That **men** and **women** must not touch one another is ritual; extending one’s hand to a drowning **sister-in-law** is balancing circumstances.” Chunyu Kun said, “Today, the world is drowning. Why do you, **Sir**, not extend your hand to it?” “When the world is drowning, you extend the Dao to save it. When a **sister-in-law** is drowning you extend your hand – do you wish me to save the world with my hand?”” (*Mengzi* 4A.17 in Eno 2016, 77)

The passage continues in a comparison, however, as the courtier asks why Mencius then not saves the world from drowning if it is need. Again, the mention of a woman in this passage thus serves as an object in the comparison. The only value judgement given applies to a man – who is in the wrong for putting the rules of a rite above the saving of a woman’s life. A life that is, consequently, compared to the world in the context of the passage.

The value judgements of gender in the *Mengzi* are concentrated on men yet again in other examples that focus on mentions of men. We have already seen one such value judgement in 7B.34 (p. 138) in the example on the use of mitigators. Indeed, the *Mengzi* is riddled with critiques of men, and especially negative critiques are aimed at those of the ruling classes (kings, governments, advisors). A myriad of negative judgements of powerful men can be found throughout the *Mengzi*, in both conversational form and in aphorisms. Conversations in which the *Mengzi* critiques ruling class men include, for example, passage 1A.4. In this passage, Mencius is conversing with King Hui of Liang (ruled 369-319 CE) when Mencius compares a king to a tyrant that starves his people while he lives in luxury – most likely a critique of King Hui’s government:

“Mencius said, “There are fat meats in your kitchens and fat horses in your stables, but the people are pale with hunger and corpses lie in the wastelands. This is to lead beasts and devour people. People detest it even when beasts eat beasts. To be the father and mother of the people and yet, in your governance, to fall to leading beasts and devouring people – well, wherein then are you ‘the father and mother of the people?’ Confucius said, ‘May he who first fashioned figurines to be interred with the dead be without descendants!’ He said this because these forms were made in the image of people and so used. What would he have said for one who led people to starvation and death?”” (*Mengzi* 1A.4.6-12 in Eno 2016, 20).

What is perhaps curious, however, is that women are more often discussed by their maternal roles than men. Wives and concubines litter the passages, often in conjunction with children. Even the seventh book, which contains only aphorisms, mentions them together in passage 7B.9 as part of a warning to men about the importance of following the *dao* correctly:

“Mencius said, “If you do not follow the Dao in your own person, you will not be able to make even your wife and children follow it. If you manage others contrary to the Dao, you will not be able even to manage your wife and children.” (*Mengzi* 7B.9 in Eno 2016, 134)

Our reader will have noticed that the passage above mentions a ‘you’ as one who follows the *dao* in one’s own person, and not ‘a man who follows the *dao*’. We can conclude, however, that this passage that mention ‘you’ in the *Mengzi* as a pronoun refer to a man. In the passage above, only a man could have a ‘wife and children’, betraying the subject of the passage as a man. Passage 1A.4, as we can see

in our earlier example, also mentions 'you' in conversation between Mencius and King Hui several times. Again, a man is the grammatical subject of the sentence, this time referring to King Hui.

## Hypothesis

Judging from the results of our analysis, it is not inconceivable to think that when it comes to women, the *Mengzi* contains a rather neutral value judgement. Women feature mostly as objects in sentences and comparison, their passages often lacking in judgment of women but instead focusing on the actions of men. To be a wife or daughter is not a value judgement. To be told to obey one's husband is not either, even if today's women are inclined to attach a value judgement to the situation put forward in passage 3B.2. Indeed, no negative value judgements of women seem to appear in the *Mengzi*. But this does not say the results are overly positive, even if the love for one's wife can be grasped from both context and content of the *Mengzi*.

We might hypothesize, therefore, that a computational sentiment analysis of sentences that mention women will score mostly neutral, but not negative. We might also hypothesize that, as the focus of value judgements often lie on men, the scores assigned to sentences that mention men will be less positive overall than those that mention women.

Reading through the passages and individual sentences of the *Mengzi*, we might reasonably assume all of the uses of 'you' and 'your' refer to men. These are not direct mentions of gender, however, but rather indirect mentions that are caused by the conversational nature of the text of the *Mengzi*. They can be used to inquiry about gender in the *Mengzi*, and at this stage in our inquiries require an addition to our search a third set of target words to be looked at separately in the coming chapter: 'you', 'your', 'yours' and 'yourself'.

