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Essays on Writing and Language in Honor of John DeFrancis on His Eightieth Birthday

edited by
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Table of Contents

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Olov Bertil Anderson
Ivan Aymat
Dayle Barnes
Yung-O Biq
David Bradley
Susan Brennecke
Chauncey C. Chu
Madeline Chu
Alvin P. Cohen
East Asian Studies, Washington
University in St. Louis
Søren Egerod
Eugene Eoyang
Mary S. Erbaugh
Esther Figueroa
Joshua A. Fishman
Stephen Fleming
Feng-fu Tsao
Martin Gimm
Christoph Harbsmeier
C. Y. Ho
Henry M. Hoenigswald &
Gabriele L. Hoenigswald
Vivian Ling Hsu
Robert L. Irick
Betty Jacobsen
Frank A. Kierman, Jr.
Y. C. Li
J. C. P. Liang
Louis S. Mangione
Richard B. Mather
John Marney
Cynthia Y. Ning
Jerry Norman
Alain Peyraube
Angela Jung Palandri
Rulan Chao Pian &
Theodore H. Pian
Gilbert W. Roy
Wayne Schlepp
C. P. Sobelman
Clara S. Y. Sun
R. McMillan Thompson &
Sandra A. Thompson
Hsiao-Min Wang:

For the past ten years John's books have been an indispensable part of my language program. I have been able to design a computer program based on the clear and systematic grammar content, Chinese characters, and supplementary materials of John's Beginning Chinese Textbook. I am always on the look out for more supplementary materials from John.

John, God bless you for the invaluable work you are doing!

Jing Wang

With special thanks to Ivan Aymat, Louis S. Mangione, Feng-fu Tsao, Chauncey Chu, Hsiao-Min Wang, Henry & Gabriele Hoenigswald, Rulan Chao & Theodore Pian, Eugene Eoyang, John Marney, Gilbert Roy, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., East Asian Studies (Washington University in Saint Louis), C. Y. Ho, C. P. Sobelman, Cynthia Y. Ning, Alain Peyraube, Sandra A. & R. McMillan Thompson, Olov Bertil Anderson, Vivian Hsu, Yung-O Biq, Angela Jung Palandri, Clara S. Y. Sun, Susan Brennecke, and Stephen Fleming.

And a big debt of gratitude to John S. Rohsenow.

Introduction

Victor H. Mair
University of Pennsylvania

The honoree of this volume may be chronologically eighty years old, but he is decidedly a young man at heart. A number of associates in China and in the United States are currently involved in a strenuous effort to compile the first general-purpose, Chinese-English dictionary arranged strictly according to a single alphabetical sequence of whole words. None of us is more energetic or enthusiastic than John DeFrancis. When our ABC dictionary becomes a reality in a couple of years, no one will have been more responsible for its conceptualization and execution than John. And if any proof is needed for that statement, I have a stack of memos from him in my office to show how amazing are his attention for detail and ability to think through problems clearly.

But it is not just the ABC dictionary that reveals John to be a man of enormous vision and productivity. These characteristics have been evident in his life and work for over half a century. It is hard to imagine that John published his first book over forty years ago and just as difficult to conceive of a man his age continuing to write equally eloquent and important works up to the present moment.

I do not need to name John's numerous books and articles one by one -- the partial bibliography of his works that follows this introduction will suffice to give a sense of their wide range and great significance. What has always impressed me about all of John's writing, since long before I ever had the good fortune to meet him personally, is his keen perceptivity. John has an almost incredible talent for cutting through obfuscation and seeing what the crux of any given matter may be. This penetrating insight enables John to define issues clearly, to analyze them incisively, and to present his solutions lucidly. Furthermore, John's well-organized mind permits him to achieve feats of practical scholarship that can only be dreamed of by the common mortal. On top of all these other stellar qualities, John is possessed of nearly superhuman industriousness and efficiency. Let me put it bluntly: if the necessary facts are out there somewhere, John will be able to dig them up -- even from the middle of the Pacific Ocean! -- and put them to good use.

So John is a superb scholar with many excellent works to his credit. Yet there is another ingredient, or pair of ingredients, that sets John DeFrancis apart from all the other fine scholars whom I have encountered -- that is his passion and his compassion. John cares. Whatever John does is because he wants to help improve things. His classic *Nationalism and Language Reform in China* was dedicated to Old Wang. If we turn to p. 143 of the same book, we can find out who Old Wang was:

> Known as Old Wang. Age thirty-five. Totally illiterate. Occupation: peasant. Lives in a tiny village four and a half miles northeast of Peking. Married to the daughter of a peasant from a near-by village. Has three children ranging in age from four to nine. Wife and children likewise illiterate.

People like Old Wang really matter to John. It is to all the Old Wangs of the world that John devoted his whole life, and that is why his achievements have such profound meaning.

John's entire being is consumed with the noble impulse to make existence easier for everyone. Although I do not wish to breach confidentiality, I have witnessed John's extraordinary generosity on numerous occasions. Here is a man who seems to find deep satisfaction in joyful self-sacrifice for the greater good. It is an inspiration just to know him.

Because John DeFrancis is who he is and so many people have been touched by him, editing this volume was no chore at all. Such an outpouring of cooperation is rare in academia. I only learned in December of 1990 that John's eightieth birthday would be on August 31, 1991. By late January, letters went out to friends and colleagues around the world inviting them to participate in this *Schriftfestschrift*. When I sent them out, I was dubious that anyone would be able to respond positively on such short notice. I was wrong, of course, and the rich collection of essays which follows reveals unmistakably what a high regard the sinological and linguistic communities have for John. In fact, so many colleagues offered to submit papers that I regretfully had to decline several fine, longer pieces for reasons of space limitations.

The *Tabula Gratulatoria* is a good indication of the high esteem in which John is held. In spite of the fact that my circular concerning this volume was both late and restricted in size, almost everyone to whom I wrote asked to have their name listed. And many contributed gifts of varying size toward the cost of publication. I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to thank publicly all those who have helped to bring this volume to reality. I hope that no one's name has been inadvertently omitted from the list and regret that I was unable to make the existence of this project known to a wider circle beforehand, for I am sure that many more people would have gladly signed the list had they known about it.

Finally, I wish to apologize both to the readers of *Schriftfestschrift* and to its authors for the less than perfect appearance of the volume. John deserves only the very best, but the short amount of time available for compilation and editing would not permit a more deliberate approach. At least we can rest secure in the knowledge that the essays in this book are of suitable quality as celebratory offerings for someone of John's stature. Above all, what matters most is the thought behind this book and the individual essays that go to make it up. Consequently, I am delighted on behalf of the authors, on behalf of those who signed the *Tabula Gratulatoria*, and on behalf of everyone else who wishes John well on this happy occasion, to dedicate our *Schriftfestschrift* to him with utmost respect and admiration. Congratulations on becoming a veritable octogenarian, John, and may we be priviliged and blessed to share many more birthdays with you!

Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.
Horace, *Ars Poetica*

Bù shízì yě kànkan zhāopai.
Lǐ Zhǔn, *Dà Hé Bēnliú*

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Numerous book reviews and papers presented at scholary meetings.

Hànzì Bù Tèbié Biǎoyì

Zhāng Lìqīng

Swarthmore College

Dàduōshù huì Hànzì de rén rènwéi Hànzì shì biǎoyì wénzì. Jiù shì shuō Hànzì gēn biéde wénzì bù yíyàng, bùbì yīkào fāyīn huòzhě biéde yǔyán tiáojiàn; yī ge rén zhǐyào xuéhuì le hěn duō Hànzì, kànjiàn Hànzì xiě de dōngxi jiù zhīdào shì shénme yìsi.

Zhè dàduōshù rén yòu kàndào liǎng jiàn shìqing. Dì-yī, Hànzi zài Zhōngguó liánxù yòng le sānqiān duō nián, bìngqiě dào xiànzài hái zài yòng. Dì-èr, Hànzì zài Dōng-Yà jǐ ge guójiā liúchuán le hěn cháng yī duàn shíjiān. Yúshì, tāmen yòu tuīxiǎng chū liǎng ge jiélùn. Yī ge shuō Hànzì chāoyuè shíjiān; lìngwài yī ge shuō Hànzì chāoyuè kōngjiān. Guībìng qǐlái jiù shì Hànzì biǎoyì, kěyǐ chāoyuè shí-kōng. Zuìhòu gèng jìnyībù, bǎ Hànyǔ yě lājìnlái, shuō Hànzì zuì shìhé Hànyǔ.

Shàngmiàn de kànfǎ hé jiélùn "gēn shēn dì gù", dànshì bùxìng dōu hěn piànmiàn, bù fúhé zhēnzhèng qíngkuàng. Wèishénme ne? Hěn jiǎndān. Rènhé wénzì dōu biǎoyì, yě dōu néng chāoyuè shíjiān hé kōngjiān. Hànzì bù tèbié biǎoyì, yě bù tèbié chāoyuè shíjiān hé kōngjiān. <<Èrshíyī Shìjì>> shì Xiānggǎng chūbǎn de yī fènr fántǐzì zázhì. Zhè fènr zázhì dì-3 qī (1991 nián 2yuè, dì-108 yè) yǒu yī piān cóng wàiwén fānyìguòlái de wénzhāng, jiào "Liúlí [流離] de Jìyì Nǚshén hé Yóutài Rén de Mínzú Jìyì -- Lùn Zhōngguó Rén hé Yóutài Rén de Mínzú Jìyì>>. Wénzhāng jǔchūlai yī ge gǔlǎo de Xībólái cír , *zachor*. *Zachor* suīrán gēn Hànzì wánquán bùtóng, què néng biǎoshì hǎo jǐ ge yìyì:

> Xībóláiwén de *zachor*, jí "jìyì" zhè ge cír, zài Shèngjīng zhōng yízài chūxiàn. Tā jiānyǒu "jìniàn biāozhì"; "jìpǐn"; "jìlù"; "jìniàn"; "míngjì" děng duōchóng hányì. *Zachor* tóngshí shèjí nèixīn jīnglì hé wàijiè shìqing,...

Wèishénme Hànzì néng zài Zhōngguó liánxù yòng le sānqián duō nián, bìngqiě xiànzài hái zài yòng? Zhè gēn Zhōngguó de zhèngzhì sīxiǎng, zhèngzhì jiégòu, shèhuì, jīngjì, 1905 nián yǐqián yòng kǎo Wényánwén de jīngshū hé shīcí lái xuǎnbá guānyuán děngděng yǒu guānxi. Hànzì fēicháng shìhé Wényánwén, shùliàng duō, xíngtǐ fánsuǒ fùzá, xuéqǐlái yòngqǐlái dōu hàofèi shíjiān. Zhè xǔduō tèdiǎn ràng zhīshì hěn nán fāzhǎn chuánbō, què hěn róngyì lǒngduàn. Wǒmen kěyǐ shuō, Hànzì bǐjiào néng bāngzhù péiyǎng mǎnfù Jīng Shǐ Zǐ Jí, quēshǎo shíjiān sīkǎo de chuántǒng xuézhě, yě néng bāngzhù péiyǎng sīxiǎng dānchún, quēshǎo zhīshì de guómín. Zhè duì wéihù chuántǒng wénhuà hé shèhuì wěndìng hěn yǒu gòngxiàn. Jiù xiàng yìzhídào liù-qīshí nián yǐqián, Zhōngguó nǚrén yīnwèi zhèngzhì, jīngjì, hé shèhuì yuányīn, bāo le zhìshǎo yīqiān nián xiǎojiǎo yíyàng, Hànzì yě yīnwèi zhèngzhì, jīngjì, hé shèhuì yuányīn, zài Zhōngguó liánxù yòng le sānqián duō nián. Zhōngguó nǚrén bāo xiǎojiǎo shì yī ge lìshǐ xiànxiàng. Hànzì zài Zhōngguó yòng le sānqián duō nián yě shì yī ge lìshǐ xiànxiàng. Wǒmen bù néng yīnwèi Zhōngguó nǚrén bāo le yīqiān duō nián xiǎojiǎo, jiù duàndìng xiǎojiǎo yōuyuè, zuì shìhé Zhōngguó nǚrén. Tóngyàng, wǒmen yě bù néng yīnwèi Hànzì zài Zhōngguo yòng le sānqián duō nián, jiù shuō Hànzì tèbié biǎoyì, zuì shìihé Hànyǔ. Hànzì yěxǔ gēn Zhōngguó de chuántǒng hé lìshǐ xiāngyī wéi mìng, hùxiāng yǐngxiǎng, dànshì lìshǐ xiànxiàng hé shìwù de běnzhì shì yǒu qūbié de. Yào zhīdào shìwù de běnzhì, děi cóng shìwù běnshēn guānchá, yào zhīdào Hànzì shìfǒu tèbié biǎoyì, yě bìxū cóng Hànzì běnshēn zhuóyǎn.

Wǒ bù shì xuézhě, bù néng yǐnjīng jùdiǎn. Dànshì wǒ yǒu cóng zìjǐ shēnghuó lǐ délái de wǔ ge zhēnshí lìzi, dōu biǎomíng Hànzì bìng bù tèbié biǎoyì.

Di-1 ge lìzi. Wǒ liù suì kāishǐ xuéxí Hànzì, chūzhōng jiù jiēchù Wényánwén, 1960 dào 1969 nián yě zài dàxué hé yánjiūsuǒ niàn le jiǔ nián Zhōngguó wénxué. Wǒ chángcháng kàn Zhōngwén shū bào zázhì. Wǒ suīrán méi yǒu xuéwèn, yuèdú Hànzì de jīngyàn kěyǐ shuō shì hěn fēngfù de. Dànshì yùdào méi xuéguò huòzhě bù shúxī de Hànzì, bǐrú "[illegible]" děngděng, wǒ jiù zěnme kàn yě kànbùdǒng. Bùdàn gèbié shēngpì Hànzì yǒu zhè zhǒng qíngkuàng, yǒushíhou lián yòng shúxī Hànzì xiě de cír, piànyǔ, shènzhìyú jùzi yě yǒu wèntí. Bǐrú <<Dì-yī Jiātíng>> (1989 nián 5yuè, dì-195 yè) "[illegible]" lǐ de "[illegible]"?

(háishì " 蠻燈 "? Bù zhīdào zěnme fēncí.); <<Yuǎnjiàn Zázhì>> (1990 nián 11yuè, dì-92 yè) lǐ de " 中文系統介面 "; <<Èrshíyī Shìjì>> Dì-3 Qī, "Liúlí de Jìyì Nǚshén" (1991 nián 2yuè, dì-107 yè) kāitóu yīnyòng de yī duàn wénzì:

> 中國歷史值得研究，因爲我們用以理解西方的言談架構，同樣可以用之於中國。這樣子理解歷史，也許也就可以這樣子安頓世界。
>
> ——利文生

Suīrán wǒ huì xiě shàngmiàn de měi yī ge Hànzì, yě chá le zìdiǎn huòzhě cídiǎn, dànshì duì zhèxiē cíjù háishì bù tài liǎorán. Rúguǒ Hànzì shì tèbié biǎoyì de, jíbiàn wǒ méi yǒu yuèdú Hànzì de fēngfù jīngyàn, wǒ yě yīnggāi cóng shàngmiàn zhèxiē Hànzì běnshēn dédào bāngzhù, hěn kuài de jiějué wèntí.

Di-2 ge lìzi. 1988 nián wǒ zài Měiguó Bryn Mawr Dàxué jiāo Hànyuè. 9yue zhōngxún de yī tiān, yī ge Dōngfāng xuésheng lái zhǎo wǒ, yào wǒ gěi tā kāi yī zhāng Zhōngwén chéngdù zhèngmíng. Wǒ tīngjiàn tā shuō yào Zhōngwén zhèngmíng, jiù hěn zìrán de yòng Hànyǔ duì tā shuō, "Nǐ hǎo! Nǐ jiào shénme míngzi?" Tā liǎng zhī yǎnjīng zhēng de hěn dà, mǎn liǎn míhuo jīngqí. Wǒ děngdài le yīhuìr (=yìhuǐr), chóngfù shuō, "Nǐ hǎo! Nǐ jiào shénme míngzi?" Tā háishi hěn jīngqí de dèngzhe wǒ. Yúshì wǒ jiù yòng Yīngwén wèn tā shì zài nǎr xué de Hànyǔ. Tā shuō tā xiàtiān zài Cháoxiān Hànchéng yī suǒ dàxué de shǔqī xuéxiào xué le yī ge xiàtiān de Hànzì; shuōzhe jiù bǎ nà ge shǔqī xuéxiào de zīliào dìgěi wǒ.

Wǒ kàn le zīliào, yòu wèn le tā yìxiē wèntí, fāxiàn tā shì yòng xiàndài Cháoxiānyǔ xué de Hànzì. Wǒ jiù gàosù tā bù néng gěi tā kāi zhèngmíng. Tā yǒudiǎn qìfèn, wèn wǒ wèishénme. Wǒmen yǒu zhèyàng de duìhuà :

"Wǒ xué le yī ge xiàtiān de Hànzì, yǒu chéngjīdān. Wèishénme nǐ bù néng gěi wǒ kāi zhèngmíng?"
"Yīnwèi wǒ bù dǒng Cháoxiānyǔ. Wǒ méi fǎzi cèyàn nǐ de chéngdù. Nǐ yīnggāi qǐng yī wèi Cháoxiānyǔ jiàoshòu gěi nǐ kāi zhèngmíng."
"Bryn Mawr méi yǒu Cháoxiānyǔ kè, bìngqiě Hànzì bù dōu yíyàng ma?"
"Nǐ shuō de hěn duì, Hànzì dàtǐ shàng shì yíyàng de, dànshì nǐ yòng Hànzì xuéxí Cháoxiānyǔ, yòng Hànzì yuèdú xiězuò Cháoxiānyǔ. wénzhāng; wǒ

yòng Hànzì xuéxí Hànyǔ, yòng Hànzì yuèdú xiězuò Hànyǔ wénzhāng. Cháoxiānyǔ de fāyīn, shēngcí, yǔfǎ děngděng dōu gēn Hànyǔ de bù yíyàng. Wǒ bù néng yòng wǒ de Zhōngguó yǔwén lái pànduàn nǐ de Cháoxiānwén huòzhě Zhōngwén, duì buduì?"

"Wǒ zhǐ yào nǐ pànduàn wǒ de Hànzì chéngdù ya! Nǐ bù yě chéngrèn Hànzì dàtǐ shàng yíyàng ma?"

Wǒ shuōbùchū huà lái le. Xiǎng le xiǎng, yòu duì tā shuō, "Ràng wǒ yòng Rìběn rén zuò lìzi. Nǐ zhīdào hěn duō Rìběn rén de Hànzì shuǐpíng hěn gāo. Nǐ xiǎng tāmen néng qǐng yī wèi huì Hànzì, dànshì bù huì Rìyǔ de Cháoxiānyǔ lǎoshī pànduàn tāmen de Cháoxiānwén huòzhě Rìwén ma? Wǒ bù huì Rìyǔ. Rúguǒ zhèxiē Rìběn rén yě bù huì Hànyǔ, nǐ xiǎng wǒ néng zhèngmíng zhèxiē Rìběn rén de Zhōngwén huòzhě Rìwén zěnmeyàng ma?"

Zuìhòu zhè wèi tóngxué bìng bù shífēn qíngyuàn de jiēshòu le wǒ de jiànyì: Dào yǒu Cháoxiānyǔ kè, zuòluò zài Fèichéng shìqū de Bīnzhōu Dàxué qù, qǐng yī wèi jiāo Cháoxiānyǔ de jiàoshòu gěi tā kāi zhèngmíng.

Wǒ zhīdào wǒ méiyǒu shuìfú nà wèi tóngxué. Wǒ zhǐ jǔ le lìzi, méiyou tíchū hěn hǎo de lǐyóu. Liǎng nián duō lái, wǒ chángcháng zuómo zhè ge wèntí, zhōngyú huǎngrán dà wù.

Yī ge Hànzì zhǐ shì yí ge dāngèr fúhào. Xiàng biéde dāngèr fúhào (bāokuò gùdìng de bǐshǒushì) yíyàng, yī ge Hànzì zài mǒu zhǒng qíngkuàng xià, zhǐ biǎoshì yī ge yǒuxiàn de yuánshǐ yìyì. Rúguǒ zhè zhǒng fúhào de shùliàng bù guòfèn pángdà, xuéqǐlái bìng bù nàme kùnnán. Měiguó zhùmíng de dà(hēi)xīngxing Kěkě jiù zhǎngwò le wǔbǎi duō ge bǐshǒushì de fúhào, yònglái xiàng tā de xùnliàn rényuán biǎodá tā de yuànwàng hé gǎnjué. Kěkě xué de bù shì Hànzì, dànshì Kěkě zhǎngwò de fúhào, zài jiāoliú jiǎndān de yuánshǐ yìsì shàng, zuòyòng gēn xiāngduì de wǔbǎi duō ge dāngèr Hànzì què hěn lèisì.

Yīnwèi měi yī ge dāngèr fúhào biǎodá de yìyì hěn yǒuxiàn, hěn yuánshǐ, jiù bìxù jièzhù biéde tiáojiàn cái néng chuándá bǐjiào fùzá de nèiróng. Zài yìngyòng wénzì fāngmiàn, wǒmen bìxū yòng wǒmen shúxī de yǔyán bǎ dāngèr wénzì fúhào zǔzhī qǐlái, páilièchéng cíhuì, jùzi, hé piānzhāng. Jíbiàn shì xiàng Hànzì

zhèyàng lìshǐ yōujiǔ de fúhào yě bìxū yīkào yī zhǒng yǔyán, cái néng bǎituō dāngèr fúhào de jūshù, jìnrù wénzì de lǐngyù. Huàn jù huà shuō, Hànzì bìxū yīkào Hànyǔ, Rìyǔ, Cháoxiānyǔ, Yuènányǔ huòzhě gǔdài Hànyǔ (jiù shì Wényánwén) cái néng cóng túténgshì de dāngèr fúhào chǔjìng lǐ zǒuchūlai, chéngwéi jièzhù yǔyán lái biǎodá sīxiǎng gǎnqíng de xiězuò gōngjù.

Liǎng nián duō yǐqián, wǒ zhǐ zhīdào wǒ bù néng gěi nà wèi xué Hànzì de Cháoxiān tóngxué kāi rènhé yǔwén zhèngmíng, dànshì bù zhēnzhèng míngbai dàolǐ. Xiànzài wǒ míngbai le. Wǒ bù néng kāi, yīnwèi wǒ néng yòng de gōngjù zhǐ shì jǐbǎi ge yìyì yuánshǐ de dāngèr Hànzì. Méi yǒu gòngtóng yǔyán, nà wèi tóngxué gēn wǒ jiù xiàng liǎng zhī xuéhuì le jǐbǎi ge Hànzì de dàxīngxing. Wǒmen jiāoliú de shuǐpíng tíngdùn zài yìngyòng dāngèr fúhào de jiēcéng, bù néng jìnxíng zhēnzhèng de yǔwén huódòng. Zài zhè zhǒng qíngkuàng xià, wǒ néng wèi tā zhèngmíng shénme?

Zhè yě shuōmíng, zuòwéi dāngèr fúhào, Hànzì suīrán biǎoyì, què bù tèbié biǎoyì. Zhè zhǒng biǎoyì de gōngjù bùyídìng fēi shì Hànzì bù kě. Rúguǒ dāngchū wǒ hé nà wèi Cháoxiān tóngxué yìqǐ xuéhuì le Kěkě zhǎngwò de 500 duō ge fúhào, wǒmen zhàoyàng kěyǐ jìnxíng yuánshǐ yìyì de jiāoliú, bìngqiě hái kěyǐ gēn Kěkě jiāoliú ne!.

Zǒngjiéqǐlái shuō, rúguǒ méi yǒu yǔyán zuò jīchǔ, gèbié Hànzì jiù zhǐ shì yī duī biǎodá yuánshǐ yìyì de dāngèr fúhào. Sānqiān duō nián yǐqián, dāngèr Hànzì lǐ yǒu shǎoshù shì xiàngxíngzì, fúhào běnshēn huòxǔ hái kěyǐ zhíjiē tígōng yìdiǎn móhú de yìsi, kěshì zhèyàng de Hànzì jīntiān yǐjīng bù cúnzài le. Jǐwàn ge xiàndài Hànzì de xíngzhuàng, fāyīn, jīběn yìsi děngděng, dōu **bìxū** tōngguò qiánghuà xùnliàn, yòng **sījì** de bànfǎ, yī ge yī ge de bèihāo. Dāngèr Hànzì běnshēn de bù tèbié biǎoyì shì míng bǎizhe de.

Dì-3 ge lìzi yě fāshēng zài Bryn Mawr Dàxué, yě shì 1988 nián de qiūtiān. Bryn Mawr Dàxué Zhōngwén Yī-niánjí yòng de shū shì <<Jīchǔ Hànyǔ Kèběn>>. Zhè běn shū cóng dì-yī kè jiù jièshào Hànzì, dànshì tóu 10 kè de kèwén dōu shì yòng Pīnyīn xiě de. Bān shàng yígòng 26 ge xúesheng, qízhōng sān wèi shì pángtīng de jiàoshòu, liǎng wèi nǚ de, yī wèi nán de. Yī wèi nǚ jiàoshòu dàyuē

sānshí jǐ suì, jiāo Fǎwén. Lìngwài yī wèi nǚ jiàoshòu kànqǐlái sì-wǔshí, tā hé nà wèi liùshí duō de nán jiàoshòu shì fūfù; liǎng ge rén dōu jiāo zhéxué.

Yīnwèi niánlíng hé chéngnián rén yǒu gè zhǒng shìwù chánshēn, sān wèi jiàoshòu xuéqǐlái bǐ shíbā-jiǔ suì de xuésheng xīnkǔ. Dànshì tāmen lǐjiělì gāo, yě fēicháng yǒujuéxīn, fēicháng nǔlì, suǒyǐ qǐtóu dōu xuéxí de hěn hǎo. Liǎng wèi nǚ jiàoshòu tèbié chūsè, chúle Hànzì xiě de hěn gōngzhěng, yǔfǎ hé fāyīn yě bǐ bān shàng dàduōshù de xuésheng hǎo. Tāmen tīngxiě Pīnyīn jùzi bùdàn hěn kuài, yě hěn zhǔnquè, jīhū méi yǒu cuòwù.

Shàng dì-11 kè yǐqián, sān wèi jiàoshòu dōu gēn xuésheng yíyàng de liànxí chāoxiě Hànzì, mòxiě Hànzì, kàn jiǎndān de Hànzì jùzi. Tāmen dōu rèài Hànzì, xué Hànzì xué de hěn qǐjìnr.

Cóng dì-11 kè qǐ, kèwén quánbù gǎichéng Hànzì. Nà tiān shàngkè de shíhòu, sì-wǔshí suì de nǚ jiàoshòu hūrán biǎoxiàn de hěn fǎncháng. Tā bù zài zhuānxīn. Suízhe kèchéng de jìnxíng, tā de liǎnsè yuèlái yuè nánkàn, zuìhòu gāncuì dīzhe tóu bù kēngshēngr, lùchū yànwù shàngkè de yàngzi. Wǒ hěn nánguò, xīnli xiǎng: Wǒ shuōcuò shénme huà le ma? Tā duì wǒ jīntiān de jiàoxuéfǎ yǒu yìjiàn, shīqù xuéxí de xìngqù? Tā jiā lǐ fāshēng le shénme shìqíng ma? Kěshì tā de zhuàngfu bìng méi yǒu shénme yìyàng a.

Xià le kè, wǒ zuìhòu zǒuchū jiàoshì, kànjiàn sān wèi jiàoshòu hái méiyou líkāi, dōu zhàn zài lóutī zhuǎnjiǎo de dìfang. Nà wèi sì-wǔshí de jiàoshòu réngrán dīzhe tóu, lìngwài liǎng wèi zhèngzài ānwèi ta. Wǒ zǒuguòqu, wèn tāmen dàodǐ fāshēng le shénme shìqing. Sì-wǔshí de nǚ jiàoshòu táiqǐ tóu lái shuō, "Wǒ xiǎng jīntiān shì wǒ zuìhòu de yī jié Hànyǔ kè. Wǒ yǐhòu bù shàng le." Tā yǎn lǐ jīngrán yǒu lèihuā. Wǒ hěn jīngyà, gǎndào hěn kěxī, yě hěn bù shì zīwèi. Wǒ wèn tā wèishénme hūrán juédìng bù xuéxí le. Tā hěn shāngxīn de shuō, "Bù shì wǒ bù yào xué, shì wǒ tài bèn! Wǒ chàbùduō shénme dōu bù huì niàn! Wǒ zěnme néng xuéxiàqù!" Wǒ gèng jīngyà le, yíqiè wánquán chūyú wǒ de liàoxiǎng zhīwài. Tóu yī tiān tā hái xué de hǎohāor de, zěnme yíxiàzi biànde chàbùduō shénme dōu bù huì niàn, bù néng jìxù xiàqu! Zuì zāogāo de shì, tā jīngrán juéde zìjǐ "tài bèn"!

Zǐxì yī wèn, cái zhīdào shì kèwén hūrán biànchéng le Hànzì, tā gēnbùshàng tàngr le. Wǒ xiǎng le yīhuìr, jiù duì tā shuō, "Bù shì nǐ bèn, shì nǐ mùqián duì Hànzì bù gòu shúxī. Rúguǒ wǒ bǎ dì-11 kè yòng Pīnyīn xiěchūlai, nǐ huì niàn de bǐ jīntiān bān shàng de tóngxué niàn de gèng hǎo. Wèntí shì zhèyàng de: Rúguǒ wǒmen yāoqiú de shì liǎojiě nèiróng, nǐ bù bǐ rènhé xuésheng chà, yīnwèi nǐ kěyǐ yòng Pīnyīn hěn kuài de kàndǒng tóngyàng de cáiliào; dànshì rúguǒ wǒmen yāoqiú de shì kàn Hànzì, nǐ jiù yīnwèi mùqián duì zhè tào fúhào bù shúxī ér lián běnlái huì de jùzi yě niàn bùchūlái, kànbùdǒng le. Xuéxí Hànzì xūyào hěn duō shíjiān, gēn cōngming bù cōngming méi yǒu zhíjiē de guānxi." Zuìhòu tā juédìng jìxù xuéxí.

Zhè wèi nǚ jiàoshòu jiānjué miànduì Hànzì de tiǎozhàn, yīhòu bǎ dàbùfèn shíjiān huā zài Hànzì shàng. Kěshì xuénián mòliǎo de shíhòu, tā de yǔfǎ, tīnglì, huìhuà hé yuèdú nénglì dōu luòhòu le, Hànzì yě méiyou xuéhǎo. Nà wèi Fǎwén jiàoshòu hěn zǎo jiù fàngqì Hànzì, yìzhí yòng Pīnyīn; yǔwén fāngmiàn, tā yìzhí zài bān shàng lǐngxiān. Nà wèi nán jiàoashòu xuéguò Hànzì hé Wényánwén; bùxìng dédào de gānrǎo què bǐ bāngzhù duō, zhìhòu de chéngjī yě bù tài hǎo.

Mùqián zài Zhōngguó bù huì Hànzì jiù shì wénmáng. Dànshì cóng sān wèi jiàoshòu xuéxí Hànyǔ de jiéguǒ kàn, Hànzì bìng bù tèbié biǎoyì. Yòng Hànzì xuéxí Hànyǔ de liǎng wèi jiàoshòu, zuìhòu néng zhǎngwò de Zhōngwén nèiróng fǎn'ér shǎo.

Dì-4 ge lìzi. 1989 nián, yīnwèi jiànkāng de yuángù, yě zhènghǎo yǒu jīhuì, wǒ zhuǎndào zài wǒ jiā fùjìn de Swarthmore Dàxué jiāo Hànyǔ. 1990 nián chūntiān, wǒ zuò le yī ge xiǎo shìyàn. Wǒ qǐng Swarthmore hé fùjìn jǐ ge dàxué Zhōngwén yī-niánjí dào sì-niánjí de tóngxué bǎ shí ge Zhōngwén jùzi fānyìchéng Yīngwén. Zhèxiē jùzi yǒude shì wǒ xiě de, yǒude shì cóng shū shàng zhǎolái de. Yǒu wǔ ge Hànzì jùzi, wǔ ge Pīnyīn jùzi. Hànzì hé yǔfǎ duōbàn shì yī-niánjí xuéguò de. Hànzì jùzi de dì-sì ge yǒu Guǎngdōnghuà yǔfǎ, dì-wǔ ge dàbùfen shì Wényánwén. Dá'ànjuàn bù jìmíng, dànshì yào zhǐchū shì Zhōngwén jǐ-niánjí.

Xiàmiàn shì yī ge yī-niánjí hé yī ge èr-niánjí tóngxué de fānyì (wǒ méiyou jiā

rènhé gǎidòng) :

1. 丁力是在越南長大的。

Yī-niánjí: Dīng Lì is a stubborn and big.

Èr-niánjí: Ding Li really grew up.

2. 雖然愛德華華盛頓說中國話說得流利極了，可是他寫漢字寫得不太好。

Yī-niánjí: He speaks Chinese---duìshì he writes Chinese characters not too well.

Èr-niánjí: Although....spoke Chinese extremely well, he did not write Chinese characters very well.

3. 甚麼！全活ㄦ五元！真是越來越貴了！

Yī-niánjí: What!....wǔyuán (six kilometers?)

Èr-niánjí: What!....5 dollars! This is really expensive.

4. 這個孩子一天懂事過一天。

Yī-niánjí: This sentence

Èr-niánjí: This child has understood one day. (I don't understand the .... construction

5. 漁人說，"不足爲外人道也。"

Yī-niánjí: Person said, "don't---------.

Èr-niánjí: person said, "....outside people know also?

1. Tā de dìdi jiào Àidéhuá. Àidéhuá jīnnián shíliù suì; tā yī tiān bǐ yī tiān dǒngshì le.

Yī-niánjí: His brother's name is Àidéhuá. This year he is sixteen years old. He will understand things more as he grows up."

Èr-niánjí: His younger brother is called Aidehua. Aidehua is sixteen this year; he understands more each day.

2. Suīrán Ān Dōngfāng zhǐ xué le jiǔ ge yùe [de] Déwén, kěshì tā shuō Déwén shuō de fēicháng liúlì.

Yī-niánjí: Although Ann Dongfang studies only 9 month of German, she could speak German extremely well.

Èr-niánjí: Although An Dongfang only studied German for nine months, he speaks German extraordinarily well.

3. Yīnwèi xiànzài xuéqī kuàiyào jiéshù le, wǒmen děi xiě hěn duō bàogào, kàn hěn duō shū, suǒyǐ wǒmen xiànzài búdàn dōu fēicháng máng, érqiě yě dōu fēicháng lèi.

Yī-niánjí: Because now we almost finish school, we must write many term papers, read many books. That is why we are extremely busy and tired.

Èr-niánjí: Because now the semester is coming to an end, we must write many papers, must read many books, therefore we all now are extradinarily busy though also all are extraordinarily tired.

4. Zhōngguó chū le yī ge Qín Shǐhuáng.

Yī-niánjí: There is one person name Qinshihuang in China.

Èr-niánjí: From China is a Qín Shǐhuáng.

5. Nǐ zhēnde shénme dōu bù yào ma?

Yī-niánjí: You really don't want all these things?

Èr-niánjí: You really do not want anything?

Zhè ge shìyàn fēicháng jiǎnlòu. Bùguò kěyǐ shāowēi ràng wǒmen kànchūlai: suīrán Hànzì duōbàn shì yī-niánjí xuésheng xuéguò de, dànshi rúguǒ xuésheng duì yǔyán de zhǎngwò bù gòu, jíbiàn shì èr-niánjí de xuéshēng, yě hěn nán cóng Hànzì dédaò bāngzhù. Tèbié shì nà jù Wényánwén, Hànzì jīhū dōu shì yī-niánjí huì xiě de, dànshì cóng yī-niánjí dào sì-niánjí de xuésheng, dōu fānyì de luànqi bāzāo. Wèishénme ne? Yīnwèi tāmen dōu méi yǒu Wényánwén de yǔyán bèijǐng. Zhè biǎoshì Hànzì gēn biéde wénzì yíyàng, biǎoyì de gōngnéng jiànlì zài yǔyán de jīchǔ shàng. Wǒ gèrén juéde xuéxí shǎoliàng de Hànzì yǒu hǎochù, dànshì Hànzì shízài shì Hànxuéjiā de wénzì, bù shìhé yìbān xuésheng, yě bù shìhé yìbān Zhōngguó rén.

1989 nián xiàtiān, yī wèi Rìběn xiǎojiě wèile xué Yīngwén, dào wǒmen jiā lái zhù le yī ge yuè. Tā shì Rìběn Sendai xiàn rén, zài dāngdì yī suǒ yīnyuè xuéyuàn niàn sān-niánjí, zhuāngōng gāngqín. Tā huì hěn duō Hànzì, zì yě xiě de fēicháng qīngxiù. Wǒmen yī jiā rén chángcháng gēn tā yìqǐ tán tā jiā lǐ de rén; Rìběn, Zhōngguó, hé Měiguó de xuéxiào, shēnghuó xíguàn, wénxué, lìshǐ, yǔyán wénzì shénmede.

Yī tiān chīguò wǔfàn, wǒmen tánqǐ Zhōngwén hé Rìwén de wàiláiyǔ yījí Rìběn rén zěnme yòng Hànzì děngděng. Nà shíhou zhuōzi shàng bǎizhe yī běn zázhì, yǒu piān wénzhāng de biāotí shì " 粉碎血腥鎮壓 ". Wǒ wèn tā kàndedǒng kànbudǒng. Tā chényín le yīhuìr, wēixiàozhe shuō, "Dàyì wǒ kàndedǒng." Wǒ hěn xiǎng zhīdào tā dàodǐ néng kàndǒng duōshǎo, jiù qǐng tā shìyishì bǎ nà ge biāotí fānyìchéng Yīngwén. Tā fānyìchūlai de shì "Powder break (or broken) blood (sorry, I don't know this one [腥]) town pressure". Fānyìwán le, tā piānzhe tóu, wēixiàozhe shuō, "En--I don't know, what does this really mean?"

Zhè wèi Rìběn xiǎojiě de fānyì zài yī cì zhèngmíng: Jíbiàn shì Hànzì, yě bìxū yīkào yǔyán, cái néng chuándá bǐjiào zhèngquè de yìsi.

Hànzì zài Zhōngguó yòng le sānqiān duō nián, yě zài Dōng-Yà jǐ ge guójiā liúchuán le hěn cháng yī duàn shíjiān. Cóng Hànzì fāzhǎn chūlái de shìdàifu wénhuà hěn shēnhòu. Hànzì néng ānfǔ Zhōngguó rén de gǎnqíng. Hànzì shūfǎ gèng shì yī zhǒng dútè de yìshù. Zhè dōu shì bùzhēng de shìshí. Dàn zhè yíqiè dōu bù néng zhèngmíng Hànzì běnshēn tèbié biǎoyì, gèng bù néng zhèngmíng Hànzì zuì shìhé xiàndài Hànyǔ.

Hànzì shùliàng pángdà, biǎoyīn biǎoyì xìtǒng bùdàn fùzá, érqiě hùnluàn. Zhè tào wénzì ràng Hànxuéjiā gǎndào qùwèi wúqióng (yīnwèi hěn shénmì shēn'ào -- zhè bìng méi yǒu shénme bù hǎo). Kěshì duì yìbān Zhōngguó rén lái shuō, zhè tào wénzì shízài hěn bu yǒushàn. Rúguǒ wǒmen zhēnxīn yuànyì yìbān Zhōngguó rén dōu néng yìngyòng Zhōngguó wénzì, cóngshì xiàndài yǔwén shēnghuó, wǒmen jiù bù néng bù kǎolu bǎ Pīnyīn nálái zuòwéi Zhōngguó de dì-èr zhǒng wénzì.

In commemoration of 80th anniversary of Prof. John DeFrancis

TYPOLOGY OF WRITING SYSTEMS

by Zhou Youguang

Every writing system has its individuality of external appearance and its generality of internal structure. It is easy to see the external appearance and difficult to discern the internal structure. Typology of writing systems is based not on individuality but on generality.

Writing systems are like prisms, each having three phases: I. the phase of symbol form, II. the phase of speech segment and III. the phase of expressing mode.

I. THE PHASE OF SYMBOL FORM

The phase of symbol form has three layers: 1. picture symbols, 2. character symbols and 3. alphabet symbols.

Picture symbols are either transparent and understandable by seeing, or opaque and not understandable by seeing. Picture symbols are not possible of being decomposed into strokes.

Character symbols do not look like any real thing. They can be decomposed into a number of strokes, but the total number of strokes is indefinite.

Alphabet symbols have a small number of units and the number of units is generally definite. Alphabet symbols have three layers: a. syllabic alphabets, b. consonantal alphabets and c. phonemic alphabets.

Picture symbols generally belong to the earliest stage of writings. Character symbols are generally developed from picture symbols. Alphabet symbols are mostly the simplified forms of characters

II. THE PHASE OF SPEECH SEGMENT

The phase of speech segment may have long segments or short segments. Long segments may be thesis segments, paragraph segments or sentence segments, with one integrated symbol chart representing a whole story, a section of a story or a complete sentence. Short segments have three layers: 1. word segments, 2. syllable segments and 3. phoneme segments.

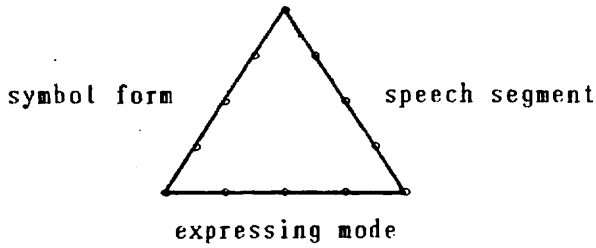
III. THE PHASE OF EXPRESSING MODE

The phase of expressing mode has three layers: 1. picture drawing mode, 2. idea narrating mode and 3. sound denoting mode.

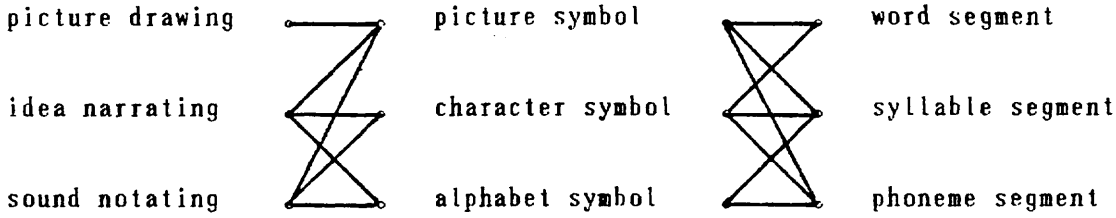
Picture drawing mode requires the reader to understand the writing without previous learning. With this mode, functional words are not possible to be written down, and human speech cannot be recorded in word sequences. Such writings can be read in any human speech with super-speech nature.

Idea narrating mode makes the symbol carrying definite idea arbitrarily and the reader must learn the connection between idea and symbol first. This mode can write functional words and record definite human speech according to word sequences, but still retaining a limited degree of super-speech nature.

Sound notating mode makes arbitrary connection betweem sound and symbol, not between idea and symbol. It has no super-speech nature at all.



The relation of the three phases are not synchronous, but intricated. For instance, picture symbol can be used in picture drawing, idea narrating or sound denoting, to represent a word, a syllable or a phoneme.



From the above explanation, we can get a Table of Typology of Writing Systems according to the three phases classification as follows:

(name in short)	(expressing mode)	(symbol form)	(speech segment)
a. picture writing	picture drawing	picture symbol	word/sentence
ab. picture/idea writing	picture drawing/ idea narrating	picture/ charac. symbol	word/sentence
b. idea writing	idea narrating	charac. symbol	word
bc. idea/sound writing	idea narrating/ sound notating	character/ alphabet	word/syllable
c. phonetic writing	sound notating	alphabet	syllable/phoneme
c1. syllable writ.	sound notating	syllabic alph.	syllable
c2. consonant writ.	sound notating	consonant alph.	syllable/phoneme
c3. phoneme writ.	sound notating	phonemic alph.	phoneme

Like the Periodic Table of Elements, there are vacant positions in the Table of Typology of Writing Systems. The common types are: 1. picture/idea writing, 2. idea/sound writing, 3. syllable writing, 4. consonant writing and 5. phoneme writing. The rest types are rarely seen. Any writing system can find its position in this table.

Now let us try to find the position in the Table of Typology of a few writing systems.

(1) Ojibwa Love Letter (see Page 39, John DeFrancis: Visible Speech)

The meaning of this love letter is translated to be a Chinese poem by the author of this paper as follows:

熊妹问狗哥，狗哥几时闲？
我家三姊妹，妹屋在西边。
推窗见大湖，招手唤孤帆。
小径可通幽，勿误两相欢。

In respect of symbol form, this letter is an integrated picture symbol. In respect of speech segment, it is thesis segment, the longest of long segments. In respect of expressing mode, it is picture-drawing/idea-narrating. It can be named in short as a picture/idea writing. Bear and Mud Puppy are totems with weak function of idea narrating to represent clans. The three road lines have weak function of idea narrating in indicating directions. Three crosses have full function of idea narrating to represent three christians. The hand in the west tent has full function of idea narrating to mean welcome. This letter is a picture with idea expressing to be understood between parties with tacid agreement. Writings of tacid agreement have no social function of communication.

(2) Yukaghir Love Letter (see page 25, John DeFrancis: Visible Speech)

The meaning of this love letter is translated to be a Chinese poem by the author of this paper as follows:

妾独居兮君离去，君离去兮恋彼女。
恋彼女兮终不欢，终不欢兮偏多儿。
偏多儿兮我惨然，我惨然兮心不移。

In respect of symbol form, it is not picture symbol, but symbols with the nature of artificial characters knit together. In respect of speech segment, it is thesis segment, not divided into paragraphs. In respect of expressing mode, there is idea narrating without picture drawing, understandable between tacit agreed parties. Umbrella forms indicate human beings, roof like lines indicate houses, curve lines indicate love thinking, broken lines indicate disappointment, cross lines indicate sorrow, and zig-zag net lines indicate quarrels. This letter is super speech. There is no picture symbol in it, neither there is any sound symbol. It can be named in short as pure idea

writing. Pure idea writing is very rare, often considered as non-existing.

(3) Chinese Writing System.

Chinese writing system is divided into ancient and modern. In ancient Chinese writing, pictographic, ideographic and even phonetic symbols all belong to the category of picture symbols in broader sense, not possible to be decomposed into strokes. Roughly speaking, from the time of Qinshihuang, shell-and-bone style and big and small seal styles were changed to clerk and regular styles. This is a change from picture symbol form to character symbol form. Pre-Qin writings used picture symbols, while post-Qin writings began to use character symbols. In respect to speech segment, Chinese characters mostly represented word segments in classic Chinese for most words were monosyllabic by that time. It is different in modern Chinese, for most words have become polysyllabic, and Chinese characters mostly become syllabic and not logographic. A recent study by the author reveals that among 7000 currently used characters, there are about one third word(free)-characters and two thirds syllable(bound)-characters. So modern Chinese writing is a system of word/syllable script in idea/sound writing. There is neither picture nor alphabet in formal modern Chinese writing. The Chinese alphabet (Sound-Notating Symbol or Pinyin Alphabet) is not a part of formal writing.

(4) Japanese Writing System

Chinese characters were introduced to Japan after they were ripen in changing from picture symbol form to character symbol form. Japanese writing system is divided into two periods: the period of character and the period of character/alphabet, so far as symbol form is concerned. Japan used Chinese classic written speech for about 500 years, and in the later 1000 years tried to write Japanese speech with Chinese characters. This again is divided into two periods. First, Chinese characters were used in their original forms to write Japanese word, root of word and inflexion of word. Chinese characters were originally all monosyllabic symbols. For writing Japanese speech, they were pronounced as polysyllabic symbols. For inflexion of word, they became monosyllabic alphabet symbols called Manyo Gana. Later, Manyu Gana were simplified to be modern kana alphabet of pure syllabic nature. But up to today, the official Japanese writing is a mixed script of characters and kana syllabary, not purely syllabic alphabet. Modern Japanese is word/syllable writing, not pure syllable writing as often called mistakenly by people. In complete term, Japanese writing is of character/alphabetic symbol form, word/syllable speech segment, and idea-narrating/sound-natating expressing mode. In short, it is idea/sound writing.

(5) Korean Writing System

Chinese characters were introduced to Korea earlier than Japan, but also after the big change from Seal Type (picture symbol form) to Clerk Type (character symbol form). After the second world war, the north Koreans use only On-mun alphabet, while the south Koreans still use the mixed script of Chinese characters and On-mun alphabet. The On-mun alphabet is a peculiar alphabet of phoneme symbols arranged into syllabic squires. The alphabet symbols are only forty in number, but the syllabic squires amount to more than 2000. For the North, the writing of today is syllabic/phonemic alphabet that writes word/syllable/phoneme speech segments in sound-notating mode. For the South, it is character/syllabic/phonemic alphabet that writes word/syllable/phoneme speech segments in idea-narrating/sound-notating mode. In short, the North has sound writing, while the South has idea/sound writing. It is an intermidiate stage between idea writing and sound writing.

(6) Amharic Writing System

Amharic writing system is the only pure syllabic writing system used as the official national writing of a state of the present world. It has 247 syllabic symbols derived from 37 consonant symbols with 7 vowel signs attached jointedly. In Japan there is syllabic alphabet but no official syllabic writing. Japanese syllabic symbols are integrated signs impossible of being decomposed into phonemic signs. Amharic syllable symbols can be dissected into consonant and vowel signs though not very regularly. Amharic writing system is, in terms of typology of writing systems: syllabic alphabet symbol form, syllable speech segment, and sound notating expressing mode.

(7) Arabic Writing System

In 1974 Arabic was made the 6th working language of the United Nations. It is the official national writing system of 18 Arabic states and the script adapted to other languages such as Persian, Pashto, Urdu, Sindhi of India and Urghur of China. The present Arabic alphabet of 28 letters consists basically of consonants, the vowel signs being detouchable marks placed above or below the letters. They are generally omitted, though used in elementary school books and the Koran bible. It is a writing system of consonant alphabet symbol form, of syllable/phoneme speech segment, and of sound notating expressing mode.

(8) English Writing System

English writing system is made of phonemic alphabet symbol form, of phoneme speech segment, and of sound notating expressing mode, but neither pure nor regular.

(9) Finnish Writing System

The Finnish alphabet contains 21 letters, 13 consonants and 8 vowels.

There is only one sound for every letter, and one letter for every sound. It is the typical and pure phonemic sound notating writing system, using phonemic alphabet that writes phonemic speech segment. The complexity of Finnish speech must be distinquished from the simplicity and regularity of the Finnish writing system.

Conclusion: In order to save printing space, the examples given here are too few and the explanation too concise. But it shows already that the classification of writing systems can be made more clear with the three phases analyzing method.

1991-03-17

对汉字的几种误解

·尹斌庸·

宋代大诗人苏东坡有两句著名的诗："不见庐山真面目，只缘身在此山中。"这两句诗很适合用来给我们研究汉字的人写照。

我们几乎每天都要与汉字打交道，按理说，对汉字的了解应该是非常透彻的了。然而情况并非如此。实际上，我们被一些关于汉字的片面的、错误的传统看法束缚得太久了，往往对这些"理论"不加分析而深信不疑。 特别是近几年来，在中国冒出了几个自封为"著名的文字学家"的人，把汉字吹捧到了肉麻的程度，使那些本来已经对汉字有了错误理解的人，更加弄得胡里胡涂。

John DeFrancis 教授不是中国人，但是他从世界文字比较的角度出发，站得高，看得远，关于汉字的很多结论，常常比我们客观，比我们高明，真所谓"当局者迷，旁观者清"。大家请仔细读一读他写的 The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy 这本书就会受到很多这方面启发。

下面趁此机会把一般人对汉字最大的六种误解写出来，谈谈我个人的看法，以就教于海内外语文学者。

误解之一：汉字能够直接表意。

把文字分成"表音"和"表意"两类，并且把汉字叫做所谓"表意文字"，这本身就是不科学的分类方法。拼音文字用字母来表示音素，通过音素的组合，表达词的意义。所以拼音文字也是表意的。世界上绝对没有只"表音"而不"表意"的文字，也绝对没有只"表意"而不"表音"的文字。所以这种分类方法不科学。

汉字是不是能够"直接"表意呢？ 所谓直接表意，就是说汉字可以不通过语音，而只通过字形直接把它的意义表达出来。有的人把这个吹得神乎其神，说是汉字的一大"科学性"。但是，你只要认真调查一下就会发现，汉字既不能直接表音，也不能直接表意。它的"音"也好，"意"也好，只有靠老师一个一个教给你。离开了老师（字典也是老师）汉字什么也表不出来。

举个例子吧。比如你看见一个"太"字，如果你不认识，它怎样能够把"意"直接表示出来呢？只有靠老师教给你。老师教给你"太"字的意义，比如说，"太阳"的"太"，"走得太快"的"太"，首先必须教给你"太"字的声音。如果不教给你"太"字的声音，这个"太"字的意义也就根本没有办法讲清楚。如果汉字真的能够"直接"表意，我们大

家一看就懂得它的意义，那么何必要老师来教呢？

有人一定会不服气，说汉字当中至少有一部分字，比如象形字、指事字等等，可以直接表意。那么我就请他找出一个能够直接表意的例子来。比如“一”字，该能够直接表意了吧？ 如果一个文盲，从来没有接触过汉字，你能保证他看见“一”字就一定会理解成数目字 one 的意义，而不理解成“尺子”、“棒槌”、“水平线”之类的意义呢？

误解之二：形声字能使人无师自通。

形声字的造字法在汉字的各种造字法中的确是最好的一种。但是，这只是相对而言，形声字的造字法仍然有很大的局限性。

不少人夸大了形声字的作用，说形声字优越得不得了，几乎可以无师自通。说形声字优越的人尽举一些“蚂”“蝗”这样的例子，可是从不去举“演”“错”“答”这样的例子。由于社会的发展，时代的变迁，形声字当中到底还有多少字的形旁能够准确地表意，声旁能够准确地表音，最好是先作了统计以后再来讲这个问题。据有关专家统计，现代汉字声旁的正确表音率还不到４０%，如果再联系到形旁一起来考虑，形声字正确表音表意的概率还不到３０%。（参看中国社会科学院语言文字应用研究所编《汉字问题学术讨论会论文集》第２５５－２５９页。）

现在退一步说，即使所有形声字的声旁和形旁都能正确地发挥作用，那么需要认识多少个声旁和形旁才能够解决问题呢？ 据有关方面资料统计，要认识大约１３００个声旁和２５０个形旁，才能够认识汉字中绝大部分的形声字。即是说，用大约１５５０个基本符号去解决大约６０００个形声字，１和３．９之比，说不上有多大的“优越性”。

关于形声字，还有一点需要说明。不少人认为，形声字占汉字总数的百分之八十（有人说百分之九十），只要懂得了形声造字的方法，百分之八十的问题都解决了。这个说法有毛病。因为很少有人注意到，形声字虽然多，但是它们并不都常用。而且声旁和形旁两者都准确的字往往恰好不是常用字。覆盖率占40%的最前面的100个字当中， 只有20个左右的字是形声字；覆盖率占 53%的最前面的200个字当中，只有44个字是形声字。讲形声字的优越性的人常常忽略了这一点。

误解之三：汉字可以超方言。

广东人和北京人互相交谈，尽管彼此一句话也听不懂，但是看到汉字大家都懂了。这样给人造成一种错觉，似乎汉字这种文字是超方言的，甚至有人说它是超民族的。情况真的如此吗？ 汉字之所以能够超方言，首先是因为各种方言有了以北方话为基础的民族共同语，有了这个共同语，用汉字写出来，大家才看得懂。比如，用汉字写个“你”字，你能够懂，因为这个代词“你”是共同语。如果用汉字写个“侬”，你就不一定懂，因为这个“侬”是吴方言的代词。因此，汉字能够“超方言”的这种作用不能过分夸大。

当然，文字是可以超方言的，甚至可以超民族语言的。不过，越是能“超”的文字，

对不起，它越是落后的文字。比如我们可以不写 fish， 也不写“鱼”字，而是画一条活蹦乱跳的有眼睛、有鳞、有尾巴的鱼，那么全世界的民族都能够认识这种文字。这岂不是很好？不错，这种图画式的文字早在原始时代就有了，可是很遗憾，它早就被淘汰了。

另外，汉字的这种所谓超方言的“优点”，有一个很大的副作用，就是大大阻碍和延缓了汉民族共同语的迅速形成和普及。因为有了这种“超方言”的汉字，人们就有了一种依赖，反正汉字大家都能够看得懂，说话能不能懂没有多大关系。这种情况，在古代似乎关系不很大，但是到了现代化的今天就越来越行不通了。因为人们需要直接用语言来交流的机会越来越多，“语同音”的重要性越来越显得迫切。一个广东人和一个北京人打长途电话怎么办？ 开一个会议，各人用各人的方言来发表意见行不行？ 如果我们今天还在片面地宣传汉字这种超方言的“科学性”，而不指出它在阻碍和延缓汉民族共同语迅速普及这个方面所起到的消极作用，那么这种宣传可以说是非常有害的。

误解之四：学了几千个汉字，就自然掌握了几十万个词。

汉字作为语素，能组成各种各样的复合词，这没有什么值得大惊小怪的地方。因为世界上的文字几乎都是如此，没有哪一种文字是死记硬背几万或者几十万个单词的。只要深入了解一下某一种文字，就会知道这种文字由词素复合组词的原理和方法。我们不妨以英文为例，congress （大会）这个词是由con （共同）和gress（行走）这两个“字”（词素）组成的，“大家走到一起”就表示“开会”，这和汉字“会”的意义是一样的。 super（超）加上son（声音），再加上－ic（的），就组成了复合词 supersonic（超音速的），和汉字的构词方法很相似。如果我们只看到汉字有复合组词的能力，就把它拿来大吹一通，说这是什么了不起的“科学性”，是不是有点“井蛙”之见？

这里要指出的是，汉字虽然能组成复合词，但并不是某些人所想象的那样，只要学会了几千个汉字，自然而然地就能无师自通地学会所有的复合词。如果真的那样，象《现代汉语词典》这样的工具书还有谁买呢？词典里对每个词条的解释，岂不都成了废话？ 一个人懂得“娘”字的意义，并不一定懂得“娘娘”（皇后）的意义，也并不一定懂得“娘子”（太太）的意义。象这种不能按照字面去解释的复合词还多得很，实在是不胜枚举。如果片面夸大汉字组词的这种“科学性”，很容易把初学者引导到“望文生义”的错误道路上去。

误解之五：平面文字比线性文字好。

有人把汉字叫做平面文字，把拼音文字叫做线性文字，而且一口咬定平面文字比线性文字优越得多。

据说平面文字的最大优点是可以节省篇幅，节省纸张。比如说，同样内容的文本，用汉字印刷的总是比别的拼音文字的文本要薄得多。但是这种能够“节省纸张”的密集式的方块形状，长期阅读会不会损害人们的视力，这个问题却很少有人关心。（日本是使用这种

平面文字的，戴眼镜的人似乎特别多，中国人戴眼镜的比日本少，因为中国人的文盲多，这些人没有福气享受这种平面文字的好处。）

平面文字的根本缺点在于，几千个甚至上万个形状各异的方块结构，不便于机械化、电子化，长期妨碍了中国文字的现代化。人家已经用了一百多年的打字机，而我们只好用手来抄写。人家早就实现了自动化编辑排版，而我们到现在为止，大多数的印刷厂还是靠人工一个字一个字地拣字排版。 我们是最早发明活字印刷术的，那个时候出版事业我们是世界先进，但是现在却成了世界落后。为什么？这就是因为几千上万个方块形状阻碍了文字的机械化和电子化。现在虽然可以用编码的方法把汉字输入电脑，但是这仍然是一种变相的“检字”方法，它只能照稿打字（实际上就是在照稿检字），而不便于直接进行文字创作活动。汉字方块形状给我们节省了一些纸张，可是却浪费了我们大量的时间和精力，算一算，是占了便宜，还是吃了大亏？

误解之六：汉字使中国得到统一，拼音文字会使中国分裂。

有人说，因为中国使用了统一的汉字，所以中国也因此而得到了统一。这是一种似是而非的说法，因为它与中国的历史不符，也与世界的历史不符。秦始皇是先统一了中国，然后才统一了汉字，秦始皇并没有依靠汉字来统一中国。汉朝的时候，汉字早就统一了，然而到了汉朝末年，却分成了魏、蜀、吴三国。唐朝的时候，汉字更统一了，可是在唐朝以后，却出现了五代十国。再从外国来看，瑞士使用着四种不同的文字，加拿大使用着两种不同的文字，这些的国家并没有因此而分裂。相反的例子，英国和美国都使用英文，巴西和葡萄牙都使用葡萄牙文，可是英国和美国、巴西和葡萄牙并没有“统一”起来。一个国家的统一或分裂，主要是历史、社会、政治等原因，文字所起的作用虽然不能说没有，但只能说是微乎其微。如果把文字的作用夸大到不恰当的地步，就违背了历史唯物主义的原则。

有人还故意危言耸听地说什么如果使用拼音文字，中国就会分裂成许多国家。说这种话的人，如果不是幼稚无知的杞人忧天，那就是别有用心的蛊惑煽动。大家都知道，实行拼音文字并不是随便你爱怎么拼就怎么拼，爱怎么写就怎么写，它当然是根据民族共同语的语音和词汇标准来拼写，有严格的正词法规则。拼音文字不但在字形上是统一的，而且在语音上也是统一的，比汉字多了一个“统一”。这样的文字怎么能够会把国家弄得四分五裂呢？ 说这种话的人不是有意蛊惑人心是什么？

THE INFORMATION SOCIETY AND TERMINOLOGY

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1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INFORMATION SOCIETY

1.1 Language Information -- the Basis of the Information Society

There are many kinds of information, of which the most important one is language information. Language is ubiquitous and all-embracing. Any kind of material or any kind of spirit could not be recognized and comprehended without transforming it into language information. What is the so-called information society like? One of the main features lies in the computer processing of language information (storage, retrieval, simulation, transformation and transfer, etc.) with the aim of setting up a modernized language information system, making optimum use of language and making the most of the knowledge involved in it.

