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Language Change in Progress: Chinese Internet Lexicon and the Symbolic Meaning in the Harmonious Society

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Abstract

Globalization and communication on the internet poses challenges to sociolinguistics. China is one of the engines of economic in the world. Since the Internet service started in 1994, it has been developing rapidly. The rapid development of Internet communication in China has created huge impact on the Chinese language and society. According to Yates (1996), a new medium of communication such as the Internet not only draws upon existing linguistic practices, but also generates new forms of Chinese Internet lexicon. The rapid diffusion of the Internet has prompted developments in the variety and creativity of language use. Internet users often create new words or appropriate the meanings of existing words. The resultant “Internet language” has unique lexical and discourse features. Li (2002) and Ma (2002) confirmed that Internet lexicon has brought the tremendous impact and spread to everyday usage in Chinese society. In 2006 National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center has released the first time an annual report of Inventory of Chinese Language (汉语盘点 Hanyu pandian). Since 2011 ten most popular Internet hot words have been released annually by National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center. This research is aimed to discusses the emergence and use of most popular Chinese Internet vocabularies in the recent 10 years. Based on the data from National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center, the most popular Chinese Internet words and phrases

(2011–2019) are analyzed and summarized into twelve categories. The implication and findings of the symbolic meaning embedded in the Chinese internet lexicon are analyzed. This study sets out to examine the transformation of internet lexicon in China and to argue the equivalent relation between symbols, language and popular culture.

Keywords: Chinese Internet Lexicon, harmonious society, language change

Изменение языка в процессе: китайский интернет-лексикон и символическое значение в гармоничном обществе

Аннотация

Глобализация и общение в Интернете бросают вызов социолингвистике. Китай – один из двигателей мировой экономики. С момента запуска Интернет-сервиса в 1994 году он быстро развивается. Быстрое развитие Интернет-коммуникации в Китае оказало огромное влияние на китайский язык и общество. Согласно Йетсу (1996), новое средство коммуникации, такое как Интернет, не только опирается на существующие лингвистические практики, но также порождает новые формы китайской Интернет-лексики. Быстрое распространение Интернета привело к развитию разнообразия и творчества в использовании языков. Интернет-пользователи часто придумывают новые слова или присваивают значения уже существующим словам. Полученный «Интернет-язык» имеет уникальные лексические и дискурсивные особенности. Ли (2002) и Ма (2002) подтвердили, что лексика Интернета оказала огромное влияние и распространилась в повседневном общении в китайском обществе. В 2006 году Центр графических медиа по мониторингу и исследованию национальных языковых ресурсов впервые выпустил ежегодный отчет «Инвентаризация китайского языка» (汉语 盘点 Hanyu pandian). С 2011 года Центр графических медиа по мониторингу и исследованиям национальных языковых ресурсов ежегодно публикует десять самых популярных горячих слов в Интернете. Данная статья направлена на обсуждение появления и использования самых популярных китайских словарей в Интернете за последние 10 лет. На основе данных Центра изучения национальных языковых ресурсов и графических медиа наиболее популярные китайские слова и фразы в Интернете (2011–2019 гг.) были проанализированы и объединены в двенадцать категорий. Анализируются значение и выводы символического значения, встроенного в китайский интернет-лексикон. Это исследование направлено на изучение трансформации интернет-лексикона в Китае и аргументацию эквивалентной связи между символами, языком и популярной культурой.

Ключевые слова: китайский интернет-лексикон, гармоничное общество, смена языка

Introduction

Globalization and communication on the internet poses challenges to sociolinguistics. China is one of the engines of economic in the world. Since the Internet service started in 1994, it has been developing rapidly. The rapid development of Internet communication in China has created huge impact on the Chinese language and society. According to Yates (1996), a new medium of communication such as the Internet not only draws upon existing linguistic practices, but also generates new forms of Chinese Internet lexicon. The rapid diffusion of the Internet has prompted developments in the variety and creativity of language use. Internet users often create new words or appropriate the meanings of existing words. Crystal (2006) proposed Internet linguistics and he indicates that the linguistic future of the Internet does not only offer a home to all linguistic styles within a language, but also it offers a home to all languages. In addition, the language users have their own collective memories reflected from the internet lexicon. Crystal suggests that “language being such a sensitive index of social change, it would be surprising indeed if such a radically innovative phenomenon did not have a corresponding impact on the way we communicate”. The resultant “Internet language” has unique lexical and discourse features. Li (2002) and Ma (2002) confirmed that Internet lexicon has brought the tremendous impact and spread to everyday usage in Chinese society. Recently China has surpassed the United States as the world’s largest Internet market. What the social scientists can observe from Chinese Internet, apart from the rest of the online world, is the government’s extensive control and censorship over the massive network of users. Chinese Internet users employ a variety of linguistic and discourse strategies to establish their community identities and organize online interactions in order to avoid and defy censorship. It is suggested that this online discourse differs from the official discourse, which is tightly controlled by the Chinese government. Therefore, online language, discourse practices and lexicon on the Chinese Internet serve as a result of recent technological and social developments in China. National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center had released an annual report of Inventory of Chinese Language (汉语盘点 *Hanyu Pandian*) since 2006. The most popular Internet hot words have been