In sum, it is clear that mentions of gender in the *Mengzi* highlight differences on three different layers. First and foremost, men are mentioned a lot more often than women, highlighting a gender gap in the *Mengzi*. Sentences that mention men by our target words ('he', 'his', 'him', 'himself', 'man', 'men', 'husband', 'husbands', 'brother', 'brothers') appear 669 times, whereas sentences that mention women by our target words ('she', 'her', 'hers', 'herself', 'woman', 'women', 'wife', 'wives', 'sister', 'sisters') uncover only 31 sentences. Second, the grammatical function of women and men are often different, with men serving as the subjects and women as objects of sentences. Finally, our close reading reveals that value judgements of women are rare in the *Mengzi*. This is not the case for men, who are judged much more harshly. Given the sentences that are available we can only assume that women are considered a neutral in the *Mengzi*, and that men are described in a more negative way. It is these hypotheses that will be tested in the coming chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE – LABELED LANGUAGE

The third and last of our analysis chapters, this chapter tests the hypotheses put forward in the previous chapter. By testing our hypothesis of through a sentiment analysis on sentences that mention women and men, this chapter aims to prove that mentions of the female gender within the *Mengzi* contain a mostly neutral value judgement, and score more positive overall in a sentiment analysis than sentences that mention men. A digital technique to draw from written text the positive, neutral and negatively charged words and score them on sentiment (emotion), the *sentiment analysis* of our captured sentences might prove that our hypotheses are correct. This final analysis concludes our inquiry into the structure and content of the *Mengzi* where gender is concerned. We shall see that a neutral sentiment in the *Mengzi's* sentences that mention women in particular is not just expected, but can also be computationally proven, as can our second hypothesis: men are written about more negatively than women in the *Mengzi's* text overall.

### Process

Only one analysis type is useful for the computational identification, extraction and study of affective information regarding sentences that mention gender-specific content words. Called *sentiment analysis* the goal of a sentiment analysis is of the *Mengzi* to provide us with information about the emotions expressed in text based on a polarity score.

Scores given in polarity range from truly negative, or -1, to truly positive, or 1. A neutral score in this type of analysis is 0. The polarity scores given to sentences in the *Mengzi* that mention women and men tell us if the expressed emotion in them negative, positive, or neutral.

These scores do not look at the given sentences as a whole like a human reader would do, but rather score each sentence statistically. The scores to words in the English language are preprogrammed within our tool, with words like 'hate' scoring a -1 and 'love' scoring a 1. The program scores entire sentences and passages in our case, however, and as such it is unlikely to have a perfect score. Instead we must expect our scores across a gliding line between -1 and 1. In line with our hypothesis we might expect that a polarity score close to 0 will be most common in sentences of the *Mengzi* that mention gender overall, and that sentences that mention men will have lower polarity scores than those that mention women.

The polarity tool used in our analysis hails from Textblob<sup>9</sup>, a python 3 library for NLP task that includes a polarity analysis feature. Textblob is an open source, regularly updated NLP library, and works well for our analysis as it can be used in conjunction to NLTK.

In order to work on our analysis for this chapter, the sentences mentioning both women (31) and men (669) were captured during our primary analysis. These sentences were not cleaned of non-functional words, like their book counterparts, as cleaning might have removed sentiment-bearing words. To allow Textblob to read through our sentences separately, they were saved within a list of strings, and ran through a function that would only show us the sentence and its score if its polarity score was not truly neutral. In the appendix the list of 31 sentences that mention women can be seen together with their polarity scores. Next to the sentences, the cleaned variables containing the books inside of the *Mengzi* were subjected to sentiment analyses of their own to compare to the sentences.

Informed by the discoveries of the previous chapter, a final list of targeted sentences that mention non-gendered pronouns (you, your) while mainly referring to men was also subjected to sentiment analysis.

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<sup>9</sup> The TextBlob [website](#) notes that the library's title was inspired by scifi/horror movie The Blob (1958).

A total of 191 sentences mention one of these targets, and many of them overlap with the targets for gendered pronouns.

