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13

Chinese language use

Edited by Beverly Hong

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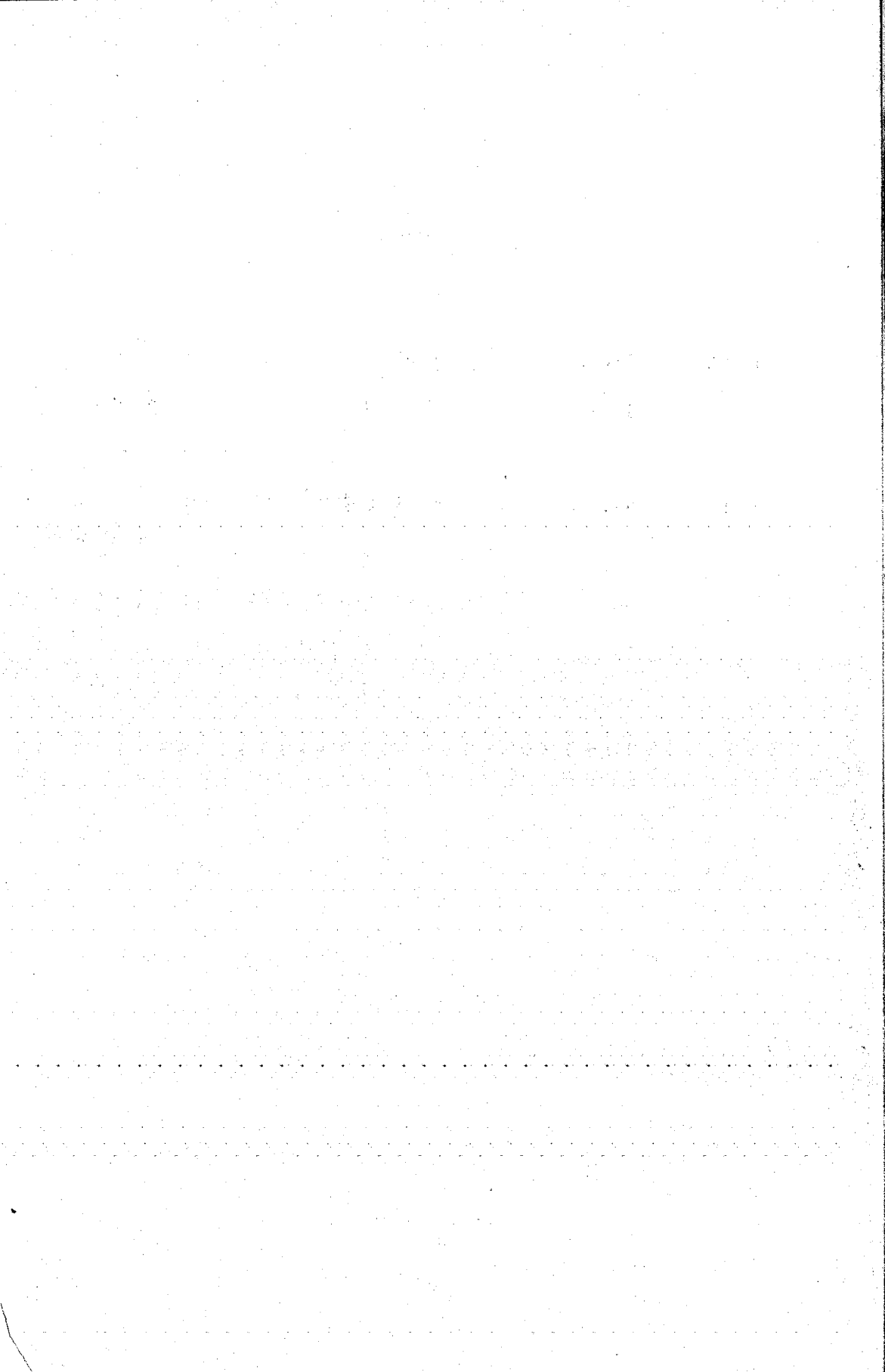
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ERRATA

p. 129	3a, 3b	read て"	not て",,
	4, 4a	" すい	" すみ

p. 130	5a, 6a	read しゅっべ,,	not しゅっべ,,
			or しゅうべ,,
	5b	read しゅつにゅう	not しゅうにゅう
	8a	" いす"し	" いづ"し
	5b, 6c	" しゅつ	" しゅ
	line 5 from end for 6a	for 6a read 6b	

p. 131	B1, B2	read ちよう	not ちやう
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PREFACE

This volume is based on the proceedings of a conference arranged by the Contemporary China Centre at the Australian National University. The Centre had not previously involved itself in such a way in the problems of Chinese linguistics, and the study and use of the Chinese language in Australia, although membership of the Centre includes linguists and others engaged in the teaching of Chinese in this University. But there are many pressing reasons why an Australian academic body concerned with the problems of today's China should turn its attention to the question of Chinese language use in this country.

To begin with the Centre's own interest in the matter, we find that the attempt to develop an indigenous body of scholarship and reserve of expertise on China through the encouragement of research and writing across a variety of disciplines is seriously hampered by the underdeveloped state of the teaching of Chinese in this country. The great majority of Australian students applying for postgraduate research at this University either have training in Chinese language but not in the discipline required by the individual departments of the University; or they have training in the discipline but not in Chinese language. Basic training in one or the other must then be undertaken at the postgraduate level, which for both student and university is inefficient and wasteful, and often impractical. As a result we lose the student and the student loses the opportunity. Our attempts to draw more Australians into advanced-level study of China have been hampered, and expansion of China studies in both tertiary and secondary education has been restricted, despite a growing sense of the need for such expansion.

The teaching of Chinese in Australian universities began in departments which concentrated on language and literature. Their pioneering work and their continuing contribution are acknowledged as of the greatest importance. Understandably, and quite properly, these departments wish to maintain the emphases with which they began, and most university Chinese language courses continue to include a strong literary component. We do not wish to produce generations of social scientists, for example, with a technical competence in the language but otherwise illiterate in Chinese. But our universities still produce very few graduates in other disciplines with Chinese language qualifications, either because of the inflexibility of university structures, or because of a certain mental inflexibility. For example, modern social science disciplines are seen by some China scholars as irrelevant to 'true' Sinology, while on the other hand scholars in other fields tend to see the study of China as outside the mainstream of 'traditional' disciplines and hence regard the study of the Chinese language as insufficiently justified. We have made some progress, it is true, but it is far from adequate in pace or scope, and we are still far from producing graduates in such numbers as might ensure that each year there will be at least a few of outstanding quality capable of going straight on to postgraduate work without the need for 'remedial' basic training in either the language or the discipline.

This is the immediate problem for the China Centre, and for the other tertiary institutions in Australia with postgraduate programs in Chinese studies. But as we discuss the various paths out of this impasse we cannot ignore another, and very obvious, distortion in our present language

teaching effort. Most Australians who learn Chinese do so at tertiary level. Would there not be considerable advantage in having basic training in the language undertaken at secondary level, so that students might concentrate on their chosen discipline when they get to university and exercise some choice as to how deeply into the language/literature they wish to go at that level? That would certainly solve the problem for postgraduate programs. It would also, in due course, produce trained and qualified teachers of language with Chinese as their special subject.

A start has been made in teaching Chinese in some secondary schools, most notably in the state of Victoria, but also in South Australia and Queensland. Those working in tertiary institutions have been impressed by the determination and the achievements of the individual teachers, most of whom have been conducting a long and lonely crusade in their own schools. The problems are very great. They require the closest cooperation, between teachers, between teachers and academics, between states, and with administrators. The problems are both theoretical and practical. They range from the development of texts and courses to securing decisions from state and federal government instrumentalities. The Contemporary China Centre clearly has an interest in this field as well as a responsibility to assist.

In October 1976, the First National Conference on the Teaching of Chinese in Australia was held in Melbourne, with financial assistance from the Asian Studies Coordinating Committee of the federal Department of Education. This conference opened up a number of basic issues, including such important questions for the writing of texts and setting of

curricula as simplified characters, romanisation and so on. As discussion of many of the issues raised at the 1976 conference continued, it seemed to us at the Centre that one useful thing we could do would be to involve leading specialists, some from overseas, who could provide expert information and advice on Chinese language use to assist in framing the questions and possibly finding some answers. We are extremely grateful to those who presented papers at the conference and particularly those who made the long trip to Australia from Europe and North America. Dr Beverly Hong, who had the ideas and who organised the conference, deserves great credit for its success.

One of the important features of this conference was that it made no attempt to compartmentalise consideration of tertiary and secondary teaching and special language requirements. This approach recognised a consensus among experts in the learning of second languages that the requirements of students at the secondary and tertiary level are basically similar. New Chinese materials issuing from Cambridge University and the University Aix en Provence as well as from the Australian National University all reflect this feature. The teachers and administrators at the conference recognised that the solution of the problems in any one area cannot be considered in isolation from the others and requires the support and cooperation of theoreticians, practitioners and administrators at every level. The conference included a one-day workshop which (though it covered a variety of subjects from the Australia-China Student Exchange Program to the problem of Chinese for mature scientists in the rapidly expanding Australian exchanges with China) was devoted mainly to the question of

teaching in secondary schools. This resulted in a number of proposals and an agreement that there should be continuing discussions.

The task we are engaged in, of course, is not just a matter of producing more students or experts or teachers, in isolation from the community as a whole. It touches directly on major national issues of Australia's self-perception and real identity, its future in the Asia Pacific region, and its prospects for maintaining its present social makeup and standard of living. There is surely a national crisis in the failure of one of the modern industrial world's most notoriously monolingual societies to meet, or even to recognise, the language needs arising from its immediate, and increasingly dominant, international environment. Chinese lags behind even the very modest achievements which have been made in Indonesian and Japanese. The attempt to develop scholarship, expertise, teaching, practical communication and general public awareness in respect of China is hamstrung at every turn by the inadequacies of our present language teaching effort. Until we as a nation are prepared to make the massive financial investment necessary to change the patterns of our education system there can be no prospect of us making a serious response to the challenge now coming from our Asian neighbours, including China. But those who are involved in the China field today would be less than responsible if they did not do whatever is possible to extend the boundaries of Chinese language use in this country as the indispensable condition for extending the capacity of Australians to cope with Chinese culture and civilisation and the political and economic challenges of China in the last part of the twentieth century and into the first decades of

the twenty-first. That is what makes the involvement of the Contemporary China Centre in this conference one of its most significant activities to date. It is also, incidentally, the first time since its inception in 1970 that the Centre has decided to publish a book incorporating the papers presented at one of its conferences.

Stephen FitzGerald
Canberra
January 1978

INTRODUCTION

Before its Conference on Chinese Language Use held from 28-30 October 1977, the Contemporary China Centre had not focused directly on language in any of its activities despite the frequency with which discussions of almost anything concerning China turn at one point or another to questions of language. The origin of the conference was a conversation at the Canton Railroad Station in November 1976 which took such a turn. The then Australian Ambassador to China, Dr Stephen FitzGerald, was leaving China after completing his assignment of nearly four years in Peking, where his skills as a speaker and reader of Chinese had served him well; I had just arrived on a brief visit.

We returned to the matter early in 1977 when he had become head of the Contemporary China Centre and of the Far Eastern History Department at the Australian National University. In the meanwhile I had gone on to the U.S. from China and spoken as far afield (for someone from Australia) as the University of Minnesota on the difficulties even those fairly experienced with the language will encounter in contacts with Chinese society. The sight of people repeatedly falling in the lovely but slippery snows of that now famous North American winter inspired a sub-title -- 'How not to fall from one's horse while viewing the flowers', a reference to the Chinese saying about the problems of galloping visits -- for talks addressed to 'interpreting' in its broadest possible sense. I had also had occasion at the Language Centre of Hong Kong University and elsewhere to restate my views on the value for a researcher and the necessity for a teacher of approaching the language classroom as a fieldwork site for constructive studies of languages:

many of the sentences students produce in elementary classes are not unlike those produced by computers at certain stages of linguistic research, I'd noticed in my own work with both, and their analysis is instructive to theoreticians and learners or teachers alike.

The shape of a possible selection of papers on the various 'uses' of Chinese language was emerging as our conference approached. We were unable to do as much as we would have liked. Such is our ignorance of China that we still spend much time deciding just *what* Chinese to teach. There is much confusion about 'norms' and 'standards' in the Chinese language, and even (in some quarters) mystification about the supposed merits of one as opposed to another written form of the language. The necessity of tending to the matter of *what* we teach reduces our attention to *how* we teach it and to how students actually learn it (the two things -- being taught and learning -- are by no means necessarily the same).

As a result, at a workshop on teaching Chinese held during the Conference, we were scarcely able to do more than discover the limitations of materials we now use or even those we are still writing. Administrative requirements for detailed information on just how every duly appropriated language classroom hour is spent must be met, and existing (and many proposed) materials fulfil that task quite well. But the teacher's interest in doing more than surviving those hours with some sense of being a bit more useful than a tape recorder has not been met by such materials. The answer to certain problems of classroom 'uses' of Chinese is complicated enough to require a separate book, even though the alert and informed reader will discover that it has

shaped every paper in this collection. Every contributor reveals in the structuring of the problems discussed his or her considerable personal experience with teaching languages at the elementary level to students with little or no pre-adolescent knowledge of the language taught.* But the present book, though written by research linguists who are also language teachers, tries to preserve the perspective of those learning (or maintaining a competence in) Chinese. As such it can be recommended to classroom (as to other) learners as a study primarily of 'uses' of Chinese outside the classroom situation. We trust those preoccupied with administering instruction will not think the discovery of a difference between classroom and other 'uses' subversive of their efforts.

The 'hows' of teaching Chinese, in other words, must be found in our attention to the 'whats' of learning Chinese. We begin our discussion of 'what' spoken Chinese is with a

* It can now go without saying that there are no important differences between the problems of high school or university level language learners and the materials they require. I address the matter of classroom 'use' of Chinese, and its relationship to other 'uses' in a separate book, now in use in ANU courses, *Situational Chinese: A Sourcebook and a Textbook for Contemporary Spoken Chinese* to be published later this year. See also my statement, 'The Case for Ungraded Texts' in Ian Welch, ed., *First National Conference on Teaching of Chinese in Australia* (Canberra: Asian Studies Coordinating Committee, 1976) pp.68-70. To illustrate this point visually, the Modern Chinese program of the ANU produced two plays performed by students two-thirds of the way through their first year, video-cassettes of which have been published (with English sub-titles) by the Instructional Resources Unit of the ANU. These and other video material are now part of the regular teaching materials; inquiries about copies available at cost may be directed to Beverly Hong, Chinese Department, ANU.

look beyond China, to the general Asian context. Mary Haas' paper -- "Areal Linguistic Characteristics of East Asia" -- opens the collection, as it did the conference, with an overview of the greater linguistic area to which Chinese belongs. It marks a departure from conventional classifications of languages by genetic criteria, introducing common sociolinguistic features as distinctive in defining the languages in the East Asia region. Among other things, I think it will further discourage futile debates over whether or not Thai, the language of a Chinese neighbour, is Sino-Tibetan or Austronesian: the study of these languages has been difficult enough without the reinforcement of political barriers between countries and regions by antiquated academic methodologies.

The second paper, by the Editor, attempts to examine the Chinese language in relation to Chinese society. It sets forth the hypothesis that, if *familiarity* is a distinguishing feature of the agrarian society (as anthropologists and others claim), then familiarity should be reflected in the language on the level of performance; and it claims that *informality* of Chinese speech seems to be the counterpart of social *familiarity*. As several examples indicate, misunderstanding of the sociolinguistic characteristics can lead to grave misinterpretation of observations on the society.

A great obstacle to learners crossing the linguistic frontier between most western and some East Asian languages has been 'tones' and their fear of tones. Paul Kratochvil looks below the surface of this problem in a literal (physiological) as well as figurative sense. His paper, "Phonetics and Teaching Chinese" moves immediately from a

highly sophisticated analysis of the production of tones and their place of origin -- the larynx -- to the problem of how to learn Chinese tones with the help of instrumental phonetics. The uneven quality of students' pronunciation proves just how much needed an area of work this is. The paper offers much hope not only for solving the problem of maintaining correct production of tones by learners, but for solving it with great savings in classroom hours, as every overworked teacher or overspent administrator should be happy to learn.

Harry Simon's paper "Surface Marking Features and Event and Discourse Related Categories" is another exploration of the difficulties faced by most westerners in learning the Chinese language. His explanation turns around the *strategy* which speakers must employ in forming sentences out of Chinese sounds (whose production Kratochvil has discussed). Simon attributes the difficulties of such learners to the lack of *surface* marking features in Chinese Grammar on the one hand, and to a lack of understanding of the speech event among the speakers or listeners on the other. This paper tackles the same problem raised in the second paper from almost an opposite angle: whereas the Editor's paper relates linguistic performance to social features, Simon's paper seeks answers as much as possible in syntax beneath the speaker's performance.

Having located spoken Chinese in its geographic and social context, we analysed its sounds and sentences from within, so to speak. The next two papers turned to the question of dictionaries. Both further illuminated the changes over time in the language we learn and teach. Early in the decade, visitors to China began to become more

familiar with the linguistic changes that have taken place on the Chinese mainland since 1949. Most such changes have been lexical, as is usually the case among languages. Viviane Alleton's paper was written after extended visits with linguists, interpreters and editors in China earlier in 1977 and provides the first detailed information about China's current compilations of such lexical changes, new and old. An eminent lexicologist of Chinese herself, she shares with us some of her evaluations as well as descriptions of work yet to be published from major Chinese dictionary projects. Liu Ts'un-yan's paper takes us into a dictionary which sampled the Chinese language somewhat earlier in its 'modern' life. Lin Yutang's dictionary project was well underway in the mid-sixties, as one of the two projects on Chinese language sponsored by the Chinese University of Hong Kong at the time.* Liu, like Lin Yutang, is an acknowledged master of the Chinese language. The erudition displayed in his profound but witty article immediately answers both "what is happening to sinology" and "what fun is there in studying Chinese".

The last paper in this collection, as the title suggests, is not a finished study but an elaborate proposal for a study. It has been included as an example of the links between linguistic knowledge and language teaching pedagogy. Its authors have hit upon a set of questions not unlike those examined by Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle's famous study of

* The other project was my forthcoming translation into Chinese (edited by Chou Fa-kao) of Y.R. Chao's *Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. The translation owes much to help from Samuel Cheung and Ting Pang Hsin, among others.

Sound Patterns of English. As a discussion of both Japanese and Chinese, it also turns us back toward China's Asian environment.

I hope this collection will convey to social scientists interested in language behaviour, to those who are learning Chinese or trying to maintain their knowledge of Chinese, and to educators and interested general readers some of the excitement which linguistics research and language teaching experience bring to investigations of a society and culture whose fascination for other disciplines and for the general public is already well-known.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My gratitude to each of the seventy or so participants in the conference cannot be spelled out in detail in the available space. I have already mentioned Steve FitzGerald's role -- his own preface provides the context in which the contributions by Gordon Ada of the John Curtin School of Medical Research and the Academy of Sciences and John Mather of the Commonwealth Department of Education were so helpful. I should like also to mention the support of Wang Gungwu, Director, and Steve Wurm, Professor of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies; Liu Ts'un-yan, Professor of Chinese, School of General Studies; Steward Kaneff, Professor of Engineering Physics, Research School of Physical Sciences; and Robert M. Dixon, Professor of Linguistics, School of General Studies. Robert Cheng, Professor of Linguistics and Modern Languages at the University of Illinois generously agreed to the strain of travelling quickly to and from our conference all the way from Illinois to tell us first hand about his important contribution to the resolution of years

of confusion among Chinese language teachers about the relative pedagogic merits of simplified and complex characters and about related questions discussed in his paper, "In Defense of Simplified Characters" published in *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* (a journal which William Wang of Berkeley has kept near the forefront of such problems). Jerome Hu's unique proposal for writing reform also added much to the discussion. Stephen Lee brought his experience as a highly successful teacher at the all-important high school level of study of a language; and Colin Mackerras his experience as a scholar-administrator sympathetic to the teaching of Chinese in more classrooms than those with narrower experience would applaud. The conference could run smoothly only with constant help from Ian Wilson, Jennifer Cushman and Marcia Milnes of the China Centre and Doris Corson. Nongpoth Sternstein, Widpudh Sobhavong and Tony Diller of the Asian Faculty helped me with Thai.

But I must return particularly to those teachers of Chinese -- well represented in our gathering -- devoted to promoting learning of Chinese in a variety of often very trying situations. Among them are those who have established community schools as well as those who have introduced or extended Chinese language study in secondary and tertiary institutions. Perhaps in the not too distant future we all will be able to meet and compare notes with those experienced with the very different process of language learning among children (i.e. under the age of 12) -- the one relevant set of experiences we did not even try to consult at this stage. Across the pedagogic gap between those working with children and those working with adolescents or adults there is a bridge yet to be built between parts of a community that

includes 'native speakers' who have not forgotten that they are, and will always be, learners of new 'uses' of the Chinese language they teach.

Beverly Hong
March 1978

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a series of lines of text, possibly a list or a series of paragraphs, but the specific content cannot be transcribed accurately.]

Areal Linguistic Characteristics of East Asia

Mary R. Haas

For a long time linguistics throughout the world has been primarily interested in working out the genetic classification of the languages of the world. That is, linguists have put the languages of the world into large groupings reflecting judgements of how they are 'related' through their origins, as in a 'family'. Though it is an axiom in biology that you cannot inherit acquired traits, it is not true in linguistics. Once a new trait is incorporated into a language it is passed on to descendant languages unless it is dropped. Thus Latin (*via*) *strāta* was borrowed into an early Germanic language and, following the regular sound shifts, it appears in German as *Strasse*, in English as *street*. Such cases of an acquired element being inherited and passed on to the later languages show a very significant difference between 'genetic' linguistics and 'genetics' in biology.

We are so used to thinking about the genetic relationships of languages that we tend to close our eyes to other features that are equally important. In East Asia we have some three or four main linguistic families: (1) Sino-Tibetan, (2) Tai (if you follow the theory that Tai is not part of Sino-Tibetan), (3) Mon-Khmer, and (4) Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian). The genetic perspective discourages study of similarities that might exist across genetic boundaries. What I term areal linguistic studies, by contrast, consider the traits and features that are common across these linguistic boundaries.

For decades the family of 'Sino-Tibetan' was set up to include (1) Tibeto-Burman (that is, the Tibetan and Burmese languages plus a number of unwritten languages of Burma, parts of India, Nepal, and so on), (2) Chinese, and (3) the Tai family. More recently some scholars have taken Tai out of that grouping and want to place it with the Austronesian languages, though this may remain a matter of debate for some time. For my purposes here, that is irrelevant. So I shall speak about the Thai language, as an exemplar of the Tai family, without deciding whether it is Sino-Tibetan or Austronesian. A third main family group in the East-Southeast Asian area is the Mon-Khmer which includes the Mon languages, Cambodian, and numerous unwritten languages in parts of Burma and the highlands of Vietnam.