1.2 The Increasing Precision and Standardization of Language

In order to meet with the actual needs caused by the scientific and technological revolution, language is getting more and more precise and standard. The efforts of language planners (including ISO) play an important role in this process.

1.3 The Extension of Language Integration

It is virtually a visible trend that dialects are gradually being integrated into a common language with the development of society, the individual languages into a number of regional languages and then into several international language(s).

2. DEVELOPMENT OF TERMINOLOGY -- AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR THE INFORMATION SOCIETY

2.1 Terms -- Basic Information Units in the Information Society

As we mentioned above, a modernized language information system will be set up in the information society. Concretely speaking, various databases will exist in great numbers, unifunctional or multifunctional robots will be seen everywhere. Each country or group of countries will establish its own grand language system, and through the networks from all directions a gigantic language system will be founded in the world. The most fundamental elements of these systems naturally are the strictly-

defined words (terms). It is no exaggeration to say that, without such terms there will be no modernized language information system, and therefore no information society at all. As everyone knows, the prerequisite for language computing is precision, formalization and algorithmization

2.2 Terminological Normalization and Standardization -- the Crux of the Information Society

Natural language is an extremely complicated sign system. It is really an arduous task to computerize it. Beyond any doubt, a great burden, even an unconquerable difficulty, would be imposed on the modernized language system if the basic elements of the natural language concerned have many variants (at least the storage would be increased, or some other contradictions take place in the system itself). Let us take a recent example, the book of a famous American industrialist, *Autobiography of Iaccoca* has been translated into Chinese by four publishing houses in 1986. Four Chinese equivalents have been produced from Iaccoca, i.e. 雅科卡 (Yakeka), 艾科卡 (Aikeka), 艾柯卡 (Aikeka), 亚科卡 (Yakeka). And this cannot even be compared with the name Mendeleev which had 28 Chinese equivalents. The same holds true for technical terms. The little word bit has many equivalents too, such as 比特, 半特, 二进制数, 二进位数, 位. The network of information systems demands a high degree of standardization -- this is the crux for ensuring a free flow of information.

2.3 Terminological Work Should be Modernized

To meet the requirements of the information society terminological work itself should be modernized in the first place. The handicraft-type terminological work and lexicographical work cannot be continued any more. A pressing matter of the moment is to set up a terminological database and relevant termnet and work out electronic dictionaries as well.

3. CHINESE INFORMATION PROCESSING AND CHINESE TERMINOLOGY

Chinese information processing is the flight of steps leading up to the information society in China, and Chinese terminology is the key to the information society.

3.1 Difficulties in Chinese Information Processing

3.1.1 Input: The written representation of Chinese language is Chinese characters. The defects of Chinese characters lie in the huge amount (about 60 thousands), the complex configuration (which consist of between one to forty or fifty strokes) and the abundance of homonyms and polyphones which are not so easy to process as alphabetical writing. In order to input Chinese

characters into computer, over 500 encoding schemes have been proposed. But only several dozen of them have been adopted for input. Generally speaking, there is a translation procedure at the time of input with the aid of a small keyboard. Undoubtedly it causes a lot of trouble for the user. And what is worse, it affects the sharing of data on account of different input schemes.

3.1.2 Segmentation: There is no space between words in a Chinese sentence, but the basic unit in information processing is word. Therefore the issue of segmentation has necessarily been raised. Researchers must segment a Chinese text into separate words at present before they do statistical lexical analysis or conduct test for natural language understanding. It seems strange to hear that the statistical results will vary by as many as the number of researchers, for instance there will be three different results if the same book is analyzed by three persons respectively. The reason for that is the lack of a unified principle for segmentation of words. There is no concept of word among ordinary Chinese people. This is the harmful consequence caused by the use of Chinese characters over a long period of time.

It is not easy for machines to do this work either. The longest progressive match and the longest regressive match have been tested, and still a lot of problems remain. Not only a large amount of errors occur, but also a great deal of valuable computer time is lost. The issue of word-segmentation may be likened to "a tiger standing in front of the road we cross (in other words, a stumbling block)" if it can not be solved the proper way.

3.1.3 Networks: The above state of affairs has already constituted a very unfavorable condition for the setting up of databases. To make things worse, the databases may be likened to a pond of stagnant water if no network can be built up. However, the current telecommunication service in China is seriously undeveloped. To make significant progress in this field is an imperative necessity, otherwise telecommunications will present another stumbling block in Chinese information processing.

3.2 Problems in Chinese Terminology

3.2.1 Terminological chaos: 1) The same term is used to express different concepts in different fields. For example, yundong 运动 as a physics term refers to "the act of changing the location of an object", yet, in philosophy it refers to "the mode of existence of matter", in sports to "the process of physical training", and in political life to "organized purposeful social mass movement". * 2) Some terms have two meanings in the same

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* corresponding to these terms in Russian are two, dvizhenie and sport; in English there are three, "motion", "movement" and "sport".

field, such as fujia chengfen 附加成分 which is used to express either the concept of "affix" or the concept of "attribute" in linguistics. 3) A more serious question is the fact that a large number of terms have more than one equivalent in Chinese translation, for example, "orthography" has three equivalents: zhengzifa 正字法, zhengcifa 正词法, and zhengxiefa 正写法; "metrology" has six: jiben duliangxue 基本度量学, jiben dulianghengxue 基本度量衡学, dulianghengxue 度量衡学 dulianghengzhi 度量衡制, jiliangzhi 计量制 and jiliangxue 计量学 4) Mistranslation and then retranslation sometimes happens, such as with the astronomical term "polytrope" which was translated as duocengqiu 多层球 (multilayer ball) at first, and was later retranslated as duofang moxing 多方模型 owing to the discovery that there is neither "layer" nor "ball" in the concept of the word. 5) Heterogeneity often comes from the preference for the semantic loanwords. A number of loanwords or terms were transferred into Chinese by means of a phonetic approach at first, but later substituted with semantic loanwords, thus making up a kind of parallelism, at least for a period of time. For instance, bulaji 布拉吉(from Russian платье) --> lianyigun 连衣裙 ximingna'er 习明纳尔 (from Russian семинар) --> jiangxiban 讲习班 pannixilin 盘尼西林(from English penicillin) --> qingmeisu 青霉素 laisai 莱塞 (from English laser) --> jiguang 激光, etc. The last one is typical: laisai 莱塞 (leishe 雷射 in Taiwan and Hongkong) is a phonetic loanword, while jiguang 激光 is a semantic one, in which the first morpheme ji expresses the concept of "stimulate" and the second morpheme guang "light or ray".

3.2.2 The Contention of Phonetic and Semantic Approaches in Translation: As we noted above, terminological chaos is often caused by the contention of phonetic and semantic approaches. It is well known that terms may be divided into three subclasses, i.e. pure terms, terms and quasi-terms. Pure terms are the most specific ones, while quasi-terms are close to ordinary vocabulary. It is apparent that there is no harm in adopting a phonetic approach with respect to such pure terms as neutron and ion; the former might be transformed into niuton (tr --> t in this place, as there is no such consonant cluster in Chinese), and the latter into yon or ion. There are merits in internationalization of terms so that "the agony of a long-term hesitation, caused by the establishment of a term"* might be avoided and that the burden of students might be reduced and academic exchange facilitated as well. The internationalization of terms is an irresistible trend, but it has not understood by the majority yet. As for the mistranslation of the above-mentioned term "polytrope", it could have been avoided in the first place if the phonetic approach had been adopted.

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* 一名之立，旬月踟蹰 -- a famous remark made by our great translator Yan Fu.

3.2.3 Writing System -- A Focus: The contention of phonetic and semantic approaches has a complicated history. Why has this problem not been solved for such a long time? Why are there so few phonetic loanwords in Chinese and why is it not easy for them to exist? There are various arguments.* However, the reason of utmost importance lies in the difference between writing systems. The phonetic loanwords can not give full play to their superiority if the Chinese characters are used. There is no space between words in a Chinese text. Phonetic loanwords are obscured in their midst. It goes without saying that they are not well received. Thus, it can be seen that it is not the Chinese language but the Chinese characters which do not tolerate phonetic loanwords.**

3.3 A Common Outlet Applicable to Both Chinese Information Processing and Chinese Terminology

3.3.1 Extension of the Use of Chinese Pinyin: Chinese Pinyin (the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet) based on Latin script has an alphabet totally similar to the English one in form. Though not an official written language at present, it can be used in those fields where Chinese characters are not convenient to use or cannot be used at all. Not a few scholars hope that it will become one of the two-track written languages (in other words, that there will develop "digraphia", i.e. the parallel use of Chinese characters and Pinyin). If this reasonable aspiration can be realized, all the difficulties which Chinese information processing and Chinese terminology are confronted with can be readily solved. However, Pinyin can be used only as a "crutch" (an aid in other words) at the present moment. Naturally this has considerably affected its ability to play its role fully. It is imperative to extend the use of this powerful tool with great effort.

3.3.2 Input by Means of a Phonetic Scheme: The greatest merit of a phonetic (encoding) scheme lies in the input of words instead of separate Chinese characters, while configuration schemes fall short of this function. Inputting according to words provides very favorable conditions for further processing, because it is capable of eliminating the additional process of word-segmentation which not only works to no avail, but is also apt to create mistakes. Certainly, homographs constitute a problem in phonetic input. However, there is nothing to be afraid of in this regard. Inputting according to words by itself will reduce the amount of homographs. Furthermore, a reasonable orthography is

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* Please refer to Liu Yongquan,*Modernization of Linguistics and the Computer*, pp227-241, Wuhan University Publishing House, 1986. Also refer to: Liu Yongquan, "Terminological Development and Organization in China", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (59), Mouton, 1986.

** See above.

conducive to differentiate homographs; and the remaining homographs may be recognized through analysis of the context. In fact, there are a large number of homographs in English too, such as: back, badger, bail, bale, bandy, bank, bar, barge, bark, base, bat, batter, bag, bear, etc. Yet this does not pose any serious difficulty in English information processing.

In order to meet the needs of those who speak dialects other than Putonghua (Chinese common language) and those who use more Chinese characters than ordinary users, it is necessary to set up another track, i.e. input by configuration. Here is another kind of two-track system. *

3.3.3 Insertion of Pinyin Words in Chinese Text: To eliminate both the terminological chaos and the chaos caused by transcribing foreign personal names and place-names with the aid of Chinese characters, not a few people have proposed the insertion of Pinyin words in Chinese text.** But up to now this proposal has not been made good except in some academic periodicals. Perhaps the overemphasis on language purism is an important factor in inhibiting the adoption of Pinyin in Chinese text. The purists were against horizonal typesetting*** and against simplified characters but failed. They know well that a great many "foreign gadgets" would enter Chinese language, once the insertion of Pinyin should be allowed. As a matter of fact, their worry is useless. Language is constantly developing with the progress of society. There were only two punctuation marks (the period and the comma) in our literature several decades ago. The new punctuation marks came into being only in 1920 after the reformers' hard struggle. The new set of punctuation marks has a clear superiority to the old one, but it was still attacked by its opponents time and again. Why was it so? It is simply ridiculous that the opponents censured these marks as "foreign gadgets". Almost the same lot befell arabic numerals among the pedants. Language and its writing are tools. How to make these tools to be of rich expressivity and competent for exerting their communicative function in any case (including the man-machine dialogue) -- this is the most essential matter. As for what is foreign and what is indigenous, it is nonsense to make this difference: anything that enhances the communicative function should be welcome. Thus it can be seen that purism has become an even more serious obstacle in the information era. Without the insertion of Pinyin words there are no phonetic loanwords and no more talk about the internationalization of terms.

Moreover, it is worth pointing out that another merit of the

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* Liu Yongquan, "Language Engineering in China", *Proceedings of 1983 International Conference on Text Processing with a Large Character Set*, Tokoy,1983.

** Ji Da, "For the Insertion of Pinyin Words in Chinese Text", *Modernization of Language*, No 3, 1980

*** In the past typesetting was carried out vertically from right to left, but the new typesetting runs horizontally from left to right, just as alphabetic writing does.

insertion of Pinyin rests with its convenience for computer processing. Pinyin words, just like katakana in Japanese, could play the role of word-boundary in the process of word segmentation.

3.3.4 Setting-up of a Wordbank and a Terminological Database: The wordbank in essence is no more than a computerized word list, used as a norm for word-based processing. The wordbank consists of a basic bank and a number of auxiliary banks. The former serves users from all trades and professions, and the latter provide supplements for users of different specialties. The design of this wordbank should be lifted out of the interference of the Chinese characters, and based on Chinese Pinyin orthography.*

We have to point out with emphasis that the setting up of a wordbank is entirely necessary to our society, because quite a few people have no concept of the word in their mind (this is a consequence of the long-term use of Chinese characters). The word in its linguistic sense appeared in our country only in the beginning of this century.** The aim of this wordbank would be to work out a computerized image of Modern Chinese vocabulary, to pave the way for establishing various Chinese information systems, and to establish a standard for segmenting words by man or machine.***

As we pointed out before, to achieve the modernization of terminological work, the first task is to set up a terminological database. Here we would like to dwell on some special questions. First, the storage unit should be discussed. Obviously, it must be based on the word rather than the Chinese character, equal to a syllable, because modern Chinese is no longer monosyllabic. Now in our vocabulary there are only a few monosyllabic words (three thousands or so), and disyllabic and trisyllabic ones are the overwhelming majority. Secondly, how to sort and look up these units is also a consideration. Sort and look-up constitute a considerable difficulty in the use of Chinese characters. The common indexing methods are as follows: alphabetic, radical, stroke and four-corner methods. Only the first of them is easy for computing.

To sum up, without Pinyin we cannot set up the wordbank and terminological database in the proper way.

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* "Chinese Pinyin Orthography", *Yuwen Jianshe (Language Construction)*, No 4, 1988. The author of this paper is the nucleus member of the Committee of Chinese Pinyin Orthography.

** Lyu Shuxiang, "A Sketch on the Problem of 'Word' in Chinese", *selected papers on Chinese Grammar*(revised and enlarged),1985

*** Liu Yongquan, "Some New Advances in Computers and Natural Language Processing", *Proceedings of the 1986 International Conference on Chinese Computing*, Singapore, 1986. Also Liu Yongquan, "Talks about Wordbanks", *Journal of Chinese Information Processing*, vol. 1, No. 1 Beijing, 1986.

3.3.5 Three Principles in the Translation of Foreign Words and Symbols: In order to get rid of various contradictions caused by Chinese characters, to improve our documentation work, and to promote international exchange, it is necessary to work out some regulations with respect to the translation of foreign words and symbols.

As for personal names and place-names it is reasonable to adopt transliteration mode. In fact, it would simply be coping word by word on account of the similarity between Chinese Pinyin and English alphabets. In dealing with the personal names and place names from Cyrillic or other alphabets the ISO's romanized transliteration schemes should be adopted.

As to terms derived from personal names or place names, they must be treated in different way, for they have been converted into Chinese vocabulary as soon as they were introduced. It means in more concrete terms that equal attention must be paid to both pronunciation and configuration. For instance, the letter "c" with pronunciation as [k] should be converted to "k", and "ph" to "f"; and some consonant clusters should be reduced or infixed with a vowel, etc.* As the author and his assistant have suggested, it is advisable to write "Mendelev zhouqibiao (periodic table) in Pinyin instead of "Mendeleev zhouqibiao" and to write "Karington ziwuxian (meridian)" instead of "Carrington ziwuxian", etc. In a word, we have to make the foreign words more convenient for pronunciation, and keep the original configuration as far as possible for the purpose of being in concert with the original names.

The transplanation of individual terms should be carried out in a specific way. As we have said before, the pure terms should be transcribed phonetically with the aid of Pinyin. How should the phonetic transcription be carried out? As the term is an important of our vocabulary and will take root and blossom after its transplanation, so it has to be sinicized. Linguistically speaking, neither transcription nor transliteration alone will do; a compromise proposal should be adopted. In other words, more attention must be paid to the phonetic similarity and less attention to the configurative similarity. For example, spectrography --> spektogafy; adstringent -->adestinjin or adestingen.

3.3.6 The Necessity of a Transcription-based Transliteration Scheme: Many people have noticed the inefficiency of Chinese characters in the transcription of foreign personal names and place-names and have long advocated the insertion of Pinyin words. People have also noticed the superiority of phonetic loanwords to semantic ones in the field of pure terms and have therefore advocated a phonetic approach. All of these are good propositions, but how shall we realize them? These propositions

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* Liu Yongquan and Qiao Yi, A Tentative Study of Transcription-based Transliteration. (in press)

will not work if some concrete questions have not been solved in the proper way. For instance, there is no problem with transliteration of names from the visual aspect. But how will Chinese speakers pronounce them after all? And what will announcers do with them? A 'bridge-like' tool is needed. For this reason the author and his assistant have developed a set of transcription-based transliteration methods, which has three uses: 1) as a phonetic notation for personal names and place-names; 2) as an aid to introduce terms derived from names; 3) as an important reference for transplanting pure terms (that is to say, either adopting its rules directly, or taking the rules as a basis). This transcription-based transliteration has 25 ordered rules in total at present (actually more than this sum, for there are a number of subrules), and might be formalized and computerized.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the old Chinese saying goes, "A workman must first sharpen his tool if he is to do his work well". To establish a strong, modern country, we have to make our language more sharp and powerful too.

Chinese information processing and Chinese terminology are closely related. They will exert a tremendous influence on the course of the development of China's information society. Both of them depend upon progress in written language reform. Therefore, they should be the subjects of primary importance in China's language planning. Though a lot of people have not yet comprehended their far-reaching historical significance, I firmly believe that the advent of computers will help them get a clear understanding sooner or later.

A BILINGUAL MOSAIC [for John DeFrancis]

By Einar Haugen

Nationalism is a theme of interest to our honoree. Even though his and my fields have diverged through the years, it is still a pleasure to recognize a fellow worker whose writings have impinged on our common theme of bilingualism and bilinguals.

In this little article I shall compare and contrast two writers from the Ninteenth Century who worked in the bilingual area I know best, that of the world that was created in the United States by the immigrantion of nearly a million Norwegians between 1840 and 1900. One of them was an educator, author, and editor named Peter Hendrickson, in short a would-be intellectual. The other was S. H. Severson, a small-town merchant, who wrote a single book containing acute observations on his fellow Norwegians in the dialect of his parents. He was an observer who found their language amusing. Each of these men left behind enduring literary monuments, not belles-lettres, but each interesting in its own way.

We begin with Hendrickson, who was born in Telemark, Norway, in 1842 and immigrated with his parents at the age of three. He grew up on a farm in Wisconsin and managed to work his way through a local academy named Albion and then entered Beloit College, a school founded by New Englanders.[1] He spent a year at the University of Oslo and another at Erlangen. From 1871 to 1884 he was a professor of Modern Languages at Beloit College. After that he became editor-in-chief of the then leading Norwegian-American newspaper, *Skandinaven* from 1885-1893. It was during this period that he wrote his chief publication, a widely read manual of American agriculture for immigrants, *Farming med Hoved og Hænder* (Farming with Head and Hands). It was published by his newspaper, which had its offices in Chicago.[2]

In his Foreword Hendrickson "makes no claims in a literary or artistic respect."[3] "It is written for a simple and straightforward people, who are seeking advice and not entertainment. The language is to be understood, not to be admired. As life is over here, so is the language; it is mixed." One can point to the very title for an example: the word "farming" is a loanword from English, while the rest is Norwegian.

In the course of his pages Hendrickson pursues all aspects of American farming, from the location of the farm to its cultivation and fencing, its products and animals, ending with advice on servants. He actually shows a good deal of incidental humor and history. I shall illustrate some instances of his loanwords by topics, offering one or a few examples of each topic. He often distinguishes loans by writing them in roman letters, while his Norwegian text is in gothic type. Occasionally he used quotation marks. Many words he failed to distinguish at all.

In reference to the word 'fence' Hendrickson writes: "If by any chance a copy of this book should stray into the hands of a 'Norwegian Norseman from Norway', or even turn up across the sea, it might be necessary to explain that fence means 'Gjerde.' In the same way many words and expressions that are used in this book have won citizenship in the language." (157).

1. Measures: fire Tons paa Acren af det allerbeste Foder 'four tons per acre of the very best fodder' (176). Ton appears with its English plural, acre with a Norwegian definite form, foder is a native word. Other measures: bushel, cent, dollar, eighty (of land), forty (of land), hands, ounce, peck, pint, rod.

2. Animals: som kan beskytte Renden mod Harer, Gophers, Muskrats og andre Smaadyr 'who can protect the ditch against rabbits, gophers, muskrats and other small animals'; de maa bære Hovedet vel op uden Checks 'they [the horses] must bear their

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[1] Letter from Hendrickson in Anderson, *Life Story*, pp. 119-124.

[2] 212 pages.

[3] Page 3.

heads well up, without being checked [by drivers]'. Other animals: brahmas [chickens], chinch bug, cut-worm, frog (Kraake) [part of a horse's leg], tick.

3. Plants: af saadanne er--Ask--de fortrinligste, 'of such--Ash--is the most advantageous' (130). Other terms: American spruce, arbor vitae, artichoke, bed, beet, blue grass, cedar, corn stalks, cottonwood, cucumber, elm, evergreens, fodder corn, hard maple, hickory, Hungarian grass, letuce (Salad), locust, maize, millet, Norway pine, oak (Eg), orchard grass, peach, pieplant, pumpkin, red top, rhubarb, Scotch pine, screenings, seed corn, soft maple, squash, suckers, sunflowers (Solblom), sweet corn, tamarack, tomatoes, walnut, whippletree, white oak.

4. Landscape: Mangt andet har været benyttet til Render... Asp, Tamarak, og lignende, endog gamle Rails, eller Brusk 'much else has been used for ditches... aspen, tamarack and the like, even old rails or brush' (81). The word brusk for brush is common spoken immigrant terminology. Other terms: bluff, Bottom lands, highway, pasture (Havnegang), prairie, river, road, rolling prairie, settlement, slough, spring, subsoil, substitute (neuter in Norw.)

5. Operations: hvis Maisen og Poteterne "cultiveres" omhyggeligt 'if the maize and the potatoes are "cultivated" carefully' (271). The word 'cultivate' is here used in the Norw. passive, with attached -s. Other terms: cultivator, drain, draining system, (tobacco) harvest, (harvest) arbeide, hill v., job (forlanger sine $2.00 for "jobben" asks $2.00 for the "job" 225), shell, shock, soil v., strip v., top v.

6. Products: farmerne sorterer almindelig i 4 sorter: det vil sige fillers, binders -- 'farmers usually sort in 4 sorts, that is, fillers, binders -- (207). Other products: biscuits, bran, buckwheat cakes, cake, cornmeal, fillers, fish oil, gems [muffins?], graham, grain, gypsum, lunch, midlings, phosphates, tin (blik), tin-pan, whiskey, wrappers.

7. Structures: I mit Barn har jeg Basement til Fjøs 'in my basement I have a barn for cows' (198) (American-Norw. usually en barn). Other structures: barnyard, farm, grocery, box-stall, brick, brick house (brickhus), brickyard, brick pillar, cement, chimney, cistern, claim shanty, corn crib, creamery, farm, fence, fenceboard, fencestolpe [fencepost], fencing, floor, frame house, granary, joist, lattice work, lumber, lumber bill, nursery, parlor, pen, pigpen, plates, post, rail fence, rails, roofboard, shed, shed barn, shingle, shop, store, strawstack, studding, tobacco shed, wigwam, windbreak, windrow, (kitchen) wing, yard.

8. Tools: Møgen fra et Dusin Høns vil fylde omtrent en Barrel paa et Aar 'The manure from a dozen hens will fill about a barrel a year' (102).
Other tools: barbs, barbed wire, board, board fence, box, brace, breaking plow, buggy (wheel), buggy spoke, damper, ditching spade, farm hoe, farm team, feedmill, fertilizer, drill, girt [girder], gravel, hand shovel, hatchet, hoe, machine fork, Mason sieve, mower, muleteam, nitrogen, phosphoric acid, potash, rack, rod pole, scraper, spear, stanchions, team (et Team), tile, tile hoe, tile spade, tobacco horse, wagon jack, weather strip, wool twine.

9. General terms: de fleste Farmere har common sense 'most of the farmers have common sense' (82). Other terms: broadcast adv., class v., Dakota farmers, failure, foot rot, good for nothing, a good investment, grub in the head, gumption, (tree) peddler, permanent, plaster, plastered, pole rot, rotation of crops (Vexeldrift), tramp, ventilation.

In all Hendrickson employed about 222 English loanword terms. He often included a Norwegian equivalent (here in parentheses). His pedagogical stance is consistantly apparent as well as his familiarity with and enthusiasm for farming. He died in Maine in 1917, after some years (1894-1901) as owner and principal of Albion Academy.[4]

An entirely different picture appears when we turn to the only book known to be written entirely in Norwegian-American dialect.[5] This was a humorous sketch of life in

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[4] Hofstead, pp. 89-90.

[5] Cf. Haugen (1953), p. 180.

pioneer Wisconsin written in 1892 by S. H. Severson, a merchant of Stoughton, Wisconsin. The title is *Dei Møttes ve Utica* (They Met in Utica), which was the name of a crossroads not far from Stoughton. It was located in one of the largest Norwegian-American districts in Wisconsin, the rural region known as Koshkonong. Severson described its language as "pure Telemarking," i.e. the dialect of the Telemark region in Norway. He granted that the language was mixed with English, "as the common people talk it in the settlements."[6] He deliberately avoided the bookish Dano-Norwegian of the immigrant newspapers, because "the topic with which the story dealt seemed especially suited to dialect, which should therefore serve to increase the interest of the book." Unhappily the book does not seem to have lived up to the author's hopes, for no other book by him is known.

Severson was born in Telemark, like Hendrickson, and was brought over at the age of two. He spent most of his life in the Koshkonong region. There is some vacillation in the forms he used, but by and large it does correspond with the speech of Telemark, no doubt as spoken by Severson's parents in this region of all-Norwegian settlement. It is well-known that many of the early immigrants in Koshkonong had come from Telemark.

Severson named two of the towns in Koshkonong and spelled them phonetically: Stoughton became Staaten (9) and Fort Atkinson was unsually referred to as Fort (57), also more fully as Forteketsen (55), probably a misprint for Fort Etkensen. The double aa in Staaten indicates a back-rounded Norwegian vowel used in such words as Baaten 'the boat', while the o in Fort makes it rhyme with Norwegian kort 'short' or sort 'sort'. The first e in Etkensen reflects the American short open e in 'bet', while the others are shva-sounds. O so ska eg reise te Fortetkensen 'and now I'll leave for Fort Atkinson' and Staaten for 'Stoughton' thus reflects a Norwegian-American pronunciation as close as one can get in the usual alphabet to a Norwegian rendition of the American names. The words in the following section similarly reflect a spoken distortion of American sounds by the immigrants.

The grammar of the English loanwords also reflects a new grammatical system.

I. Uninflected nouns remain unmarked: tvosita Boggy 'two-seated buggy' (72); Bran te Kuin 'bran for the cows' (57); Brand for Kuin 'bran for the cows' (69); ingen te o taka care av mine Ting 'no one to take care of my things' (44); laga Pai og Keke 'make pie and cake' (10); de va plenty af Drikkevarur o faa 'there were plenty of drinks to be had' (101); der blei License 'there got to be a license' (i.e., for drinks) (101); der fek han seg ein heil Kadje mæ Beer 'there he got himself a whole keg of beer' (69) (also Ø1); alle hadde hatt Supper 'all had had supper' (107); so ska e snart forminske hans Stock 'then I shall soon reduce his stock' (88); ho ville ikje bie te Breakfast 'she wouldn't stay for breakfast' (62); dæ ska vera so go Pris der sea de blei Timperence 'there is said to be such a good price there since it became "temperance"' (9). In some cases there is no indefinite article where it is needed in English: tvosita Boggy mæ Sit for Drivaren frammi 'a two-seated buggy with a seat for the driver in front' (72); Spilemnen [sic] stemte up for Kodril 'fiddlers tuned up for a quadrille' (35?). The same is true when a loan appears as the first element in a compound: han ville besøkje dei norske countrydansane 'he wanted to visit the Norwegian country dances' (35); o saa va de berre Lomber Vognir 'And then there were only lumber wagons' (72); ei lite Loghytte 'a little log cabin' (25); eg heve fenje meg ei Yankee Kjering 'I have gotten me a Yankee wife' (10).

II. Inflected nouns are marked by (1) having a preceding indefinite article or adjective or (2) a suffixed definite gender marker in the singular: (a) masculine -(e)n, (b) feminine -i, (c) neuter -e.

(1a) Indefinite masculine: hadde netop fenje seg istand ein ny barn 'had just gotten himself a new barn' (36); so vilde han hava seg ei Bicycle 'he wanted to have a bicycle' (ei 32/ein 33); so opna Per Bokji si o trekte ut ein 5 Daler Bill 'then Per opened his

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[6] Page 7.

(pocket)book and drew out a 5 dollar bill' (63); ska me faa ein Bus? 'shall we take a bus?' (158); faa ein Dressmaker te o gjere Kjolen 'get a dressmaker to make the dress' (67); so blei me baae tvo tekne for ein Justice of the Peace 'then we were both taken to a Justice of the Peace' (22); han ikji maatte gløime o bringe ham ein Plug Tobak 'he must not forget to bring him a plug of tobacco' (57); ein fine Pony som han sa at han vilde hava 'a fine pony that he said he wanted to have'(32); de va ein Rig 'it was a rig' (72); so reiste han in paa ein Temperence-Saloon 'then he went into a temperance saloon' (69); ein Stebel 'a stable' (10); la kaan ta kaan ein Vaak yve Farmen 'let's take us a walk over the farm' (103). Plural: tvo Skjilling Yardi 'two shillings per yard' (57). English -s as singular: dei tvo reiste afste paa Carsen 'these two left on the cars (i.e. the train)' (44); o kan faa noko Krackers o Cheese 'and can get some crackers and cheese' (10).

(1b) Per o Jenny fek kver sin Kopy 'Per and Jenny got each their copy' (150); da er du ikke ansvarleg for nokon Expence 'then you're not responsible for any expense' (96); /nogen Bill 'any bill' (98); ho Jenny... hadde vore god Huskiper 'Jenny... had been a good housekeeper' (44); have ein goe Spri o Moro 'have a good spree and fun' (151). Plural: eit fint Kjoletøi som kosta tvo skjilling Yardi 'a fine dress material that cost two shillings the yard' (67); Brø o Biskitur 'bread and biscuits' (104).

(2a) Definite masculine: sae han te Bartenderen 'he said to the bartender' (135); te o gjere Bisnissen 'to do the business' (154); han selde Kalkoen saa billeg 'he sold the calico so cheaply' (11); lat ikje den Chancen gaa forbi 'don't let that chance slip by' (147); o ete noko taa Krackersen o Cheesen 'and eat some of the crackers and the cheese' (13); for heile Krouden 'for the whole crowd' (156); da dei kom forbi Depoen i Staaten 'when they came past the depot in Stoughton' (101); sit for Drivaren 'seat for the driver' (72); so kom Polisen o sette han paa Jailen 'then the police came and put him in the jail' (15); o vere me dei te Judjen 'go with them to the judge' (149); derme gjek han neaat Laken 'with that he went down to the lake' (143); so sae Polisman 'then the policeman said' (63); me maa sjaa yve Recorden 'we must look over the record' (129); o so reiste dei bedje te Recorder Officen 'then they both went to the recorder's office' (129); Saloonkiparen / Kiparen 'the saloonkeeper / the keeper' (155); du heve for yve $2000 i Tobak i Sjedn 'you have over $2000 in tobacco in the shed' (171) / Sheden (65); den Tie at den Steambaaten saak paa ein Sjø 'the time when that steamboat sank on a lake' (66); Brousleiven, som ho hadde paa Staaven 'the loaf of bread that she had on the stove' (142); berre de ikje hadde vore denne Trubelen mæ den fyste Kjeringi 'if only it hadn't been for this trouble with the first wife' (90).

(2b) Definite feminine; Tobaksplantune begjynte o vise seg fint paa Fili 'the tobacco plants began to appear fine on the field' (100); te o seine Noti 'to sign the note' (133).

(3a) Indefinite neuter: so ska me gaa in paa eit Drugstore 'then we'll go into a drugstore' (10); gaa in eit Groceri-Staar 'go into a grocery store' (10); te eit Milliner Shop 'to a milliner's shop' (57); eit halvt Tøn mæ Brand for Kuin 'a half ton of bran for the cows' (69); alt dette me ho Jenny o Son din kan vere bere eit Yankeetrick 'all this with Jenny and your son may be just a Yankee trick' (93). With the definite article and adjective: Jenny reiste paa de fyste Train te Chicago 'Jenny left on the first train to Chicago' (151).

(3b) Definite neuter: da dei kom ne i Pastre 'when they came down into the pasture' (104); han Per hitcha up Time sitt 'Per hitched up his team' (43); gamle Merri kom bort i Wire Fense 'the old mare got into the wire fence' (141).

III. Adjectives and adverbs are unmarked; eg tenkje de æ allright 'I think it's all right' (110); de va so forbanna "dull" me Bisnissen naa 'it was so damnably "dull" with the business now' (128); dei va alle enige om at de hadde gjenge forstrait 'they were all agreed that it had gone first rate' (76).

IV. Verbs are conjugated in full: infinitive -e or -a; present tense -e, preterite -a, perfect participle -a.

(a) Infinitive: no maa eg close up 'now I have to close up' (158); for o joine eit Teater-Kompani 'to join a theater company' (172); o so ska Anne vere me meg og pikke seg ut ein fine Kjole o Hat 'and then Anne will be with me and pick out a fine dress and a hat' (55); han vilde plise Kiparen 'he wanted to please the (saloon)keeper' (157); Kiparen... va so flinke te o introduse han te alle dei fremmine 'the keeper was so skilled at introducing him to all the strangers' (157); te o seine Noti 'to sign the note' (133); som kan komme te o spile kaans goe Haap 'which can spoil our good hope' (??); ho æ ikje enno gamal nok te o vote 'she isn't old enough to vote yet' (14). With inf. in -a: saa kan du meka Man din skaffe din Del 'then you can make your husband furnish your part' (38)

(b) Present: du charje meg so mykje for ein halv Dags Ti 'you are charging me so much for a half day's time' (130); me rønne ein Resko 'we are running a risk' (148); de æ best, du setle me ho Jenny 'it is best that you settle with Jenny' (130).

(c) Preterite: jagu fila eg naa berre, hel da eg hadde deg 'darn if I didn't feel better than when I had you' (115); han Per hitcha up Time sit 'Per hitched up his team' (43); Prokuratoren han ordra ein goe Slurk te 'the lawyer ordered one more good swig' (128); derme so tok hin honom i Skjegge o pulla de 'with that he took him by the beard; and pulled it' (146).

(d) Perfect participle: eg trur ikje, at eg blir badra me noke fleire 'I don't think I'll be bothered with any more' (100); dei fek alt sammen fixa idag 'they got everything fixed today' (67); eg kunne ha seiva henne for tjuge Daler 'I could have saved her twenty dollars' (76); naa høire du o ser haas Alting ha tørna ut, Pastor 'now you hear and see how everything has turned out, Pastor' (86); tvosita Boggy 'two-seated buggy'(72).

Except for occasional vacillation Severson was remarkably accurate in his rendition of the actual speech of his Telemark family. On the basis of my own field work in Wisconsin I can endorse every one of his sentences. They could all have been spoken by Norwegian immigrants in America in the old days.

Our two authors reflect different backgrounds and purposes in their writings. Both are thoroughly bilingual. But while Peter Hendrickson is instructive, Severson is entertaining. Hendrickson uses all the words that deviate from Norwegian usage in reference to farm work, in order to enable Norwegian-American farmers to take an active part in the process of scientific farming. He often uses the Norwegian words beside the English, while Severson is only concerned with having an amusing time in rendering what he has heard around him in his lifetime on Koshkonong Prairie. These two authors represent the opposite extremes of Norwegian-American writing. But neither is a purist, unlike many Norwegian authors with literary pretensions.

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THE POLYSEMY OF THE TERM KOKUGO

S. Robert Ramsey

It has been more than forty years now since the appearance of John DeFrancis's book on nationalism and language reform in China. Few works before or since document so vividly China's struggles to come to terms with the linguistic realities of the modern world. But, at the same time, what is for many of us even more remarkable about DeFrancis's book (and many of his later writings) is the unabashedly passionate way in which DeFrancis combines linguistics with historical and sociological research. DeFrancis infects us with an enthusiasm for the study of language. In his hands scholarship comes to life.

The East Asian word for "national language" is a concept DeFrancis helped us better understand. The term had been used in the Sinitic world since around the sixth century,[1] but, DeFrancis tells us, it took on a new meaning in the China of the 1930s. Before the May Fourth Movement, guoyu was used in reference to the languages of various non-Sinitic ethnic groups, or "nations"; after that time, and especially from the 1930s on, it came to mean the official language of the Chinese state. DeFrancis demonstrates the importance of this difference. He tells us the change came about as Chinese leaders moved towards nationalism along the lines of federalism.[2]

As is well known, the new usage was an import from Japan. In 1902 Wu Rulun, one of the most famous Chinese scholars of the day, had just been appointed the Superintendent of Education and the new head of the reorganized Peking Imperial University. In this capacity Wu went on an inspection tour of Japan and, deeply impressed with the progress of modernization in that neighboring East Asian country, came back advocating the development

of a unified national language along similar lines.[3] Wu is said to have coined the phrase "Unification of the National Language," and thus the popularization of the new meaning began with him.[4]

The word Wu was so impressed with was of course kokugo. Kokugo, the Japanese word for their national language, is written with the same characters as the Chinese guoyu. The term is at the most general level an example of what Victor Mair calls a "round-trip" word--that is, a word the Japanese first borrowed from classical Chinese sources; subsequently altered the meaning, tailoring it to fit some new (usually Western) concept; then finally sent in its new meaning back to its country of origin, China. The description in many ways fits kokugo. But there is more to the story, as we shall see, in part, in what follows.

In traditional times the Japanese on occasion wrote the word in its classical Chinese sense. Mair cites a Japanese Buddhist work from 1714 in which the word appeared; there it referred to colloquial spoken Japanese,[5] but the usage was one any educated Chinese of the time would surely have understood. The Japanese were after all, at least from the Chinese perspective, a local ethnic group. Their speech was not yet an official state language of any country.

Somewhat later, in the nineteenth century, we begin to encounter kokugo in what are clearly non-Chinese uses. By this time the Japanese have been stimulated by ideas of nationality from the West. In his 1815 book Rangaku kotohajime Sugita Genpaku provides a fascinating example of what it meant in those days:

> Thus, because of an eccentric nature, I became a disciple of Mr. Aoki and studied Dutch horizontal writing and twelve nation's languages (kokugo) [written with] it.[6]

Here Sugita, who did much to diffuse Western medical knowledge through his translations of Dutch writings, gives us a glimpse of the foreign learning in which he had steeped himself. As the example shows, some Japanese scholars in the Edo period were already adapting the language to the new frame of reference. However, what is surely most startling about this example and most Edo uses of the word kokugo was not that they were different from anything in China, but that they were even farther from the present meaning of the Japanese word. Sugita's kokugo had nothing to do with the language of Japan, national or otherwise; he was talking about Western languages when he used it.

A half century later the word was still used to refer to the languages of other countries, a meaning that from our modern perspective seems peculiarly un-Japanese. In 1866, having just returned from a secret trip abroad from Satsuma, Mori Arinori wrote the following:

> I have heard that the national language (kokugo) of Russia is, in Europe, the most difficult to learn.

Of course, by this time kokugo could also refer to Japanese. By the late Edo the more familiar, narrower sense had emerged, as we can see from the following quote taken from the introduction to an 1856 lexical work by Murakami Hidetoshi:

> This book is compiled for the purpose of examining Western language using [our] nation's language (kokugo).

Another early mention of kokugo in its modern meaning comes from a petition submitted in 1866 by Maeshima Hisoka[7] (the man who later founded the Japanese postal system) to the Shogun in which he advocated the complete abolition of Chinese characters in Japan. Maeshima asserted that "the national language (kokugo) should be written as simply as possible."[8] Chinese characters, which were difficult to learn, should be abolished, he continued, and the people encouraged to use "phonetic letters" and write in ordinary sentences. This was the way to spread education among the common people, Maeshima concluded. (It should probably be noted, however, that Maeshima drafted the petition in a text heavy with Chinese characters.)

But the broad meaning of the word kokugo, referring to the language of any country, continued well into the Meiji period. Even much later, in mid-Meiji and nearly at the end of the 19th century, it could still mean "(any) nation's language." It did not have to refer only to the national language of Japan. The broader meaning disappeared gradually and, though archaic, is still given in most Japanese dictionaries--it is the first meaning listed in recent editions of Kōjien, for instance.

Around the turn of the century certain Japanese intellectuals were drawn more and more towards nationalism. For them, like the rest of their countrymen, the most important event of the age was the Japanese defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. The Japanese people exulted in this victory and rejoiced in their nation's new-found power and prestige. The ease of Japan's victory over China brought the citizens of Meiji Japan to a new height of national awareness. It became a symbol of their cultural independence.

One of these ultranationalist intellectuals was Ueda Kazutoshi.[9] As a young man, Ueda

had lived for a number of years in Europe, principally in Germany, and from Germany he had brought back German philological methods (Germany was the country then most advanced in linguistic science), as well as German influence on certain aspects of his thinking. As he matured, Ueda turned more and more toward the Japanese past and tradition, stressing the importance of Japanese national character in researching the national language and literature. He considered himself a true patriot, whose mission in life was to "restore and raise the status of [the] Japanese language to a level above the 'yoke' of foreign (Western as well as Chinese) languages."[10]

Ueda's best-known work is the collection of essays entitled Kokugo no tame ("For the sake of the National Language"). Whatever its value for linguistic scholarship, this work is important because it represents the credo with which Ueda lived his life. Here are the famous opening lines of the first volume:

> The National Language is the bulwark of the Imperial Household;
> The National Language is the blood of the Nation.[11]

Consider also this passage taken from later in the work:

> Just as blood shows a common birth in the realm of the flesh, language, for the people who speak it, shows a common birth in the realm of the spirit. If we take the Japanese national language as an example of this, we should speak of Japanese as the spiritual blood of the Japanese people.[12]

Ueda's infatuation with kokugo bordered on the obsessive. But, as we have noted, the word did not yet mean only the Japanese language. Let us look at some examples taken from Ueda's own writings: In his "National Language and the State" (Kokugo to kokka to), which was published in 1894, Ueda sometimes used the word to refer to Japanese and sometimes not[13]--as we see in this typical example: "Because of Luther, he [i.e., an early European language reformer] at first wanted to make a national language (kokugo) independent of Latin..."

When it was necessary to stress that it was Japanese in particular that was meant, the word kokugo alone was not enough. Even in the famous passage from Kokugo no tame cited above, Ueda wrote in a way that most Japanese today would find extremely curious, perhaps even ungrammatical. Here is the line in question:

> [I]f we take the Japanese national language (Nippon kokugo) as an example ...

To make his emphatic point Ueda found it necessary to modify kokugo with the word Nippon 'Japan'. He meant to say, in other words, that he was talking about no other nation's language, just Japan's. No one would write that way today. The phrase would be nonsensical. Since kokugo unambiguously means Japanese and only Japanese, it cannot be qualified. To speak of "Japan's Kokugo" is like saying "Japan's Japanese." Obviously, the exclusionist meaning of the word had still not gelled when Ueda was composing Kokugo no tame.

Ueda became the first professor of Kokugo at Tokyo Imperial University and served simultaneously as an official in the Ministry of Education. In this latter capacity, he succeeded in establishing the National Language Research Committee (Kokugo chōsa iinkai), now called

the Council on the National Language (Kokugo shingikai), which, among other accomplishments, prepared the basic materials for a national language policy. In this way Ueda and his colleagues moved to create a true national language and to mold a discipline--Kokugogaku ('national language science')--that responded to the needs of that national language.

Their linguistic nationalism was of a very Japanese kind. Central to policy was the idea of a national legacy shrouded in the origins of the Japanese people. For Ueda and men like him, reflections on the language of their nation, the "spiritual blood" of the Japanese people, was a mystical experience. This mystic legacy was turned to meet the needs of the nation in the present and the future, and it made language policy effective because the common, unifying language seemed to stem from the core of nation. This shifting of orientation was in many ways what modernization in Japan was all about.

Thus was the linguistic policy produced that so impressed Wu Rulun. He envied the results. China needed such singularity of spirit. In the educational reform of 1903 he included the wording: "In every country speech is uniform throughout the whole land. Hence it is very easy to harmonize the feelings of the people in the same country...."[14] Wu was a convert to Japanese-style linguistic nationalism.

Of course guoyu did not turn out to be quite the same thing as kokugo. Japanese policy managed to accomplish the seemingly inconsistent task of setting a rigid standard called kokugo and at the same time including all varieties of Japanese under the same rubric; in China, on the other hand, guoyu referred only to the Mandarin standard. Guoyu stood, and still stands, in sharp contrast with other varieties of Chinese. Okinawan may be part of kokugo, but Cantonese, Fukienese, Hakka, etc. are definitely not guoyu. Still, the difference

is a detail. The important political fact remains that Wu was successful in bringing the Japanese concept of national language to China.

The irony is that the term, as well as most other "round-trip words," spread to China only after Japan had asserted its cultural independence. It was a sign of a cultural shift in East Asia. China's leading role in the area had come to an end.

NOTES

1. The same characters were also used to write the name of the pre-Qin book attributed to Zuo Qiuming, of course, but the meaning in that context was completely different. See Mair pp.13-14 for details.
2. DeFrancis, p. 226.
3. Cf. DeFrancis, pp.43-44.
4. DeFrancis, p.228.
5. Mair, fn.32.
6. This and the following two citations comes from Kyōgoku, p.65.
7. There is some confusion about the romanization of Maeshima's name. In English-language writing it is commonly spelled "Maejima"; cf., for example, the entry and biographical sketch in the Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan. However, Robert Spaulding, the author of the article, informs me that Maeshima himself preferred the sh pronunciation, signing his name, in roman letters, "H. Maesima." (personal communication, dated 1 October 1989)
8. The citation is the first one listed under the "Nihon no gengo" definition of the entry for "Kokugo" in the Nihon kokugo daijiten.
9. The details about Ueda, his life, and his thought are largely taken from the discussion in Kamei et al.
10. Doi, pp.267-68.
11. Cited in Kamei et al., p.31.
12. Cf. Kamei et al., p.204.

13. These observations about Ueda's use of the word come from Chapter 3 of Kamei et al.

14. DeFrancis, p.228.

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Memorizing Kanji: Lessons from a Pro

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1. An Extraordinary Man

I am puzzled by the fact that so few students of Japanese know about Harry Lorayne.[1] His book *How to Develop a Super-Power Memory* (New York: Frederick Fell, 1957) brims over with sound advice on memorization that has stood the test of time. It's a minor classic among magicians, amateur and professional. To quote from the jacket of my first-edition copy:

> Tie a string around your finger?
> Carry a bulky memo pad?
> Shove pieces of paper in your pocket?
> Never again will you have to resort to makeshifts in order to remember an important fact.
> Now, at last, with the LORAYNE "LINK-METHOD" OF MEMORY, you will be able to:
> * *recall faces and names even years later*
> * *memorize a speech or a script in minutes*
> * *remember the lay or play of cards in bridge, gin, poker or pinochle or other cards games*
> * *memorize the Morse Code in 30 minutes*
> * *remember the entire contents of a magazine*
> * *have a photographic memory for a panel of numbers or objects*
> * *In short, remember prices, details, codes, dates, calories, facts, routes, events, school work, lectures--anything of need or interest to you!*
>
> Harry Lorayne, who has trained his own memory to the point where he is acclaimed as having *the most phenomenal memory in the world*, has written the most practical, lucid and definite memory-training book ever written, . . .

Now, as many students of Japanese seem to know instinctively, the only thing better than being able to count cards indetectably at a Las Vegas blackjack table is being able to memorize all the *jōyō kanji* (and as many others as possible) before setting foot in Japan. To say that they are preoccupied with the memorization of *kanji* would hardly do justice to the burgeoning

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For John DeFrancis, whose perennial good humor, wide-ranging interests, and common sense should be a model for us all.

number of study guides, sets of flash cards, learners' dictionaries, workbooks, and, most recently, computer programs that cater to their demand for ever more potent means of making Chinese characters as instantly recognizable to them as the faces of their friends and relations. Leaving aside the wisdom of approaching the task of learning how to read and write Japanese this way, I cannot help wondering why these students pay so little attention to the mnemonic techniques explained by Mr. Lorayne, who regularly astounded audiences by memorizing the faces of dozens of total strangers--together with their names, phone numbers, occupations, addresses, and other particulars--and recalling them all, in any order desired, with breath-taking speed and flawless accuracy.

Harry Lorayne himself performed his feats as entertainment; he never pretended to be anything other than what we might call a mental strongman. Performers who specialize in what is called "mental" or "head" magic make use of the same techniques but less openly, playing the role of a mind-reader or clairvoyant; by injecting a theatrical element of challenge and mystery into the proceedings, they make them more entertaining. Yet others use the same mnemonic techniques to carry out premeditated deception for profit.[2] But only a snob would pass over these methods because of their popularity among actors and criminals. Lorayne does not describe them with sophisticated academic jargon, but they are far from primitive; on the contrary, they represent the fruit of literally centuries of experimentation and practical experience[3]--deceptively simple methods good enough to fool even the shrewdest spectator when executed with appropriate misdirection and *sang-froid*. They are definitely worth examining in detail, for they have much to tell us about how, and how not, to tackle *kanji*.

2. The Three Techniques

Lorayne recommends three techniques, which he refers to as the "link system," "peg system," and the use of "substitute words." Linking refers to the imaginative association of a pair of tangible objects or meaningful words that have no apparent connection with one another. For example, suppose you need to link "carpet" with "paper"--why you might want to do this will become clear later. You imagine (literally, try to see in your "mind's eye") a single visual scene in which "carpet" and "paper" are somehow associated.

> The association must be as *ridiculous as possible*. For example, you might picture the carpet in your home made out of paper. See yourself walking on it, and actually hearing the paper crinkle under foot. You can picture yourself writing something on a carpet *instead* of paper. Either one of these is a ridiculous picture or association. A sheet of paper lying on a carpet would not make a good association. It is too logical! Your mental

> picture *must* be ridiculous or illogical. Take my word for the fact that if your association is a logical one, you will *not* remember it.[4]

To assure that familiar objects will be combined in utterly fantastic ways, Lorayne specifically recommends (1) imagining the items out of proportion, (2) picturing the items in violent action, (3) seeing exaggerated amounts or numbers of items, or (4) substituting one object for another.[5] For example, if you need to associate "car" with "hamburger," you might think of your own car smashing into a gigantic hamburger (especially if you've been embarrassed by bumping you car into something and squirm every time you recall doing so), imagine yourself driving down the road behind the wheel of a giant hamburger, or picture a busy street filled with hundreds of honking hamburgers instead of cars.

Although "links" form the foundation of Lorayne's system, much of its real power comes from what he calls "pegs." It is based on a simple enciphering procedure for numbers. The ten digits are associated with consonant phonemes of English as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Lorayne's Phonemic Cipher for the Decimal Digits

1.	t, d	6.	sh, tsh, zh, dzh
2.	n	7.	k, g
3.	m	8.	f, v
4.	r	9.	p, b
5.	l	0.	s, z

Vowels, glides, and /h/ don't count; only the pronunciation of words are considered, not their spellings.[6] In accordance with these rules, every integer is associated with a peg; Lorayne recommends the pegs shown in Table 2 for one- and two-digit numbers. The user can choose whatever pegs are most congenial but should stick to one peg after settling on it. Pegs for three-digit and longer numbers are easily constructed as needed. For example, the 12-digit string 633752741631 (which gives the first Sunday for each month of 1957, the year Lorayne published his book) can be remembered as "chum mug linger dishmat" (63 37 5274 1631).

Now suppose you have to remember an ordered list of twenty objects. By forging ridiculous links between the objects and the pegs for 1 through 20, you can, says Lorayne, easily recall an object given its number in the list or vice versa; what's more, the order in which you commit each item to memory doesn't matter. Linking objects to the peg words rather than directly to numbers is more reliable because numbers are morphemically longer than the pegs and lack sufficient individuality to permit memorable associations with random words[7]: short, semantically heterogene-

ous, ordinary words are easier to remember and link with other words than long, semantically homogeneous numbers.

Table 2. Lorayne's Recommended "Pegs"

0.	zoo	10.	toes	20.	nose	30.	mice	40.	rose
1.	tie	11.	tot	21.	net	31.	mat	41.	rod
2.	Noah	12.	tin	22.	nun	32.	moon	42.	rain
3.	ma	13.	tomb	23.	name	33.	mummy	43.	ram
4.	rye	14.	tire	24.	Nero	34.	mower	44.	rower
5.	law	15.	towel	25.	nail	35.	mule	45.	roll
6.	show	16.	dish	26.	notch	36.	match	46.	roach
7.	cow	17.	tack	27.	neck	37.	mug	47.	rock
8.	ivy	18.	dove	28.	knife	38.	movie	48.	roof
9.	bee	19.	tub	29.	knob	39.	mop	49.	rope
50.	lace	60.	cheese	70.	case	80.	fez	90.	bus
51.	lot	61.	sheet	71.	cot	81.	fit	91.	bat
52.	lion	62.	chain	72.	coin	82.	phone	92.	bone
53.	loom	63.	chum	73.	comb	83.	foam	93.	bum
54.	lure	64.	cherry	74.	car	84.	fur	94.	bear
55.	lily	65.	jail	75.	coal	85.	file	95.	bell
56.	leech	66.	choo choo	76.	cage	86.	fish	96.	beach
57.	log	67.	chalk	77.	coke	87.	fog	97.	book
58.	lava	68.	chef	78.	cave	88.	fife	98.	puff
59.	lip	69.	ship	79.	cob	89.	fob	99.	pipe

Notice carefully that the rational phonetic cipher underlying the pegs facilitates their translation to and from numbers but does not participate in the linking process itself. Linking not only does not depend on rationality but actually works best in its absence; moreover, it works only if you can easily visualize both items to be linked. This requires seeing them in a familiar context, for the irrationality of the linkage results precisely from the clash between the imagined relationship between the items and the expectations that normally flow from the context. If either item is something highly abstract or hard to visualize (e.g. equality, anger, sleep), a context may not readily suggest itself or even exist. The "pegs" for the numbers show how one copes with such a situation: first, treat an abstract item as part of a system (the numbers in order) rather than as an isolated entity; second, use ordinary words that refer to easily visualized things as tags for the elements of the system; third, associate tag words with elements of the system by means of a simple, compact set of rules (phonetic cipher). In short, although Lorayne does not say so explicitly, he is really offering two quite different approaches to memorization: a visual strategy that depends on imagining *irrational* gestalts; and a linguistic strategy that depends on constructing *rational* cipher connec-

tions between the elements of two sets of speech forms. Each strategy is better suited to those situations in which the other is hard to apply.

This complementarity is implicit in Lorayne's third technique, which concerns the problem of remembering information that has no intrinsic meaning for the performer. Lorayne explains what he means by "meaning" here with the well-known example of the lines of the musical staff marked with a treble clef:

> The letters, E, G, B, D, and F don't mean a thing. They are just letters, and difficult to remember. The sentence, "Every Good Boy Does Fine" does have meaning, and is something you know and understand. The new thing, the thing you had to commit to memory was associated with something you *already* knew.[8]

Now suppose the performer must associate faces with names. Names like Baker or Lincoln readily call up a visual image, but many do not. Lorayne's description of how to deal with them is clear even without the accompanying cartoon illustrations:

> No. 3 is Miss Standish. I would select her "bang" hairdo. You could "see" people *standing* on the bangs and scratching themselves violently because they *itch*. Stand itch--Standish. Of course, a *dish* standing, would serve the same purpose, but I like an association into which I can inject some sort of action. Now look at Miss Standish and *see* the picture you've decided on, in your mind's eye.
>
> No. 4 is Mr. Smolensky. Don't let the name scare you, it's easy to find a substitute thought for it. I would see someone *ski*ing on Mr. Smolensky's very broad nose, and taking pictures (while skiing) with a *small* camera (lens). Small lens ski--Smolensky. See how simple it is? I have chosen Mr. Smolensky's broad nose; you might think that the receding chin is more obvious. Choose whichever you think is most obvious, and *see* the picture of the skier taking pictures with a small lens.[9]

Notice how both the rational/phonetic and irrational/visual techniques play a role here. The "meaningless" proper noun (typically a single morpheme) is expanded via a phonetic cipher (punning) into a string of morphemes associated with visualizable things, which form a memorably absurd constellation linked to the features of the face in view. True, we increase the number of morphemes rather than reduce it, as with the "pegs," and impose a ridiculous image on a real sight rather than see a "crazy" gestalt inwardly, as with "links"; still, the same two techniques are at work.

One application of substitute words that Lorayne recommends is memorizing foreign-language vocabulary items: you find an English phrase that "sounds like" the foreign word and visually linking the word's meaning to the (non)sense of the English phrase. A good example of this would be "G.I. Japanese" phrases like "a ring a toe" for *arigatō* 'thankyou' and "don't touch your mustache" for *dō itashimashite* 'you're welcome', accompanied by a heroic effort to imagine the handing over of ringed toe as a gesture of gratitude or granting permission to leave the upper

lip untouched as the epitome of modesty. Needless to say, mnemonic techniques of this kind aren't good for anything but *ad hoc* memorization of isolated lexical items, such as "boning up" for a test in high school or college, where foreign languages are all too often treated as bothersome requirements that students will never use once they graduate. True proficiency can obviously never be acquired through the purposeful imposition of an alien phonology and irrelevant semantics (not to mention unwarranted cultural expectations) onto the structures of a language that must be used spontaneously and without self-consciousness. We will revisit to this point shortly.

3. Applying the Techniques to *Kanji*

Now, however, let us return to the topic that prompted this long digression into Harry Lorayne's bag of tricks: the memorization of Chinese characters. We have all seen books that attempt to teach *kanji* by rationalizing their shapes. They start with a picture that somehow illustrates the "meaning" of the *kanji*, and then, by a process of gradual distortion and transformation, move from the picture to the visual shape of the *kanji* itself. Today, there are even computer programs that use animation to enliven the metamorphosis. The underlying assumption behind all these materials is evidently that the "meaningless," unfamiliar, and hard to distinguish shapes of the *kanji* befuddle the student. By seeing how an inscrutable shape like 馬 can be derived from a picture of a horse, for example, the student allegedly acquires a trusty mnemonic link. What do Lorayne's professional insights tell us about this strategy of pictorial rationalization?