### Results

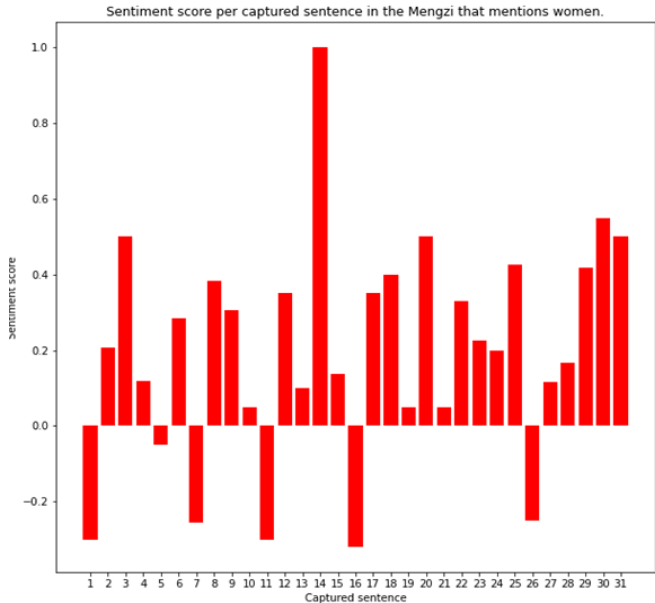
The results of our sentiment analysis of the *Mengzi* proves that its text uses more positively scored word than negative ones. Both the cleaned books (see table below) and captured sentences have polarity scores that range on a gliding scale between 0 and 1 (neutral and positive). No scores below 0 are detected, ruling out an overall negative tone in the *Mengzi*. While the cleaned version of the *Mengzi* retains a total polarity score of 0.09, it is not the most neutral polarity score in the list. Books two, three and five all score between 0.02 and 0.03 and can be considered almost entirely neutral. None of the book's scores are higher than 0.16, the score of book one.

<i>Mengzi</i> (whole)	0.09740257169350991
Book one	0.16172582385997028
Book two	0.0376029486527707
Book three	0.02479072670249141
Book four	0.12119243590958913
Book five	0.02807381319245721
Book six	0.1348422352295593
Book seven	0.12490274218535097
All sentences that mention women	0.15929043340380547
All sentences that mention men	0.10074770869334462

All of the scores above, by being closer to 0 than 1 can be considered neutral scores. The polarity scores of our analysis of sentences that mention women and men are not any less neutral. With a 0.15 score for the sentences that mention women and a score of 0.10 for men, both scores betray a sentiment that is more positive than negative, while remaining within neutral range.

This neutrality is echoed in our sentence-by-sentence polarity analysis of sentences that mention women (see image below).

Image 2: Sentiment polarity scores / sentence in the *Mengzi* that mentions women



While the scores in the barplot above do show that both negative and positively scored sentences that mention women appear in the *Mengzi*, only a few of these scores are extremely low or high.

The lowest scoring sentences, both scoring around -0.3, mention the mistreatment of women: “his friend had left his wife and child to suffer in cold and hunger” (1B.6) and “Their parents freeze and starve, while brothers, wives, and children are forced to scatter” (1A.5), in which ‘freeze’ and ‘starve’ are a likely cause of the negative polarity score.

The highest scoring sentence scores a perfect positive polarity score with 1. This is unexpected, seeing how difficult it is to score a perfect 1 or -1 in a sentence. Our perfect positive sentence is an addition by Robert Eno on the identity of Xi Shi, a woman who mentioned in passage 4B.25. Eno describes Xi Shi as a “proverbial woman of great beauty” (p. 84).

Next to these, other more positively scoring sentences include “I have a love of women” (1B.5), and “the Rites says: ‘A lord performs the ceremonial ploughing to help provide for the sacrificial grain, while his wife ceremonially assists tending silkworms to help provide the ritual robes for sacrifice scoring’”, both scoring 0.5. In these sentences the higher score can be explained by the use of love and help.

Most scores remain very neutral, however, and it is here that we find a correlation between women being mentioned and more neutral polarity scores in the same sentences. Examples of such sentences include, for example: “When we are old enough to have a family, we yearn for a wife and children” (5A.1), scoring just 0.05 along the polarity scale.

A similar neutral scoring is found in the 669 sentences that mention men. While among sentences that mention men with positive sentiments outweigh the negative sentimented sentences, we find many more sentences that are negative than among those that mention women. The difference in quantity can explain why the overall score of the sentences that mention men remained 0.10, even if quite a lot of negatively scored sentences appear to mention men, and not women.