Among these families we find a mystery language, Vietnamese, which looks like Thai in some ways, and like Cambodian in others. It is what I call a 'language isolate'. It doesn't have any clear cut relationships, though some scholars think that it probably is a Khmer-type language that has been heavily influenced by Thai-type languages. In the last thousand years or so, of course, it has been heavily influenced by Chinese. It was written in Chinese characters until the Portuguese provided romanised writing usually with Portuguese values.

Within these several language families are vertical relationships which go down through time. We need to have some notion of these relationships when we make judgements about areal characteristics. But characteristics, including phonetic traits and syntactic traits, which are to be found

spread over a wide area regardless of genetic relationships, have not been much studied.

Areal linguistics requires that the study include wide regions of the world. Murray Emeneau, the famous scholar of Indic languages, perhaps began the study of areal linguistics with an article in 1956 called 'India as a Linguistic Area' (*Language*, Vol. 32, pp.3-17). India has three major linguistic families (plus some minor ones) but yet he was able to trace certain characteristics throughout the whole area, taking India as an area rather than as a series of discrete families.

An example of a phonetic trait found over a wide area containing different language groups is the contour tones found for instance in Chinese, in Vietnamese, and in Thai. For instance, in the Thai words maa (horse), maa (dog), maa (come) the tones go up and down and have certain other non-level features. Burmese has something similar; so does Karen and some other languages of East Asia. If Thai is not related to these languages, and if Vietnamese is not directly related to them, then clearly contour tones are an areal trait which has spread over these otherwise little-related languages. Pursuit of the question of how tones arose reveals further interesting areal traits. In this area there seems to be a tendency for voiced initials and voiceless initials to affect the tones that follow them. In addition, any final consonant (if it is a stop for instance) will affect the tone in a particular way that is found across the area regardless of genetic families. The other characteristics of this area are palatal stops - the stops made with the broad part of the tongue against the palate, not the tip of the tongue. They appear in Thai, Cambodian

and Vietnamese, and in some of the unwritten languages of that area. As these languages are not demonstratively related to each other, the use of palatal stops has spread across rather than descended into these languages. Also, the nasals, more familiar to us from the Spanish and Portuguese, are also common in these same languages. Although it is not present in Bangkok Thai, many Thai dialects do have it.

Perhaps more interesting are characteristic arrangements of words, types of phrases and other syntactic traits. One of the most important is the use of numeral classifiers. A classifier is an element which defines the unit by which counting takes place, familiar in almost all languages. For instance in the English 'a bushel of wheat' or 'a drop of water', 'bushel' and 'drop' define the unit of measure. But in the languages we are surveying a unit by which counting takes place is also required for things like people, cows, glasses, or buckets. This trait is found all over East Asia - in Thai, Vietnamese, Khmer, Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, Karen and many other languages. It also appears now and then even further afield - in India (not quite so highly developed) and amongst American Indian languages. The languages of these areas may form part of an earlier, much wider areal dispersion of such traits. (Some traits appear to be Pan-Pacific, moving around the north of the region, but in the absence of many important details we are unable to pursue this here.) These languages even employ a similar word order in the use of classifiers. For instance, in the Thai expression 'cup two units', *thûaj sɔ̌j baj*, *thûaj* is 'cup', *sɔ̌j* is 'two', and *baj* is the unit by which the cup is counted.

Also very common throughout East Asia and Indo-China are 'serial' verbs, as in the Thai phrase *ġaw-maa-hăj*. (*ġaw* means 'take', *maa* means 'come', *hăj* means 'give'.) That sentence translates directly into Cambodian, Vietnamese, Chinese, and probably most East Asian languages with almost the same meaning. In English we have to use a verb, a preposition and a pronoun to translate it: 'bring it to me'. Pronouns are used extensively in English. Where serial verbs are used pronouns are unnecessary because the verbs allocate direction. For instance the Thai *maa* ('come') indicates direction toward the speaker. The verb *paj* would mean 'take it to him'. In Thai *khăw wġ tġ paj* (*khăw* 'he', *wġ* 'run', *tġ* 'continue', *paj* 'go') means 'he ran on'. A word-by-word translation from Thai to English or from English to Thai would either be puzzling or nonsensical. But such a translation from Thai into Khmer or Vietnamese or Chinese is possible because they all contain very similar expressions.

Another trait that spreads beyond Asia is the elaboration of speech levels in respect to language: language for speaking to royalty and various levels of high-status people; for speaking about priests; for speaking to one's elders, or to those to whom you owe respect; language also for younger people or inferiors, and rough or vulgar speech which you would only use to be insulting or in order to downgrade somebody. In Thai, there are eight or nine words that can be translated 'eat' but the decision to use one is not based on meaning but on the status of the person you are speaking to or about: *sawġaj* is used of royalty; *răbprathan*, or its abbreviation *than*, is elegant speech used in polite society or to show a certain amount of

deference; *boriphôog* is elegant speech; and there are two forms, one elegant and one common, for speaking to or about priests. The plain word for 'eat' (*kin*) can be used in many situations, and also has important idiomatic meanings such as 'to win at cards'. Finally, comes *ciá'*, a slang term from Chinese, and a couple of quite vulgar terms, including *jád*, which (as far as I can tell) means 'to stuff'. There is a similar kind of proliferation in Indonesian, Javanese, Cambodian, Vietnamese and Japanese, Chinese.

Another very widespread speech phenomenon in East Asia is the use of kin terms as pronouns. Thus, instead of using a pronoun for 'you', it is possible in Thai directly to address both a young sibling or one's wife as *nó'ng*. Older siblings or husbands are similarly addressed as *phii*. But more than that, the persons so addressed can use the same terms to refer to themselves instead of using a pronoun for 'I'. So a wife when speaking to her husband can call herself *nó'ng* and a husband can call himself *phii*. The closest comparable thing in English is regarded as baby talk. Thus a mother can say to her child, 'Does baby want to go for a ride? Mummy will take baby for ride'. But such practices pervade language in parts of Asia. Vietnamese, in fact, scarcely has pronouns. Kin terms may also be applied to people who are not kin, according to their age relative to the speaker. Kin words also reflect subtle differences between maternal and paternal relatives.

All of these languages, quite apart from their genetic relationship, are to a large extent inter-translatable. This is also true of languages of Europe for the same reason. The speakers of such languages have lived side by side and have been translating into one another's languages for a long time.

The same kinds of concepts and the same kinds of ways of looking at things obtain among them, producing traits characteristic of the whole area. It is not only genetic relationships then that are important for the history of the people, but these areal traits as well.

In many cases it is possible to trace how old some of these traits are, especially where, as in Chinese, there are ancient written records. We know, for example, that the arrangement of noun, numeral and classifier has changed in the Chinese language from what it was in the 10th century - and yet classifiers persist. Historical depth of scholarship is only possible with those languages that are written, whereas the areal traits mentioned here cover unwritten languages as well.

Nevertheless as more and more scholars are beginning to look at such phenomena a new breadth is being given to historical studies.

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II

A Sketch of Language Use in Chinese Society

Beverly Hong

Scholars and visitors to China have observed that China is very Chinese, yet under this "Chineseness" there are a number of significant differences. This paper attempts to explain that 'same but different' phenomenon in the new society from a sociolinguistic point of view.

Socialisation and Fluency

Sociolinguistics has been much interested in the socialisation of minorities in Western societies - blacks in urban America, migrants in Australia and the like. One way to measure socialisation is to see how vocal or articulate a society's citizens are in what situations. The ability to speak for yourself *and for others* in the larger society may or may not be an ideal that applies to *all* members of a society.

Realising that a majority of China's population had been, so to speak, silent for so long, the People's Republic of China immediately set as one of its major goals the education of its populace to speak and to write. As early as June 6, 1951 the People's Daily began a series of articles on Chinese Grammar which ran for six months without interruption. The authors of these articles are none other than the prominent Chinese linguists Lü Shuxiang 吕叔湘 and Zhu De Xi 朱德熙. Given usual publication procedures among academics, this is an amazing feat. The articles had to be cast in a form readable enough for a country which then had a very low rate of literacy. In addition, even highly literate

people had to be convinced that Chinese, no less than other languages, had grammar. They equated grammar with morphological structure of tenses, genders and numbers which Chinese does not have. Perhaps precisely because of these obstacles, Chinese leaders were prepared to make such instruction a priority task of national reconstruction, worthy of that much space from the People's Daily. [Paul Kratochvil noted, in Conference discussions, that Czechoslovakia reacted with similar attention to linguistic questions after the publication of Stalin's work on language which preceded the Chinese series. This seems to me to confirm the relevance for sociolinguistically similar countries of Stalin's observations on questions which each was then beginning to confront.]

The initial effort reflected in these linguistic articles, subsequent work and practice, and most of all the use of language in the regular study sessions that all Chinese experience, may explain the general impression that Chinese have become a very articulate people. Ethnic overseas Chinese visitors universally share this impression. The phenomenon of oral fluency has even been confirmed and discussed in the *Central Daily* in Taiwan. [See my "Bilingualism in China", *Case Studies on Bilingual Education*, Newbury Press, 1978.] Students of the College of Sciences of the National Taiwan University invited Tang Zhuguo (sometime resident of the People's Republic now residing in Taiwan) to speak about "why people who come out of the Mainland are such fluent speakers". Recounting his talk in his column for the *Central Daily*, Tang agreed that such fluency was common and attributed it to the deliberate emphasis on training and experience at speaking in the PRC. Indeed, he argued that a

phenomenon of "talk well and become an official" Shuō ěr yǔ zé shì 說而優則仕 had replaced the Confucian injunction to "learn well and become an official, Xue ěr yǔ zé shì 學而優則仕". Some linguists (William Labov among others) are now exploring this phenomenon, trying to see how sentences are constructed in order to achieve articulateness or fluency.

Familiarity and Salutations Among Chinese

As a predominantly agricultural society, China operates overwhelmingly in what sociologists call "face-to-face" groups. Members of such groups grow up among people and things which remain familiar. Familiarity thus becomes a distinguishing feature of peasant life in China, as Fei Hsiao-t'ung argued in his studies of Chinese village life in the thirties and in the fifties [*Peasant Life in China*, 1939; *Zai fang Jiangcun*]. And in the seventies, the psychologists Kesson, Bronfenbrenner and others [William Kesson, *Childhood in China*, New Haven, 1974] were perhaps most struck by the uniquely stable neighbourhood environment that seems to characterise the life of children even in urban China.

Familiarity and stability are reflected in the *informality* of language use in everyday Chinese life. Equivalents for the western salutations, which Chinese think very formal, are infrequent and unnatural. It is unusual to find Chinese in their own surroundings saying greetings such as "good morning", "good afternoon" or "good night" to each other. To be sure, there are functional equivalents, one can say "nǐ qǐ lái le, 你起來了" ("you are up!") or "zǎo diǎn shuì ba, 早點兒睡吧" ("go to bed early!"). The addressee will be just as pleased. One can resort to what is clearly outsider's usage which often appears in textbooks of

Chinese as a second language, on Voice of America and the BBC: "Zao" or "Wan an". But who would say that in a normal or natural Chinese environment? As for the term "good afternoon", I doubt whether we can find an equivalent unless we substitute the all purpose greeting "Shàng nǎr qù? 上哪兒去?" ("Where to?") or "Chi-guo fàn le ma? 吃過飯了嗎?" ("Have you eaten?"). Consider also the problem of how to translate "may I be excused?". A question natural for westerners to ask when leaving the dinner table. The only appropriate translation would be "Màn (mān) chí, 慢吃" ("eat slowly"). A more polite way to say goodbye to one's guest is "Màn (mān) zǒu, 慢走" ("walk slowly"). If you are the one who is taking leave, then you just declare "wǒ zǒu le, 我走了" ("I am leaving now").

Language Universals and Specific Misunderstandings of Chinese

Human beings have one distinctive property - Language, and there are many properties in language that are universal, such as subjects and predicates, nouns and verbs, vowels and consonants, etc. It would seem that the higher the grammatical category, the greater the likelihood of its being shared by most languages. Negation, comparative, imperative, interrogative, etc. seem to be universal functions among languages.

Salutations, terms of address, styles, etc. on the other hand are culture and linguistic specific - sometimes specific to the larger areas as Mary Haas mentions in her paper, sometimes not. In using linguistic data to explain social phenomenon, it is necessary to take account not only of the phonetic form, the syntactic structure, and the situation in which a particular utterance occurred but also the culture of

the speaker. Overlooking these can lead to misinterpretation of the data. There are some lovely examples in a very influential article published in *Commentary Magazine*, December 1976, by a political scientist named Edward Luttwak, who travelled in China with James Schlesinger, the former American Defence (now Energy) Secretary. This article was subsequently cited in the *London Times*, reprinted in *The Bulletin* in Australia, and translated in the *Central Daily* in Taiwan. Commenting on Han Chinese attitudes to Tibetans, Luttwak says:

I asked a Chinese official resident in Tibet since 1960 how to say 'please' and 'thank you' in Tibetan. He did not know. I asked him how to translate 'move', 'go', and 'faster'. He knew.

Now, as we pointed out before, straightforward non-cliche imperatives and comparatives are grammatical operations that exist in languages to allow them to produce new sentences. As such they are part of the language universals and therefore easy to translate from one language to another. "Move" and "go" are both imperative, and "faster" is comparative, presenting no problems. As for "please" and "thank you", I have asked a number of American experts on Tibetan; Professors Stephen Wang (of Minnesota), Kun Chang and Betty Sheft (of Berkeley) and Anatole Lyovin (of Hawaii). None of them could give me an exact answer. What is it then? The answer seems to lie in the basic misunderstanding of the nature of language in general and the degree of translatability of sentences that pertain to culture specific usage. For the lack of linguistic equivalents of "please" and "thank you" is not a peculiarity of the Tibetan language. A host of other languages also share this feature.

Another example, this time concerning styles in usage, is Edgar Snow's interview with Mao in December 1970. [I cited this example in a series of talks on Language and Society in 1975 here at ANU.] In Chinese, there is a kind of pun called "xiè hòu yǔ, 諧後語" that leaves the latter part of a two-part phrase unsaid. The hearer is supposed to guess the unsaid meaning. Ordinarily native speakers would learn the two parts as a set phrase, so although only the first part is said you know automatically what the speaker means. Snow, though he did have some knowledge of Chinese, was probably not well versed in this particular style or usage. Upon hearing the figurative phrase "hé Shàng dǎ sǎn, 和尚打傘" ("a monk carrying an umbrella"), he thought Mao the poet was using poetic allusions to describe himself as an old monk walking in the rain with a leaky umbrella! However, what was left unsaid was *wú fà wú tiān* 無髮無天, which literally means that the monk has no hair and no (i.e. cannot see the) sky. This phrase, though nonsensical by itself, is homophonous with the phrase meaning lawlessness and unscrupulousness 無法無天. According to the explanation (in personal conversation) of Yao Wei who translated the interview text, Mao used that particular phrase with reference to the UN which in 1970 still kept China out. This episode was also described by Harrison Salisbury [*To Peking and Beyond*, New York, 1973, p.291], but one still finds the incident cited incorrectly as Snow did.

Knowledge of the culture in a particular place is no less important than language. One complements the other. The Chinese say "rù xiāng wèn sú, 入鄉問俗" "when you go to a village ask about the customs". Not doing so would also lead to misinterpretation.

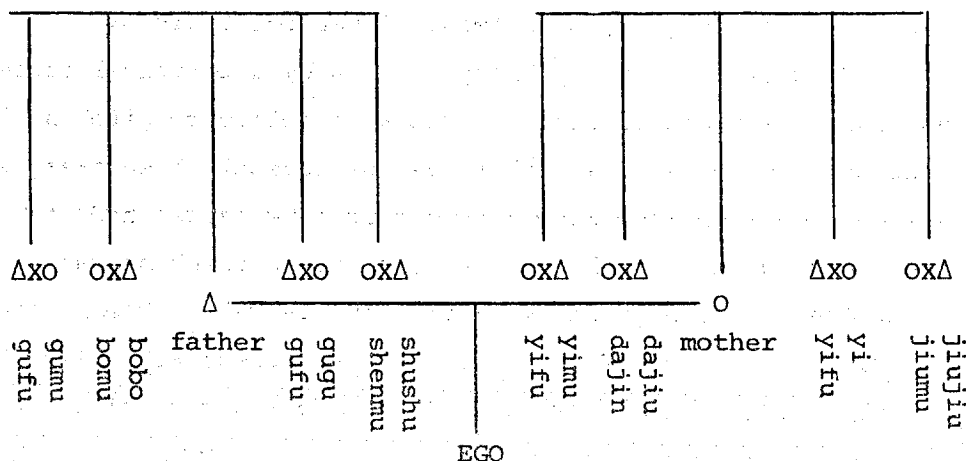
Luttwak observed that when he and other American tourists were being welcomed by the Sinkiang Kazakh nomads, "someone lifted one edge of the carpet in the polychrome tent and found the grass quite green. The show had been rigged for us". To which Owen Lattimore lamented, "Quite so. Unfortunately, tourists know little about nomadic peoples. Kazakhs, when they lay on a feast either for their own invited guests or a party brought along by a political regime anxious to impress foreigners, think it polite to pitch a tent on fresh green grass that has not recently been trampled by livestock. If a Kazakh looked under the carpet and found the grass was not fresh and green, he would think he was being treated as a guest of little importance". [The *London Times*, 24 May 1977. I am grateful to Professor F.P. Lisowski of Hong Kong University Medical School for this particular reference.]

Kinship Terms and Social Understanding

I have suggested some of the misunderstanding between cultures which situations like a Luttwak tour or a Snow interview in China provide. Linguists, like other scientists, put great stock in the value of aberrations from the norm as a guide to understanding norms: in their case, speech errors or mistranslations. It is this theoretical interest in errors that makes language teaching or interpreting interesting for linguists.

Let me turn now to some of the positive "understanding" of Chinese society which the detailed examination of kinship terms for example can provide. The extension of the kinship terms "Shushu" ("uncle") and "Ayi" ("auntie") to a wide variety of social situations provides us with an entree to

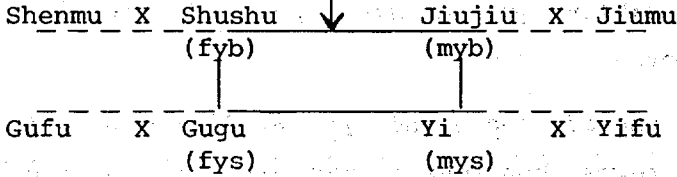
Chinese society. There are 14 to 16 possible terms for "uncle" and "aunt" in Chinese, depending on the assigned or classified relationship the addresser chooses. [I have benefited from discussions with Bass Terwiel on the graphic representation of these terms.] The whole range of consanguinal and affinal terms is as follows:



Looking at both terms used, we note that *generation* is still a marking feature and the addressee receives a similar degree of obedience and respect accorded him or her by these terms [Fei, *Peasant Life in China*, p.90], yet interestingly enough neither "Shushu" 叔叔 or "Ayí" 阿姨 shows seniority of age in the parents' generation, as we still distinguish outside the China mainland. The motivation for choosing the junior terms may indicate a less austere, hence more relaxed image of the addressee [Francis L.K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors Shadows*, New York, 1948, p.64]. "A woman and her husband's older brother avoid each other after the father-in-law and daughter pattern. Between a woman and her husband's younger brother there is greater freedom and often joking". Unmarking of seniority of age is not all. One wishes to ask: why not choose the other terms for the younger relations,

such as Jiujiu and Gugu, or their spouses as in the following illustration:

spouses X parents' siblings X spouses



f = father

y = younger

b = brother

s = sister

x = married to

The motivations for not choosing Jiujiu may be due to the fact that maternal uncles have "special obligations towards the child". According to Fei [*Peasant Life in China*, p.87] "He is the guest of honour at the ceremony held when the child reaches one month, and is the one who selects a name for the child; he escorts him when presenting him for the first time to his schoolmaster. On the child's side his maternal uncle is a protector against harsh treatment by his father ... when property is divided between father and son or among brothers, the maternal uncle is the formal judge. When the maternal uncle dies, his sister's children will mourn for him". The implied obligations for the status of *Jiujiu* are too complicated to impose on non-kin relations not to mention a casual acquaintance such as tourists to China. But the psychological motivations for using *Ayi* goes deeper than mere age, particularly when it is used side by side as a counterpart to *Shushu*. There are a number of alternatives to address a female person: she can be *gugu* if she is regarded as father's sibling just as *shushu* is, or she can

be *Shenmu* if she is *Shushu*'s spouse. This is patrilineal extension. On the other hand if you want to consider a male person as a relative on mother's side, then you can follow the matrilineal extension, and call him either *jiujiu*, mother's sibling just as *ayi* is, or call him *yifu* if he is *ayi*'s spouse.

The use of *Shushu* and *Ayi* and the non-use of the other possible terms then seem to have been motivated by the following psychological social factors:

1. Women asserting equality and not supremacy, thus rejecting *gugu* and not replacing *shushu* with *jiujiu*.
2. Clear delineation of sexes 男女有别 [See Fei, *Xiāng Tǔ Zhōngguó*] thus classifying all male friends to be friends of the father; and females, friends of the mother.
3. Marital status is not a distinguishing criterion. In direct contrast to the terms *Xiansheng*, *Taitai*, *Xiaojie*, which came to popular use in China around the turn of the Century but have gone out of use in China mainland now, these terms do not extend to spouses. [See my paper "Assymmetry in Chinese Terms of Address" given at the Australian Linguistic Society Annual Meeting 1976, Adelaide, Australia.]

All of these three factors are one interconnected aspect of the "same but different" social phenomenon in China today.

III

Phonetics and Teaching Chinese

Paul Kratochvil

The purpose of this paper is to ask if the existing teaching approaches to Chinese speech sounds help in the learning process, and if they do not or do not adequately, which I believe is the case, what can be done to improve them.

The Speech Production Model and Language Teaching

The model of the speech production mechanism which has proved to be most accurate and also most efficient in explaining the acoustic properties of speech sounds is that which views the vocal tract as a complex wind instrument [Fry, *Acoustic Phonetics*, p.11-20, 21-74]. In the terms of this model, the speech production mechanism is most typically activated by an egressive stream of air forced into the vocal tract from the lungs. The air stream produces two kinds of sounds on its way through the vocal tract. One of these is non-periodic noise which is generated by obstructing the air stream partly or, for a very short period of time, completely. Depending on the obstacle, the degree of obstruction and the duration of its application, noises generated in the vocal tract range from hisses (characterised by energy spread over a comparatively large area of the frequency spectrum) to explosions (momentary bursts of energy concentrated in a small part of the spectrum). The other kind of sound is a periodic tone produced by the modulation of a carrier wave generated in the larynx. In its case, the air stream sets into periodic vibration the vocal folds which are forcibly

stretched in its way across the larynx in the glottal area, the starting point of the vocal tract in the narrow sense, which generates the basic periodic source sound (further referred to as *glottal voice*). Beyond the glottal area, this sound is filtered through a resonating system of the vocal tract which resembles a bent flexible tube with a smaller valve-controlled tube separated from it in the bend. Glottal voice is modulated, in the first place, by the choice of the part of the resonating system from the point of the bend it is filtered through: either only the nearer larger tube (the oral cavity) is open to it, or only the smaller tube (the nasal cavity) or both. If and when it passes through the oral cavity resonator, it is modulated further by changes in the size and shape of this resonator. The modulated periodic sound which finally leaves the vocal tract will be called the *oral-nasal voice*. The total oral-nasal output consists of segments of oral-nasal voice and noises, and all speech sounds are either noises or periodic sounds in this sense. Most characteristically, speech appears in the shape of continuous spells separated by pauses which usually but not necessarily coincide with breath intakes. These spells consist of one or more pulses of energy (syllables), each of which is represented by a segment of oral-nasal voice commonly surrounded by noises at its onset and coda.