In order to make a proper evaluation, we need to specify goals in terms of which we can measure success or failure. Suppose the goal is to recall the "meanings" of a hundred *kanji* at sight as quickly as possible. (This is analogous to Harry correctly calling out the name of the first person to stand up in a large group of people he had not met before greeting each as he or she entered the room.) For the sake of argument, let's assume that the "meanings" are expressed as English tag words[10]; the only qualification is that the tags must reflect the sense of words in which the *kanji* are actually found in written Japanese. The appearance of a *kanji* is to a person's face as its tag is the person's name, so the student needs, according to Lorayne, to see in the image of the *kanji* a bizarre thing or event that somehow brings to mind the tag word. For example, I could imagine 馬 as the face of a man in profile, facing left, wincing in anguish, his right hand slapped over his brow and eyes (crossed lines at top depict fingers), screaming in despair at the top of his lungs (mouth wide open, four dots for teeth and tongue) in a *hoarse* voice. Hoarse--horse. No good seeing a horse *itself* in the *kanji*--too logical! If Lorayne is right, pictorial rationalization is wrong.

Next consider a Japanese dictation test. This is like Harry running over to a person in the audience as soon as his or her name or phone number is called out: the Japanese word or word-fragment to be represented by the *kanji* is the name; the *kanji* itself is the person's face. Now for persons fluently literate in Japanese (even non-natives), the *kanji* and their readings have become so familiar that a character is often said to be or to mean a word it is used to write. Pointing to 書, for instance, one might say *Kore wa kaku to iu ji desu* 'This is the character for "write"' or *Kono ji wa kaku desu* 'This character is [or means] "write"' by way of identification. In reality, of course, it is the word *kaku*, not the character 書, that has the meaning 'write'. Meaning simply "rubs off" on the character *by virtue of* the role or roles it plays in the orthography.[11] Nevertheless, almost everyone slips into the habit of talking sloppily about *kanji* as if they directly symbolized the sense of their readings. What connection could have greater logical power than that? So we have a paradox: the naive learner, following Lorayne's method, needs to forge an *illogical* link between a Japanese word and a character so that hearing the former will conjure up the image of the latter; yet improvement in reading occurs precisely as this linkage becomes *less and less* illogical. Indeed, the sign of total mastery is that the linkage is so "logical" that any other linkage becomes literally unthinkable!

One way out of this paradox is to resort to the "G.I. Japanese" already mentioned, i.e., "hearing" Japanese words in terms of another, completely unrelated language system. For the reasons stated earlier, this is clearly not acceptable unless one is interested merely in passing puzzle-like quizzes and tests.

A second solution would ask the student to dream up ridiculous linking thoughts in Japanese. This might work for native speakers, but it's inconceivable that a non-native student who knew enough Japanese to play Lorayne's game in Japanese would need mnemonic devices to memorize *kanji* in the first place!

There is a third way out, but it requires a curious inversion. We give each *kanji* a name that "fits" it visually. (Harry doesn't have the luxury of giving members of the audiences nicknames in his act, but it's a feasible option for the student.) This name, or "meaning," is based on the appearance of the *kanji*; any connection between the name and the actual "meaning" or reading of the *kanji* is strictly fortuitous. The readings, guaranteed to clash vividly with the names, can now serve as linking thoughts.

This clever strategy is actually used in a two-volume study guide, James Heisig's *Remembering the Kanji*.[12] Heisig develops an elaborate theory for giving English names to each *kanji* in which traditional "radicals" and other "primitive" graphic components are given names based on their shape; whole characters are analyzed in terms of these "primitives" and given names accordingly. Heisig likewise gives an English name to each *kana*. Each Japanese reading is thought of as the sequence of English words

corresponding to the string of *hiragana* used to spell it out. To associate a *kanji* with a reading, "all" the student has to do is imagine a single image in which the *kanji* name and the reading-generated phrase all come together into one vividly weird picture. (Weirdness is, in fact, almost impossible to avoid!)

I once had a chance to talk with Heisig in person. I asked him whether he had ever been an amateur magician. He said no, suggesting that mnemonic techniques such as Lorayne's are periodically "rediscovered." In any case, Heisig's method is uncannily similar to Lorayne's. Note, however, that it has nothing whatsoever to do with reading Japanese *as* Japanese; it is a thorough-going technique for memorizing the equivalent of a dictionary, much as a magician might memorize the order of the cards in a stacked deck--a neat trick,[13] but not the secret to winning poker.[14]

Returning to Lorayne, note especially how his system, and those of many other magicians, makes use of interlocking patterns of speech. Bizarre visual imagination needs to be used in conjunction with systematic phonetic association; the techniques are complementary, with little overlap in their domains of usefulness. This suggests that successful readers and writers of Japanese must have a thorough grasp of the spoken language in order to reach their level of accomplishment, and that, at the outset at least, they make use, not of "logical" links between *kanji* and readings, but of idiosyncratic, illogical, and perhaps even embarrassing associations of *kanji* forms with particular words or word-fragments.

One thing is certain: foreign students who attempt to bypass the spoken language and "crack the code" of *kanji* directly through pictorial rationalizations are virtually certain to hit a plateau beyond which they will make little or no progress. The best they can do is exploit Heisig's gambit; unfortunately, that maneuver has nothing to do with the actual reading of Japanese.

If only our *kanji*-obsessed beginning students understood how Harry and the other pros pull off those seemingly miraculous feats of mental magic!

Endnotes

1. This paper deals with Japanese, but the argument naturally applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to Mandarin as well.

2. See James Randi, *The Faith Healers* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1987), especially pp. 39-44.

3. Leaving aside legends of prodigious memory that come down to us from classical antiquity, one can trace mnemonic techniques in the West back to at least the Middle Ages. See Martin Gardner, *Logic Machines and Diagrams*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 1-27 on Ramon Lull. The techniques of memorization popular among Renaissance churchmen and their first encounter with the problem of memorizing Chinese characters are described by Jonathan Spence in *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Viking,

1984). Significantly, Lull was a key influence on the "proto-sinologist" Athanasius Kircher, discussed in D. E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 174-188.

4. Lorayne, *Super-Power Memory*, 40; emphasis in original.

5. Lorayne, *Super-Power Memory*, 45-46.

6. Judging from examples in the book, it appears that the digraph <th> is treated as if it were /t/ + /h/; likewise, <ng> is taken as /n/ + /g/, at least when pronounced as in *finger*.

7. There are of course rare individuals, like the Indian prodigy Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1920), for whom numbers seem to be have individual personalities. British mathematician J. E. Littlewood remembered "once going to see him when he was lying ill at Putney. I had ridden in taxicab number 1729, and remarked that the number seemed to me rather a dull one, and that I hoped it was not an unfavorable omen. 'No,' he replied, 'it is a very interesting number; it is the smallest number expressible as the sum of two cubes in two different ways'" (G. H Hardy, *A Mathematician's Apology* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1940). If you have memorized the first dozen cubes, you might notice that $1,729 = 1,728 + 1 = 12^3 + 1^3 = 1,000 + 729 = 10^3 + 9^3$ but, unless Ramanujan was simply recalling a result he had found at leisure earlier, it is remarkable he could assert *immediately* that no smaller integer is likewise decomposable.

I have been told that Ramanujan's epitaph reads, "Every integer was his friend"--*si non è vero, è ben trovato.*

8. Lorayne, *Super-Memory*, 16; emphasis in original.

9. Lorayne, *Super-Memory*, 144.

10. In fact, of course, the so-called meanings of *kanji* are just a by-product of how they are used in the orthography of Japanese. It is the morphemes of Japanese that convey meaning; the *kanji* are merely semantic parasites and sometimes correspond to something more or less than an actual morpheme.

11. Indeed, 書 stands for a noun in Mandarin, *shū* 'book', and only for the invariant *ka* part of Japanese *kaku*, which has dozens of other forms including *kaita*, *okaki ni narimasu*, and *kakaserarenakattara*.

12. James W. Heisig, *Remembering the Kanji I: A Complete Course on How Not to Forget the Meaning and Writing of Japanese Characters* (1977); *II: A Systematic Guide to Reading Characters* (1987). Tōkyō: Japan Publications Trading Company.

13. Actually, a whole act can be developed around this one technique. The best known method is the so-called Nikola System, which makes it possible to execute a mystifying group of seemingly unrelated effects. See Jean Hugard & John J. Crimmins, Jr., eds., *Encyclopedia of Card Tricks* (London: Faber & Faber, 1961).

14. At a conference in June 1985 at Nagoya, I heard a story about an Egyptian student studying in Japan. He decided to commit Nelson's Japanese-English character dictionary to memory the same way he had memorized the Qu'ran as a child. He was greatly dismayed to discover that his monumental and largely successful effort resulted in virtually no improvement in his Japanese reading or speaking ability.

Why Chinese Is So Damn Hard

by
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The first question any thoughtful person might ask when reading the title of this essay is, "Hard for whom?" A reasonable question. After all, Chinese people seem to learn it just fine. When little Chinese kids go through the "terrible twos", it's Chinese they use to drive their parents crazy, and in a few years the same kids are actually using those impossibly complicated Chinese characters to scribble love notes and shopping lists. So what do I mean by "hard"? Since I know at the outset that the whole tone of this document is going to involve a lot of whining and complaining, I may as well come right out and say exactly what I mean. I mean hard for *me*, a native English speaker trying to learn Chinese as an adult, going through the whole process with the textbooks, the tapes, the conversation partners, etc., — the whole torturous rigamarole. I mean hard for me — and, of course, for the many other Westerners who have spent years of their lives bashing their heads against the Great Wall of Chinese.

If this were as far as I went, my statement would be a pretty empty one. Of *course* Chinese is hard for me. After all, *any* foreign language is hard for a non-native, right? Well, sort of. Not all foreign languages are equally difficult for any learner. It depends on which language you're coming from. A French person can usually learn Italian faster than an American, and an average American could probably master German a lot faster than an average Japanese, and so on. So part of what I'm contending is that Chinese is hard compared to... well, compared to almost any other language you might care to tackle. What I mean is that Chinese is not only hard for *us* (English speakers), but it's also hard in absolute terms. Which means that Chinese is also hard for *them,* for Chinese people.[1]

If you don't believe this, just ask a Chinese person. Most Chinese people will cheerfully acknowledge that their language is hard, maybe the hardest on earth. (Many are even proud of this, in the same way some New Yorkers are actually proud of living in the most unlivable city in America.) Maybe all Chinese people deserve a medal just for being born Chinese. At any rate, they generally become aware at some point of the Everest-like status of their native language, as they, from their privileged vantage point on the summit, observe foolhardy foreigners huffing and puffing up the steep slopes.

Everyone's heard the supposed fact that if you take the English idiom "It's Greek to me" and search for equivalent idioms in all the world's languages to arrive at a consensus as to which language is the hardest, the results of such a linguistic survey is that Chinese easily wins as the canonical incomprehensible language. (For example, the French have the expression *"C'est du chinois"*, "It's Chinese", i.e., "It's incomprehensible". Other languages have similar sayings.) So then the question arises: What do the Chinese *themselves* consider to be an impossibly hard language? You then look for the corresponding phrase in Chinese, and you find *"Gēn tiānshū yíyàng"*, meaning "It's like heavenly script."

There is truth in this linguistic yarn; Chinese does deserve its reputation for heartbreaking difficulty. Those who undertake to study the language for any other reason than the sheer joy of it will always be frustrated by the abysmal ratio of effort to effect. Those who are actually attracted to the language precisely because of its daunting complexity and difficulty will never be disappointed. Whatever the reason they started, every single person who has undertaken to study Chinese sooner or later asks themselves "Why in the world am I doing this?" Those who can still remember their original goals will wisely abandon the attempt then and there, since nothing could be worth all that tedious struggle. Those who merely say "I've come this far — I can't stop

[1] I am speaking of the writing system here, but the difficulty of the writing system has such a pervasive effect on literacy and general language mastery that I think the statement as a whole is still valid.

now" will have some chance of succeeding, since they have the kind of mindless doggedness and lack of sensible overall perspective that it takes.

Okay, having explained a bit of what I mean by the word, I return to my original question: Why is Chinese so damn *hard*?

1. Because the writing system is ridiculous.

Beautiful, complex, mysterious — but ridiculous. I, like many students of Chinese, was first attracted to Chinese because of the writing system, which is surely one of the most fascinating scripts in the world. The more you learn about Chinese characters the more intriguing and addicting they become. The study of Chinese characters can become a lifelong obsession, and you soon find yourself engaged in the daily task of accumulating them, drop by drop from the vast sea of characters, in a vain attempt to hoard them in the leaky bucket of long-term memory.

The beauty of the characters is indisputable, but as the Chinese people began to realize the importance of universal literacy, it became clear that these ideograms were sort of like bound feet— some fetishists may have liked the way they looked, but they weren't too practical for daily use.

For one thing, it is simply unreasonably hard to learn enough characters to become functionally literate. Again, someone may ask "Hard in comparison to what?" And the answer is easy: Hard in comparison to Spanish, Greek, Russian, Hindi, or any other sane, "normal" language that requires at most a few dozen symbols to write anything in the language. John DeFrancis, in his book *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, reports that his Chinese colleagues estimate it takes seven to eight years for a Mandarin speaker to learn to read and write three thousand characters, whereas his French and Spanish colleagues estimate that students in their respective countries achieve comparable levels in half that time.[2] Naturally, this estimate is rather crude and impressionistic (it's unclear what "comparable levels" means here), but the overall implications are obvious: the Chinese writing system is harder to learn, in absolute terms, than an alphabetic writing system.[3] Even Chinese kids, whose minds are at their peak absorptive power, have more trouble with Chinese characters than their little counterparts in other countries have with their respective scripts. Just imagine the difficulties experienced by relatively sluggish post-pubescent foreign learners such as myself.

Everyone has heard that Chinese is hard because of the huge number of characters one has to learn, and this is absolutely true. There are a lot of popular books and articles that downplay this difficulty, saying things like "Despite the fact that Chinese has [10,000, 25,000, 50,000, take your pick] separate characters you really only need 2,000 or so to read a newspaper". Poppycock. I couldn't comfortably read a newspaper when I had 2,000 characters under my belt. I often had to look up several characters per line, and even after that I had trouble pulling the meaning out of the article. (I take it as a given that what is meant by "read" in this context is "read and basically comprehend the text without having to look up dozens of characters"; otherwise the claim is rather empty.)

This fairy tale is promulgated because of the fact that, when you look at the character frequencies, over 95% of the characters in any newspaper are easily among the first 2,000 most

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[2] John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984, p.153. Most of the issues in this paper are dealt with at length and with great clarity in both this book and in his *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.

[3] Incidentally, I'm aware that much of what I've said above applies to Japanese as well, but it seems clear that the burden placed on a learner of Japanese is much lighter because (a) the number of Chinese characters used in Japanese is "only" about 2,000 — fewer by a factor of two or three compared to the number needed by the average literate Chinese reader; and (b) the Japanese have phonetic syllabaries (the *hiragana* and *katakana* characters), which are nearly 100% phonetically reliable and are in many ways easier to master than chaotic English orthography is.

common ones.[4] But what such accounts don't tell you is that there will still be plenty of unfamiliar words made up of those familiar characters. (To illustrate this problem, note that in English, knowing the words "up" and "tight" doesn't mean you know the word "uptight".) Plus, as anyone who has studied any language knows, you can often be familiar with every single word in a text and still not be able to grasp the meaning. Reading comprehension is not simply a matter of knowing a lot of words; one has to get a feeling for how those words combine with other words in a multitude of different contexts.[5] In addition, there is the obvious fact that even though you may know 95% of the characters in a given text, the remaining 5% are often the very characters that are crucial for understanding the main point of the text. A non-native speaker of English reading an article with the headline "JACUZZIS FOUND EFFECTIVE IN TREATING PHLEBITIS" is not going to get very far if they don't know the words "jacuzzi" or "phlebitis".

The problem of reading is often a touchy one for those in the China field. How many of us would dare stand up in front of a group of colleagues and read a randomly-selected passage out loud? Yet inferiority complexes or fear of losing face causes many teachers and students to become unwitting cooperators a kind of conspiracy of silence wherein everyone pretends that after four years of Chinese the diligent student should be whizzing through anything from Confucius to Lu Xun, pausing only occasionally to look up some pesky low-frequency character (in their Chinese-Chinese dictionary, of course). Others, of course, are more honest about the difficulties. The other day one of my fellow graduate students, someone who has been studying Chinese for ten years or more, said to me "My research is really hampered by the fact that *I still just can't read Chinese*. It takes me hours to get through two or three pages, and I can't skim to save my life." This would be an astonishing admission for a tenth-year student of, say, French literature, yet it is a comment I hear all the time among my peers (at least in those unguarded moments when one has had a few too many Tsingtao beers and has begun to lament how slowly work on the thesis is coming).

A teacher of mine once told me of a game he and a colleague would sometimes play: The contest involved pulling a book at random from the shelves of the Chinese section of the Asia Library and then seeing who could be the first to figure out what the book was about. Anyone who has spent time working in an East Asia collection can verify that this can indeed be a difficult enough task — never mind *reading* the book in question. This state of affairs is very disheartening for the student who is impatient to begin feasting on the vast riches of Chinese literature, but must subsist on a bland diet of canned handouts, textbook examples, and carefully edited appetizers for the first few years.

The comparison with learning the usual western languages is striking. After about a year of studying French, I was able to read a lot. I went through the usual kinds of novels — *La nausée* by Sartre, Voltaire's *Candide*, *L'étranger* by Camus — plus countless newspapers, magazines, comic books, etc. It was a lot of work but fairly painless; all I really needed was a good dictionary and a battered French grammar book I got at a garage sale.

This kind of "sink or swim" approach just doesn't work in Chinese. At the end of *three* years of learning Chinese, I hadn't yet read a single complete novel. I found it just too hard, impossibly slow, and unrewarding. Newspapers, too, were still too daunting. I couldn't read an article without looking up about every tenth character, and it was not uncommon for me to scan the front page of the *People's Daily* and not be able to completely decipher a single headline. Someone at that time suggested I read *The Dream of the Red Chamber* and gave me a nice three-volume edition. I just have to laugh. It still sits on my shelf like a fat, smug Buddha, only the first twenty or so pages filled with scribbled definitions and question marks, the rest crisp and virgin. After six years of studying Chinese, I'm still not at a level where I can actually read it without an English translation to consult. (By "read it", I mean, of course, "read it for pleasure".

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[4] See, for ex., Chen Heqin, *"Yutiwen yingyong zihui"* [Characters used in vernacular literature], Shanghai, 1928.

[5] John DeFrancis deals with this issue, among other places, in "Why Johnny Can't Read Chinese", *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 1966, pp. 1-20.

I suppose if someone put a gun to my head and a dictionary in my hand, I could get through it.) Simply diving into the vast pool of Chinese in the beginning is not only foolhardy, it can even be counterproductive. As George Kennedy writes, "The difficulty of memorizing a Chinese ideograph as compared with the difficulty of learning a new word in a European language, is such that *a rigid economy of mental effort is imperative*."[6] This is, if anything, an understatement. With the risk of drowning so great, the student is better advised to spend more time in the shallow end treading water before heading toward the deep end.

As if all this weren't bad enough, another ridiculous aspect of the Chinese writing system is that there are two (mercifully overlapping) sets of characters: the traditional characters still used in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and the simplified characters adopted by the People's Republic of China in the late 1950's and early 60's. Any foreign student of Chinese is more or less forced to become familiar with both sets, since they are routinely exposed to textbooks and materials from both Chinas. This linguistic camel's-back-breaking straw puts an absurd burden on the already absurdly burdened student of Chinese, who at this point would gladly trade places with Sisyphus. But since Chinese people themselves are *never* equally proficient in both simplified and complex characters, there is absolutely no shame whatsoever in eventually concentrating on one set to the partial exclusion the other. In fact, there is absolutely no shame in giving up Chinese altogether, when you come right down to it.

2. Because the language doesn't have the common sense to use an alphabet.

To further explain why the Chinese writing system is so hard in this respect, it might be a good idea to spell out (no pun intended) why that of English is so easy. Imagine the kind of task faced by the average Chinese adult who decides to study English. What skills are needed to master the writing system? That's easy: 26 letters. (In upper and lower case, of course, plus script and a few variant forms. And throw in some quote marks, apostrophes, dashes, parentheses, etc. — all things the Chinese use in their own writing system.) And how are these letters written? From left to right, horizontally, across the page, with spaces to indicate word boundaries. Forgetting for a moment the problem of spelling and actually making words out of these letters, how long does it take this Chinese learner of English to master the various components of the English writing system? Maybe a day or two.

Now consider the American undergraduate who decides to study Chinese. What does it take for this person to master the Chinese writing system? There is nothing that corresponds to an alphabet, though there are recurring components that make up the characters. How many such components are there? Don't ask. As with all such questions about Chinese, the answer is very messy and unsatisfying. It depends on how you define "component" (strokes? radicals?), plus a lot of other tedious details. Suffice it to say, the number is quite large, vastly more than the 26 letters of the Roman alphabet. And how are these components combined to form characters? Well, you name it — components to the left of other components, to the right of other components, on top of other components, surrounding other components, inside of other components — almost anything is possible. And in the process of making these spatial accommodations, these components get flattened, stretched, squashed, shortened, and distorted in order to fit in the uniform square space that all characters are supposed to fit into. In other words, the components of Chinese characters are arrayed in *two* dimensions, rather than in the neat one-dimensional rows of alphabetic writing.

Okay, so ignoring for the moment the question of elegance, how long does it take a Westerner to learn the Chinese writing system so that when confronted with any new character they at least know how to move the pen around in order to produce a reasonable facsimile of that character? Again, hard to say, but I would estimate that it takes the average learner several months of hard work to get the basics down. Maybe a year or more if they're a klutz who was never very good in art class. Meanwhile, their Chinese counterpart learning English has zoomed ahead to learn cursive script, with time left over to read *Moby Dick*, or at least Strunk & White.

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[6] George Kennedy, "A Minimum Vocabulary in Modern Chinese", in *Selected Works of George Kennedy*, Tien-yi Li (ed.), New Haven, 1964, p. 8.

This is not exactly big news, I know; the alphabet really is a breeze to learn. Chinese people I know who have studied English for a few years can usually write with a handwriting style that is almost indistinguishable from that of the average American. Very few Americans, on the other hand, *ever* learn to produce a natural calligraphic hand in Chinese that resembles anything but that of an awkward Chinese third-grader. If there were nothing else hard about Chinese, the task of learning to write characters alone would put it in the rogues' gallery of hard-to-learn languages.

3. Because the writing system just ain't very phonetic.

So much for the physical process of writing the characters themselves. What about the sheer task of memorizing so many characters? Again, a comparison of English and Chinese is instructive. Suppose a Chinese person has just the previous day learned the English word "president", and now wants to write it from memory. How to start? Anyone with a year or two of English experience is going to have a host of clues and spelling rules-of-thumb, albeit imperfect ones, to help them along. The word really couldn't start with anything but "pr", and after that a little guesswork aided by visual memory ("Could a 'z' be in there? That's an unusual letter, I would have noticed it, I think. Must be an 's'...") should produce something close to the target. Not every foreigner (or native speaker for that matter) has noted or internalized the various flawed spelling heuristics of English, of course, but they are at least there to be utilized.

Now imagine that you, a learner of Chinese, have just the previous day encountered the Chinese word for "president" (总统 *zǒngtǒng*) and want to write it. What processes do you go through in retrieving the word? Well, very often you just totally forget, with a forgetting that is both absolute and perfect in a way few things in this life are. You can repeat the word as often as you like; the sound won't give you a clue as to how the character is to be written. After you learn a few more characters and get hip to a few more phonetic components, you can do a bit better. ("*Zǒng* 总 is a phonetic component in some other character, right?...*Song? Zeng?* Oh yeah, *cōng* 聪 as in *cōngmíng* 聪明.") Of course, the phonetic aspect of some characters is more obvious than that of others, but many characters, including some of the most high-frequency ones, give no clue at all as to their pronunciation.

All of this is to say that Chinese is just not very phonetic when compared to English. (English, in turn, is less phonetic than a language like German or Spanish, but Chinese isn't even in the same ballpark.) It is not true, as some people outside the field tend to think, that Chinese is not phonetic at all, though a perfectly intelligent beginning student could go several months without noticing this fact. Just how phonetic the language is a very complex issue. Educated opinions range from 25% (Zhao Yuanren)[7] to around 66% (DeFrancis),[8] though the latter estimate assumes more knowledge of phonetic components than most learners are likely to have. One could say that Chinese is phonetic in the way that sex is aerobic: technically so, but in practical use not the most salient thing about it. Furthermore, this phonetic aspect of the language doesn't really become very useful until you've learned a few hundred characters, and even when you've learned two thousand, the feeble phoneticity of Chinese will never provide you with the constant memory prod that the phonetic quality of English does.

Which means that often you just completely forget how to write a character. Period. If there is no obvious semantic clue in the radical, and no helpful phonetic component somewhere in the character, you're just sunk. And you're sunk whether your native language is Chinese or not; contrary to popular myth, Chinese people are not born with the ability to memorize arbitrary squiggles. In fact, one of the most gratifying experiences a foreign student of Chinese can have is to see a native speaker come up a complete blank when called upon to write the characters for some relatively common word. You feel an enormous sense of vindication and relief to see a native speaker experience the exact same difficulty you experience every day.

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[7] Zhao Yuanren, *Aspects of Chinese Sociolinguistics*, Anwar S. Dil (ed.), Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976, p. 92.

[8] John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, p. 109.

This is *such* a gratifying experience, in fact, that I have actually kept a list of characters that I have observed Chinese people forget how to write. (A sick, obsessive activity, I know.) I have seen highly literate Chinese people forget how to write certain characters in common words like "tin can", "knee", "screwdriver", "snap" (as in "to snap one's fingers"), "elbow", "ginger", "cushion", "firecracker", and so on. And when I say "forget", I mean that they often cannot even put the first stroke down on the paper. Can you imagine a well-educated native English speaker *totally* forgetting how to write a word like "knee" or "tin can"? Or even a rarely-seen word like "scabbard" or "ragamuffin"? No matter how low-frequency the word is, or how unorthodox the spelling, the English speaker can always come up with *something*, simply because there has to be *some* correspondence between sound and spelling. One might forget whether "abracadabra" is hyphenated or not, or get the last few letters wrong on "rhinoceros", but even the poorest of spellers can make a reasonable stab at almost anything. By contrast, often even the most well-educated Chinese have no recourse but to throw up their hands and ask someone else in the room how to write some particularly elusive character.

As one mundane example of the advantages of a phonetic writing system, here is one kind of linguistic situation I encountered constantly while I was in France. (Again I use French as my canonical example of an "easy" foreign language.) I wake up one morning in Paris and turn on the radio. An ad comes on, and I hear the word *"amortisseur"* several times. "What's an amortisseur?" I think to myself, but as I am in a hurry to make an appointment, I forget to look the word up in my haste to leave the apartment. A few hours later I'm walking down the street, and I read, on a sign, the word *"AMORTISSEUR"* — the word I heard earlier this morning. Beneath the word on the sign is a picture of a shock absorber. Aha! So "amortisseur" means "shock absorber". And *voilà!* I've learned a new word, quickly and painlessly, all because the sound I construct when reading the word is the same as the sound in my head from the radio this morning — one reinforces the other. Throughout the next week I see the word again several times, and each time I can reconstruct the sound by simply reading the word phonetically — *"a-mor-tis-seur"*. Before long I can retrieve the word easily, use it in conversation, or write it in a letter to a friend. And the process of learning a foreign language begins to seem less daunting.

When I first went to Taiwan for a few months, the situation was quite different. I was awash in a sea of characters that were all visually interesting but phonetically mute. I carried around a little dictionary to look up unfamiliar characters in, but it's almost impossible to look up a character in a Chinese dictionary while walking along a crowded street (more on dictionary look-up later), and so I didn't get nearly as much phonetic reinforcement as I got in France. In Taiwan I could pass a shop with a sign advertising shock absorbers and never know how to pronounce any of the characters unless I first look them up. And even then, the next time I pass the shop I might have to look the characters up again. And again, and again. The reinforcement does not come naturally and easily.

4. Because you can't cheat by using cognates.

I remember when I had been studying Chinese very hard for about three years, I had an interesting experience. One day I happened to find a Spanish-language newspaper sitting on a seat next to me. I picked it up out of curiosity. "Hmm," I thought to myself. "I've never studied Spanish in my life. I wonder how much of this I can understand." At random I picked a short article about an airplane crash and started to read. I found I could basically glean, with some guesswork, most of the information from the article. The crash took place near Los Angeles. 186 people were killed. There were no survivors. The plane crashed just one minute after take-off. There was nothing on the flight recorder to indicate an critical situation, and the tower was unaware of any emergency. The plane had just been serviced three days before and no mechanical problems had been found. And so on. After finishing the article I had a sudden discouraging realization: *Having never studied a day of Spanish, I could read a Spanish newspaper more easily than I could a Chinese newspaper after more than three years of studying Chinese.*

What was going on here? Why was this "foreign" language so transparent? The reason was obvious: cognates — those helpful words that are just English words with a little foreign make-

up.[9] I could read the article because most of the operative words were basically English: *"aeropuerto"*, *"problema mecánico"*, *"un minuto"*, *"situación crítica"*, *"emergencia"*, etc. Recognizing these words as just English words in disguise is about as difficult as noticing that Superman is really Clark Kent without his glasses. That these quasi-English words are easier to learn than Chinese characters (which might as well be quasi-Martian) goes without saying.

Imagine you are a diabetic, and you find yourself in Spain about to go into insulin shock. You can rush into a doctor's office, and, with a minimum of Spanish and a couple of pieces of guesswork ("diabetes" is just *"diabetes"* and "insulin" is *"insulina"*, it turns out), you're saved. In China you'd be a goner for sure, unless you happen to have a dictionary with you, and even then you would probably pass out while frantically looking for the first character in the word for insulin. Which brings me to the next reason why Chinese is so hard.

5. Because even looking up a word in the dictionary is complicated.

One of the most unreasonably difficult things about learning Chinese is that merely learning how to look up a word in the dictionary is about the equivalent of an entire semester of secretarial school. When I was in Taiwan, I heard that they sometimes held dictionary look-up contests in the junior high schools. Imagine a language where simply looking a word up in the dictionary is considered a skill like debate or volleyball! Chinese is not exactly what you would call a user-friendly language, but a Chinese dictionary is positively user-*hostile*.

Figuring out all the radicals and their variants, plus dealing with the ambiguous characters with no obvious radical at all is a stupid, time-consuming chore that slows the learning process down by a factor of ten as compared to other languages with a sensible alphabet or the equivalent. I'd say it took me a good year before I could reliably find in the dictionary any character I might encounter. And to this day, I will very occasionally stumble onto a character that I simply can't find at *all*, even after ten minutes of searching. At such times I raise my hands to the sky, Job-like, and consider going into telemarketing.

Chinese must also be one of the most dictionary-intensive languages on earth. I currently have more than twenty Chinese dictionaries of various kinds on my desk, and they all have a specific and distinct use. There are dictionaries with simplified characters used on the mainland, dictionaries with the traditional characters used in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and dictionaries with both. There are dictionaries that use the Wade-Giles romanization, dictionaries that use *pinyin*, and dictionaries that use other more surrealistic romanization methods. There are dictionaries of classical Chinese particles, dictionaries of Beijing dialect, dictionaries of *chéngyǔ* (four-character idioms), dictionaries of *xiēhòuyǔ* (special allegorical two-part sayings), dictionaries of *yànyǔ* (proverbs), dictionaries of Chinese communist terms, dictionaries of Buddhist terms, reverse dictionaries... on and on. An exhaustive hunt for some elusive or problematic lexical item can leave one's desk "strewn with dictionaries as numerous as dead soldiers on a battlefield."[10]

For looking up unfamiliar characters there is another method called the four-corner system. This method is very fast — rumored to be, in principle, about as fast as alphabetic look-up (though I haven't met anyone yet who can hit the winning number each time on the first try). Unfortunately, learning this method takes about as much time and practice as learning the Dewey decimal system. Plus you are then at the mercy of the few dictionaries that are arranged according to the numbering scheme of the four-corner system. Those who have mastered this system usually swear by it. The rest of us just swear.

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[9] Charles Hockett reminds me that many of my examples are really instances of loan words, not cognates, but rather than take up space dealing with the issue, I will blur the distinction a bit here. There are phonetic loan words from English into Chinese, of course, but they are scarce curiosities rather than plentiful semantic moorings.

[10] A phrase taken from an article by Victor Mair with the deceptively boring title "The Need for an Alphabetically Arranged General Usage Dictionary of Mandarin Chinese: A Review Article of Some Recent Dictionaries and Current Lexicographical Projects" (*Sino-Platonic Papers*, No. 1, February, 1986, Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania). Mair includes a rather hilarious but realistic account of the tortuous steeplechase of looking up a low-frequency lexical item in his arsenal of Chinese dictionaries.

Another problem with looking up words in the dictionary has to do with the nature of written Chinese. In most languages it's pretty obvious where the word boundaries lie — there are spaces between the words. If you don't know the word in question, it's usually fairly clear what you should look up. (What actually constitutes a word is a very subtle issue, of course, but for my purposes here, what I'm saying is basically correct.) In Chinese there are spaces between *characters*, but it takes quite a lot of knowledge of the language and often some genuine sleuth work to tell where *word* boundaries lie; thus it's often trial and error to look up a word. It would be as if English were written thus:

FEAR LESS LY OUT SPOKE N BUT SOME WHAT HUMOR LESS NEW ENG LAND BORN LEAD ACT OR GEORGE MICHAEL SON EX PRESS ED OUT RAGE TO DAY AT THE STALE MATE BE TWEEN MAN AGE MENT AND THE ACT OR 'S UNION BE CAUSE THE STAND OFF HAD SET BACK THE TIME TABLE FOR PRO DUC TION OF HIS PLAY, A ONE MAN SHOW CASE THAT WAS HIS FIRST RUN A WAY BROAD WAY BOX OFFICE SMASH HIT. "THE FIRST A MEND MENT IS AT IS SUE" HE PRO CLAIM ED. "FOR A CENS OR OR AN EDIT OR TO EDIT OR OTHER WISE BLUE PENCIL QUESTION ABLE DIA LOG JUST TO KOW TOW TO RIGHT WING BORN AGAIN BIBLE THUMP ING FRUIT CAKE S IS A DOWN RIGHT DIS GRACE."

Imagine how this difference would compound the dictionary look-up difficulties of a non-native speaker of English. The passage is pretty trivial for *us* to understand, but then we already know English. For them it would often be hard to tell where the word boundaries were supposed to be. So it is, too, with someone trying to learn Chinese.

6. Then there's classical Chinese (*wenyanwen*).

Forget it. Way too difficult. If you think that after three or four years of study you'll be breezing through Confucius and Mencius in the way third-year French students at a comparable level are reading Diderot and Voltaire, you're sadly mistaken. There are some westerners who can comfortably read classical Chinese, but most of them have a lot of gray hair or at least tenure.

Unfortunately, classical Chinese pops up everywhere, especially in Chinese paintings and character scrolls, and most people will assume anyone literate in Chinese can read it. It's truly embarrassing to be out at a Chinese restaurant, and someone asks you to translate some characters on a wall hanging.

"Hey, *you* speak Chinese. What does this scroll say?" You look up and see that the characters are written in *wenyan*, and in incomprehensible "grass-style" calligraphy to boot. It might as well be an EKG readout of a dying heart patient.

"Uh, I can make out one or two of the characters, but I couldn't tell you what it says," you stammer. "I think it's about a phoenix or something."

"Oh, I thought you knew Chinese," says your friend, returning to their menu. Never mind that an honest-to-goodness Chinese person would also just scratch their head and shrug; the face that is lost is yours.

Whereas modern Mandarin is merely perversely hard, classical Chinese is deliberately impossible. Here's a secret that sinologists won't tell you: A passage in classical Chinese can be understood only if you *already know what the passage says in the first place*. This is because classical Chinese really consists of several centuries of esoteric anecdotes and in-jokes written in a kind of terse, miserly code for dissemination among a small, elite group of intellectually-inbred bookworms who already knew the whole literature backwards and forwards, anyway. An uninitiated westerner can no more be expected to understand such writing than Confucius himself, if transported to the present, could understand the entries in the "personal" section of the classified ads that say things like: "Hndsm. SWGM, 24, 160, sks BGM or WGM for gentle S&M, mod. bndg., some lthr., twosm or threesm ok, have own equip., wheels, 988-8752 lv. mssg. on ans. mach., no weirdos please."

In fairness, it should be said that classical Chinese gets easier the more you attempt it. But then so does hitting a hole in one, or swimming the English channel in a straitjacket.

7. Because there are too many romanization methods and they're all lousy.

Well, perhaps that's too harsh. But it is true that there are too many of them, and most of them were designed either by committee or, worse, by linguists. It is, of course, a very tricky task to devise a romanization method; some are better than others, but all involve plenty of counterintuitive spellings.[11] And if you're serious about a career in Chinese, you'll have to grapple with at least four or five of them, not including the *bopomofu* phonetic symbols used in Taiwan. There are probably a dozen or more romanization schemes out there somewhere, most of them mercifully obscure and rightfully ignored. There is a standing joke among sinologists that one of the first signs of senility in a China scholar is the compulsion to come up with a new romanization method.

8. Because tonal languages are weird.

Okay, that's very Anglo-centric, I know it. But I have to mention this problem because it's one of the most common complaints about learning Chinese; and it's one of the aspects of the language that westerners are notoriously bad at. Every person who tackles Chinese at first has a little trouble believing this aspect of the language. How is it possible that *shùxué* means "mathematics" while *shūxuè* means "blood transfusion", or that *guòjiǎng* means "you flatter me" while *guǒjiàng* means "fruit paste"?

By itself, this property of Chinese would be hard enough; it means that, for us non-native speakers, there is this extra, seemingly irrelevant aspect of the sound of a word that you must memorize along with the vowels and consonants. But where the real difficulty comes in is when you start to really *use* Chinese to express yourself. You suddenly find yourself straitjacketed — when you say the sentence with the intonation that feels natural, the tones come out all wrong. For example, if you wish say something like "Hey, that's *my* water glass you're drinking out of!", and you follow your intonational instincts — that is, to put a distinct falling tone on the first character of the word for "my" — you will have said a kind of gibberish that may or may not be understood.

Intonation and stress habits are incredibly ingrained and second-nature. With non-tonal languages you can basically import, *mutatis mutandis,* your habitual ways of emphasing, negating, stressing, and questioning. The results may be somewhat non-native but usually understandable. Not so with Chinese, where your intonational contours must always obey the tonal constraints of the specific words you've chosen. Chinese speakers, of course, can express all of the intonational subtleties available in non-tonal languages — it's just that they do it in a way that is somewhat alien to us speakers of non-tonal languages. When you first begin using your Chinese to talk about subjects that actually *matter* to you, you find that it feels somewhat like trying to have a passionate argument with your hands tied behind your back — you are suddenly robbed of some vital expressive tools you hadn't even been aware of having.

9. Because east is east and west is west, and the twain have only recently met.

Language and culture cannot be separated, of course, and one of the main reasons Chinese is so difficult for Americans is that our two cultures have been isolated for so long. The reason reading French sentences like "*Le président Bush assure le peuple koweitien que le gouvernement américain va continuer à défendre le Koweit contre la menace irakienne,*" is about as hard as deciphering pig Latin is not just because of the deep Indo-European family resemblance, but also because the core concepts and cultural assumptions in such utterances stem from the same source. We share the same art history, the same music history, the same *history* history — which means that in the head of a French person there is basically the same set of

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[11] I have noticed from time to time that the romanization method first used tends to influence one's accent in Chinese. It seems to me a Chinese person with a very keen ear could distinguish Americans speaking, say, Wade-Giles-accented Chinese from *pinyin*-accented Chinese.

archetypes and the same cultural cast of characters that's in an American's head. We are as familiar with Rimbaud as they are with Rambo. In fact, compared to the difference between China and the U.S., American culture and and French culture seem about as different as Peter Pan and Skippy peanut butter.

Speaking with a Chinese person is usually a different matter. You just can't drop Dickens, Tarzan, Jack the Ripper, Goethe, or the Beatles into a conversation and expect to be understood. I have a Chinese friend who at one time had read the first translations of Kafka into Chinese, yet didn't know who Santa Claus was. And forget about mentioning anything as current as Madonna or Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles; you will get a very, very blank stare. (American movies and TV shows, staple entertainment fare in other parts of the world for decades, have only recently been allowed into China.) They will know a lot about Nixon, of course, but don't be surprised if they tell you with a straight face that he was the greatest American president of the twentieth century.

Similarly, how many Americans other than sinophiles have even a rough idea of the chronology of China's dynasties? Has the average history major here ever heard of Qin Shi Huang Di and his contribution to Chinese culture? How many American music majors have ever heard a note of Peking Opera, or would recognize a *pípá* if they tripped over one? How many otherwise literate Americans have heard of Lu Xun, Ba Jin, or even Mozi?

What this means is that when Americans and Chinese get together, there is often not just a language barrier, but an immense cultural barrier as well. Of course, this is one of the reasons the study of Chinese is so interesting. It is also one of the reasons it is so damn hard.

Conclusion

I could go on and on, but I figure if the reader has bothered to read this far, I'm preaching to the converted, anyway. Those who have tackled other difficult languages have their own litany of horror stories, I'm sure. But I still feel reasonably confident in asserting that, for an average American, Chinese is significantly harder to learn than *any* of the other thirty or so major world languages that are usually studied formally at the university level (though Japanese in many ways comes close). Not too interesting for linguists, maybe, but something to consider if you've decided to better yourself by learning a foreign language, and you're thinking "Gee, Chinese looks kinda neat."

It's pretty hard to quantify a process as complex and multi-faceted as language-learning, but one simple metric is to simply estimate the time it takes to master the requisite language-learning skills. When you consider all the above-mentioned things a learner of Chinese has to acquire — ability to use a dictionary, familiarity with two or three romanization methods, a grasp of principles involved in writing characters (both simplified and traditional) — it adds up to an awful lot of down time while one is "learning to learn" Chinese.

How much harder is Chinese? Again, I'll use French as my canonical "easy language". This is a very rough and intuitive estimate, but I would say that it takes about three times as long to reach a level of comfortable fluency in speaking, reading, and writing Chinese as it takes to reach a comparable level in French. An average American could probably become reasonably fluent in *two* Romance languages in the time it would take them to reach the same level in Chinese.

One could perhaps view learning languages as being similar to learning musical instruments. Despite the esoteric glories of the harmonica literature, it's probably safe to say that the piano is a lot harder and more time-consuming to learn. To extend the analogy, there is also the fact that we are *all* virtuosos on at least one "instrument" (namely, our native language), and learning instruments from the same family is easier than embarking on a completely different instrument. A Spanish person learning Portugese is comparable to a violinist taking up the viola, whereas an American learning Chinese is more like a rock guitarist trying to learn to play an elaborate 30-stop three-manual pipe organ.

Someone once said that learning Chinese is "a five-year lesson in humility". I used to think this meant that at the end of five years you will have mastered Chinese and learned humility along the way. However, now having studied Chinese for over six years, I have concluded that

actually the phrase means that after five years your Chinese will *still* be abysmal, but at least you will have thoroughly learned humility.

There is still the awe-inspiring fact that Chinese people manage learn their own language very well. Perhaps they are like the gradeschool kids that Baroque performance groups recruit to sing Bach cantatas. The story goes that someone in the audience, amazed at hearing such youthful cherubs flawlessly singing Bach's uncompromisingly difficult vocal music, asks the choir director, "But how are they able to perform such difficult music?"

"Shh — not so loud!" says the director, "If you don't tell them it's difficult, they *never know*."

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(A longer version of this paper is available through CRCC, Indiana University, 510 N. Fess, Bloomington, IN, 47408.)

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Ethnolinguistic Notes on the Dungan

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We had the good fortune of spending New Year's Eve of 1986 with John DeFrancis. That memorable evening, in his elegant living room overlooking Manoa Valley, we were treated to many fascinating slides from his trip through northern China. We are delighted that he has now written a memoir of that 1935 trip, entitled In the Footsteps of Jenghis Khan. Among the peoples he met were the Dungan, whose language stirred his curiosity. His recollections planted a seed in our minds. Three years later, New Year's Eve of 1989, we were in Leningrad, on our way to Kirghizstan, one of the regions where the Dungans live. The following essay, which resulted from our brief visit there, owes its inspiration to John, and it is fitting that we offer it to this volume, to honor this remarkable scholar.

The population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, like that of China, presents a diverse array of ethnic groups. Compared to the 56 officially recognized nationalities of the People's Republic of China, preliminary results of the 1989 Soviet census list separate population figures for over 100 ethnic groups. As in China, language is the main criterion by which the Soviet Union distinguishes its national groups. Textbooks on the Soviet Union usually list three major language families into which the languages of the Soviet population can be divided: Indo-European, Ural-Altaic, and Paleo-Asiatic. Typically, these textbooks fail to mention a fourth language family which is spoken in the USSR: Sino-Tibetan. Sino-Tibetan is spoken by a relatively small Soviet nationality living near the Chinese border: the Dungans (東干人).

Our first contact with the Dungans came about as a series of fortunate coincidences which landed us in a Dungan village just east of Tokmak in the Kirghiz SSR. (It is hard to say, had we tried to plan the contact through official government channels, what kind of difficulties we would have encountered). The village that we wandered into was in the process of preparing for a wedding. Several men were busy slaughtering a cow, and the women were scurrying back and forth from courtyard to kitchen, adding chopped vegetables into large pots of boiling water in which the meat would be made into soup.

Our attempts to talk to the Dungans in Putonghua seemed to generate an immediate sense of kinship, and before we knew it we were inside one of their homes, sitting on a kang, and being offered tea and lavish trays of dried meats, fruits, and sweets. The small room was quickly filled with friendly people, neighbors and relatives. Using an odd assortment of broken Russian and Putonghua, we spent a memorable afternoon learning about the people of the village.

Although a fair amount has been written on the Dungans, most work has been in the form of rather specific or technical scholarship. Moreover, a large percentage of the work is published in either Russian, Japanese, or Chinese. This short paper is an attempt to consolidate into a more readily accessible manner, an introduction to the people who call themselves the 'Dungan'. Even this point--the extent and implications of the use of Dungan as a self-reference--is a complex issue. This, as well as several other issues explored in this paper, including the origins of the Dungan, the formation of their culture and the emergence of the names used to refer to them, are not yet fully understood and often raise more questions than answers.

According to preliminary 1989 census results, there are today approximately 69,000 Dungans in the Soviet Union (1). They live primarily in cities and villages within the Soviet Socialist Republics (SSR's) of Kirghizstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekstan (2). The Dungans are people of the Hui Hui (回回) or Hui nationality who migrated from China to Russia after anti-Manchu revolts of 1862-1877. Although the Dungans are often described in Western sources as 'Chinese Muslims', this term seems particularly inappropriate as a reference for the Dungans, at least for those who live in the Soviet Union today. The Dungans that we met in Kirghizstan were particularly sensitive about their Dungan identity, and reminded us more than once that the Dungan language is not 'Chinese' (漢語), but its own separate language. The issues of language and self-identity are very interesting in the case of the Dungan, and will be discussed later in this paper.

Another interesting point is the perceived relationship of the Dungans to the Hui nationality of China. While in Frunze, we had the opportunity to spend an evening with a Dungan man, Mr. Zhang, from the Kirghiz Academy of Social Sciences. Mr. Zhang is in his early forties. His great-grandparents migrated from Xinjiang to Russia in 1882. When we asked him, he described the nature of the Dungan-Hui relationship for us in the following way: "We are Dungans...our Hui Hui people live not only in the Soviet Union but across the border in China as well." Mr. Zhang then, (and presumably other Dungans, at least of his generation), acknowledge a common ancestry with the Hui of China, and use the term 'Hui Hui' as an alternate (if not primary) self-reference. For this reason, an understanding of the ethnic origins of the Dungans begins with a tracking of the origins of the Hui nationality in China. The trail leads us far from Mr. Zhang and Kirghizstan, to the southeastern coastal cities of 7th century China.

651 a.d., the second year of the reign of Tang Gao Zong (唐高宗), is cited as the year that Islam was formally introduced into China (Ma 1986:182). It was during this period, the middle of the 7th century, that considerable numbers of Arab and Persian merchants came by ship to China from the Persian Gulf (3). Specializing in international trade of exotic commodities such as herbs, rhinoceros horns, elephant tusks and gems, these foreign merchants began to take up residence in southern China's busy commercial ports. Their first settlements were in Guangzhou (4). Later settlements were formed in Yangzhou, Quanzhou and Hangzhou (Bai, et al 1964:6).

Over the centuries, these so-called 'foreign guests' (蕃客) or 'native-born foreign guests' (土生蕃客) adopted monosyllabic surnames that could be written with Chinese characters (5). There was also a considerable amount of intermarriage with the local Chinese, so that by the 12th century these communities had much assimilated into Chinese culture. Throughout this long period of assimilation, however, these people retained their Islamic religion and a distinctive religious culture. They built mosques and maintained separate graveyards, in which tombstones were inscribed in Arabic script (Bai, et al 1964:6).

These 'foreign guests', however, are only one minor source of the Hui nationality as we know it today. The term 'Hui' does not even appear as a name for these southern communities until several centuries later under the influence of the name of peoples then living in the north--the major source of today's Hui nationality (6).

In official documents of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), the term 'Hui Hui' is first used as a reference to predecessors of today's Hui nationality (7). The people described as 'Hui Hui' in these Yuan Dynasty sources are actually an amalgam of several groups, a result of successive waves of migrations in the wake of the military campaigns of Jenghis Khan.

Jenghis Khan began his western campaigns in 1219. By 1258, his armies had advanced as far as Baghdad. As his armies moved westward, large numbers of conquered peoples migrated to the east. Among those that continued eastward as far as China were military recruits and prisoners of war, representing a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds. The term 'Hui Hui' of the Yuan official documents refers to the mixture of Persians, Arabians, and Central Asians (including Uighurs, Tanguts and Khitans) that had settled in northern China mainly in the 13th century (8).

When the first author visited China in 1985, she asked various Chinese people why the Chinese Muslims were called the 'Hui'. A common explanation she was given was that because their Islamic tradition compelled them 'to return' to Mecca on religious pilgrimages, these people were therefore given the name 'Hui' (in Chinese, meaning 'to return'). This is an interesting piece of folk etymology, but a preliminary look into the ethnic history of northern China reveals a more likely origin of the term (9). The characters 'Hui Hui' were probably first used as a phonetic representation of the name of a northern people, most likely the 'old Uighurs' (see note 7). After the inflow of a wide variety of peoples in the 13th and 14th centuries, the term 'Hui' was then used as a reference to an amalgam of several different groups.

Although the point at which these people initiated the term 'Hui Hui' as a self-designation is uncertain, it is generally held that a portion of the Hui had adopted a common identity by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). This common identity was forged in the areas where the Hui were most densely settled: Ningxia, Gansu, and Shaanxi, as well as beyond the Yellow River in Shanxi, Hebei, and Henan (10). These areas of relatively dense Hui settlement correspond to the greater region of the Central Plains, the cultural heartland of China. An intriguing similarity exists between the Russian name for the Dungan, 'Zhunyan', and the Chinese term for the Central Plains, 'Zhongyuan'. The possibility of the term 'Dungan' having been derived from the name of the 'Zhongyuan' region that Dungans even today speak of as their homeland is an hypothesis that will be considered later in this paper.

By the middle of the 18th century, control of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) in China was in rapid decline. In Central Asia, new sectarian religious movements developed within the Muslim communities and challenged Qing supremacy. The conflicts created by these new sects, combined with Muslim repression by the Qing government, culminated in uprisings against Qing authorities in several provinces. Also during this time a new leader, Yacob Beg, rose to power in Central Asia. He took control of Kucha (1864), Urumqi (1865), and the Ili area of northwestern China (1866), and established the region as an independent state, the Moslem Emirate of Kashgaria.

Russia, taking advantage of the political unrest in China, moved into Ili in 1871. Using the Muslim disorders in China as an excuse for their occupation, the Russians claimed that they were protecting their own citizens from Muslim raids, and would withdraw from Ili when China succeeded in re-establishing order in the region. Ultimate suppression of the Muslim uprisings was the achievement of the military commander Zuo Zongtang (11). After crushing the rebellion in Gansu and Shaanxi by 1873, Zuo Zongtang began to move against Yacob Beg. Less than four years later, the whole region northward to the Tian Shan range (except for the Kuldja area in Ili) had been secured. By late 1877, Zuo Zongtang's campaigns had brought Yacob Beg's rule to an end.

One result of Zuo Zongtang's campaigns was the displacement of a large number of Hui refugees who fled with Bai Yanhu (白彦虎) from northwestern China to the Russian Semirech'e in 1877-1888 (12). Another important outcome of the re-establishment of Qing control in the region was that the Russian premise for occupying Ili was invalidated. In 1879, China sent a delegation to St. Petersburg to ask the Russians to evacuate the territory. After failure of this first meeting, a second delegation was sent which culminated in the signing of the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881. Under this treaty, almost all of Ili was returned to China (13). As control of the land switched hands, the Hui population of Ili feared further persecution from the Qing, and again large numbers crossed the border into Russia.

These two migrations are the source of the Dungan nationality living in the USSR today: the main wave coming in 1877-1878 after the fall of Yacob Beg, and smaller groups coming between 1881-1884 after the signing of the treaty of St. Petersburg. The majority of Dungans that migrated to Russia were poor, illiterate peasants. They brought with them to Russia their Chinese and Muslim cultures, agricultural techniques (including cultivation of rice, opium poppies, and new vegetable types), as well as their spoken dialects of northwestern Mandarin (Dyer 1979:1). Even today, the Dungans continue to live in Chinese-style houses, sleep on 'kang' (炕) -style beds, eat

traditional Chinese foods (such as 'manti' and 'lakhman'), use chopsticks, and observe traditional Chinese birth, death, and marriage customs (14).

In an attempt to preserve their national identity, the Dungans, like many small emigrant communities, tend to be conservative and nationalistic. One of the cultural features which has been consciously maintained by the Dungans is their language (15).

As mentioned earlier, the Dungans that we met in Kirghizstan were particularly sensitive about their Dungan identity. When, at first, we referred to Dungan as a dialect of Chinese, we were politely reminded that since the mutual intelligibility between Dungan and Chinese is low and since Dungan is written with a Cyrillic script, it is more appropriate to regard Dungan as a separate and independent language. Mr. Zhang presented us with a finely printed booklet, which included translations from Tolstoy as well as stories by native Dungan authors. We learned that a considerable literary tradition is growing around the Dungan language.

The issue as to whether or not Dungan constitutes a separate language can of course be debated, since the degree of mutual intelligibility between Dungan and its source dialects in northwest China has yet to be determined. (Comparing Dungan with Putonghua would be missing the point). Also, while the script a language uses can have important effects on the development of the language, it is not a relevant consideration for determining the degree of genetic relatedness. Similarly, the fact that Dungan is spoken across a national boundary from its source is not a relevant consideration either. Nonetheless, it is a significant sociolinguistic fact that the speakers should feel that Dungan is now an independent language.

But Dungan nationalism and conservatism have even deeper roots which divide the Dungans into even smaller communities. Dungans living only several kilometers apart identify themselves as Gansu or Shaanxi Dungans, each preserving their own traditions and dialects (Dyer 1979:13-14). On the basis of place of origin, the Dungan nationality of the Soviet Union is divided into two major and one minor groups. The Dungans living in Kirghiz SSR are primarily 'Gansu Dungan', whereas those living in the Chu Valley region of the Kazakh SSR are primarily 'Shaanxi Dungan'. The third and minor group is the 'Yage' ('Iage') or 'Dungan-Yage'. This group traces its origins to the Chinese cities of Lanzhou in Gansu, and Yinzhou in Shaanxi (16).

The topic of Dungan "homelands" leads us to questions raised earlier on the origin of the term 'Dungan'. According to Wixman

(1984:59), "the term Dungan appeared in Sinkiang province in the later half of the 18th century and referred to the immigrant Chinese from central China who settled in that area." Rimsky-Korsakoff (1987:354) clarifies this hypothesis: "The term Tung-kan hui developed in Hsinchiang in the latter part of the eighteen century to distinguish from the native Chinese Mohammedans the refugees from persecution in the East."

According to Rimsky-Korsakoff, the name 'Dungane' was first adopted by the Russians and used incorrectly as a reference to all Chinese Muslims. Apparently, this erroneous general usage was subsequently adopted by the British, Germans, and others. This accounts for what seems to be a preferential usage of the term 'Dungan' over the name 'Hui' by early 20th century European explorers in northwestern China.

As with the term 'Hui Hui', the name 'Dungan' retains its own folk etymology. In Chinese, the characters that represent 'Dungan' carry the meaning 'east' (東) [tʊŋ], and 'shield' (干) [kan]. The initial [k] in the second syllable might have emerged under the influence of the velar nasal ending of the first syllable. In other words, it is possible that earlier, the second syllable was pronounced [an], which in Chinese could mean 'shore' (岸). The possibility of such a change is relevant in considering the folk etymology of the term 'Dungan' among the Dungan themselves. According to Mr. Zhang, Dungans commonly believe that the name of their people derives from the fact that their original homeland lies beyond the 'eastern shores' [東岸] of the Yellow River.

In addition, the hypothesis may be explored for connecting the name 'Dungan' (east-shield) to 'Zhongyuan' (central-plains). Orthographically, the question immediately arises on why 'zhong' (central) should now be written with 'dong' (east), and 'yuan' (plain) should be written with 'gan' (shield). Was it due to a series of confusions that have to do with the immigrants coming from the east--perhaps the 'gan' (shield) deriving from 'an' (shore), in the manner described above? The confusions could have been both geographic and phonetic, as the speech of the immigrants confronted that of the native Altaic and other peoples in northwestern China.

Phonologically, there are problems as well. 'Zhong' began with a plain stop in Old Chinese, and hence had the same initial as 'Dong', ie, DUAN (端) category. In the Middle Chinese represented in the Qie Yun, however, the initial of 'zhong' has changed to the ZHI (知) category, while that of 'dong' has remained in DUAN. Nonetheless, the plain stop initial in 'zhong' has been preserved in many of the more conservative dialects of the south, notably the Min group. Could it have been preserved

as well in the speech of the Dungan immigrants? It is suggestive in this regard that in the Russian name, 'Zhunyan', the initial is a voiced fricative rather than a plain stop.

With respect to 'gan', we note that while 'gan' (shield) begins with the velar stop [k], 'an' (shore) and 'yuan' (plain) had an YI (疑) category initial, which has been reconstructed as a velar nasal. That this velar nasal has denasalized to a [ŋ] is well attested in many modern reflexes. Of special interest is the reconstruction of a [ˈŋ] for many YI initial words for the ancient northwestern dialects by Lo (1933:24). It seems possible that an early [ŋ] in 'yuan' (plain) became confused with the unaspirated [k] in 'gan' (shield). On a different tack, again we may note that the second syllable in the Russian name 'Zhunyan' corresponds closely with 'yuan' (plain).

Unfortunately, linguistic material on the northwestern dialects is limited, and we have not come upon instances where the DUAN initial is preserved in 'zhong' (central), nor instances where the [ŋ] is preserved in 'yuan' (plain). Until such instances are found, the hypothesis for connecting 'Dungan' with 'Zhongyuan' must remain at a speculative level.

Much in the way of ethnolinguistic and ethnogeographic research has yet to be done on the Dungans. As demonstrated in this paper, preliminary investigation into the issues of terminology and ethnic origins of the Dungans brings about more questions than answers. It is noteworthy, however, that while a considerable amount of confusion continues to surround these issues, the Dungans themselves seem quite clear about their self-identity.

Notes:

(1) (Anderson & Silver 1991). This 1989 population figure represents a 33% increase in the Dungan population in the USSR since the last Soviet census in 1979. Between the years of 1970 and 1979, the Soviet Dungans showed a similar rate of increase (from 39,000 to 52,000). In the eleven years between the 1959 and 1970 censuses, however, the Dungan population in the USSR showed a dramatic increase of 77%. It is reasonable to assume that approximately 44% of the growth during this period was due to migration from China in the wake of disruption of the Cultural Revolution.

(2) Within the Kirghiz SSR, Dungan settlement is concentrated in and around the cities of Frunze, Tokmak, Przheval'sk and the villages of Yrdyk, Khunchi, Milianfan, Kysyl-Shark, Aleksandrovka, etc. In the Kazakh SSR, there are Dungans living in and around the cities of Alma-Ata, Dzhambul (with the village Dzhalpak-Tiube), Panfilov (with the village Chilik), in the villages of Karakunuz, and Shor-Tiube, and in the Kurdai district of the Dzhambul region. Within the Uzbek S.S.R., Dungans live around Tashkent and the cities near Osh in the Ferghana valley. According to Rimsky-Korsakoff (1967), many of the villages which are entirely Dungan were formed at the time of their migration (1887-1884). Other villages, such as Milianfan and Khunchi were formed since the Soviet revolution in 1917.