Sentences in the *Mengzi* that have negative sentiment scores tend to lie closer to -0.5. While no such sentences have women appear in them, men feature in these much more often. Indeed, sentences that mention men are more often negatively scored than sentences that mention women. Many of these use both ‘you’ and male gendered pronouns. One example is this passage which contains mentions of killing and corpses:

“Mencius replied, “Is there a difference between killing a man with a club or a sword?” The King said, “None.” “Is there a difference between killing him with a sword or with bad government?” “None” Mencius said, “There are fat meats in your kitchens and fat horses in your stables, but the people are pale with hunger and corpses lie in the wastelands.” (*Mengzi* 1A.4 in Robert Eno 2016)

It is no surprise that the passage above scores a -0.4549999999999999, mentioning not just death but also starvation at the hands of a bad government. It is here that we find a correlation between a value judgement of a king (a man) and the polarity score of the text written about him.

Other examples of this same correlation appear, for example, in 1B.3’s sentence on a ‘vulgar man’ (-0.19285714285714284), 1B.4’s sentence on the denouncement of a ruler who does not bring pleasure to men<sup>10</sup> (-0.5) and in 2A.6 on the missing of a man’s good senses (-0.13333333333333333 ). The lowest score is given to the following aphorism, which scored a -0.9 and is so close to a polarity score of -1 that it may very well be the most negatively scored sentence is all of the *Mengzi*:

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<sup>10</sup> In this case ‘men’ refers to the people of a country as a whole.



Mencius said, "There have been inhumane men who have come to rule a state, but there has never been an inhumane man who has come to rule the world." (*Mengzi* 7B.13 in Robert Eno 2016, 134)

The results above conclude that the results of our polarity sentiment analysis support the hypotheses gathered from the previous chapter. Most of the sentences that mention women are more positively scored than negative, and most of them remain close to a true neutral score. Only two sentences seem to contain a statistical value judgement of women in the *Mengzi*, with both scoring slightly positively at 0.05.

Sentences that mention men are less neutrally scored than those that mention women, on the other hand. Among those, most of the more negatively scored sentences that mention men do not mention women, but correlate to actual value judgements of men by Mencius.

Whereas the keywords for women in the *Mengzi* are 'slightly positive neutrality', for men our conclusion would translate to 'neutrality through the combination of some very negative and mostly slightly positive value judgements'. Of these, it is interesting to note that most negative value judgements are reserved for kings. Apparently, there was plenty of room for improvement in the way they ruled their lands, according to Mencius.

## CONCLUSION

Having finished our three layers of analysis, our computational grounded assessment of the content and structure of the *Mengzi* is complete. This chapter compares our findings and present their conclusions on how gender appears in the *Mengzi*. Some of the potential limitations of our analyses are discussed as well.

### Results

Our inquiry into the content of the *Mengzi* shows a clear difference in its writing about genders. It seems that, according to both our close reading and sentiment analysis, the men of the ruling class hold a special place in Mencius' lexical world – and it is not a positive one. While men are mentioned at least 630 more times than women, quite a few of those mentions place men at the forefront of undesired behavior and intentions. Women, on the other hand, seem to hold a neutral position, text-wise. Robert Eno's *Mengzi*, and his additions to it, do not speak entirely positive of women, but the neutrality found in our close reading and sentiment analysis outweighs in tenfold the few negative sentences that mention women. The extreme neutral sentiment scoring in sentences that mention both women and men is echoed by the scores attached to text of the *Mengzi* itself when we do not focus on gender alone. Our close reading analysis confirms this.

The maternal roles of women are overrepresented in the *Mengzi* in comparison to paternal roles of men. Rather than using titles for kings, rulers, and dukes, which feature alongside their names, women are discussed in-text only through terms such as 'wife', 'daughter' and 'woman'. The women in the *Mengzi* are rarely referred to by their names, and only a handful of women's names appear in the entire *Mengzi*. The names of men outweigh the names of women in hundredfold.

Women, too, often feature as caretakers of the elderly. At least two passages (5B.5 and 7A.22) mention this nurturing role specifically for women. These gender differences in societal roles is echoed in our topic model, which mentions 'wife' only in one topic, whereas topicwords that refer to men (brother, king, Mencius, Confucius) are abundant. Likewise, the most common words contain many references to men, but none that refer to women specifically. We find references to family instead.