From the point of view of the way in which this model operates, the various features of the oral-nasal output, that is, the perceived speech sound, may be classified according to the part of the speech production mechanism responsible for generating and modulating them. Two main distinct parts of the mechanism can be identified for this purpose. The first of these is the glottal area at which the

air stream enters the vocal tract, which will be called *Zone 1*. The second part is the general area beyond *Zone 1* where the vocal tract bends and divides into the oral and nasal cavities. This whole part from the vocal folds to the lips and nostrils will be referred to as *Zone 2*. Further division of *Zone 2* is obviously possible and other parts can be singled out, such as the area between the vocal folds and the velum, and various smaller parts of the oral cavity can be separated from each other but, as will become apparent later in this paper, this would serve no useful purpose in the present general discussion of the role of phonetics in teaching Chinese.

We can then say that the noises are generated mainly in *Zone 2* where they are also modulated [the one notable exception being whispered speech in which noise is generated in *Zone 1*, as a substitute for glottal voice, and modulated in *Zone 2*], and that tone sounds are always generated in *Zone 1* and modulated in *Zone 2*. Some speech sounds are combinations of noise and tone, generated simultaneously (or almost simultaneously) in *Zones 1* and *2*, and modulated in *Zone 2*. *Components* of the oral-nasal output viewed in this manner are segments of the continuum of speech sound spells, each occupying a subsequent slot in time, although some overlap takes place at the borders of the slots (e.g. a certain amount of tone may spill over into a noise slot following it, etc.). They largely correspond to the linguistic segmental categories of vowels (tone components) and consonants (noise components), although there are relatively rare situations where the correspondence does not apply. In any case, the common feature of all speech components is that some modulation in *Zone 2* takes place

during their production, wherever they are generated. The manner in which components are modulated is distinctive to them in their perception and, depending on the role they are assigned in the given linguistic system (i.e. whether or not they are given phonological relevance), it also governs the phonological distinction between individual vowels and consonants, or accounts for the difference in their phonological variants. The only other factor beside the manner of modulation which may function as distinctive in this sense is the duration of the speech component (in the case of long-versus-short vowels). This factor applies relatively rarely, and its distinctive status is invariably in some doubt when it does: it is always accompanied by some difference in the manner of modulation. In any case, the factor of duration has no distinctive function of this kind in Modern Standard Chinese, and it can be disregarded in the following discussion. It can thus be stated in conclusion that modulation in Zone 2 accounts for the distinct properties of speech components. Since sound must be generated before it is modulated, and since the way in which speech components are generated does not necessarily account for their distinct properties, speech components (i.e. segmentals) are features of secondary status from the point of view of the structure of the speech sound continuum, as reflected by the model described earlier.

The primary status in the structure of the speech sound continuum belongs to those features which, although redundant from the point of view of the distinctness of speech components, account for that part of the continuum remaining after the distinctive properties of speech components are discounted. In other words, they are the features of the

source sound which is subsequently modulated in Zone 2. Since the basic source sound is largely generated in Zone 1, the features of primary status are mainly the properties of the glottal voice. A minor part of the source sound in normal speech are noises generated as well as modulated in Zone 2 (in the case of voiceless consonants and the noise elements of voiced consonants) but these can be treated as speech components, as modulation in their case is practically coterminous with generation. The features of the source sound generated in Zone 1, that is, glottal voice, will be referred to as the *aspects* of speech sound, and they will be considered as features of primary status. They correspond to the linguistic categories generally labelled as suprasegmental or prosodic features.

It is thus proposed that the speech production model referred to above generates in Zone 1 a basic source sound, the features of which, called aspects (corresponding to prosodic features), are of primary status in the structure of the speech sound, and that this basic source sound is further modulated in Zone 2 (or both generated and modulated there, in the case of noises), the modulation features called components (corresponding to segmentals) being of secondary status in the structure. This concept leads to the assumption that speech perception is carried out by a decoding system which makes it possible to identify the primary aspects and the secondary components of speech sound, and to separate them from each other. Because speech sound aspects and speech sound components may be assigned different roles in different linguistic systems, the decoding system must provide for their correct interpretation by being at least partly language-specific. For the same reason, when

speakers of language A are learning language B, the understanding of the decoding system of language B must be acquired by them as part of their learning process. This increases in importance when the two linguistic systems in question differ from each other to a considerable degree. Such a situation arises particularly in the case of speakers of a non-tonal language, such as English, approaching a tonal language, such as Modern Standard Chinese, because they have to cope not only with differences in the roles assigned to features within the primary status area on the one hand, and within the secondary status area on the other hand, but also with a difference in the functional burdening of each of the two areas: mainly because of the tone-stress-intonation complex, primary features play a proportionally more important role in Chinese than in English. In more concrete terms, a speaker of English has to learn to pick out of the Chinese speaker's oral-nasal output such primary aspects as tone, stress, and intonation, before he can be expected to produce acceptable renditions of Chinese speech sounds: his preceding experience with his own non-tonal language and a mere rational appreciation of the situation in Chinese are not sufficient substitutes for the necessary learning experience.

Current Descriptions and Approaches to Teaching Chinese Speech Sounds

Pronunciation is most commonly taught in the very beginning of a Chinese language course in an independent introductory section which is followed by the main body, the 'real' course. Relatively specialised features of Chinese speech sounds are at times referred to in the latter but, on the whole, the accepted approach is one of providing as

compact an introductory description of Chinese speech sounds as possible, and once this is out of the way, not returning to them in their own right but only as part of the language material introduced and organised with non-phonetic aims in mind. The emphasis is on rationalisation (rather than extensive training aimed at skill acquisition) at the beginning, and on gradual trial-and-error learning later on. To give two very common examples, instruction concerning speech sounds is concentrated into twelve of the total of 498 pages (in the section 'The Sounds of Chinese' of the *Introduction*) of John DeFrancis' *Beginning Chinese*, and this is supplemented by short 'Pronunciation Drills' and 'Pronunciation Review' sections in the subsequent lessons. Reference to speech sounds disappears from the sequel *Intermediate Chinese* altogether. In the textbook *Elementary Chinese* produced in Peking, almost all the comments on speech sounds are given in the first nine lessons (Vol. 1, p.1-49), and even there they are combined with instruction on writing characters, while the rest of the course, the main body of lessons 10-66, contains only stray notes on phonetic features. Apart from incorporating instruction on pronunciation in general Chinese language courses, there have also been some rare attempts at constructing separate courses in Chinese pronunciation running parallel to a general language course, and thus permitting to present and drill speech sounds independently and at greater length. The first of these I know of was C.F. Hockett's *Progressive Exercises in Chinese Pronunciation* of 1951. My own *A Course in Chinese Pronunciation* is of this kind.

Whether Chinese speech sounds are taught in largely subordinate parts of a general language course or in an

independent course, the generally accepted model of the system on which their presentation is based is rather different from the model of speech production described earlier in this paper. The teaching model which applied Chinese phonetics clearly inherited from applied phonetics of European languages, as it has been practised commonly in language teaching in the West, views the total product of the vocal tract as a string of segmental syllables composed of strings of consonants and vowels, where the members of the strings follow each other as discrete items in time, with prosodic features imposed on the strings from above, so to speak, in a separate layer. The suggestive terms 'segmental' and 'suprasegmental' clearly evoke a model of this kind. The model is most tangibly reflected in the order in which the various features are presented to the learner. Invariably, segmental sounds come first, and after their organisation in syllables has been described, tones are introduced as an additional factor generating syllable variants. Stress patterns (usually in the guise of the concept of atonicity) are displayed as distinctive properties of simple strings of syllables, and, finally, intonation is presented as the feature of strings of syllable strings coinciding with sentences. The proportion occupied by segmental features in relation to prosodic features is also a significant indicator in this respect: the former tend to be treated at greater length and in greater detail, the latter more briefly and in generalising terms. Although it seldom actually commits itself to saying so, this model generates the impression of primariness of segmentals over prosodic features. It tends to give the student an image of Chinese as having the physical shape of segmental base with

a prosodic layer above the base, the base being of greater importance in the system for purposes of communication. Even though no course in Chinese pronunciation I know of states explicitly that tones are less important to learn than segmentals, this is the impression which students commonly get from the courses: prosodic features are the first to go overboard when complete success in pronouncing Chinese is not achieved, and the learning gets rough. This is not, of course, an idiosyncrasy of teaching Chinese. The model, as I said earlier, was inherited from Europe, where it has a long tradition of bias in favour of segmental features in language teaching.

It is not easy to trace the origins of the teaching model which reverses the role of segmental and prosodic features in the reality of speech production. One of the sources is perhaps the influence of the ingenious principle which underlies the design of the phonemic writing system, and which is so forceful that it prevents literate people using this kind of system from thinking of speech sounds in terms other than those of the script. It will be remembered that the concept of segmental primariness was exported to China from Europe, and that up to the present time it has had to be painstakingly explained to literate speakers of Chinese (i.e. literate in the traditional character writing system) to whom that principle is unknown on the phonological level. An even more likely and more fundamental source is the phonological state of mind itself which instinctively assesses speech sounds in their role of signals of linguistic events, and which tends to assign the most important role to those features which appear at the end of the chain of articulation.

The functional view is obviously of key importance for appreciating the phonological properties of a language system but that does not necessarily make it relevant in teaching the production of the signals. That the phonological stance has gained a position from which it dominates the phonetic view is demonstrated by the few existing descriptions of modern Chinese phonetics which invariably follow the pattern of segmental base and additional prosodic layer, with far more extensive and intensive coverage of the former. I may be forgiven for citing a once local work, F.D.M. Dow's *An Outline of Mandarin Phonetics*, as a typical case in point. In this book, pp.16-102 are given to segmentals, while only pp.102-124 discuss prosodic features. Typically, the section on tones (p.102) is introduced by 'In addition to the initial and final, tone, one of the three prosodic features, is a constituent of syllable-formation in Chinese'.

However, what may be at the root of the reversed teaching model is simply uncertainty of how the speech production mechanism works, and what the acoustic structure of speech sounds is. One must remember that a reasonably clear picture of both is of relatively recent date, and that surprisingly much of the uncertainty still remains. Direct observation of the vocal tract in action, such as by applying X-ray cinematography techniques, is no more than some forty years old, and it has been only during the last decade or so of its existence that this kind of observation reached a level from which application to such area as language teaching became a practical proposition. [As opposed to making observations of states obtained by cuts in time. This has been possible for a much longer period of time but it has had little more than illustrative value for language teaching.]

Similarly, the acoustic analysis of speech sounds on a scale making practical application feasible has been made possible only since 1946 when the first publication describing the sound spectrograph appeared. It is thus not entirely surprising that much in the phonetic foundation is still based on assumption rather than observation. The knowledge of the way in which the vocal tract mechanism works decreases the more the further one gets away from its directly observable parts which also happen to be the parts where the kinesthetic feelings are relatively the most accurate. Thus, much more is known about speech sound modulation brought about in the area between the lips and the tip of the tongue than farther back in Zone 2, and generally more is known about the modulation than the generation of speech sounds. In a sense, this lack of knowledge proportional to the distance from the speech sound source, contributes to the reversal of the teaching model in relation to actual speech sound production. It is especially in the respect of what were referred to as the features of primary status generated in Zone 1, that is, the aspects of speech sounds, that outdated assumptions stubbornly remain even in otherwise sophisticated contemporary phonetic and phonological work. The unsubstantiated belief that Chinese tones are signalled exclusively by pitch events which themselves are related exclusively to fundamental frequency changes, widely reflected in statements on Chinese prosodic features, is a typical example of the tenacity of such assumptions. [See Kratochvil, 1977, p.22.]

Whatever the origins of the reversed teaching model may be, it is, I think, necessary to ask if it is a better model than the speech production model to use for the purposes of

teaching the production of speech sounds in general, and especially in the case of tonal languages where, as it was suggested earlier, the role of the primary aspects of speech sounds is proportionally greater. It would seem that an approach in teaching speech sound production based on the speech production model described earlier could be expected to evoke a more realistic image of the way in which the speech sound mechanism works, in the mind of the learner, and enable him to acquire correct skills more efficiently.

What is proposed is replacing the approach in teaching Chinese of establishing the segmental base first and then grafting upon it the additional layer of prosodic features, by an approach which would follow the speech production model, and first start by establishing the Zone 1 source sound, and then Zone 2 modulations. In other words, the linear approach of consonant-vowel segmentation in time, followed by overlaid tone, stress, and intonation, which is felt to be of dubious value for speakers of a non-tonal language learning Chinese, is suggested to be substituted by a zonal approach proceeding from the properties of the glottal voice to those of the oral-nasal output. The latter is more realistic for speech production and can be expected to be of greater help to speakers of a non-tonal language endeavouring to understand and control the relationship between the primary aspects of speech sound and the secondary components of speech sound in Chinese.

Application of the Zonal Approach to Teaching Chinese

The application of the zonal approach in the practice of teaching Chinese pronunciation hinges on the possibility not only of observing events in Zone 1 during speech

production but also of hearing and, if possible, imitating glottal voice samples obtained from native speakers of Chinese. The one major obstacle to such application is that until recently glottal voice could not be listened to without some degree of interference from Zone 2 modulation. The problem is that in normal speech production the source sound generated in Zone 1 is inseparable from the modulation in Zone 2 simply because a live speaker's head, containing the major resonance chambers, is rather permanently attached to his neck which contains his larynx. The only practicable way to separate the source sound from modulation was by extracting the former from the oral-nasal output by acoustic analytical techniques, and reconstructing it on a speech synthesiser. This procedure, apart from being very time-consuming, cumbersome, and costly, is not, however, entirely reliable, since some aspects of the source sound are impossible to extract from the oral-nasal output without introducing some element of subjective judgement. Most importantly, it is not feasible to obtain an accurate picture of the changes in the loudness of glottal voice: different vowel configurations of the vocal tract modulate the amplitude of glottal voice to different degrees, and the overall amplitude of the oral-nasal voice is then a complex within which the exact proportion of the source sound and modulation components impossible to establish.

Fortunately, a relatively simple and cheap device which makes it possible to observe and listen to glottal voice without involving such analytical problems, has recently become available. This is the so-called Fourcin laryngograph which was developed in the Department of Phonetics, University College, London, and first described in publications in 1971

[See for example Fourcin and Abberton, 1971]. This machine analyses glottal voice basically by measuring the impedance between two electrodes positioned on either side of the throat on the level of the glottis. Since the impedance depends on the position of the vocal folds (if they are closely in contact, the impedance is less than when they are apart), its measurements reflect directly and accurately the properties of vocal fold movement which is the basis of glottal voice. The technique has the further advantage that the superficial electrodes (which are two light plastic-mounted metal strips gently pressed by hand to the throat or held in position by an elastic neckband) do not in any way interfere with speaking, and that the output is instantaneous. One of the electrodes acts as a transmitter, the other as a receiver, and a low power generator is connected to the former emitting a radio frequency signal at about 1 MHz. This signal is detected by the receiving electrode and passed to a tuned radio receiver. Variations in received signal level due to the conductivity occurring as a result of vocal fold movement, are demodulated in the receiver and produced as a low frequency signal at the output. This signal may be displayed on a cathode ray tube screen (either in the waveform shape or as a curve reflecting the fundamental frequency contour) or recorded on an ordinary tape recorder. The reproduced tape recording is substantially the sound of glottal voice at the point where it leaves Zone 1.

Apart from its various other obvious applications (e.g. producing accurate instantaneous fundamental frequency curves on screen can be used in teaching or correcting intonation), the Fourcin laryngograph thus makes it possible to hear glottal voice which, as it was stated above, is the primary

condition for applying in practice the zonal approach in teaching pronunciation. The fundamental principle of the application which offers itself is comparison of simultaneous recordings of the same bits of speech on two tracks of tape, one of the glottal voice, and the other of the oral-nasal output. Such comparison, when incorporated in the framework of an organised progressive course, can be expected to make it possible for the student to observe the aspects of Chinese speech sounds (i.e. tones, stresses, and intonation) in isolation from speech components (vowels in particular), and to learn how to decode the former from the latter step by step, in each case starting from the glottal voice and then proceeding to the oral-nasal output.

It is also possible to envisage the use of glottal voice recordings for drilling by the student. In order to give the student model samples for imitation which he could accept as realistic representations of the aspects of speech sounds, and then proceed from them to imitating the corresponding samples of the oral-nasal output, the actual glottal voice recordings would probably have to be processed by a speech synthesiser in the same way which was described above. The reason for this is that the frequency structure of glottal voice is such that it does not resemble in quality a sound which could be produced by the human vocal tract, and it thus cannot be imitated by the learner without his using simultaneously an arbitrary speech sound component, such as a particular vowel sound. This could distort the important element of direct uninterpretative imitation in the process. Presenting to the student reconstructed glottal voice samples already combined with an acceptable constant vowel sound by a speech synthesiser would probably solve the problem.

Experience has shown that once the analytical data for the given samples of glottal voice are available (existing automatic measurement computer programmes can be used for this purpose), combining them with a steady-state vowel data into speech synthesiser instructions is a relatively very simple task. [For an experiment based on material produced synthetically by applying a similar technique, see Kratochvil 1971].

So far, it has only been possible to observe, analyse spectrographically, and compare extensive glottal voice recordings of Chinese speech samples with the corresponding oral-nasal outputs in laboratory conditions [in the phonetics laboratory of the Department of Linguistics, University of Cambridge, since early 1977]. The experience has been most stimulating and, at least to myself as an admittedly not quite impartial observer, it seemed clearly to open applied possibilities in the sense described above. An early application of the zonal approach in teaching Chinese pronunciation in practice can test whether or not it justifiably replaces the traditional reversed approach.

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IV

Surface Marking Features and Event
and Discourse Related Categories

Harry Simon

Surface Structure

Most of us have been asked at one time or another what it is about Chinese that makes it such a difficult language. We may not have been entirely satisfied with an explanation that merely refers to the difficulties of distinguishing tone and of remembering characters. This paper - as its first and provisional title will indicate - arose from some thoughts on what it was in the structure of Chinese that might be held to present particular difficulties to the native speaker of English who has some acquaintance with other Indo-European languages. [Indirectly, these difficulties, of course, relate to the kind of difficulty experienced by native speakers of other Indo-European languages.] As such it is an attempt to say something about the 'Chineseness' of Chinese.

It is commonplace to observe that Chinese lacks 'morphology', and that the marking of syntactic classes and categories, which is accomplished at least in part in Indo-European languages by morphological change, is accomplished in Chinese by changes of order. There is an implication in such statements, and in the traditional classification of Chinese as an isolating language in contrast to inflected or agglutinating languages, that these two 'marking' devices, namely changes of morphology and changes of order, can be assumed to have some degree of 'equivalence'. A look at the

literature on the structure of Chinese makes it only too clear that this is not the case for the descriptive linguist nor - we may suppose - for the native speaker of English who comes to the study of Chinese with certain fundamental assumptions about how languages are structured and how the structures are marked in spoken and written texts.

This paper will therefore concern itself exclusively with the formal marking devices of what are now commonly called 'surface structures'. We should observe in passing that whilst it is part of the transformation-generative theory that deep structure generates surface structures, the deep structure which is hypothesised for any one language and even for language as a universal activity is in fact *derived* from the observable structures on the surface. Observations and reflections on surface structures are not therefore without relevance to transformation-generative grammar and need not be taken as casting doubt on this or that deep structure, whether for Chinese or for language generally, any more than an analysis of landscape in terms of topographical features based on granite or limestone necessarily calls into question the latest geological knowledge.

Marking Features

In discussing the formal marking devices or marking features of surface structures we shall be concerned in the first instance with morphological changes and changes of order and thereafter with expansion, deletion and substitution. I propose to use the term 'marking feature' to cover all these types of change.

In discussing morphological change and change of order as marking features of structure it will be helpful to stretch the term morphology to its widest connotation and to regard paradigmatic changes of what are sometimes described as 'form words' as evidence of morphological change. The words in such a paradigm will be thought of as terms in a system or category. It should be noted, however, that the same word may occur as a term in different systems or categories. The definite article in German, for instance, may change from *der* to *den* to mark case, or *der* to *die* or *der* to *das* to mark gender. On the other hand, we may be concerned with a change from *der* to *ein* or from *der* to *einer* to mark a noun phrase with definite or indefinite reference.

In English we might be concerned with several types of change in the verb auxiliary, from *have* to *has* to mark person, from *have* to *had* to mark tense, from *have* to *haven't* to mark negation. In this very wide sense of the word, it is clear that Chinese cannot be said to be lacking in morphology. Nor should we fail to observe in this connection that for Indo-European languages like English and German the use of order as a syntactic marking feature appears to be as crucial to the marking of a number of categories and classes as it is in Chinese.

In order, therefore, to focus attention on the difference rather than the similarities in the marking of what might otherwise be considered to be 'comparable syntactic classes and categories in Latin, German, English and Chinese, it may be helpful to examine what it is a given marking feature may be said to mark. In this connection we might ask a number of questions:

- i) To what extent does the marking feature mark what has normally been described as the 'class' of the element or elements of structure of which it is a part? For example, a noun ending in Latin may be said to mark the work in which it occurs as a noun and the phrase in which the noun occurs as a noun phrase. A matching ending, operating in a different system can be said to mark the word class 'adjective' by agreement over three genders and across five declensions. The closed classes determinative and classifier in Chinese may be said to mark the word they precede as a noun.
- ii) To what extent does the marking feature serve to mark the syntactic category in which an element of structure may be said 'to occur'? To put it more precisely: to what extent does it mark a category and one of the terms in it? Here the noun ending in Latin can be seen to mark the noun as occurring in the category 'case' as well as in the categories 'number', 'gender' and 'declension'. In Chinese the position of a noun phrase either before or after the verb phrase may mark it as either a subject noun phrase or an object noun phrase.
- iii) To what extent does the marking feature serve to mark one or more boundaries of the element of structure which it marks? For example in Latin a noun ending such as *-a* in *volumina* may be said to mark at least one of the boundaries of word and phrase and probably also of sentence, though more indirectly. The sequence determinative + classifier + noun in Chinese, when taken in conjunction with any rules of expansion or deletion we may describe will mark the boundaries of

the noun phrase in Chinese. The boundaries of the verb phrase in Chinese are not as easy to determine, and that there are problems, also, over the boundaries of sentence.