(3) Because Persia maintained a strong trade connection with south China for centuries, it is probable that these merchants from the Persian Gulf were not Arabians (as is commonly held), but rather were Persians (Iranians) that had earlier been converted to Islam (Eberhard 1982:58). Schafer (1963:15) similarly proposes a Persian origin for these merchants. According to Schafer, they were Shiite Muslims whose main reason for settling in China was escape from religious persecution in Khorasan (northeastern Iran).

(4) A tradition preserved by the geographer Marwazi, early in the 12th century, says that Shiite sectaries fled in 749 and settled on an island in a large Chinese river, opposite a port (Hourani 1951). Schafer (1963) believes that the place being described in this tradition is Canton (Guangzhou).

(5) Some of the characters adopted were already common Chinese surnames, for example Ding (丁), Bai (白), and Lu (魯). Other surnames, however, such as Ma (馬), Mu (木), Hu (忽), and Ha (哈) represent a more obvious phonetic similarity to the foreign names from which they were derived. According to Bai, et al (1964:5-6), genealogies of many Hui families in China record the original family name from which their abbreviated 'Chinese' surnames were derived.

(6) Apparently, because the southern communities of 'foreign guests' were perceived as being culturally similar to the larger 13th century Islamic settlements in the north, the name 'Hui' was eventually also applied to them. Only beginning in the Yuan Dynasty, therefore, do descriptions of the southern communities include references such as '回回蕃客' and '南蕃回回' ('Southern-Foreign Hui Hui') (Ma 1986:182).

(7) Many sources cite Shen Guo's Dream Pool Essays (夢溪筆談), written circa 1086, as the first recorded reference of the Hui Hui people. This is misleading. While the Dream Pool Essays do

refer to a people called the 'Hui Hui', it is generally recognized that Shen Guo's reference is not to the same group that we call Hui today, but instead is in reference to the 'Hui-he' (回紇) or 'Hui-hu' (回鶻) people. In Western sources these groups are sometimes referred to as the "old Uighur" (see, for example, Eberhard 1982:58). The old Uighur were a Turkic people who came to power in Central Asia in the mid-8th century. They are believed to be the precursors of the present-day Uighur (畏兀兒) nationality of China, not of the present-day Hui nationality. Unfortunately, this confusion of historic terminology has led to confusions in modern designations as well. Wixman (1984:59) for example, states that in China the term "Hui Hui" refers not only to the Hui nationality, but to the Uighur nationality as well. This misperception may be based on the confusion of historic terms described above.

(8) This is the explanation of the usage of the term 'Hui Hui' in Yuan Dynasty documents as given by Bai, et al (1964:5-7) and Ma (1986:182-183). According to other sources, such as Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu, the general Chinese name for these 13th century immigrant groups was 'Se Mu Ren' (色目人), which might be translated 'Appearance-to-the-Eye People', referring to the fact that the physical appearance of these people was different than that of the Chinese. In the Yuan Dynasty work, Records Taken between Tillings (輟耕錄), the author Tao Zong-yi (陶宗儀) lists a total of 31 groups included within the name 'Se Mu Ren'; 'Hui Hui' is one of them (Cihai 1967:2417).

(9) An interesting elaboration of this folk etymology appears in a 1932 account of a British missionary, Reverend Andrew. Andrew writes: "'Hwei-Hwei' means 'to go back upon one's track', or the returners...In early times, (the) great trail from the Caspian Sea through Central Asia to China was a known route, and in the early centuries of Christianity is was a well-travelled road. As early as the fifth and sixth centuries we know of Arabs who penetrated China by this route as well as by sea. We have one record of the visit of an Arab embassy to China during the lifetime of the Prophet (Mohammed, 570-632). The embassy, which landed at Canton, visited the court of the Emperor at Ch'ang An in Shensi, and from there the ambassadors attempted the overland journey through Central Asia and Persia to Arabia. In accordance with the common usages of the Chinese, the Emperor sent an escort to accompany them for several days on their journey, and these Arabs, who knew none of the finer terms of courtesy, when they begged the escort to return, used the words 'Hwei-Hwei', to return, instead of the more polite terms; and from that day to this they and their descendants have been known as the Hwei-Hwei, the returners" (Andrew 1932:89-90).

(10) Although Hui settlement has historically been (and still is) scattered throughout China, the most concentrated Hui population continues to be in what Barnett refers to as the "Muslim Belt" of Gansu, Ningxia, and Qinghai (Barnett 1963:182). In addition to these northern provinces, there is also a considerable Hui population in the southwestern province of Yunnan. Most of the Yunnan Hui are descendants of troops that the Mongols had brought with them into that province. The Mongols conquered Yunnan in the 1250's, as part of their military strategy to outflank the Song Dynasty in southeastern China. During the Yuan Dynasty, rule of Yunnan was handed over to a Muslim from Central Asia, under which large numbers of Muslim troops were brought to and settled in Yunnan. Hui revolts in northern China in the 19th century strongly influenced Hui movements within Yunnan, and several Hui perished after an attempt was made in the 1860's to create a Muslim Kingdom within Yunnan (Fitzgerald 1972:64-95). Although the Hui population of Yunnan dropped considerably in the wake of these 19th century uprisings, according to 1982 census figures, there are over 438,000 Hui living in Yunnan today, making them the 8th largest ethnic minority of that province (YNSM 1980:625).

(11) Zuo Zongtang was the first ethnic Han general to take command in Xinjiang; his predecessors had all been Manchus (Eberhard 1982:61). Zuo's earlier post had been as governor of the Shaanxi-Gansu region. A by-product of his western campaign was the creation of a major road beyond Yumen Guan (the Jade Gate Pass), along the northwest passage. The road is said to be over 3,700 'li' (a Chinese unit of measurement, =1/2 kilometer) in length, with willows planted along its sides. Yang Changxun (楊昌濬), who succeeded Zuo in the governorship, celebrated Zuo's accomplishments with the following poem:

DA JIANG XI ZHENG REN WEI HUAN
the general has not yet returned from his western campaign
HU XIANG ZI DI MAN TIAN SHAN
Tian Shan range is full of soldiers from Hunan and Hubei
XIN ZAI YANG LIU SAN QIAN LI
newly-planted willows stretch for 3,000 li
YING DE CHUN FENG DU YU GUAN
win the spring wind crossing Yumen Pass

(We would like to thank Ovid Tzeng for bringing to our attention this historic poem).

(12) Bai Yanhu was a Moslem chieftain. According to the Zhongguo Renmin Dacidian (1964:209), during the last years of the reign of Xianfeng (1851-1860), he controlled portions of Xinjiang. During the Guangxu reign (1875-1908), he allied with Yacob Beg, and fought against the Qing. Bai was finally defeated by Liu Jintang

(劉錦棠), and fled with a group of Dungan followers across the Tian Shan into Russian territory.

'Semirech'e' is a Russian term meaning 'between the rivers'. The name refers to the land that lies between the Amu Darya (Oxus River) and the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River).

(13) Also under the terms of the 1881 Treaty of St. Petersburg, the number of Russian consulates in the area were reduced to two, and China was made to pay an indemnity of 9,000,000 rubles. Following settlement of the treaty, the whole area of Chinese Turkestan was in 1884 incorporated into China as the province of Xinjiang, the 'New Frontier'.

(14) (Rimsky-Korsakoff 1967:355). When we were in Frunze (Kirghizstan) in 1990, we were urged to try some "traditional Kirghiz" food. Two specialties we were told of were 'lakhman' and 'manti'. Only when our dinner was placed in front of us did we realize that what we had ordered was 'lamian' (辣麵) and 'mantou' (饅頭)! The 'mantou' however, was stuffed with meat, in the form of 'baozi' (飽子). (It would be interesting to trace how 'baozi' have become 'manti' in Central Asia). Although Kirghiz locals and tourist literature describe such foods as "traditional Kirghiz," Sushanlo (1971:169) refers to these as "Dungan dishes" that are popular among the neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh, and Uzbek people. In Chinese, 'la' (辣) of 'lamian' is a rusheng (入聲) character that ended with -t, and has been reduced to a glottal stop in many Mandarin dialects. Apparently, use of the unvoiced velar fricative [x] in place of a glottal stop in the word 'lakhman' reflects the closest approximation of the host language that borrowed the word.

(15) Dungan became an officially recognized language of the USSR in 1929. The Gansu dialect forms the basis of the Dungan literary language, which is written in Cyrillic script and taught as a first language in local schools. Census data reveal that there is little linguistic erosion among the Dungans: in 1979, 94.8% of the population gave Dungan ("Zhongyuan hua") as their mother tongue (Akiner 1983).

(16) According to Wixman (1984:60), the Dungan-Yage speak a Ningxia-Lanzhou dialect of Mandarin, but share many cultural ties with the Uighur nationality. In Russia, they live primarily in the villages of Aleksandrovka, Sokuluk, and Chilik. Apparently, the name 'Yage' carries the pejorative meaning of 'refugee'.

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See also Victor H. Mair, "Implications of the Soviet Dungan Script for Chinese Language Reform," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 18 (May, 1990), 19 pages.

KOREAN VIEWS ON WRITING REFORM

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In the debate over the role and efficacy of Chinese characters in the writing systems of East Asia, western scholars typically are less aware of the situation pertaining to Korean. This is unfortunate. Since Koreans use Chinese characters in a unique fashion, understanding the nature of these conventions can lead to a better appreciation of how the characters function in and of themselves. In addition, virtually every argument that has been made for and against Chinese characters by Japanese, Chinese and western scholars--and some that have not--has been advanced independently and prosecuted in great detail by Koreans writing about their own language. Those of us whose interest lies in the reform of character-based systems can learn much from this wide but neglected body of scholarship.

Of the many Koreans who have addressed writing reform, two in particular stand out for their comprehensive treatment of the problem and for their passion in pursuing it. Ch'oe Hyŏn Bae (1894-1970), father of the all-hangul movement, taught at Yonsei University and later served as vice-president of Tongdae University. In 1942, he was arrested by the Japanese for activities in support of the Korean language. Upon his release at the end of the war, he was made chief of the Ministry of Education's Textbook Compilation Bureau, where he directed the first of several ill-fated attempts to remove Chinese characters from the school curriculum. He also served as president of the Hangul Society, a private organization headquartered in Seoul which promotes all-hangul writing. Ch'oe wrote more than 40 books and articles on the Korean language. His best known works, which we cite here, are Kŭlja ŭi Hyŏgmyŏng (The Revolution in Writing, 1946), and Hangŭl man Ssŭgi ŭi Chujang (The Case for Writing in Hangul Only, 1970),[1] a collection of his thoughts on the technical and cultural aspects of writing reform.

Hŏ Ung (1918-), professor of linguistics at Seoul National University and president of the Hangul Society, is the best known advocate of all-hangul writing in Korea today. Hŏ has written twelve books and some sixty articles since 1956 on a wide range of topics relating to linguistics and writing reform. The present essay draws on three of his reformist publications, including "Hanja nŭn P'yejitoeŏya Handa" (Chinese Characters Must Be Abolished, 1971), Urimalgwa Kŭl ŭi Naeil ŭl wihayŏ (For Our Language and Script of Tomorrow, 1974a), and Hangŭlgwa Minjok Munhwa (Hangul and the National Culture, 1974b).[2]

Our task here is twofold: to describe how Koreans use Chinese characters, then to show why these two scholars believe that usage to be entirely unnecessary.

Development of Writing in Korea

The earliest evidence of writing in the Korean peninsula dates from China's establishment of its Lolang colony in northern Korea in 108 B.C. Chinese characters were used to record the Chinese language. It was not until the 5th century A.D. that Koreans are known to have adopted these symbols to elements of their own language. As was later true of Japanese, Koreans used the characters in two distinct ways. They could be used for their semantic value to represent indigenous Korean words that had meanings similar to the character's meaning in Chinese. The reader would look at a character and supply an equivalent Korean word, as the Japanese do with their kun readings today. The second type involved use of the characters for their phonetic value. Korean approximations of the characters' Chinese sounds were matched with the sounds of Korean words. The characters in this way became units of a proto-syllabary that expressed sound, regardless of what the forms meant originally.[3] These two principles were used concurrently in Idu (lit. "official readings"), the system employed in the bureaucracy from the 7th century onward, and in a number of other hybrid systems.

Many will recognize in this phonetic use of Chinese characters the beginning of a process that led in Japanese and other languages to a phonetic script, through which all of a language's words could be written with a limited number of symbols. There was movement toward this in Korean as well, encouraged by the difficulty Koreans had recording proper names, and finding plausible semantic associations between Chinese characters and Korean grammar morphemes. Unlike Japanese, the process was thwarted by the large number of syllable types in Korean. As long as the syllable remained the basic orthographic unit, a system representing these units would be as unwieldy as the conventions already in place.

The dilemma was resolved, in principle, with the invention of Korea's hangul alphabet in 1446. Based on symbols that bear an actual resemblance to the human vocal organs at various points of articulation, hangul was designed from the start to represent Korean sounds, and only sounds. Its 24 basic signs identify the language's vowel and consonant phonemes accurately and unambiguously. As with any alphabet, hangul letters are combined to form a model of the word's sound when spoken. In most cases the relationship between hangul letter and sound is direct. Elsewhere the spelling reflects what Koreans believe to be a word's underlying phonology, the pronunciation being derivable by a few simple rules. The system is practical, sufficient and easy to use. It seems complex only because Koreans decided to combine the letters into syllable blocks, in deference to the Confucian-dominated court which required that the outward appearance of the Chinese characters be maintained.[4]

Despite its utility, hangul was unable to replace the Idu script favored by the bureaucracy until the end of the 19th century, when both script and users were ousted in a series of egalitarian political reforms. For a few years after the Kap'o (1894) rebellion, hangul was the official medium

of written communication. However, for reasons as much social as linguistic, this brief experiment with all-phonetic writing was supplanted by the government's sanction of another hybrid system that had since come into use, which combined hangul and Chinese characters in the same text. Known as "mixed hangul-hanja (Chinese character)" writing, it is one of two styles endorsed by the South Korean government today, and the sine qua non for higher education. It is typically used for documents of stricter content, including most scientific and academic works where the proportion of Sinitic loanwords is high. The other style, of course, is all-hangul, used in novels, popular magazines, the local pages of newspapers and most informal types of writing. In North Korea, it is the only style used.

A critical difference between the mixed hangul-character script, the old Idu convention, and Japan's kana-character script is that the last two systems can use Chinese characters for indigenous vocabulary, while Korea's present system does not. Chinese characters when used in Korean today represent Sinitic words only. Moreover, there is no formal requirement that these words be in characters, even when using the mixed script. Korean writers can and often do just spell the Sinitic word out in hangul. Another important difference is that unlike Idu (and modern Chinese), characters are never used for their sound value alone, e.g., in onomatopoeia and transliterations. The Korean mixed script employs a strict division of labor: if the word is Sinitic in origin, it may be written in characters. Everything else must be in hangul.

One result of restricting Chinese characters to Chinese loanwords is that Koreans, as a rule, do not consider the characters their own. Another is that the Sinitic words themselves can become targets for replacement by indigenous words, real or contrived, in the language purification campaigns that periodically surface. Chinese has no tried and universally accepted alternative to its character writing system to which its users feel emotionally attached. For better or worse, they are stuck with the characters at present. Japanese, for its part, thoroughly assimilated the characters by virtue of assigning kun readings. Despite the complexity of these associations, the characters are so entrenched in Japanese language and culture that almost no one predicts their impending demise. Koreans, however, have no such feelings about the characters, and can hardly be said to lack a suitable replacement. Why then are they still used, and are the justifications for their use valid?

Linguistic Arguments

If utility and tradition are two grounds for the use of a writing system, then in the former case at least there are some fairly obvious reasons why Koreans would want to abandon characters. Unlike hangul whose 24 letters designate a finite set of sounds, Chinese characters represent morphemes, the building blocks of words. Hence they number in the thousands. So that each unit can be distinguished from others, they are also quite complex, containing twelve strokes on average. Because there are no predictable relationships between what the characters look like,

sound like and mean, each character and the data associated with it must be learned individually. Korean high school graduates, after six years of study, are expected to know 1,800 of them. Reading newspapers requires 2,000 or more.[5] For science and scholarship, the number is still higher. Although not as onerous as the task facing Chinese and Japanese students, the weight of these numbers alone makes the utilitarian argument for characters hard to sustain.

Both Ch'oe and Hŏ dutifully cite these statistics and draw the expected conclusion: that characters should be replaced by all-hangul writing. Their arguments, however, go beyond that. Hŏ is convinced the main problem with Chinese characters is that they impede the mechanization of writing (1971:18; 1974a:41). With so many units, an apparatus of great complexity is needed to achieve less utility than what is realized in the West by typewriters. Hŏ also blames the characters for hangul's squarish shapes. Although pleasing aesthetically, the practice requires typists to select different keys for the same hangul letter depending on what part of an imaginary square the letter occupies, instead of just stringing them together serially (1974a:108). From the reader's point of view, the requirement for a square shape forces syllables with many letters into the same small space, making them hard to distinguish. Hangul's utility is thus reduced by the need to coexist with Chinese characters. Ch'oe makes these same general points, adding two remarkable insights which only recently made their debut in western scholarship: (1) however advanced character-capable word processors become, their efficiency will always lag behind alphanumeric processors using the same technology on a script with fewer elements (1970:10). And (2) the cost of the character processors will always be greater than those used for hangul, impeding their diffusion and putting users at a comparative disadvantage (1970:198).

Schemes to solve these problems by reducing the number of characters win praise from neither of these scholars. Ch'oe maintains that such efforts are doomed from the start, since a list would only encourage the literati to vie with each other in demonstrating knowledge of obscure forms. Also, how does one determine which characters belong on the list? Would it not differ according to vocation and interests (1946:87)? Hŏ discovered another flaw in such proposals: limiting the number of characters would immediately produce the ludicrous situation where some Sinitic words (usually two syllable compounds) are written half in hangul and half in characters (1971:31). Hŏ's final criticism is the most devastating indictment of character limitation schemes ever penned. Most such projects single out "common use" characters that are frequent enough to justify the effort needed to learn them. But if they are used commonly, the words and morphemes they represent are those least likely to cause confusion if written phonetically. Conversely, if the less common morphemes can be left to hangul, what justification is there for writing anything in characters (1974a:62-3)?

The question of ambiguity in hangul texts is central to the defense of Chinese characters. Conventional wisdom maintains that since the characters identify a word's constituents exactly, the chance of

misconstruing one word for another is nearly zero. Hangul, on the other hand, identifies sounds. Because of the many homonyms and near-homonyms in the Sinitic vocabulary, hangul texts are said to be inherently ambiguous since there are instances when the reader does not know which word is intended.

There is some truth to this argument, especially as it concerns texts written in the mixed hangul-character script and translated directly, syllable for syllable, into all-hangul. However, such texts were written originally with the understanding that the characters' own redundancy would compensate for the text's "terseness". Materials written as hangul texts, by contrast, take the need for more serial redundancy into account, and expand overall context so that homonyms can be readily distinguished, as in English and other languages (Hŏ, 1974b:218).

The problem with this remedy is that Chinese characters have let too many words into the language that never had to stand on their own phonetically. While context will disambiguate many of them, the problem is so acute that no tricks effected outside the word boundary will allow some words to be identified in hangul. But do such words qualify as Korean? Hŏ claims they do not (1974a:104), adding that for all-hangul to succeed, writers must give up their habit of using (or making up) obscure expressions that are not really words, and are intelligible only in characters. Put another way, if hangul had to be used, these ambiguities in time would be eliminated, whereas Chinese characters only perpetuate the problem (Ch'oe, 1946:65). In the interim, Ch'oe suggests (1) using indigenous Korean substitutes where they can be found, (2) agreeing that in certain environments a sound will always depict only one of several possible, or (3) making changes to the shape of the word itself (1970:47).[6]

Ch'oe sees the homonym "problem" as a reflex of a broader social problem, namely, Korean worship of foreign culture. Had it not been for Koreans' sorry habit of revering China and slighting everything indigenous, there would have been no massive influx of Sinitic loanwords, and no problem with phonetic indistinctiveness (1946:44; 1970:193). Instead, Koreans could have maximized use of their own rich stock of morphemes, which have more phonetic shapes and unlike Chinese can be polysyllabic. At minimum, there would be a better balance between the indigenous part, and Sinitic part of the lexicon which accounts for 75% of present-day Korean. Hŏ goes even further to claim that this "unnatural" phenomenon hinders the development of Korean thought (1974b:124).

Advocates of all-hangul writing do not reject all Sinitic words, only those which, when spoken or written in hangul, cannot be understood given a reasonable amount of context (Ch'oe, 1970:104). Sinitic morphemes will continue to be used to form new words. But without characters, the results will have to be intelligible phonetically. Moreover, since the distinction between Sinitic and indigenous roots is less visible in hangul, Koreans will lose their reluctance to coin new terms from the native stock (Hŏ, 1971:26). Pure Korean not only sports a host of "compound words". There are also thousands of "derivative words" formed by adding prefixes and

suffixes to a morpheme's root. The two processes furnish Korean with enough "word-building power" (choŏryŏk) to satisfy most of the language's needs (Hŏ, 1974a:52).

If pure-Korean roots have more potential than they are usually credited with, Sinitic morphemes have a good deal less. True, they readily combine with other Sinitic roots because they are monosyllabic, and identifiable through the characters. But these combinations are not necessarily words, if intelligibility in speech is a criterion. Nor is it fair to say that because the meaning of a combination can be plausibly reconstructed from the meanings of its individual morphemes (depicted through Chinese characters), the combination itself has currency as a word. In Ch'oe's view, this whole line of reasoning is nonsense. Sinitic combinations do not always refer to the logical sum of their constituent morphemes--whatever that is. Rather, their meaning is established by convention, and it matters little how that convention was arrived at (1970:40).

This applies to forming new words. What about learning them? Here again, the notion that Chinese characters allow one to identify the meaning of a whole through its parts is largely illusory.[7] In fact, what hints the characters do give can be misleading. Worse still, they can interfere with learning, since one is compelled by one's knowledge of the characters to supply a logical connection between the whole and parts, which may not exist (Ch'oe, 1970:73). Even where valid connections do exist, what relevance do they have for a synchronic user? Words, according to Ch'oe, are used for what they mean today (1970:31). Except for a few specialists, no one thinks about a word's etymology when using it, which is probably good, since this information would just clutter our thought processes.

Reading is another area where the characters enjoy an undeserved reputation for an ability to evoke concepts directly without sound, which words written in hangul supposedly lack. If this claim is based on the similarity of symbol to referent, however, it is absurd, because characters have undergone numerous changes in shape and meaning. The original connections were, in any case, often far-fetched. What supporters of Chinese characters really mean is that the meanings of characters are obvious (directly accessible) only after repeated use. But this is also true of words in hangul, which likewise have fixed shapes, and fixed meanings that users learn to access directly (Ch'oe, 1970:54; Hŏ, 1974a:54). Assume, however, that the characters, lacking reliable clues to pronunciation, are more likely to be processed directly without recourse to sound, while hangul lends itself to recoding simply because so much phonetic information is patently available.[8] Then by mixing the two systems together, the reader is forced to shift back and forth from one mode of processing to the other, causing difficulty and confusion (Ch'oe, 1970:175).

Both Ch'oe and Hŏ concede that reading all-hangul texts can be difficult for those who have spent their lives using Chinese characters. This is to be expected. Reading the mixed hangul-character script, one becomes habituated to lexical and stylistic conventions that differ from what is needed for all-hangul. It is inadmissible therefore for the older

generation to extrapolate from their own experiences to claim that no one can properly read hangul texts (Hŏ, 1974a:131). Another reason why older Koreans resist all-hangul writing is because having identified a character with a given word, they imagine that if the character disappears the word cannot exist either. Years of association have made the two, for some people, conceptually indistinguishable (Hŏ, 1974a:42). Ch'oe considers a third cause for the intransigence of the older generation, that is, the fact that most are bilingual speakers of Japanese, incapable of expressing themselves in a way that is truly Korean. When writing, they draw on extra, non-Korean resources that are as unintelligible in all-hangul as in speech (1970:66).

Thirty-five years of Japanese rule have bred a mentality that, for all its outward protestations, still looks to the Japanese for leadership. This applies to language reform as well. If the Japanese have not abandoned Chinese characters, and indeed have prospered while using them, is there not a lesson for Korea here? Ch'oe finds none, pointing instead to the post-war economic development of Germany, which managed its miracle without Chinese characters. If Japan had a serviceable phonetic script, would they not have made even greater progress (Ch'oe, 1970:92-3)? There are other reasons why the comparison with Japanese is invalid, beginning with what Ch'oe and Hŏ both see as the inadequacy of kana, the Japanese phonetic syllabary, to function independently as a script. In Ch'oe's opinion, kana is too simple. It does not separate vowels and consonants, and the individual symbols are not distinct enough for rapid discrimination (Ch'oe, 1970:269). Hangul forms are also simple. But because they each represent only one phoneme, not two, and are grouped into words, they are more easily distinguished (Hŏ, 1971:32). The very feature which enabled Japanese to evolve a syllabary of some 50 signs, i.e., that language's simple phonetic structure, is what makes it so much more character-dependent (Ch'oe, 1946:87).

A final reason why Chinese characters persist in Japanese is that they can take up the burden of two or more syllables, even in their Sinitic on readings. In Korean, however, it is a one-for-one replacement. One saves nothing by using characters. Hŏ concedes that an all-hangul text may be somewhat longer than a text in the mixed script, because indigenous Korean words are occasionally substituted for Sinitic loans that are shorter but ambiguous. Since the replacements are Korean words, the reader does not feel that the text is unnecessarily long, as do the Japanese who are merely substituting a different set of symbols for the same word (Hŏ, 1971:32).

Cultural Factors

The above pages treat the linguistic arguments for an all-hangul writing system, which pertain in a narrow sense to the script's ability to function without the aid of Chinese characters. There are broader issues involved, however, which many Korean consider of overriding concern. We have seen that the different countries of northeast Asia use Chinese characters differently. Moreover, since the languages themselves are different, users

of one language cannot possibly read connected discourse in another no matter what units their writing systems share. Thirdly, the shapes of the characters themselves have undergone different changes in Japan and China, making their "transitivity" even less viable. These facts notwithstanding, the three languages share a large number of Sinitic borrowings which, by and large, can be understood by educated readers in any of the three languages, provided they are written in characters. Often this will enable readers of one language to grasp the essence of headlines, titles or longer passages. For signs and other paralinguistic materials, their transitivity is indisputable. The phenomenon parallels what literate native speakers of English can accomplish with French or Spanish materials, for exactly the same reasons.

If characters are abandoned in Korea, Koreans would lose this marginal ability to decode parts of Chinese and Japanese texts. They would also run the risk in the long term of being cut off from new Sinitic terms coined in China and Japan (although the Vietnamese experience suggests otherwise). More importantly, many Koreans feel they would be isolated culturally. This last argument leaves Ch'oe and Hŏ stunned, since neither can imagine why, in light of the region's history, any Korean would want to identify with these neighboring countries. On this point, Ch'oe is quite specific: Korea's participation in the so-called Chinese character cultural community has always been as a junior member. Do Koreans really need this (1946:71)? Hŏ asks if Koreans, one and all, should suffer for the sake of the tourist industry (1974a:122). He also wonders why the same people who want Sinitic loans written in Chinese characters do not clamor for English loanwords to be written in romaja and mixed in directly with the hangul and everything else (1974a:49). More to the point, Korea's foreign contacts are no longer limited to East Asia, nor should they be. Koreans need to absorb ideas from all over the world, and the writing system they choose should facilitate this (ibid).

The above pertains to the characters' ability to close geographical distances. There is also the question of what their abandonment would mean for Korea's historical continuity. Cut off from its own tradition, could Korea survive? Ch'oe's and Hŏ's approaches to this problem differ in emphasis, reflecting their personalities and the times when they wrote. Ch'oe, as usual, pulls no punches, "We must regard the future as more important than the past" (1946:54). Besides the direct benefits to be gained by using a more efficient writing system, there are important psychological side-effects to writing in all-hangul. European progress began only after Latin was abandoned as the medium of written discourse. Writing in their own "vulgar" languages, Europeans of various nationalities were able to infuse their countrymen with a new vigor that had been stifled by the old and crusty conventions. Thus, the move to all-hangul is more than an effort to rid the system of Chinese characters. By decreasing dependence on foreign borrowings, the movement fosters attitudes of national pride and self-reliance that will spill over into all areas of society (Ch'oe, 1970:234).

Hŏ is more solicitous of what he feels are genuine concerns, but

maintains that this culture could be better conveyed through translations. Instead of wasting resources in a gratuitous and futile attempt to teach all school children enough characters to read the classics, why not train a small group of specialists to translate these works for everyone's benefit (1974a:70). Hŏ makes the interesting point that Christianity, despite the recentness of its introduction, gained more favor among the common people than Confucianism, because the Bible was translated into all-hangul which everyone understood. Grant that current all-hangul translations of classic Korean texts contain some errors. But this is hardly an indictment of the enterprise. If experts have trouble, how can school children be expected to understand them in the original (Ch'oe, 1970:157)?

There are Koreans, in Ch'oe's view, who cannot shake their belief that education per se means learning Chinese characters (1970:140). They argue, moreover, that primary school children can easily learn two thousand characters, since their minds are still so receptive. Ch'oe sees this as a compelling reason not to waste this opportunity memorizing symbols. Time spent teaching characters is time lost from substantial studies. Worse, it reduces education to a mechanical level. Instead of training people to think, the character-based curriculum fosters cramming, and a predisposition to respond by rote to new situations (1970:87).

If the worst effects of Chinese characters are felt in education, then the solution to the problem is to be found there, too. Neither Ch'oe nor Hŏ consider themselves revolutionaries, in the sense of one who advocates abruptly changing a social convention. Hence neither proposes an outright ban on the characters, as was done in the North. Ch'oe recommends they be eliminated from the language slowly by removing them from the mandatory educational curricula (1946:92). Hŏ sees his task as promoting a tradition begun more than 500 years ago when hangul was invented, by widening its application from literature, which it currently dominates, to all types of writing (1974a:60).

Conclusion

Recent publications in the United States and abroad attest to renewed interest in the functioning of Chinese character-based writing and the role these systems play in the material and intellectual lives of societies using them. Koreans, being one of the latter, are intimately concerned with writing reform, and have published voluminously on both sides of the question. Ch'oe Hyŏn Bae and Hŏ Ung are the outstanding proponents of all-hangul writing. Their views contrast sharply with those of other Koreans who find merit in the mixed hangul-character script, and make interesting arguments to support it. Whatever one's disposition to the characters may be, examining the Korean data will prove rewarding.

Notes

[1] 1946 and 1970, Chŏng'ŭmsa, Seoul.

[2] 1971, in Hangul Hakhoe, Hangŭl Ch'ŏnyong ŭro ŭi Kil. Seoul. 1974a, Kwahaksa, Seoul. 1974b, Kyoyangguksa, Seoul.

[3] Lee Ki Mun. 1977. Geschichte der koreanische Sprache. Seoul, pp. 52-9. A third usage was concurrent semantic and phonetic assignment, i.e., when the characters were used to represent the original Chinese words.

[4] Lee, p. 60. Also, Kontsevicha, L. R. 1979. Khunmin Chonym. Moscow, p. 28.

[5] Nam Kwang U. 1979. "Hanguk Ŏmun Kyoyuk Yŏnguhoe An" (The Plan of the Korean Language Education Research Society). Ŏmun Yŏngu, 21, p. 8.

[6] "Malggol ŭl paggugi". It is unclear whether Ch'oe's proposal refers to changes in the word's pronunciation, or its graphic form, since the latter is certainly practicable with present spelling conventions.

[7] Ch'oe claims that a person does not know the meaning of a word because of the characters. Rather, one knows the meanings of characters only because one has first learned the meanings of the words in which they are used (1946:82).

[8] Writing before the advent of psycholinguistics, Ch'oe's terms differ from those used today. Ch'oe asserted that the characters provide meaning primarily, and sound through the meaning. Hangul depicts sound first, and meaning through sound.

LANGUAGE POLICIES AND LINGUISTIC DIVERGENCE IN THE TWO KOREAS

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1. The physical insulation and ideological distinction between South (SK) and North Korea (NK) since 1945 has given rise to a thick politico-social dialectal division, which is superimposed on the long existing historico-geographical dialects.[1] This linguistic divergence has been accelerated not only by the polarized political, ideological, and social differences, but also, more importantly, by the different language policies adopted by the two governments.

The two societies may be summed up, in laymen's terms, as capitalism vs. socialism, global dependence vs. self-reliance, free competition vs. tight control, traditionalism vs. revolutionalism, openness vs. closedness, liberalism vs. prescriptivism, pluralism vs. uniformity, and relative individualism vs. strong collectivism, as they apply respectively to SK and NK. This polarization is reflected in the respective educational goals. The Charter of National Education of SK stipulates that the basic objective of education is to foster people's way of life that will contribute to the development of the nation and to a Renaissance of national culture, while developing individuals' fullest potentialities. Under such a liberal atmosphere, Government policies and scholars' efforts are effective only to the extent that they are compatible with the needs and convenience of the public.

The main purpose of education in NK is "to bring up the rising generation into steadfast revolutionaries who fight for society and people" (Article 39, the Constitution). The 5th Central Committee Convention of the Workers Party set the direction of educational policy as "revolutionazing all the people" so that they can actively participate in the policy of a communist unification of Korea. A policy adopted at the Convention was that language should be used as a means of thought-reform and of strengthening the people's consciousness of revolution and class

[1] This paper is dedicated to Dr. John DeFrancis.

struggle (cf. RCPU 1976). Under a such tightly controlled atmosphere, Kim Il Song's Teachings alone have guided linguistic reality in NK.

The aim of this paper is to examine the language policies of NK and SK in relation to the resultant linguistic divergence. An overview of the policies is made in Sections 2 (SK) and 3 (NK); divergent linguistic reality is sketched in 4; and a brief conclusion is given in 5.

2. The immediate post-liberation years saw Koreans in both Koreas demanding a national language that is independent of foreign elements such as Chinese characters and Japanese loanwords. Both Koreas launched extensive crusades against illiteracy based on *hankul* (the Korean Alphabet).[2] In SK, the Korean Language Society took the lead for this campaign, whereas in the NK, Kim Il Song's 1946 Teachings (*kyosi*) on the purge of Japanese remnants in education and the fight against illiteracy kindled a widespread movement. The subsequent policies in the two Koreas have been divergent.

Let us observe the developments in SK first. Noteworthy is the evolvement of the policies toward Chinese characters. The forceful movement of the Korean Language Society to eliminate characters led the National Assembly to pass the law on the exclusive use of *hankul* in 1948. While schools observed the law, society did not. Repeated Presidential urging for the exclusive use of *hankul* in 1956 and 1957 achieved only limited success, such as the *hankul*-only practice in government documents and in street signboards, but the general public and newspapers kept using characters. Thus, the Ministry of Education allowed, in 1964, 1,300 common Chinese characters to be taught at elementary (600), intermediate (400), and high (300) schools. Urged by *hankul* scholars, however, the Ministry again enforced a *hankul*-only plan as of January 1970, allowing no characters in documents and all textbooks at elementary and secondary schools. The ensuing situation that even high school graduates could not read newspapers led the Ministry to reinstate character education in 1972, allowing 1,800 characters to be taught at elementary and secondary

[2] The Yale Romanization system is observed in transcribing Korean sounds, letters, and expressions. Translations of Korean sentences in this paper are mostly mine.

schools. This practice still obtains at present, although the 1,800 characters do not have a binding force on South Korean society.

As for Romanization, the major issue is what symbols are to be used for individual sounds, and how to spell them. This had been a long standing issue in SK, until 1984 when the Ministry of Education revised its 1959 system drastically and announced a new system which is based in large part on the MaCune-Reischauer system. How to spell loanwords in *hankul* had also been a controversial issue until 1986 when the Ministry announced the current Loanword Spelling Conventions. From 1970 the Ministry and scholars made efforts to revise the 1936 Version of Standard Speech and the 1933 Hankul Spelling Conventions. As a result, the Ministry announced the current Revised Standard Speech Regulations and Hankul Spelling Conventions in January 1988.

As for language purification, SK has achieved only limited success, despite the continued efforts of the Government, scholars, and language associations. Thus, numerous Sino-Korean words are newly coined or being introduced from Sino-Japanese as needs arise and the Korean lexicon is inundated with recent English-based loanwords.

3. NK has launched two stages of language policy with complete success: (a) the policy of abolishing the use of Chinese characters and *hankul*-based literacy movement, to popularize the doctrine of socialism by eliminating illiteracy (1945-1966), and (b) the policy of "Cultured Speech" (*mwunhwae*), to standardize Korean based on Pyongyang speech and Kim Il Song's *cwuchey* (self-reliance) ideology (1966-present).[3] Success of the first stage policies was due to Kim's 1946 Teachings, as already indicated, and the Government's initiation in 1949 of compulsory elementary education, together with the *hankul*-only policy.

Second stage policies have been implemented according to Kim's two sets of language-related Teachings, one in 1964 and the other in 1966. The former presented the basic directions

[3] Many studies on North Korean language policies are available, recent ones including M. Kim (1985), Chon and Choy (1989), and CEH (1990).

and the latter substantiated them. In the former, Kim brought up eight topics, as summarized below:(a) any attempt at script reform should wait until after Korea becomes reunified and Korean science and technology become sufficiently advanced; (b) coinage of new words and recovery of old words must be based on native elements; (c) use of loanwords must be limited, and spellings of proper noun loanwords must be faithful to their original pronunciations; (d) Chinese characters must be abolished, but they need be taught for reading purposes only in order to understand South Korean publications; (e) words should be spaced properly, and shapes of words should be fixed after the reunification of Korea; (f) unnecessary Sino-Korean words should be removed from dictionaries, and local agencies must be tightly controlled for correct use of words; (g) a nationwide campaign should be undertaken for the correct use of the language; and (h) Korean language education must be improved and strengthened at all levels of schools.

In the 1966 Teachings, Kim elaborated upon detailed procedures of refining vocabulary, while stipulating the preservation and development of the national characteristics of Korean based on the speech of Pyongyang. This is the notion of Kim's Cultured Speech. Kim's specific directives on vocabulary refinement procedures are: (a) eliminate from dictionaries those Sino-Korean words which form synonyms with native words; (b) introduce fine dialectal words into the standard lexicon; (c) introduce native words for place names if necessary; (d) coin new native words based on native elements; (e) change, as far as possible, Sino-Korean terms of fruits, grains, etc. to native words; (f) try to give native names to newborn babies; (g) change new loanwords to native words, except technical terms; (h) preserve native-like Sino-Korean words; and (i) have the Korean Language Assessment Committee (*kwuke saceng wiwenhoy*) control new words. Kim restates the need of limited Chinese character teaching to students; calls for the training of more linguists to develop *cwuchey*-oriented Korean; encourages research on script reform; and reemphasizes the need for proper spacing, indicating that the current practice allows too many spaces.

Linguistic theory, policies, planning, and practices in NK are aimed at realizing Kim's two sets of Teachings. Dealing with linguistic phenomena and refining Korean must all be done taking Kim's *cwuchey* ideology into account, i.e., for the people and socialist revolution, rejecting toadyism and doctrinalism and safeguarding autonomous and creative positions by developing the national characteristics of the language. An unprecedented linguistic reform has resulted, encompassing orthography, pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, meanings and stylistics, and usages.

4. The major areas of linguistic disparity at present between NK and SK may be summed up roughly as follows.

(a) *Standard speech and pronunciations*: NK takes Pyongyang-based Cultured Speech as standard both in pronunciation and spelling. Cultured Speech is defined as "the richly developed national language that is formed centering around the revolutionary capital under the leadership of the proletarian party that holds the sovereignty during the socialism-constructing period, and that all people hold as a standard, because it has been refined revolutionarily and polished culturally to fit the proletariat's goals and lifestyle" (*Cosen Mwunhwae Sacen, A Dictionary of Korean Cultured Speech*, 1973). SK's standard speech (*phyocwune*) is defined as "the contemporary Seoul speech used by educated people" (Phyocwune Kyuceng, "Standard Speech Regulations", 1988).

(b) *Word creation*: NK has coined some 5,000 lexical items either by nativising Sino-Korean words or by creating new words based on native roots, affixes, archaic forms and dialectal elements, while maximally limiting the importation of new loanwords. SK has been relatively generous in creating or importing Sino-Korean words. Over 10,000 English-based loanwords, including such recent loans as 'lame duck', 'incubator', and 'free-lancer', are used in SK.

(c) *Meanings and styles*: While meanings and styles of words and phrases in SK are largely neutral, many expressions in NK have metaphorical connotations, orienting the people toward the "socialistic revolutionary struggle". For example, *sewulmal* 'Seoul Speech' is defined as "the speech used in South Korea today which, due to American imperialists and their followers'

national language erasure policies, has lost the unique national characteristics of our language and is recklessly mixed with Western, Chinese, and Japanese words" (Chong 1981). 'Harvest' is *kaulketi centhwu* (lit. 'autumn-collecting combat') in NK and *kaulketi* or *cwuswu* (lit. 'autumn-collecting') in SK. '15 million ton grain production goal' is rendered as *1,500 manthon uy alkok koci lul cemlyenghal tey tayhan mokphyo* (lit. 'goal regarding occupying the hill of 15 million tons of grains') in NK, as compared with the neural SK form *1,500 manthon uy yangkok sayngsan mokphyo. Notong* 'labor', *tongmwu* 'friend', *inmin* 'people', etc. have socialist connotations.

(d) *Chinese characters*: As already mentioned, characters are taught in NK only for reading South Korean publications. In SK, 1,800 characters are taught at elementary and secondary schools. Characters are used widely in publications in SK.

(e) *Hankul spelling conventions*: Both the NK spelling conventions (in Kaycenghan Cosenmal Kyupemcip, "the Revised Collection of Korean Norms", 1987) and the SK counterparts (Hankul Macchwumpep, "Korean Spelling Conventions", 1988) are modified versions of the 1933 Hankul Spelling Conventions (Hankul Macchwumpep Thongilan). This sharing of the source system and the fact that both systems follow the same basic principles (e.g. the principles of morphophonemic spelling and word-based spacing) have contributed to preventing disastrous divergence. Thus, the differences are due mainly to the existence of two standard types of speech and different analyses (with regard, for example, to linguistic fossilization) of linguistic phenomena. Spelling divergence includes the following aspects: NK's use of horizontal (left-to-right) writing only, and SK's use of both horizontal and vertical writings; names of *hankul* letters (e.g. NK *kiuk* instead of SK *kiyek* for the letter *k*); NK's grouping geminate letters (e.g. *kk, ay*) after all basic letters (e.g. *k, a*), and SK's ordering each geminate after each basic letter; tensified sounds after the suffix *-l* (e.g. NK *-l key* vs. SK *-l kkey* 'I promise'); word-initial *l* and *n* (e.g. NK *lyeksa* vs. SK *yeksa* 'history'; NK *nyenlyeng* vs. SK *yenlyeng* 'age'); other Sino-Korean words (e.g. NK *pheysway* vs. SK *phyeysway* 'closure'; NK *hannasan* vs. SK *hanlasan* 'Mt. Halla'); diphthongs (e.g. NK *ttuyyessuki* vs. SK *ttuyessuki* 'spacing'), vowel harmony (e.g. NK *alumtawa* vs. SK *alumtawe*

'pretty and'); epenthetic *s* (e.g. NK *pataka* vs. SK *pataska* 'seaside'); fossilization (e.g. NK *nepcekkho* vs. SK *nelpcekkho* 'flat nose'; NK *ilkwun* vs. SK *ilkkwun* 'worker'); 'standard' pronunciations (e.g. NK *sokoki* vs. SK *soykoki*; NK *wuley* vs. SK *wuloy* 'thunder'); loanwords (e.g. NK *koppwu* vs. SK *khep* 'cup'; NK *meyhikko* vs. SK *meyksikho* 'Mexico'); and spacing (e.g. NK *cohunkes* vs. SK *cohun kes* 'good thing'). According to Chon and Choy's count in Chong (1981) and H. Lee, (1982), 1,400 words have identical pronunciations but different spellings and 3,130 words have different pronunciations and different spellings.

(f) *Romanization*: NK and SK have different romanization systems. There has been an initial Romanization meeting in Europe (in 1989), with both South, North, and Soviet delegates participating, in an effort to reach a unified system (Ki-jung Song, personal communication). Although this meeting failed to come up with a reasonable agreement, another follow-up meeting is reported to be under planning.

4. In this heated atmosphere for the reunification of Korea, it is timely to consider seriously the issue of how to check the progressing linguistic disparities and recover linguistic homogeneity. As a first step, it is imperative for Korean linguists from both Koreas and overseas to get together to begin discussing the issue of linguistic divergence in general and orthographic problems in particular. One serious general problem that contributes to the ever-widening divergence is the ongoing *cwuchey*-oriented language purification movement in NK and the more or less *laissez-faire* policy toward the influx of loanwords in SK. Orthographic problems are relatively free from political and ideological sensitivity and thus are conducive to scholarly discussion. Resort to such linguistic criteria as simplicity, generality, exhaustiveness, and naturalness, as well as historicity and tradition, will lead to the elimination of many existing disparities. For example, as regards the problem of vertical and horizontal writings, the SK practice is preferable even from the perspective of the *cwuchey*-ideology. As for the names of *hankul* letters, the NK innovation is preferable in view of simplicity. Regarding words like NK *nepcekkho* and SK *nelpcekkho*, the former is preferable, because the usual pronunciation of *nelp* is [nel] and 'flat nose' is always pronounced as

[nep.ccek.kho]. Between NK *-l key* and SK *-l kkey*, the latter is preferable, in that this form is grammaticalized as a new ending meaning 'speaker's promise'. There is no significant problem with the spacing divergence. Chon and Choy (1989) observed that 930 words have different pronunciations but identical spellings in NK and SK. This fact suggests a way to eliminate the other spelling differences to a great extent, if enough scholarly cooperation is made.

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Okinawan Writing Systems, Past, Present, and Future

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BACKGROUND

The aims of this paper My aims here are to introduce basic information about the writing systems of Okinawan since the inception of written records in Okinawa, to place them into a typological framework, and to point out their differences from and similarities to the Japanese writing system from which they are derived. I close by looking at the future of Okinawan writing.

The Kingdom of the Ryukyus and Japan The Kingdom of the Ryukyus began as the state of Chuuzan, which had become a small entrepôt trading nation by the late 1300's. By the early 1500's it had asserted its control over all of the Ryukyus. In 1609 it was subjugated by the Satsuma feudatory, had its territory north of Okinawa island taken away, and was made to pay onerous taxes. In 1879 it lost its last shred of sovereignty to the newly formed centralized Japanese state, and henceforth became Okinawa prefecture. (For details see Kerr 1958:60-392.)

Okinawan and Japanese Okinawan is, broadly speaking, the speech of Okinawa island, part of the Northern Ryukyuan language, which is spoken in innumerable highly varying dialects, many mutually unintelligible, from Okinawa island in the south to Amami Oshima and Kikai islands in the north. All of the Ryukyus are well south of Kyushu and northeast of Taiwan.

I will, however, use the term "Okinawan" here specifically to mean the closely related dialects of the Naha-Shuri area, long the cultural and political center of the Ryukyu kingdom and now of Okinawa prefecture.

Northern Ryukyuan constitutes one of probably four Ryukyuan languages, the others being Miyako, Yaeyama, and Yonaguni. All these languages are mutually unintelligible, and all are also mutually unintelligible with any dialect of Japanese. The commonly held but largely unexamined notion that the Ryukyuan languages are dialects of Japanese is one based on politics, not on any linguistic criterion. This notion is inadvertently abetted by the fact that the Ryukyuan languages are genetically closely related to Japanese. Further, it is one-sided, since no Japanese go around saying that Tokyo Japanese is a dialect of, say, Okinawan.

Writing systems and society Previous Okinawan writing systems were *de facto* standards. As far as we know, no central body was laying down the rules. There simply was a tradition that was followed.

There is no standard modern Okinawan writing system, because the Okinawan language is being "ignored to death" by those who might save it, namely government, media, and educators. If Okinawan is to survive, a de jure writing system is needed, one in which a lively written communication may once again develop.

OKINAWAN AND THE DE FRANCIS CLASSIFICATION OF WRITING SYSTEMS

The writing systems of Okinawan all fall within the DeFrancis (1989:58) classification scheme under the rubric of either pure syllabic or a mixture of pure syllabic and morphosyllabic. DeFrancis gives Japanese (1989:131-143) as an example of these, since it has developed two so-called kana syllabaries. Yet it has never managed to break free of the thrall of the morphosyllabic kanji. That Okinawan should also have had such systems is no accident, since it has borrowed and adapted Japanese writing.

TIME/TYPE-CLASSIFICATION OF OKINAWAN WRITING SYSTEMS

Archaic age The writing of this age is the earliest available to us, with records from 1501 to the first half of the 1600's. The earliest materials are royal steles (Tsukada 1968:184-185, 307-308), and the writing system reached its zenith (and its end) in the compilation, over a period of nearly a century (from 1531 to 1623), of the *Omoro sooshi*, or book of *omoro* songs (Ikemiya 1987a, Hokama and Saigoo 1972).

Typologically this system is largely pure syllabic, using a syllabary, namely hiragana, with only a sprinkling of kanji, to write the Okinawan, then in use as a language of narrative and song. While we discern no important writing-system distinction between the steles and the *Omoro sooshi*, the language of the two is slightly different. I assume that the stele language is formal narrative language, while that of the *Omoro sooshi* is the language of song, and preserves earlier elements. In addition, Japanese language is frequently intermixed in the case of the steles, but not in the *Omoro sooshi* (Serafim 1990). Writing is said to have been introduced from Japan around 1200. (Sakihara [1987:8] gives it as 1187.)

Examples of the stele writing system are as follows, with explanations immediately below. (Examples are from Serafim 1990 [Tsukada 1968].)

(1) <kerai-wa- tihe, konomi-yowa- tihe>
build-HONORIFIC-ing, plan -HONORIFIC-ing
'building, planning'
From the Yarazamori Fort stele (1554)

(2) <ore- mesiyowa- tihe>
descend-HONORIFIC-ing
'descending'
From the Madama-Minato stele (1522)

(3) <tasikiya-kuki, tui- sasi- yowa- tihe,
dashikya-spike stick-thrust-HONORIFIC-ing
'hammering in the *dashikya*-wood spike,
asaka-''ne, to''me-wa- tihe,>
asaka-geen stop- HONORIFIC-ing
placing the *asaka* wood and the *geen* reed'
From the Yarazamori Fort stele (1554)

(4) <inori-mesiyowa- tiyaru>
pray -HONORIFIC-PAST
'(the one) who prayed'
From the Yarazamori Fort stele (1554)

The angled brackets enclose transliterated writing, with the value of each kana given in Kunrei-style romanization. The double apostrophes indicate a ditto mark in text. Commas are as in the originals, but I have placed hyphens and spaces to aid the eye in analysis of text.

Examples of the writing system in the *Omoro sooshi* are as follows (Serafim 1990 [Nakahara and Hokama 1967:136A, 270A]):

(5) <siyori mori kusuku, tari siyo, kerahe-ware>
Shuri grove castle truly indeed build- HONORIFIC
'indeed, constructs Shuri castle'

(6) <kami-teta no, maburi- yowaru ansi-osoi>
gods-sun SUBJECT protect-HONORIFIC lord-ruler
'our lord, whom the gods and the sun protect'

All examples in earliest surviving texts are done in brushwriting, or in an imitation thereof on steles. Voicing marks are frequently omitted, and the orthography in many other respects does not match the pronunciation of modern Japanese kana. Variations in the spelling of a word show that there was not a one-to-one correspondence of spelling to pronunciation.

I know of no English-language sources for the stele inscriptions other than what is discussed here. English-language sources for the *Omoro sooshi* are Sakihara (1987) and Drake (1990), though neither dwells on the writing system as such. In addition there are Serafim (1990, 1977, [in preparation]). The latter two treat the writing system in detail. Japanese-language sources include Nakamoto (1990:783-871), specifically on the writing system, and Hokama & Saigoo (1972) and Nakahara & Hokama (1965, 1967). Many interesting recent exegeses of *omoro* have appeared, in a long series by Nakamoto, Higa, and Drake (1984-present), and a series recently collected into a book (Ikemiya 1987b), to which I have also contributed (Serafim 1987).

Classical age The writing system of the classical age developed during the first few generations under the suzerainty of Satsuma, and was fully formed by the 1700's. Typologically it is a mixed kana-kanji system, in that respect mimicking the Japanese writing system. By this time well educated Okinawan males of the ruling class could read Japanese as well as Okinawan (and Chinese).

The writing system differed from that of the Archaic age in two important respects: (1) as already noted, this system was a mixed one; (2) the spelling conventions for the syllabary portions differed from those of the Archaic age of only a few generations before.

The variety and amount of available texts for the study of the writing system of this period are also greater than those for the Archaic period. Text types include the *kumiodori* (dance dramas); *ryuuka* (Ryukyuan songs); and written histories, compiled at the direction of the court. The latter provide a bridge, since at least the book that I cite below attempts to use archaic orthography for songs, though not always successfully. I give here a brief example from the *Nakazato kyuuki* (Takahashi and Ikemiya [1972:3]), where Classical orthography has intruded:

(7) <mesiyauro>
mishooru
'says/does'

Note the treatment of the equivalent of Archaic <-yowa-ru> here. Cf. (2) and (4) above, and (9) and (10) below. In examples below, for kanji (in caps) I cite in Japanese or English.

An example of a piece of song from a *kumiodori* is as follows (KKKJ 1963: 167A, from the *kumiodori* called *Kookoo no maki* [The book of filial piety]):

(8) <kaniyaru MOMO KA HOO ya / YUME yatiyaumo MI- danu>
kaneru mumukwafuya / !imi yachon n- dan.
(kaneeru mumukwafuuya / !imi yachoon nn- dan.)
such happiness TOPIC / dreams-even see-not
'I do not see such happiness even in dreams.'

Also from KKKJ (1963:175A) is the following *ryuuka*:

(9) <danziyu kareyosiya / irade sasi- miseru //>
danju kariyushiya / !iradi sashi-miseru //
(danju kariyushiya / !iradi sashi-miseeru //)
truly auspicious / choosing point-HON. //
'My, how auspicious (the day) that you choose!'

<o HUNE no TUNA TOre- ba / KAZE ya matomo>
!uni nu tsina turi- ba / kaji ya matumu.
(!uuni nu tsina turi- ba / kaji ya matumu.)
HON·ship 's rope grasp-when / wind TOP. straight·on
'You but grasp your boat's line to have the wind come on full.'

It is an aspect of both styles that suprasegmental distinctions, including vowel length, vanish, since these are songs. Thus, the parenthesized material. I ignore other differences of the classical and modern language here. Spelling varies, as with ...<miseru>, which is more frequently seen as:

(10) ...<mesiyairu>

for example in *Kookoo no maki* (KKKJ 1963:174B).

Modern age Since the late 19th century orthography has unraveled substantially, yet the *general* situation is not chaotic.

While *Ryuuka* are still written and performed, the way most people see Okinawan written most often is as loanwords in a Japanese text, for example in Okinawan newspapers or magazines. (Okinawa has an active publishing industry.) Thus, people see isolated words in katakana (just as with other "foreign" words), with no standard spelling.

Difficulties include the written differentiation between phonological smooth and abrupt onset of voice at the beginning of words, and between, e.g., *tu* and *to*, for which the Japanese syllabary is unequipped save through a digraphic spelling. Thus the suffix *-gutu* 'like, as' might be written <guto> (a carryover from Archaic and Classical spelling) or with a digraph, as in <guto$_u$> (an innovation following similar Standard Japanese innovations), though all agree that it should not be written <gutu>, which would be pronounced *gutsu* or the like. The problem with <guto> is that then one might be at a loss for how to write *-gutooru* 'which is like/as', since <to> is already in use to write *tu*. (Cf. the Rinken Bando <guto$_u$> and <gutou> as furigana for *-gutu* [1990:9]. For more on furigana see below.) This is essentially a problem in awareness and use (or non-use) of the Classical conventions, since one may choose some of the more well known ones, such as

<to> for *tu*, but be ignorant of the convention of <tau> for *too*. When only individual words are used in an otherwise Japanese text, such problems rarely come up, but they will either be dealt with when writing out an Okinawan *text*, or confusion will result.

First I take up the way isolated Okinawan words are handled in Japanese texts, and then I discuss how Okinawan texts are handled. I do not pretend to treat all possible types of cases.

The following example is from Nishimura (1990), an appreciation of the work of the movie director Takamine Goo. Underlining denotes use of katakana, and the equal sign denotes the use of a length bar, a common feature of katakana for showing that the vowel sound corresponding to the preceding syllabograph is to be lengthened. Nishimura is following the orthography for the movie title used by Takamine himself:

(11) <utina= · imi · munugatai>
!uchinaa !imi munugatai (name of a film)
'Okinawa doriimu shoo' [sic] (name of a film)
'Okinawa dream show'

More on this presently.

The following examples are from Takamine (1990), a transcript from a talk by Takamine in Japanese. All but the first are from film titles):

(12) <yamato>
yamatu
'Japan proper'

(13) <tirudai>
chirudai
'despair/discouragement'

(14) <untama giru=>
!untama giruu
'Untama Giruu' (personal name)

All are unexceptional in their use of kana for writing Okinawan, save for one point, and that is that (13) and (14) may be seen as entire texts of a sort. Perhaps Takamine uses katakana in his film titles because he sees his audience as not being limited to Okinawa, in which case they will treat the words they see as loanwords, and therefore as appropriate to write in katakana.

In the same talk Takamine says -- as can be determined from context -- *!uchinaa !imi munugatai* (i.e., [11]), but this time the transcriber inexplicably writes the title in kanji, rendering the language spoken a guessing game:

(15) <OKI NAWA YUME MONO GATARI>
!uchinaa !imi munugatai (name of a film)
'Okinawan doriimu shoo' [sic] (name of a film)
'Okinawan dream show'

So then let me take up the question of items written in kanji. In premodern times Okinawan words were being coined and written. Given the Classical writing system, they were frequently written with kanji. Now such words are used frequently in print media, especially in newspaper culture pages or intellectual journals, and of course in books, published even in

Tokyo and widely disseminated. The question then is: What language are these items *really* in? The answer is: It depends on who is reading. Kanji may be read in the original Okinawan pronunciation (typically by an Okinawan) or in a Japanese equivalent (by either Okinawans or others). If read off as Japanese, they may be seen as Okinawan loanwords, or simply as specialized Japanese terms. Since such loans are actually loan translations (i.e., item-for-item replacements), their status is easy to miss. Here are two closely related examples from Kadena (1982):

(16) <CROWN SHIP>
kan sen (Japanese) /
kwan shin (Okinawan)
crown ship
'ship of Chinese emperor's envoy sent to crown the Ryukyuan king'

(17) <o- CROWN SHIP DANCEri>
o- kan sen odo ri (Japanese) /
!u- kwan shin' udu i (Okinawan)
HON.-crown ship dance
'dances for the Chinese emperor's envoy'

As mentioned above, hiragana is also in use. It tends to be used when the entire text is Okinawan, and thus when Okinawan is not viewed as a foreign language, as opposed to the use of katakana in a Japanese-language text given above (*yamatu* in [12]). The example I give here is with mixed kana-kanji script, typologically just like Japanese. It may be either a continuation of the Classical system or an adaptation of the modern Japanese system. It probably is a little of both. It is seen for example in recent song lyrics. My example is from the popular group Rinken Bando, fronted by Teruya Rinken, producing a self-consciously Okinawan pop music, down to the lyrics. Here are excerpts from two songs. The first is from "Maa kai ga" [Where to?] (1987.2), and the second from "Nankuru" [Of its own accord] (1990.3):

(18) <ELDER_BROTHER AGE-PLURAL ma=- kai- ga>
nii see-ta maa- kai- ga
young·person-PLURAL where-toward-?
'Young people! Where to?'

<yagate$_i$ SEVEN MONTH VILLAGE-PLAYbi>
yagati shichigwachi mura- !ashibi
at last July village play
'At last it's the July village entertainment.'