If we analyze the structure of the *Mengzi*, gender differences appear once more. We have seen that women often function as the grammatical objects in sentences, with the subjects being men. Where men are talked about in a more direct manner, as protagonists of the stories and aphorisms, women feature as side characters if mentioned at all. The sentences that mention women, most remarkably, are part of examples and comparisons. Most of these comparisons are aggrandized, with a man's behavior towards his wife being synonymous to a ruler's behavior towards his people. Rather than speaking of real, physical women, the *Mengzi* seems to prefer using women as allegorical stand-ins for 'anything that needs to be taken care of by a man'. The *Mengzi* makes use of countless comparisons, as one might expect from conversations and teachings. Kings are compared to teachers, historical figures to Confucius and sisters-in-law to the world.

The overuse of the qualifier 'good' and several different mitigators, appearing in both our close reading and within the ten common words of books 6 and 7. They might be seen as evidence that the *Mengzi* contains a more female-like speech pattern. We must remember, however, that the texts of the *Mengzi* were most likely penned down by men, and that it a man who supposedly speaks within it. The use of qualifiers and mitigators might also function as ways to improve the descriptive layers of the text, and as enhancement of its many comparisons. Because no women have a separate dialogue of length in the *Mengzi*, it is also impossible to compare this patterns to the other speech patterns contained with the *Mengzi's* text. As a result, it cannot be said for certain that a gendered speech pattern appears in the *Mengzi*.

## Limitations

Having drawn up our results in the sections above, it is imperative to discuss some of the limitations and preemptive criticisms of our approach. Three issues encompass both the choices made in our approach, and limits found in our digital- and non-digital tools during our inquiries:

(1) As digital humanities is a field that was constructed a little less than 2000 years after the compilation of the *Mengzi*, it is doubtful that English translations of the 4<sup>th</sup> century philosophical manual were part of the corpus of texts any of our natural language processing tools were trained on. One can expect a difference between these texts and the modern English training models, after all. It is possible that the difference in language use between (a) our source (the *Mengzi*) and (b) the language understanding of our tools, has impacted the results of our computational analysis in some way. We can, however, note that no problems appeared during the process of text mining, nor during our close reading. Accordingly, we must conclude that, perhaps because we used a recent translation, very little to no discrepancies should exist in our results.

(2) One limitation of this thesis that might have surprised the reader is the lack of attention given to the context of the gender ideas that Mencius might have had, shaped by his historical and cultural context. This limitation is self-imposed however, as the approach of this thesis is purely text based. Not only would context be impossible to grasp by our computational tools, our research question specifically asks us to identify the how genders are represented inside of the *Mengzi*, and not why they are in the manner our results show. Indeed, the conclusions we draw cannot even be applied to Mencius himself, but only to the image of genders inside the text that is ascribed to him.

(3) A final critique of our approach might include the difference in the amount of sentences used for our sentiment polarity analysis. While we have looked at individual sentences with both digital and non-digital tools to overcome this difference in source materials available, the difference cannot be made up for within the confines of the *Mengzi*. One might propose, however, that the difference in available sentences that mention genders might reveal more about Mencius' personal opinion about women and men than we think. The overall absence of women in his text, after all, might allude to a value judgement of women as insignificant.

## Conclusion

This thesis started in a way similar to the end of the bible retellings at my primary school: with me asking where the women are. Within the range of studies, academic opinions and available evidence sources within the field of Confucian studies, the images of women are myriad and contested. This thesis has added to the discussion by answering the following research question:

*How do gender differences feature in the Mengzi?*

And it has done so through three different analyses of the structure and content of the *Mengzi*, using both digital and non-digital, following the approach for textual analysis proposed by Nelson called Computational Grounded Theory that combines text mining and close reading into an approach with increasingly narrowing stages that is effective, efficient, rigorous and fully reproductional.