Questions of this kind will enable us to make statements about the role and function of marking features, and to show how a given class or category is marked; whether, for instance, it is marked by one or more features which are based on morphological change, or changes of order, be it the order of words in the phrase or of phrases in the sentence. It will be interesting to observe to what extent any one marking feature could be said to have a degree of redundancy because the class or category is marked by more than one feature. Redundancy of this kind appears to be a common feature in Indo-European languages, but not in Chinese. For instance, the category subject (S) in Indo-European languages is marked in Latin i) by the case endings of noun and adjective and ii) by agreement of a) person, b) number and c) gender with the verb phrase. In German it is marked i) by sentence order, ii) by the case form of the article in the singular, or iii) by the inflected form of the pronoun and iv) by agreement of a) person and b) number with the verb phrase. There is nothing like making assurance doubly sure! The subject noun phrase in Chinese is marked only by order in relation to the verb phrase.

For purposes of comparison it will be assumed here that there are adequate descriptions of what we mean by sentence, phrase and word in Latin, German and English and that, even if the descriptions of these elements of structure are not entirely adequate for Chinese, particularly in relation to sentence, they will at least serve for this purpose. It will

also be assumed that adequate formal descriptions are available for the phrase classes 'noun phrase' (NP), 'verb phrase' (VP), and for the word classes 'verb' (v), 'verb auxiliary' (aux.), 'adverb' (adv.), 'noun' (n), 'pronoun' (p), 'adjective' (adj.), 'article' (art.) and so forth in English, Latin and German. For Chinese it will be assumed - though perhaps with a little less confidence - that there are adequate descriptions of the word classes 'verb' (v), 'noun' (n), 'classifier' (c) (also referred to elsewhere as 'measure' or noun adjunct), 'determinative' (d), 'pronoun' (p) and what I have elsewhere described as 'determinate' (a) (more commonly described as 'measure' and put in the same class as 'classifier'.) Finally, it will be assumed that adequate formal definitions are available to describe the sentence categories 'subject' (S), 'verb' (V), 'object' (O), in each of the four languages. Whilst there seems to be consensus on the boundaries of the phrase class noun phrase (NP) in Chinese, there are problems over the boundaries of verb phrase (VP).

Event-related and Discourse-related Categories and Discourse Tactics

I am not sure to what extent the distinction between 'event-related categories' and 'discourse-related categories' has been thought by others to be of any great significance. The difference is easy enough to appreciate. Let us suppose that a text is changed from *John loves Mary* to *Mary loves John* or to *John loved Mary*, then there are a number of ways of describing the changes that have taken place in the structure of the three texts. We might wish to describe the first change as a change of terms in the system of the category 'case' and the second change as a change of terms

in the system of the category 'tense'. Whatever our approach to a description of these changes of structure it is clear that they have a direct relationship to changes that have occurred in the situation or events to which the resulting sentences refer. The category in which the elements of structure operate is therefore described here as an 'event-related category'. [There should be a better term than 'event-related category', since there are references to the real world which cannot be described accurately as events, e.g. *He is taller than you are.*] I am deliberately avoiding any statement about the nature of this relationship. It is not necessary to say who is or was doing what and to whom.

On the other hand it is clear that there are many structures which are different one from the other in terms of morphology and order, each of which may nevertheless be seen to refer to the same set of events, or the same situation. The change from one structure to another appears to be related to the way in which the speaker wishes to organise his discourse. This type of structural change will be described as being 'discourse-related'. Such categories as 'voice' and 'aspect' may be said to be 'discourse-related'. More significant, however, are structural changes which are commonly referred to as 'rank-shifting' or 'embedding' or - in a more generalised terminology - the various stages between parataxis at one end and hypotaxis at the other. At any given point in the discourse a speaker appears to have a number of choices of structure. We shall refer to these choices as 'discourse tactics' since it is not easy to arrange them paradigmatically as terms in a system or category.

It is no accident that the mastery of 'context-related categories' is the first and most elementary step in the acquisition of some basic competence in a foreign language. The complete mastery of 'discourse-related' categories and discourse tactics, on the other hand, be it at the encoding or the decoding end, is something which is given to very few non-native speakers. One even wonders whether there may not be some forms of hypotaxis which are not necessarily within the competence of every native speaker. At any rate there can be little doubt that the discourse related categories and tactics present greater difficulties for the native speaker of English in encoding and decoding Chinese than do event-related categories.

The Nuclear Form and Deletion, Substitution and Expansion

In discussing changes of structure we have so far considered only changes of morphology and order. In order to deal adequately with 'discourse related' categories, particularly in Chinese, it will also be necessary to note changes brought about by deletion, expansion and substitution.

In any consideration of these devices as 'marking features' of surface structure it is difficult to avoid assuming the existence of a 'nuclear form', either a 'nuclear sentence' or a 'nuclear phrase', since one cannot envisage a satisfactory statement about expansion or deletion unless one begins with a form that can be seen to have been expanded, deleted or diminished by the deletion of one or more of its constituents. It would clearly be convenient if such nuclear forms could be seen to depend on a degree of 'primacy' of the nuclear form over the other forms which result from expansion, deletion or substitution. But primacy

is not crucial to a definition of the boundaries of a nuclear form. The boundaries may be drawn on an arbitrary basis dictated by considerations of convenience in one's mode of analysis or description.

Discourse Tactics and Discourse Strategy

It is clear that there are a number of factors which will combine to determine a speaker's choice of tactics. Some of these will be related to the personality of the speaker, that of the other participants, their relationship to each other and the social traditions established for the text. These are normally thought of as 'socio-linguistic' factors. For this reason, in the texts [Those interested in the texts of the letters discussed in this paper may obtain them by applying to Professor Simon.] which form the basis of the discussion below, the sex, age and personality of the mother was carefully described to each of the informants, as was her relationship and her perception of it to the person addressed. Since the texts are in each case a family letter, the 'socio-linguistic' environment of the family produced four comparable texts, and it should be stressed that they are not to be conceived as translations one of the other or translations from English. For the sake of comparison, the informants were led a little but not, I hope, too much. It is clear that a change in any of these 'socio-linguistic' factors would have produced a different set of tactics. The English father, had he written the letter, is hardly likely to have referred to his intended gift as 'two old books', and the mother is likely to have used a different set of tactics had she been writing to one of her friends to complain of her husband's extravagance.

Another factor worth notice is the choice in the English text between *your father* and *Dad*, which does not appear to be determined so much by 'socio-linguistic' factors as by what, in literary criticism, is commonly referred to as 'tone'. It appears that the choice between the two comparable terms *ní ba* and *ba* in Chinese is not determined by 'tone'. If the Chinese speaker had wanted this tonal quality, he might have added a demonstrative and classifier to change *ní ba* into *ní zhèige baba* 'you this + classifier father'.

The choice of tactics also affects the way in which the text is arranged, determined partly by the way in which the speaker wishes to order the situation. One thinks here by way of analogy of the way in which a Chinese landscape painter may wish to present his landscape to us to be looked at from the bottom upwards. It is clear that, however we may wish to paint a word picture, our tactics will, to some extent, be determined by what is normally described as 'focus'. It is equally clear that any choice of 'focus' at any given point in the text will be limited considerably by the preceding text and to a lesser extent - but particularly in a longer text - by the text that is planned to follow.

At this stage it may be useful to follow our military analogy one step further and adapt the word 'strategy' to our purposes. If I understand my military friends correctly, then their view of the difference between 'strategy' and 'tactics' will not help us very much. The difference they make appears to be largely a matter of scale. The boundaries do not have to be closely defined because the terms are related to a hierarchy of activities centred on one Commander, who does not have to draw a sharp line between his tactical and his strategic activities. As descriptive linguists,

however, we find ourselves very much more in the position of the war correspondent who may have a clear view of a given set of events but who has not been given access to the Commanding General and will not be able to do more than guess at the battle plan. From his point of view there might be advantages in describing those parts of the battle that he can see clearly as 'tactics' and as 'strategy' the underlying plans to which he has no direct access. Both the war correspondent and the military historian who writes at a later stage may make quite accurate assessments of the 'strategies' that lie behind observable events on the battlefield in the light of their specialist experience.

In the same way, we might regard the linguistic structures revealed by what we have described as 'marking features' as 'tactics' and the 'socio-linguistic' factors relating speaker, participants, and nature of text together with the textual factors of 'focus' and 'textual environment' as combining to determine an appropriate 'strategy'. It is not clear whether there can be said to be any hierarchy in which we could arrange these factors in order of significance.

If we observe a choice of structure which we may describe as a choice between 'definite' and 'indefinite', we are describing a tactic which may be 'triggered off' by a number of very different strategic factors. Li and Thompson, for instance, have pointed out that Chinese uses different tactics to distinguish between noun phrases that are definite because of anaphora and those that are definite because they are part of the situation [Li and Thompson, 1975]. But the choice is, in fact, more complex than that.

There is a third set of determining factors which is related to what we might describe as 'linguistic topography'.

When the war correspondent observes a battalion making a so-called 'flanking movement', it may be part of a well-worn strategy involving the factor of surprise but it may also be related to a physical obstacle in the way of a frontal attack. It might be an impenetrable patch of jungle, or ground in which vehicles would get bogged or any one of a number of other topographical features including mines and tanktraps.

For the linguist who is also a teacher, it is clearly important to note the topographical inhibitions to a choice of tactics in the target language, as compared to the choice available in the student's native language, otherwise he will get 'bogged' or fall into a 'tanktrap'. The question of 'message thrust' to which I should like to return on another occasion is one such feature, since it inhibits such sentences as *ta xie xin hen hao*, and sheds light on the strategy behind the shift of an object NP to a preverbal position.

A Comparison of Marking Features in Three Indo-European Languages and Chinese

A limited number of 'marking features' in Indo-European languages and Chinese are now examined to see to what extent they differ from each other. I chose Latin, German and English because they present surface marking features which are substantially different one from the other.

Descriptive notes of the surface marking features of these three languages could not be included here because of length. Here I give only the thrust of the comparison. In Latin the marking features are almost entirely based on

morphology by a system of inflections and - to a lesser extent - by a system of closed word classes like the class preposition. Order is said to be 'free' although there appears to be a favoured order.

English, on the other hand, has order as an underlying marking feature of the NP and of the sequence of NP and VP in the transitive sentence. It also has morphological marking features based largely on closed word classes like the classes preposition and article, or the sub-classes of article which mark definite and indefinite reference. Except in the system of the verb and the pronoun, inflection is confined to the marking of the category number and the marking of a qualifying NP.

German appears to lie halfway between these two contrasting marking systems. Although order appears to be the underlying marking feature of the structure of the NP and of the transitive sentence, categories and classes are also marked by the two morphological marking features, inflection and the closed word class.

Where all three Indo-European languages were found to be similar to each other and fundamentally different from Chinese was i) in the multiple marking of the subject NP by such features as inflection, order and agreement of person and number and - occasionally of gender and ii) in the complexity of their verbal systems and of the resulting clear marking by morphological marking features of a number of discourse categories and discourse tactics. One of the consequences arising from the fact that discourse tactics involving shifts from parataxis to hypotaxis are marked by morphology is that the matrix of the sentence as an element

of structure can be seen to emerge with much greater definition than it does in Chinese, where the boundaries do not appear to be clearly marked.

A contributory feature to the lack of definition of sentence boundaries in Chinese is the fact that the deletion of the subject NP or the object NP is an important discourse tactic in Chinese. It may be combined with another discourse tactic where the object is shifted to precede the verb. In English and German where order is also the underlying marking feature, the inclusion of a substitution phrase or pronoun rather than the deletion of the subject NP or the object NP, serves to remind us constantly of the shape of the matrix sentence or of the dependent sentence.

The Texts

Each of the texts under consideration was generated by an informant who was asked to write a short paragraph which might occur in a letter written by a mother to her son. The mother was described as a lively extrovert whose style in this type of letter was likely to be so chatty that one could consider it to be 'sayable', to use Y.R. Chao's term. In each case the mother and father have been on a holiday in Rome for five days. The first extract (1) occurs in a letter written in the first century A.D. to a son who is serving with Agricola's army in Britain. The parents are on holidays in Rome from their home in Naples. The remaining three extracts occur in three letters written from Rome in 1977, each of them to a son, also in Britain, but in this more enlightened age studying in the University of London. For extract (2) the parents are German and live in Munich. For extract (3) they are English and live in Oxford. For

extract (4) they are Chinese and live in Hong Kong, although both of them were born and brought up in Peking.

In each case the son is within a few weeks of his 21st birthday. He shares with his father, a lively interest in antiquarian books - an interest which the mother neither understands nor approves of, since it appears to consume considerable sums of money which, she feels, could be spent to better advantage on other things.

The paragraphs preceding the extract deal with other things that the couple have been doing in Rome. They are not related in any way to the paragraph cited in the extract.

- | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|-------------|----------------------------|------------|
| (1) Heri | tabernam | librariam | haud | procol |
| yesterday | shop | book | not | far |
| a | caupona | sitam | invenimus | |
| from | inn | situated | (we) found | |
| Pater | tibi | emit | volumina antiquissima duo- | |
| Father | for you | bought | scrolls most old | two |
| et | quanti | pretii - | constat | annos |
| and | how much | cost/price | it is | years |
| | | | certain that | |
| haec | ferme | ducentos | habere | |
| these | at least | two hundred | have | |
| (2) gestern | haben | wir | hier | gleich |
| yesterday | have | we | here | just |
| | | | | beim |
| | | | | by the |
| Hotel | ein | Antiquariat | entdeckt. | Dein |
| hotel | an | antiquarian | discovered | your |
| | | bookshop | | |
| lieber | Vater | hat dir | ein | paar |
| dear | father | has for you | a | pair |
| | | | | sehr |
| | | | | very |
| alte | Bücher | gekauft. | Sie | müssen |
| old | books | bought. | They | must |
| | | | | mindestens |
| | | | | at least |

zweihundert Jahre alt sein, und waren sündhaft
two hundred years old be, and were sinfully

teuer.
expensive.

- (3) Yesterday we found a bookshop not far from the hotel.
Your father bought you a couple of musty old books.
They must be at least two hundred years old and cost
him a small fortune.

- (4) Zotian women zhaodaole ijia
yesterday we find + perf. suffix one house (of)

shudian, li lüguan bu yuan. Ni ba
bookshop away hotel not far. You(r) dad
from

gei ni maele liangben gulao de
give/for you buy + perf. suffix two volumes ancient
+ de

shu, zueishao yu liangbai nian le
books, at least have two hundred years perf.
particle.

The notes on order and morphology as marking features in
Chinese given below take the sentences (5), (6), (7) and (8),
as an illustration.

- (5) pater tibi emit volumina antiquissima duo
father for you has bought scrolls most old two

- (6) dein lieber Vater hat dir ein paar sehr alte
your dear father has for you a pair very old

Bücher gekauft
books bought

- (7) Your father bought you a couple of musty old books

- (8) Ni ba gei ni maile liangben
you(r) dad give/for you buy + perf. suffix two volumes

hen gulao-de shu
very ancient + de books

Assuming that the 'nuclear transitive sentence' in each of the four languages consists of a subject NP, object NP and a VP, the structure of (5), (6) and (7) can be described as a nuclear transitive sentence, expanded by a noun phrase normally termed 'indirect object' (IO). The description of this expansion in Chinese presents something of a problem.

Order and Morphology as Marking Features in Chinese

When we consider the transitive sentence as exemplified in (8) it is clear that, as in English, order in Chinese is the underlying marking feature of structure. But, as in English, there are marking features which depend on morphological change. Like the system of the preposition in English, these can be described as 'closed' systems of terms, i.e. terms which can be listed in full, as occurring in a certain place in the structure or - to put it another way - to morphological changes where the word or morpheme occurs as a term in what we might describe as a 'closed class'.

The noun phrase

In the NP in Chinese it is possible to distinguish a number of such closed classes. In my own description, written many years ago, I distinguished three, viz. 'determinative' (d), 'classifier' (c) and 'noun suffix' (vs). Others - both earlier and since then - have used somewhat different methods of analysis but have arrived at a very similar conclusion. In the NP *liangben hen gulao-de shu* in sentence (8), *liang* would be described as determinative and *ben* as classifier.

I found it possible at that time to distinguish two sub-classes of the class determinative, solely on the basis of order, viz. 'demonstrative determinative' (dd) and 'numeral

determinative' (nd), on the basis that where they occur together, the sub-class demonstrative determinative (dd) will precede the sub-class numeral determinative (nd).

It is possible to distinguish two sub-classes of the class classifier on the basis that one is lexicon-related* and the other is event-related. *Ben* in (8) is an example of the first, since a noun normally occurs with only one term in the class classifier. To echo the similarity with gender and declension I coined the term 'generic classifier'. *Bei* 'glass' and *chi* 'foot' are examples of event-related classifiers - I used the term 'measure classifier' - since they are one term in a commutation where *ibei cha* 'a cup of tea' contrasts with *ihu cha* 'a pot of tea' and *wuchi bu* 'five feet of cloth with *wuzhang bu* 'fifty feet of cloth'.

In a description of surface structure, an open class, in the absence of any inflexion, is normally described most economically in terms of its co-occurrence possibilities with closed classes. Since the classes determinative (d) and classifier (c) may be stated in full, at least theoretically, they are closed classes, and are regarded as morphological marking features of the class noun which is an open class. We shall regard the structure determinative + classifier + noun (d c n) as the nuclear noun phrase.

We should note in passing that it is possible, by taking into account deletion as a marking feature, to distinguish 'bound classes' from 'free classes', to parallel the

* When a word occurs as only one of several terms in a category like gender, it is neither discourse-related nor event-related. The term lexicon-related seems appropriate. But note that the adjective in Latin gender is a discourse related category.

distinction between bound and free morphemes. Both determinative and classifier are bound classes, although it must not be thought that all closed classes are bound.

The marking features of the Chinese NP do not mark gender or number. We saw that there is a sub-class of the class classifier which is lexicon-related and therefore reminiscent of gender and declension, but of course it does not trigger off agreement of any kind. It has been pointed out that the number of terms in the class is diminishing as their role is being assumed by the general purpose classifier *ge* 'piece'.

The system of the pronoun shows a vestigial remnant of a plural ending - *men* which also occurs with one or two nouns. But the category number as such is not marked other than in the class pronoun. A British expert under cross-examination in a court of law on a Chinese text is said to have put the view that a Chinese noun, unless specially marked otherwise, could be understood to be 'plural'. This remark may tell us at least as much about English, perhaps, as about Chinese. The class numeral determinative certainly contains a large number of terms connected with number - among them all the numerals - but it cannot be said to be marking feature of the distinction between singular and plural.

Whilst not all the terms in the class demonstrative determinative (*dd*) can be said to be deictic - for instance the class includes *mei* 'each' and *ge* 'all the various' - it could perhaps be said to mark a NP as 'definite'. On the other hand, it does not alternate as does the class definite article in English and German with a class marking the NP as

indefinite. We saw earlier that there is an alternation between definite and indefinite NP governed by order in relation to the verb.

Person exists in the system of the class pronoun only, and not in the verb.

We should also note at this point that, in Chinese - owing at least in part to the nature of the Chinese script which writes 'syllable graphs' - it is the syllable or morpheme which has been institutionalised rather than the word. This feature is of only marginal relevance in any discussion of structure where 'word' can be conveniently equated with syntagmeme, i.e. those elements of structure which do not lend themselves to further syntactic analysis [Li and Thompson, 1975]. But anyone who has ever attempted to compose a Chinese text in a romanised form will have a great deal of sympathy for the committee that may one day have to design guidelines in China for what should and what should not be written solid.

We should also note that, whilst it is possible to distinguish bound and free morphemes, and whilst it is possible to list the common combinations of these as 'words', it is not possible to predict with any confidence whether such and such a combination will or will not be used. The coining of a word from bound and/or free morphemes to represent the most appropriate shade of meaning is an everyday occupation for the Chinese writer, and not an annual event as for his Western counterpart! Our students should not hold the authors of dictionaries responsible for all the compounds they fail to find.

A further problem is presented by the fact that there is often a choice between a compound noun not subject to further syntactic analysis, e.g. *laogushu* 'old books' and the structural combination of a dependent sentence and a noun, e.g. *gulao-de shu* in (8). I must confess that the first NP produced by my informant was *liangben laogushu* 'two old books' where *laogushu* would have to be regarded as a compound noun. I must plead guilty to 'leading' him to *gulao-de shu* - which he was happy to recognise - in order to make the structural comparison easier.

One of the constituent parts of the noun phrase in Latin, German and English is the class adjective. It is marked as such by agreement in Latin and German, and by order in German and English. It is therefore marked as being structurally different from the relative clause, which follows the NP in German and English and is marked by a relative pronoun and changes of order in German and generally - though not invariably - by a relative pronoun in English.

Many of us will have noticed that when one asks one's students what we mean when we say 'Chinese has no adjective', they almost invariably answer that the equivalent of the predicative form of the adjective in English does not require an auxiliary. In Chinese in fact, the more important feature to notice is that there is no place in the noun phrase for the class attributive adjective other than the word *sheme* 'what'.

In the final NP of (8) we will have to describe *gulao-de* as a dependent relative sentence. I have shown elsewhere that there are two places in the NP at which the phrase may

be expanded by the addition of a dependent sentence of this kind. It may occur in front of the NP or between the classifier and the noun as in (8).

We should note that whilst in English and German the noun which is qualified is deleted in the dependent sentence, it is always replaced in German and often in English by a relative pronoun at the head of the dependent sentence, and that this relative pronoun will also be marked with the case of the deleted noun in the dependent sentence. [The fact that it is only the pronoun that bears case inflection in English appears to be interfering - and understandably so - with the distinction between *who* and *whom*. A case of recognising redundancy when you see it!] In Chinese, on the other hand, the relative dependent sentence is generally, but not always, marked by the particle *de* and is invariably marked by the deletion of the NP it qualifies from the relevant place in the dependent sentence. There is, of course, no relative pronoun. Where there is a number of relative sentences preceding a NP it is not always clear whether they qualify the final NP or each other.

Expansion of the noun phrase by one or more dependent sentences is clearly one of the basic discourse tactics which will be determined by strategic factors relating both to focus and to textual environment.

The maximum number of such dependent sentences may be restricted by socio-linguistic factors relating to the social traditions established for a given text. The presence of a large number of such sentences occurring before a NP appears to be a feature of newspaper articles. In ordinary speech or in the writing of letters of the kind we

have been examining, my informant thought that 'streamlined Chinese', by which he meant Chinese with a number of such dependent sentences, was not his style.

We have seen that the deletion from the dependent sentence of the NP which is being qualified is a marking feature of the dependent sentence. We should note that, in addition to this deletion, other deletions in the dependent sentence are also possible.

It has been observed elsewhere that a different set of relationships obtains when the NP is expanded by a preceding (and therefore qualifying) NP followed by *-de*. The only place at which an expansion of that sort may occur is before the determinative unless both determinative and classifier have been deleted. In such cases the qualifying noun phrase will occur directly before the noun. In (8) the first NP *ni ba* is an example of a qualifying NP preceding another NP. The relative particle *de* has been deleted because the pronoun precedes a kinship term.

Whilst there is an element of 'tone' in the form *your father* in English, as against *father* or *Dad*, there appears to be no such element in the use of *ni ba* as against *ba*. The informant thought that the choice of form was a matter of personal habit. We should note the irony of *lieber* 'dear' in *dein lieber Vater* 'your dear father' which strengthens the element of tone in the German sentence (6). A Chinese tactic giving a similar tone might be the addition of a determinative and classifier, *ni zhege baba* ... 'you(r) this father ...'.