released annually by National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center since 2011. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the emergence and use of the most popular Chinese Internet vocabularies in the recent 10 years. Based on the data from National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center, the most popular Chinese Internet terms are analyzed and summarized into twelve categories. The implication and findings of the symbolic harmonious society embedded in the Chinese internet lexicon are analyzed. This study sets out to examine the transformation of internet lexicon in China and to argue the equivalent relation between symbols, language and popular culture.

Harmony: Traditional Culture Embodies in Confucianism

Harmony originates from the meaning of fortune, longevity, and luck in Chinese language. Harmony 和 *he* entails 和谐 *hexie* (harmony), 和平 *heping* (peace) and 和解 *hejie* (reconciliation). Harmony in Chinese language includes the management of different roles and the knowledge of ‘ought-ness’ of behaviours based on the roles one assumes in society – what is called ‘rites’ or *li* in Confucianism. 礼 *li* refers not only to ceremonial rituals performed on specific occasions, it is one of the five basic virtues (i.e. benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness) in the Confucian ethics, and is considered as “the way of humanity and the way of Heaven” (Li, 2006). Harmony operates on five hierarchically interrelated scale-levels (Li, 2008). In addition, harmony is related to the governance politics of the state, which means harmonious governance is aimed to bring about order in society through the virtuous functioning of government officials. The core value of harmony in Chinese language involves promoting harmony as peaceful coexistence beyond the state borders, in the world. As a result, harmony is applicable as a universal law which is a cosmological order generated by the interactive process of balancing human, nature, and society.

Hu Jintao’s Concept of a harmonious society

The concept of “a harmonious society” 和谐社会 *hexie shehui* was first put forth in September 2004, when former President Hu Jintao gave a speech on

“building a harmonious socialist society” at the fourth plenary session of the Sixteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This was propounded in the following year when Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) sixth plenary session passed the strategic document of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee’s Resolution on Major Issues of Building a Socialist Harmonious Society. The Sixth Plenum of the 16th CCP Central Committee was held in Beijing October 8 through 11, 2006, to discuss the building of harmonious society and adopted *The Decision on Several Critical Issues related to Building Socialist Harmonious Society*. It states that

The social harmony is intrinsic nature of the socialism with Chinese characteristics. To build a harmonious socialist society was the intrinsic demand of constructing a socialist modernized country which is prosperous, strong, democratic, civilized and harmonious. Along with rapid economic development, there exist many contradictions, problems, conflicts which have affected social harmony and social stability. While the party must continue to focus on economic development; it must put the building of a harmonious socialist society in a more prominent place and make great efforts to increase harmonious factors and reduce disharmonious factors to boost social harmony.

The ultimate goal of CCP is to build a harmonious society, in which “humans live in harmony with nature, promote social equality and justice, foster a culture of harmony, improve public administration, enhance creativity of the society, pursue the road of common prosperity, and push forward coordinated development of social, economic, political and cultural construction” with the emphasis on issues people care about and issues that concern their most immediate and practical interests¹.

Harmony is applied as a language policy in China. The first language law passed in China in 2000, the Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese, is an example and also a pretext of the Harmonious Society discourse that followed a few years later. Sociolinguists in China (Feng, 2007; Zhou, 2006; Zhang and Xie, 2010) also argue that maintaining harmony

¹ Communiqué of the Sixth Plenum of the 16th CPC Central Committee, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-10/11/content_5191071.htm.