Our strategy included the gathering and cleaning of our source text, Robert Eno's 2016 English translation of the *Mengzi*, after which a widespread digital analysis of the text looked at its topics, common words, grammatical set-up and named entities. In the wake of this analysis, the close reading of all sentences and passages that mention women and men specifically followed suit. The tentative hypothesis that the language use regarding women seemed mostly absent of a value judgement was

then tested in our third and final analysis, which made use of sentiment polarity analysis. In combining the analyses we come to the following three conclusions on how gender differences feature in the *Mengzi* translation of Robert Eno:

(1) Returning to the main question of this thesis, it is clear that the most prominent linguistic structure found in Robert Eno's translation of the *Mengzi* is the use of analogies. This is not surprising of a text that exists almost entirely of conversations and aphorisms with the aim to teach. Other prominent structures are propositions and descriptions, in that order. Mentions of gender permeate all three of these structural literary devices.

(2) Gender and gender differences between women and men can be found among the prominent layers of the *Mengzi*. If we analyze these layers, women appear as grammatical objects in sentences, whereas men can habitually be seen as the subjects of these sentences. Most women feature in sentences that are part of examples and comparisons. In conjunction with children, the treatment of a man's 'wives' compared to the treatment of a country by its rulers. Rather than speaking of real, physical women, the *Mengzi* seems to prefer using women as allegorical stand-ins for 'anything that needs to be taken care of by a man'.

(3) Perhaps because they are not real, very few value judgements appear about women in the *Mengzi's* text. Most value judgements are aimed at men. These are not always positive, as the *Mengzi* often speaks of the differences between a good and bad rulers. Our sentiment analysis supports this, with sentences that mention women scoring more neutral than those that mention men, and more sentences that mention men receiving much higher negative sentiment scores. On the topic of gendered content, this thesis must conclude that the difference in value judgement lies at the heart of the gendered lexical worlds of the *Mengzi*.

Our conclusion adds to the body of academic literature on the *Mengzi* by uncovering patterns and layers that could only be found through the combination of digital and non-digital means, as well as insights into how these tools might be used to answer questions in future text-focused projects. I believe the fields of gender studies, linguistics and literary studies will benefit from the strategy put forward in this thesis specifically.

By focusing on the written language relating to gender and gender differences in the *Mengzi*, this thesis furthermore hopes to have demonstrated that gender-images and their textual formulation appear in the written texts of Confucianism, and that, where women are concerned, they may be more neutral and positive than previously believed. By doing so, this thesis hopes to add to the growing field of gender studies in Confucianism a valuable source for future research into the workings of language in the shaping images of genders through text.

Whether recorded in recent works on feminism, on female speech or in the text of the *Mengzi*, women are everywhere. In classrooms, in all religions, labelled as daughters and sisters and wives, they appear in Bible retellings and inside of the canonical gospels – and yes, women are also part of the *Mengzi*. Where my primary school teachers omitted women – this thesis makes up for what you, too, might have asked yourself: But what about the women?

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## APPENDIX

### Code and computations

Serving as a companion document to this thesis is the original code or rather the raw code file named “MAAS\_THESIS\_Code\_TurkenburgAurora\_s1796372” detailing the data and coding used for the sections of this thesis that make use of computations / programming for its text-mining-driven observations on *Mengzi*, or the text attributed to Mencius. The file contains the raw code and -results of the analyses on textual level described in those section, as well as a meta-data file in which further information about the coding file can be found. The coding file was saved as a HTML file and can be opened using the internet browser of most computers, similar to a webpage, without the need for a separate program to retrieve, open or read the file. While a copy of the file was given to the supervisor of the thesis, a separate copy of the file can be requested of this author in the spirit of the FAIR Principles for programming by sending a request to the following personal email address: aturkenburguni@gmail.com. It is through these measures that this author has sought to adhere to the three-point FAIRification Framework as found in the 2016 article “The FAIR Guiding Principles for scientific data management and stewardship” published in *Scientific Data* Wilkinson et al. 2016.

The file uses the programming language python 3, and was created following the guidelines of this programming language. One of these guidelines asks for the programmer to use notes, each starting with #, to explain the process of programming for future readers or future users of the program written. It is for this reason that notes can be found in the code file that do not appear in the section regarding Mencius in this thesis.

The remainder of this appendix contains parts of the raw code used to complete the computations described in this thesis. This appendix was added in the spirit of FAIR Principles, namely Accessability and Reusability, by giving the readers of this thesis access to the important parts of the code used.

### Stop words

Please note that this list has been indented on alphabetical levels to promote easier reading.