If we ask to what extent the marking features of the NP, namely the closed classes determinative, classifier and noun suffix together with the system of order under which they

operate, can be said to mark the boundaries of the phrase, then they appear to mark them in much the same way as they are marked in the English NP. But there is some indeterminacy at the head of the phrase when there is expansion by a series of dependent sentences or other elements of structure.

The verb phrase

In most analyses the verb is described as having an occurrence possibility with the one-word class *bu*. It is proposed here to regard the structure *+bu + verb* as the nuclear form of the VP.

When we discuss expansions of the VP to the left and to the right, we shall see that many of these expansions create what we might call boundary questions. We saw that one of the features of the NP in Chinese was that its boundaries appear to be as clearly defined as those of the NP in Indo-European languages. Because of the absence in Chinese of any morphological marking of such verb forms as gerund, infinitive and participle, not to mention the other discourse-related marking features in Indo-European languages which are marked by inflection, determining the boundaries of the verb phrase has to be regarded as a somewhat arbitrary process. It does not appear that transformation-generative analyses are more than marginally helpful in resolving these questions. The decisions we make in setting these boundaries will, to some extent, also determine the boundaries we put on the sentence in Chinese.

To the left of the verb there is an expansion possibility by the class 'adverb' (av) and the class 'pre-verb' (pv). The two classes may be distinguished on the

basis of their occurrence possibility in what has been described as the disjunctive interrogative form. In sentence (9) *yuanyi* is described as a pre-verb because it occurs in this form. It should be added that the pre-verb has occurrence possibility in a one word sentence. The adverb does not occur in either form.

- (9) ta yuanyi bu yuanyi qu? 'does he want to go?'
 he want not want go

The inclusion of the class pre-verb in the VP raises the first of the boundary questions. In another analysis *yuanyi* might be regarded as the nuclear verb and *qu* as an 'object sentence'.

Another expansion possibility to the left is by a re-duplicated verb or by a four character phrase marked by the particle *de* as in sentence (10).

- (10) ta haohaor-de ba ta chiwanle
 she very well + de perfective it eat finish +
 perfective

'she ate it up like a good girl'.

The remaining expansion to the left is the one word class *meiyou/mei*. This negation operates as a term in the discourse related category aspect. All too little of what has been written about this expansion and its contrast with the verb-suffix *le* appears to be helpful in accounting for the factors that may trigger it off.

To the right of the verb there is an expansion possibility by the class 'verb suffix' (vs) consisting of the three terms - *le* - *zhi* - *guo*, which mark the discourse related category aspect, referred to above.

Another expansion possibility is by a class now generally referred to as 'resultative verb' (vr). The marking feature of this class is that the negative *bu* precedes the resultative verb as in sentence (11).

- (11) wo chi bu wan 'I can't finish it'.
I eat not finish (vr)

A third expansion possibility is by a stative verb or a four character phrase preceded by the particle *de*, as in sentence (12).

- (12) ta xie de hao 'she writes well'.
she writes part. de good

Here we are faced with another boundary question, since under another analysis the structure may be regarded as having a nucleus consisting of the verb *hao* rather than the verb *xie*. Such a view would call for a revision of the concept of the nuclear form of the verb phrase set out in this paper.

There are three further expansion possibilities, two of them to the left of the verb and one to the right, each of which consists of an auxiliary and a NP. Here again there are important boundary questions.

To the left of the verb there are two classes one of which is generally described either as a co-verb (cv) or as a preposition. The other I described some years ago as a link-verb (lv). Each of them is followed by a NP. Like the adverb and the pre-verb they can be distinguished on the basis that the link-verb has occurrence possibility in the disjunctive interrogative and as a one word sentence, as in sentence (13), whilst the co-verb does not.

- (13) Ni qing bu qing ta lai 'will you ask him
You ask not ask he come to come?'

One needs to add that this distinction may be in the process of being obliterated. For example, *ti* 'on behalf of' is a term in the class co-verb. But my younger informants claim that they can answer a question by the two word sentence *ti ta* 'for him', and that they might well find themselves saying sentence (14).

(14) Ni ti bu ti ta xie 'will you write
 You for not for he write it for him?'

The inclusion of the class link-verb, together with the NP that follows it, raises the same kind of boundary question as the inclusion of the class pre-verb, only in a more acute form. Y.R. Chao is clearly right in regarding the structure as a telescoped form of two sentences, which he refers to as a 'pivotal construction'.

A somewhat different type of question is raised by the inclusion of the co-verb and the following NP in the verb phrase. Ought we not, in fact, to recognise it as a dependent sentence consisting of verb and an object NP? The answer will need to be determined on an arbitrary basis. If I prefer to include the co-verb and its NP in the VP, I am uneasily aware that I may be doing so because I recognise an Indo-European speech habit which is normally described as 'case'. The various terms operating the system co-verb would certainly seem to provide an insight into the way that the Chinese deal with case relationships other than those of subject NP and object NP. [The subject NP and object NP can, in fact, be seen to be marked by the co-verbs *bei* and *ba*.] Another set of case relationships is provided by what I have termed the post-verb (vp) which follows the nuclear verb and is, in turn, followed by a NP. *Zai* in sentence (15) would be described as a post-verb.

- (15) ta zhu zai Beijing
 he lives in Peking

The classes co-verb and post-verb have been combined in other analyses into the class preposition (pr). My own earlier analysis reserved that term for words like *zai* 'in, at' and *zicung* 'from' which differ from the class post-verb because they occur only to the left of the verb and from the class co-verb because they may occur at the head of the sentence and may thus precede the subject NP. I suspect that this would be a useful distinction to retain in any analysis that involves the notion of sentence topic. I made a similar distinction between the class adverb and words like *xianzai* 'now' which may also occur at the head of the sentence and precede the subject NP. At the time I called this class 'clause word' (cw). I should certainly wish to change the label, but I am attached to the distinction between the two classes.

When one has resolved one's boundary questions, one might describe the classes set out above as verb auxiliaries. Of these auxiliaries the class verb suffix (vs) and the one-word class *meiyou* (mv) have generally been regarded as terms in the discourse-related category aspect. Many of the terms in the class adverb occur in discourse tactics which mark sentence dependency - whether in the sentence in which the adverb occurs or in a preceding sentence. Examples are adverbs like *jiou* 'then' and *cai* 'only then'. Other terms mark discourse relationships that it may not prove possible to describe in terms of dependency.

We have seen that the surface structure of both phrase classes can be seen to be marked by the complementary features of order, namely co-occurrence possibility and

sequence of classes. There appear to be very few choices of order in the noun phrase other than in the sequence and position of relative dependent sentences. [Simon, 1973]

In the verb phrase, however, there are some choices of order in the sequence of expansions to the left of the verb, some of which may be lexicon-related. In my paper on the verb complex I classified adverbs, for instance, on the basis of their occurrence possibility before or after the class *bu*. Other expansions appear to offer a choice of sequence provided that it does not involve a shift to the other side of the nuclear VP.

Deletion appears to present an important discourse tactic which may be partly related to the preceding text and partly to the speech environment or to the participants in the speech event. Deletion of a constituent part of the phrase may be said to result in a substitution form. The substitution form is one of the tactics that result from the changes of order referred to below.

Order and Deletion in the Nuclear Transitive Sentence

We began with the hypothesis that the nuclear form of the transitive sentence in Chinese consists of the sequence, subject NP + VP + object NP. Under this hypothesis, the marking feature of the two categories is order, combined with the internal marking features of the two phrase classes. There are, of course, additional marking features which are semantic, and which apply with particular force to the object NP.

But it is well known that the object noun phrase may occur before the verb, and that in some cases the subject noun phrase may occur after the verb. Since we established

the difference between the two categories of noun phrase on the basis of their position in relation to the verb, how does one reconcile these shifts with the marking features of the nuclear transitive sentence?

In a paper written some five years ago [Simon, 1973], I suggested that it was possible to resolve this apparent contradiction by regarding structures where shifts of order or deletion have occurred as 'M' or 'mooted' structures. I suggested at that time that these 'M' structures were related to a wish by the speaker or author to generate a certain warmth between himself and the other participants by referring specifically to the fact that they had shared an experience or situation to which the 'M' structure referred, in other words to 'moot' the situation by using a special structure reserved for this purpose. I still believe that it is important to distinguish clearly between nuclear structures and those where there have been deletions or where there have been shifts of order, but I am now persuaded that these deletions and shifts of order are triggered by the very much more complex factors, set out above.

The contradiction between one system of order which operates as a marking feature of the structure of the nuclear transitive sentence and a contrasting system of order operating in response to a number of different linguistic strategies may be resolved by noting a lack of redundant marking features in the structure of Chinese compared with Indo-European languages. If the subject NP and the object NP are both known, because they have occurred in the previous text, or are evident in the context of situation, then one can consider them to be just as clearly marked in respect of category by their environment as the NP in Latin, which is

clearly marked by its inflection as a term in a number of categories in which it occurs. If a structure is so clearly marked by its environment, then there is no reason why one should not regard the marking feature as having become redundant. Chinese appears to be a language capable of exploiting this redundancy in a number of different ways.

But it is not to be supposed that the order in such texts - and we may still wish to refer to them as mooted texts - can be said to be "free", any more, one supposes, than order can really be said to be free in Latin. It is more likely that we have to consider every deletion and shift of order as a discourse tactic which responds to a particular set of what we have termed strategic factors.

In this paper I have done little more than draw attention to these discourse tactics and to the system of surface marking features within which they function and on some of which they are superimposed. I hope before long to be able to write about one particular topographical feature to which I have referred in one or two places as message thrust, but the topic as it relates to language generally and to Chinese in particular seemed to fall well within the scope of the conference on language use.

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Lexicography in the People's Republic of China

Viviane Alleton

Lexicography would appear to constitute a privileged enclave in the field of linguistics as it exists in the People's Republic today. Not that in the least at odds with Chinese tradition. The major research divisions tend to be decided at the national level, with each prominent region being allocated responsibility for a particular project, e.g., a modern language dictionary, a historical dictionary, an encyclopaedic dictionary.

I shall begin by trying to indicate some of the major achievements of the last few years, mentioning work in progress as well as projects already completed. The bulk of my presentation will deal with the *Hanyu da cidian* (Great Dictionary of Chinese words), presently being compiled by over a thousand people in Nanking, Shanghai and the neighbouring provinces. In my conclusion, I shall raise certain questions with regard to the specificity of Chinese lexicography or how the field differs from its Western counterpart.

Introduction

One of the most striking features of contemporary Chinese society is the coexistence of very marked tendency toward compartmentalisation side by side with a predilection for large-scale collective projects, bringing together people of extremely diverse backgrounds.

In the field of lexicography, this phenomenon leads to two distinct types of production: specialist dictionaries

compiled under the auspices of a university or a university division, a teachers training institute, or perhaps an extra-university organism; and dictionaries compiled by large, mixed teams whose work is subject to inspection by a broad spectrum of users. This paper is concerned with general unilingual dictionaries of the second type. Within that category I distinguish further between projects involving the revision and reissuing of existing works and those devoted to entirely new undertakings. New undertakings imply new objectives, efforts to develop works of an entirely different sort of inspiration.

Recasting of Existing Dictionaries

Canton Province has been delegated responsibility for revision of the etymological dictionary known as the *Ciyuan* ('Word origins'), first compiled between 1915 and 1931. The better part of the operations involved are centered in the Canton region, although specialists from all over China participate. An *ad hoc* organism (*chuban bumen* 出版部门), including not only academics and editors but also workers, peasants, and soldiers, is in charge of overall coordination. It appears that the function of the latter three categories is to test the "readability" of the dictionary. A fifth of the work had been completed prior to the Cultural Revolution, at a time when the editing team was located in Peking and their activities were coordinated by two publishers, Shangwu and Zhonghua. A "revised draft" (*xiuding gao* 修订稿) was issued in 1964 in a limited edition. After a lapse of several years, work started again. The materials have since been carefully reworked and are now ready for publication. A first and experimental volume of a projected total of four has already been issued, once again subject to restricted

circulation. The forthcoming publication of this volume in its final version, however, will make it available to a wider public.

The entries of the *Ciyuan*, arranged according to radicals, include descriptions of the earliest uses of classical Chinese words, with the exception of the *jiaguwen*. While the *Ciyuan* covers much of the same ground as the projected *Hanyu da cidian*, it emphasises several specific categories (specialised words, archaic names, place names, and names of institutions considered particularly important) which are not dealt with by the *Hanyu da cidian*.

Compilation of the encyclopaedic dictionary known as the *Cihai* or "ocean of words" (1938) has been entrusted to the People's Publishing House (*Renmin chubanshe*). Initially, the revision of this work involved a general mobilisation of "all the people". The degree of participation gradually declined, however, with the ultimate work of compilation ending up in the hands of a group of specialists. In his introduction to the *Hanyu de goucifa* (Peking, 1964), Lu Zhiwei provides a very precise description of this "trial and error" approach, in which a work is issued in a series of successive editions which are submitted to criticism and corrected several times over. It was thus, for example, that the Chinese department of Fudan University, Shanghai, participated in revising the linguistic portions of the *Cihai* in the early stages. An initial experimental version in two volumes came out in 1965, in a limited edition of 5,000 copies. Another version, considered final at the time, had just about been completed when the Cultural Revolution broke out. After an interruption of several years, the project was revised, first for ideological and then for technical reasons.

The criticisms of the coherence, conciseness, and even the accuracy of the definitions have been so numerous, however, that it is now difficult to predict when the final version will appear.

The "Dictionary of contemporary Chinese" (*Xiandai hanyu cidian*) is the work of the Linguistics Research Center of the Chinese Academy of Sciences [now re-organised under the name the Academy of Social Sciences]. The project was initially introduced by Lu Shuxiang in his "*Guanyu hanyu cidian de bianji gongzuo*" (*Zhongguo yuwen*, 1961, 1). A vast body of materials was assembled, by 1957 accounting for some 700,000 file card entries. In 1958, the basic features of the dictionary were decided upon and the actual drafting began. By 1961, two preliminary versions had been produced, the earlier one of which (1960) I was able to examine at the Nanking University Library. It contained only 40,000 entries, although these were supplemented with numerous examples and illustrations. Subsequently, the number of examples was reduced and the illustrations completely eliminated. It was only in 1965 that the first trial edition of what was intended to be the final version came out. At that moment, all was set for the final printing, but the Cultural Revolution intervened once again to interrupt the work. In 1972-73 large numbers of secondary school teachers made an urgent appeal to the government for a dictionary. The Ministry of Education, which was at that time not under the control of the "Gang of Four", authorised the printing of the dictionary. Zhou Enlai, who kept a close watch on such matters, was in favour of the project. The dictionary was thus published in 1973 as a trial edition for internal circulation, but with a rather large printing. It was then

criticised, first in the form of a letter signed by a worker from Chenxi and addressed to the Ministry of Education, and subsequently in an article which appeared in the Peking University Revue [*Beijing daxue xuebao*, 1974, n.3. For the substance of these criticisms, see Alain Peyraube "La linguistique en Chine apres la Revolution Culturelle", in *Journal Asiatique*, 1977]. These pieces of criticism put a halt to any wider circulation of the dictionary, a move which was in accord with the views of the "Gang of Four" which had been opposed to this type of work from the outset. The work of revision, which had begun under adverse conditions (stemming from an excess of ideological criticism), has continued since 1976 in an efficient manner, taking account of those elements of ideological criticism which appear justified and correcting the technical errors. The final manuscript is now ready and its publication is only a matter of the time needed by the printer, which in view of the relatively sophisticated typographical layout is rather long.

Already heralded as the finest modern Chinese dictionary, this "medium-sized" compilation (a modest 53,000 entries) may be considered the standard reference work for matters of vocabulary and pronunciation. An impressive array of typographical detail is used to distinguish permanently atonal from generally atonal syllables which are separable in a resultative construction from those which are so in a different type of sequence, and so on.

New Projects

A small group at the Linguistics Research Center of the Academy of Social Sciences, where the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*

was compiled, is presently working on a "dictionary of usage" (*yongfa cidian*). According to Professor Hou Jingyi, who is in charge of the project, this work will cover the gamut of vital information relating to word usage - syntactical restrictions and order, for example. Work has only just begun on this undertaking, which is unprecedented even in the rich inventory of Chinese lexicographical works.

There is a "Great dictionary of Chinese characters" (*Hanyu da zidian*) being compiled at Hubei (Wuhan) and in Sichuan. Here, once again, one finds specialists from all over China either participating or acting as consultants. This particular work, which will provide a history of characters by describing the evolution of their forms as well as their usage, will be based on the written literary form. Expected to contain 60,000 to 70,000 characters, it is still in the preparatory stages.

The most ambitious project to date is without question the "Great Dictionary of Chinese Words" (*Hanyu da cidian*), whose scale is comparable to the great scholarly undertakings of the 18th century. The decision to go ahead with this project was one of Zhou Enlai's last administrative actions.

The Great Dictionary of Chinese Words

Nothing has as yet been published in China about this dictionary. The following information was provided to me by Professor Xu Weixian and Wang Xijie of Nanking University. They authorised me to publish these details, but noted that their opinions were personal ones and not to be construed as reflecting the views of the team, where very different points of view might prevail. It should also be kept in mind that

I myself may have inadvertently introduced certain errors in the notes I took during their talks.

Work on the project has been under way only a short time. It is generally estimated, however, that it will go on for some ten years. The phase in progress, dealing with the gathering and preparation of materials, involves one thousand people in Shanghai, and in Jiangsu, Anhui, Shandong, Zhejiang, and Fujian provinces. There are numerous small teams, whose activities are coordinated by teams at the respective provincial levels, with the Nanking group assuming this role for Jiangsu. The lexicographers involved in the project are mostly teachers at universities and teacher training institutes, although there are also members of factory cultural groups. Most of the participants are involved in other professional activities in addition to the project.

The dictionary will contain Chinese words from the classics to the present day, covering both the written and spoken languages. In addition to descriptions of word origins, it will also describe the development of each word, indicating how it was used at each stage of its evolution.

Materials Examined

The project intends to rely as little as possible on existing dictionaries. The work began with a critical assessment of these predecessors in order to give the compilers an idea of what they wanted to avoid. At present, efforts are concentrated on developing a body of materials based on actual texts.

The mass of written text to be examined is quite extensive, including not only classical works (especially

those reflecting the spoken language of the day), but also representative examples of contemporary Chinese.

Value judgements do not play an explicit role in the selection of works. There are a number of literary works whose content is considered negative which have nevertheless been retained because it is felt that they contribute valuable linguistic information. The compilers also try to avoid imposing normative criteria when they examine the materials. They do take into account the ongoing process of standardisation of Chinese, but they make a point of retaining very popular expressions that they come across in contemporary novels, provided they are generally familiar.

The body of materials now consists of more than five hundred works. This is a first series, which is expected to be supplemented at a later date. Texts are classified as "primary" (*zhongdiande* 重点的) meaning that they are to be treated collectively, and "secondary" (*ciyaode* 次要的) which are analysed by a single individual. After the reading of a text, the examples retained (generally consisting of short phrases) are transposed to cards.

The ancient language (*xian Qin* 先秦) is well covered, thanks to the fact that existing dictionaries have already listed numerous words from Confucian texts. The bulk of the remaining work will involve the examination of non-classical texts.

The historical works include the *Shiji* 史记, the *Shi shuo xin yu* 世说新语, the poetry of Li Po 李白诗, Yuan theatre 元曲, and Ming novels 明小说. Here too, however, it will be necessary to fill certain gaps, in the fields of religions or geography, for example, in which there are

substantial historical materials available, but where the vocabulary has not been adequately explored. There are no plans to examine the Buddhist Canon, the emphasis being on spoken language. With regard to the vocabulary of the *bianwen* 变文 there is the compilation by Jiang Lihong 蒋礼鸿 at Hangzhou University which is being revised and supplemented with further examples. [Cf. *Dunhuang bianwen ziyi tongshi* 敦煌变文字义通释, Zhonghua shudian 1958, 3rd ed., 1962.]

For the modern period, selections from the following authors have been included: Ai Wu 艾蕪, Ba Jin 巴金, Bing Xin 冰心, Ding Ling 丁玲, Guo Moruo 郭沫若, He Jingzhi 贺敬之, Lao She 老舍, Liu Qing 柳青, Lu Xun 鲁迅, Mao Dun 茅盾, Mao Zedong 毛泽东, Ye Shengtao 叶圣陶, Zhao Shuli 赵树理, Zhou Libo 周立坡, Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, etc. Ai Qing has been excluded. The number of works examined varies from author to author. The complete works of Lu Xun and Mao Zedong have been incorporated. In the case of Mao, in fact, nothing has been overlooked, not even the dialectal borrowings. For Lu Xun the situation is a bit different inasmuch as there will soon be a special dictionary devoted to his writings. This work stems from the fact that Lu Xun used a great number of regional styles and expressions from Zhejiang and Shandong, and alluded frequently to little known persons and incidents as well as to often ephemeral periodicals. The dictionary will consist of a first part on Lu's language, which should be relatively easy to write, and a far more difficult second part devoted to exegesis.

A considerable number of post-1949 works have been included. Among the most recent, we may cite those of Hao Ran 浩然 and Li Zhun 李准.

In the political sphere, the only other writer included besides Mao is Lenin, whose complete works in translation were gone through, but only in order to select words. None of the examples will come from translated works.

All official government and communist party documents have been examined, as have major newspaper articles, and the file is being kept up to date. The newspaper articles are chosen by theme. For example, all articles published at the time of Mao's death were studied.

The spoken language is not properly speaking the domain of the *Hanyu da cidian*, it being rather the reserve of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*, at least insofar as matters of phonic form are concerned. This explains the absence of recordings of oral usage in the present body of materials. However, the authors I talked to felt that from a lexical point of view this is far too important an area to be left out completely. Professor Xu cites the case of the term *mianmian* 门面, which is defined in existing dictionaries [For example, *Xiandai hanyu cidian* (HDHYCD), p.695.] as "part of a shop; facade" and, in a figurative sense, as "superficial aspect". In everyday language, however, the same expression is used to mean "width of a piece of fabric", a definition apparently unknown to the dictionaries. Professor Xu is of the view that these are important matters and that extra efforts will be required to see that they are taken account of.

Scientific and technical language is not considered in its own right, although the compilers have included terms of scientific origin which are widely known and used, for example, *gaodu* 高度 "altitude" or *fenshuiling* 分水岭

"watershed". In general, the dictionary should serve as a reading aid for all levels of secondary school science texts as well as for popular science books. The examining of texts for this section of the project will be done by secondary school teachers.

The plan is to apply the basic criteria more freely for classical Chinese, the social sciences and humanities and colloquial terminology than for modern Chinese, the exact sciences, and highly specialised terminology.

The file cards are standardised, containing a number of printed headings: *cimu* 词目 "(lexicographical) entry", *chuchu* 出处 "source" (with space for the specific details), *ban (ben)* 版(本) "edition", *ce* 册 "volume", *juan* 卷 "copy-book", *ye* 页 "page", *lan* 栏 "paragraph", *zuozhe* 作者 "author", *neirong zhailu* 内容摘录 "content description", *shiyi* 释义 "explanation", *zhu* 注 "remarks", *liju* 例句 "example", etc.