in language use is an indispensable aspect of constructing a harmonious society. It is suggested that nonstandard, non-normative, and innovative uses of language across domains, such as commercial language, literary works, and online communication, all risk violating and harming linguistic and social harmony (Feng, 2007). Qin (2008) proposes four basic elements of building a harmonious society and culture: 1. to inherit and develop the traditional culture to increase China's national self-confidence; 2. to seek and foster innovation culture to make the society vigorous; 3. maintaining an opening-minded culture to communicate with and learn from the World; 4. to protect and accept multiple cultures to promote World peace and the peaceful rise of China. Therefore, it could be summarized that harmony in modern Chinese society has to be self-compliance of normalization with top-down policing and active interventions of state power. It is also suggested by sociolinguists that with the emergence of a sizeable professional middle class and a smaller class of super-rich people, China is rapidly becoming a class-stratified society characterized by inequalities between rich and poor. This is accompanied by the availability of new information and ideas and new opportunities and resources for identity making provided by the Internet (Wang et al., 2016).

Chinese Internet lexicon under the symbolic meaning of harmonious society

With the new technology, the speed and velocity of such changes are extraordinary, posing new challenges to the existing social order, the Internet has profoundly transformed the way people access information and communicate. It offers unprecedented potential of freedom and democracy to authoritarian states and exposes its citizens to alternative norms, values, and resources that were unavailable before. Gao (2008) divided the Chinese Internet lexicon into the following twelve different subcategories which are summarized in Table 1.

The Internet lexicon in China not only reflects various social changes but also links to political strategies and policies. Since opening up to foreign trade and implementing free-market reforms in 1979, China has been among the world's fastest-growing economies, with real annual gross

Table 1. Chinese Internet Lexicon

Categories of Chinese Internet Lexicon	Example and meaning embedded
(1) 假借 <i>jiajie</i> (borrowing)	猫 <i>mao</i> means cat in Chinese, but meaning embedded is modem.
(2) 合成 <i>hecheng</i> (compounding)	卸载 <i>xiezai</i> means unload-carry.
(3) 仿拟 <i>fangni</i> (analogy)	TOEFL托福 <i>tuofu</i> means hold-happiness. TOEFL is an English Language Exam. The meaning embedded is that the students who intend to pass TOEFL exam will hold their happiness during the exams.
(4) 译借 <i>jiajie</i> (calquing)	酷 <i>ku</i> is similar to English "cool".
(5) 比拟 <i>bini</i> (metaphor and personification)	恐龙 <i>konglong</i> means dinosaur in Chinese. However, the meaning embedded is an unattractive but an extremely active female.
(6) 音变 <i>yinbian</i> (phonological fusion)	酱紫 <i>jiangzi</i> means this way.
(7) 说明 <i>shuoming</i> (explanation)	网吧 <i>wangba</i> means net-bar /computer site which is open to the public.
(8) 词素重迭 <i>yinsu chongdie</i> (morpheme repetition)	坏坏 <i>huaihuai</i> means bad-bad. 飘飘 <i>piaopiao</i> means beautiful-beautiful.
(9) 音近改造 <i>yinjin gaizao</i> (near homophonization)	菌男 (俊男) <i>junnan</i> means germ-male or unattractive guy.
(10) 旧词新解 (semantic shift)	蛋白质 <i>danbaizhi</i> means protein in Chinese, but the meaning embedded refers to an idiot or a neurotic.
(11) 析字 <i>xizi</i> (word decomposition)	走 <i>zou</i> 召 <i>zhao</i> is combined with two Chinese characters "walk and summon".
(12) JS (shrewd businessmen)	886 means 'Bye-bye.' :-) ('smile') ^0^ ('laugh out loud')

Source: Gao, 2008.

domestic product (GDP) growth averaging 9.5% through 2018. With the rapid economic growth, the Internet lexicon in China has developed and created tremendously by Chinese citizens. The Internet lexicon in China could be considered as an instrument to understand and explain the collective thinking in China; therefore, the most popular Chinese Internet terms and phrases are cited in Table 2. in order to observe the Internet lexicon in progress in Chinese societies from 2011 to 2019.