<ELDER_BROTHER> for *nii*·of *niisee* goes against tradition, though it reflects the knowledge of the Japanese reading *nii* for the chosen character; it seems somehow to make semantic sense. The Classical equivalent is <TWO>, thus literally 'two-year-old' (KKKJ 1963:417A).

The length bar is used in Japanese hiragana text, too, for expressive lengthening, but it is regularly used for length (<ma=> for *maa* above) in much modern Okinawan (including Funatsu [see below]).

Notice in the second lyrical line the spelling of *ti* as <te$_i$>, a digraph also widely in use in Standard Japanese for loanwords. Such spellings will appear frequently in Okinawan, since *ti* is part of the native phonology.

Note also that <SEVEN MONTH> is pronounced *shichigwachi*, a close relative of Japanese *shichigatsu*, and, in fact, a borrowing from Japanese. Note also the close (but irregular) correspondence for <PLAYbi> of Okinawan *!ashibi* and Japanese *asobi*. Recall the potentially variable readings of kanji compounds when there is no overt indication of pronunciation. That brings us to the following, from the 1990 album:

(19) <
tiyu= maziyu nu asi >
<NOW DAY ya ONE CORD n DRINKde$_i$ PLAYbana>
chuu ya majun nudi !ashibana
today TOP. together drinking let's·have·fun
'Let's drink and have fun together today.'

Note that (19) includes furigana, that is, the readings of the kanji. This is a kindness both for Okinawans and Japanese, since few can figure out the kanji readings otherwise. Readers of Japanese will note that <ONE CORD> is also the Japanese *issho*, with a direct morphosyllabic relation to the kanji, whereas *maju* of Okinawan *majun* has only a semantic relation to them. In all the kanji-kana material note also the complex handling of predicates, typologically identical to the Japanese mixing of kanji and so-called okurigana, or following kana.

In Kina Shookichi's pop album "Blood line" (1989) the pattern of using furigana is also followed, but interestingly they are written in katakana, not hiragana, suggesting foreignness again; and indeed Kina tends to mix Japanese and Okinawan in his songs.

Even though, then, there are large-scale regularities still, the present-day scene in Okinawa is in a state of "every man for himself," with people simply coming up with an orthography willy-nilly, since the tradition of orthography has broken down with the abandonment of the language by the authorities in favor of Standard Japanese. What, then, of the future?

The future Needless to say, the Okinawan language may not survive. It is already endangered, as are thousands of other minority languages around the world. Therefore it may seem like folly to discuss the future of a writing system and orthography. Indeed, future Okinawan may be nothing more than a few loanwords in Japanese with Japanized pronunciation. If so, nothing more need be said beyond the statements above regarding the importation of Okinawan words into Japanese text using katakana. Even non-Japanese pronunciations will eventually become naturalized.

Let us suppose, though, that Okinawan does have a future. It will surely require standardization, then, and two main issues in such a standardization are the setting of appropriate stylistic variants (about which I have nothing further to say here) and the (re-)establishment of a fully developed writing system. (See also Serafim 1991.) Typologically that system may be (a) an alphabetic system, (b) some sort of syllabary system, or (c) a mixed kanji-kana system like Japanese.

A syllabary system might be a spelling-only adaptation of either or both of the Japanese syllabaries (analogous to computer software modifications), or an adaptation including new letters (analogous to hardware modifications). The latter has been proposed in a book by Funatsu (1988). He has invented 25 new kana, merged from existing kana, such as:

(20) ⟨to⟩ + ⟨u⟩ → ⟨to$_u$⟩ = *tu* (1988:12)
⟨te⟩ + ⟨i⟩ → ⟨te$_i$⟩ = *ti* (1988:16)
⟨ku⟩ + ⟨wa⟩ → ⟨ku$_{wa}$⟩ = *kwa* (1988:26)
⟨u⟩ + ⟨wi⟩ → ⟨$_u$wi⟩ = *!wi* (1988:52)

An alphabetic system makes sense for Okinawan, because it is easy to learn, can be easily typed, and will make Okinawan easy and quick for foreigners to learn as well. It will also be a clear break from Japanese, which is what is threatening to displace Okinawan in the first place. It is a clear reaching out to the international community.

If such a step is taken, it will be easy to modify the phonemic alphabetic system in the *Okinawago jiten* (an Okinawan-Japanese dictionary [1963]), which has more phonemic oppositions than ordinary Okinawan, for example by deleting diacritics and accent notations, and by finding an easily typed symbol for the glottal stop, which looks like a question mark without a dot underneath.

(21)

KKKJ 1963	New	Here
⟨ci⟩ & ⟨ci⟩	→ ⟨ci⟩	= *chi*
⟨si⟩ & ⟨si⟩	→ ⟨si⟩	= *shi*
⟨zi⟩ & ⟨zi⟩	→ ⟨zi⟩	= *ji*
⟨Q⟩ & ⟨ʔ⟩	→ ⟨!⟩	= *!* (in complementary distribution)
⟨N⟩	→ ⟨n⟩ or ⟨n'⟩	= *n* or *n'* (as in Hepburn)

Alternative (b) is an all-kana system. (Note the similarity to the Archaic period.) Such a system also has much to recommend it, though it will result in the language being much less available to non-Japanese. It will also require writing with spaces between "words." This problem is identical to that of the alphabetic approach, solved there by writing as separate those items with phrasal accent. The kana-based system must take the same approach. Since this all-kana writing resembles the Japanese technique used to write books meant for little children, it will take a great deal of self-esteem on the part of Okinawans to go ahead and implement it, considering likely jeers from the Japanese media.

Adopting an alphabetic system, a firm break with Japanese writing, steers clear of this problem, though it brings with it its own social penalties, such as that initially the older generation will not feel comfortable with it, and that Okinawans, rather than face only sneers in the case of kanji-less kana writing, may now face much nastier Japanese media comments, since they will turn their backs on an important cultural symbol of Japan, i.e., the *entire* writing system.

Note that Funatsu's innovation may be used with an all-kana or a mixed system. Funatsu himself, without ever stating why, has adopted a mixed system, but one in which he insists furigana always be present thereby making the writing system difficult to learn, fully as difficult as that of Japanese, yet rendering kanji redundant. It is unfortunate that Funatsu has taken the kanji road, but it is easy to adapt his system to an all-kana one.

Let me, then, discuss the mixed kanji-kana alternative. Those who assume that the Okinawan system ought to resemble the Japanese system will adopt this approach. Such an assumption may never be conscious, given the blinders that people wear. The problem then simply becomes one of adapting the Japanese system for writing in Okinawan.

This has occurred twice before, first in the Archaic system, adapted from the Japanese probably in the early part of the Kamakura period (1200's), and then again in the Classical system, adapted in the late 1600's. Certainly it would not be surprising to see yet a third adaptation, though in this case third time is *not* a charm!

Such an adaptation is essentially what Funatsu has done, though using his modified syllabary. A similar approach could easily be taken using presently existing letters to make digraphs. Included in any adaptation project will have to be determinations of which kanji may be used in what combinations (and therefore in what readings), what constitute correct kanji-and-kana sequences (i.e., okurigana rules), and so on, the very same rules that consume so much effort on the part of the Japanese in determining and learning what is correct in the Japanese writing system.

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Proposal of a Comparative Study of Language Policies and Their Implementation in Singapore, Taiwan, and China (PRC)*

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* For John, who encouraged the long-awaited publication of this paper, which was first presented at the Asian and Pacific Planning Conference on Language Policy and Economic Opportunity at the University of Hawaii on December 22, 1980. Please note that the content and data have not been revised, and therefore, may be somewhat dated; however, the general policies of the three governments in question have changed little in their basic approaches to language planning.

At the end, I have suggested some readings of works that have come out after the writing of this paper and of which have called my attention.

Despite many differences, there are at least three similarities that are shared by the three political entities of Singapore, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China: the agent responsible for planning language policies is ethnically Chinese in each country; the overwhelming majority of the population of each country affected by each language policy is ethnically Chinese; and each has adopted the policy of promoting Mandarin.

However, in China and Taiwan, Mandarin is intended to be the lingua franca of different linguistic groups of Chinese, as well as of non-Chinese; whereas in Singapore, Mandarin is being promoted as the lingua franca for different groups of Chinese only. In Singapore, for communication between Chinese and non-Chinese, English is encouraged, even though the national language is Malay. In addition to these common features of their respective language policies, there are also two features unique to these Chinese communities which may require special treatment. These peculiarities are the use of Chinese characters; and the strong influence of the traditional Chinese intelligentsia.

With these similarities and peculiarities in mind, this paper proposes a framework for a comparative study of the language policies of these three countries and the way in which their implementation has in the past and will in the future affect the economic life of individuals who have different degrees of ability in different languages. The areas that I propose for comparison are:

1. Language policy and sociolinguistic changes
2. Language policy and language changes
3. Agents (makers and implementers) of language policies and an identification of their purposes
4. Language use and economic activities

1. LANGUAGE POLICY AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGES

Regardless of whether or not there is a language policy, or systematic language planning, the sociolinguistic setting (who speaks what language) of a community is always changing. This is especially true in communities such as Singapore and Taiwan, where there is intensive contact between different languages and a constant influx of outside influences. One task of a language policy is to differentiate between desirable and undesirable changes, and to determine a strategy to bring about and accelerate the desired changes, while preventing or retarding the pace of undesired changes. Such decision-making is always political, because it involves the question of who decides what for whom.

Given the sociolinguistic situation of Singapore, Taiwan, and the Southern Min speaking area of China, at the time their governments began to implement their language policies, there seemed to be no doubt that Hokkien-- called Taiwanese in Taiwan-- or Southern Min, as it is referred to in the southern part of China's Fujian Province, would eventually become the lingua franca and even the mother tongue of the residents in these communities. If the natural trend of Hokkien becoming the lingua franca of Singapore and Taiwan had been acceptable, the cost of

the consequent language policy would have been minimal.

We can predict that Hokkien will continue as a natural tendency to be the lingua franca from several factors. Hokkien is spoken by the majority of the population in these areas; and the other 'dialects' spoken in these areas, such as Teochew, Cantonese, and Hakka are much closer to Hokkien than Mandarin, since these are all southern dialects of China. (see Table 1)

Percentage of Population of Various Mother Tongues

Singapore	Taiwan	South Min Area (PRC)
Hokkien SM (42%)	Taiwanese (SM)(80%)	Hokkien
Teochew SM (22%)	Hakka (10%)	
Cantonese (17%)	Mandarin (10%)	
Hakka (7%)		
Hainanese SM (7%)		
others (5%)		

Table 1. (SM = South Min or Hokkien)

Another factor predicting this tendency is that it has been a universal phenomenon for a lingua franca to develop in a Chinese community such that speakers of other 'dialects' learn and use it for interdialectal communication within the Chinese community. Such is the case of Hokkien in the Philippines, Hakka in Tahiti, Zhongshan in Honolulu, and Taishan in most other parts of North America. Any governmental policy that goes against this natural trend is very costly in terms of its political, economic, and cultural repercussions.

It will take at least two generations (approximately sixty years) to attain the goal of having everyone fluent in Mandarin. It will take much longer for people to actually use Mandarin in their daily lives without affecting the normal functions of verbal communication. The labor and other resources required for learning Mandarin, a language alien to the majority of the community, is beyond calculation.

During the process of promoting Mandarin, different groups of individuals will develop different degrees of competence in Mandarin, depending on their native language, age, type and level of education, and their occupation. Different language abilities often result in discrimination in the field of economic opportunities; i.e. the opportunity to participate in the productive process, to have access to final products, and to increase one's earning capacity. These factors will be examined in more detail in the forthcoming discussion.

After implementing the policy of promoting Mandarin for twenty-five years in Singapore, thirty-five years in Taiwan[1], and even longer in China; the sociolinguistic goal of increased use of Mandarin has been reached, although its success cannot be consider unqualified. While the overwhelming majority of productive activities are still carried out in Hokkien and other non-Mandarin vernaculars, the younger generation (those under forty in Taiwan, and those under thirty in Singapore) have acquired different degrees of ability in Mandarin. It should be kept in mind that even though they can speak Mandarin they do not normally do so.

The writer's observation supports the general view that Taiwan has been much more successful in implementing the policy of promoting Mandarin than either Fujian or Guangdong Province in China. Assuming this is true, there are several contributing factors to this situation:

a. The Taiwan government has better facilities for promoting Mandarin; including the school system and mass media such as T.V., radio, newspapers, and magazines.

b. Convenient transportation and communication make it possible for individuals to contact other people beyond their own speech communities.

c. On average, the level of education is much higher in Taiwan than in China. Since the medium of instruction must be Mandarin, people in Taiwan have more years of compulsory use of Mandarin.

d. Taiwan has a higher proportion of 'outsiders', 10–15% who speak Mandarin as their main language; and it is significant that the political elite belong to this group. In Fujian Province, outsiders are far fewer in number and do not necessarily have political power.

e. In Taiwan, because of the higher degree of modernization and the prior experience of learning Japanese, the population is more prepared to learn a second language, partly to enhance their individual economic opportunities, as well as other motivations.

f. The ideological difference between Taiwan and the PRC seems to play a role in the more successful implementation of the policy to promote Mandarin in Taiwan as compared to Fujian Province. Taiwan is a competitive society in which people strive to climb the social ladder, especially in education. Since Mandarin is a necessary tool to success in school, the incentive is there to learn and use Mandarin. In China, at least in theory, the equality and dignity of the working class is stressed and the reward system in effect over the past two decades did not favor individuals who did well in school. Members of the working class who do not do well in school cannot be too ill-treated from the communist ideological viewpoint. There might even be some motivation to identify oneself with the farmers and workers who speak the local vernacular rather than Mandarin. The incentive to speak Mandarin might be low if it suggested identification with the educated class.

g. Finally, and in my view the most important, the promotion of Mandarin benefits those in power in Taiwan much more than it benefits those in power in Fujian Province or in Beijing. This was most obvious in the early stages of promoting Mandarin, during which local Taiwanese barely spoke any Mandarin, and thus hardly ever rose to important positions in government or in government-run

businesses. Some who already had government positions were subsequently removed because of their language background. If Mandarin had not been promoted, the mainlanders would have had to learn and use Taiwanese to compete with the Taiwanese majority--a drastic disadvantage from the viewpoint of those holding military and political power. At least in government-related job opportunities, the language policy was used as a tool to maintain their privileges.

2. LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE CHANGES

The question of what type of Mandarin should be used as the norm in Singapore, Taiwan, and China's Hokkien-speaking area, has been barely considered by the respective governments of these countries, but it will become more and more important since language constantly changes. The rate of language change is especially great when it is learned and used as a second language by the overwhelming majority of a community. Even though the schools aim to teach Beijing Mandarin, the Mandarin learned and used in Singapore and Taiwan nowadays has a distinctively local flavor; which is routinely regarded as Singaporian Mandarin and Taiwanese Mandarin. If it will take sixty years for everyone to acquire Singaporian or Taiwanese Mandarin, it will take much longer for them to speak Beijing Mandarin, or a Mandarin that will not stand out as an overseas brand of the dialect.

It could be true that a decision on language norm or language change is not as political as a decision on sociolinguistic changes; however, even such a decision has political and economic consequences. If Beijing Mandarin is taken as the standard, more than 95% of Mandarin speakers need to spend some time and energy improving their Mandarin.

In terms of economic opportunities, the minority of people who have a natural ability to imitate and learn the Beijing style of Mandarin would have a decisive advantage. Any new emigrant from China would be favored in outlying Chinese communities for jobs as radio announcers or T.V. actors. Two other areas of government intervention in language change that have consequences on job opportunities are (1) the enforced use of simplified characters and (2) the elimination of classical elements in writing. If these changes were enforced, the older intelligentsia who have established themselves by old-fashioned writing (using non-simplified characters and plenty of classical diction) would have to un-learn their own writing habits. They would lose their prestige as authorities on Chinese writing. The younger people, on the other hand, would no longer need to learn the old writing and, moreover, could now compete with the established elderly scholars.

Another difficulty Taiwan and Singapore have to face is the standardization of new terms. Each country has its own methods and conventions of coining new words for new ideas and the many terms they now use are different from those used in the PRC. There are also many terms that have no counterpart in the PRC because of cultural differences or differences in the pace or direction of modernization. The idea of promoting Mandarin either to unify with China or to promote trade with China does conflict with the best interests of the people if their language is always branded as inferior in spite of their higher standard of living and technological advancement, and their distinctive political, social and economical system.

3. AGENTS OF LANGUAGE POLICIES AND IDENTIFICATION OF THEIR PURPOSES

Why is it that certain sociolinguistic or language changes are identified as desirable and need to be promoted, while other changes are branded as undesirable and therefore need to be prevented or discouraged? More specifically, why should Mandarin be learned and used, while the native language of the overwhelming majority of the population be discouraged? It is interesting to note how differently these questions are answered by the three governments. The Beijing government emphasizes unity, solidarity, and patriotism. The Taibei government rationalizes by saying that Taiwan is part of China and Mandarin is the national language of China. The Singapore government stresses that Singapore is too small and has to learn Mandarin for international trade. Beneath these proclaimed justifications are complicated motivations that authorities have rarely admitted.

At this point, the question of who participates in language policy formation and its implementation becomes very important. People usually think of their own interests first; it is the hidden, ulterior motives that more clearly explain the drive to promote Mandarin by the respective governments. Critics have pointed out that in Taiwan, the Nationalists had used Mandarin to keep the Taiwanese out of important positions in government. An all-out promotion of Mandarin was to the advantage of the mainlanders at the expense of the Taiwanese. In Singapore, Mandarin seems to have been a second choice. No dialect group was particularly happy that their own language was not selected, but neither was any group especially unhappy because there was no other group that managed to benefit at their expense. When Mandarin was selected as an official language, every dialect group in Singapore was placed at an equal disadvantage. The only people that anticipated some advantage and hence supported the selection of Mandarin were those who were associated with Chinese schools.

During the colonial period, Chinese in Southeast Asia were greatly inspired by the establishment of the Republic of China and the idea of China becoming a world power. Overseas, Chinese schools were modelled after schools in China and became centers for cultivating Chinese nationalism. The Nationalists supplied teachers and textbooks that taught things such as "We are Chinese; we were born in Southeast Asia, but we all love China." It was during this period that many Chinese schools switched their media of instruction from Hokkien to Mandarin. Because Singapore is today an independent country, the promotion of Mandarin has to be justified on grounds other than Chinese nationalism or even ties with China.

To understand these unexpressed justifications it is important to note that there was a group of educated people who had been deeply influenced by Chinese education. This elite had learned how to read and write in Mandarin, but had no knowledge of how to do so in their mother tongue. Because Mandarin was an official language, they had an advantage over others who did not have this special skill. However, with their native Hokkien, the actual lingua franca, they had no advantage over others, and had to learn written Hokkien, which had not yet been standardized.

Those political elite, who were educated in English, also saw Hokkien as unattractive, because they had attended English schools and had little formal training in expressing complicated ideas in Hokkien. Since it was not necessary in school, some barely acquired the lingua franca; they could not compete with the masses in Hokkien, but might do so in Mandarin.

In China, Mandarin was a reasonable choice, since the majority of the population spoke some form of Mandarin. Still, there are many respects in which educated people in Fujian Province can benefit themselves by following the policy to promote Mandarin in the Hokkien-speaking community.

In spite of such differences in justifying a similar language policy, it is noteworthy that the main rationalization offered in the three countries has been based on a national necessity. They all fail to link the role of language policy with the economic life of a modern society. In particular they all fail to have any policy on Hokkien or to take a realistic look at what role each major language plays in the economy of the whole society and in the economic opportunities of the individuals who have different degree of competence in different languages.

4. LANGUAGE USE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

How is an individual's ability in Mandarin, Hokkien and English related to his job and income? Are there striking differences between government and private employment in terms of such correlations? What languages are used in the production markets: when a foreman gives direction to his men, a carpenter trains his apprentices, a farmer buys his tools or discusses what and how to plant, a merchant bargains with his customers, or a banker interviews his loan applicants? What languages are used in the consumption market: in barber shops, hotels, trains, stores, restaurants, tour buses, taxis, movie theaters, or night clubs? What type of information is available (or not available) in a given language, and what section of the population has access to such information? If information concerning such things as how to cut hair, raise cows, or weave baskets is generally given orally in Hokkien, can an individual without knowledge of Hokkien have opportunities to acquire such skills? Is information of highly advanced technology and different types of skills available to people who cannot speak Mandarin or Hokkien? What about information concerning weather, marketing and the availability of equipment and tools? How would the availability or unavailability of these types of information in a language affect the growth of industry as a whole and individual firms and farmers? A reliable answer to these questions can help those who are responsible for language policy and its implementation. It will also help researchers assess the effectiveness of these policies and their application.

There are several ways to show how languages and economic activities are related and how a language policy and its implementation have affected such a relationship. I propose the following three areas of relationship: language ability and income of individuals; language used and types of productive processes vis-a-vis types of consumption of final products; and types of information available in different industries and their accessibility to speakers of different languages.

It is hoped that a synchronic study of the correlation between these variables will show the relationship between language ability and economic activities. A diachronic comparison of these correlations at different points of time within the same community and a comparative study across communities will shed some light on the question of how a language policy has had or will have effect on economic opportunities of the individual and on its relations with national economic growth.

4.1 LANGUAGE ABILITY AND INCOME OF INDIVIDUALS

It seems reasonable to assume that the greater the number of languages one can speak, and especially the better one can speak the most widely used language, the better one can function in economic activities and therefore will have more opportunities for better paying jobs. If there is a positive correlation between the two variables, we may conclude that there is a fair and reasonable reward system when government policy tries to promote Mandarin. In the case of Taiwan, government employment does not seem to follow this rule of higher reward for higher competence in the most widely spoken language. Higher salary is correlated with Mandarin, which as we have seen, is not the native language of the majority of Taiwanese. Proficiency in Hokkien or Hakka, the native languages of most people in Taiwan, may be correlated with lower salary because lower ranking government employees have more chances to mingle with Taiwanese or are Taiwanese themselves. In the private sector, higher salary, as far as I can see, is related to proficiency in both Hokkien and Mandarin or Hakka and Mandarin.[2]

The discrepancy between the language–salary correlation of the government employee and that of the private employee is an indication of the gap between the government and the people. If government employees are claimed to be public servants, there shouldn't be a big gap in the reward system. If a government wants to be effective, popular and responsive to the people's needs, such a wide gap should be taken as a serious warning.

4.2 LANGUAGE USED AND TYPES OF PRODUCTIVE PROCESSES VIS-A-VIS TYPES OF CONSUMPTION

No matter how powerful and authoritarian a government is, it still does not have the facilities powerful and effective enough to force its people to use a certain language. Even though the government of Taiwan or Singapore has been very anxious to promote Mandarin, and therefore may officially ban the use of "unofficial" languages in public, they have been very realistic in allowing the use of unofficial languages in industry and business. People have a great deal of freedom in their choice of occupation and use of language in their economic activities.

It is important to note that in all three areas the overwhelming majority of commercial activities are not conducted in Mandarin but in Hokkien. It is also important to note that in the consumption market, the use of Mandarin is significantly higher than in the production markets, so much so that some farmers in Taiwan describe Hokkien as the language of production and Mandarin the language of consumption. To what extent this is true needs to be studied on the basis of empirical data.

As the policy of promoting Mandarin has been most effective in schools, it can be expected that people competent in Mandarin will get more jobs that require longer formal professional training. It can also be expected that there are jobs that require professional training only and there are jobs that require good ability in Hokkien and/or Mandarin in order to function well.

Though never officially admitted by the Taiwan authorities, there has been discrimination against Taiwanese in governmental hiring and promotion, and in turn, reverse discrimination

against mainlanders in the private sector. To some extent this has been related to the government's language policy which seems to imply it is unnecessary for mainlanders to learn Hokkien. Until the early seventies, mainlanders who had not learned Hokkien had to find jobs in the military, police, teaching, or enterprises run by the government. Members of the elite who chose to leave Taiwan during this period were more often than not mainlanders, rather than Taiwanese. How this trend has changed and to what extent the language is a factor affecting that change are interesting questions which need to be studied.

4.3 TYPES OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES AND THEIR ACCESSIBILITY TO SPEAKERS OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

If a language policy affects the equal employment opportunities of the individuals as has been noted, it can also affect the economic growth of a nation. This happens when school children are taught things related to the Mandarin world, but unrelated to the immediate needs of their community. When students are not taught to communicate within industry; or when the government makes it harder for non-Mandarin speakers to access, in their dialects, market information for particular industries, economic development suffers. In addition, preventing non-Mandarin speakers from expressing their views or participating in legislation affecting their respective industries in a language they can understand only serves to interfere with the growth of their industries.

I personally spoke with a person whose job was to explain to farmers the nutrition and market value of a newly introduced crop. He had slides with directions recorded in Mandarin. I asked why the recording could not be in Hokkien. The reply was that for the purpose of promoting Mandarin, he was not allowed to record the oral directions in Hokkien. He added, however, that written instructions were generally understood and he often used Hokkien when explaining in person.

Written information is especially a problem in these areas. Some types of information on technological know-how are more readily available in writing. Once put into writing, using written Mandarin, it is easily translated into Hokkien or Hakka. There are types of information that are not easily available in writing, such as manual skills and knowledge about the plants or insects peculiar to the local surroundings that has been passed down orally in the vernacular. Written information is lacking partly because subject matter of this nature tend to be neglected in school education, and partly because students are not trained to write in the native tongues. There are many Hokkien words that have no Mandarin equivalents, thus making translation to written Mandarin a problem. Compared with Mandarin, Hokkien has a richer vocabulary of movement and action, and has richer and more systematic grammatical categories in time relations. A study on the correlation between the growth of various industries and the languages used in each may reveal something significant about language use and economic strength.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have given a brief background of the language policies in Singapore,

Taiwan, and the Hokkien speaking area of China. It has been shown that given the sociolinguistic situations of these Chinese communities, the natural trend is for Hokkien to become the lingua franca, and promoting Mandarin as the lingua franca is at a tremendous expense to both the government and the people. I have pointed out that the respective governments have justified the promotion of Mandarin on different grounds, but they similarly claim it to be a national necessity, while neglecting the role that the unofficial languages play in the economic opportunities of the individuals and the economic growth of various industries.

For the study of the economic consequences of language use and language policies I proposed collecting data concerning correlations among the following variables: an individual's ability in different languages, an individual's income, the frequency of use of various languages in various types of productive processes and consumption, and information available in different languages in different industries. I proposed diachronic studies of these correlations at different points along the course of implementing the language policies of the respective governments, along with a comparative study of these three countries, noting their many significant similarities.

It is the view of this writer that, after considering the experience of different Chinese communities, language policy is the function of political power and the tradition of the Chinese intelligentsia, which characteristically uses non-simplified Chinese characters; it has a common core of curriculum on the abstract Chinese culture, ambitions for high position in the government, disdain for local culture and language, and is alienated from the masses.

As for my view of a viable language policy, I have argued on other occasions, and continue to here, that a bilingual policy that recognizes Hokkien, Hakka and Mandarin as official languages is best for Taiwan.

1.In Taiwan the medium of instruction before 1945 was exclusively Japanese, after which Chinese was adopted. During the ten year transitional period that followed the defeat of Japan, Hokkien was used in elementary schools, with a gradual conversion to Mandarin. In Singapore the medium of instruction did not change overnight, with the switch from Hokkien to Mandarin occurring gradually. There was no sudden termination of English as a medium of instruction as had occurred with Japanese in Taiwan. Under the current bilingual policy, both English and Mandarin are used as media of instruction much more widely than before.

2. For additional research into the correlation between income and language proficiency see: Wescott, K. (1979). "A survey of use of English in Hong Kong". Mimeograph. This study shows that high income levels correlate positively with high proficiency in the "high" language in a model of diglossia.

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The Topical Function of Preverbal Locatives and Temporals in Chinese

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1. Introduction

Locative expressions in Chinese can occur in three different positions as exemplified by (1)–(3), while temporal expressions can occur in only two, both preverbal, as exemplified by (4) and (5).

(1) zai Meiguo ta you hen duo pengyou.
in America he have very many friend
'In America, he has many friends,'

(2) ta zai Meiguo you hen duo pengyou.[1]
he in America have very many friend
(i) 'He has many friends in America.'
(ii) 'Speaking of him, in America, (he) has many friends.'

(3) nei–fu hua gua zai qiang–shang.[2]
that–CL painting hang on wall–LOC
'The painting was hanging on the wall.'

(4) zuotian ta mei lai kan wo.
yesterday he not come to see me
'Yesterday, he didn't come to see me.'

(5) ta zuotian mei lai kan wo.
he yesterday not come see me
(i) 'He didn't come to see me yesterday.'
(ii) 'Speaking of him, yesterday (he) didn't come to see me.'

It is generally agreed that postverbal locatives such as the one in (3) should be analyzed as complements. I have also presented arguments elsewhere (Tsao 1978, 1979) for analyzing sentence–initial temporals and locatives such as those in (1) and (4) as primary topics.[3] That this analysis is very well–motivated can be seen by extending (1) to (1a) and (4) to (4a).

(1) a. zai Meiguo$_i$ ta$_j$ you hen duo pengyou
in America he have very many friends
———$_i$ ———$_j$ changchang da majiang.
often play mahjong
'In America he has many friends; (there) (he) often plays mahjong.'

(4) a. zuotian$_i$ ta$_j$ mei lai kan wo, ———$_i$ ta$_j$
yesterday he not come see me he
zuo libai qu le.
do church: service go PART
'Yesterday he did not come to see me; he went to church.'

It can easily be shown that the locative expression zai Meiguo 'in America' in (1a) and the temporal expression zuotian 'yesterday' in (4a) have all the grammatical qualities of a primary topic. That is, they occur sentence–initially; they are definite in reference;[4] they extend their domain to more than one clause; and finally, they are in control of coreferential NP deletion or pronominalization in their respective chains.

Semantically, the locative in (1a) provides a physical setting for the two comment clauses and likewise, in (4a) the temporal expression gives a time frame for the two comment clauses in the chain. Logically, as Barry (1975) has pointed out, the locative and the temporal in (1a) and (4a) are "indicators of universe within which events hold true." We have thus proved beyond any reasonable doubt that sentence–initial temporals and locatives such as those in (1a) and (4a) are primary topics.

The purpose of this paper is to show that non–sentence–initial preverbal locatives and temporals such as those in (2) and (5) can in certain contexts play the role of a topic, albeit a non–primary one. In other words, sentences like (2) and (5) are often, taken in isolation, subject to two structural analyses as reflected in the two translations of each sentence.

However, in order to provide a general background for the understanding of the proposed analysis and our arguments in support of it, we need to digress a little to discuss adverbs in Chinese in general.

2. General Remarks on Chinese Adverbs

This is certainly no place to go into a detailed discussion of adverbs in Chinese. What we would like to do in the following is to concentrate on some aspects that are of immediate concern to our topic at hand. Specifically, we would like to take up two important questions concerning Chinese adverbs, namely, (i) the problem of identifying adverbs in Chinese; and, (ii) the placement of different types of adverbs in a multiple adverbial construction.

2.1 The Problem of Identifying Chinese Adverbs

Just as in many other languages, the adverb in Chinese as a category is an extremely ill–defined cover term for a number of different categories. Tai (1976:393) calls it "a wastebasket for a variety of linguistic entities which bear different semantic relations to different parts of a sentence." This being the case, it is really difficult to set up criteria to identify what adverbs are in Chinese. For instance, Guo (1962) defines an adverb as: "a constituent that is placed before a verb or an adjective, but never before a noun to indicate degree, scope, time, negation etc." Evidently, there is a catch in the definition in the form of "etc.". But even with this vagueness, this definition excludes many linguistic entities that other linguists would readily classify as adverbs. Witness (6) and (7).

(6) mingxian–de, ta bu zhidao zhe–jian shi.
clearly he not know this–CL matter
'Clearly, he was not aware of the matter.'

(7) huang–huang–zhang–zhang–de ta pao–le jin–lai.
in:a:flurry he run–ASP enter–come
'In a flurry, he ran in (toward the speaker).'

Thus, mingxian–de 'clearly' and huang–huang–zhang–zhang–de 'in a flurry' can both occur before a noun, and yet most linguists would agree to assign them to the category of adverbs.

However, rather than make any attempt to fix up the definition so that it can cover all adverbs, which is a task evidently beyond the scope of this section, we would like to take up an area which contributes to the difficulty of defining adverbs in Chinese. This area, which has a great deal to do with the topic of the present paper, concerns the ambivalence of some kinds of expression which occur preverbally.

Certain expressions in English also exhibit this ambivalence, as Lyons (1977:474) points out:

> The difference between certain locative adverbials and place–referring nominals is not, in fact, clear–cut in all syntactic positions in English. For example, the demonstrative adverbs 'here' and 'there' and the demonstrative pronouns 'this' and 'that' are equally appropriate as substitutes for 'this place'/'that place' in an utterance like 'This/that place is where we agreed to meet.'

Lyons restricts his comment here on locative expressions. Actually, the same comment is equally applicable to temporal expressions in some contexts. Examine (8).

(8) Yesterday being Sunday, we went to church at about ten.

Chinese temporal and locative expressions in certain positions also exhibit this ambivalence. This is clear when we translate the English sentences mentioned above into Chinese. The problem in Chinese, however, is aggravated by a pronounced tendency to elide the prepositions in many prepositional phrases. This tendency was very strong in archaic Chinese and is still strong in modern standard Chinese. This is exactly the reason which prompted Wang Li (1955, 1980) to posit a special category of words called "nominals in the relational function, i.e., they have the function of a prepositional phrase but the preposition, the governing category, is unexpressed. The following are some of Wang's examples.

(9) Peng–shi zhi zi ban dao er wen yue,
Peng–shi POSS son half way PART ask say
"jun jiang he zhi?"
Lord will where go
'Peng–shi's son during the trip asked, "Where is my Lord going?"
(Mozi, 5th c. B.C.)

(10) shi shu wei da?
matter which be great
'Of all the matters, which is the most important?'
shi qiń wei da.
serve parents be great
'To serve one's parents is the most important,'
(Mencius, 4th c. B.C.)

(11) zhe–li bu mai piao.
this–place not sell ticket
(i) '(We) don't sell tickets at this place/here.'
(ii) 'This place does not sell tickets.'
(modern standard Chinese)

(12) san qian kuai qian mai–le yi–jia
three thousand dollar money buy–ASP one–CL
gangqin.
piano
'(With) three thousand dollars, (we) bought a piano.'
(modern standard Chinese)

Wang (1980:388–394) correctly remarks that omission of preposition in this type of structure was more prevalent in classical Chinese than it is in modern Chinese. He also observes that nominals bearing this function are for the most part locative, temporal and scope–delimiting expressions.[5] Other types of nominals such as instrumentals and benefactives do occur, as in (12), but only rarely.

It is the same consideration which prompted Chinese grammarians (Zhu, 1950; Guo, 1960; Chao, 1968 and Lu et al., 1981 among others) to analyze the underlined expressions in (9)–(12) as nouns at the lexical level, which are then said to have the function of adverbial modifiers, or zhuangyu to use the terminology employed in mainland China, syntactically. While this approach is able to characterize the expressions involved at both levels, it fails to explain why in Chinese, but not in English, there are so many nominals used to modify verbs (including adjectives). Neither does it explain why most of the expressions having this function are temporals and locatives rather than instrumentals and benefactives. We will attempt to give an explanation later in the section.

2.2 Placement of Multiple Adverbials

When there are several adverbial expressions appearing in a row preverbally in a sentence, the most information–wise neutral and unmarked order seems to be: temporal (including those of specific time, duration and frequency) > locative > benefactive > manner > instrumental (Chuo, 1987; Li et al., 1983; Zhu, 1959), as exemplified by (13).

(13) nei–ge lao furen, qunian dongtian shichang
that–CL old woman last:year winter often
zai jia–li wei ta erzi renzhen–de yong
at home–LOC for her son earnestly with
gouzhen zhi maoxianyi.[6]
hooked:needle knit sweater
'The old woman often knit sweaters with hooked needles for her son at home during the last winter.'

The above sentence is taken from Chuo (1987), who also discusses in some detail the placement of some position–wise versatile adverbs such as you 'again', guyi 'intentionally', keneng 'probably'[7] and bu 'not'. We feel that it is a very valuable approach to discuss these adverbs separately and we will return to the placement of some of these adverbs in the next section.

But before we leave this topic, we would like to raise a very important question that many researchers have taken for granted: Why is there such an order of adverbial placement? More specifically, we would like to know whether it is fortuitous that temporals and locatives precede all others.

3. Temporals and Locatives as Non–primary Topics

To the best of my knowledge, the first linguist who specifically analyzed adverbials that occur between the primary topic and the verb as topics is Hockett. He (1958:201–203) comments:

> Many Chinese comments consist in terms of a topic and comment so that one can have a sentence built up of predications within predications, Chinese–box style. 'Wo jintian chengli you shi' freely 'I have business in town today' has topic 'wo' 'I' and the remainder as comment. 'Jintian chengli you shi' 'There is business in town today' in turn has topic 'jintian' 'today' and the remainder as comment. 'chengli you shi' 'There is business in town' consists of topic 'chengli' 'in town, town's interior' and comment 'you shi' 'there is business.'[8]

Chao (1968) also recognizes the existence of non–primary temporal and locative topics, although he does not explicitly call them as such. He states (op. cit. p.534):

> If there are both time and place words as subjects [topics in our terms, F.T.], the time word usually though not always precedes the place word, as in jintian haishang fenglang hen da. "Today on the sea the wind and waves are high." But the main topic is what decides the main subject [the primary topic, F.T.]. For example, women jiali jinnian guonian, keshi qunian meiyou. 'In our house, we celebrate the New Year this year, but last year we didn't.' where the place word jiali is main subject [the primary topic] under which jinnian and qunian are smaller subjects [non–primary topics].[9]

Neither Hockett nor Chao, however, give any specific argument for this analysis. In what follows we would like to present our arguments in its support.

3.1 Placement of the Pause Particles

One of the grammatical qualities that the primary topic has is that it can be followed by one of the pause particles, a (ya), ba , me and ne. The same particles can also follow a locative or temporal appearing between the primary topic and the main verb, as exemplified by (14) and (15).

(14) ta zuotian ya meiyou lai.

he yesterday PART not come

'Speaking of him, yesterday (he) didn't come.'

(15) ta zai Meiguo ya you hen duo pengyou.

he in America PART have very many friend

'Speaking of him, in America (he) has many friends.'

Since a pause particle in Chinese occurs between the topic and the comment part of a sentence, (14) and (15) indicate clearly that zuotian 'yesterday' in (14) and zai Meiguo 'in America' in (15) are perceived by native speakers as belonging to the topic part of the sentence involved.

3.2 Definiteness in Reference

Like the primary topic, a temporal or a locative occurring between the primary topic and the main verb is definite in reference in most cases as exemplified by (16).

(16) Li Xiaojie zuotian cheng–li you shi.

Li Miss yesterday town–LOC have business

'Speaking of Miss Li, yesterday in town she had business.'

It is clear that the temporal zuotian 'yesterday' and the locative chengli 'in town' in (16) are both definite. There are, however, two minor points that need to be taken care of in this connection. First, if you 'EXIST' is analyzed as an indicator showing that the following NP is indefinite but specific, i.e., its reference is identifiable to the speaker but not to the hearer, then we have to allow for cases where the temporal or locative expression involved is indefinite but specific. Compare (17) with (16).

(17) Li Xiaojie you yi–tian jin cheng lai kan wo.

Li Miss EXIST one–day enter town come see me

'Speaking of Miss Li, one day (she) came to town to see me.'

Notice that an indefinite, nonspecific temporal or locative is still not allowed as a secondary topic as attested by the ungrammaticality of (18).

(18) *Li Xiaojie yi–tian ya jin cheng lai
Li Miss one day PART enter town come
kan wo.[10]
see me.

Notice also that if such an analysis of you is adopted, then the referential constraint on the primary topic will have to be relaxed to allow for cases of specific NPs as well as temporals and locatives. Compare (16) with (16a), (17) with (17a), and (18) with (18a).

(16) a. you yi–ge ren zuotian cheng–li
EXIST one–CL person yesterday town–LOC
you shi.
have business
'Someone had business in town yesterday.'

(17) a. you yi–tian Li Xiaojie jin cheng.
EXIST one–day Li Miss enter town
lai kan wo.
come see me
'One day Miss Li came to town to see me.'

(18) a. *yi tian Li Xiaojie jin cheng lai kan wo.
one–day Li Miss enter town come see me

As expected, both (16a) and (17a) are grammatical while (18a), in which the indefinite, non–specific temporal secondary topic is fronted to become the primary topic, is not. So when the referential constraint is thus revised, it works for both the primary topic and the secondary topic played by a temporal or a locative. The parallelism remains intact.

Second, if the expression involved is a prepositional phrase then the referential constraint applies to the NP in the phrase rather than to the whole prepositional phrase. This happens only rarely and it happens more often with the locative phrase than with the temporal phrase.

3.3 The Contrastive Function

One of the discourse functions of the primary topic is to provide contrast (see Barry, 1975; Tsao, 1979, Chapter 6). This can be clearly seen in the following examples.

(19) ta bu qu; wo qu.
he not go I go
'(If) he doesn't want to go, I will.'

(20) fan bu chi le, jiu zai duo he
rice not eat PART wine still more drink
yi–dian.
a–little
'(As for) rice, we will have no more, but wine, do drink a little more.'

Likewise, secondary topics such as the second nominal in the double nominative construction are often used contrastively as in (21).

(21) ta yanjing zhang de hen hao–kan, bizi
he eye grow PART very good–looking nose
que bu zen–me–yang.
on:the:contrary not so:great.
'Speaking of him, (his) eyes are very beautiful, (but) (his) nose is just so–so.'

Now examine the temporals and locatives occurring in the position in question. They, too, possess this function, as shown in (22) and (23).

(22) ta zai Taiwan you hen duo pengyou, zai zhe–li
he in Taiwan have very many friend in this–LOC
yi–ge ye meiyou.
one–CL also not:have
'In Taiwan he has many friends, (but) in this place he has none.'

(23) women jia–li jin–nian guo nian,
our house–LOC this–year celebrate New:Year
keshi qu–nian meiyou.[11]
but last–year not:have
'(In) our house, (we) celebrate the New Year this year, but last year we didn't.'

Thus, it is clear that temporals and locatives occurring in the position under investigation behave like other non–primary topics in having the function of contrastiveness just like the primary topic.

3.4 Placement of Adverbs You and Ye

In Tsao (1982) the placement of you 'again' and ye 'also' is used as a test to distinguish three constructions, namely, productive double nominative construction, sentences with semi–SP compounds and sentences with frozen SP compounds. The reason that the placement of you 'again' and ye 'also' can provide such a good test is that both you 'again' and ye 'also' belong to the topic component while what follows them belongs to the VP component. This interpretation is in agreement with Chuo's observation (1987) about you 'again', which he calls a "repetitive adverb". In his paper he compares sentences such as (a) and (b) in (24) and (25).

(24) a. ta–de pengyou you zai shang–ge libaitian
he–POSS friend again on last–CL Sunday
lai zhao ta.
come see him
'His friend came to see him again last Sunday.'

b. ta–de pengyou zai shang–ge libaitian you
he–POSS friend on last–CL Sunday again
lai zhao ta.
come see him
'Speaking of him, last Sunday his friend came to see him again.'

(25) a. ta you zai xuexiao–li da–le ren.
he again in school–LOC hit–ASP person
'He hit a person at school again.'

b. ta zai xuexiao–li you da–le ren.
he in school–LOC again hit–ASP person
'Speaking of him, at school (he) hit a person again.'

He observes that the difference between the (a) and (b) sentences in each pair lies in the "shifting of focus". In the (a) sentences the focus is laid on the adverbial following you 'again' while in the (b) sentences it is on the verb (1987:137). Since according to our interpretation, only what precedes you 'again' can be topic, which normally carries known information, the adverbial in the (a) sentences can not be part of the focus in the respective sentences. The two observations are, therefore, in agreement.

With this observation in mind, let us go back to the temporal and locative in question. Since they can appear both before and after you 'again' and ye 'also', it is only the temporals and locatives that appear before these two adverbs that are secondary topics, as those in (24b) and (25b). (24a) and (25a), on the other hand, are single–topic sentences with an adverbial modifier. We can easily justify this interpretation by adding another comment clause to (a) and (b) sentences in (25) as in (26 a and b).

(26) a. ta$_i$ you zai xuexiao–li da–le ren,
he again in school–LOC hit–ASP person
suoyi _____$_i$ bu gan huijia.
so not dare go:home
'He hit a person at school again, so (he) dared not go home.'

b. ta$_i$ zai xuexiao–li$_j$ you da–le ren
he in school–LOC again hit–ASP person
suoyi _____$_i$ _____$_j$ bei laoshi chufa le.
so BEI teacher punish PART
'Speaking of him, at school (he) hit a person again, so (he) (at school) was punished by the teacher.'

3.5 Domain and Control Properties

(26b) also shows clearly that temporals and locatives in question can extend their domain to more than one clause, a very important property which we have proved that the primary topic possesses. However, there is a difference. While a secondary topic can extend its domain to more than one clause, it can do that only when the primary topic also does so at the same time. A primary topic is evidently not subject to such a restriction.

Likewise, (26b) shows that the locative or the temporal in question has the control property that a primary topic has, i.e., it is in control of the coreferential NP deletion and pronominalization in the following clauses in the same chain. But again there is a difference. A secondary topic controls the NP deletion and pronominalization only when the primary topic does so at the same time. A primary topic is never subject to such a constraint.

3.6 Similarities to Other kinds of Secondary Topics

The possessed NP in the double nominative construction often ends up as a secondary topic as in (27a).

(27) a. ta shuxue hen hao.
he math very good.
'Speaking of him, (his) math is very good.'

However, the possessed NP can, in a proper context, be promoted to a primary topic as shown in (27b).

b. shuxue ta hen hao.
math he very good
'Speaking of math, he is very good.'

It has been pointed out that when the possessed NP becomes a primary topic, its meaning is somehow changed. It can now only be interpreted in a generic sense. Shuxue in (27b), for instance, can only mean 'Speaking of math in general'. It does not denote 'his math' as it does in (27a).

This change of interpretation, however, can be explained in terms of a very general rule of topic scope interpretation, which can be roughly stated as (28).

(28) The primary topic > the secondary topic > the tertiary topic.....
where ">" means "has a larger scope than"

Since a possessed NP is, by definition, only part of the possessor NP, when it becomes the primary topic, it cannot retain its original meaning without conflicting with the topic scope interpretation rule. Only when it takes on a generic sense is it compatible with the rule just mentioned.

This interpretation rule aside, what is shared by the secondary topic played by the possessed NP and that played by a temporal or locative expression in question is that both can be, in a proper context, promoted to become the primary topic. Compare (29) and (30) with (27).

(29) a. ta$_i$ zuotian$_j$ lai kan wo le, ——$_i$

he yesterday come see me PART

——$_j$ hai dai–zhe taitai yiqi lai.

still take–ASP wife together come

'Speaking of him, yesterday (he) came to see me,(and) (he) brought his wife with him.'

b. zuotian$_i$ shi xingqitian, suoyi ——$_i$ ta

yesterday be Sunday so he

lai kan wo le.

come see me PART

'Yesterday was Sunday, so (yesterday) he came to see me.'

(30) a. ta$_i$ zai Meiguo$_j$ you hen duo shiye,

he in America have very many enterprises

——$_i$——$_j$you hen da–de yingxiangli.

have very big influence

'Speaking of him, in America (he) has many enterprises, (and) (there) (he) has a great deal of influence.'

b. zai Meiguo$_i$ renren dou dei shou

in America everybody all must abide:by

fa, ——$_i$ ta ye bu liwai.

law he also no exception

'In America, everybody has to abide by the law, (and) (there) he is no exception.'

I have also argued elsewhere (Tsao, 1987, 1989a & 1989b) that the ba NP in a ba construction, the compared NPs in a comparative structure and the lian constituent in the lian ... dou/ye construction occurring in the postion between the primary topic and the verb are all non–primary topics. If non–S–initial preverbal locatives and temporals are topics as we have argued, then we would predict that they can occur in all these constructions. This prediction is borne out by the following sentences.

(31) a. ta zai qiang–shang wa–le yi–ge dong.
he at wall–LOC dig–ASP a–CL hole
'He dug a hole through the wall.'

b. ta ba qiang–shang wa–le yi–ge dong.[12]
he BA wall–LOC dig–ASP a–CL hole
'What he did to the wall was dig a hole through it.'

(32) a. ta xingqitian bu xiuxi.
he Sunday not rest
'He doesn't take a rest on Sunday.'

b. ta lian xingqitian ye bu xiuxi.
he including Sunday also not rest
'He doesn't take a rest even on Sunday.'

(33) a. ta jintian hen shufu.
he today very comfortable
'He is feeling well today.'

b. ta jintian bi zuotian shufu.
he today compare yesterday comfortable
'He feels better today than he did yesterday.'

(31) is especially interesting as it shows that not only can an object NP become a ba NP, as it is generally assumed but also a locative that is a secondary topic. This is a further confirmation of our theory that a ba NP is a non–primary topic.

In a recent paper (Tsao, Forthcoming), I have presented a number of arguments in support of the analysis that treats an important class of clause connectives such as suiran 'although', yinwei 'because' as occurring in the COMP in the deep structure, as shown in (34a), whose occurrence in other positions as shown in (34b) is then accounted for by the rule of topic–raising.

(34) a. yinwei ta$_i$ sheng bing suoyi _____$_i$ mei lai.

because he get sick so not come

'Because he was sick, he didn't come.'

b. ta$_i$ yinwei sheng bing suoyi _____$_i$ mei lai.
he because get sick so not come

'Roughly, same as (a).'

Notice that if there is such a rule, then, in addition to the primary topic, we will have to allow non–primary topics like the fronted object NP and the second nominal in the double nominative construction to be raised, as sentences in (35) show.

(35) a. yinwei ta$_i$ nei–ben shu$_j$ hai mei kan, suoyi

because he that–CL book yet not read so

_____$_i$ _____$_j$ bu zhidao hao–bu–hao.
not know good–not–good

'Because he hasn't read the book yet, he doesn't know whether it is good or not.'

b. ta$_i$ yinwei nei–ben shu$_j$ hai mei kan, suoyi
he because that–CL book yet not read so

_____$_i$ _____$_j$ bu zhidao hao–bu–hao.
not know good–not–good

'Roughly, same as (a).'

c. ta$_i$ nei–ben shu$_j$ yinwei hai mei kan, suoyi

he that–CL book because yet not read so

———$_i$ ———$_j$bu zhidao hao–bu–hao.

not know good–not–good

'Roughly, same as (a).'

If non–S–initial preverbal locatives and temporals can be non–primary topics, as we have argued, then we would expect them to allow raising as well. This is indeed the case, as exemplified in (36).

(36) a. yinwei ta$_i$ zuotian$_j$ sheng bing, suoyi ———$_i$ ———$_j$

because he yesterday get sick so

mei lai kai–hui.

not come attend–meeting

'Because he was sick yesterday, he didn't attend the meeting.'

b. ta$_i$ yinwei zuotian$_j$ sheng bing, suoyi ———$_i$ ———$_j$

he because yesterday get sick so

mei lai kai–hui.

not come attend–meeting

'Roughly, same as (a).'

c. ta$_i$ zuotian$_j$ yinwei sheng bing, suoyi ———$_i$ ———$_j$

he yesterday because get sick so

mei lai kai–hui.

not come attend–meeting

'Roughly, same as (a).'

Along the same line, I have also argued in the same paper (op. cit.) that in Chinese sihu 'seem', kan–qi–lai 'seem, look', and keneng 'possible' etc. are all raising–predicates that allow various topics, temporals and locatives included, to be raised as exemplified in the following sentences.[13]

(37) a. keneng ta mingtian na–chang qiu hui shu.
possible he tomorrow that–CL ball:game will lose
'It is possible that he will lose the game tomorrow.'

b. ta keneng mintian na–chang qiu hui shu.
he possible tomorrow that–CL ball:game will lose
'Roughly, same as (a).'

c. ta mingtian keneng na–chang qiu hui shu.
he tomorrow possible that–CL ball:game will lose
'Roughly, same as (a).'

d. ta mingtian na–chang qiu keneng hui shu.
he tomorrow that–CL ball:game possible will lose
'Roughly, same as (a).'

From the above discussion, it is clear that non–S–initial preverbal temporals and locatives do pattern with other non–primary topics in their syntactic behavior in many cases and should be analyzed as non–primary topics.

Finally, we would like to give some examples to show how various topics, primary and non–primary, interact to give rise to a variety of sentences differing only in the order of these topics.

(38) a. ta–de yanjing zuotian huai le.
he–POSS eye–glasses yesterday break PART
'Speaking of his glasses, yesterday (they) broke.'

b. zuotian ta–de yanjing huai le.
yesterday he–POSS eye–glasses break PART
'Yesterday, his glasses broke.'

(39) a. jintian hai–shang feng lang hen da.[14]
today sea–LOC wind waves very big
'Today on the sea the wind and waves are high.'

b. haishang jintian feng lang hen da.
sea–LOC today wind waves very big
'On the sea today the wind and waves are high.

c. feng lang jintian hai–shang hen da.
wind waves today sea–LOC very big
'Speaking of wind and waves, today on the sea (they) are high.'

d. feng lang hai–shang jintian hen da.
wind waves sea–LOC today very big
'Speaking of wind and waves, on the sea today (they) are high.'

4 Summary of Arguments and Theoretical Ramifications

To sum up, we have found on the one hand that temporal and locative expressions occurring between the primary topic and the main verb possess all the qualities of a primary topic except in some cases the qualities involved have further restriction in the case of temporals and locatives. On the other hand, we have also found that the temporal and locative in question and the secondary topic in a number of constructions have a great deal in common. We have thus proved beyond any reasonable doubt that non–sentence–initial, preverbal locatives and temporals can be non–primary topics.

This conclusion of ours is further supported by the following two observations. First, in our discussion of adverbs in general we have found that universally, locatives and temporals have possessed more nominal quality than other kinds of adverbials. This then explains why they are easier to become topics for, even though topics are not completely restricted to nominals, most of them are, and, other things being equal, the more nominal quality a constituent has, the more likely for it to become a topic. This also accounts for the fact that Chinese allows far more prepositions in a prepositional phrase, especially those expressing time and location, to drop than English does. This is so because Chinese is far more topic–oriented than English.

Second, we have reported the findings of many linguists that the information–wise neutral version of the order of placement of a multi–adverbial construction is: temporal > locative > benefactive > manner > dative > instrumental and we have raised the question of why temporals and locatives should come first. We are now in a better position to answer the question: Temporals and locatives head the hierarchy because they are, of all adverbials, the easiest to become topics. This observation also implies that other types of adverbials, though not as commonly as temporals and locatives, can become topics as well. This is indeed the case, as can be seen by the following examples.

(40) ta$_i$ weile ta–de haizi$_j$ ya chi–le hen duo
he for he–POSS child PART eat–ASP very much

ku, _____i _____j zhe ji nian lao–le

suffering these few year old–ASP

xu duo

very much

'Speaking of him, for his children, he underwent much suffering (and) in the past few years (he) has become much older.'

(41) ta wu–kuai _____ qian a mai–le nei–jian

he five–dollar money PART buy–ASP that–CL

da–yi.

overcoat

'Speaking of him, with five dollars (he) bought the overcoat.'

Thus, by positing certain adverbials, mainly temporals and locatives, as non–primary topics, we are able to explain these two peculiar phenomena about Chinese adverbials very nicely. These two observations can, in this way, be regarded as indirect supports for our analysis.

Notes

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1. Depending on whether the locative zai Meiguo 'in America' is a topic or not, (2) can have two different interpretations as shown in (i) and (ii) in the English translation. The same comment applies to the temporal zuotian 'yesterday' in (5). We will have more to say about this point in our later discussion.

2. The following symbols and abbreviations are used in giving the English gloss:

ASP = aspect marker	CL = classifier
POSS = genitive marker	PART = particle
LOC = localizer	Rel. Mar.= relative clause marker

3. For this point, also see Li and Thompson, 1981.

4. For a brief discussion of the notion of definiteness, see Tsao, 1979, Chapter 5.

5. A scope–delimiting expression is a term coined by the writer to refer to a prepositional phrase or, more commonly in Chineses, a nominal which is used as a topic, primary or non–primary, to set a scope within which the following comment is to be interpreted. (10) and (i) below are two sentences containing such an expression.

(i) (guanyu) liu–xue–de shi,
(with regard to) study:abroad–Rel. Mar. matter
zhengfu zao guiding–le banfa
government long:ago stipulate–ASP regulation
le.
PART
'With regard to the matter of studying abroad, the government set up regulations long ago.'

For more examples of this kind in Classical Chinese see Wang (1980, Chapter 3, Section 44).

6. Whether in (13) yong in the phrase yong gouzhen should be analyzed as a preposition i.e. 'with' or a verb i.e., 'use' is a point that we will not take up here, as to deal with it will certainly take us too far afield. Suffice it to point out that my present hypothesis is that if yong occurs within the scope of a manner adverb as in (i), then it is a verb. If it occurs outside the scope of a manner adverb as in (ii), then it is a preposition.

(i) ta yong bianzi henhen–de da–zhe nei–ge xiaohai.
he with whip savagely beat–ASP that–CL child
'He beat the child with a whip savagely.'

(ii) ta henhen–de yong bianzi da–zhe nei–ge xiaohai.
he savagely use whip beat–ASP that–CL child
'He used a whip to beat the child savagely.'

It follows that we don't quite agree with Chuo in analyzing yong gouzhen in (13) as an

instrumental adverbial.

7. Chuo (1987) regards keneng as a modal adverb. I have argued elsewhere (Tsao, Forthcoming) that keneng should be more properly analyzed as a modal verb, equivalent to English "possible". See also Section 3.6 for discussion.

8. The romanization in the original was in Yale system, which has been changed to be consistent with the system used in this thesis.

9. Chao's romanization has been changed to agree with the presentation here.

10. (18) and (18a) in the interpretation under discussion cannot be properly expressed in English. That is why no translations are given in those two instances.

11. (23) appeared earlier in the quotation from Chao that we cited.

12. As I have observed in the paper "A Topic–Comment Approach to the ba Construction," (Tsao, 1987), it seems more difficult for temporals to become a ba NP. However, as (i) shows, it is by no means impossible.

(i) a. ta yi tian dang san tian yong.
he one day regard:as three day use
'He makes use of a day as if it were three days.'

b. ta ba yi tian dang san tian yong.
he BA one day regard:as three day use.
'Roughly, same as (a).'

13. Lin(1989) has argued on independent grounds that weisheme 'why' should be generated in the S–initial position, i.e. as the specifier of CP in the most up–to–date GB framework, as in (ia). The primary and non–primary topics that occur before weisheme 'why' as in (b) (c) and (d) are the results of topicalization (topic–raising in our framework).

(i) a. weisheme ta zuotian na–chang qiu
why he yesterday that–CL ball:game
shu–le?
lose–ASP
'Why did he lose the ball game yesterday?'

b. ta weisheme zuotian na–chang qiu
he why yesterday that–CL ball:game
shu–le?
lose–ASP
'Roughly, same as (a).'

c. ta zuotian weisheme na–chang qiu
he yesterday why that–CL ball:game
shu–le?
lose–ASP
'Roughly, same as (a).'

d. ta zuotian na–chang qiu weisheme
he yesterday that–CL ball:game why
shu–le?
lose–ASP
'Roughly, same as (a).'

14. (39) is also taken from Chao's comment quoted previously.

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YES-NO QUESTIONS IN TAIPEI AND PEKING MANDARIN

ROBERT M. SANDERS

I. DEFINITION OF A YES-NO QUESTION

This paper examines the manner in which yes-no questions are expressed in the speech communities of Taipei and Peking. A yes-no question here is defined in terms of how one would answer the question in English. In other words, if the Chinese question were translated into English with the intent of allowing the listener to respond in English, the only two options available to that respondent would be either "yes" or "no." In Mandarin, then, there exist three sentence patterns which are seen to exemplify this type of question. They are:

1. The A-not-A Question

   a. Ni qu-bu-qu ta jia?
      you-go-NEG-go-3rd person-home
      Are you going to his house?

   b. Ni qu ta jia bu qu?
      you-go-3rd person-home-NEG-go
      Are you going to his house?

2. Sentence Intonation + Particle MA

   Ni qu ta jia ma?
   you-go-3rd person-home-PARTICLE
   Are you going to his house?

3. Sentence Intonation Alone

   Ni qu ta jia?
   you-go-3rd person-home
   Are you going to his house?