The cards are initially filed according to the order in which they appear in the text. After rearranging, they will be refiled according to the order of the *Kangxi zidian*. The classification of the dictionary itself has not yet been decided upon.

I saw the cards of Professor Zhu Weixian, who had worked on the *Zhuzi yulu* 朱子語录, an interesting text from the language point of view because it was not actually "written" by Zhu Xi himself but rather put together by his students on the basis of his orally-communicated teachings. The fact that the disciples sought to reproduce a faithful transcription of the master's words and that Zhu Xi was using the vernacular of his age makes this pedagogical collection

a particularly valuable reflection of the spoken language in Southern Sung.

The teams also write up reports summarising the results of each textual examination. A single copy of each handwritten report circulates among the other teams, especially those with particularly close ties. I was able to examine four of these reports.

The first is a ten-page report entitled *Ba kanshu xuan ci tong zhuan ye ke de jiao xue jie he qilai* 把看书选词同专业的教学结合起来 "Combining reading and word selection with pedagogy in specialised courses" which gives an account of an experimental approach used in the analysis of a recent 491-page novel entitled *Tie xuan feng* 铁旋风 "Hurricane of steel". The operation involved the participation of students at a teachers training college, whose level corresponds to the second cycle of secondary education (*gaozhong*), and was carried out as part of courses in the Chinese department. Organised by teachers' college professors, it appears to have produced valid results, not only in terms of the immediate product but in the valuable training and experience gained by the students. The authors, the *Huaiyin* compilation group for the "*Hanyu da cidian*", have proposed that this type of approach be experimented with in other situations, but it is feasible only with relatively easy contemporary works.

Another text, entitled *Sun Zhong Shan quan shu shou ci qingkuang hui bao* 孙中山全书收词情况汇报 "Report on the conditions involved in a lexical examination of the Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen", proposes that the social science vocabulary of this period be recorded. Many words

are now either obsolete or have changed in meaning, but this was the *formative period* of modern Chinese vocabulary and a knowledge of it is indispensable to any meaningful understanding of the present-day language.

Third is a 32-page report entitled *Genju zaoqi baihua zuopin de yuyan tedian guangji ziliao cong "Xi you ji" zhong shou ci de ji dian tihui* 根据早期白话作品特点广积资料——从“西游记”中收词的几点体会 "Assembling a large body of materials relating to the linguistic particularities of the earliest *baihua* works. A few remarks on the listing of materials in the *Xi you ji*". The authors felt that the language of the *Xi you ji*, apart from the special nature of the work, reflects the spoken language of the period in which it was written and has also inscribed itself in an ongoing tradition, extending from Sung times to today. They stress the need for a very close analysis of this text and insist on the importance of paying close attention to the grammatical forms. Among the examples they give of seldom noted phenomena are the following:

- the use of *xia* 下 "below, underneath" in forms such as *nanxia* 南下 "in the south, southern" or *xixia* 西下 "in the west, western", where it has the present-day value of *bianr* (*nanbianr*, *xibianr*);
- the placing of adverbs of degree before the nominal group;
- the use of the preposition *ba* with the value of the locative *zai* (in one isolated instance).

The last of the four reports is a particularly interesting one. Drawn up by the lexicographical group of the Nanking Teachers Training Institute [which recently

published an excellent re-edition of the *Rulin waishi*], it is entitled *Yao zhongshi shoulu you guanyu yufa chengfen de cimu* 要重视收录有关於语法成份的词目 "The need to stress the importance of listing lexical items related to grammatical elements" - *Cong "Rulin waishi" zhong shou ci de yidian tihui* 从"仔林外史"中收词的一点体会 "Remarks on an experimental examination of the *"Rulin waishi"*. The authors plead in favour of a systematic listing of grammatical words. At times they even seem to be questioning the underlying principles of the "lexical" examinations on which the compilation of the *Hanyu da cidian* is based. According to them, the importance and interest of the grammatical changes is such that their study should come prior to all else. They propose the selection of a group of representative texts for each period and the analysis of all empty words. They buttress their argument with a number of specific examples taken from the *Rulin waishi*, concentrating particularly on a description of the preposition *ba* 把, *bi* 比, and *ti* 替. While their comments are extremely interesting, however, the adoption of a program such as the one they propose could lead to a substantial extension of the time required for the production of the dictionary.

General Principles

Three criteria will guide compilation of the dictionary. The work should be: a) revolutionary, that is, it should function as an instrument for revolution; b) scientific; and c) of and for the people (*tongsu xing*), in other words, easy to consult.

The expression "revolutionary" is further elucidated by mention of two pitfalls to be avoided. The first is the Scylla of reactionary definitions, an occasional problem in

the *Guoyu cidian*, which was published during the Japanese occupation. The second is the Charybdis of an excess of political interpretation applied in blanket fashion, which was the case when the influence of the "Gang of Four" was predominant. For example, it had been affirmed that the expression *mai li* 卖力 "to exert oneself on behalf of" infers the relationship of employer to employee, even though this term has never exhibited the literal sense of "to sell one's strength" (出卖力气).

Another objective of the dictionary is to contribute to the effort to *standardise* the Chinese language, a function to be served by recording new meanings in as precise a fashion as possible. Consider for example the expression *qing chu yu lan* 青出於藍 (literally "green precedes blue"). While the archaic meaning was purely laudatory, signifying "the student has outdone the master", today the expression can also be used pejoratively: "the student is even worse than his master".

In cases where meaning or usage differ for geographical reasons the dictionary strives to provide clear guidelines to what constitutes the norm in contemporary Chinese.

Example: One finds *qili* 卖力 in classical Chinese and in the southern dialects, but *liqi* 力气, which appeared fairly late on the scene (after the Sung and Yuan) is the standard form in the modern language.

Example: *fandian* 饭店

1. hotel

2. in the southern dialects and in certain northern speech: restaurant

and *fanguan* 饭馆: restaurant.

Care must be taken to provide accurate descriptions of extended meanings avoiding definitions which are too narrow. This type of problem may result from a disproportionate influence of classical Chinese combined with inadequate attention to the evolutionary process.

Example: Compare the definitions of the *Guoyu cidian* and the *Xinhua zidian* for *ku* 哭 "to cry"

Guoyu cidian: 大声而泣

Xinhua zidian: 因痛苦悲哀而流泪发

Both of these dictionaries reflect the influence of the classical language, in which there were three separate forms:

qi 泣 : tears without noise

ku 哭 : tears with noise

hao 号 : noise without tears.

In modern Chinese the word *ku* does not necessarily imply the production of noise. The correct definition is that provided by the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*: 因痛苦悲哀而流泪; 有时候发声音

Erroneous or excessively narrow definitions may result from an inadequate acquaintance with the sources.

Example: *yinger* 婴兒 is defined in the *Cihai* as: "a baby of less than a year", even though there are a dozen instances in the *Han Fei Zi* where the same word refers to children over one year.

The Basic Unit

An article published by the team from the Linguistics Research Centre of the Academy of Social Sciences serves as the basic reference on this issue. Entitled 中型现代汉语词典编纂法 "Method of compiling a medium-size dictionary for modern Chinese" (*Zhongguo yuwen* 49, 1956-7,

50, 1956-8, 51, 1956-9) this article sets forth the principles underlying the compilation of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*. With certain minor differences, the authors of the *Hanyu da cidian* are basically in agreement.

The basic unit is the word (*ci*), although the morpheme (*cisu*) is also accorded an important role in this dictionary.

The character 字 is given no explicit role. The authors rely on the criterion of meaning to distinguish simple and compound words, but they disregard the number of characters. In cases where the same graphic form possessed different meanings at different periods, these are handled as separate words, i.e., as homographs and, where pertinent, homonyms.

Chinese characters feature numerous series of sounds with the same pronunciation.

Example: cha 汭 : river source

cha 衩 : slit in a piece of clothing

cha 杈 : tree bifurcation.

Existing dictionaries give these words separately, with no indication that they belong to such a series. The *Hanyu da cidian* will seek to highlight the basic unit of meaning with the radical serving as an additional specifier. It has not yet been decided how this will be done, although there has been a suggestion to the effect that in cases such as this the *series* of characters be given.

Most of the problems relating to the overall organisation of the dictionary are to be discussed at the national level.

A clear distinction will be made among morphemes (*cisu*), words (*ci*), and word groups (*cizu*), with "words" being distinguished by their syntactical functions. [A number of

Chinese linguists prefer the term *yusu* (literally "speech element") to *cisu* (literally "word element"). This is not the case with the authors of the *Hanyu da cidian*, however, who retain the term *cisu* while insisting on the centrality of the "word" in their system.]

Efforts will be made to avoid the type of confusion of categories encountered in even the best of the existing dictionaries.

Example: *gao* 告

1. 把事情向人陈述, 解说

"tell, explain something to others": *gaosu*

告诉 "say, tell", *gaozhi* 告知 "inform",

gaobai 告白 "reveal", *guanggao* 广告

"announce", *baogao* 报告 "report", *tonggao*

通告 "inform", *zhonggao* 忠告 "implore,

entreat", *jinggao* 警告 "warn".

2. 向国家行政机关检举, 控诉

"accuse or denounce to the official

administrative organs": 到法院去告他

"to indict, bring charges against someone".

Gao is a morpheme in the sense used in example 1 and a word in example 2. A Chinese will understand the sentence "*wo gao ta*" 我告他 to mean "I accuse him". [With the proviso that in Peking dialect the common locution *wo gaosu ta* "I tell him" is often heard as *wo gao ta* due to a near ellipsis of the syllable *su*.] The *Hanyu da cidian* will give both senses, but will clearly distinguish them typographically so that there will be no risk of confusion between the two categories.

Example: *gan* 干

1. 没有水分或水分很少, 与湿相对
"Containing little or no water. Antonym for
"wetness, moisture". 也用作某些干制食品
的名称 "Also used in appellations
for certain types of dried foods".

While all of the above definition is accurate, the first part, dealing with *gan* "dry" should be dissociated from the second, which might be formulated as follows: "the morpheme *gan* may form part of terms used to designate dry food products, in the patterns *x gan* and *xx gan*, e.g., *putaogan*, *doufugan*".

One could argue that the use of a word group to define one of its component words, or the use of a word series to define its constituent morphemes amounts to pleonastic abuse. It is as if we were to use "bookstore" to define "book" or "library" to define "livre".

Example: *cai* 猜 (*xinhua zidian*)

1. presume, guess
2. doubt: in *cai yi* 猜忌

The second meaning here is in fact derived from the second element *yi* in the word *cai yi*, which is the true basis of this term. The extraction of a second meaning from the component *cai* (even at the morpheme level) is thus artificial and misleading.

Example: *shu* 书 (*Xiandai hanyu cidian*)

1. write
3. book
5. document (*wenjian* 文件)
- zhengshu* 证书 "certificate", *baozhengshu*
保证书 "certificate of guarantee", *shuomingshu*
说明书 "explanatory notice", *shenqingshu*

申请书 "entreaty written request", *tiaozhanshu*
 挑战书 "declaration of war, challenge",
baipishu 白皮书 "White Paper".

This last meaning numbered 5 is not that of the word *shu* but rather that of the morpheme *shu* in the six examples provided. This type of presentation can lead to confusion. Not only is it not possible to use *shu* 书 alone to mean "document"; it is likewise unacceptable to use this meaning in compounds other than those cited. For instance, *shugui* 书柜 signifies "bookcase", not "document (case) file" (*wenjiangu*). Also distinct are *shubao* "book (carrying) satchel, bag" and *wenjianbao* (document carrying) briefcase, attache-case with lock and key".

Careless attribution of the meanings of compound words to its constituent morphemes not only produces erroneous definitions; it also results in descriptions of phenomena which do not exist in the language in question.

Example: *ci* 辞 (*ci*¹ in the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*)

1. *yomei de yuyan* 优美的语言 "fair words":
ciling 辞令 "words suited to the occasion",
cizao 辞藻 "outlandish expressions",
xiuci 修辞 "rhetoric".

....

Unfortunately this definition is not contained in *ci*.
 It derives entirely from the three words used as illustrations.

There are nonetheless cases where the distinction word/morpheme becomes extremely suitable. *Yuan* 员, for example, is not a monosyllabic word, but a morpheme added as a suffix in certain terms designating categories of people (教员, 学员, 宣传员, 职员, 店员, 炊事员 etc.). Though

yuan is thus not a noun (one cannot say *yigeyuan*), it can be used like a noun in such sentences as *gai yuan yin gong wai chu* 该员因公外出 "the person in question has departed on an official mission". The latter is an administrative term (*gongwen yong yu* 公文用语 "official documentary language"), and hence is derived from the written language (*shumianyu*), although it may also be used in colloquial speech (*kouyu*). To take another example, *geming* 革命 "revolution" is a noun, and therefore inseparable in principle. Nonetheless, one can say *ge le shinian ming* 革了十年命 "(they) carried on the revolution for ten years". In the same way, *fayan* 发言 "take the floor, orate" can be separated into *fale yici yan* 发了一次言 "(he) took the floor once, spoke once".

Finally, we may question whether a work which claims to describe the entirety of the Chinese language, throughout time and social space, can permit itself only cursory remarks on the different periods and levels of style. Not only is it necessary to note carefully the first appearance of each word; each of its successive usages must also be duly recorded.

The risk of mixing up periods is not to be lightly dismissed when one considers that even as good a synchronic dictionary as the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* is not completely immune from such errors.

Example: *tang* 汤 (HDHXCD, p.998)

1. *reshui* 热水 "hot water"; *Kaishui* 开水 "boiling water"

....

4. *pengtiao hou zhir tebie duo de fushi* 烹调后
汁儿特别多的副食 "food which, after
cooking, contains a lot of liquid" - soup

The first meaning exists in classical Chinese but is unknown in the modern language, where meaning 4 is the usual one.

It might seem paradoxical for a dictionary of *words*, whose compilers insist on the centrality of this particular language component, to accord a great deal of attention to morphemic elements. Yet this is precisely what the *Hanyu da cidian* does do, and the authors provide the following arguments to justify their apparent dualism.

a. Chinese has an especially active (*linghuo* 灵活) and productive structure. Furthermore, the fact that the Chinese language rarely admits new sounds and morphemes suggests that a morphemic analysis would be most productive, since it should help the reader to increase his vocabulary substantially.

b. Certain morphemes are not used as words in a particular style although they may be so used in other styles of speech (cf. example of *yuan* 员 cited previously). This type of phenomenon would hardly be sufficiently noted without a morphemic analysis.

Example: *zhao* 肇 "start" was used as an independent word in classical Chinese, whereas in modern Chinese it appears exclusively as a morpheme in certain elegant words such as *zhaoshi* 肇始 "commence", *zhaoduan* 肇端 "beginning, debut", *zhaohuo* 肇祸 "put one's foot in one's mouth". Nevertheless, one also comes across: *qi tuan jie zhi yi*, *zhao fen lie zhi duan* 弃团结之义, 肇分裂之端 "They are departing from the correct path of unity and are embarking upon a process of division"

(Mao Zedong. *Xiang guomindang de shi dian yaoqiu*
 向国民党的十点要求 "Ten demands directed
 at the Kuomintang".)

c. The dissyllabic tendency of Chinese is responsible for the fact that many monosyllabic morphemes never occur independently. Without morphemic analysis, a form such as *zhuo* "table" would not appear in the dictionary (except as part of other terms like *zhuoz*, *zhuor*, *zhuzhuo*, *fanzhuo* etc.). The information provided would thus be insufficient.

d. Morphemic analysis facilitates the rational (*helide* 合理的) presentation of derivative words (*paishengci* 派生词) and word groups (*tongzuci* 同族词). For example, existing dictionaries lack systematic arrangements of terms of address, kinship, and colours, all the related terms in a given system being scattered among different entries.

Example: The big Morohashi dictionary lists *lingmei* 令妹 "your younger sister" and *lingjie* 令姐 "your older sister" separately.

Example: The *Xiandai hanyu cidian*, under its entry *biao* 表, gives *biaozhi* 表侄 "nephew (not having the same name as myself)" and *biaozhinü* 表侄女 "niece (idem)" but not *biaoxiong* 表兄 "older cousin (idem)".

I would argue that these four points are not so much different arguments in favour of morphemic analysis as they are diverse manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon, which is the extraordinary *combining power* of morphemes in Chinese. Nor does this statement detract in the least from the force of the compilers' arguments. On the contrary, I would contend that it actually reinforces them.

A Method for Morphemic Analysis

The exceptionally productive nature of Chinese monosyllabic morphemes renders it necessary to devote particular attention to this phenomenon.

It is surely not fortuitous that the morphemic unit corresponds to the written character. Written Chinese is very much a product of spoken Chinese language, the distinctive features of which are themselves reinforced by the use of this writing system. Nevertheless, the *Hanyu da cidian* may under no circumstances be considered a "character dictionary". The decisive criteria to be used in selecting the units for inclusion remain exclusively syntactical and semantic.

The presentation of morphemes will not be uniform:

- a. Morphemes which are found only in combination will be featured in separate entries and distinguished by typographical conventions (brackets, asterisks, etc.).
- b. Morphemes which are generally found in combination and appear independently with word value only in specific instances will appear as "morpheme" entries (item a. above). Usages in combination will be supplied first, followed by the independent usages, which will be clearly demarcated by typographical conventions.
- c. There will be no special entries for units used as either words or morphemes. The usages of these elements in combination will appear after the description of the corresponding words with, once again, appropriate typographical demarcation. [Inasmuch as the actual writing of the *Hanyu da cidian* has not yet begun, the compilers have yet to confront a concrete instance of the problem posed

here, to wit: how to decide under which word entry to place a given morpheme.]

The most important task is to extract the basic sense of each morpheme. Take *guan* 馆 as an example. The *Xiandai hanyu cidian* provides the following description:

- a. building for the reception of guests: *binguan* 宾馆, *lüguan* 旅馆;
- b. residence for the diplomatic representatives of one state on mission in a foreign nation: *shiguan* 使馆, *dashiguan* 大使馆, *lingshiguan* 领事馆;
- c. designation for certain crafts shops or service establishments: *lifaguan* 理发馆 "hairdresser's", *zhaoxiangguan* 照相馆 "photographer's workshop", *fangan* "restaurant", etc.;
- d. space 场所 where cultural artifacts are conserved and exhibited, or where cultural activities are held: *bowuguan* 博物馆 "museum", *tianwenguan* 天文馆 "observatory", *tushuguan* 图书馆 "library", *zhanlanguan* 展览馆 "exhibition hall".

Sense a. is the earliest to be found in the Classics. It is the second historical sense, "house" (*fangwu*), however, which is the core meaning of the morpheme in all its usages. Indeed, in its modern usage (attested to by the *XDHCD*), the basic sense of "house" is universally valid, even in the case of sense d. above, where *changsuo* "space" is not a very felicitous choice for a term which invariably implies a building.

The Importance of Grammatical Indications

Traditional Chinese dictionaries never considered matters of syntax or grammatical words to be very important.

An encyclopaedia such as the *Cihai*, with 38,000 entries, does not even include such words as *yinwei* 因为 "because", *suoyi* 所以 "that's why", *suiran* 虽然 "though".

It is not only that these works neglect parts of speech; on occasion they actually mix them up. One comes across lists of heterogeneous examples:

Example: *he* 贺 (HDYCD)

1. *qingzhu* 庆祝 "celebrate": *zhuhe* 祝贺
"congratulate", *daohe* 道贺 "extend
congratulations", *hexi* 贺喜 "congratulate
(someone) on a joyous family occasion", *heli*
贺礼 "congratulatory gifts", *hexin* 贺信
"letter of congratulations", *heci* 贺词
"celebration speech", *hedian* 贺电
"congratulatory telegram".

Zhuhe, *daohe* and *hexi* are verbs while all of the other forms given are nouns.

One comes across the same type of heterogeneity in the following case involving a word and its definition:

Example: *chur* 雏儿 (literally "fledgling") "a ninny, simpleton", (*Cihai*): *wei youzhi wuzhi ye* 谓幼稚无知也 "infantile, ignorant". *Chur* is a noun while *youzhi* and *wuzhi* are adjectives ("adjectival verbs").

This type of fault is all the more glaring in self-redundant definitions (to be avoided under all circumstances), where the word being defined is used in the definition itself, albeit with a different grammatical value. [This type of error is not unique to Chinese lexicography, although it is probably more frequent here due to the large number of noun

verb derivations.] The following examples are taken from the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*:

- *ju* 锯 "saw"
yong ju la 用锯拉 "cut with a saw"
- *daban* 打扮 (1) to get dressed up, deck oneself out
 (2) *daban chulai de yangzi* 打扮出來的樣子
 "appearance of a dressed up person (clothing, make-up, etc.)"
- *shan* 扇 "fan, fan oneself"
yishan qi feng 以扇起風 "create a breeze using a fan".

The dictionaries also often describe matters which are more properly the domain of grammar. In the *Guoyu cidian*, for example, one finds: *gege* 个个 "each, all". In fact, however, this form is a result of the application of the rule of doubling characteristic of measure words in Chinese (other examples are *benben* 本本 "all the books", *jianjian* 件件 "everything", *daidai* 代代 "every generation", etc.) and does not merit inclusion in a dictionary.

On the other hand, the old dictionaries did not provide lists of measure words, and the conditions of their use, for individual nouns. The *Xiandai hanyu cidian* gives certain information on this subject, which marks a significant, if still insufficient, step forward.

The suggestions contained in the "lexical examination reports" being circulated among the team members working on the *Hanyu da cidian* thus advocate linking grammatical and lexicographical in a diachronical perspective.

Conclusion

The "Great dictionary of Chinese words" (*Hanyu da cidian*) marks the beginning of an undertaking rooted in two distinct

domains, traditional Chinese lexicography and modern lexicography and lexicology.

We shall not dwell on the first of these two areas here. Suffice it to say that the criticisms of existing dictionaries provided by the compilers of the *Hanyu da cidian*, which I touched on earlier, tell us something of their own ideas and intentions. Beyond this, one can only stress the difficulty of comparing existing works with a project which is still in preparation. At the most, we might venture the observation that continuity appears to be winning out over discontinuity.

Are we justified then in claiming to evaluate this undertaking in the light of "modern" lexicography? Or would it not be more appropriate to discard such a value-laden term and speak rather of the specificity (or non-specificity) of the field of Chinese lexicography relative to its Western counterparts?

Let me review a number of problem areas that lexicographers tend to focus on.

- The arrangement of dictionary entries is an area that has evolved quite differently in China and in the West, even if the dissimilarities are few today. In China, from the time of the *Shuo wen jie zi* to the twentieth century, radicals (graphic elements used as "semantic indices") have served as the usual tool of classification. [Encyclopaedic classifications and rhyming arrangements also existed, but not in connection with "language" dictionaries.] In modern times, there have also developed classification schemes of a purely formal nature, i.e., according to graphic (using the first or last strokes, or the four corners of a character) or phonic (using syllabic or alphabetic order based on the

transcribed form) criteria. The latter of these two has prevailed since the official adoption of the *pinyin* alphabetic transcription system. Nevertheless, the compilers of the *Hanyu da cidian* have not yet decided how their entries will be arranged, and one suspects that any decision in favour of an alphabetic classification will not go unchallenged.