Table 2. 2011–2019年度十大网络用语Top 10 Internet Terms of Year 2011–2019

Year	Chinese characters with Pinyin	English Translation and Meaning Embedded
2011	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 伤不起 <i>shangbuqi</i> 2. 起云剂 <i>qiyunji</i> means 3. 虎妈 <i>huma</i> 4. 政务微博 <i>zhengfu weibo</i> 5. 北京精神 <i>Beijing qingshen</i> 6. 走转改 <i>zouzhuangai</i> 7. 微电影 <i>wei dianying</i> 8. 加名税 <i>jianmingshui</i> 9. 淘宝体 <i>taobao ti</i> 10. 云电视 <i>yindianshi</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. cannot handle 2. cloudy agent/cloauidifier 3. Tiger mother/Tiger parenting”, which is a form of strict or demanding parenting. 4. Government affairs Blog 5. spirit of Beijing 6. „Walking the grassroots level, transform style, change style” activities 7. microfilm 8. tax on adding name to ownership certificate 9. Taobao language form, polite greeting with Dear Mr. /Mrs.... 10. Cloud TV
2012	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 中国好声音 <i>Zhongguo haoshengyin</i> 2. 元芳,你怎么看? <i>Yuanfang, ni zenme kan?</i> 3. 高富帅/白富美 <i>Gaofushuai/baifumei</i> 4. 你幸福吗? <i>Ni xingfu ma?</i> 5. 江南Style <i>Jiangnan Style</i> 6. 躺着也中枪 <i>tangzhe ye zhongqiang</i> 7. 吊丝 <i>diaosi</i> 8. 逆袭 <i>nixi</i> 9. 舌尖上的中国 <i>shejianzhang de Zhongguo</i> 10. 最炫民族风 <i>zuixuan minzufeng</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chinese good voice 2. “Yuanfang, what do you think?” is a sentence from one of the most popular TV serials, and then gradually becomes an opening sentence to comment on the news. 3. tall, wealthy, handsome/white, rich, beautiful is a fixed phrase to describe an ideal man/woman. 4. “Do you feel the happiness?” is a slogan related to Great Chinese Dream activity. 5. Jiangnan style is a title of popular song from South Korea. 6. to get unwillingly dragged into something 7. loser 8. counterattack / counteroffensive 9. China on the tip of tongue/ a bite of China 10. the Hottest Ethnic Trend
2013	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 中国大妈 <i>Zhongguo dama</i> 2. 高端大气上档次 <i>gaoduan daqi shangdangci</i> 3. 爸爸去哪儿 <i>baba qu nar</i> 4. 小伙伴们都惊呆了 <i>xiaohuobanmen dou jingdai le</i> 5. 待我长发及腰 <i>dai wo changfajiyao</i> 6. 喜大普奔 <i>xidabenpu</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chinese <i>dama</i> is a new buzzword, <i>dama</i> refers to rich middle-aged women. 2. the best quality of something 3. “Where are the fathers?” refers to a slang from a popular TV show 4. “All of my friends are astonished” refers to a slang from a popular TV show 5. wait until I grow up 6. extremely happy

Year	Chinese characters with Pinyin	English Translation and Meaning Embedded
2013	7. 女汉子 <i>nǚhanzi</i> 8. 土豪 <i>tuhao</i> 9. 摊上大事儿 <i>tanshang dashir</i> 10. 涨姿势 <i>zhangzishi</i>	7. a tough girl 8. <i>tuhao</i> refers to uncouth rich people. 9. a person encounters a difficult situation. 10. a person has obtained new knowledge from doing something or from other sources of information.
2014	1. 我也是醉了 <i>wo yeshi zuile</i> 2. 有钱就是任性 <i>youqian de jiushi renshi</i> 3. 蛮拼的 <i>man pin de</i> 4. 挖掘机技术哪家强 <i>wanjue jishu najia qiang</i> 5. 不作死就不会死 <i>bu zuosi jiu bu hui si</i> 6. 萌萌哒 <i>mengmeng da</i> 7. 时间都去哪了 <i>shijian dou qu nale</i> 8. 我读书少你别骗我 <i>wo dushu shao ni bie pian wo</i> 9. 画面太美我不敢看 <i>huamian tai mei wo bu gankan</i> 10. 且行且珍惜 <i>qie xing qie zhenxi</i>	1. I am speechless. 2. rich and willful 3. give it one's best shot 4. which is the strongest in excavator technology? 5. you will not die if you do not do it. 6. cutie 7. where is my time? 8. don't fool me for my poor education 9. that's such a beautiful scene that I dare not have my eyes fixed on it 10. being in love is easy, being married is not. Love should be cherished.
2015	1. 重要的事情说三遍 <i>zhongyao de shiqing shuo san pian</i> 2. 世界那么大，我想去看看 <i>shijie zheme da, wo xiang qu kankan</i> 3. 你们城里人真会玩 <i>nimen chengli ren zhen hui wan</i> 4. 为国护盘 <i>wei guo hupan</i> 5. 明明可以靠脸吃饭，却偏偏要靠才华 <i>mingming keyi kao chifan, que pianpian yao kao caihua</i> 6. 我想静静 <i>wo xiang jingjing</i> 7. 吓死宝宝了 <i>xia si baobao le</i> 8. 内心几乎是崩溃的 <i>neixin jihu shi pengkui de</i> 9. 我妈是我妈 <i>wo ma shi wo ma</i> 10. 主要看气质 <i>zhuyao shi qizhi</i>	1. important things cannot be underscored too much. 2. the world is so large that I want to have a look. 3. I can't understand you townies' behaviors. 4. introduce protection for tape for the benefit of the state 5. one could live off one's appearance, but instead lives off one's talent. 6. please leave me alone. 7. it scared my pants off. 8. I almost had a nervous breakdown. 9. give evidence to support that my mom is my mom 10. it is the elegance that counts.