As one can see, in English the only possible response available to the listener is either "yes" or "no." In Chinese, on the other hand, the situation is not quite that simple. In fact, in two out of the three patterns, the respondent has at his disposal more than one option in

how to reply. For example, in the case of all three he can indicate an affirmative response by answering with a positive form of the verb, as in (4a), or he can indicate a negative response with a negative form of the verb, as in (4b).

4a. Wo qu.
1st person-go
I'm going.

4b. Wo bu qu.
1st person-NEG-go
I'm not going.

However, as noted by Zhu (1984:203), the intonation + MA and intonation-only patterns differ from A-not-A questions in that the former two allow for the affirmative and negative responses illustrated in (5a) through (5d) below, whereas A-not-A questions do not.

5a. Dui.
correct
Correct.

5b. Shi.
be
It is so.

5c. Bu dui.
NEG-correct
Incorrect.

5d. Bu shi.
NEG-be
It is not so.

The reason provided by Zhu for why A-not-A questions behave somewhat differently from intonation + MA and intonation-only questions is that A-not-A questions explicitly limit the listener to a simple choice between A and its opposite. This type of yes-no question, then, is disjunctive . The latter two patterns, on the other hand, are somewhat more open-ended, failing to state outright that the listener is limited to just those two choices. As discussed by McGinnis (1990), however, inspite of Zhu's observations about the

somewhat different syntactic nature of A-not-A questions, there exists a body of convincing historical and synchronic evidence which argues in favor of lumping all three patterns together under the same functional heading. For instance, historical work by Huang (1986) and Liu (1988) show that the interrogative particle MA is actually derived from the A-not-A pattern illustrated by (1b), through a process in which the sentence-final NEG-V constituent was first reduced to a bare NEG, and then that NEG was itself phonetically reduced to the status of a sentence-final particle. Also, acoustic work by Shen (1989) shows that both intonation + particle and intonation-only questions (which she calls echo questions) do not differ from one another in terms of their repective intonation patterns. Finally, in the patterning of the Taipei and Peking data contained within this study, it will be seen that there exist good statistical reasons for treating the three as if they were semantically equivalent.

One frequent observation in the literature on Chinese interrogatives which argues against categorizing all three patterns under the same functional heading involves the issue of speaker presupposition at the time which the question is asked. Based on the discussion in McGinnis (1990) we shall see that the question of speaker presupposition is not necessarily determined by the sentence structure itself, but is rather determined by extra-linguistic factors. He notes that there is almost universal agreement among scholars that when the intonation + MA question or the intonation-only question is stated using a negative verb, there exists a strong presupposition on the part of the speaker that the correct response ought to be given either in the affirmative form illustrated by (4a), or in the negative forms illustrated by (5c) and (5d) respectively. When such questions contain the non-negated form of the verb, as in (3), on the other hand, there is much less agreement among linguists as to the underlying assumption of the speaker. For this sentence Elliot (1964) expects the response to be either (4a), (5a) or (5b). Li & Thompson, on the other hand, expect just the opposite response, i.e. either (4b), (5c) or (5d). Resolving this apparant contradiction is Tang (1986), who maintains that depending on the context and/or the speaker's own assumption at the time of questioning, the expected response to (3) may come either from Elliott's set or from Li & Thompson's. What is important about Tang's claim for sentences like (3) is that knowledge of the speaker's presupposition does NOT come from the structure of the sentence, but rather from extra-linguistic factors. In other words, it is the context rather than the structure itself which determines the neutrality of questions like (3).

In my own work with Chinese informants I have found that without the presence of a specific context, most, if not all of these native speakers interpret sentences like (3) to contain no presupposition as to the expected answer.

A-not-A questions, on the other hand, are almost universally held among linguists to be free of any speaker presupposition, and thus are felt to be pragmatically different from the other two patterns. McGinnis (1990:65) does however show that at least under some specific contexts, it is possible to find an A-not-A question in which the speaker does harbor a presupposition as to what the correct response ought to be. His example involves a rhetorical question which can be asked when the speaker believes that his Chinese listener has been behaving in a non-Chinese manner, and thus he wishes to chastize that person for his transgression.

6. Ni shi bu shi Zhongguo ren?
   you-be-NEG-be-China-person
   Are you Chinese or not?

We see then that there really does not exist any strong linguistic argument vis-a-vis speaker presupposition to dissuade us from treating A-not-A questions as being functionally similar to the other two yes-no question forms. This being the case, we can characterize these three patterns as forming a continuum from the explicit structural yes-no marking of the A-not-A questions, to the more impoverished structural marking of the MA particle, to the complete lack of syntactic marking found with intonation-only questions. This study, then, is primarily concerned with discovering the relative frequency at which each of these three patterns are used in contextually neutral conditions to ask a yes-no question in Taipei and in Peking. As an aside, it also touches upon how each speech community goes about expressing a strong sense of presupposition.

In addition to using a negative form of the verb with either the intonation + MA or intonation-only questions, there exists in Mandarin two other so-called yes-no question patterns which also consistently signal a strong sense of speaker presupposition. They are the tag question and the use of sentence intonation in combination with the sentence-final particle BA. In addition, there exist other sentence-final particles such as A/YA, which depending on context, are also in affirmative yes-no questions containing a high degree of speaker presupposition. In the statistical analysis found in

Figure 2 below, BA is used as a cover term to include all instances of any sentence-final particle used in a rhetorical yes-no question.

7. Tag Question

   a. Ni qu ta jia, shi bu shi?
      you-go-3rd person-home-be-NEG-be
      You're going to his house, right?

   b. Ni qu ta jia, dui bu dui?
      you-go-3rd person-home-corect-NEG-correct
      You're going to his house, correct?

8. Sentence Intonation + Final Particle BA

   Ni qu ta jia ba.
      you-go-3rd person-home-PART
      I take it that you are going to his home, right?

Note that both tag and BA questions always contain the presupposition that the correct answer should be either (4a), (5a) or (5b). Note too that both are formed by suffixing the question-asking component to an ordinary statement. Given their common structure, in combination with their shared pragmatic character, it is claimed that tag and BA questions are in fact functionally equivalent. With this claim we can observe the degree to which Taipei and Peking speakers favor either tag or BA questions in the expression of affirmative rhetorical questions.

II. DATA COLLECTION

As this is an empirical study, the focus of the data collection was on gathering what people actually said rather than on listing what they were capable of saying. The reasons for adopting this approach to the data collection as opposed to adhering to either the psychologically introspective methods of modern Western linguistics or the single authentic native speaker approach favored by most dialect researchers in China is outlined in Sanders (1991) and will not be repeated here. The data for this study comes from fieldwork carried out in the Autumn of 1989 in Taipei and Peking. Candid audio recordings of natural conversations among small groups of

people. whose relationship to one another was either that of family member or close friend. Altogether eight one-hour conversations from Taipei and eight one-hour conversations from Peking form the data base of this study. One concern which arises once one decides to utilize so many independent sources of natural data is whether or not such data is consistent across the board in terms of pragmatic content. In other words, do these sixteen conversations share a similar setting, a similar content, and a similar relationship among each set of participants as one goes from one conversation to another? In this case the answer to all three concerns is yes, and thus comparisons within the data can be made with a high degree of confidence.

III. DATA ANALYSIS

In order to understand the significance of the data presented in Figures 1 and 2 below, it is necessary to first understand in at least a rudimentary way what a chi-square analysis indicates. For a more thorough discussion of this analysis than what is presented here, the reader may wish to consult either Butler (1985) or Davis (1990). Simply speaking, a chi-square analysis can be thought of as a means of determining whether the quantitative differences observed for two or more sets of token counts are in fact statistically significant or not. Looking at Figures 1 and 2, one finds information on the actual number of tokens observed, the expected number of tokens if the variables of geographical location and sentence type were independent of each other, the chi-square value (a sum of the differences between the observed and expected counts), and the degrees of freedom (a technical term which is difficult to explain, but which indicates whether the chi-square value is great enough to signify statistical significance for the data). For the two figures found below, only one or two degrees of freedom (df) are observed. According to standard statistical practice, for one degree of freedom, a chi-square value of 3.8414 or greater indicates statistical significance, while for two degree of freedom, the necessary value is 5.9914 or greater. Therefore we see that the patterns illustrated in both of these figures are in fact statistically significant.

Figure 1 illustrates the number of tokens of each of the three yes-no patterns which are found in each of the two speech communities when no speaker presupposition exists. In each case, expected counts are given directly below observed counts. For example, in the

case of A-not-A questions in Taipei, 72 tokens of that pattern were counted in the data, whereas one would have expected to find just 45.65 tokens if Taipei behavior were completely independent of Peking behavior, and the occurance of A-not-A questions operated independently of the occurance of the other two patterns. In the case of Figure 1, note that although both speech communities contain all three patterns in their respective repertoires, in Taiwan the obvious choice from among the three is A-not-A, while in Peking that pattern is utilized least of all. In fact, if one were to compare the ratio of A-not-A questions to the combined sum of intonation + MA and intonation-only questions in each speech community, a clear difference in linguistic behavior is observed. In Taipei the ratio of A-not-A to the other two is about 1:1, while in Peking the ratio is about 1:4. Also, note how infrequently Taipei speakers utilize intonation alone to express a yes-no question in comparison to Peking speakers. In Taipei the ratio of that pattern to the other two is about 1:6, while in Peking it is almost 1:2. These facts clearly indicate that a qualitative difference exists between the way Taipei speakers tend to express pragmatically neutral yes-no questions and the way Peking speakers do.

Figure 1. Distribution of Neutral Yes-No Tokens by Pattern and City

Pattern	Taipei	Peking	Total
A-not-A	72 45.65	54 80.35	126
MA	56 64.13	121 112.87	177
Intonation	22 40.22	89 70.78	111
Total	150	264	414

ChiSq = 15.206 + 8.640 + 1.031 + 0.586 +8.252 + 4.689 = 38.404

df = 2

In Figure 2 we see quite clearly that when Taipei and Peking speakers wish to express an affirmative rhetorical question, their preferences are not the same. Taipei speakers show a very strong inclination to use tag questions, while Peking speakers show a fairly even division between the two, and if there is any preference at all, it is for BA or some other sentence-final particle.

Figure 2. Distribution of Affirmative Rhetorical Yes-No Questions by Pattern & City

Pattern	Taipei	Peking	Total
Tag	70 55.19	41 55.81	111
BA	20 34.81	50 35.19	70
Total	90	91	181

ChiSq = 3.972 + 3.928 + 6.299 + 6.229 = 20.429

df = 1

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The data contained within this study convincingly demonstrates that although Taipei and Peking speakers essentially share the same syntactic repertoire for expressing yes-no questions, the two speech communities differ from one another in terms of which form or forms they prefer. When the question is pragmatically neutral, Taipei speakers prefer the explicit syntactic marking of the A-not-A form, while Peking speakers prefer sentence intonation + MA, or sentence intonation alone to perform this function. Consistent with this dichotemy between expressing a yes-no question either through an A-not-A structure or by means of a sentence-final particle, when the speaker possesses a strong assumption as to what the proper answer ought to be, Taipei speakers once again show a strong preference for the disjunctive form while Peking speakers continue to favor a sentence-final particle.

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PATRONIZING USES OF THE PARTICLE "ma": BUREAUCRATIC CHINESE BIDS FOR DOMINANCE IN PERSONAL INTERACTIONS

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Sentence final particles are called mood words in Chinese grammar books. Li and Thompson claim their function is to relate an utterance to which they are attached to the conversational context in various ways; and to indicate how this utterance is to be taken by the listener. Of course, many other languages also have sentence final particles whose function is similar to that of Chinese. One notable example is Japanese. In contrast to Li and Thompson's emphasis on the listener, S. Kuno says that their function is to express the speaker's attitude toward the meaning of the sentence.

These two views are thus from different perspectives on the communication chan$\underset{\wedge}{\eta}$el. One is from the hearer's point of view and the other is from the speaker's point of view. This paper concentrates on one particle, ma, and is based on a recorded spoken text taken from *Beijing Ren.* It examines the mood of the speaker and the reactions of the hearers. It attempts to probe into why the particle ma occurs with such high frequency when bureaucrats speak even though their listeners are repulsed by it. Thus, the particle is approached from both ends of the communication process.

The particle "ma" in question contrasts minimally with the question marker "ma" as in the following:

1. laí ma ? Are you coming?

2. laí ma . Do come, for my sake, etc.

(1) is uttered with rising intonation and shorter duration, whereas (2) is with falling intonation and longer duration.[1] This will be called ma_2 henceforth.

"ma_2" typically occurs in casual conversation when status and feelings are intricately entangled. Chao defines it as "dogmatic assertion".[2] Normally it occurs in an expanded context of one kind or another.

The problem

I first noticed a problem in interpreting *ma_2* when examining some spoken texts from *Beijing Ren* for an Intermediate Chinese class. The text that stands out was 'Biaozhun Hua' (Standard Talk). Reading it I was struck by the frequent use of the particle ma_2, and my own feeling of being put off by the way the speaker used it to patronize his listeners. When an English translation was available, I found that the passage did not give the same feeling. The English version gave the impression of ritualized, formal speech, of a set way of packaging the bit of information contained in an utterance. After examination and comparison of the two texts, it became clear that the translator was more interested in the load of clichés which carry little in content in the original text and not so much its emotive parts.

1 Chao, Y.R., A grammar of spoken Chinese, p.800
2 Ibid. p 801.

Speaking from the perspective of a translator, the problem is that of what to leave in or out. In addition the audience which the translator addresses is totally different from that addressed by the original speaker. Thus the emotional reaction that a (spoken/written) text will generate will of course be different and may present particularly difficult problems of translation.

The method

The original Chinese and the translated English texts were given to native speakers of the respective languages to determine their immediate reaction and their perception of the speakers' attitude and mood in the discourse. The informants were 14 native speakers of English (Australian, English and American) and 8 Chinese native speakers from PRC. They were all asked to express their immediate reaction to the text and their perception of the speaker's attitude, mood and tone of voice.

The results

Among the native speakers of English, reactions varied a great deal despite some commonalities which were noted such as "uninformed" and "humble" as applied to the mood adopted by the speaker.

Some keywords or phrases used by the English informants are indicative of the different reactions:

"This is more a satire than an actual speech". "Complacency", "makes me wonder how much of it is true", "forced optimism" , "deferential", "defensive", "slightly aggressive", "formal pleasantries", "approval seeking", "doctrinaire", "sycophantic", "insincere", "lackey's voice", "people pleasing", "he feels guilty about a poor showing", "apologetic", "talking up to his listener", "have the feeling of attending some religious meetings",

"living by platitudes", "public morality", "confucian sense of group responsibilities", "afraid of being an individual in public", "cautious", "respectful", "confident", "positive", "optimistic", "gracious", "wordy", "inviting flattery", "more than polite deferential".

"Humble" was used to suggest false humility as well as possibly genuine humility, but it is interesting to note that only one informant explicitly comments:

"treating the audience as 'children', patronizing".

The original Chinese text seemed unambiguous to its readers. By contrast with readers' reactions to the English translation, reactions from Chinese informants were more consistent, i.e. that it is typical speech of "a local cadre", "speech symbol of their status", "their qualifications for having been in the revolution", "used by higher or similar ranking officials toward lower or similar ranking officials", "children, when imitating cadres, all use ma", "a signifier for characterizing conservative cadres portrayed in movies", etc.

Turning from my English or Chinese speaking informants to examples of speech of Chinese officials it appears that this last observation is an oversimplification. We can observe that not only conservative cadres, but also well-known reform-minded high cadres use this speech code liberally. For example, in a recorded interview of Hu Yaobang by the journalist Lu Keng in 1985, Hu's speech to Chinese students in Japan, Zhao Ziyang's press conference after the 13th plenum in 1987, etc.

But this confirms that the vast differences between the reactions of my two sets of informants can be attributed to the sociolinguistic competence of the Chinese speakers among them rather than to linguistic

ability in its simpler sense. Their common knowledge seems to derive from extra social and contextual cues.

The environments in which ma2 occurs.

During his interview with Lu Keng, Hu Yaobang used ma2 in the following way:

1. after stating obvious facts:
   (Taiwan) Shízhíshang yě *shì ge dìfāng zhèngfǔ* ma.
   (Taiwan) in fact is a local government.

2. after a set phrase:
   .... Dé, Meǐ, dōu meí xíng chéng *tǒngyī de gúojīa ma.*
   .... Germany, US, (at that time in the 18th century) had not become a unified nation.

3. after clear folk logic:
   zhèi ge pào haǒ ma, shì *zhèngyì zhī shēng* ma.
   This whistle blowing is good, it's the sound of justice.

4. after a suggestion or an advice, thus, persuasion:
   nǐ dēng ge bào ma.
   you should expose it in the paper.

5. after a proverb:
   tiānshí dìlì rénhé ma. (from Biāozhǔn Hùa)
   (The success is due to) heavenly timing, profitable locale and harmonious human relationships.

The above uses of ma2 are as an attachment to utterances about "obvious" truths. In that respect these utterances are somewhat like proverbs in Chinese. The contexts indicate that the speaker is marshalling

social and cultural wisdom to back himself up. He will then be on higher ground in his effort to persuade his listeners.

Contrast with other particles

If we contrast ma$_2$ with two other closely related sentence final particles, a and ne, the meaning becomes more clear. Take an example from Xīn Fèngxía, the actress and wife of Wú Zǔguāng the Beijing playwright. In an interview with a reporter from *Central Daily News*, Taiwan, she describes how during the anti-rightist campaign the party functionaries were asking her to divorce her husband after he had been classified a rightist. She said:

Wǔ bù néng hé tā lí, wǒ yǒu sān ge háizi ne — I cannot divorce him; I have 3 children.

The particle ne makes the sentence an appeal for involvement from the listeners, somewhat like "you see". Her story reveals that Xīn Fèngxía did not want to reveal her love for her husband. Her use of ne "rationalizes" her decision against divorce in terms of responsibility to her 3 children requiring her husband's support (morally or materially).

If "ne" is substituted by "a" then the tone of Xīn's observation becomes more assertive.

If it is replaced by ma$_2$, then the meaning changes even more: ethics and social morality are introduced with a kind of lecturing tone which reminds listeners of their duties, social morales etc. It means: "how can a wife like me with 3 children think of divorcing him? You must be out of your mind".

ma2 and the power of persuasion

Returning to Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, we note a difference between these situations and that of a local official. The lower official is imitating the speech of his superiors, and it can be taken by his listeners as a patronizing pretension of a local bureaucrat.

We note that in ordinary speech, ma2 may carry the meaning of friendly persuasion, as in an expression of paternal concern or similarly in a child's plea to an indulgent parent. In short, ma2 operates either up or down, in an intimate parent-child relationship as well as in bureaucratic relationships. Therefore, the listeners perceive both meanings: intimacy (solidarity) and authority (power). These two meanings, though not mutually exclusive, are not really complementary with each other. Rather the two psychological forces may be in balance, but there is a tension between a bid for dominance and a bid for intimacy which can become explosive as we have seen in the June 4 Tiananmen incident. A bid for intimacy like that of Hu Yaobang, if prepackaged and propagated through the propaganda system without variation becomes patronizing in the ears of a listener to a lower bureaucrat. Bureaucrats who want to keep or advance their position will adhere rigidly to the sociolinguistic patterns set by their superiors. By continuing to use ma2 and ignoring their listeners' reaction to its use they convert an appeal for intimacy into an assertion of authority.

An indicator of solidarity has thus become an indicator of authority, as if its charge has been reversed. As a particle of power, ma2 repels just as surely as it might attract when it appears as a particle of solidarity.

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GENDER AND SEXISM IN CHINESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

By Angela Jung-Palandri

Language and literature both reflect and express social attitudes and values. That sexism exists in most languages and literatures is not a mere feminist fabrication; it is a fact. Were there no sexism, there would be no need for feminism. Nowhere, however, is sexism more apparent than in the countries of the Near and Far East. This is true even in Communist China. I shall confine my discussion to the Chinese language and literature of the past.

Sociologists and anthropologists generally agree that in prehistoric China, communities were ruled by matriarchs, as the discovery of Banpo near Xian evinces. Even the Chinese character for family name, *xing* (姓)—composed of the graphs for *nü* (女) (woman) and *sheng* (生) (birth or life)—attests to the matriarchal origin of the family. For the last six or seven thousand years, however, China has been under a patrilineal system, where males have dominated every aspect of social and political activity. Chinese literature, beginning with the classic canon, illustrates this sexist attitude. In the *Book of Changes* , *Yijing* (易经), we find that the male is equated with the *yang* principle, symbolized by the sun. It embodies everything that is good and positive, and its status is identified with heaven. The female, on the other hand, is equated with the *yin* principle, symbolized by the moon. To it is attributed all that is negative, evil and lowly. In the earliest concept of the Chinese myth of creation, these two elemental forces, *yin* and *yang*, were on an equal footing, as the cosmological emblem (of the Taoists) shows.

Through later male-biased interpretations that stemmed from a patriarchal order, sexism became firmly entrenched. The Confucian commentaries further define the status of the male as the ruler, and the female as the ruled. According the the *Yijing*, man's proper function is in society or the world; while the woman's duty is to remain within the household.

Once a judgement of sexual roles was formed, sexism was solidified. In the *Book of Poetry*, the *Shijing* (诗经), we see how drastically different the births of sons and daughters are regarded:

> Sons shall be born to him:
> They will be put to sleep on couches;
> They will be clothed in robes;
> They will have scepters to play with;
>
> .....
>
> Daughters shall be born to him:
> They will be put to sleep on the ground;
> They will be clothed with wrappers;
> They will have tiles to play with.
> It will be theirs neither to do good nor to do wrong;
> Only about the spirit and the food will they have to think,
> And to cause no sorrow to their parents.
>
> (Book IV, *Odes* vi)

In the *Book of History*, the *Shujing* (书经), women are rarely mentioned; when they are, they are blamed for the ruin of the state. Such was the case of Da Ji (妲姬) and Baosu (褒姒), whose alleged evil influence supposedly caused the downfall of Jie of Xia and Zhou of Shang.

Perhaps it was because of the latent fear of women's influence on men that the ancients established rules and regulations and recorded them in the *Book of Rites*, the *Liji* (礼记). These legitimated male domination and put women under male control. Under the guidelines of "the three obediences and four virtues"(三从四德), a woman had to obey her father, her husband, and, after the husband's death, even her sons. The status of women was no better than that of a slave. In the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Lunyu* (论语), the Master is quoted as saying, "Women and inferiors (小人) are difficult to handle. If you keep them at a distance, they are resentful; if you show intimacy, they become disrespectful."

Sexism is found not only in literature written by men, but in the works of women as well. Ban Zhao of Han, daughter of the grand historian Ban Biao, and sister of Ban Gu, was a great scholar and historian in her own right. It was she who completed the *History of the Early Han* that her brother had left unfinished. But she is acclaimed not so much for her scholarly contribution to history, as she is for her treatise, *Lessons for Women*, Nü jie (女诫). In this work she spelled out in great detail how young women should conduct themselves and serve their in-laws as well as their husbands: with humility and submission. Her *Lessons for Women* helped to perpetuate sexism in China for centuries. It so influenced women's education that several works by women later were patterned after it. For example, both the *Female Classic of Filial Piety* (女孝经), by Chen Miao's wife, nee Zheng of the Tang dynasty, and the *Woman's Analects* (女论语), by Song Ruohua (宋若华), upheld the sexist codes that men had instituted to subjugate women.

Women's suffering caused by men's repression may account for the pervading sadness in their poetry. A famous but ill-fated woman poet of Tang, Yu Xuanji (鱼玄机), lamented her fate as a woman in these lines:

In a clear spring day clouds and
peaks fill my field of vision.
Elegant ideograms one by one leap
out under my fingers.
How I hate this chiffon-clad
body of mine which conceals my poetic talent.
With envy I scan the list heralding
the successful candidates.

三峰满目放春晴
历历银钩指下生
自恨罗衣掩诗句
羞见空青榜中名

Zhu Shuzhen (朱淑贞) of Song Dynasty, whose uncirculated poems were all burned by her parents after her untimely death, had in mind the ancient adage that "lacking literary talent is a virtue for women," when she wrote:

For a woman to dabble in letters is already an offense,
Let alone chanting of moonlight and breezes.
Wearing out the inkstones is not to be my lot;
My virtue lives in breaking needles through embroidering.

女子弄文诚可罪
那堪咏月更吟风
磨穿铁砚非吾事
绣折金针却有功

Sexism is perhaps even more revealing in fiction. Women are frequently depicted as immoral temptresses or adulteresses. The character Pan Jinlian (潘金莲), who appears in *Shuihu zhuan* as the murderer of her husband, reappears in *Jinping mei* as a jealous nymphomaniac. From a male perspective, she illustrates how a woman can degenerate when unrestrained by man's moral codes.

Perhaps to counter this double standard and the degradation of women found in these novels, Li Ru-zhen wrote his feminist novel, *Jinghua yuan*, and Cao Xueqin his *Honglou meng*; both assert the superiority of women. But their counteractions could not overcome the overt sexism of traditional narratives of the Ming and Qing.

Some women novelists or *tanci* (弹词) writers, the authors of *Tianyu hua* (天雨花) and *Zaisheng yuan* (再生缘) for instance, believed that the only way their protagonists could compete in a man's world or escape becoming man's prey was through male disguise. Indeed, some female protagonists in *tongsu xiaoshuo* (通俗小说) and *tanci* occasionally seem to emerge as winners, excelling in literary or military feats by playing male roles. But in the final analysis, they could not prevail over their sex limitations set by man and succumb to convention. Ultimately they married husbands whom they happily shared with several other wives.

Turning to the Chinese language, we find that the written language, which has preserved Chinese civilization and history since their beginning, also betrays a male bias. In a Chinese dictionary, even a cursory examination of the listing under the radical 38, nü (女), a female sign, will reveal several words blatantly derogatory of the female sex. For instance, the word "adultery" or "promiscuous fornication" is composed of three female symbols (姦) pronounced *jian*; the character consisting of two male ideographs with a female symbol in between, pronounced *niao* (嬲), means "obscenity" or "obscene." The character *ji* (妒) meaning "jealousy" is made up of two components: "female" and "sickness." One may argue, "How about the word *hao* (好) meaning 'goodness or fine,' which is also composed of the female radical?" But the components of this character are woman (nu) and son which is the pictograph of a child. The implication is that "goodness" links a woman with child. This strongly suggests child bearing or reproduction as the primary function of a woman, another sexist attitude.

While Chinese etymology manifests irrefutable male bias, the language itself is devoid of gender consciousness, which to me is a great asset in the modern world where women are gaining influence and support in their struggle for equality. All Indo-European languages, except Armenian, have grammatical categories of gender. In the Romance and Germanic languages, all animals, minerals, and vegetables have genders assigned to them. English fares a little better by eliminating grammatical gender, but it retains the natural gender in the third person pronouns and in social and professional titles. The third personal pronouns "he" and "she" prove to be the most troublesome in our changing society today. Although attempts have been made to replace the all inclusive "he" or "his" with "s/he" or "she or he" or "his or her" in a non-gender specific situation, the problem remains unsolved, because many people refuse to accept it due to linguistic clumsiness.

No such problem exists in Chinese, because the third personal pronoun is pronounced *ta* for both male and female. In the written language, *ta* (他) is composed of the radical *ren* (人) meaning"human"or "humanity" without gender distinction. However, since the May 4th Movement of 1919, under the impact of Western literature and for the purposes of translating Western materials, Chinese language reformers such as Hu Shi, devised four written forms for the same *ta* (i.e., the third personal pronoun singular); the *ta* with *ren* radical (人) is reserved exclusively for "he" or "him." For the pronoun "she" or "her," the female radical is used instead of the original *ren* (她). The *ta* with a cow radical (牠) is for neuter gender. In addition, the *ta* (祂) referring to God or spiritual beings is given the radical *shi* (礻) to signify a spiritual quality without sexual implication, thus forestalling a recent controversy as to whether God is male or female, or both. By the way, the Aztec language *Yejua* for the third personal pronoun is also non-gender specific like the Chinese, because the ancient Aztec religion believed that God or the creator was both male and female, two in one. This corresponds to the Chinese myth of creation and the *ying yang* principles I mentioned earlier.

It is a paradox that in such a strongly sexist society like that of China there should be a non-gender specific pronoun like *ta* (他). If it had a universal application, it would solve the "she/he" or "he/she" dilemma in English. Besides this genderless pronoun, the Chinese have two other

non-sexist traditions which are surprisingly modern in conception. One is that Chinese women have always retained their maiden names, a custom not yet widely used in the West, except by a few professional women. The other is the use of professional titles. In Chinese, there has never been such an anomaly as "Madam Chairman" because the term "chairman" does not bear a gender marker of "man" attached to the chair. The Chinese term for "chairperson," *zhuxi* (主席), could be either a man or a woman; and it does not have to be specified, since sex is not an issue. Ordinarily the word *ren*, meaning "person," is a suffix for titles, like *shiren* (诗人) which is for male poet or female poet, *lingren* (伶人) for actors or actresses, and the communist term of *airen* (爱人), meaning "loved one," is used for both husband and wife (which I fully approve). *Ren* (人) means "a human being or a person." Only *nanren* (男人) is a male person; likewise, *nüren* (女人) is a female person. *Haoren* (好人) then is a "good person," with no reference to that person's sex. The Chinese do accept the natural gender, and only when sex distinction is necessary, the word for male or female may be placed before the genderless, personal or professional title.

By not being obsessed with genderization, Chinese seems to be more concerned with the human being, the human quality of that being as a whole. This is one step closer to the androgynous language envisioned by Mary Ritchie Key, author of *Male/Female Language* (Metuchen, N.J., Scarecrow Press, 1975). In the last chapter of her book she observes: "If the conceptual treatment of human beings moves toward the human being as the higher hierarchy, then the language will likewise assume those shapes." An androgynous language is a dynamic language that will show neither chauvinism nor bitter grievances, as Key explains:

> An androgynous language will be complementary rather than divisive. It will find balance and harmony in its completeness. It will establish an equilibrium in its unity rather than invidious separation. It will combine the abstract with the concrete; feeling with logic; tenderness with strength; force with graciousness. It will be a balanced tension—supporting rather than opposing. It will be exuberant and vibrant, leaving out the weak and the brutal. It will move away from the cruel distinctions that have wounded both male and female human beings (p. 147).

Mary Key's perception seems to coincide with the early concept of the dual nature of human beings posited in the *yinyang* principles and manifested in some traces of the Chinese language even today. An androgynous language is possible only in an androgynous society in both East and West, when both men and women can live in mutual harmony and understanding. If language and literature reflect and express social attitudes, they also can have the power to influence, to shape, those attitudes and values.

A *zhezi* Anagram Poem of the Song Dynasty

by
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The anthology *Tiao xi ji* 苕溪集 by the Southern Song poet Liu Yizhi 劉一止 (1079-1160)[1] contains a poem identified as a *zhezi* 拆字 verse:

Sun and moon brighten dawn and dusk.
From mountain winds mists thence arise.
Rock and bark split, but remain firm.
Old trees wither, but do not die.
That good fellow! when should he come?
Ideas like double-thousand leagues.
Ever speaking of intoning the Yellow Crane;
A thoughtful scholar whose mind ne'er ceases.

Zhezi is a form of anagram consisting of "dissecting the character." However, "dissection" seems here to be the fusion of two separate words in each line to form yet a third word in the same line.

Following this technique we find that in line one, "sun" *ri* 日 combines with the next word "moon" *yue* 月 to form the next word "brighten" *ming* 明 . The characters "dawn" *chao* 朝 and "dusk" *hun* 昏 also respectively incorporate the "moon" and "sun" elements. Line two has "mountain" *shan* 山 join "winds" *feng* 風 to form "mists" *lan* 嵐 . In line three, "stones" *shi* 石 is juxtaposed with "bark" *pi* 皮 to form "split" *po* 破 . Line four joins "old" *gu* 古 with "trees" *mu* 木 to form "withered" *ku* 枯 .

An irregularity in the scheme in line five reverses the order of the elements "good fellow" *ke ren* 可人 to form "when" *he* 何 . "Dissection" is truly realized in line six, where the third word "double" *chong* 重 splits to form the fourth and fifth characters "thousand leagues" *qian li* 千里 . In line seven, "ever" *yong* 永 is combined with "speak" *yan* 言 in reverse order to form "intone" *yong* 詠 . The first word of the last line, "thoughtful" or "ambitious" *zhi* 志 , is dissected to form the next two characters "scholar" *shi* 士 and "mind" *xin* 心 .

From the origins of *lihe* 離合 (parting and meeting) anagrammatic verse in second century A.D. Han times, the form required that in each line, the anagram elements also provide pun-instructions for the solution of the riddles. We may thus construct an entirely different interpretation:

[The elements] *sun* and *moon* "brighten" [the characters] *dawn* and *dusk*.
[The character] "mist" of itself arises from [the elements] *mountain* and *wind*.
[The elements] *stone* and *bark* firm up [to form the character] "smash."
[The elements] *old* and *tree* do not die in [the character] "wither."
[The character] "when" comes from [the elements meaning]

"good fellow."
The meaning [of the elements] *thousand* and *leagues* is like [the character] "doubled up"
[The character] "intone" *eternally speaks* as the Yellow Crane.
[The element] *scholar* [without the element] *heart/mind* does not complete [the character] "thoughtful."

The homophones or rhyming words that form the anagrammatic elements and add complexity to the pun-instructions are complemented by obligatory end-rhyme. This follows the abcbdbeb scheme common to the pentasyllabic-line octet.

Efficient as good rhyme should be, the rhymewords enhance the focus of the poem on the ceaseless continuity of the natural universe and of Man's intellectual quest. The first quatrain introduces the complementary sun and moon, which combine to enlighten the respective elements of their genesis, dawn and dusk. Mists are spontaneously "born," rhymeword *qi* 起, of the hills and winds. Stones and trees (literally, bark) stay firm, though they may split. Old trees may wither, but they do not "die," rhymeword *si* 死, which recalls its complement "born."

This natural, landscape philosophy is cleverly transferred to the persona through the pivotal rhymeword *li* 里 "leagues," which on the one hand resumes the first quartet concept of infinite distances, and on the other, introduces the far-reaching penetration of the good fellow's thoughts in the latter quartet. The crucial terminal rhyme, which cements the validity of the earlier rhymes, describes the ceaseless activity of his mind *wei yi* 未已 "not yet ended," and elegantly recalls both the matching syntax and intent of the first quartet terminal rhyme *bu si* 不死 "does not die."

The consistent eremetic Daoist flavor of the sentiment is confirmed in the mention of the Yellow Crane. This was a common reference in Daoist mythology to the golden crane upon which the immortals would traverse the Great Infinity. An early mention occurs in the "Song of the Willow Blossom" Yang hua qu 楊花曲 by the poet-monk Tang Huixiu 湯惠休 of the late fifth century Liu-Song and Southern Qi dynasties, lines from which presage Liu Yizhi's ideas:

The Yellow Crane northwest goes,
Carrying my thousand-league heart.[2]

Nowadays scholars of the Chinese literary heritage generally eschew such compositions as beneath serious consideration. Nevertheless, works like this were produced by the very finest of China's poets. This verse, by an important Song lyricist, fulfills all the demands of poetic form, but in addition to set line-length, rhyme scheme, meter, and proper development of the content, Liu further incorporates anagram elements within each line, and pun-instructions within the anagrams which provide an entirely new construction. If today's readers cannot discover the high artistry and thought here, at least they might enter into the fun enjoyed by a consumate writer during his lighter moments.

Notes

1. Listed in *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要 . For Liu's biography, see *Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song) ch. 378, Zhonghua ed., pp. 11672-11675. This brief essay is an excerpt from my forthcoming book on the history of Chinese anagram and anagram verse. The sentiment of this little poem and its philological interest seem eminently suited to the celebration of Professor DeFrancis' eightieth birthday *festschrift*.

2. For the poet Tang Huixiu, see John Marney, *Chiang Yen* (Boston: G.K. Hall/Twayne, 1981) pp. 115, 126-128. Tang's poetry is in Ding Fubao, *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi* (Complete Poetry of the Han, Three Kingdoms, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Taipei:Yiwen yinshuguan, nd.) pp 915-917.

日月朝昏　山風嵐自起
石皮破仍堅　古木枯不死
可人何當來　意若重千里
永言詠黃鵠　志士心未已

SOME REMARKS ON DIFFERING CORRESPONDENCES IN OLD CHINESE ASSUMED TO REPRESENT DIFFERENT CHINESE DIALECTS

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This paper was presented first at the 21st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of Lund in October, 1988. It is repeated here virtually unchanged. I am very happy that the opportunity has arisen to publish it in the collection of articles commemorating the eightieth birthday of John DeFrancis, a scholar whom all sinologists and linguists respect so highly. I submit this with all best wishes.

Many examples of word families in Old Chinese must reflect dialect differences as well as morphological derivations. Forms found in old sources may be labelled as being from a specific location. When this occurs, there is usually no corresponding form attributed to another locality or to a standard form. Even the words listed in Yang Xiong's Fang Yan are not often phonologically related. Of course information on their provenience may be given, and is very useful.

In this paper I limit myself to cases of obvious relationship, and particularly cite forms occurring in Sino-Tibetan, with reconstructions attested in Tibeto-Burman. With this approach one can find instances of multiple (usually dual) correspondences between the Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan reconstructed forms and Old Chinese forms. These I attribute to different dialect development in Chinese. (I have dealt with this phenomenon in my 1980 monograph "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan, data towards establishing the nature of the relationship," pp.34-199 in Contributions to Historical Linguistics, Frans van Coetsem & Linda R. Waugh, Eds., Leiden, E. J. Brill.)

Examples of such a dual development may in my view be found in ST final *-l which has OC reflexes as -n and -l, and ST initial *sk- which has OC reflexes in s- and glottal stop (?-). The most interesting examples reflect both these elements in forms reconstructed as ST *sk-V--l. One consequence of this procedure is that often one need not posit more than one reconstruction and thus reduce the number of phonological units that occur in the reconstruction.

There is no need, in view of the large number of examples, to give many illustrations of Proto-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan *-l which became later -n, falling in with earlier *-n. However, it is of interest to

contrast the two developments when they indicate possible dialect variation. I first cite Example 2 from my 1980 monograph. This is then followed by W. South Coblin's item under "joke/laugh, p. 99 of his A Sinologist's Handlist of Sino-Tibetan Lexical Comparisons.

EXAMPLE 1:

(2.) T skyel 'do harm, play a trick'
*h*khyal 'joke, jest'
kyal-ka
rkyal-ka
(Das)

笑, 笑

*skyels, sjews /sjäu- 'to laugh, ridicule'
(Li:*sjagwh)

**xyial/xya⫞

**xyial ⟶ OC * hjian ⟶ xjian 'laugh'

**xya⫞ ⟶ + -h ⟶ OC *hjarh > xje- 'joke,jest'

T 'khyal-ba 'joke, jest', rkyal-ka kyal-ka 'joke, jest, trick'

**xyial
**xya⫞ } ⟶ stem: *khyal

Certainly from the point of view of present-day Chinese, the first example is still in common use while the second, no less valid, is however obsolete. Both OC forms here are noted as being from Chu. Example 1, however, is noted as from the Odes (Shi).

It is interesting to look at my old examples 22 to 27 which were given to illustrate a completely different point, e.g. the different developments of clusters of *s- and velars. Ex. 22 and 26 show OC -n as the outcome of *-l and Ex. 22 and 27 *-l has developed to *-w. (In Ex. 27 there is a further change where earlier *-l is dissimilated because of the labiovelar initial).

EXAMPLE 2:

(22.) T skyil 'pen up, dam'

垔, 堙 *skyil, ʔjin /ʔjēn 4 'dam up'

EXAMPLE 3:

(23) T skyos 'spoiled, wasted, degenerate'

緻 *skwyats, ʔwjats /ʔwei- 'bad weeds, dirt, filth'

EXAMPLE 4:

(24.) T skyems 'thirst, a drink' (see also the next set:)

飲 *skyəm: ʔ jəm: /ʔ jəm: 'to drink'
*skyəms, ʔ jəms /ʔ jəm- 'give to drink'

EXAMPLE 5:

(25.) T skom 'thirst'
skam 'dry'
skem 'to dry up; lean, meagre'

顑 *skhəms, χəms /χám- 'emaciated'
*khəm: /khám: "

EXAMPLE 6:

(26.) T *hkhul* 'subdue, subject'
skul 'exhort, enjoin'

訓 *skhùls, χwjəns /χjwən- 'instruct, explain, obey, comply with'

EXAMPLE 7:

(27.) (314A) *Kanauri*
skwal 'to change'
Khaling
khwaal 'to shift, move'

化 *skhwrals, skhwraws, χwrajs /χwa- 'transform, change'[22]

EXAMPLE 8:

(85.) *Proto-Min*
*toi: 'short' (Strain A)
cp. *Lushai*
tõoy "

短 B *tol:, ton: /tuân: 'short'

豆 A *dols, *dows, dos /dəu- 'bean'
(the phonetic in 'short' above?)

EXAMPLE 9:

(86.) *Lushai*
nél 'be flexible'

L nûl-lă-nól-lă 'soft, tender'

T mnyel 'to tan (of hides) (= 'soften')
T mnyen 'flexible, supple'

A *n(r)els, 枕 *n(r)ews /ṇau- 'bent wood, to bend'

A *nyel, njew /ńźjäu 'oar (= bent wood)'

反 B *n(r)yel or *n(r)yen, n(r)yen: /ṇjän: 'work leather to make it smooth and soft'[33]

EXAMPLE 10: Er Ya has the following for 'earthworm':

(87.) 蚯 MC khjəu jən: A PC *khwyəl OC khwjə
蛭 MC khjén:4 jən: (Er Ya) B PC *khyəl, OC khjən
蜸 蚚 MC khien: thien: (Er Ya) PC *khin:, OC khin:

EXAMPLE 11:

(145.) T ru-ma 'curdled milk used as a ferment'
JP rù 'native beer or whiskey'
Proto-Tai
*hləu (tone C1) 'wine'
V rượi 'wine'

酒 *rù:, lù:, ljuw:, ljəu: /jəu: *'wine or wine must'

'cyclical sign':
Ahom rão " " 'cyclical sign'
Lü hrau[4]
PTai *r-

Examples 11 & 12 ha both Pc *-u and *-ul: 13 & 14 show two developments

EXAMPLE 12:

(146.)	T rul	'to rot, turn rancid'	腐	*rùl, lùw, ljuw, ljəu	/jəu jəu:	'rot, decay' "
	cf. *h*drul (**h*rul)	'become putrid'				
	srul	'decomposed'	蝜	"	/jəu	'stinking water plant' (*rotten smelling)

EXAMPLE 13:

		Strain A				*Strain B*
(289.)	秆	*kal:, kan:	/kán:	'straw of grain'	稟 *kal:, kaw:	/káu: 'straw, dried stalk of grain'

EXAMPLE 14:

	*TB *-R and OC -N or -J:*					*Strain B*
(290.)	T kor	'hollow, pit in ground'	科	*khwar, khwaj	/khwâ	'hollow tree trunk, hollow cavity'
	(STC 350 *kwar 'hole')	also	窠	"	"	'hole, nest'
				Strain A		
			窾	*khwar:, khwan:	/khuân:	'hole, opening'

EXAMPLE 15:

	PC -L and OC -J (Strain B):					
(291.)	*Tagalog*	kawáliq	'cooking pot, pan'	鍋 *kwal, *kwaw, kwaj	/kuâ	(*Shuo wen*, no text): 'earthen vessel'
	Malay	kuali				
	Javanese	kuwali	"	鍋	" "	'cauldron, bottle, pot'
	Proto-Austronesian	*k(ae)wali	"			
	Proto-Wa	*k²ol	"			

(I am indebted to R. Hendon for the Austronesian forms cited here.)

EXAMPLE 16:

(299) T mèchil "little bird" (*m-thyil) ntel:, ntiu: /tieu: Mandaran niao: Southern Min ciau:

EXAMPLE 17:

(307.)	T sel	'to remove, cleanse'	揀	*sel, sew	/sieu 'eliminate'

EXAMPLE 18:

(314.)	T srel	'bring up, rear'	產	*srel:, sren:	/ṣân:	'breed, bear'

the phonetic is 彭 MC ngjän 3, and if this is correct, *sngrel: might be reconstructed. Note that the Mandarin form is chan, irregular so far as the MC initial is concerned.

EXAMPLE 19:

(334.)	T (so)-rnyil * -snyil L ngel & nyel (*ngyil ?)	'gums' " "	齦	*ngyəl, ngjən / ngjən	'gums'

EXAMPLE 20:

(335.)	L ngrel	'have recourse to again'	顩	*ngràls ngrjans / ngjàn-3	'steamer (double vessel)'
	L a-ngel L nyel (*ngy-)	'repetition' 'to repeat'		also: * *ngyals, ngjans / ngjen-	

EXAMPLE 21:

(426.)	T *h*grul	'to walk, pass, travel'	逵.衢	*gwrùl, gwrùw, gwrju, gwrjə / gjwi 3	'where several roads meet, thoroughfare'

EXAMPLE 22:

(427.)	JP khrûn (*khrul) cp. T śul (*hryul ?)	'path' 'empty place, track, rut, furrow, road, way'	軌	*kwrùl:, kwrùw, kwrju:, kwrjə: / kjwi: 3	'... rut...'

EXAMPLE 23:

(432.)	T *h*khyil	'to wind, twist'	糾	*kyil:, kjiw: / kjĕu: 4	'twist, plait'

EXAMPLE 24:

T *h*khyil '(wind, twist), water flowing to form lakes'

(54)	khyil-čhu čhu-khyil	(coll) 'puddle' "	窪	*kwil, kwiw, kwe / kiwei	'hole, hollow, concave'[26]

EXAMPLE 25:

(55)	skyil	'(to bend), dam up water'			
	skyil-ding (W)	'small hole filled with water'	洼	*skwil, skwiw, ʔwe / ʔiwei	'concave, puddle'

EXAMPLE 26:

(56)	skyil skyil-khrung skil-ldir (W)	'to bend' 'sitting cross-legged' 'handle, ring for carrying'	筍．箘	*skwyil:, swjin: / sjuĕn:	'cross beam in bell frame (support for hanging bell)'

EXAMPLE 27:

(57)	T *h*khyil	'to wind, twist, (Das:) to whirl'	規	*kwyil, kwyiw, kwje / kjwiĕ 4	'compass, circle'
			鈞	*kwyil, kwjin / kjiuĕn 4	'l.f. potter's wheel'

Examples 25–28 show both glottal and sibilant reflexes of original *sk- clusters. They also are good examples of *-l > -l. Examples 29, 30, and 31 show related words with different OC initials.

EXAMPLE 28:

(33.)	T *h*gyel sgyel (*-gryel)	'fall, stumble' 'fall down, overthrow, kill (of horses)'	夭．殀	*sgryel:, *skrjew:, ʔ rjew: / ʔ jäu: 3	'(bend, break off), premature death, kill, kill a young animal'[23]

EXAMPLE 29:

				Sibilant Reflex:	
(48.)	skyed (*skye-d)	'generate, procreate'	契 禼	*skyet, sjet / sjät	'name of the ancestor of the Yin-Shang dynasty' (in other meanings)
				(*khets / khiei-	

EXAMPLE 30:

(49.)	*Jiarong* ka skhiEt	'to take'	竊	Also read: *skhet / tshiet	'steal, stealthily'

EXAMPLE 31:

				Glottal Reflex:	
(50.) (246B)	skye	'growth, increase, profit, benefit'	益	*skyeʔ, ʔjek / ʔjäk 4	'increase, more advantage, profitable'

The correspondence of *-ʔ to OC*-k is shown elsewhere (p.135). The phonological correspondences in the last group are regular, but it is admittedly speculative to identify the OC in Ex. 48 as an epithet to the

dynastic ancestor meaning "progenitor". Were it not for the tenuous nature of Ex. 48, one might surmise that the *s- reflex belonged to the "Shang" dialect and the *?- reflex to another dialect, conceivably that of the Zhou, but however intriguing, the evidence simply is not sufficiently solid.

EXAMPLE 32:

(54.)	khyil-čhu čhu-khyil	(coll) 'puddle'	窪	*kwil, kwiw, kwe / kiwei	'hole, hollow, concave'[26]

EXAMPLE 33:

(55.)	skyil	'(to bend), dam up water'			
	skyil-ding (W)	'small hole filled with water'	注	*skwil, skwiw, ʔwe / ʔiwei	'concave, puddle'

EXAMPLE 34:

(56.)	skyil	'to bend'			
	skyil-khrung	'sitting cross-legged'	筍. 箕	*skwyil:, swjin: / sjuĕn:	'cross beam in bell frame (support for hanging bell)'
	skil-ldir (W)	'handle, ring for carrying'			

EXAMPLE 35: Note the doublet here.

(57.)	T hkhyil	'to wind, twist, (Das:) to whirl'	規	*kwyil, kwyiw, kwje / kjwiĕ 4	'compass, circle'
			鈞	*kwyil, kwjin / kjiuĕn 4	'l.f. potter's wheel'

EXAMPLE 36:

(67.)	T rnal (*s-?)	'rest, tranquility of mind'	安	.?*snol:, hnwaj: / thuâ: (li:hnərx)	'tranquil'
	mnal	'sleep'			
	nyal	'lie down, sleep'	綏	*snyəl, snjəj / swi	'to comfort, give repose to'
	snyol	'lay down, to bed'			

This last example shows a morphological relationship, not a doublet. This type is easier to identify than is the dialect doublet.

CAN TAIWANESE RECOGNIZE SIMPLIFIED CHARACTERS?

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It is a commonly encountered phenomenon that Chinese from Taiwan state that they cannot read the simplified characters now used as the standard forms on the mainland of China. DeFrancis (1984: 201-202) notes: "...the political separation between Mainland China and Taiwan has indeed brought about a sort of linguistic disunity in that the simplified characters adopted in the former and the traditional characters retained in the latter have made it difficult if not impossible to read materials published on both sides of the Taiwan Strait without special training."

One empirical question then is: How difficult is it for educated readers from Taiwan to understand or guess the meanings of standard Mainland simplified characters? In discussing this topic with Professor Yin Binyong of the Institute of Applied Linguistics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, he suggested an experiment in which educated students from Taiwan be asked to give the traditional complex forms of a number of Mainland simplified characters. To that end, we designed a two-part survey (see below) in which Taiwan college graduates unfamiliar with Mainland simplified characters were asked to (1) write the traditional *fǎntǐ* character forms corresponding to one hundred standard Mainland simplified *jiǎntǐ* characters given in isolation (Part I), and (2) to read aloud four passages containing such simplified characters from a Mainland junior high school textbook (Part II). The one hundred simplified characters chosen are all of high frequency[1] and contain simplified characters derived or related to the traditional complex forms in a variety of ways to be discussed below. An obvious initial hypothesis was that the simplified forms might be easier to understand or guess correctly in the context of a running text than in isolation. Interviewees were presented with the two parts of the survey in the order just discussed, i.e. characters in isolation first, and the reading passages second. None of the one hundred single characters given in the first part occur in the second running text part of the survey.

The thirty-four interviewees (21 male, 13 female) for this experiment were all post-graduate students from Taiwan studying in a large mid-western U.S. university, all born, raised, educated, and graduated from (undergraduate) college or university in Taiwan. Their ages range from 22 to 39 with an average age of 28.6, and their time spent in the U.S.A. at the time of the survey ranged from three months to eight years with a average time of 2.6 years. All born in Taiwan, both native Taiwanese (19) and Mainlander (*wàisheng*) (15) family backgrounds were represented. Specifically excluded were any Taiwan students who had visited Mainland China or who had had extensive contact with materials written or printed in Mainland simplified characters.[2] While two of the students were in Mass Communications and Occupational Therapy, the bulk of the students were in the "hard" sciences and engineering, both as undergraduates in Taiwan and in their present post-graduate studies in the U.S.; none were Chinese language majors in Taiwan. Every effort was taken to insure that the group surveyed would approximate a random sample of educated reader-writers from Taiwan, none of whom had had any significant exposure to standard Mainland simplified characters.[2]

PROTOCOL: Students from Taiwan were asked to participate in a survey related to differences between the Chinese used in Taiwan and the Chinese used in Mainland China, but not specifically told in advance that the survey concerned simplified characters.

Each volunteer was interviewed individually and alone by the author, and asked to complete both parts of the survey. In Part I each student was asked to write the traditional complex forms of as many of the one hundred simplified characters given as possible, and was encouraged to guess if she or he did not know. After completing Part I (no time limit, but usually within ten to twenty minutes), the students were then given the four passages for Part II, told that they were photo-copied from a Mainland junior high school textbook, and asked to sight-read them aloud into a tape recorder. Again the interviewees were told to guess at the (pronunication of) characters which they did not recognize. All interaction was conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Immediately after all four passages had been read aloud (usually taking about five minutes), the interviewer then went back and asked the reader to clarify orally or in writing which characters s/he had intended when it was not clear from context. The interviewees usually completed the entire survey in twenty to thirty minutes.

Part I: Identifying Simplified Characters in Isolation

1. When asked to give the correct traditional forms of the one hundred standard simplified characters given in isolation in Part I of the survey (and encouraged to guess when unsure), the thirty-four respondents were unable to identify correctly an average of 61.53% of the 100 forms, with individual student's percentages ranging from only 36% missed to 76% missed. Appendix 1 below lists the one hundred simplified character forms given in Part I of the survey, followed by their traditional standard complex forms as used in Taiwan, plus the number and type of errors made by the Taiwan respondents. Note that Appendix 1 lists the 100 characters from Part I in the order of their increasing relative difficulty, from zero (i.e. recognized by all of the Taiwan students) to 34 (i.e. recognized by none of the thirty-four students), rather than in the random order in which they originally appeared in the questionaire.

2. Analysis of Results of Part I:

The simplification of Chinese characters carried out in the People's Republic of China in the 1950s in many cases either eliminated or codified numerous variant character forms or simplified character forms which had existed in dictionaries or in popular usage for many years, as well as extending the various principles upon which characters had already been formed to create new forms based on analogous principles. Some of the general principles employed in the simplification process (cf. Montanaro 1985: 4-8; Cheng 1975) were:

(1) to adopt as standard some commonly used existing simplified forms, or simpler antiquated or variant forms still in current use;
(2) to adopt commonly used cursive or "grass style" forms, regularized for printing purposes;
(3) to delete redundant parts of characters, or to chose one significant portion of a complex character to stand for the whole;
(4) to employ certain antiquated forms which constitute components of complex characters to stand for the whole;
(5) to substitute homonophous characters for more complex ones when no semantic confusion can arise (*jīngjiàn*);
(6) to use certain simpler components to substitute for more complex ones within a complex traditional character;
(7) to extend some of the historical principles of character formation, such as 'picto-phonetic' (*xíngshēng*) characters, or 'associative compounds' (*huìyì*).

Although no such codifications or simplifications were carried out in Taiwan, and in fact were portrayed there as attacks on traditional Chinese culture, nevertheless many of these

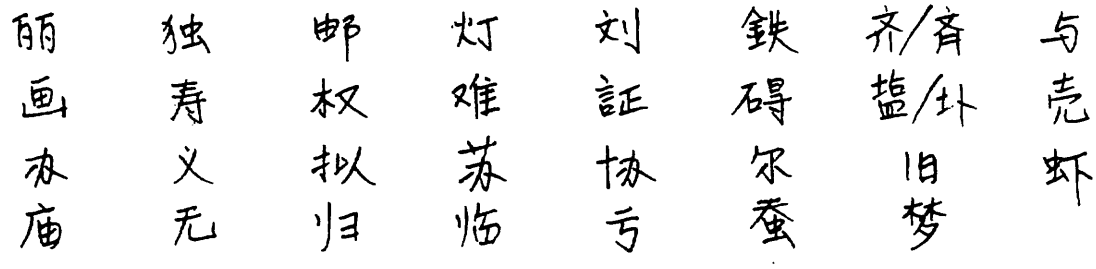
variants continue to be used as they have for centuries in informal writing, note-taking by students, and calligraphic writing. Some of these characters also exist as variant forms given in popular dictionaries in Taiwan, while others have evolved naturally out of fast-flowing, time-saving cursive styles of handwriting and calligraphy (e.g. *xíngshū*; *cǎoshū*). Despite the attempts of teachers in Taiwan at all levels to stamp out such forms in formal writing, they continue to survive in informal popular usage.

Obviously, then, those Mainland simplified characters most easy for Taiwan students to recognize will be those (such as 学 for 學 *xué* 'to study') which are used in Taiwan, either in popular usage, or as dictionary variants. Table 1, while by no means exhaustive, gives a number of such forms in popular use among students and others in Taiwan, which can be seen to overlap with those characters easily recognized by all or by a large majority of the thirty-four Taiwan students in Part I of the survey. (See Appendix 1.)

TABLE 1: Some Simplified Characters in Popular Use in Taiwan and Their Standard Forms:

The first twenty-two popularly used forms in Table 1 explain why the majority of participants in the survey could easily identify the standard Mainland simplified forms, in that the latter are simply codifications of traditional popular usage and/or variant forms which continue to be employed in Taiwan today. Many of the Mainland simplified forms are for all practical purposes identical to, or differ only to a negligible degree from, their popular counterparts used in Taiwan. In addition, because as we have noted another of the bases for PRC character simplification in the 1950s was to adopt variant forms as well as popular and historically related forms, many of the Mainland standard simplified forms are in fact given as variant forms in many of the commonly used dictionaries used in Taiwan, and are thus familiar to many educated people. Table 2 lists thirty-four 'variant forms' (*yìtǐzì*), listed after the 'standard forms' (*zhèngtǐzì*) in the popularly used dictionary *Kuóyǔ Rìbào Cídiǎn* in Taiwan, which correspond to characters found in Part I of the survey.

TABLE 2: Variant Forms Given in the Taiwan Dictionary *Guóyǔ Rìbào Cídiǎn*



Note again that of these thirty-three simplified characters which are given as variants in this popular Taiwan dictionary, only nineteen (57%) were correctly identified by more than half of the thirty-four respondents. Note also that while many of the variant dictionary forms shown in Table 2 correspond to the popular forms shown in Table 1, not all of those popular forms are listed as variants in the dictionary (e.g. 庆, 团), nor are the variant printed forms given in the dictionary always reproduced in popular usage, (e.g. 长 for *cháng*, 'long'). It seems then that educated readers in Taiwan have at least some passive familiarity with such dictionary variants, even when those forms are not echoed in popular usage, and that this may help to explain their ability to identify correctly at least half of those Mainland character simplifications which are based on them. Note also that the correspondence between the dictionary variant and the Mainland simplified form need not be one hundred percent; for example, while one of the two Taiwan dictionary variants for the chracter for *tiě* 'iron' is printed as 鉄, with the full standard 'gold' or 'metal' radical on the left hand side, participants in the survey were easily able to recognize that commonly encountered variant form when printed with the abbreviated 'metal' radical 鉄 now in standard use in the PRC, probably because such abbreviated component forms in fact approximate what they themselves actually write. This reflects the application of principles (1) and (2) above in the formation of the standard Mainland simplified forms in the 1950s simplification, with the adoption of many forms which may be termed *cǎoshū kǎihuà*, 'regularized cursive' or 'regularized grass' style forms.[4]

It seems then that simplified characters based upon popular usage which continues to be practiced in Taiwan (and other Chinese character using communities) is in fact a more accurate predictor of whether Mainland simplified character forms will be recognized than their occurance as variants in popular Taiwan dictionaries. Similarly, the principle of merely preserving the general configuration (*lúkuò*) of one of the traditional forms rather than adopting the traditional form exactly may be seen in comparing the standard Mainland character 盐 for *yán* 'salt' with the two variant forms given in the *Guoyu Ribao Cidian* (塩 and 卄) in which the Mainland simplified form seems to be a combination of both. Other highly identifiable characters which preserve the general configuration of the orginal character without using a listed variant are 势 and 单. We may conclude, then, that the principle of preserving a significantly recognizable portion of a character as in the characters 缠, 兽, 务, 脑, and 妆, or preserving the general configuration of the original character both seem on the basis of the data in Appendix 1 to be effective in preserving the recognizability of simplified characters by Taiwanese, although relatively less so than simply adopting (regularized versions of) existing popular variant forms. Similarly, redundant parts of a character are identifiable if abbreviated rather than omitted, as in 摄 and 烧, as long as significant portions and the general configuration of the original are maintained.