"Oo", "Os", "3a", "3b", "3d", "6b", "6o",  
"a", "a1", "a2", "a3", "a4", "ab", "able", "about", "above", "abst", "ac", "accordance", "according", "accordingly",  
"across", "act", "actually", "ad", "added", "adj", "ae", "af", "affected", "affecting", "affects", "after", "afterwards",  
"ag", "again", "against", "ah", "ain", "ain't", "aj", "al", "all", "allow", "allows", "almost", "alone", "along", "already",  
"also", "although", "always", "am", "among", "amongst", "amongst", "amount", "an", "and", "announce",  
"another", "any", "anybody", "anyhow", "anymore", "anyone", "anything", "anyway", "anyways", "anywhere", "ao",  
"ap", "apart", "apparently", "appear", "appreciate", "appropriate", "approximately", "ar", "are", "aren", "arent",  
"aren't", "arise", "around", "as", "a's", "aside", "ask", "asking", "associated", "at", "au", "auth", "av", "available",  
"aw", "away", "awfully", "ax", "ay", "az",  
"b", "b1", "b2", "b3", "ba", "back", "bc", "bd", "be", "became", "because", "become", "becomes", "becoming",  
"been", "before", "beforehand", "begin", "beginning", "beginnings", "begins", "behind", "being", "believe",  
"below", "beside", "besides", "best", "better", "between", "beyond", "bi", "bill", "biol", "bj", "bk", "bl", "bn", "both",  
"bottom", "bp", "br", "brief", "briefly", "bs", "bt", "bu", "but", "bx", "by",  
"c", "c1", "c2", "c3", "ca", "call", "came", "can", "cannot", "cant", "can't", "cause", "causes", "cc", "cd", "ce",  
"certain", "certainly", "cf", "cg", "ch", "changes", "ci", "cit", "cj", "cl", "clearly", "cm", "c'mon", "cn", "co", "com",  
"come", "comes", "con", "concerning", "consequently", "consider", "considering", "contain", "containing",  
"contains", "corresponding", "could", "couldn't", "couldn't", "couldn't", "course", "cp", "cq", "cr", "cry", "cs", "c's",  
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### The 31 sentences that mention women and their sentiment scores

Please note that the scores of the Textblob based sentiment polarity analysis appear below each passage. Inside of the passages, words that relate to gender have been marked to promote reading. The sentences were captured on the basis of targeted words. For women these targeted words were: 'she', 'her', 'hers', 'herself', 'woman', 'women', 'wife', 'wives', 'sister', and 'sisters'.

Let's say you are holding a musical performance, and when the people hear the sound of the bells and drums, pipes and flutes, they all raise their heads quickly with furrowed brows and say to one another, 'How can our **King** enjoy music and allow us to come to such dire straits that **fathers** and **sons** are parted and do not see one another, and **brothers, wives**, and children are scattered?' Or let us say you go out for the hunt, and when the people hear the sound of chariots and horses and see your beautiful banners waving, they all raise their heads quickly with furrowed brows and say to one another, 'How can our **King** enjoy hunting and allow us to come to such dire straits that **fathers** and **sons** are parted and do not see one another, and **brothers, wives**, and children are scattered?' The cause of this would be none other than that one has failed to share one's pleasures with the people  
0.2076388888888889

I have a love of **women**  
0.5

" Mencius said, "In past times King Tai had a love of **women** – how he cherished his **consort**! The Poetry tells of it: Danfu, the Old Duke, Galloped west at dawn, Along the western waters To the land below Mt  
0.11875

And in those days, no **young woman** could complain **she** lacked a **man** and no **young man** lacked a **wife**  
-0.05

If Your **Majesty's** love of **women** were only shared with the people, what hindrance could there be to ruling as a True **King**?" 1B  
0.2833333333333333

"Suppose a subject of Your **Majesty** entrusted his **wife** and children to a friend and traveled south to Chu, and when he returned, his friend had left his **wife** and child to suffer in cold and hunger  
-0.2555555555555555

" Mencius said, "In what respect were these great **men**? Have you never studied the rites? When a **young man** is capped, he receives a charge from his **father**,<sup>2</sup> but when a **girl** is married, it is her **mother** who gives her the charge

0.3833333333333333

As her **daughter** is escorted out the gate **she** admonishes **her**: 'When you reach your new home, be respectful! Be modest! Never disobey your **husband**!' To treat compliance as the rule is the dao of a **wife** or **concubine**  
0.3058712121212121