Year	Chinese characters with Pinyin	English Translation and Meaning Embedded
2016	1. 洪荒之力 <i>honghuang zhi li</i> 2. 友谊的小船 <i>youyi de xiaochuan</i> 3. 定个小目标 <i>dingge xiao mubiao</i> 4. 吃瓜群众 <i>chi gua qunzhong</i> 5. 葛优躺 <i>Geyou tang</i> 6. 辣眼睛 <i>la yanjing</i> 7. 全是套路 <i>quan shi taolu</i> 8. 蓝瘦香菇 <i>lan shou xianggu</i> 9. 老司机 <i>lao siji</i> 10. 厉害了我的哥 <i>lihail le wo de ge</i>	1. prehistoric powers 2. the friendship wrecked out of the blue 3. setting a small target 4. melon-eating masses/ spectators/onlookers 5. Ge You-esque slouching/down in (at) the mouth 6. someone feels eyesore when he/she sees an unpretty sight 7. routine 8. skinny blue mushroom in Chinese could like one feels awful and wants to cry 9. old hand/veteran/expert 10. Oh, my brother, you rock!/Oh, my brother, you are impressive.
2017	1. 打call <i>da call</i> 2. 尬聊 <i>ganliao</i> 3. 你的良心不会痛吗 <i>nide liangxin bu hui tong ma</i> 4. 惊不惊喜,意不意外 <i>jing bu jingxi, yi bu yiwai</i> 5. 皮皮虾,我们走 <i>pipixia, women zou</i> 6. 扎心了,老铁 <i>zha xin le, laotie</i> 7. 还有这种操作 <i>haiyou zhezong caozou</i> 8. 怼 <i>dui</i> 9. 你有freestyle吗 <i>ni you freestyle ma</i> 10. 油腻 <i>youni</i>	1. put one's glow stick up for someone/move one's glow stick for someone 2. what an embarrassing conversation! 3. How can you reconcile it to your conscience? 4. Are you surprised? Are you shocked? 5. Mantis Shrimp, let's move! 6. my heart's broken, old fellow. 7. How could you do that?/Is that OK? 8. clash with 9. Do you have freestyle? 10. (unpleasantly) greasy
2018	1. 锦鲤 <i>jinli</i> 2. 杠精 <i>gangjing</i> 3. skr 4. 佛系 <i>foxi</i> 5. 确认过眼神 <i>queren guo yanshen</i> 6. 官宣 <i>guanxuan</i> 7. C位 <i>C wei</i> 8. 土味情话 <i>tuwei qinghua</i> 9. 皮一下 <i>pi yixia</i> 10. 燃烧我的卡路里 <i>ranshao wo de kaluli</i>	1. koi fish; fancy carp 2. contrarian; A contrarian is a person who deliberately behaves in a way that is different from the people around them. 3. skr represent the sounds of admiring someone/something. 4. Buddha-like 5. look/ something in one's eyes/ what I can see in one's eyes 6. officially announce 7. center position 8. cheesy pick-up lines 9. naughty; mischievous 10. burn my calories

Year	Chinese characters with Pinyin	English Translation and Meaning Embedded
2019	1. 不忘初心 <i>bu wang chuxin</i> 2. 道路千万条，安全第一条 <i>Daolu qianwan tiao, anquan di yitiao</i> 3. 柠檬精 <i>ningmeng jing</i> 4. 好嗨哟 <i>hao haiyo</i> 5. 是个狼人 <i>shi ge langren</i> 6. 雨女无瓜 <i>yu nu wu guan</i> 7. 硬核 <i>yinghe</i> 8. 996 <i>jiujiuliu</i> 9. 14亿护旗手 <i>shisi yi huqishou</i> 10. 断舍离 <i>duansheli</i>	1. remain true to the original aspiration 2. on countless roads ahead, safety comes first. 3. green with envy 4. be so high/get really high 5. someone is a badass/crackerjack 6. none of your business 7. hardcore 8. the 996 (from 9 am to 9 pm and six days in a week) work schedule 9. 1. 4 billion guardians of the National flag. 10. simplifying life.