The group which is hardest to examine in a survey such as in Part I, in which characters are given in isolation, is of course *homophone substitutes*, where one existing traditional character was substituted for another more complex form having the same pronunciation. In fact, in the four cases in Part I where such forms occurred, many of the respondents simply questioned whether those forms (淀, 怜, 愿, 丰) were in fact simplified characters at all, even when they were not sure of the character's exact meaning. Only in the last case where the homophonous character 丰 is often used in Taiwan in place of the far more common but very complex traditional character 豐 did all but five of the respondents correctly identify its Mainland usage.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are those characters which none or nearly none of the thirty-four Taiwan respondents were able to identify correctly. As noted above, eleven of the thirty-three Mainland simplified forms which also occur in the *Guoyu Ribao Cidian* were recognized by less than half of the respondents. (See Table 2.) But the majority of Mainland

simplified characters presenting difficulties for the Taiwan respondents appear to be rather those based on principles 3-7 above, that is, simplified characters which were newly *created* rather than merely standardizing characters which were already in popular or dictionary use.

We may gain further insight into the types of problems encountered by those Taiwan students (who on average were unable to identify more than 61% of the standard Mainland character forms) by examining the breakdown of their erroneous answers given in Appendix 1. (Note that the total number of errors given equals the sum of the specific errors listed *plus* those cases where the respondents were unable or unwilling to attempt a guess, even when encouraged to do so. Simply copying the simplified form was also counted as an error.)

If we examine those sixty-five out of one hundred characters not correctly identified by more than one-half of the Taiwan students, sorted into categories according to the above listed principles for their simplification, the group presenting the most difficulty were those newly created characters which use simpler components to substitute for more complex ones in traditional characters (Principle 6; *fúhào dàitì*), followed in difficulty by characters created by extending the 'pictophonetic' and 'associative compound' principles (#7). and some of those created by deleting redundant parts of traditional characters or by chosing one significant portion of a traditional characters to stand for the whole (Principle 3). We may also associate with category #6 those abbreviated characters which retain some significant components of the original characters as well as the overall general configuration (*lúnkùo*) of the original. As we have seen in our discussion of Table 2 above, being an antiquated or variant form (Principle 1) listed in a commonly used Taiwan dictionary is apparently no guarantee of recognizability. Homophones have already been discussed above (Principle 5). Table 4 groups those standard Mainland simplified characters most difficult to recognize in terms of the categories just discussed (Some characters are listed in more than one category.)

TABLE 3: CATEGORIES OF CHARACTERS MOST DIFFICULT FOR TAIWAN STUDENTS

#6: Simplified Components: 仅，叹，梦，顾，佥，销，讫，毕，赵，麦，穷，获，庙，笔，烧，传，罢.

Abbreviated Characters: 币，垦，总，仓，严，杂

#7: Pictophonetic Compounds: 态，岂，迟，园，苹，护，让，补，毕，迈，忧，虾，惩，销，审，歼.

#3: Redunant Parts Deleted: 奋，恢，蚕，启，亏，灭，总

#3: Use Part for Whole: 开，关，录，乡，巩，习，业，卫

#1: Use Variant/Antiquated/Cursive Form: 旧，归，怅，无，尔，发，导，兰，杂叶

Detailed examination of erroneous forms given by those Taiwan students who were willing to guess often reveals the strategies underlying their misperceptions. Note that 囝 is popularly used in Taiwan for 圆 'round' rather than for its homophone 園 'garden', and 买 'buy' is clearly misread on analogy with the commonly used abbreviated form 实 for 實 'true'.

The general observation about characters in category 6, those which simplify some component(s) in a traditional character (with the exception of such commonly used cursive radical components such as 讠 for 言，钅 for 金，etc.), as well as for the most abbreviated

characters, is that in most cases the Taiwan readers have no unique way of 'retrieving' the deleted components which have been simplified or abbreviated, as can be clearly seen from the wide variety of guesses for most of this type. The same may be said for those characters which have been simplified by extending the historical 'pictophonetic' or 'associative compound' principles to create new forms based on those principles (*xīn zào de xīngshēng zì*; *xīn zào de huìyì zì*) the Taiwan readers have no way to know which one of many homophonous (or near homophonous) characters were meant, or in fact that the newly simplified 'phonetic' sum component is in fact meant to be a phonetically suggestive component at all. Similarly, how can one know that in an 'associative compound' such as 尘 'dust', in which the semantically suggestive components are 'small' and 土 'soil', that these components are here being used solely for their semantic properties? Again, if many redundant parts are completely deleted, rather than being replaced with simpler components, readers are not able to reconstruct enough of them, as when the majority of respondents guess 习 to be (merely) the simplified form of the less commonly encountered character 羽 'feather', rather than the correct form 習 'practice', or do not realize which parts have been deleted (taking 业 to be 並), or that it is simply a case of parts having been deleted, as when 乡 is taken as a simplification for 多 , rather than for 豺 Also, deleting all but one central part of a character may not be understood, as with 乡 just mentioned, or when both 廾 and 关 are taken to be abbreviations of 並. Lastly, as noted above, basing a simplification on an antiquated, cursive, or variant form is no guarantee of successful recognition, as the cases listed under Principle I demonstrate.

In summary, when asked to identify the traditional forms of standard Mainland simplified characters in isolation without any context, unless the simplified form is already in popular use or at least based on a fairly well known variant form, readers from Taiwan do not have enough information to be able to determine which of several different principles of simplification have been applied and often make erroneous guesses, when they are willing to do so at all.

Part II: Identifying Simplified Characters in Context.

In Part II of the survey, respondents were asked to read aloud four passages from a junior high school reader *Yǔwén*: *Shìyòng Kèběn*, published in Beijing in 1981.[5] (The actual texts are reproduced in Appendix II below, but with the simplified characters underlined for reference, which was of course not done in the survey version.) The obvious initial hypothesis mentioned above, that the reading of simplified characters would be facilitated by context was in fact confirmed, especially when characters not understood upon first use were decoded after subsequent encounter(s) with additional context(s). This accords with general observations concerning the reading process, by which readers make unconscious heuristic predictions based on textual redundancy and their native speaker's knowledge of the syntax and usual collocations of discourse, as well as their cultural knowledge of the subject matter. Thus, for example, in Reading 3, many of the readers in fact said 两百 for the printed 二百 , unconsciously substituting the more common oral form *liǎng bǎi* for the written *èr bǎi* 'two hundred'. In Reading 4, although the first encounter with the simplified character 汉 for Han (dynasty) was not recognized by a majority of the readers in the context *Xī Hàn shí* 'in the Western Han (dynasty)', nevertheless later in the same sentence, in the overwhelmingly familiar context of the historically famous name *Han Wu Di*, the character was then decoded, so that it was then understood in its third mention of 东汉Dong Han 'Eastern Han (dynasty)'. A more dramatic example of the force of context occurred in Reading 3 about astronomy, where many readers could not decode the pictophonetic simplified character 远 meaning 遠 'distant' upon first encounter as an adjective in the context *tā jùli wǒmen nème yuǎn*, 'it is so far from us that', but the same character was unconsciously read correctly in the next to last line in the compound *wànyuánjìng* 'telescope', but then was not immediately recognized by all of the same readers in the next (final) line as an adjective again.

Appendix III records the errors of the Taiwan students in reading each of the four passages shown in Appendix II. Note that the superscripts beside each character indicate the number of occurrence, e.g. 太阳[2] means the second occurrence of the compound *tàiyáng* 'sun' in the text. The errors are listed in order of their appearance in the Reading, each followed by the total number of errors, followed by a breakdown of the exact number of each type of error, plus those who simply could not guess at all (marked by "O"). The overall number of errors can be seen to be small relative to the large number of simplified characters in the readings and to the number of students (34). Certain of the more interesting errors in each of the four passages will be examined briefly below.

In Reading 1, note that two of the four respondents who attempted a reading of the coverb *cóng* 从 'from' chose another grammatically appropriate coverb *zài* 在 at', one guessed the graphically similar literary coverb *yǐ* 'taking', and the fourth the contextually possible *měitiān* 'every day', while the remaining twenty-six albeit with some hesitation correctly guessed the correct reading aided by context. Again, of those ten out of thirty-four students who encountered difficulty with the first instance of the simplified character *fa* 发 in *fāchūle* 'sent out', three substituted the verb *bá* 拔 'pull out' presumably on the basis of similarity of shape, while the five others who guessed erroneously also substituted semantically appropriate verbs. When *fā* occurred again in *fā tòng* 'hurt' in the next to the last line of Reading 1, the choice of verb or adverb substituted was again based largely on grammatical and collocational considerations. Similarly, note that context usually forced the substitution of another measure word for those unable to recognize the simplified form of *gè* 'instance/piece of' in *zhège* 'this' and *nàge* 'that'. Thus we see that even when erroneous readings were made, those same contextual factors which presumably assist the majority of readers in making the correct readings operate to restrict the range of possible guesses.

In Reading 2, similar observations may be made. The various errors made for *líng* in *xīnlíng* 'spirit' are all collocations based on coocurrence with the preceding morpheme *xīn*. The misreading of *jūn* 'military' as *láo* 'prison' is obviously based on their graphic similarity, and the misreading of *bùdùi* as *bùwò* was explained as being due not only to the similarity of 队 and 卧, but also to the idea common in Taiwan propaganda that Kuomingdang agents are 'lying' in wait on the Chinese mainland. The collocational force of *kē le tóu* 'kowtowed' is so strong that not one of the thirty-four respondents misread the simplified character *tóu* 头 'head' in this context, although fourteen later had difficulty recognizing the same character in Reading 3 in a less obvious context. The two misreadings of 强 'strong' for 虽 'although' were obviously based on graphic similarity, as was the subsequent misreading of 九 for 儿. Three readers substituted the appropriate particles 吧 and 吗 for the simplified 罗, despite its lack of a 口 'mouth' radical. Normal collocation explains *quànwèi* 'console' being misread as *ānwèi* 'comfort' and *wèiwèn* 'sympathize'. Lastly, the three substitutes for *me* 么 in *nàme* 'so' are all based on grammatical context.

In Reading 3, the relative difficulty of *yuǎn* 远 'far' as an independent verb versus its recognizability when embedded in the compound noun *wàngyuǎngjìng* 'telescope' has already been noted above. As in Reading 1, the second and third occurrences of the coverb *cóng* 'from' produced predictable alternative coverbs suitable to the context, but as noted above, *tóu* 'head/end' is not as recognizable in a less structured context as it was in *kē tóu* 'kowtow' in Reading 2. Context also makes it clear that *yì* 'one hundred million' is a large number, although it was not clear to sixteen of the thirty-four readers which multiple of ten it is. Similarly, context made clear the character *jí* 极 'extremely' to all but seven readers. Lastly, *shù* 术 was known to all thirty four readers as part of the compound *jìshù* 技术 'technique', but was not clear to five readers in the following Reading 4 in the less commonly encountered context *xào xhǐ shù* 'paper making techniques'.

Reading 4 presented the most difficulty, possibly due the technical nature of the content. At the outset of the passage, twenty-eight of the thirty-four readers were unable to decode the simplified form 书, a regularized cursive, or *cǎoshū kǎihuà* form, of the cursive form of *shū* 'book'. Although predictably eight of these readers were later aided by the context *yī cè shū* 'one volume', with the measure word preceding the noun, some readers were still not sure in subsequent encounters with the form. (Interestingly, when asked after the entire survey was concluded to write the cursive form for *shū* 'book', even some of those who wrote the cursive form 书 apparently did not see the relation between the simplified printed form and what they themselves had just written.) The various misreadings for *shū* are clearly based on collocational context, as may be seen from Appendix III. The character *Hàn* 'Han (dynasty)' has already been discussed above. Aside from those readings obviously based on graphic similarity, those five readers who misread the character 伦 in the name *Cai Lun* 蔡伦 (the inventor of paper) were apparently more familiar with the name of a Kuomindang general *Cai E* (蔡锷). We have already noted above that five readers who had no difficulty with the character 术 in the word *jìshù* 'technology' in Reading 4 could not correctly decode it in the less familiar context *zào zhǐ shù* 'paper making technology'. In context, *fāmíng* 发明 'invent' presented no problems. Dong Fangsuo is a famous historical figure, and the character *dōng* 东 'east' had already been seen in the collocation Dong Han 'Eastern Han' above.

The four reading passages in part II altogether contain 1142 characters, of which 305 or 26.7% are standard simplified characters. [See Appdx. II below.] The maximum number of potential errors of all thirty-four Taiwan students reading all 305 simplified characters incorrectly would be 34 x 305 = 10,370 possible student errors. In fact the total number of all student errors for all four passages was only 507 [see Appdx. III] or less than 4.9%, meaning that the students' overall accuracy of reading of the 305 simplified characters was more than 95%. Note again that the 305 simplified characters represent only 26.7% of the total number of characters in the four passages, so a 4.889% error rate in reading only 26.7% of the total text equals 4.889 x 26.7 or an average of only 1.375%, that is, only slightly over one percent of the total number of characters read.

We may conclude, then, that whatever difficulties educated readers from Taiwan may have in recognizing standard Mainland simplified character forms *in isolation*, Part II of this study clearly demonstrates that in discourse context that textual redundancy and native speaker reading strategies greatly facilitate the decoding of these simplified character forms for such readers, albeit sometimes at a level of which they are not consciously aware. Guesses as to unknown simplified characters have been seen to be based more on discourse context than on the shapes or structure of the characters themselves. An analogy may be drawn to the orthographic reforms proposed for English spelling by George Bernard Shaw, in which the letter *x* would replace *th*, *y* would be replaced by *i*, and the symbol *y* could then fulfill the function of *sh*. Without such background information, native speaker-readers of contemporary English would presumbably have similar difficulties with the following conclusion: *wi wud hev a lojikl, kohirnt speling in jus xrewaut xe ingliy-spiking werld.*

FOOTNOTES:

1. All of the characters contained in Part I of the survey fall within the basic list of 6763 standard simplified characters which account for 99.99% of all characters in common contemporary use.

2. For example, two Taiwanese Christians had procured Bibles printed in simplified characters in hope of conducting Bible study sessions with their Mainland classmates in the U.S.A., and one student called to my attention a handbook of Mainland simplified characters recently published in Taiwan (cf. Zhang, n.d.). The majority of students from Taiwan, however, appear to have little or no significant contact with their fellow students from the People's Republic, even if they

are in the same academic department or office, nor do they have any exposure to materials printed in Mainland simplified characters. Note that since 1980, the overseas edition of the *People's Daily* newspaper (*Rénmín Rìbào : Hǎiwài Bǎn*), has been deliberately printed in traditional characters for distribution to Chinese overseas.

3 . I wish to express my thanks to Professor Yin Binyong for helping to design the original survey as well as for the statistical calculations in Part II, to Wáng Fenghua for collating the raw data, and to the members of the Chinese Students' Association of UIC for their enthusiastic cooperation and assistance with this research.

4. See F.Y. Wang 1958: xx.

5. The original sources of the four reading passages (see Appdx. II), which were not identified to the Taiwan students, are (Reading 1:) *Ba Jin*: *Hai Shang de Richu*; (Reading 2:) *Wei Wei*: *Wode Laoshi*; (Reading 3:) *Zheng Wenguang*: *Yuzhou Li You Xie Shenme?*; (Reading 4:) *Xiang Yi*: *Shuji de Bianyi*.

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APPENDIX 1 : 100 SIMPLIFIED CHARACTER FORMS TESTED IN PART I IN ORDER OF RELATIVE INCREASING DIFFICULTY FOR TAIWAN STUDENTS

34 correct;
0 missing/blank: 电(電), 丽(麗), 肃(肅), 团(團), 庆(慶)

# SIMP. TRAD. ERRORS x FORM FORM (No. of each:)	# SIMP. TRAD. ERRORS x FORM FORM (No. of each:)
33 correct; 单(單), 灯(燈), 势(勢) one each left blank: 刘(劉), 铁(鐵)	17 拟(擬) (3) 拟人 似 揶
	17 务(務) (6) 條 (1) 爷爺 岁 處
1 邮(郵) (1) 劃	17 脑(腦) (4) 膿 (1) 胸
1 独(獨) (1) 豬蝕 (sic)	19 苏(蘇) (7) 荔 (1) 蕗 茄 熟
32 correct; 长(長), 缠(纏), 与(與) two each left blank: 画(畫), 寿(壽)	19 传(傳) (2) 儔 (1) 倩 債 伶
	20 烧(燒) (1) 燦 盞 燈
2 齐(齊) (2) 斉	21 协(協) (1) 劫 辦
31 correct; 摄(攝) three blank:	22 尔(爾) (10) 個 你 (1) 系
	23 关(關) (3) 送 (2) 並 (1) (1) 美 鄭 殿 聯 連 係
4 权(權) (2) 樣 (1) 檜	
5 风(風) (5) 鳳	24 旧(舊) (4) 怕 (1) 泊 詛 沮 汤
5 证(證) (1) 証 征	24 笔(筆) (3) 筆 (1) 篳
5 丰(豐) (1) 丰 蚌 来	24 愿(願) (1) 您 怨
	24 汇(滙) (3) 汜 (1) 江 沱
7 碍(礙) (4) 碍	25 严(嚴) (8) 麗 (1) 鹿 廳 産 歲
8 盐(鹽) (8) 0	25 乡(鄉) (4) 多 (1) 絲
8 壳(殼) (1) 賣 壹 壺	25 怜(憐) (25) 0
9 价(價) (1) 价 借 倆 儔	25 录(錄) (5) 绿 (3) 碌 (1) 禄 祿 绿 录
9 难(難) (5) 難 (1) 惟 唯	26 奋(奮) (6) 番 (3) 奄 (1) 掩 淹 庵
11 兽(獸) (2) 魯 (1) 單 獺 善	26 虾(蝦) (1) 虾 蚪
12 触(觸) (3) 解 (2) 融 (1) 髓	
13 办(勃) (2) 亦 (1) 幫 盡 歲 繼 利	27 庙(廟) (4) 庙 (1) 廣 鹿 畫
14 义(義) (1) 义 叉 又 單 萬	28 业(業) (14) 並 (1) 發 對

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

# x	SIMP. FORM	TRAD. FORM	ERRORS (NO. OF EACH:)
28	淀	(澱)	(2) 㵔 澱
28	无	(無)	(1) 无 旡 羌 優 魠 閔 樣
28	开	(開)	(7) 並 (3) 研 (2) 并 (1) 形 刑 併
29	龙	(龍)	(2) 龙 (1) 彪 豪
30	歼	(殲)	(2) 殘 餐 (1) 歼 殆 殤 惡
30	获	(獲)	(5) 荻 (4) 获 (1) 獄 萂
30	归	(歸)	(1) 怕 爐
31	兰	(蘭)	(1) 羊 美 養 發
31	总	(總)	(5) 急 (3) 聰 (2) 息 (1) 怨
31	临	(臨)	(3) 惱 (2) 焰 (1) 爐 悔 備 籃
31	穷	(窮)	(3) 窗 (2) 究 穿 (1) 穷 窈 窈 竊 窳 竊 簾
31	麦	(麥)	(6) 毒 (5) 素 (1) 青
31	忧	(憂)	(1) 忧 猶
32	赵	(趙)	(22) 越 (3) 趣 (2) 赳 (1) 起 超 趨 處
32	辽	(遼)	(10) 過 (3) 還 (2) 邊 (1) 遠 这
32	习	(習)	(18) 羽
32	导	(導)	(12) 尋 (5) 壽 (1) 尋 忌
32	叹	(嘆)	(1) 啜 咲 曦 嘖 歡 聽
32	毕	(畢)	(8) 柴 (3) 準 華 (1) 货 冀
32	补	(補)	(4) 褲 (3) 补 (1) 襟 祈 掛
32	论	(論)	(2) 診 (1) 誰 証 謂 詮 諧
32	让	(讓)	(2) 址 証 (1) 註
32	护	(護)	(3) 據 (2) 擄 (1) 撫 櫨 推 樹 揃
32	巩	(鞏)	(7) 恐 (2) 巩 (1) 築 築 梁 筑 籌
33	苹	(蘋)	(18) 萍 (3) 華 (2) 苹
33	钥	(鑰)	(2) 钥 (1) 银 锎 钺 朔 圓
33	灭	(滅)	(12) 灰 (2) 灵 (1) 火 煩
33	尝	(嘗)	(9) 雲 (8) 薰 (3) 裳 (2) 當 (1) 蒙
33	审	(審)	(5) 宙 (2) 演 (1) 寅 實 賓
33	卫	(衛)	(2) 即 (1) 在 知 只
33	仅	(僅)	(4) 儀 (3) 優 (1) 個 債 假 這 催 傻
33	亏	(虧)	(3) 號 (2) 亏 (1) 老 汚 愕 萬 万
33	杂	(雜)	(26) 染
33	启	(啟)	(1) 扈 肩 吵 滬 君 藉
33	罢	(罷)	(1) 罣 罿 罪 罩 羅 罵 罩
33	叶	(葉)	(4) 吃 聽 (1) 叶 计 什 嚇
33	园	(園)	(29) 圓 (2) 團 (1) 國
34	迟	(遲)	(5) 選 (3) 還 (2) 遠 (1) 迟 進 過 達
34	仓	(倉)	(2) 危 包 會 (1) 卷
34	岂	(豈)	(2) 嚴 (1) 邑 歲 及 崇
34	买	(買)	(31) 賣
34	尘	(塵)	(6) 尘 尖 堆 拆 型 墊
34	币	(幣)	(3) 市 (1) 巾 吊 冤 書
34	态	(態)	(2) 态 (1) 怠
34	蚕	(蠶)	(2) 蚕 (1) 蜀 蛋 綦
34	顾	(顧)	(10) 顧 (4) 頤 (3) 頌 顾 (1) 頭
34	梦	(夢)	(6) 梵 (4) 焚 (1) 蘞 麓 繁

READING 3

这就是整个宇宙吗？不，这还只是构成宇宙的一个微不足道的小点点。

宇宙里有千千万万个象银河系一样的恒星系，这些恒星系大都有一千万万颗以上的恒星。

我们肉眼能看到仙女座 里的一个恒星系。每当初冬晚上八九点钟的时候，差不多在天空正中有一个纺锤形的小光斑，就是这个恒星系。它距离我们那样远，光线从它那里到地球上得走二百二十万年。在每一个恒星系里，光线从这一头到那一头也得走几万以至十几万年。不要忘记，光线是宇宙中最快的使者，若是宇宙飞船，不知道要走多少万万年呢。

我们已经发现数以亿计的恒星系。可是不要以为我们已经看透整个宇宙了。要知道数以亿计的恒星系仍然只是茫茫宇宙的一个极小部分。随着望远镜制造技术的不断提高，新的仪器的不断发明，我们将会看到更远的世界。

READING 4

到了三千年前的商朝，有了最早的书籍实物——甲骨刻成的文献。甲，就是乌龟的腹甲、背甲；骨，就是牛的肩胛骨。用象形文字刻在甲骨上面，记载当时战争、打猎、求雨等事。除了甲骨文的书，还有刻(或铸)在青铜器上的书——金文，和刻在石鼓上的书——石鼓文。

我国正式的书是用竹片和木板做的，也出现在商代。就是把树木和竹劈成薄片，叫木简和竹简，在这上面写字。每一册书要用很多的简，用丝绳或皮带编结起来。这样的书很笨重。据说秦始皇每天批阅的简牍文书重达一百二十斤。西汉时，东方朔写了一编文章给汉武帝，共用竹简三千根，要由两个身强力壮的武士吃力地抬进宫廷去。春秋末年，人们把字写在绸上面，叫帛书，可以卷起来，一部书就是一卷绸。

到了东汉，据说蔡伦发明了一种既轻巧又便宜的材料——纸。造纸术的发明，是我国对世界文化的一大贡献。用纸做的书和帛书一样，也是一卷一卷的，古时候叫卷子。

APPENDIX II : PRC JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEXTS READ IN PART II

Readings from YUWEN: Shiyong Keben (Chuzhong Di Si Ce), 1981. Note that simplified characters were not underlined in the survey copies.

READING 1

课文

为了看日出，我常常早起。那时天还没有大亮，船上只有机器的响声。

天空还是一片浅蓝色，颜色很浅。转眼间天边出现了一道红霞，慢慢地在扩大它的范围，加强它的亮光。我知道太阳要从天边升起来了，便不转眼地望着那里。

果然过了一会儿，在那个地方出现了太阳的小半边脸，红是真红，却没有亮光。这个太阳好象负着重荷似地一步一步、慢慢地努力上升，到了最后，终于冲破了云霞，完全跳出了海面，颜色红得非常可爱。一刹那间，这个深红的圆东西，忽然发出了夺目的亮光，射得人眼睛发痛，它旁边的云片也突然有了光彩。

READING 2

有一件小事，我不知道还值不值得提它，但回想起来，在那时却占据过我的心灵。我父亲那时候在军阀部队里，好几年没有回来，我跟母亲非常牵挂他，不知道他的死活。我的母亲常常站在一张褪了色的神象面前焚起香来，把两个有象征记号的字条卷着埋在香炉里，然后磕了头，抽出一个来卜问吉凶。我虽不象母亲那样，也略略懂了些事。可是在孩子群中，我的那些小“反对派”们，常常在我的耳边喊：“哎哟哟，你爹回不来了哟，他吃了炮子儿罗！”那时的我，真好象父亲死了似的那么悲伤。这时候蔡老师援助了我，批评了我的“反对派”们，还写了一封信劝慰我，说我是“心清如水的学生”。一个老师排除孩子世界里的一件小小的纠纷，是多么平常，可是回想起来，那时候我却觉得是给了我莫大的支持！在一个孩子的眼睛里，他的老师是多么慈爱，多么公平，多么伟大的人啊。

APPENDIX III: ERRORS IN READING PASSAGES IN PART II

(Line numbers in text shown on left; superscripts indicate number of times of occurrence; arabic numbers show number of instances of each error; Ø = unable to guess.)

LN. #	CHARTR. (IN WORD)	ERRORS: (# OF) (Ø = NO GUESS)	LN. #	CHARTR. (IN WORD)	ERRORS: (# OF) (Ø = NO GUESS)
	READING 1			READING 2	
1	那时[1]	Ø (2)	1	还[2] 这	(1) (See Rdg. 1 Line 1)
1	还 边	(1) (See line 3)	2	那时[2] 个(1)里	(1)@
4	边	Ø (2) (See lines 5,8)	2	占	Ø (1)
4	扩[1]大	Ø (1)	2	过	Ø (1) (See Rdg. 1 Line 7)
5	太阳[1]	Ø (1)	2	心，灵	Ø (4) 头，坎，坟里(1)@
5	人人[1]	Ø (4) 在 (2) 以，每 (1)@	3	时[3]候	Ø (1)
7	那个[1]	回 (1)	3	军阀	劳 (9) Ø (2)
7	太阳[2]	Ø (1) méng, mò (1) @	3	部队	Ø (14) 臥 (9)
8	这个[2]	回 (1)	5	来[1]	采 (1)
10	云[1]霞	红 (1)	7	来[2]	Ø (2) (See line 15)
11	这个[3]	Ø (1)	7	那样	祥 (1)
11	东[1]西	Ø (1) 球，轉 (1)@	7	虽	Ø (2) 強 (2)
12	发[1]出 拔 (3)	Ø (2) 跳 (2) 变，闪，现 (1)	10	炮	包 (2)
			10	子儿	几 (3) 弹 (1) Ø (1)
12	发[2]痛	Ø (4) 疼 (3) 刺，很 (2)@ 酸，好 (1)@	10	罗	Ø (19) 吧 (2) 哟，(几) 万 (1)
			10	那时[4]	对 (1) (See lines 11,15)
13	云[2]片	hui（会?) (1)	11	那么[1]	般 (2) 个，样 (1)@
			11	悲伤	悲痛 (1)
			12	劝慰	安慰 (3) 慰问 (2) 悼，又 (1)@

APPENDIX III: ERRORS IN READING PASSAGES IN PART II (CONT'D)

(Line numbers in text shown on left; superscripts indicate number of times of occurrence; arabic numbers show number of instances of each error; Ø = unable to guess.)

LN. #	CHARTR. (IN WORD)	ERRORS: (# OF) (Ø = NO GUESS)
	READING 3	
1	构成	形成 (1)
3	一样 [2]	群, 祥 (1)@
8	那样 [3]	么, 边 (2)@ 般 (1)
8	远 [1]	Ø (2) 里, 近 (1)@
8	人人 [2]	Ø (5) 以 (4) 距, 离 (1)@
9	人人 [3]	Ø (3) 以 (3) 在, 射 (1)@
9	一头 [2]	点 Ø (7) 边 (3) 个, 实 (2)@
10	一头 [3]	点 Ø (7) 边 (3) 个, 实 (2)
13	发 [3] 现	Ø (1) 出现 (1)
13	亿 [1]	万 (9) 千 (4) 百 (2) Ø (2)
14	亿 [2]	万 (10) 千 (3) Ø (2) 百 (1)
15	极小	Ø (5) 微 (1) yào? (1)
16	仪器	机 (1)
17	发 [4] 明	Ø (1)
17	更远	Ø (1) (See lines 8, 16)
	READING 4	
1	书 [1] 籍	Ø (17) 右 (7) 献 (1)
4	打猎	Ø (2) 仗 (2) 虫昔 (1)
5	书 [2]	Ø (20) 字 (6) 右, 记 (1)@
5	书 [3]	Ø (21) 字 (4) 右, 记, 刻 (1)
6	书 [4]	Ø (19) 字 (5) 右, 记, 刻 (1)
7	书 [5]	Ø (16) 字 (6) 右, 记, 策, 帛 (1)
9	一册书 [6]	Ø (15) 字 (2) 卜, 策, 帛 (1)
10	书 [7]	Ø (12) 字, 卜, 帛, 献, 简, 策 (1)
11	简牍	Ø (7) 体 (2) 复 zhú (竹?), zhù, dú (1)@
11	文书 [8]	南犬 (13) 卜, 物, 帛, 字 (1)@
11	西汉 [1]	Ø (15) 秦 (2) 藏 (1)
12	东方朔	秦 (1)
12	汉 [2] 武帝	Ø (2)
13	抬进	到 (8) 并 (4) 往 (1)
14	帛 [1]	棉 (7) 锦, 简, 绢 (1)
14	书 [9]	片 (15) 卜, 策, 帛, 纸, 丝 (1)
15	一部书 [10]	Ø (18) 卜, 策, 帛 (1)@
16	东汉 [3]	Ø (1) 秦 (1)
16	蔡伦	Ø (8) 得 (5) 佗 (4) 佣, 邑 (1)
16	造纸术 [2]	Ø (3) 木 (2) (See Rdg. 3)
18	书 [11]	Ø (18) 布, 帛, 简, 策 (1)
18	帛 [2]	棉 (8) 锦 (1)
18	书 [12]	Ø (18) 布, 帛, 简, 策 (1)

SIMPLIFIED CHARACTERS AND THEIR (UN)RELATEDNESS*

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0. Introduction

Simplification of the Chinese characters has been one of the main efforts in the modernization of the language. Its success is well reflected in the official adoption of the simplified forms in Japan and Singapore, though with some modifications.[1] As a matter of fact, even in Hong Kong and Taiwan, simplified versions have been in use in hand-writing; they have, however, not been made official and therefore do not usually appear in print. All these facts indicate that simplification is a necessity as long as the Chinese characters serve as a medium of communication.

While the above facts do suggest a step toward a written code simpler in the form of individual characters, they do not necessarily represent an advancement toward a system that is internally more consistent among its members. This paper is thus an initial exploration of whether the written symbols form a logical system in terms of pronunciation and meaning as a result of their simplification. It is not my intention, however, to discuss the efficiency of the code as an educational tool, which though ought to be the ultimate goal of the entire business of simplification.[2]

1. Principles of Simplification

Wang (1955:185-187) deduces ten patterns (or modes) of simplification from the forms in use. They are as follows:

(1.1) Part Replacing the Whole: 儿 for 兒, 务 for 務, 汇 for 滙, 干 for 幹, 灭 for 滅, etc.

(1.2) Elimination of Repetition in form: 贝 for 貝, 齿 for 齒, etc.

(1.3) Unrelated Symbols for Part of a Character: 伤 for 傷, 仅 for 僅, 侩 for 儈, 区 for 區, 协 for 協, 摄 for 攝, 摄 for 攝, etc.

(1.4) Adoption of the 'Grass' Style: 伟 for 偉, 伪 for 僞, 俭 for 儉, 冻 for 凍, 废 for 廢, 搂 for 摟, etc.

(1.5) Replacement by a Simpler Phonetic Sign: 亿 for 億, 仔 for 儒, 仔 for 僚, 剧 for 劇, 让 for 讓, 痒 for 癢, etc.

(1.6) Replacement by a More Common Radical: 第 for 第, 迹 for 跡, 刮 for 颳, 坛 for 壇, etc.

(1.7) From Determinative-Phonetic (xing-sheng) to Non-Determinative-Phonetic: 岩 for 巖, 体 for 體, 灶 for 竈, 阴 for 陰, etc.

(1.8) From Non-Determinative-Phonetic to Determinative-Phonetic: 邮 for 郵, 态 for 態, etc.

(1.9) Simpler Homophone as a Substitute: 干 for 幹, 个 for 個, 付 for 副, 别 for 蹩, 谷 for 穀, 才 for 纔, 分 for 份, 火 for 伙, 布 for 佈, etc.

(1.10) Return to Ancient Form: 仑 for 倉, 礼 for 禮, 弃 for 棄,

etc.

While the aim of Wang's paper is to justify simplification by historical development through these patterns, the patterns themselves may also have some synchronic significance, which we will later discuss.

2. How Many Are Real Innovations?

Despite the claim (Wang, 1955:187) that patterns (1.1)-(1.8) all involve some kind of 'innovation', there is little evidence that innovation is the main force in most of the simplified characters under those categories, unless innovation is taken to mean deviation from the recorded written form in the history of the language. In other words, there are relatively few forms that were completely started by the language reformers responsible for the movement in order to replace the old complex forms.

To sustain my claim here, it would be desirable, though not quite feasible as an individual project, to pinpoint which simplified character was a complete innovation in its strict sense. It would, however, be relatively easy based on someone's personal experience to see how many are new in comparison with those which he had already learned before the official inception of the simplification movement. The person chosen for this survey must have had at least a high school education before 1954 when simplification officially began. He must not have had frequent contact with the simplified versions since then. The present author happens to roughly meet the qualifications.[3] But, of course, his knowledge of the characters before 1954 is bound to be partial and thus does not cover all the existing ones prior to that date. A recognition of this shortcoming, however, will only add strength to our argument below.

By my judgment, 268 out of a total of 2,239 in the 1964 Official General List of Simplified Characters[4] are quite 'unusual'. For lack of a better term, the label 'unusual' is here used to denote four situations:

(2.1) The character would be completely unfamilair to me if it were not listed,
(2.2) I would not be able to equate the character to a complex one without an appropriate context,
(2.3) I am likely to give the character a meaning other than the one for its corresponding complex form, and
(2.4) I am familiar with the character, but do not use it in my own handwriting.[5]

In our later discussion, the 'unusual' characters will be grouped accordingly. These 268 characters thus seem to be qualified for the label 'innovation'.

The above figures easily point to another undeniable fact, i.e. in actuality, at least 88% of the officially approved

simlified charactes had already been in existence long before the movement started. This large number of popular forms of characters obviously were later blessed with official sanction to become entries on the General List.

The next questions that we might ask are then: How systematic are the characters in terms of their manner of simplification? Is there any difference in systematicity between the innovated ones and those that were adopted from popular use?

3. How Systematic Are the Simplified Characters?

The 268 characters, as innovations, might well be expected to be quite systematic in the reduction of the numbers of their strokes. And, indeed, they are. The following table is a breakdown of the number of characters in each mode of simplification (as mentioned in Section 2), cross-classified by the 'unusual' groups the characters belong to.

TABLE I: Modes of Simplification for Innovated Characters

	Modes of Simplification			
'Unusual' Groups	Part for Whole	Simpler/New Phon. Sign	Homophone Sub	Other
1. Completely Unfamiliar				
a. Individual Words	18	21		9
b. With Derivatives	14	9		12
2. Unable to Equate to Complex Ones	5		3	
3. Meaning Assigned Other Than Intended	3	1	6	1
4. Familiar But Not Used in Handwriting	5	5	2	2
Total	45	36	11	24

The grand total of the characters in the table is only 116, which is far short of the above mentioned 268. The reason is that a character derivable from another is not counted, e.g. 广, 黉, etc. are subsumed under 扩 for 灿 and thus not counted. The 35 simplifications under 1.b in Table I therefore actually account for about 150 individual characters.

From the figures in Table I, it is easy to realize that innovated simplified characters are mostly regular and systematic except for the 24 under the category 'Other'. These 24 less

regular ones are listed in (3.1) below:

(3.1) 灿 for 燦, 尘 for 塵, 邓 for 鄧, 队 for 隊, 汉 for 漢, 仅 for 僅, 垒 for 壘, 阴 for 陰, 昼 for 晝, 仑 for 侖, 尝 for 嘗, 仓 for 倉, 圣 for 聖, 万 for 萬 (only in combination with radicals, e.g. 厉 for 厲, 迈 for 邁), 导 for 導, 卖 for 賣, 兰 for 蘭 or 闌, 卢 for 盧, 农 for 農, 岂 for 豈, 发 for 發, 买 for 買, 凤 for 鳳, 刍 for 芻 (only in some of its derivations, such as 鯡)

Among the 24, some are ancient forms, e.g. 仑 and 凤; some others are derived from popular forms for other characters, e.g. 乡 from 邻 for 鄰. Still others seem to be semantically motivated, e.g. the 月 'moon' in 阴 and the 旦 'day or daybreak' in 昼. Most of them, however, are arbitrary, e.g. 邓, 仑, 尝, 导, 圣, 兰, 岂, etc. But all together, they ony constitute less than 10% of the total innovated simplified characters and do not argue against the overall regularity of the entire class.

Turning to those directly adopted from existing forms, which are much larger in number, we find it not feasible to do the same kind of analysis, i.e. by grouping them into modes of simplification and comparing the number of each mode. But the overall impression is that many of them are also systematically simplified since in many cases what is involved in the simplification are the radicals, such as in (3.2).

(3.2) 讠 for 言, 车 for 車, 钅 for 金, 纟 for 糸, 马 for 馬, 贝 for 貝, 门 for 門, 饣 for 食, 龙 for 龍, etc.

There is, however, a great amount of confusion among many sets of characters. A well-known example is the overuse of the sign 又 in more than a half dozen sets of characters, which are not related in any sense. These sets are given below in (3.3)-(3.9).

(3.3) 又 = 雚 as in 欢 (歡), 观 (觀), 劝 (勸), 权 (權)

A question related to this set is: What would 鸛 and 灌 be?

(3.4) 又 = 堇 as in 叹 (嘆), 仅 (僅), 艰 (艱), 难 (難) (But note that 欢 is not the simplified form of 歎.)

(3.5) 又 = 寸 as in 对

(3.6) 又 = 登 as in 邓

(3.7) 又 = 奚 as in 鸡 (But note that 难 is not the simplified form of 雞.)

(3.8) 又 = 虍 as in 戲

(3.9) 又 = 鳥 as in 凤 (Note that 風 is simplified to 风.)

This overuse of an arbitrary sign, though contributing nothing to inconsistency, is at least suspect in promoting the characters as an efficient system of signs.

We will discuss the simplified characterrs as an internally consistent system by giving examples to illustrate their relations or non-relations in the next section.

4. Internal Consistency as a System---How Some Characters Are (Un)related

Chinese speakers are often asked how it is possible to learn to read Chinese which consists of thousands of separate symbols. The obvious fallacy of the question is that the symbols are regarded as independent of each other. As a matter of fact, nobody learns each character independently of all others. As most of them are related in one way or another, they can be learned by association. Relations between characters therefore constitute a main cohesive force to make them into an integral whole, i.e. a cohesive system. Such relations are mainly of two kinds: semantic and phonetic. Many simplificatins are based on semantic relations, for example:

(4.1) 阴，阳，众，队，昼，etc.

But a much larger number of them are rather based on phonetic relations:

(4.2) 让，穷，审，胜，厅，态，虾，苹，辽，历，诂，剧，
进，洁，护，华，毕，极，舰，吨，炽，灯，朴，etc.

In the following, some examples will be given to show how such relations and others are not consistently observed. As a result, some confusion is created, at least in matters of rationalization, if not in matters of instruction.

A. The symbol 尤 is used for 龍 in all its combinations, thus representing not only the pronunciation of [long] as in (4.3), but also six other pronunciations as in (4.4).

(4.3) [long]: 尤，聋，垄，眬，珑，栊，陇

(4.4) [gong]: 龚；[xi]: 袭；[kan]: 龛；[chong]: 宠；
[pang]: 庞；[shuang]: 泷

This is an example of not being able to break away from the traditional orthography where the relationship between the characters sharing the same sign has already been obliterated.

B. A similar example concerns the sign 万 to replace 萬 in all instances. Thus, it is used to represent quite a few pronunciations while the characters sharing the same sign have no semantic relations between them, as given in (4.5).

(4.5) [wan]: 万 ; [mai]:迈 ; [li] 厉 ,励 ,蛎; [dun]: 厓 ; [chai]: 歪

C. A third example is the symbol 只 in cases where it represents three different pronunciations, as in (4.6).

(4.6) [zhi] 只 (=祇or隻),炽,职 ,织; [shi]:识 ; [ji]:积

D. A worse case concerns the symbol 云 . Its replacement of portions of several different characters creates some similar forms which might be expected to have similar, if not identical, pronunciations. They are, however, pronounced quite differently, as shown in (4.7) below:

(4.7) [yun]: 云 ,运,酝; [tan]: 坛 (=壇or罈); [ceng]:层 (=層); [chang]:尝 (=嘗),偿 (=償)

The use of this sign seems to have been adopted from random creation by popular practice without serious consideration of its consequences.

E. In quite a few cases, an unnecessary new symbol is created or adopted to replce a common complex one in some characters but not in others that have the same complex symbol. They are illustrated in (4.8)-(4.14).

(4.8) 亲 for 親, but 衬 for 襯

(4.9) 沈 for 瀋 , but 审 for 審 and all its derivatives

(4.10) 贝 for 貝 and all its derivatives except for 买 (=買) and 卖 (=賣), where the bottom part would easily be identified with the character 头 'head'

(4.11) 踊 for 踴, but 勇 itself remains the same

(4.12) 灯 for 燈 and 打 for 橙, but 登 itself remains the same

(4.13) 脏 for 臟 or 髒, and 贓 for 贓, but 藏 itself remains the same

(4.14) 庄 for 莊 , but 壮 for 壯

If the cases in (4.8)-(4.10) are justifiable, then there is no reason why more than one symbol should not be used in (4.3)-(4.7), where different pronunciations call for separate representations in spite of the same 'roots' in terms of historical development. In (4.11)-(4.14), if the complex symbols in question are retained anyway, then the simplifications only save a few strokes without contributing to the consolidation of the relationships between the characters.

F. Some simplified characters with the same phonetic sign have

more than one pronunciation, such as in (4.15) and (4.16).

(4.15) 纤 is pronounced [qian] for 縴, but is pronounced [xian] for 纖 as in 纤维.

(4.16) 吓 is pronounced [xia] except in 恐吓 where it is pronounced [he].

G. Many phonetic signs are used for dialectal pronunciations rather than the Mandarin or Putonghua pronunciations. That is, the characters represented by the same phonetic sign happen to have the same pronunciation in some dialect but different pronunciations in Mandarin or Putonghua. Examples of this nature are given in (4.17)-(4.20) below.

(4.17) 价 [jia] for 價; 阶 [jie] for 階

(4.18) 惊 [jing] for 驚; 琼 [qiong] for 瓊

(4.19) 阴 [yin] for 陰; 钥 [yao] for 鑰

(4.20) 巨 is pronounced [ju], but is used in 柜 [gui] for 櫃

H. the complex form 盧 is represented by two different signs: 户 and 卢, as in (4.21) and (4.22).

(4.21) 庐, 炉, 芦, 驴

(4.22) 卢, 泸, 垆, 栌, 颅, 鸕, 胪, 鲈, 舻, 轳

This happens perhaps because the four graphs in (4.21) had already been used for sometime before 1954. To use the same sign 户 for those in (4.22), however, would have created a situation where would represent both 户 [hu] itself and 盧 [lu] and where 沪 would represent both 滬 [hu] (which had been in popular use for a long time as a shortened name for Shanghai) and 瀘 [lü].

5. Conclusion

In this short study, we have shown that a large number (88%) of the simplified characters in the official list were adopted from those which had already been in popular use before the implementation of the simplification movement. It is therefore inevitable that the language reformers yielded to the pressure of popular practice more than they adhered to principled means of simplification. Of the ten patterns (or modes) of simplification deduced by Wang (1955), only the adoption of a new phonetic sign (cf. 1.8) and the replacement by a simpler sign (cf. 1.5) could potentially add internal consistency to the characters as a system. We have thus examined cases where these two modes of simplification are involved. To our disappointment, in no case has the simplification helped make the characters form a more consistent system.

In this initial stage of language reform, attention seems to have been centered on the reduction of the number of strokes. It is hoped that the problems brought up in this paper will lead to more serious discussion about the characters not as separate individual entities, but as members of an internally consistent system.

NOTES:

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Conference on Linguistic Modernization and Language-Planning in Chinese-Speaking Communities, in Honolulu, Hawaii, September 7-13, 1983. I am grateful for the comments that I received at the Conference, though I didn't necessarily incorporate all of them in this version. I would also like to thank the editor of this volume for his valuable editorial comments.

1. Confer Chen (1977).

2. For controversies over simplified characters as an educational tool, see Cheng (1977 and 1978); Tzeng, Garro and Hung (1977); Tzeng, Hung and Garro (1978); and Leong (1977).

3. The author has since been visiting PRC and reading newspapers and books printed in simplified characters. He perhaps would not be as qualified to make such judgments today as he was in 1983 when this paper was first written.

4. According to Guangming Ribao, May 10, 1973, the total number of simplified characters in the General List is 2,238. But my count has one more.

5. For a classification of the 268 'unusual' characters, see Appendix.

6. There are other similar cases, such as, [qi] for 岂 (=豈), 棨; [ai] 皑; [kai] 嵦; [wei] 硙; and [hua] 华, 桦; [ye] 烨, 晔. But as they do not involve commonly used characters except the first one in each of the multi-member sets, we will not discuss them.

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APPENDIX

268 Characters That Are 'Unusual' to the Author

1. The characters would be completely unfamilar to me if it were not listed in the General List:

A. Individual Characters:

a. Part for Whole (18):坝for 壩;币 for 幣;余for 餘;粪for 糞;奋for 奮;讲for 講;开 for 開;亏 for 虧;灭 for 滅;穷 for 窮;伞for 傘;习 for 習;阳for 陽;凿 for 鑿;夺for 奪;痈 for 癰;涩for 澀;汇for 匯 and 彙

b. Simpler Phonetic Sign (21): 窜 for 竄;彻for 徹;迟 for 遲;递for 遞;吓 for 嚇;护 for 護;极for 極;舰for 艦;进for 進;窍 for 竅;让for 讓;认 for 認;胜for 勝;态for 態;厅 for 廳;虾 for 蝦;宪 for 憲;跃for 躍;运 for 運;酝for 醞;钻for 鑽

d. Other (9):灿for 燦;尘 for 塵;邓for 鄧;队for 隊;汉 for 漢;垒 for 壘;昼 for 晝;阴 for 陰;仅 for 僅

B: Characters with Derivatives or in Combination with Other Signs:

a. Part for Whole (14):产 for 產;从for 從;⺕ for 帚 (as in扫);广 for 廣;丬 for 將;业 for 業;卩 for 節 (as in疖);艮 for 艱;虑for 慮;肃 for 肅;寻 for 尋;乡 for 鄉;严 for 嚴;厌 for 壓

b. Simpler or New Phonetic Sign (9): 毕 for 畢;勾 for 冓 (as in构);华 for 華;历 for 歷; 了 for 尞 (as in辽); 千 for 牽 (as in纤),䙴(as in 迁), and 韱 (as in歼); 月 for 龠 (as in钥); 乙 for 意 (as in

亿); 用 for 雍 (as in拥) and 雝 (as in痈)
d.Other (12): 仑 for 侖; 仓 for 倉; 尝 for 嘗; 圣 for 聖; 多 for 匆 (as in葱) 万for 萬 (in combination with other signs); 导for 導; 卖for 賣; 兰 for 闌; 卢for 盧; 农for 農; 岂for 豈

2. I would not be able to equate the character to a complex one without appropriate context:

a. Part for Whole (5): 巩for 鞏; 竞for 競; 夸 for 誇; 岭for 嶺; 淮 for 準
c. Homophonous Substitute (6): 沖 for 衝; 丑 for 醜; 卜 for 蔔

3. I am likely to assign a meaning other than the one intended:

a. Part for Whole: (3) 术 for 術; 向 for 嚮; 宁 for 寧
b. Simpler Phnoetic Sign (1):肼for 膦
c. Homophonous Substitute (6): 别 for 蹩; 迭 for 疊; 干 for 幹; 借 for 藉; 吁 for 籲; 折 for 摺
d. Other (1): 发 for 髮

4. I am familiar with but do not use in my own handwriting:

a. Part for Whole (5): 齿for 齒 (and its derivatives); 合 for 閤; 亩for 畝; 盘for 盤; 杀for 殺
b. Simpler Phonetic Sign (5):肤for 膚; 积for 積; 苹 for 蘋; 艺for 藝; 钟 for 鐘 (but not for 鍾)
c. Homophonous Substitute (2): 姜 for 薑; 只 for 衹
d. Other (2): 买 for 買; 凤for 鳳

The Teaching of Culture and the Culture of Teaching: Problems, Challenges, and Opportunities in Language Instruction

Let me begin this polemical excursion with a few accounts of actual incidents:

A native-born Chinese teacher of Chinese says to his American student, whose pronunciation of Chinese, even after years of instruction, leaves something to be desired: "When you go to China, please don't tell anyone who your teacher was. I would be embarrassed."

* * * * *

An American teacher of Chinese, with excellent linguistic skills and fluent Chinese, confident in his knowledge of Chinese culture, calls a native-born Chinese teacher of Chinese, to persuade him to leave the university he's teaching at to come work for him. This recruitment call is made to the office where the teacher is employed, not to his home. The Chinese receiving the call declines the offer politely, but he is barely able to suppress gales of laughter at the colossal insensitivity of the American-born "expert" on Chinese culture.

* * * * *

An Englishman has a falling out with a long-time Chinese collaborator on scholarly and philosophical subjects relating to China. In their acrimonious break-up, the Englishman says to the Chinese in exasperation: "You Chinese don't understand China at all -- only the English understand China."

* * * * *

I relate these stories because they embody certain complexities that need to be "sorted out" if we are going to understand what is true and what is false in each experience. The interesting thing about each anecdote is it contains both a salient truth and an outrageous lie.

In the first instance, there is no doubt that a native Chinese, upon hearing the agonizingly inaccurate accent of an American speaking Chinese, will not think very highly of the student's teacher, especially if that teacher were an ethnic Chinese. Conversely, he would be inordinately impressed by an American student speaking excellent Chinese, particularly if that student's teacher were not Chinese! These observations are unarguably true. What is outrageous about the story is that the Chinese teacher of Chinese has abnegated all responsibility as a teacher: given a conflict between viewing himself as a Chinese and as a teacher, he opts instinctively for his identity as a Chinese. His behavior as a teacher, however, is totally reprehensible: he puts his identity as a Chinese above his duties as a teacher. But his failure is greater than failing to correct the tones in his student's spoken Chinese.

In the second instance, the American teacher of Chinese is appropriately enterprising -- and typically American -- in seeking out the most qualified instructors for his faculty; he shows a devotion to the field in wanting to improve his institution's instructional resources, attracting the best teacher he can find. He has certainly been authentic to his own culture by approaching the recruit in a forthright and direct manner. In the United States, it is not uncommon to receive

"feelers" from prospective employers from a rival university at the offices of the very university being raided. In America, "All's fair in love and war." That much is true. But what is outrageous is that someone who professes an intimate knowledge of Chinese culture should be so ignorant of the mindset of his coveted recruit, whose cultural underpinnings are, after all, Chinese. Whatever the interest of the recruit in the proffered opportunity, he will be embarrassed to discuss it on the very telephone lines of the institution that he might be in the process of "betraying." The interesting thing is that an American would consider an approach to the office open and above board; an approach to the recruit at his home, on the other hand, an American would regard as sneaky and underhanded. A Chinese, on the other hand, would consider the contact at home appropriately discreet and reassuring, whereas the contact at the office he would find compromising and morally incriminating.

The Englishman in the third story is, of course, right in a sense. There are some ways in which a native cannot understand what a non-native understands. Unless we are trained linguists, we often cannot explain why certain oddities exist in our native language (try explaining to a student of English why it is -- as Richard Lederer, in his amusing book, Crazy English, points out -- that we "park in the driveway and drive in the parkway"; why is it that we don't park in the parkway and drive in the driveway? Why is it that a person who has "hair" [singular] on his head has more hair than someone who has "hairs" [plural] on his head). When confronted with such conundrums, we resort to the useful generic non-explanation: "I don't know why, but that's just the way it is." It is by now a truism that natives become so accustomed to a culture's conventions that they can no longer see its peculiarities. But what is outrageous about the Englishman's claim, that only the English can understand China (and I can assure you that he is not the only Englishman who believes this), is the inference that the Chinese are preternaturally ignorant and incapable of understanding their own native culture. To be sure, natives who do not reflect on their own culture systematically, who are not trained analytically in anthropology, cross-cultural psychology, or linguistics, don't have the foggiest idea about their own culture as subject matter. But this would be as true of English natives as Chinese natives. If what the Englishman said is true -- that only the English can understand the Chinese, one might entertain the equally outrageous yet plausible claim that "only the Chinese can understand England"! What is outrageous about the Englishman's claim is his insistence that a native, by virtue of her being native, is incapable of understanding his own culture. I trust I don't need to comment on the implied superiority of Englishmen.

These anecdotes highlight some conflicts and problems that I would like to examine reflectively in what is to follow. I want to understand what these encounters mean: why they are so upsetting, and what solutions -- what insights -- one can find to the questions they pose.

In times past, to find someone to teach a foreign language, the obvious thing to do was to hire a foreigner, if you were fortunate enough to find one. If it was to teach French, one hired a Frenchman or Frenchwoman, and what one got was a native, someone who knew the language to be taught. His or her authority lay

solely in his or her nativity. In the case of rarely taught languages, given the shortage of available authentic natives, there was not a great deal of choice. The consequences of this all too familiar scenario -- for the individuals hired, for the students taught, and for the institutions that engaged in these practices -- was frustration, misunderstanding, failed expectations. The individuals hired were treated as "resident foreigners", not as professionals, and they were paid accordingly. Subconsciously, institutions asked themselves: how much of an achievement can it be to be native? It is not, after all, as difficult as learning to be a surgeon or becoming a scientist. Everyone, after all, is native to some culture or other. Why should they be paid very much for merely being native? The students taught suffered because, even when many of them came to be fond of their often charmingly authentic native teachers, most of them somehow failed to internalize the lessons of language learning. A great deal of painstaking effort, on the part of student and teacher, was wasted. And finally, the institutions that engaged in these practices are disappointed when they discover they did not get what they were looking for: students who could use these languages after their course of instruction.

The situation is now changing. Although the demand for instructors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean has increased dramatically in the last ten years, that demand, in many cases if not all, has been exceeded by the supply of natives available to teach these languages. This population is further augmented by the significant numbers of non-native students of these languages who have completed their training and who are vying with natives for teaching positions. It is clear that merely being native is no longer sufficient -- as it was years ago. Even so, particularly at the high school level in less populated and less cosmopolitan areas, the supply of natives available is not sufficient, and it is difficult for local boards of education to attract non-resident, non-native teachers; having spent nearly a decade to acquire command over the language, these recent graduates are, understandably, reluctant to relocate in these sparsely populated areas, where the opportunity to use and to practice their hard-earned language skills, to say nothing of enhancing their professional dossier, is minimal.

It is time, I think, to take stock of the situation. And some of the major issues raised by changes in the profession revolve around the question of culture, the teaching of culture, and its obverse -- a neglected subject that deserves more attention: the culture of teaching.

What is it that is taught when we teach culture? Are we asking the students to imitate the teacher? The answer is both yes and no -- which is the source of the confusion. All language is taught and learned imitatively, because infants have neither the intellectual skills nor the memory to learn any other way. So, when we teach students a foreign language, we ask them to imitate the way we speak, the way we pronounce, the way we gesture. This quite natural dependency on imitation as the method of teaching is indispensable, but in teaching culture, imitation can be a pitfall: far from being the mode of learning, it can be a hugely inauthentic, disconcerting charade. When we teach an American student Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, are we asking them to become Chinese, Japanese, or Korean? In the sense that we want them to think as if they were Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, our answer

must be yes: we want them to become like natives of the language they are studying. And, quite naturally, native language teachers hold themselves up as models to emulate.

The trouble with this attitude is that some native teachers of a foreign language regard themselves as a standard by which to find all their students deficient. They acquire what I call the arrogance of the native. Do we really intend that American students be mistaken for Chinese, Japanese, or Korean? Do we want them to give up their American identity in order to become -- made over as it were -- into Chinese, Japanese, or Korean? The answer is emphatically no, even if it were possible. The most successful learners of language do not impersonate a native, they are very much themselves; what they have done is to enlarge their identities to include another personality; they have "naturalized" a foreign discourse.

I suspect that much of the resistance to the proficiency movement among native teachers of language is that they view it as an assault by non-natives on the authenticity of their own culture. The Englishman in my third anecdote reminds us how sensitive we are about our cultural identity. One would not be human if one weren't in some sense offended at the prospect of a judgment by a non-native, or by some other impersonal measure, as to how "authentic" one's own native culture is. But the issue is not to measure whether one is or is not an authentic Chinese, Japanese, or Korean: the issue is how effectively an instructor transmits to a non-native what he knows about the language which he acquired natively. The culture of teaching demands that he put aside his personal cultural identity to assess the pedagogical results. Even so, it is difficult for a native teacher to appreciate why a non-native might be more successful in transmitting the language and culture to non-native students. That proposition strikes a very tender nerve: it's virtually like admitting that "only Englishmen can understand China." This is where the confusion between the area of expertise and one's native background is mischievous. No one has problems judging between a good or bad teacher of physics: it is irrelevant what the native culture of the teacher is, whether Indian or English or German. An Indian who is a good teacher of physics could be an authentic or inauthentic exponent of Indian culture. The two concerns are totally unrelated logically. Good Indians don't necessarily make good physicists; and good physicists don't necessarily make good Indians. But, when we deal with instructors of foreign languages in which he or she is native, there is an inevitable psychological connection. My former colleague, Richard S. Y. Chi, who passed away five years ago, was a linguist, a Buddhist scholar, a philosopher, a calligrapher: he knew Chinese culture both analytically and intuitively. But, by his own admission, he was a poor language teacher. He was secure enough as a Chinese, and as a successful scholar, to recognize that fact. He did not confuse his identity as a Chinese with his competence as a teacher of Chinese.

The human and personal response by any native teacher of a language to a student who works very hard at learning the language must be encouragement: what better encouragement and reward than conferring on that student the highest grade? Yet professional responsibility requires that an impersonal judgment be made on the student's command of the language. One of the most poignant dilemmas for good language teachers is the hard-working but unsuccessful student;

does one reward the effort? Or does one judge the proficiency? Students somehow believe that hard work -- whatever the results -- should be rewarded. My own response as a teacher is to cite the reality principle: not all hard work is recognized, nor does all hard work bear fruit. My responsibility is to encourage hard work, but unfortunately hard work does not always produce the best results.

In this regard, I believe that standardized proficiency tests, either the written tests or the ACTFL-sponsored oral tests, can free the classroom teacher to use the grades more flexibly. I often considered the possibility of suggesting to Institute instructors a grade based solely on effort, regardless of progress -- or a combination of effort and achievement as a basis for a grade. Doubtless, some of you explicitly or implicitly employ some such criteria.

The culture of foreign language teaching involves due consideration of both the student's culture and the teacher's; the culture of foreign language teaching reminds us that native teachers are not, by the very nature of their nativity, inevitably superior as teachers; the culture of foreign language teaching requires a distinction between the native language teacher offering himself as an example of the culture and offering himself as the model of his native culture. The culture of foreign language teaching regards teaching as an acquired skill, not as a natural endowment: one's success as a teacher depends on instinct, skill, and sensitivity, not on the place of one's birth.