In the West, in spite of our long tradition of alphabetically arranged dictionaries, this system has never been without its detractors, who are today in fact more vocal than ever. In France, for example, the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Academie* (1694) grouped words by their "families", i.e., series with a common morpheme. Later, however, we reverted to an alphabetic scheme for reasons of convenience. For the last several decades, the alphabetic order has been subjected to a steady, intense stream of criticism. G. Matore states: "I consider that the era of alphabetic dictionaries has passed" [Cf. *Lexicologie et lexicographie française et romane*, CNRS]. And M. Cohen speaks of "the servile alphabetical order" [Cf. "Le fait dictionnaire" in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguists*, 1962, Cambridge, Mass.]. It would seem to be only for lack of an acceptable alternative that the major dictionary projects of recent years have continued to use the alphabet, albeit with certain modifications.

While the positions of Chinese and Western lexicographers do not diverge significantly on this matter, it is worth noting that the transparency of morphemic articulation in the Chinese language should make it possible for our Chinese colleagues to seek groupings according to less arbitrary criteria than those operative in our own languages.

Meta-language or descriptive language tends, in the case of dictionaries, to be generally identical to the object it describes, i.e. language. This paradox is one of the major difficulties inherent in lexicographical work (circular definitions, etc.). Older dictionaries, in the West as well as in the East, rarely utilised specific signs (typographical marks or terms employed in a set and conventional manner). The recent increased use of typographical devices in an effort to *distinguish* and articulate the different levels and values of the meta-language itself may be more widespread in the West (cf. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, *Le Tresor de la Langue Francaise*), but it is becoming increasingly evident in China as well (cf. the *Xiandai hanyu cidian*).

Notwithstanding the difficulties with which structural and functional linguists have grappled in their efforts to render the concept of the "word" its due, this elusive element nonetheless remains the key unit for lexicographers. Words are "separable signs of speech, the available units from which the enunciator makes his choice". And yet, as Alain Rey writes in a recent work, "Inasmuch as the lexical unit, the 'word' or 'idiom', remains imperfectly defined, any description can and must take into account the morpheme (even though this is not its primary concern)" [A. Rey, *Le lexique: images et modeles. Du dictionnaire a la lexicologie*, Paris, 1977. Armand Colin, p.49]. While the principles expressed here are very close to Chinese positions, the problem lies paradoxically in the *opportunities* and *temptations* specific to morphemic analysis in Chinese, stemming from the syllabic segmentation of speech and the nature of the writing system. It is by no means impossible, however, that the Chinese will

become the first to achieve that dream of all lexicographers, a dictionary of (strictly articulated) words and morphemes.

In the West, dialogue between theoreticians and empiricists is never easy to achieve. In linguistics, a "science of means common to thought and action" [A. Rey, p.91], the tension is perhaps more pronounced than in other fields. The very term "applied linguistics" implies a subordinate activity, in which the lexicographer, like the teacher or translator, need but implement, as best he or she can, the theories of the "pure" linguist. Next to the laws pronounced by the generalist, dictionaries are but imperfect instruments easy to criticise.

In China, the relations between the two are more complicated. Lexicography boasts a long and prestigious tradition, while general linguistics, or even a field such as Chinese syntactical studies, are newly born disciplines conceived under foreign influence. The works of Chinese grammarians seem uncomfortably slim beside the *Shuo wen jie zi*, the *Kangxi zidian*, and ten other imposing major works. In a manner of speaking, one could say that the activities of thinking about language in general and describing the Chinese language have consistently been *left behind* by the dictionaries. In China today, some of the best linguists, including Lu Shuxiang and Zhu Dexi, highly regarded for their theoretical works, do not hesitate to participate in lexicographical projects.

The most avant-garde linguists, especially those associated with the Harris school [Cf. for example: Boons, J.P., Guillet, Leclerc, *La structure des phrases simples en français: I Constructions intransitives*, Paris, 1976], have

come to the realisation that there is little point in pronouncing laws without knowing to what or to which lexical corpus they apply. Although the lists on which they base their own findings are very different from those compiled by traditional lexicographers, they have also innovated in the area of syntactical analysis, and their methods may, in the long run, result in a rejuvenation (and renewed legitimacy) of lexicographical research.

The dictionary-reading public in China is not "Mr Everybody" any more than it is in the West. In the People's Republic books are primarily distributed at the level of institutional units (*danwei*) such as universities, schools, hospitals, factories, and people's communes. No information is available on the volume of printed matter distributed through these channels, however, no more than there is in the case of bookstore distribution. All an observer can say is that the "dictionary" sections of bookstores are invariably well stocked and humming with activity. Finally, investigation of these matters is hardly facilitated by the fact that the number of copies printed for each edition is no longer (as of the Cultural Revolution) indicated on back covers. And yet a survey especially devoted to dictionaries would appear to be a necessity if we are to gain a better understanding of reading habits and the process of knowledge acquisition in the People's Republic of China.

I conclude by raising a critical point in evaluating any dictionary. Does the work in question record the present (or successive) state(s) of the language or does it set forth a norm to be followed? Or, to put it another way, to what extent does it favour one or the other of these ends?

The compilers of the *Hanyu da cidian* insist that their goal is to reflect the Chinese language as it was and as it is. Nevertheless, one is cautioned not to forget that in China (as, to a lesser degree, in France, although not, it would seem, as in the English-speaking world) language is a matter of State. What is more, one can be sure that the present campaign to promote a standard language (*putonghua*) will impose very definite limits on the inclusion of deviant forms.

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VI

Some Thoughts on Lin Yutang's
Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage

Liu Ts'un-yan

A good dictionary should be compared to a petrol service station. When servicing a car, the attendant should not be swollen with conceit and behave as if selling petrol to his customers was an act of charity. Intellectual contempt is bound with conceit, and a dictionary compiled by a scholar too proud of his scholarship, will make his gigantic work both pedantic and redundant. As one of the examples of works of this kind I may cite Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary* which was first published in Shanghai in 1892, two years before the first Sino-Japanese war. It was reprinted in 1912, and then reprinted again, in the States, in 1964. I shall cite only one example from the numerous antiquated characters found in this huge volume.

The Chinese character 鮪 *pǔ* is definitely a 'large, flat fish', but whether it is a 'ray' or a 'skate' is still a subject of controversy among the modern dictionary compilers. Thus Zhèng Yì-lǐ 鄭易里 in his *New English-Chinese Dictionary* translates 'skate' as yáo-yú 鰩魚 with the fish-radical in the character yáo. He translates 'ray' also as yao-yu, but this time the character yáo 鰐 has a bird-radical. In *A New English-Chinese Dictionary* compiled by the Editing Group of the Joint Publishing Company 三聯書店 and published in Hong Kong in 1975, we find characters hōng-yú 鰩魚 for 'ray', where the character hōng is a combination of the radical for 'fish' plus the phonetic gōng 工.

In Giles' scholarly work, however, we find on page 1153 that both 'ray' and 'skate' are given under the character *pu* with the following underneath:

huáng-diǎn pǔ 黃點鮐 a yellow-spotted ray
(*platyrrhina sinensis*)

bīng-shā pǔ 冰紗鮐 a purple-bellied ray

mù-sháo pǔ 木杓鮐 a wooden-ladle ray (*narcine lingula*)

bái-yù pǔ 白玉鮐 a white-fleshed ray (*trygon carnea*)

This Dictionary was originally dedicated to 'The Members of H.B.M. Consular Service in China and other students of the Chinese language' in the hope that 'it may [might] lighten the burden of what had always to be a toilsome task'. And what a toilsome task the work itself had been!

It is universally known that the strong points of Giles' *Dictionary* are its comprehensive description of the classical Chinese language. This is perhaps true, but only to some extent. It is true that many classical phrases, particularly many four-character idioms the use of which is still overwhelmingly large even nowadays and even in the colloquial *pǔ-tōng-huà* 普通話, are given in his Dictionary. But whenever we compare the idioms as found in the *hànyǔ chéngyǔ xiǎo-cídiǎn* 漢語成語小辭典 (compiled by the 1955 graduates of the Department of Chinese, University of Peking, and revised and reprinted in 1972) with those in Giles' *Dictionary*, the weaknesses of the latter become apparent. It is true that Giles was very fond of quoting from well-known Chinese literary pieces, especially from those which he had had the pleasure of translating before the preparation of the dictionary. Thus on page 555 under the archaic form of the

character *xiān* 仙 ('immortal' or 'immortals') we find 'shān-bù-zài-gāo, yǒu-xiān-zé-míng' 山不在高, 有仙則名 which is translated into English as:

Hills are not famous for heigh alone,
'tis to their Genius they owe their fame.

The second line here has been slightly revised in comparison with his translation of the same quotation in the *Gems of Chinese Literature* (published in 1883), where on p.144 it reads:

'tis the Genius Loci that invests them with their charm'.

The interesting thing here is that although these two lines are quoted from an essay written by a Tang essayist Liú Yǔ-xí 劉禹錫 (772-842), its original title and the author are not revealed. Whereas it is still debatable whether quotations of this and similar kind should be included in a classical dictionary, idioms are usually very useful for a scholar consulting it. In Giles' *Dictionary* many of the idioms given by him have no mention of sources. For instance, the *Hànyǔ Chéngyǔ xiǎo-cídiǎn* in citing 'huà-shé tiān-zú' 畫蛇添足 ('to draw a snake and add feet - superfluous') mentions as its source a Chapter on the Tablets Collected from the State of Qi in the *Tablets of the Warring States* (Zhanguo ce 戰國策). But in Giles' *Dictionary* (p.622) the source is not given. Perhaps in a dictionary of modern usage like Lin Yutang's, or Mathews' for that matter, this is not very important, but in a dictionary known for its classical contents in which literary allusions and references are the mainstay, what a disappointment it is for its users when a line 'mín-zhī-fāng-diàn-xī 民之方殿屎 (a quotation from the *Book of Odes*) is translated very faithfully as 'the

people now sigh and groan' but without a proper explanation where it comes from and why the character *shǐ* 屎 has to be pronounced differently here from its common articulation.

Compiled more than eighty years ago, Giles' *Dictionary* was meant not only for the study of Classical Chinese, but also for the cognizance of modern colloquialisms. While classical words are stereotyped, antiquated and subject to no more major alterations, for the modern words, an interval of eighty years means an indisputable gap. Many of the modern phrases found in Giles' *Dictionary* are therefore no longer as useful now as they might once have been, and some of the sayings quoted in it, if still understood, may create considerable difficulty if we try to identify in which part of China they are still in use. Of course, many people today still understand that *qū-qū-ér* 蝈蝈兒 is a 'cricket' (raised for cricket fights) and *mà-zhà* 蚂蚱 a kind of 'locust'. However, I believe, they are no more familiar with the idiom *qū-qū-ér bù-chī mà-zhà-ròu* 蝈蝈兒不吃蚂蚱肉 of the nineteenth century or earlier. Giles' rendering of this line as 'the cricket does not eat the grasshopper's flesh' to mean something like 'hawks do not peck out hawks' eyes' (p.379) is by itself not bad, though the meaning of the sentence itself is very vague at present, even to a Northern Chinese in whose native place both *qū-qū-ér* and *mà-zhà* are used in the spoken language. However, to do justice to Giles who was about forty years my senior, I would say that his *Dictionary* has at least one advantage over many modern dictionaries: it contains several hundred of the older expressions, commonly used in the 18th and the 19th centuries, which should be most useful for one who wishes to study classical works written in colloquial Pekinese, such as the

Dream of the Red Chamber (*The Story of the Stone*) or the *Ēr-nǚ yīng-xióng-zhuàn* 兒女英雄傳 (*The Gallant Maid*). For example, in a sentence probably found in the *Dream of the Red Chamber* and reading 'jiù-nián juān-de yǔ-shuǐ' 舊年蠟的雨水 ('Rain-water which has been kept a long time' [is said to be the best for making tea]), the meaning of the character *juān* for 'keep' is not to be found elsewhere, because it was a Peking colloquialism of that particular time.

Both Lin Yutang's and Mathews' compilations are dictionaries of modern usage. Although each of them has some classical expressions and literary allusions which are commonly used, we should not compare them with Giles' *Dictionary* merely on that account. Instead, I think these two dictionaries are themselves a good choice for this purpose. Mathews' work had been published some thirty years before the work of Lin Yutang and his team-workers appeared. There is not any doubt that Mathews' work must have served as one of the useful references for Lin. Lin Yutang was a known philologist, an essayist of familiar style in modern Chinese literature, and an author who had a considerable number of publications in the English language. Mathews was a clergyman who had lived in China for many years. Comparing character for character some of the entries in their two dictionaries, I find that Lin's work has many additional entries though occasionally some of the entries contained in Mathews' do not appear in Lin's. In his work of a much later date Lin had a better chance to work out selections. Take the character *hā* 哈 as an example: Lin added *hā-dá* 哈達 ('a Tibetan scarf often given as a present'), *hā-shì-mà* 哈士蟆 ('a kind of hibernated frog found in Kirin,

Manchuria, and used as a valuable tonic') and *hā-qì* 哈氣 ('to blow one's breath on', say 'a windowpane'). He deleted the word *hā-fú* 哈佛 (Harvard), the place-name *hā-mì* 哈密 (Hami), but left *hā-mi-guā* 哈密瓜 ('a Turkestan melon from Hami') untouched. I think his choice is well made and justified. It is common knowledge that Harvard is a world-renowned university with a history of approximately 350 years. At the same time there are too many renowned universities and of a much earlier origin to be included as proper nouns. Again, as a place-name there is no need to mention Hami, especially in a dictionary of common usage as against a geographical reference-book, but *hā-mì-guā*, like 'honey-melon', has now become a common noun in the Chinese language, and this justifies its inclusion. But take as an example the character *shāo* 哨. There are a number of words and phrases in Mathews' under this character, whereas the only work, I think, that could have been added to those repeated in Lin's work is perhaps the term *shāo-guān* 哨官 ('a military lieutenant'). Still another example: in Lin's *Dictionary* there is an adverbial compound *pū-chí* 撲嗤 with both characters containing a mouth-radical (an onomatopoeic word indicating a sound of breaking into laughter). In Mathews' there is no character *pū* with a mouth-radical, but there is *pū* 撲 with a hand-radical, which is interchangeable with a mouth-radical, and there is an adverb *pū-tōng* 撲通 describing a sound of something dropping into water. There is no reason why *pū-chí* should have been omitted. It is a compound used very frequently in the *Dream of the Red Chamber* and other popular fiction, such as the novels by Zhāng Hèn-shuǐ 張恨水. The results of a character for character comparison from a cross-section investigation between these two dictionaries are more

or less like the illustrations above. I have not yet had the time to make a similar comparison between Lin's work and the *New Practical Chinese-English Dictionary* compiled by Liáng Shí-qiū 梁實秋 in 1974.

The above comparisons have been made merely for the familiarisation of my listeners. The beauty of an excellent dictionary is not to be found there. Why does one love this dictionary and not another? There must be something influencing one's preference, or, if I may say, one's affection. My answer is very simple: the dictionary in question must have its own characteristics. What are the characteristics which distinguish this *Dictionary* of Lin Yutang from the works of many others? My answer is that these characteristics are found in its abundance of illustrations taken from the vivid, living language. And the individuality of this *Dictionary* is that it contains, without showing much embarrassment, a large amount of vulgar expressions seldom found in its counterparts. These, to my mind, are the salient points distinctive of the thoughts and feelings of a people conditioned by their spoken words and habits.

Many of my friends know that I am fond of reading dictionaries, English or Chinese. In the Chinese dictionary which I love most, I usually make marginal notes. In case of the English ones, I may not be able to recite all the words but I have been studying them, particularly the illustrations, as a matter of appreciation. The astonishing fact in connection with my reading habit is that although there have been very many English-Chinese dictionaries published since the late nineteenth century, those that I like most are the two compiled not for the study of the national language but

of the Cantonese dialect. One is the *Tah Ts'z Anglo-Chinese Dictionary* 達辭字典 compiled by Mok Man-cheung 莫若濂 and published in Hong Kong in 1898, and the other is John Chalmers' *English and Cantonese Dictionary* of which I have the 7th imprint published by Kelly & Walsh in 1907. These dictionaries were originally compiled to help English speakers to learn Cantonese. When I first studied them, I read them in reverse and tried to learn English from the vernacular. And I came to appreciate and admire the richness and the colourful nuances of the Chinese language expressed so vividly in Cantonese in these two dictionaries.

Here are a few examples, first from Chalmers' *English and Cantonese Dictionary*, p.425:

SOAK (Cantonese - *tsum* 浸, *shup-t'au* 濕透)

He soaks the ground with water (*k'ue i shui shup-t'au ti* 他以水濕透地)

soaked till it stinks (*au-to ch'au* 漚到臭)

soaked till mouldy (*au-to hi mooi* 漚到起霉)

soaked through (*tsum-t'au* 浸透)

soaked in syrup (*tsum-t'ong* 浸糖)

And now from the *Tah Ts'z Anglo-Chinese Dictionary*:

p.639: Fastidious adj. 掩尖, 瑣碎

He is fastidious upon no point of little importance

凡事不甚要者他亦不掩尖人

p.529: He is equal to the emergency.

佢亦有咁乖覺以應此事變

p.696: Foot-breadth, n. 壹腳咁闊

Foot-licker, n.

托大腳者, 阿諛奉承之人

p.785: You go your way and I go my way.

你有你路, 我有我路

p.921: How is it I haven't seen him out?

點解我唔見他出來呢

p.1118: A leaky woman 疏口婦人

p.1056: In shallow water dragons become the joke
of shrimps 龍遊淺水遭蝦戲

p.976: Is it so, indeed! 真係咩! 果然咩!

Should anyone among my audience today be conversant with Cantonese, he would agree with me that a Chinese student learning English can have a better grasp of the meaning of the English words through these colloquial expressions in Cantonese than from any other dictionaries compiled either in the same period or later, in which Mandarin - the language said to possess more academic propriety and elegance - is being used as a medium of translation. Take, for instance, the word 'fastidious'. In the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* its meaning is given as 'easily disgusted, squeamish, hard to please'. Therefore, in some of the English-Chinese dictionaries we find the expression 'guò-fèn jiǎng-jiù xì-jíe-de' 過分講究細節. But the emotional impact which a fastidious person (if not a woman) may have upon the nerves of another person (if not a man) is vividly expressed only by the Cantonese *yim-tsim* 掩尖. In a similar way I find that in Lin Yutang's *Dictionary* he was courageous enough to include such phrases as 'diǎo-er lāng-dāng' 吊兒郎當, 'chuī hū-zu dèng-yǎn' 吹鬍子瞪眼, 'da dū-lè-er' 打啞勒兜 and many colloquial expressions. The way in which he put them into the English language can be likened to the teaching of a Zen master revealing to his disciples the secret of sudden enlightenment.

Needless to say that during the compilation of his dictionary, Lin Yutang has not discarded many of the

traditional four-character idioms, such as the 'zhòng-shì zēng-huá 踵事增華' ('Embellish a story', 'add flourishes for effect', p.609). At the same time, much to a scholar's delight, he included as many as possible of the most commonly used idioms and phrases in the spoken Chinese language of today accompanied by his extremely apt and sometimes pithy English translations. Many of us who have had some experience in translation cannot fail to appreciate his rendering of 'tù-huán 吐還' as 'cough up illegal gains', or of 'chuī hú-zi dèng-yǎn' 吹鬍子瞪眼 as 'snort and stare in anger'. His translation of 'dǎ dū-lè-er' 打都勒兒 as 'to trill the tongue', and of 'bǎ zhèi-guō-tāng zài gū-dū yī-huì-er' 把這鍋湯再咕嘟一會兒 as 'please bring this pot of soup to a boil for a little longer', can be likened to a transformation of a stone into gold with a true Midas touch.

Since translation is such a difficult job, there has been a golden rule known only to a few good people: in order to produce a better translation, it is advisable to have the piece first translated by somebody else. To justify my point, may I cite one episode related to me by Lin Yutang himself. After the publication of his first novel, *Moment in Peking*, in 1939, he wanted his friend Yù dá-fū 郁達夫, a well-known Chinese writer, to translate it into Chinese. However, this wish failed to materialise. Instead, there appeared on the market later on a number of unauthorised versions. In one of these translations, the line 'to arrange the menu' was translated by someone as 'Zhī-pèi cài-dān' 支配菜單. Lin Yutang thought it very funny, for, as he told me, had he himself written it in Chinese, he would have used 'diǎn-cài' 菜單. 'Dian-cai' might not have been a difficult word for

one to think of, yet a clumsy expression had been chosen instead. A still greater confusion would have resulted if 'da du-le-er' had to be explained. Looking up 'trill', used as a verb, in a standard English-Chinese dictionary I find three interpretations: one is zhèn-míng 振鳴 (to give forth sound with tremulous vibration); the other is yǐ chàn-shēng fǎ-shēng, chān-shēng ér-gē 以顫聲發聲, 顫聲而歌 (say or sing in quavering sound); and the last one is yǐ juǎn-shé fá r yīn 以捲舌發 r 音 (to pronounce the sound r with rolled tongue). In one word, 'dǎ dū-lè-er' is not to be found! However diligent, a Chinese student simply has no way to find what 'da dū-le-er' means in English, even if he has been trying to produce the tremulous 'r' since his childhood.

The creamy part of the cake in Lin's *Dictionary* are the trite or semi-vulgar expressions in the daily conversational use. 'Diào máo-er' 吊毛兒, or 'make a kind of somersault in stage plays', for instance, is used in a theatrical jargon. And 'cèng léng-zi' 蹭綾子, which is translated by Lin Yutang as 'dilly-dally', in a typical colloquial Pekinese is a pornographic word used in love game. No-one in the past would have dreamt of including these words in any lexicon of academic standing, though I don't think that the use of 'ceng leng-zi' in the Chinese language has declined. It is no more obscene than many of the similar expressions used in a sixteenth century novel, *The Golden Lotus*, which in the English translation of it had originally been printed in Latin.

Although the many words (character-compounds), phrases and illustrations found in Lin's *Dictionary* seem to be ample, there are still a few places where, I think, additions or

small amplifications may be appropriate. Take for instance:

HUÁNG 皇 (the character for 'emperor' with a mouth-radical). Under this character there are no examples. I believe, both the reduplicated character *huáng-huáng* (a babe's loud cry, a sound in harmony) and the verbal compound *huáng-yīn* (to forerun, to introduce) are suitable for additional entries. Originally *huang-yin* or sometimes *yīn-huáng* was a noun meaning 'cries of the harbingers at a Chinese court'. Nowadays scholars use this compound to mean 'writing a preface for the book of a friend'.