Source : 中国国家语言资源监测与研究中心(National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Graphic Media Center) <http://cnlr.blcu.edu.cn/>.

It could be concluded that top 10 internet terms of year from 2011 to 2019 are accordance with 12 categories which Gao (2008) proposed. Chinese Internet terms are full of vigor with Chinese socialist characteristics. Qin (2008) has proposed four basic elements of building a harmonious society and culture, his proposals could be confirmed by the top ten internet terms of year 2011–2019. The internet terms are summarized in Table 3. as following:

Table 3. Four basic elements of building a harmonious society and culture

Four basic elements	The internet terms are accordance with the proposed elements
to inherit and develop the traditional culture to increase China's national self-confidence	北京精神 <i>Beijing jingshen</i> (2011) 中国好声音 <i>Zhongguo hao shengyin</i> (2012) 为国护盘 <i>wei guo hupian</i> (2015) 洪荒之力 <i>honghuang zhi li</i> (2016) 不忘初心 <i>buwang chuxin</i> (2019) 14亿护旗手 <i>14 yi huqishou</i> (2019)
to seek and foster innovation culture to make the society vigorous	淘宝体 <i>taobaoti</i> (2011) 云电视 <i>yun dianshi</i> (2011) 你幸福吗 <i>ni xingfu ma</i> (2012) 高端大气上档次 <i>ganduan daqi shangdangci</i> (2013) 土豪 <i>tuhao</i> (2013) 且行且珍惜 <i>qie xing qie zhenxing</i> (2014)

Four basic elements	The internet terms are accordance with the proposed elements
maintaining an opening-minded culture to communicate with and learn from the World	江南Style <i>Jiangnan Style</i> (2012) 佛系 <i>Foxi</i> (2018) C位 <i>C wei</i> (2018)
to protect and accept multiple cultures to promote World peace and the peaceful rise of China.	中国大妈 <i>Zhongguo dama</i> (2013)

Conclusion

Rapid development of internet and computer-mediated communication from QQ and WeChat have brought tremendous impact to Internet lexicon in Chinese societies. The Web is not only an eclectic medium, but also an engine and a source to produce functioning computer technologies for everyday life through computer-mediated communication. The increasing richness of internet lexicon in China results from economic reform, rapid internet development and governmental policies. More researches related to internet lexicon in China should be conducted in order to provide Chinese language learners as an additional learning material to understand the internet lexicon which are applied and used in the topics, articles or conversations on the Web and WeChat. Internet Language gradually becomes the source of community identification. Online messages generated by anonymous or pseudonymous users often demonstrate community identification processes. Social scientists have tried to delineate the concept from a sociolinguistic perspective. Baym (2003) identifies group-specific vocabulary and humor among the “consistent and distinctive language practices” that indicate the emergence of a coherent online community. She further argues that online communities emerge as participants who “create and codify group-specific meanings, socially negotiate group-specific identities, form relationships and create norms that serve to organize interaction and to maintain desirable social climates”. Moreover, the future of harmony as a useful concept in Chinese politics will depend on the way in which it can be deployed as a non-totalizing concept targeted at the policing and regulation of certain aspects of social life. If it is applied to the totality of social life, it will backfire due to

an inadequate descriptor of social processes. Consequently, the concept of a harmonious society can only be used against specific social processes, as a means to repress and eliminate certain forms of social processes. On the other hand, the questions of harmony and language policy draw attention to China as both a comparative context and an interesting case in its own right. Harmony and language policy go hand in hand in China. Evolving from a well-entrenched classical Confucian ideal, harmony has become a proper name that stands for an explicit discourse on the rationalization, maintenance, and enforcement of stability and order by the state in reaction to the rapid economic-political changes and sociocultural diversifications resulting from the country's modernization and globalization processes. This can be observed in the prevalent slogan of Harmonious Society championed by former President Hu Jintao and carried out consistently by President Xi Jinping. The concept of a harmonious society has impacts on the way language and communication and are actually practiced in the public sphere in China, including in its flourishing online environment. Harmony, therefore, is a crucial aspect and driving force of language policy and policing in the context of China.

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