The learning of culture does not always depend on the effort invested. I know colleagues who know a great deal about Chinese history and Chinese literature, who don't have any sense of what Chinese culture means. I can count on the fingers of one hand the American scholars of Chinese who truly understand the essence of Chinese culture. Clearly, the American teacher of Chinese in my second story, the one who called at the office, knew nothing of the essence of Chinese culture. The facts of culture -- dates, history, names, texts, words -- these can be enumerated, which is why so many language courses measure levels by the number of words "covered" in a semester -- whatever that means. But does merely memorizing a list of historical facts, and recognizing a number of cultural artifacts, constitute functional command of a language or an authentic understanding of its traditions?

As difficult as it is for students to learn these uncommonly taught languages, I think we sometimes make it even more difficult. In the East Asian Summer Language Institute one year, an instructor accustomed to teaching beginning Chinese assumed control of an advanced Chinese course. All summer long, what the students learned -- to everyone's dismay -- was what words and constructions covered in First- and Second-year Chinese they should have learned. Over and over again, the instructor in the Fourth-year Chinese class would tell her students in dismay, "This construction you should have learned in first- or second-year Chinese!" By the end of the summer, those fourth-year students became experts at identifying the words and phrases they had failed to learn in beginning Chinese. I've often wondered about the perverse burden placed on foreign language students -- not only do they have to learn the language, but they have to remember which words and which constructions were learned in which grades! Even a native doesn't have to do that. What that particular fourth-year instructor was teaching

was not Chinese culture, but the culture of teaching Chinese. Now, while this may be useful knowledge for the teacher, it is totally extraneous knowledge for the student.

In reading the students' evaluation of instruction at EASLI over the years, I have been struck -- particularly in the early years -- by how many students complained about the textbooks: it was clear that the time they did not devote to learning the language was spent on discovering the deficiencies in the textbooks. Indubitably, knowing the faults of each textbook is useful information for the teacher, but I cannot see how it can benefit the student. It may be naive, but wouldn't the time be better spent learning the language than struggling against this or that textbook or against the teacher who assigned the textbook? Students learning a language are presumably not enrolled in a school of education: they want to learn the language, not, presumably, how to teach the language. Yet, I daresay that most if not all of you have encountered students who are expert in how they should be taught languages. Students have wasted more time and concentration critiquing the ways of learning the language than in actually learning the language. Ask yourself how often you encounter this phenomenon: years after they have taken a language course students are voluble about the trials of learning that language; no one, however, is eager to use that hard-earned language in functional speech. Preposterous and familiar as these occurrences are , they nevertheless point to a lacuna in the language-teaching and language-learning process. These expressions of frustration, these evidences of failure, reflect a lack of attention on the part of instructors to "the culture of teaching."

What do I mean by "the culture of teaching"? First of all, although there are different traditions and approaches to teaching, I believe that teaching has its own culture appropriate to the enterprise -- depending on the subject, the setting, the environment. The American approach to teaching tends toward the egalitarian; the Asian approach to teaching tends toward the authoritarian. The American approach to teaching stresses analysis, discrimination, and discursive skills; the Asian approach to teaching tends toward rote memory, intuition, and emulation as modes of learning. Language teachers must employ both approaches. In the initial stages, rote memory, intuition, and emulation are stressed, but the teaching of grammar emphasizes analysis, discrimination, and discursive skills. The culture of teaching demands that the appropriate approach be used for the subject matter and for the student. American students are accustomed to ask why something is before they can internalize it; students brought up in Asian educational traditions are more emulative and less skeptical. Above all, for the foreign language teacher, the culture of teaching distinguishes clearly between one's responsibilities as a teacher from one's allegiances as a native. It is no longer enough for a person to be native in the foreign language being taught: if it were, there would be over a billion qualified teachers of Chinese, at least 120 million qualified teachers of Japanese, and more than 45 million qualified teachers of Korean. We must discard the myth that the native is the ultimate authority where foreign language teaching is concerned. The native <u>is</u> an authentic authority on the culture; he or she is not necessarily an authority on the <u>teaching</u> of that culture. Two years ago, the Hokkaido International Foundation recognized this distinction when they sent 17 native

Japanese to the United States to learn how to teach Japanese to non-Japanese. (Okutsu sensei, I am proud to say, was among this pioneering group.)

We are now fortunate enough to have good native and non-native teachers : that affords us the opportunity of clearly identifying those who are less than adequate, native or non-native. The good teacher recognizes not only that he is teaching culture, he is also imbued by the culture of teaching. What is remarkable is how many native teachers of foreign languages, without formal training, have become good teachers. But if there are many good teachers of foreign language who are native, it is certainly not true that all natives of a foreign culture are automatically adequate teachers of that language to non-natives. This brings us to some of the difficulties and confusions that trouble the profession of foreign language teaching: to say that a Frenchman is not a capable teacher of French is not to demean his authenticity as a Frenchman. We have no trouble accepting the fact that not every American is qualified to teach English; why should it be difficult to see that some foreigners are not qualified to teach their native language to non-natives?

The awkward thing is that there are some holdovers from previous generations who were "dragooned" by history into the profession, for (1) lack of something better to do; and (2) for lack of more professionally qualified teachers. These individuals are not to blame for the historical circumstance that led to their careers as language teachers, nor should they be penalized for the inherent misunderstandings among educators and institutions about the true character of language teaching. Furthermore, these very individuals have been victimized by the system: they have not been allowed to advance in the profession, their status has remained static for decades, and their remuneration has lagged behind their colleagues year after year. In a sense, they have been trapped by history. But, if we are sympathetic to their plight, we must also ask the level-headed question: what would they have been if they had remained in their native culture? The outstanding individuals would, of course, have distinguished himself whatever the circumstances. Others, however, if truth be known, would hardly have attained the exalted status of teacher if they had remained in their own countries. Whatever compassion one might have for these individuals, one has to recognize that, if the profession of teaching foreign languages is to be taken seriously, personal concerns cannot enter into evaluative judgments on instructional skills. We no longer have the luxury of permissive students who would tolerate deviations from professional standards as part of the eccentric charm of instruction in "difficult" languages.

Students today will no longer be as forgiving as they have been in the past. They will not be content merely to have had a pleasant time in a language course, and to receive a courtesy A; they will judge the instruction by how much they take away from the class and how much they actually are able to use. Yet, there are still vestiges of previous pedagogical malpractice. I was told of an incident at Middlebury some years ago, in which a student of Chinese (she had studied previously at Yale) could not keep up with the instruction at the fourth-year level at Middlebury. Far from being abashed at her own poor preparation, she vilified the instructor of the class, a native-born Chinese, with abusive and obnoxious reminders of the A's that she had received from her instructors at Yale. Clearly, this student not only hadn't

learned much Chinese, she didn't learn very much about Chinese culture either, nor about the traditional respect owed someone older who is also a teacher.

A similar story occurred in the first year of the East Asian Summer Language Institute: a student of Japanese came to tell me, after his first grades were in, that he didn't come to Indiana to get a B-. My response was simple: I said, "Oh, I'm so sorry, I thought your purpose in coming here was to learn Japanese!" Too many students forget what their objective is, which is to learn the language: the grade is merely a means that the teacher employs to help the student realize that objective. Whenever I encounter grade-mongering students, I am tempted to offer them a tee shirt with their transcript printed on it. I wonder how many of these I would sell. What does it mean, after all, to get A's in the study of a foreign language and not be able to function in that language? Wouldn't we be embarrassed if students who received A's in physics or mathematics could not "do" physics or mathematics?

The tendency to give out A's generously is particularly common among native teachers in the older generation, particularly teachers of so-called "uncommon" languages like Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. Before we pass judgement on this group as academically irresponsible, we must reflect on the motivation behind such seeming generosity. There are two reasons behind this grade inflation: one practical, one psychological. In the days when the enrollments in courses on these rarely taught languages were small, the prospect of an easy A was one inducement to counteract the off-putting image of these forbidding languages. In a real sense, a liberal sprinkling of A's enhanced the prospects both of the same student continuing his studies, and of attracting other students to begin study of the language. The psychological reason is equally poignant and understandable. For an immigrant to see American students wrestling to acquire her native language must be a reassuring experience, especially in the case of such visible immigrants like Chinese, Japanese, or Koreans, who are often the victims of bigotry and prejudice, who are mocked and derided, and whose native language is often satirized in vulgar street-corner imitations. What a balm it must be, how consoling, for these immigrants to welcome American students into their classroom who, far from insulting them for the way they speak, revere them for their native ability in the language? Wouldn't it be difficult for such immigrants to repay the interest of such students with any grade less than an A? And what if the performance is substandard? The A can still be justified on the basis of the gesture made: the student had, after all, the good taste to choose the right language. And what of the prospect that the student might embarrass the teacher when he visits the country whose language he has been studying assiduously? No matter, the natives wouldn't expect an American student to speak their language at all, so any even minimal command will be impressive.

There is another vestige of earlier generations which we must address, and that involves the teaching of language and culture as intensely <u>social</u> activities. The days when solitary eccentrics picked up a "grammar" and mastered a language -- as Arthur Waley claims to have done with Japanese in six weeks -- are over. The mute language learners -- what a Princeton colleague of mine calls "language cripples" -- will not survive the end of this century. There is a whole generation of scholars for whom Chinese in its noblest form takes the guise of sinology, where an

incomprehensible original text is replaced by an even more incomprehensible and unreadable translation. The heirs of this tradition maintain -- as one student of Japanese at the Institute once insisted -- that no one (including natives) understood a sentence unless he had noted comprehensively the etymological history of each word in that sentence. I have decided, from anecdotal evidence, that when they write the sociology of sinology and of japanology they will discover that the least well-adjusted individuals of previous generations gravitated toward the study of rare languages. This is symbolized by an unforgettable experience a generation ago in a Harvard College Chinese class: the only non-Oriental in the class never bathed, never combed his hair, and attended class barefoot.

Over the years, despite the explicit warnings in the brochure and the application forms about the importance of interactive learning, some of these students have enrolled at the East Asian Summer Language Institute. I reflect now with bemusement on a skit that was performed by the Japanese School a few years ago, involving an alien, from Mars, making cutting remarks about Americans and about Japanese. Is it surprising that the student who assumed the role of the alien was a solitary, anti-social, enthusiast of etymology? I am happy to report that students of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean are getting more and more wholesome year by year. (At this summer's reception, my wife remarked with some optimism how normal the students looked: only one person appeared eccentric. "Who was that?" I said: "Describe him." After being told it was someone with a scraggly beard, a swarthy complexion, and long hair gathered at the back, I realized she was talking, not about a student, but about Kathy's husband.)

If we are to recognize the teaching of languages as a humanistic profession, we must take care to differentiate between our identities as natives and our identities as teachers; we must not confuse who we are with what we do. We are ethnically Chinese, American, Japanese, Korean, or whatever, but what we do is to teach these cultures.* There will be times when loyalty to what we are and what we do may be in conflict. But they needn't be if we remember that no one is paid to be native, just as no one is paid to breathe: that comes naturally, and is worthy of no special notice or reward. (Although frankly I have encountered too many people who are cultural nativist snobs: they can't get over the misfortune of others not being born into the culture which gave them birth.) What a teacher is paid to do is to understand and to respect the culture of teaching. The culture of language teaching is especially complex, for the good language teacher is both caring and critical, personable but not personal, social and interactive without being frivolous and flippant. The native foreign language teacher realizes that the culture he teaches has a particular personal significance for him, bred of familiarity, and internalized through habit: but while he recognizes the fact that this native endowment confers many advantages, it does not constitute supreme authority. The non-native teacher is compromised by an inevitable estrangement from the

* Even here, the situation is more complex than we realize. For some of us do not belong ethnically to any one culture, but rather to a combination of cultures: Chinese-American, Korean-American, Japanese-American.

culture he is teaching, but he has the advantage of seeing the difficulty of acquiring another language non-natively. Merely knowing what to teach is merely the beginning of the culture of teaching. The native teacher of a foreign language must never forget, tempted as she might be on occasion to forget it, that her job is not to create replicas of herself, for an authentic student of another language does not pretend to be what he isn't; the non-native teacher must also realize that his job is not to produce a pseudo-elite of exotic language speakers, which has nothing to do with education, and everything to do with pseudo-culture, like I-ching cultists and Zen aficionadoes and Mandarin-mongering collectors of orientalia. (I like to remind students who are smug about their command of Chinese that there are more than a billion Chinese who speak the language more fluently. Perhaps you encounter the same arrogance among successful learners of Japanese and Korean.) Culture, after all, is neither content -- as in history; nor skill -- as in mathematics, but a dynamic combination of both. Teaching culture is much more complex that teaching either history or mathematics, because it disconcerts our very sense of selfhood. It confuses what we know with what we are, which is why, in teaching as well as learning another language and culture, there must be pride, not arrogance; while one cannot afford an inferiority complex, still there must be a sense of humility.

I started off with a verbal mirror image, a clausal palindrome: the teaching of culture and the culture of teaching. That reflective doubling seems now symbolic of the paradoxes of language instruction. A good language teacher requires a deep personal commitment, yet that teacher must not confuse the personal with the professional. A good language teacher must spur his student to his best efforts, yet he must not hesitate to indicate the same student's deficiencies. A good language teacher cannot be judgmental about her students, because each student has the same right to quality instruction, yet at the same time she must be utterly fair and professional in assessing the progress of each student.

What I have tried to suggest is that, when we consider the problems and challenges of teaching culture, we might give some thought to the demands and the complexities of the culture of teaching.

Eugene Eoyang
East Asian Summer Language Institute
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Indiana University

THE CULTURE COMPONENT OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

Kyoko Hijirida University of Hawaii

Preface

Things Japanese in Hawaii was published in 1973 by the University Press of Hawaii. By writing the book, Dr. DeFrancis has contributed enormously to the resource materials that Japanese language teachers use in their language classrooms. One of the most frequently used materials is the article on "Girls' Day and Boys' Day" (DeFrancis, 1973:27-30). It explains everything you may want to know about the occasions such as explanations of the mochi shapes and their colors-hishi-mochi and kashiwa-mochi. I have read it every year around the time of the annual events, renewing the information for my students in the class. I have cherished *Things of Japanese in Hawaii* not only for its usefulness but also for its reminder of my professional development and the encouragement provided by Professor DeFrancis.

It was the summer of 1969 when I came to the Department of East Asian Languages at the University of Hawaii as an EPDA (Education Professions Development Act) fellow. Dr. DeFrancis, as a director of the program, guided the graduate student fellows who majored in Teaching Chinese and Japanese in their academic life at the campus. Besides learning language teaching skills, the fellows acquired the skill for surveying and reporting culture-related activities in the community through participation. We realized that languages and cultures are always preserved together among the various ethnic groups in Hawaii and they provide an added attraction for the community. Language teaching with culture, one of my continuing themes, has thus stemmed from the happy graduate student days spent with kind-hearted professors like Dr. DeFrancis. All the highly motivated fellows went to the language teaching field in various locations after receiving the graduate training diploma. I was one of the fellows who remained at the department to begin language teaching. The 1969 University of Hawaii EPDA program was the beginning of a long-term association with Dr. DeFrancis, and the starting point of my professional development with a deep awareness of the importance of incoroporating culture in the language class. Twenty years after the EPDA training, I am currently involved in the foreign language teacher education program at the College of Education at the university along with my regular language teaching. I have still pursued the theme of cultures as one of components of the effective language curriculum

With all those years of teaching behind me, I would like to present some of my own thoughts from the teacher's perspective about the cultural component of language teaching.

Curriculum Designs

Thinking of 'why to teach' (goals and objectives), 'what to teach' (teaching materials and content), 'how to teach' (teaching methods), and means of evaluation are important components of curricula. The teacher's plans, always with objectives to fulfill student needs including the why, the what, and the how and evaluation are essential to effective teaching. In planning the teacher must also consider the cognitive, psychomotor, and affective domains for students to develop, and how to effectively cover all the three areas in teaching-learning processes in the lesson. In foreign language study, culture complements all the three domains. Issues on teaching culture in foreign language classes in the area of instructional objectives, content, how to teach and evaluate should be discussed by penetrating the three-domain-perspective in education.

Goals and Objectives for Cultural Instruction

Leading advocates of teaching culture with foreign languages have identified goals and objectives for the culture components (Frances and Howard Nostrand 1970; Howard Nostrand 1978; H. Ned Seelye 1988; Omaggio 1986). H. Ned Seelye's seven goals are well known and have been the basis on which teachers may modify them to best suit their own classrooms. Seelye stated the students should be able to demonstrate that they have acquired certain understandings, abilities and attitudes in:

1. The Sense, or Functionality, of Culturally Conditioned Behavior. The student should demonstrate an understanding that people act the way they do because they are using the options the society allows for satisfying their basic physical and psychological needs.

2. Interaction of Language and Social Variables.
The student should demonstrate an understanding that social variables such as age, sex, social class, and place of residence affect the way people speak and behave.

3. Conventional Behavior in Common Situations.
The student should indicate an understanding of the role convention plays in shaping behavior by demonstrating how people act in common mundane and crisis situations in the target culture.

4. Cultural Connotations of Words and Phrases.
The student should indicate an awareness that culturally conditioned images are associated with even the most common target words and phrases.

5. Evaluating Statements about a Society.
The student should demonstrate the ability to evaluate the relative strength of a generality concerning the target culture in terms of the amount of evidence substantiating the statement.

6. Researching Another Culture
The student should show that he or she has developed the skills needed to locate and organize information about the target culture from the library, the mass media, people, and personal observation.

7. Attitudes toward Other Cultures.
The student should demonstrate intellectual curiosity about the target culture and empathy toward its people. (Seelye 1988:49-58)

Based on these seven goals, a group of U.S Japanese language teachers who enrolled in the course EDCI 641D, Seminar in Teaching Japanese for M.Ed. students, developed their seven objectives of teaching culture in the Japanese language class at the high school level. Then we asked for a group of teachers in Japan to rank the objectives in order of importance in teaching culture with Japanese language. (We plan to later compare the results of the surveys in Japan and the US to discover differences and similarities in their ratings.) The following are the results of the survey (rank in order of importance).

The goals and objectives of teaching culture in the Japanese language class are for the student to develop:

l) proficiency in communication in a culturally appropriate manner achieved by understanding the similarities and differences of both American and Japanese cultures;

2) an interest and empathetic understanding of value judgment, way of thinking, and lifestyle of the Japanese;

3) an enjoyment and enthusiasm for learning the Japanese language;

4) an understanding that social variables (such as age, sex, status, etc.) affect language use and behavior;

5) the ability to understand behavioral characteristics of the Japanese in conventional situations;

6) the ability to evaluate cultural generalities concerning Japanese culture;

7) an understanding and appreciation of the arts and cultural traditions of the people of Japan (such as kabuki, ikebana, calligrphy, etc.).

The survey results indicate that the teachers in Japan perceive cultural instruction as a contribution to develop the affective doman as well as knowledge and skill development. They also indicate that small c culture contexts (i.e. cultural behavior, customs, perceptions of reality shared by a cultual community) are more popular than big C culture (achievement culture, i.e. literature, art, music, etc.) as instructional content of culture. This reminds me of Eleanor Jorden's emphasis on so called 'acquired culture' rather than 'learned culture' in selection of cultural content for language teaching. (In her workshops conducted in March 1991 in Hawaii.) She pointed out that the use of language has more impact with the culture unconsciously acquired through being a native rather than that learned consciously.

Cultural Topics

In order to attain these instructional goals, culture topics should be carefully selected in accordance with the language lesson in progress as well as student needs and interests. Favorite topics for high school students chosen by the Japanese teacher group in the same survey are following areas (order of importance):

TOPICS	EXAMPLES
1. Daily Lifestyle:	Japanese house, shopping, clothes, transportation
2. School Life:	school system, teacher-student relationships, juku
3. Eating and Drinking:	restaurant, food, table manners, kissaten
4. Language and Culture:	keigo/in-group-outgroup, connotation,
5. Family Life:	role expectation: father, mother, children
6. Life Customs:	wedding, funeral, ettiguette, exchanging gifts
7. Attitude & Values:	formality/rituals, considerationfor others

8. Festivals/Annual Events: New Year's Day, flower- viewing,

9. Traditional Culture: Kabuki, Tea ceremony, flower arrangement

10. Business Life: company system and structure, decision making

11. Amusement: karaoke, pachinko, go, hanahuda, mahjong

In this selection of the cultural contents, factors such as relevancy to student needs, self to family to community, direction of the curriculum development, and the language lesson context are reflected. For example, at the high school level, comparison of the school life in both their own and the target cultures might be more appealing to the students than those at the college level, where they may place a greater interest in honorific expressions or in-group/out-group communication modes.

Instructional materials to teach about these topics are not readily available although some have been developed and published in the form of videos, films, books, or pictures. Teachers have been making an effort to collect pictures, realia, articles, newspaper ads, songs, etc. Therefore, lecture with videos, show and tell, or reading article and discussions are frequently used instructional techniques.

Teaching techniques

Teachers can make a world of difference in helping students increase empathy for greater cultural understanding. Equipped with a rich collection of culture teaching strategies and techniques to employ in their classroom, teachers can help to raise the students level of language consciousness and proficiency, and internalize language learning through culture. Teachers must focus on both appropriate content and learning activities that enable students to assimilate that content. Activities should encourage them to go beyond facts, so that they begin to perceive and experience vicariously the deeper levels of the culture of the speakers of the language (Rivers 1981: 324).

The history of Japanese language in a regular school curriculum in the United States is relatively short as compared to the longer tradition of European language instruction. Hence, many techniques and strategies have been developed for European language culture study. By adapting more of the available techniques, teachers can widen their selections of teaching methods and help students internalize the process of language learning through cultural interaction. The following is a list of 21 general techniques, jointly collected from various sources in my seminar class, for teaching culture. I include brief explanations of their usages.

TECHNIQUE	EXPLANATION
1. Lecture	Teacher presentation of material.
2. Show and tell	Items to share & explain to class.
3. Demonstration	Actual participation in the activity.
4. Field trips	First hand enrichment experience.
5. Bulletin board	Current events, or special occasion displays.

6. Songs and dance	Appealing to the young; breathes cultural life.
7. Role-Play	Authentically dramatize cultural behaviors.
8. Native informants	Visitors who can interact with students.
9. Cultural assimilators	Narrative with multiple choice answers illustrating a point of miscommunication.
10.Cultural minidramas	3 to 5 brief episodes of a cultural assimilator performed orally.
11.Culture capsules	One minimal difference in culture custom accompanied by realia.
12.Culture clusters	About 3 culture capsules integrated into a skit.
13.Taped interviews	Taped speeches of native speakers.
14.Video tapes	Provides natural, authentic linguistic exchanges, gestures, social distance, or eye contact on film.
15.Audio-motor unit	Commands which leicit a physical response from the students.
16.Identifying culturally conditioned behavior	Sensitizes students to contrasts and commonalities in conventional behavior in their own and the target culture.
17.Deriving cultural connotations	Helps students to associate culturally representative images of words.
18.Decreasing stereotypic perceptions	Helps students understand the dangers of unwarranted generalizations.
19.Artifact study	Discern cultural significance of unfamiliar objects.
20.Building empathy for a culture	Learn to explain the behavior and build empathy through knowledge.
21.Authentic reading materials	Authentic material used in bringing up culture poings with pre- and post-activities to evoke culture awareness

The common trend to date has been for Japanese language teachers to present culture in a lecture format with talks about festivals, and teacher's personal experiences; or show and tell; going on field trips; learning songs; studying bulletin board displays; or by showing slides and videos to share the Japanese culture. However, there have been some efforts to develop instructional materials by adapting some techniques listed above. Pioneering in the application of culture capsules in Japanese with simple audio tape recordings are Kazuyoshi Noguchi and Roger A. Van Damme (1985); and in cultural assimilators are Hiroko C. Kataoka with Tetsuya Kusumoto (1991).

A rich collection of culture teaching techniques can enhance the teacher-student/student-student interactive process and help students internalize their language learning. Internalization of language and culture is the key to further language proficiency, of which communication is its primary goal. I firmly believe that incorporating cultural elements will internalize language learning for better retention and increase effective communication, as well as provide motivation for language learning.

In this paper I have presented an overview of my idea and thoughts of the culture component of language teaching. As a foreign language teaching professional, I will continue to develop the cultural part of the curriculum, in the context of foreign language instruction. It is my dream that I will be able to follow the example that Dr. John DeFrancis has shown us, a long life filled with work of set purpose, joy, and happiness.

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Thinking About Prof.John DeFrancis

In the early nineteen eighties, I was surprised to learn that Professor John DeFrancis was an ardent supporter of Chinese language reform, in particular, the efforts in Chinese Romanization. Introduced to him by our mutual friend Prof. Zhou Youguang, a distinguished Chinese expert in the field of Chinese language reform, I visited Prof. DeFrancis during one of my transit stays in Honolulu. I called Prof. DeFrancis up and was invited to stay overnight in his hillside residence near the Manoa campus of the University of Hawaii. It was a modest but beautiful Japanese-styled two story single family house whose slope-facing sides were flanked by a garden, the centerpiece of which was a little Japanese rock garden with a small pond and perennial flowering plants of pink and red colors beside it. They appeared strikingly beautiful when contrasted with the prevailing greenness of the garden. Everytime I sat gazing out from the computer desk in front of a large latticed window facing the rock garden, I was mesmerized by the exquisite view and thought how lucky it would be to be able to live in such a pleasant environment in this age of environmental degradation. Later, I learned that Prof. DeFrancis himself was the mastermind behind much of the garden design and had been spending many hours every week to maintain and enhance its beauty. To substantiate my fond impressions of the beautiful house and garden, I am including herewith a few photos taken recently during my last visit on January 19 to 22, 1991. One photo shows the house with Professor's car in front of it. Another photo

is the view of the garden from the computer work area. Also included is a photo of Prof. DeFrancis sitting before a window.

In my discussions with Professor DeFrancis on the problems of Chinese language reform, I was very much impressed by his conviction and his keen academic insight concerning the desirability of a pinyin script for Chinese. He also emphasized that the tone problem has already been satisfactorily solved by using diacritical marks. He frequently points out that many Chinese tend to spend lots of time discussing and debating about the merits and demerits of a pinyin script, and the problems of homophones or homographs in the Chinese language. He believes that it is essential and more fruitful to find out the real problems through practice rather than indulging in theoretical discussions. The artificial difficulty of " shi shi shi..." humorously created by Professor Zhao Yuanren is rather irrelevant in actual language usage. Professor DeFrancis firmly believes that whatever problems may have been created for the Chinese phonetic script as a result of the long use of the Hanzi character system can eventually be overcome. What is needed is a will for creating such a script among the Chinese people, particularly among their leaders. He is disappointed to note that such a political will has been very weak, if not virtually absent in China.

Professor DeFrancis' panoramic knowledge in linguistics enabled him to prepare reputable textbooks on Chinese for college students. He has also written books

about languages and nationnalism, about the nature of the Chinese language and the history of the alphabetic writing systms. His writings extend beyond academic fields, as he recently told me that he had just finished a book about his travel adventures in China during the thirties. In the book entitled The Chinese Language--Fact and Fantasy (published by the U. of Hawaii Press), he eloquently refuted the widely held myth about Chinese being an ideographic writing system, which could somehow communicate meaning directly without resorting to sound, thus allegedly making it a suitable candidate for a universal script encompassing diverse languages.

Prof. DeFrancis classifies Chinese as an inefficient morphosyllabic script, rooted in the Chinese linguistic system. Hanzi not only are an unsuitable choice for a universal script, their monosyllabic form does a great disservice to the increasingly rich and essentially polysyllabic modern Chinese language. Instead of using a simple alphabet to build up the required 418 syllables of Putonghua, written Chinese requires many thousands of characters whose phonetic information has deteriorated through more than two thousand years of language change. DeFrancis was very much disturbed by the mistaken claim of Dr. Logan in his book entitled The Alphabet Effect that Chinese is a monosyllabic language. In a recently published book entitled Visible Speech, DeFrancis corrected Dr. Logan's erroneous assertion, refuted the notion of a picture-based ideographic script, and discussed in depth the classification of the writing systems of the world. Again the emphasis was on the

misclassification of the Chinese script as an ideographic script by famous western linguists and scholars. Although Chinese uses the same morphemic radical concept as employed by the Sumerians in their cuneiform script which fell into disuse more than three thousand years ago, Prof. DeFrancis believes that the two writing systems were invented independently. Unlike the Sumerian writing system which influenced the developments of other scripts in the Middle East,culminating in the invention of the Semitic alphabetic system, the Chinese writing system remained basically unchanged for more than two thousand years. Today, Chinese remains the only completely non-alphabetic writing system in the world.

All these academic debates seem to have a practical bearing on the general attitude towards the value of the Chinese writing system and the necessity and feasibility of its alphabetization. Personal communications between Prof. DeFrancis and myself have made me aware of his concept that all human languages are rooted in the ancient past, but some have evolved while others became fossilized, and those which have alphabetized are much more efficient. Just as Vietnamese, Korean and Japanese have recently (in the historical time scale) been alphabetized, Chinese need not be an exception. Professor DeFrancis is firmly convinced that it is possible to write Chinese alphabetically without Hanzi. I also would like to point out the fact that, in view of the increasing stability of the spoken languages as a result of advances in modern audio communication and recording technology, a newly created phonetic script will

enjoy a much better link with the spoken language after long lapses of time than was heretofore possible. After all, although we cannot hear the voices of our ancestors, people a thousand years from now will be able to hear our speeches. Judging from the decreasing role played by Hanzi in Korean and Japanese, and the fact that Hanzi are mainly sound based, albeit ineffectively, the claim of Hanzi as a candidate for a universal ideographic script is an unfounded myth or fantasy.

Prof. DeFrancis is a truly remarkable scholar who not only has mastered and taught the intricate Chinese language for more than 30 years but who has also been able to see through the limitations of the Chinese language and has been advocating reform for it, so that it can serve the Chinese people better. His humanitarian perception of the world transcends national interests. He most likely believes that what will benefit one fifth of mankind will benefit mankind as a whole, and is certainly worth his selfless devotion. I sincerely hope that more and more Chinese scholars will be inspired by his example and contribute more and more to the vital mission of Romanizing the Chinese language.

Apollo Wu
Translator, United Nations
May 19, 1991

我所認識的德先生(John DeFrancis) 之字

Chih-yu Ho

今年八月三十一日，德先生八十歲誕辰。據說他平日以做做菜、寫寫文章，超然自樂，享受着退休後的生活。有書可讀、有山水可以遊賞，怎麼能不雙鬢如白鶴。

回憶他自從老伴兒過世，遷居到曼城來，再回到康州邁迪森(Madison, Ct)清理他那溫馨典雅充滿書香的老屋，由於搬遷不便，使我們有幸獲得了他壁上的藏書，也裝點了我家的書卷氣氛；可是，慚愧得是那些本來是目不暇賞的寶藏，却至今束之高閣。因為沒有德先生那麼多才，他能使用多種語言文字。以致俄文、日文等書籍更只好聽其塵封了。

提起與德先生相識，是遠在二十多年以前，當時大陸竹幕低垂，在中國以外地區，有志於探索中國情況的人，以及熱衷於中國語文學習的人日多一日。但苦於無法得到大陸詳確的資料與信息，不僅文學、語言發展的趨勢諱莫如深；文字的簡化、語法的變革、詞彙的取捨等等，都是從事中國語文教學者最大的困擾問題。德先生當時正執教於耶魯大學，為了他那語文教學的經典之作——初級漢語開始的一系列教材

所需要的補充讀物。德先生囑我編寫了白毛女與紅色娘子軍兩本小册。前者不足四十頁，後者剛好三十頁。是為了能操縱四百八十個或已熟識了五百六十個漢字的學生參考使用。取材的內容是當時風靡大陸的大型歌劇。這兩本書自一九六五年開始計劃，到一九七六，七七年才發行。遲遲付印，正是因為德先生要求這類輔助教材編寫一定要嚴謹。提到這裡，不由不對德先生教授外國語文的理想與方法說幾句感言。

德先生教學宗旨，一直站在學生立場。他考慮學生學習過程中的心理因素；因為學生能吸收多少，是隨不同程度與不同背景而改變。這真是一個為人疏忽的問題。

以教師來說，德先生的教學法與教材，對有經驗的教師來說，會覺得是「進而彌高、探而愈深」的豐富寶藏。

如果沒有長時期的教學體驗，往往會覺得德先生的教學理想與教材使用起來進度太慢，大不如一些其他教材每日一課，可以一瀉千里，即容易滿足學生的成就感，又容易抓獲學生的學習興致。

每見到一些教材，以文法規則來說，寫一個規則

的例句，又同時舉出兩百個規則以外可能出現的例句，固然把教材的著者學識之淵博傾囊表現，但是以一位一年級生吸收的能力，與高年級生的吸收能力相較，這兩百個不合規則的意外例句，除了驚擾之外，足以使初學者喪胆。德先生的教材中特別關注到這一點。

猶深深記得，為了證實我的口、筆不失標準中國語文的要求，德氏伉儷曾駕車自耶魯到波士頓附近小鎮我家，以半日的時間親自跟我討論編寫的規則。自那時起開始收集資料動筆，以白毛女這一小冊來說：故事用字只限於 Beginning Chinese Reader 及 Intermediate Chinese Reader 的第一至第六課所學習過的漢字。句法、詞彙、一字一句的推敲，改了又改。而最後到選擇插圖又遇到了抄寫的問題，因為當時排版印刷簡體字，根本不可能。而抄寫更是一遍又一遍的校正，既要顧及版面的清爽賞目，又要為於加注閱讀，而更要一次一次縮短篇幅。簡體字與時代題材就這樣介紹過來。

一九七三年，大陸語言學者及教師應邀來美作初次訪問，由朱德熙教授率團，當時團中一位品如於先

生，也就是後來北京語言學院院長。曾提出在大陸現在不使用女字旁的"妳"而只用"你"。這百宏一琉仍是基於對大陸的了解不夠。

記得他們一團曾去哥倫比亞大學參觀中文教學。又因為對德先生這些教材的成績非常欣賞，所以建議再繼續出版些類似的小冊子。

於是再着手編寫的有：劉胡蘭的小故事，黃河飛渡、石莊的兒童圖等題材，雖德先生一度在法國，我們彼此商量、更改、打寫的稿子寄遞頻繁。但因中美兩國往來已方便，而這些的容多已失時，因之未再印行。而德先生鼓勵我們對某些問題作深入研究而寫書出書，他的支持由他為我們 *Studies of Chinese Language Structures* 之序言中可見。這書校樣本已印出多年，最近才由外語教師學會（American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages）出版，就算是我們致贈給德先生的壽禮了。不想自己因德先生的介紹捲入了語言方面研究的圈地。

德先生的弟子不下千百人，我國古學者袁宏道曾說過，講學者多「有口如河」。可是德先生却不縵不績。任憑離開他多遠多久，也難忘他那控制適宜，組

織精密，無不以學生學習之心理過程而施教的教學方法。以及他那種工作之嚴緊與誨人之風度。

德范克教授八秩壽誕

語言權威 青年師長

文化橋梁 人人敬仰

辛未

楊富森  恭祝

德范先教授八秩壽辰誌慶

您不但是語言學的權威

您也是青年學生的師長

為了中美兩國之間的互諒

您做了文化交流的橋梁

一九九一年 楊富森 敬賀

A translation of the quadrisyllabic poem:

On Professor DeFrancis' Eighteth Birthday

Linguistic authority　　Young people's teacher
A cultural bridge　　Everyone admires
The (Chinese) year Xinwei　　Presented by Yang Fu-sen

A translation of the vernacular poem:

On Professor DeFrancis' Eightieth Birthday

You are not only an authority on linguistics,
You are also young people's teacher;
For promoting mutual understanding between China and America,
You have become a cultural bridge.
1991　　Presented by Yang Fu-sen (Richard Fu-sen Yang)

Announcement

One of Professor DeFrancis' most significant contributions has been his effort to make more people aware of the true nature of the Chinese writing system, *viz.*, that it is phonetically based and not some arcane, magical set of symbols conveying meaning without reference to language (however *that* might be possible!). In recent years, his two books, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* and *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems*, have served to clarify Chinese writing in lively prose easily accessible to the layman.

Professor DeFrancis' analysis set me to pondering how students of Mandarin Chinese might be systematically helped along the path to familiarity with the various phonetic elements that occur fairly frequently in the Chinese graphicon. Eventually I and a Chinese colleague developed a computer application, written in HyperCard 2.0 to run on the Macintosh, that begins to address this pedagogical problem. Users of the program are invited to browse through phonetic families of characters, investigating similarities and differences in their pronunciation.

The program also allows the user access to example words that include the character in question, and the characters' individual Pinyin spellings and definitions are also available at the click of the mouse. Characters are not only accessible via their phonetic family, but also individually though English and Pinyin indexes. The application includes as well an "edit" mode that allows the end user to add individual characters or even whole phonetic families to the application. *Exploring Chinese Phonetics* will be available at minimal cost in November, 1991. Anyone interested in acquiring a copy may write to me.

I and my co-developer are greatly indebted to Professor DeFrancis for the inspiration provided by his two books, and for the loan of various materials on the topic of Chinese phonetics.

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Previous Issues

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
1	Nov. 1986	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	The Need for an Alphabetically Arranged General Usage Dictionary of Mandarin Chinese: A Review Article of Some Recent Dictionaries and Current Lexicographical Projects	31
2	Dec. 1986	Andrew Jones *Hiroshima*	The Poetics of Uncertainty in Early Chinese Literature	45
3	March 1987	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	A Partial Bibliography for the Study of Indian Influence on Chinese Popular Literature	iv, 214
4	Nov. 1987	Robert M. Sanders *University of Hawaii*	The Four Languages of "Mandarin"	14
5	Dec. 1987	Eric A. Havelock *Vassar College*	Chinese Characters and the Greek Alphabet	4
6	Jan. 1988	J. Marshall Unger *University of Hawaii*	Computers and Japanese Literacy: Nihonzin no Yomikaki Nôryoku to Konpyuta	13
7	Jan. 1988	Chang Tsung-tung *Goethe-Universität*	Indo-European Vocabulary in Old Chinese	i, 56
8	Feb. 1988	various	Reviews (I)	ii, 39
9	Dec. 1988	Soho Machida *Daitoku-ji, Kyoto*	Life and Light, the Infinite: A Historical and Philological Analysis of the Amida Cult	46
10	June 1989	Pratoom Angurarohita *Chulalongkorn University Bangkok*	Buddhist Influence on the Neo-Confucian Concept of the Sage	31
11	July 1989	Edward Shaughnessy *University of Chicago*	Western Cultural Innovations in China, 1200 BC	8

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
12	Aug. 1989	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	The Contributions of T'ang and Five Dynasties Transformation Texts (*pien-wen*) to Later Chinese Popular Literature	71
13	Oct. 1989	Jiaosheng Wang *Shanghai*	The Complete *Ci*-Poems of Li Qingzhao: A New English Translation	xii, 122
14	Dec. 1989	various	Reviews (II)	69
15	Jan. 1990	George Cardona *University of Pennsylvania*	On Attitudes Toward Language in Ancient India	19
16	March 1990	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Three Brief Essays Concerning Chinese Tocharistan	16
17	April 1990	Heather Peters *University Museum of Philadelphia*	Tattooed Faces and Stilt Houses: Who Were the Ancient Yue?	28
18	May 1990	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Two Non-Tetragraphic Northern Sinitic Languages a. Implications of the Soviet Dungan Script for Chinese Language Reform b. Who Were the Gyámi?	28
19	June 1990	Bosat Man *Nalanda*	Backhill/Peking/Beijing	6
20	Oct. 1990	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Introduction and Notes for a Translation of the Ma-wang-tui MSS of the *Lao Tzu*	68

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
21	Dec. 1990	Philippa Jane Benson *Carnegie Mellon University*	Two Cross-Cultural Studies on Reading Theory	9, 13
22	March 1991	David Moser *University of Michigan*	Slips of the Tongue and Pen in Chinese	45
23	April 1991	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Tracks of the Tao, Semantics of Zen	10
24	Aug. 1991	David A. Utz *University of Pennsylvania*	Language, Writing, and Tradition in Iran	24
25	Aug. 1991	Jean DeBernardi *University of Alberta*	Linguistic Nationalism: The Case of Southern Min	22 + 3 figs.
26	Sept. 1991	JAO Tsung-i *Chinese University of Hong Kong*	Questions on the Origins of Writing Raised by the Silk Road	10
27	Aug. 1991	Victor H. Mair, ed. *University of Pennsylvania*	*Schriftfestschrift: Essays in Honor of John DeFrancis on His Eightieth Birthday*	ix, 245
28	Sept. 1991	ZHOU Youguang *State Language Commission, Peking*	The Family of Chinese Character-Type Scripts (*Twenty Members and Four Stages of Development*)	11
29	Sept. 1991	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	What Is a Chinese "Dialect/Topolect"? Reflections on Some Key Sino-English Linguistic Terms	31
30	Oct. 1991	M. V. Sofronov *Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow*	Chinese Philology and the Scripts of Central Asia	10

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
31	Oct. 1991	various	Reviews (III)	68
32	Aug. 1992	David McCraw *University of Hawaii*	How the Chinawoman Lost Her Voice	27
33	Sept. 1992	FENG Lide and Kevin Stuart *Chuankou No. 1 Middle School and Qinghai Education College*	Interethnic Contact on the Inner Asian Frontier: The Gangou People of Minhe County, Qinghai	34
34	Oct. 1992	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Two Papers on Sinolinguistics 1. A Hypothesis Concerning the Origin of the Term *fanqie* (“Countertomy”) 2. East Asian Round-Trip Words	13
35	Nov. 1992	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania* with an added note by Edwin G. Pulleyblank	Reviews (IV)	37
36	Feb. 1993	XU Wenkan *Hanyu Da Cidian editorial offices, Shanghai*	Hanyu Wailaici de Yuyuan Kaozheng he Cidian Bianzuan (Philological Research on the Etymology of Loanwords in Sinitic and Dictionary Compilation)	13
37	March 1993	Tanya Storch *University of New Mexico*	Chinese Buddhist Historiography and Orality	16
38	April 1993	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*	95

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
39	Aug. 1993	Jordan Paper *York University*	A Material Case for a Late Bering Strait Crossing Coincident with Pre-Columbian Trans-Pacific Crossings	17
40	Sept. 1993	Michael Carr *Center for Language Studies, Otaru University of Commerce*	*Tiao*-Fish through Chinese Dictionaries	68
41	Oct. 1993	Paul Goldin *Harvard University*	Miching Mallecho: The *Zhanguo ce* and Classical Rhetoric	27
42	Nov. 1993	Renchin-Jashe Yulshul *Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Kokonor (Qinghai)* and Kevin Stuart *Institute of Foreign Languages, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia*	Kham Tibetan Language Materials	39
43	Dec. 1993	MA Quanlin, MA Wanxiang, and MA Zhicheng *Xining* Edited by Kevin Stuart *Kokonor*	Salar Language Materials	72
44	Jan. 1994	Dolkun Kamberi *Columbia University*	The Three Thousand Year Old Charchan Man Preserved at Zaghunluq	15
45	May 1994	Mark Hansell *Carleton College*	The Sino-Alphabet: The Assimilation of Roman Letters into the Chinese Writing System	28
46	July 1994	various	Reviews (V)	2, 155

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
47	Aug. 1994	Robert S. Bauer *Mahidol University Salaya Nakornpathom, Thailand*	Sino-Tibetan *kolo “Wheel”	11
48	Sept. 1994	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Introduction and Notes for a Complete Translation of the *Chuang Tzu*	xxxiv, 110
49	Oct. 1994	Ludo Rocher *University of Pennsylvania*	Orality and Textuality in the Indian Context	28
50	Nov. 1994	YIN Binyong *State Language Commission and Institute for Applied Linguistics (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)*	Diyi ge Lading Zimu de Hanyu Pinyin Fang’an Shi Zenyang Chansheng de? [How Was the First Romanized Spelling System for Sinitic Produced?]	7
51	Nov. 1994	HAN Kangxin *Institute of Archeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	The Study of Ancient Human Skeletons from Xinjiang, China	9 + 4 figs.
52	Nov. 1994	Warren A. Shibles *University of Wisconsin Whitewater*	Chinese Romanization Systems: IPA Transliteration	20
53	Nov. 1994	XU Wenkan *Editorial Offices of the Hanyu Da Cidian Shanghai*	Guanyu Tuhuoluoren de Qiyuan he Qianxi Wenti [On the Problem of the Origins and Migrations of the Tocharians]	11
54	Nov. 1994	Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) *University of Toronto*	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Jegün Yogur	34
55	Nov. 1994	Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) *University of Toronto*	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Dongxiang	34

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
56	Nov. 1994	Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) *University of Toronto*	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Dagur	36
57	Nov. 1994	Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) *University of Toronto*	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Monguor	31
58	Nov. 1994	Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) *University of Toronto*	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Baoan	28
59	Dec. 1994	Kevin Stuart *Qinghai Junior Teachers College;* Limusishiden *Qinghai Medical College Attached Hospital, Xining, Kokonor (Qinghai)*	China's Monguor Minority: Ethnography and Folktales	i, I, 193
60	Dec. 1994	Kevin Stuart, Li Xuewei, and Shelear *Qinghai Junior Teachers College, Xining, Kokonor (Qinghai)*	China's Dagur Minority: Society, Shamanism, and Folklore	vii, 167
61	Dec. 1994	Kevin Stuart and Li Xuewei *Qinghai Junior Teachers College, Xining, Kokonor (Qinghai)*	Tales from China's Forest Hunters: Oroqen Folktales	iv, 59
62	Dec. 1994	William C. Hannas *Georgetown University*	Reflections on the "Unity" of Spoken and Written Chinese and Academic Learning in China	5
63	Dec. 1994	Sarah M. Nelson *University of Denver*	The Development of Complexity in Prehistoric North China	17

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
64	Jan. 1995	Arne Østmoe *Bangkok, Thailand, and Drøbak, Norway*	A Germanic-Tai Linguistic Puzzle	81, 6
65	Feb. 1995	Penglin Wang *Chinese University of Hong Kong*	Indo-European Loanwords in Altaic	28
66	March 1995	ZHU Qingzhi *Sichuan University and Peking University*	Some Linguistic Evidence for Early Cultural Exchange Between China and India	7
67	April 1995	David McCraw *University of Hawaii*	Pursuing Zhuangzi as a Rhymemaster: A Snark-Hunt in Eight Fits	38
68	May 1995	Ke Peng, Yanshi Zhu *University of Chicago and Tokyo, Japan*	New Research on the Origin of Cowries Used in Ancient China	i, 26
69	Jan. 1996	Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis, Keith Slater, *et al. Qinghai, Santa Barbara, etc.*	Language Materials of China's Monguor Minority: Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer	xi, 266
70	Feb. 1996	David Utz, Xinru Liu, *Taylor Carman, Bryan Van Norden, and the Editor Philadelphia, Vassar, etc.*	Reviews VI	93
71	March 1996	Erik Zürcher *Leiden University* Seishi Karashima *Soka University* Huanming Qin *Tang Studies Hotline*	Vernacularisms in Medieval Chinese Texts	31 + 11 + 8
72	May 1996	E. Bruce Brooks *University of Massachusetts*	The Life and Mentorship of Confucius	44

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
73	June 1996	ZHANG Juan, et al., and Kevin Stuart *Qinghai, Inner Mongolia, Shanxi, Henan, Liaoning*	Blue Cloth and Pearl Deer; Yogur Folklore	iii, 76
74	Jan. 1997	David Moser *University of Michigan & Beijing Foreign Studies University*	Covert Sexism in Mandarin Chinese	23
75	Feb. 1997	Haun Saussy *Stanford University*	The Prestige of Writing: Wen^2, Letter, Picture, Image, Ideography	40
76	Feb. 1997	Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky *Bard College*	The Evolution of the Symbolism of the Paradise of the Buddha of Infinite Life and Its Western Origins	28
77	Jan. 1998	Daniel Hsieh *Purdue University*	The Origin and Nature of the "Nineteen Old Poems"	49
78	Feb. 1998	Narsu *Inner Mongolia College of Agriculture & Animal Husbandry* Kevin Stuart *Qinghai Junior Teachers' College*	Practical Mongolian Sentences (With English Translation)	iii + 49 + ii + 66
79	March 1998	Dennis Grafflin *Bates College*	A Southeast Asian Voice in the Daodejing?	8
80	July 1998	Taishan Yu *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	A Study of Saka History	ii + 225
81	Sept. 1998	Hera S. Walker *Ursinus College (Philadelphia)*	Indigenous or Foreign?: A Look at the Origins of the Monkey Hero Sun Wukong	iv + 110

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
82	Sept. 1998	I. S. Gurevich *Russian Academy of Sciences*	A Fragment of a pien-wen(?) Related to the Cycle “On Buddha’s Life”	15
83	Oct. 1998	Minglang Zhou *University of Colorado at Boulder*	Tense/Aspect markers in Mandarin and Xiang dialects, and their contact	20
84	Oct. 1998	Ulf Jäger *Gronau/Westfalen, Germany*	The New Old Mummies from Eastern Central Asia: Ancestors of the Tocharian Knights Depicted on the Buddhist Wallpaintings of Kucha and Turfan? Some Circumstantial Evidence	9
85	Oct. 1998	Mariko Namba Walter *University of New England*	Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha: Buddhism of Indo-European Centum Speakers in Chinese Turkestan before the 10th Century C.E.	30
86	Oct. 1998	Jidong Yang *University of Pennsylvania*	Siba: Bronze Age Culture of the Gansu Corridor	18
87	Nov. 1998	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Canine Conundrums: Eurasian Dog Ancestor Myths in Historical and Ethnic Perspective	74
88	Dec. 1998	Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri *Aichi Gakusen University*	Siddham in China and Japan	9, 124
89	Jan. 1999	Alvin Lin *Yale University*	Writing Taiwanese: The Development of Modern Written Taiwanese	4 + 41 + 4
90	Jan. 1999	Victor H. Mair et al	Reviews VII [including review of The Original Analects]	2, 38
91	Jan. 1999	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Phonosymbolism or Etymology: The Case of the Verb “Cop”	28

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
92	Jan. 1999	Christine Louise Lin *Dartmouth College*	The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy	xiii + 136
93	Jan. 1999	David S. Nivison *Stanford University*	The Key to the Chronology of the Three Dynasties: The "Modern Text" Bamboo Annals	iv + 68
94	March 1999	Julie Lee Wei *Hoover Institute*	Correspondence Between the Chinese Calendar Signs and the Phoenician Alphabet	65 + 6
95	May 1999	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	A Medieval, Central Asian Buddhist Theme in a Late Ming Taoist Tale by Feng Meng-lung	27
96	June 1999	E. Bruce Brooks *University of Massachusetts*	Alexandrian Motifs in Chinese Texts	14
97	Dec. 1999	LI Shuicheng *Peking University*	Sino-Western Contact in the Second Millennium BC	iv, 29
98	Jan. 2000	Peter Daniels, Daniel Boucher, and other authors	Reviews VIII	108
99	Feb. 2000	Anthony Barbieri-Low *Princeton University*	Wheeled Vehicles in the Chinese Bronze Age (c. 2000-741 BC)	v, 98 + 5 color plates
100	Feb. 2000	Wayne Alt *Community College of Baltimore County (Essex)*	Zhuangzi, Mysticism, and the Rejection of Distinctions	29
101	March 2000	C. Michele Thompson *South Connecticut State University*	The Viêt Peoples and the Origins of Nom	71, 1

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
102	March 2000	Theresa Jen *Bryn Mawr College* Ping Xu *Baruch College*	Penless Chinese Character Reproduction	15
103	June 2000	Carrie E. Reid *Middlebury College*	Early Chinese Tattoo	52
104	July 2000	David W. Pankenier *Lehigh University*	Popular Astrology and Border Affairs in Early China	19 + 1 color plate
105	Aug. 2000	Anne Birrell *Cambridge University*	Postmodernist Theory in Recent Studies of Chinese Literature	31
106	Sept. 2000	Yu Taishan *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	A Hypothesis about the Sources of the Sai Tribes	i, 3, 200
107	Sept. 2000	Jacques deLisle, Adelheid E. Krohne, and the editor	Reviews IX	148 + map
108	Sept. 2000	Ruth H. Chang *University of Pennsylvania*	Understanding *Di* and *Tian*: Deity and Heaven From Shang to Tang	vii, 54
109	Oct. 2000	Conán Dean Carey *Stanford University*	In Hell the One without Sin is Lord	ii, 60
110	Oct. 2000	Toh Hoong Teik *Harvard University*	Shaykh 'Alam: The Emperor of Early Sixteenth-Century China	20
111	Nov. 2000	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	The Need for a New Era	10
112	July 2001	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Notes on the Anau Inscription	xi, 93

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
113	Aug. 2001	Ray Collins *Chepachet, RI* David Kerr *Melbourne, FL*	Etymology of the Word "Macrobiotic:s" and Its Use in Modern Chinese Scholarship	18
114	March 2002	Ramnath Subbaraman *University of Chicago*	Beyond the Question of the Monkey Imposter: Indian Influence on the Chinese Novel, *The Journey to the West*	35
115	April 2002	ZHOU Jixu *Sichuan Normal University*	Correspondences of Basic Words Between Old Chinese and Proto-Indo-European	8
116	May 2002	LIU Yongquan *Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	On the Problem of Chinese Lettered Words	13
117	May 2002	SHANG Wei *Columbia University*	*Baihua, Guanhua, Fangyan* and the May Fourth Reading of *Rulin Waishi*	10
118	June 2002	Justine T. Snow *Port Townsend, WA*	Evidence for the Indo-European Origin of Two Ancient Chinese Deities	ii, 75, 1 color, 1 b-w print
119	July 2002	WU Zhen *Xinjiang Museum, Ürümchi*	"Hu" Non-Chinese as They Appear in the Materials from the Astana Graveyard at Turfan	21, 5 figs.
120	July 2002	Anne Birrell *University of Cambridge, Clare Hall*	Female-Gendered Myth in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*	47
121	July 2002	Mark Edward Lewis *Stanford University*	Dicing and Divination in Early China	22, 7 figs.

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
122	July 2002	Julie Wilensky *Yale Univesity*	The Magical *Kunlun* and "Devil Slaves": Chinese Perceptions of Dark-skinned People and Africa before 1500	51, 3 figs.
123	Aug. 2002	Paul R. Goldin and the editor	Reviews X	30
124	August 2002	Fredrik T. Hiebert *University of Pennsylvania* John Colarusso *McMaster University*	The Context of the Anau Seal Remarks on the Anau and Niyä Seals	1-34 35-47
125	July 2003	ZHOU Jixu *Sichuan Normal University* *Shanghai Normal University*	Correspondences of Cultural Words between Old Chinese and Proto-Indo-European	19
126	Aug. 2003	Tim Miller *University of Washington*	A Southern Min Word in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*	14
127	Oct. 2003	Sundeep S. Jhutti *Petaluma, California*	The Getes	125, 8 color plates
128	Nov. 2003	Yinpo Tschang *New York City*	On Proto-Shang	18
129	Dec. 2003	Michael Witzel *Harvard University*	Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange in Prehistoric Western Central Asia	70
130	Feb. 2004	Bede Fahey *Fort St. John, British Columbia*	Mayan: A Sino-Tibetan Language? A Comparative Study	61

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
131	March 2004	Taishan Yu *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	A History of the Relationship between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions	1, 3, 352
132	April 2004	Kim Hayes *Sydney*	On the Presence of Non-Chinese at Anyang	11
133	April 2004	John L. Sorenson *Brigham Young University* Carl L. Johannessen *University of Oregon*	*Scientific Evidence for Pre-Columbian Transoceanic Voyages* CD-ROM	48, 166, 19, 15 plates
134	May 2004	Xieyan Hincha *Neumädewitz, Germany*	Two Steps Toward Digraphia in China	i, 22
135	May 2004	John J. Emerson *Portland, Oregon*	*The Secret History of the Mongols* and Western Literature	21
136	May 2004	Serge Papillon *Mouvaux, France and Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia*	Influences tokhariennes sur la mythologie chinoise	47
137	June 2004	Hoong Teik Toh *Harvard University*	Some Classical Malay Materials for the Study of the Chinese Novel *Journey to the West*	64
138	June 2004	Julie Lee Wei *San Jose and London*	Dogs and Cats: Lessons from Learning Chinese	17
139	June 2004	Taishan Yu *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State	20
140	June 2004	Yinpo Tschang *New York City*	Shih and Zong: Social Organization in Bronze Age China	28
141	July 2004	Yinpo Tschang *New York City*	Chaos in Heaven: On the Calendars of Preclassical China	30

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
142	July 2004	Katheryn Linduff, ed. *University of Pittsburgh*	*Silk Road Exchange in China*	64
143	July 2004	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Sleep in *Dream*: Soporific Responses to Depression in *Story of the Stone*	99
144	July 2004	RONG Xinjiang *Peking University*	Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period	32
145	Aug. 2004	the editor	Reviews XI	2, 41
146	Feb. 2005	Hoong Teik Toh *Academia Sinica*	The *-yu* Ending in Xiongnu, Xianbei, and Gaoju Onomastica	24
147	March 2005	Hoong Teik Toh *Academia Sinica*	Ch. *Qiong* ~ Tib. Khyung; Taoism ~ Bonpo -- Some Questions Related to Early Ethno-Religious History in Sichuan	18
148	April 2005	Lucas Christopoulos *Beijing Sports University*	Le gréco-bouddhisme et l'art du poing en Chine	52
149	May 2005	Kimberly S. Te Winkle *University College, London*	A Sacred Trinity: God, Mountain, and Bird: Cultic Practices of the Bronze Age Chengdu Plain	ii, 103 (41 in color)
150	May 2005	Dolkun Kamberi *Washington, DC*	Uyghurs and Uyghur Identity	44
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Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
152	June 2005	Denis Mair *Seattle*	The Dance of Qian and Kun in the *Zhouyi*	13, 2 figs.
153	July 2005	Alan Piper *London (UK)*	The Mysterious Origins of the Word “Marihuana”	17
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156	July 2005	Abolqasem Esmailpour *Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran*	*Manichean Gnosis and Creation*	157
157	Aug. 2005	Ralph D. Sawyer *Independent Scholar*	Paradoxical Coexistence of Prognostication and Warfare	13
158	Aug. 2005	Mark Edward Lewis *Stanford University*	Writings on Warfare Found in Ancient Chinese Tombs	15
159	Aug. 2005	Jens Østergaard Petersen *University of Copenhagen*	The *Zuozhuan* Account of the Death of King Zhao of Chu and Its Sources	47
160	Sept. 2005	Matteo Compareti *Venice*	Literary Evidence for the Identification of Some Common Scenes in Han Funerary Art	14
161	Sept. 2005	Julie Lee Wei *London*	The Names of the *Yi Jing* Trigrams: An Inquiry into Their Linguistic Origins	18
162	Sept. 2005	Julie Lee Wei *London*	Counting and Knotting: Correspondences between Old Chinese and Indo-European	71, map

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
163	Oct. 2005	Julie Lee Wei *London*	Huangdi and Huntun (the Yellow Emperor and Wonton): A New Hypothesis on Some Figures in Chinese Mythology	44
164	Oct. 2005	Julie Lee Wei *London*	Shang and Zhou: An Inquiry into the Linguistic Origins of Two Dynastic Names	62
165	Oct. 2005	Julie Lee Wei *London*	DAO and DE: An Inquiry into the Linguistic Origins of Some Terms in Chinese Philosophy and Morality	51
166	Nov. 2005	Julie Lee Wei *London* Hodong Kim *Seoul National University* and David Selvia and the Editor *both of the University of Pennsylvania*	Reviews XII	i, 63
167	Dec. 2005	ZHOU Jixu *Sichuan Normal University*	Old Chinese '帝*tees' and Proto-Indo-European “*deus”: Similarity in Religious Ideas and a Common Source in Linguistics	17
168	Dec. 2005	Judith A. Lerner *New York City*	Aspects of Assimilation: the Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China	51, v, 9 plates
169	Jan. 2006	Victor H. Mair *University of Pennsylvania*	Conversion Tables for the Three-Volume Edition of the *Hanyu Da Cidian*	i, 284
170	Feb. 2006	Amber R. Woodward *University of Pennsylvania*	Learning English, Losing Face, and Taking Over: The Method (or Madness) of Li Yang and His Crazy English	18

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
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172	Aug. 2006	Deborah Beaser	The Outlook for Taiwanese Language Preservation	18
173	Oct. 2006	Taishan Yu *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*	A Study of the History of the Relationship Between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions	167
174	Nov. 2006	Mariko Namba Walter	Sogdians and Buddhism	65
175	Dec. 2006	Zhou Jixu *Center for East Asian Studies, University of Pennsylvania; Chinese Department, Sichuan Normal University*	The Rise of Agricultural Civilization in China: The Disparity between Archeological Discovery and the Documentary Record and Its Explanation	38