The Rites says: 'A **lord** performs the ceremonial ploughing to help provide for the sacrificial grain, while **his wife** ceremonially assists tending silkworms to help provide the ritual robes for sacrifice  
0.05

All within the four quarters said, 'It is not that **he** wishes to enrich himself with the world; **he** seeks revenge for common **men** and **women**  
-0.3

17 Chunyu Kun said, "Is it true that according to the rites, **men** and **women** must not touch one another?" "That is what the rites prescribe," said Mencius  
0.35

"If your **sister-in-law** were drowning, would you extend **her** your hand?" Mencius said, "A **man** who would not extend **his** hand to a drowning **sister-in-law** would be a wild beast  
0.1

25 Xizi (Xi Shi) was a proverbial **woman** of greatest beauty  
1.0

Do you think **Kuang Zhang** does not wish to have a family, and be a **husband** with children? Yet because **he** offended **his father** and is banished from **his** presence, **he** has sent away his **wife** and children, to live out **his** days without their care and support  
0.13636363636363635

**His wife** asked **him** who the hosts were who served **him** these meals, and everyone **he** named was a **man** of wealth and high rank  
-0.32

" So the **wife** rose early one morning and slyly followed **her husband** wherever **he** went  
0.35

The **husband** knew nothing of this, and coming back home **he** strutted proudly before **his wife** and **concubine**, peering at them like a lord  
0.4

When we are old enough to have a family, we yearn for a **wife** and children  
0.05

"But why did Yao not tell them?" "Yao also knew that if Shun's parents were told Shun would not have been able to take a **wife**  
0.5

If it is not I who awakens them, who else could there be?' "When Yi Yin thought of the people of the world, and how ordinary **husbands** and **wives** had never been touched by the benefits Yao and Shun had bestowed, **he** felt as though they had been shoved into a ditch by **his** own hand, so heavy was the burden **he** took upon **himself**  
0.04999999999999999

The **wives** of Mizi and of Zilu were **sisters**, and Mizi said to Zilu, 'If Confucius will lodge with me **he** will be able to become a high minister in Wei  
0.33

If **he** had not understood that capturing the attention of Duke Mu of Qin by means of tending oxen would be sullyng **himself**, could **he** be said to possess wisdom? Yet he refrained from remonstrating because **he** understood that **his lord** was not persuadable: could **he** be said to lack wisdom? Can **he** be termed unwise because **he** realized that the **Duke** of Yu was soon to fall and left the state beforehand? Can **he** be termed unwise in his opportune rise to **prime minister** in Qin, knowing that Duke Mu was a **ruler** with whom one could accomplish great things? As **minister** to Qin **he** Other texts indicate Yan Chouyou was the **brother** of Zilu's **wife**  
0.225

The purpose of taking a **wife** is not because one wants to nurture one's parents, but there may be times when one does take a **wife** for that reason  
0.2

What will such a stipend provide for me? A beautiful home, the attentions of a **wife** and **concubines**, the gratitude of needy acquaintances whose pleas I heed? A moment ago, I refused rice and porridge that meant life or death because it was not proper to accept, but now I'll do anything for a beautiful home, the attentions of a **wife** and **concubines**, or the gratitude of needy acquaintances whose pleas I heed  
0.425

Would you still have to abide by ritual? What if by skipping the ritual **groom's** visit to receive the **bride** you could take a **wife**, but otherwise you could not? Would you still insist on the groom's ritual visit?" Wuluzi was unable to reply, and the next day **he** went to Zou to consult with Mencius  
-0.25

"A homestead of five mu with mulberry trees planted beneath the wall and a **wife** to nurture the silkworms is adequate to clothe the aged in silk  
0.11666666666666665

"As for saying that the **Lord** of the West took good care of the aged, **he** laid out the fields and the homesteads, taught **his** people to care for mulberry trees and raise livestock, and to guide their **wives** in caring for the aged  
0.16666666666666666

But when **he** became Son of Heaven, **he** wore fine robes and played the zither as his **two wives** attended **him**, as though **he** had always been so  
0.41666666666666667

9 Mencius said, "If you do not follow the Dao in your own person, you will not be able to make even your **wife** and children follow it  
0.55

If you manage others contrary to the Dao, you will not be able even to manage your **wife** and children  
0.5