ZHANG 張 (as N. adjunct). Lin takes this classifier to mean 'a flat piece' and gives one example which is 'yī-zhāng zhǐ' — 一張紙 (a piece of paper). This is quite sufficient, I think for the Chinese. However, for Western scholars who do not have the etymological background knowledge, I suggest that *zhāng* should be better defined as 'a flat *thin* piece', and for illustration, besides 'yi-zhang zhi' one may add 'yī-zhāng wén-píng' — 張文憑 (a diploma), 'yī-zhāng wěi-rèn-zhuàng' — 張委任狀 (a certificate of appointment) and 'yī zhāng zhào-piàn' — 張照片 (a photo), etc., to strengthen the idea of thinness in this context. The . . . example yī--zhāng-zhō — 張桌 ('a table or desk') in the *Dictionary* illustrates the notion of flatness well. *Zhāng* also implies the idea of 'spreading out' which too can be seen in one of the meanings for the English word flat

('horizontal, level, spread out and lying at full length'). But the notion of thinness for this word is somehow ignored.

TÙ 吐 . In the *Dictionary* there is a historico-racial name Tuhguuhurn 吐谷渾 which is a transliteration for Aza whose people were active in Central Asia and Northwest China during the fifth and the sixth centuries. However, its reading should be, following Lin's own phonetic system, Tuhyuhurn, or Tu-yu-hun in *pinyin*. Besides one should add Tù-huǒ-luó 吐火羅, a Chinese transliteration for Tukhara or Tokharestan.

HA 哈 . The verbal compound hā-yāo 哈腰 (to bend one's body in an act of courtesy) may be added.

ZUǐ 嘴 . The following new entries may be considered:

dīng-zuǐ 丁頂嘴 - to snap back (in a quarrel)

zuǐ-tián 嘴甜 - amiable

zuǐ-jǐn 嘴緊 - tight-lipped

zuǐ-dà chī-sī-fāng 嘴大吃四方 - a big mouth encompasses the globe. In Mathews' there is zuǐ-dà fú-dà (tsui-ta fu-ta 嘴大福大 a large mouth indicates great happiness).

Hǒu 吼 (roar). shī-zi hǒu 獅子吼 ('the roar of a lion', *simhanāda*) used frequently in translated Buddhist texts to describe the powerful preaching of Buddha, is included in the *Dictionary*. The literary allusion hé-dōng shī-hǒu 河東獅吼 likening jokingly the lioness' roar to the roar

of a shrewish wife is derived from this Buddhist saying and was first used in one of his poems by Sū Shì 蘇軾 or Sū Dōng-pō 蘇東坡 (1036-1101). In Lin's *Dictionary*, however, this has been interpreted as 'describing fear of henpecked husband'.

DĀO-CHǐ 刀尺. *Dāo-chǐ* has been given two explanations in the *Dictionary*. One is 'scissors and tapeline' and the other 'standards for judging the fitness of people for jobs'. In both cases *dāo-chǐ* is a noun or a noun-compound. In colloquial Pekinese it can also mean 'to make up' or 'to dress up', i.e. it is used as a noun and verb.

MIǎN-GUĀN 免冠. Lin translates this as 'take off the hat'. This is probably right for its general meaning. But if one analyses it further, one will find that although the Chinese, like other people, do take their hats off, this custom cannot be described nowadays as *miǎn-guān*. For *guān*, in the first place, is a kind of conical cap which was worn by the ancient Chinese. Giles in his *Dictionary* says that one is taking off the hat 'in order to k'o-t'ou to a superior' (p.803). For a better understanding, therefore, I think, the readers should be informed of the fact that *mian-guān* was the most sincere and reverential gesture practised by Chinese to show loyalty to their monarchs, sometimes to express gratitude, sometimes to beg pardon, and in general it has little to do with modern practice.

CHĪ 吃. Since *chī wǎ-piān-ér* 吃瓦片兒 ('live off rentals) and *chī-ruǎn bù-chī-yìng* 吃軟不吃硬

are included in Lin's *Dictionary*, I would like to suggest adding *chǐ-ruǎn-fàn* 吃軟飯 (a man living off his lover) to this group. Lin was very wrong, however, in rendering *chǐ-ruǎn bù-chǐ-yìng* as 'bully the weak but yield to one who can fight back'. The real meaning of this phrase, I believe, should be 'yield to the soft-line approach but refuse to be bullied by force'.

After *chǐ guān-sī* 吃官司 ('be involved in lawsuit'), it may be useful to add *chǐ gōng-jia-fān-de* 吃公家飯的 (one works for the police).

And after *chǐ hēi-zǎo-ér* 吃黑棗兒 ('be shot as punishment', literally *hēi-zǎo* is a black jujube, here it means of course the bullet), it may be useful to add *chǐ hēi-fān-de* 吃黑飯的 (an opium addict) and *hēi chǐ-hēi* 黑吃黑 (one gangster swindled or bullied by another). All these additions belong to one group. Besides, it might be advisable to add under the character *chǐ* the following compounds or phrases:

chǐ-biē 吃癰 - outwitted or defeated

chǐ-lǐ pá-wài 吃裏爬外 - toast one side of bread and butter the other, i.e. being treacherous

chǐ-bù-liǎo dōu-zhě-sǒu 吃不了兜着走 - if it doesn't end here, it will follow you home

chǐ dǎo-zhàng 吃倒賬 - suffer from misappropriation

chǐ-chǐ xiào 吃吃笑 - to chuckle

chī-yī kàn-èr yǎn-guān-sān

吃一看二眼觀三 - eating something,

watching another piece and having
a third in mind

LÙ 路 (road). Here one could add:

lù-jú 路局 - bureau of railroad administration

lù-yáo zhī mǎ-lì 路遙知馬力 - Only a long
journey will reveal the strength
of a horse

lù-lù tōng 路路通 - Every door is open to him

In Mathews' we find lù-piào 路票 ('a waybill',
p.597) and in Lin's *Dictionary* there is lù-tiáo
路條 ('travel permit, pass for going through',
p.611). I think both dictionaries should have
included both expressions.

DIÀO 吊. The idiom 'xīn-shàng shí-qī-bāgè diào-tǒng'

心上十七八個吊桶, meaning the process of
lowering 17 or 18 buckets down the well on a rope
and pulling them up, is used to describe a
palpitating heart, a state of anxiety. It is
frequently used in Chinese fiction and should
have been included in the *Dictionary*.

In some cases Lin's translation does not seem to reflect
the meaning of a Chinese word to its full extent. For example:

ZÌ-RÈN 自刃 (under *rehn*, p.731). Lin Yutang renders

zì-rèn (tzy-rehn) as 'commit suicide' which is
too vague. Zì-rèn means usually killing oneself
with a knife, sword or some such weapon but not a
pistol as distinguished from committing suicide
by drowning, poisoning or hanging.

KUÀ-DĀO 跨刀. This originated in a theatrical jargon and Lin has translated it as 'play supporting role'. As a matter of fact, *kuà-dāo* is often used to denote an actor who received the second highest salary among the players in a troupe and whose role is to support the leading player. Therefore, 'to play the main supporting role' would have been more accurate.

QIĀO-GŌNG 跷工. Lin describes *qiāo-gōng* as an 'art of walking in high-soled boots (of actress in Chinese opera)'. This is not a hundred per cent correct, for *qiāo* is not 'high-soled boots'. Actually it means wooden clogs shaped to resemble the bound feet of a woman and used as stilts. They have been devised for an actor impersonating a female if not an actress herself who has to perform some military stunts on the stage.

ZHǎNG-ZUǐ 掌嘴. This is given in the *Dictionary* as 'slap across the mouth'. I think that it is necessary for the compiler to inform his reader that *zhǎng-zuǐ* is an act of punishment practised by the privileged in respect of their inferiors, servants or slaves. Hence *zhǎng-zuǐ* must either be used in a passive voice, i.e. slapped by others, or as slapping oneself on somebody else's command. Slapping oneself on one's own accord as Ah Q did in Lu Xun's 魯迅 novelette would not apply here.

TUO-MIÀN ZI-GĀN 唾面自乾. This idiom has been translated correctly by Lin as 'to be spat on the face and let dry without wiping', but he adds 'extreme obsequiousness'. We all perhaps know

that this idiom originated with the Tang minister Lóu Shī-dé 婁師德. In Chapter 108 of the *Xīn-táng shū* 新唐書 we have:

When Lóu Shī-dé's younger brother was posted to Dài-zhōu 代州 and came to bid him farewell, Shī-dé advised him to be prudent in handling affairs. His brother said: 'If someone spits on my face, I'll merely wipe it'. Shī-dé said: 'This is what I am worried about. If a man spits on you, your wiping it will arouse his anger even more. Better wait till it dries up'.

Only an old Chinese rogue, a product of a thousand-year old experience could utter such crystalline words. I, for one, would hesitate to accuse him of obsequiousness.

Postscript

Translation is a difficult thing, but the difficulty would be even more enhanced if one delved into history. The compound *xíng-míng* 形名 has been defined by Giles as 'criminal law; punishments'; by Duyvendak as 'criminal law'; by Chavannes as 'les chatiments et les noms'; and by Wilhelm as 'die Strafen und die Bezeichnungen'. It is similarly rendered by Lin Yutang on page 518 of his *Dictionary* as 'law, especially criminal laws'. However, Lin cleverly adds a clause '*xíng-míng zhī-xué* 形名之學' and expounds it as a 'philosophy of legalist school, e.g. Hān-fēi 韓非'. To be very precise, I would, however, follow H.G. Creel and a few others, and interpret the expression *xíng-míng*, literally meaning 'performance and title', as a technique for the control of the personnel which played a significant role in the politics of the Warring States, the Qín 秦 and the Hàn 漢

On page 584 of the *Dictionary* under the character *xiao* 嘯 there is a phrase *yǎng-tiān cháng-xiào* 仰天長嘯 rendered by Lin Yutang as 'make a long wheezing noise in open air'. This is perhaps the best translation I have ever read of the famous line from a *ci* poem of the Southern Sung general Yuè Fēi 岳飛 (1103-1141), since the character *xiao* has been conventionally known to mean 'to whistle' or 'to sing aloud'. But does it really mean 'to whistle'? What did it really mean when its use was so popular in the third century? Sūn Dēng 孫登 (209-241) a contemporaneous scholar of the time, had actually written an essay about it which was entitled 'Xiào-zhī' 嘯旨 (The Essence of *Xiào*). This essay was written in Classical Chinese of the euphuistic style. Although it was translated into English in the mid-fifties by the late Professor E.D. Edwards I still think that there is room for suspicion that our knowledge of the meaning of this particular word is not complete.

On page 585 under the character *láng* 郎 (which is a part of the compound *láng-dāng* 郎當 - a jingling sound like that produced by a clapper within a bell) there is a colloquial phrase *diào-ér láng-dāng* 吊兒郎當 which is translated by Lin in his *Dictionary* as 'utterly carefree (suggesting "the hell with it")'. I believe that the first character in this adverbial phrase should read *diǎo* 吊, third tone, meaning the male genital organ, the proper written form of which is found on page 783 of the same work. My audience, familiar with the Ming novel *Water Margin*, will recall that in this famous piece of colloquial fiction there is a profligate monk who, whenever he was unable to get a substantial amount of meat and drink, would swear that 'a *diǎo* would burst out from his ravenous mouth' if he was to

continue to eat like a vegetarian. In many editions of this novel, the indecent *diǎo* is substituted by a character *niǎo* 鳥 (a bird). The real meaning of the four character phrase I have quoted, if studied from a historico-linguistic point of view, is a carefree manner of a ruffian characterised by his gait with the little 'bird' swinging and swaying inside his trousers. I cannot say definitely how long this idiom has been in existence, but I guess it could be just a matter of only a few centuries. During the Northern Sung times (960-1127) the similar kind of ruffians sauntering in the same carefree manner in the market place of Kaifeng were described as 'the proud citizens who had their hands hidden in the sleeves' (*lǒng-xiù jiāo-mín* 籠袖驕民). Recorded thus in Classical Chinese, by some scholar-officials and art critics it sounds of course more elegant.

VII

A Proposal for Study: Chinese and Japanese
Sound Patterns as Represented in
Their Common Characters

Joyce Ackroyd and
Conrad Young

Both Japanese and Chinese have numerous homophones. All the following are, for example, pronounced "fu";

扶芙蚨福輻蝠匐芻朶罽袂黻馱孚
浮桴苒蜉倅郛伏沕袂楸萩幞苻符
鳧弗拂拂第氣佛艷緋服蔽幅

And the

following Japanese words are all pronounced "fuku":

復服福腹複覆副幅伏輻蝠覆含脹
馥匐蔽葡蠅萩

From these two lists of homophones we see not only that each of the words is represented by a character; but also that some characters in each list share one component element in common, the element which is called the "phonetic", 聲符 in Chinese つくり in Japanese. Moreover, some characters appear in both lists, such as 服匐伏, suggesting correspondence between sets of Chinese "fu" homonyms and Japanese "fuku" homophones. The majority of the Chinese or Japanese characters have more than one pronunciation and homophone lists in each language therefore overlap. The situation in Japanese is further complicated by two principles of pronunciation, 音讀 and 訓讀.

We are led to ask what is the correlation between the various pronunciations of a character in Chinese and its various pronunciations in Japanese? Our search for correlation has provoked another question: is there something similar in shifts in parts of speech (i.e. from the nominal to the verbal) in Chinese and Japanese? Or is it purely random? Since the Japanese characters generally derived from the Chinese writing system we will take the Chinese system as a starting point.

To define a part of speech of Chinese characters is no easy task. Firstly, quite a number of characters are not complete or independent words; unless a character is connected to another or other characters, its own status in the part of speech is not certain. Secondly, it is sometimes not so easy to pin down to which part of speech a certain character belongs, even if it is a component of a compound.

The determination of the pronunciation of the character seems easier, but again one must, for most cases, consider the pronunciation of each character when it serves as a component of a compound.

Now let us arrange our material for discussion in categories of parts of speech.

I. A. Chinese characters appearing as nouns, but overlapping
adjectives or adjectives and verbs:

- | | | |
|------------|------|---------------------|
| 1. 差 ts'ū | adj. | 參差 ts'ēn ts'ū |
| 2. 差 ch'āi | adj. | a. 差人 ch'āi rén |
| | v. | b. 差遣 ch'āi ch'ien |
| | n. | c. 兼差 chiēn ch'āi |
| 3. 差 ch'ā | n. | 差別 ch'ā piéh |
| 4. 差 ch'à | adj. | 差錯 ch'à ts'uò |
| 5. 差 ch'ie | v. | 疾小差 chí hsiǎo ch'ie |

Character 差 can be pronounced in five ways, representing more than five separate entries. The first entry means "uneven". In the second entry, Section a. means "a man ready to be sent out". Section b. means "to send someone out". Section c. means "an additional position occupied by a man who already has a position". The example given as the third entry means "difference"; the fourth means "mistake". The fifth means "the illness is a little better".

B. Japanese counterparts

- | | |
|------------|----------|
| 1. し
差 | し
參差 |
| 2. さ
差 | さ
差遣 |
| 3. しゃ
差 | しゃ
差別 |
| 4. さ
差 | さ
差別 |

The Japanese character 差 as we can see above, can be pronounced at least three different ways, representing four entries:

The example in entry 1 is "uneven", which corresponds to entry one of the Chinese counterpart both in meaning and pronunciation. Entry 2 means "to send". The examples in entries 3 and 4 are identical, but are pronounced differently. This indicates that a single character compound could be pronounced in more than one way.

II. A. Chinese characters as verbs, but overlapping prepositions:

1. 還 hái prep. 比昨天還熱 pǐ tsúo t'ien hái jè
2. 還 huán v. 還錢 huán ch'ien

Entry 1 means, "It is hotter than yesterday". Entry 2 means "returns (pays back) money".

B. Japanese counterparts

かん かん (かん)
還 v. 還元

This entry means "return to the original situation."

The 漢字 "還" has never been pronounced as "hái" and it is not considered an adverb.

III. Chinese characters as nouns, but overlapping adjectives, verbs and prepositions.

A. Chinese

1. 從 ts'ung v. a. 服從 fú ts'ung
 prep. b. 從來 ts'ung lái
2. 從 tsung
 n. a. 隨從 suí tsung
 adj. b. 從兄弟 tsung hsung ti

The entry from Section a. of entry 1 means, "to obey". The example from Section b. means "since". The example from Section a. of entry 2 means "followers". The example from Section b. of entry 2 means "male cousins".

B. Japanese counterparts

1. じゅう じゅう ぐん
 從 從軍
2. じゅう じゅう けい
 從 從兄

Of the Japanese counterparts, entry 1 means "to become a soldier"; entry 2 means "male elder cousins". Here it is clear that Japanese pronounce the character for 從 the same in the compounds, although they belong to two different parts of speech.

IV. A. Chinese characters as verbs, but overlapping nouns,
and complements.

1. 出 ch'ū v.
 - a. 出力 ch'ū lì
 - b. 出生 ch'ū shēng
 - c. 出賣 ch'ū mài
2. 出 ch'ū n.
 - a. 日出 nìh ch'ū
 - b. 七出 ch'ī ch'ū
3. 出 ch'ū complement
 - a. 提出 t'í ch'ū
 - b. 舉出 chǔ ch'ū
 - c. 選出 hsuǎn ch'ū

The example of Section A of the first entry means "to make an effort". Section A of entry 2 means "sun rise". Section A of the third entry means "to raise (a suggestion)". It is interesting to see that the character "出" from all these three entries share one pronunciation, i.e. "ch'ū".

B. Japanese counterparts

1. 出 ^だ v. 2. 出 ^だ v/complement

a. ゆうびん ^だ 郵便を出す

a. な ^だ 泣き出す

b. かんが ^だ 考え出す

3. 出 ^で n. 4. 出 ^{する}

a. ていぐち 出口

a. するし 出師

b. てい い ぐち 出入り口

c. ひ ^で 日 の 出

d. ^で き ぬき 出来秋

しゅっ
5. 出 n.

しゅっべい
a. 出兵

しゅっ にやう
b. 出入

しゅっ えん
c. 出演

しゅっ
6. 出 v.

しゅう べい
a. 出兵する

しゅう にやう
b. 出入する

しゅっ えん
c. 出演する

いっ
7. 出

いっ け
a. 出湯

hot springs

いっ
8. 出

いっ し
a. 出石

9. 出 ch'ū

a. 出口貨 ch'ū k'ǒu huò

b. 出讓 ch'ū ràng

In the first entry Section a means "to send the mail out". Entry 2 means "to begin to cry". Entry 3a means "exit". The fourth entry means "to send troops out". Entry 5a has the same meaning as entry 3a. Entry 6a means "to get out and in". The seventh entry means "hot springs". Entry 8 is "a place name". Entry 9a means "export goods". The diversity of both parts of speech and pronunciations of the character "出" is amazing.

V. A. Chinese characters as verbs but overlapping adjectives.

1. 長 chǎng
 - a. 生長 shēng chǎng
 - b. 長子 cháng zǐ
 - c. 長官 chǎng guān
2. 長 ch'áng
 - 長度 ch'áng dù

Section a. of entry 1 means "to grow". Section b. means "eldest son". Entry 2 means "length".

B. Japanese counterparts

1. 長 chō 長 壽 chō jū
2. 長 chō
 - b. 長進 chō jin
 - a. 長官 chō kan

Entry 1 means "longevity". Section a. of entry 2 means "administrator". Section b. of entry 2 means "making progress". Here we can see several cases of the character "長" representing words belonging to different parts of speech but sharing the same pronunciation.

VI. A. Chinese characters as nouns but overlapping adjectives.

1. 弟 tì 兄弟 hsūng tì
2. 弟 t'ì 出則弟 ch'ū ts é t'ì

Entry 1 means "brother". Entry 2 means "to be respectful to one's elders".

B. Japanese counterparts

1. だい 兄弟
2. てい 弟
 - a. けい てい 兄弟
 - b. もん てい 門弟
3. で 弟子

Entry 1 means "brother" or "brethren". Section a. of entry 2 also means "brother" or "brethren". Section b. of entry 2 means "disciple". Entry 3 also means "disciple".

We can see the confusion here in the Japanese counterparts of the Chinese character "弟". In Japanese, this character is pronounced "だい", "てい" and "で". Apparently the sound pronounced "で" represents the component "弟" in the character compounds meaning "disciple".

VII. A. Chinese characters as verbs but overlapping
adverbs.

1. 没 mò 出没 ch'ū mò
2. 没 méi 没完 méi wán

Entry 1 means "(appearing and) disappearing". Entry 2 means "not (finished)".

B. Japanese counterparts

- | | | |
|----|---------|--------------------------|
| 1. | ぼつ
没 | ぼつ しゅ み
没 趣味 |
| 2. | ぼつ
没 | ぼつ ろく
没 落 |
| 3. | ぼつ
没 | ぼつ ろく
没 落する |
| 4. | ぼつ
没 | ぼつ ねん ぼつ ねん
没 年 (没 年) |

Entry 1 means "dull". Entry 2 means "downfall". Entry 3 means "to decline". Entry 4 means "year of death".

Here the examples show that the problem of Chinese pronunciations of "méi" and "mò" has been partially accommodated in the transfer to the Japanese pronunciation system. Even the character "没" has been included in the general character category of "没". However, the pronunciation of "ぼつ" applied to all the entries of characters "没" and "没" is still a problem in the system.

VIII. A. Chinese characters as verbs but overlapping nouns

- | | | | |
|------|-------|-----------|--|
| | 會 | | |
| n. | 1. 開會 | k'ai hui | |
| n/v. | 2. 誤會 | wu hui | |
| v. | 3. 會做 | hui tsuo | |
| n. | 4. 會計 | k'uai chi | |

Entry 1 means "meeting". Entry 2 means "misunderstanding". Entry 3 means "to know how to do it". Entry 4 means "accounting".

B. Japanese counterparts.

- | | | |
|----|----|---------|
| | かい | き かい |
| 1. | 會 | 機會 |
| | かい | かい ぎ |
| 2. | 會 | 會議 |
| | かい | かい (かい) |
| 3. | 會 | 會計 |
| | え | え とく |
| 4. | 會 | 會得 |

Entry 1 means "chance". Entry 2 means "meeting".

Entry 3 means "account". Entry 4 means "understanding".

IX. A. Chinese characters as adjectives, yet overlapping
with other adjectives.

1. 奇 ch'í 奇異 ch'í yì

2. 奇 chī 奇數 chī shù

Entry 1 means "strange". Entry 2 means "odd (numbers)".

B. Japanese counterparts.

1. き 奇 き さい 奇才

2. き 奇 き ちう 奇數

Entry 1 means "strange (talent)" (genius). Entry 2 means "odd numbers". Here we can see that two entirely different entries of the same 漢字 are pronounced identically.

CONCLUSION

We have only begun the experimental study of correlations between shifts of pronunciation and the changes in parts of speech of Japanese and Chinese characters in the above typology.

However, we can already tell the possible answers to those questions we set out earlier, in this paper - "yes" and "no". This is to say, as we have so far explored at this stage, the "correlation" is neither totally patterned nor totally unpatterned (i.e. random). We have encountered rules involving the following operations:

1. Shifts in pronunciation of a certain category of Chinese characters to a counterpart pronunciation in Japanese.
2. Use of Japanese grammatical rules such as changing a noun to a verb by adding する to its end, and changing a noun to an adjective by adding 的 or 的 なる to its end.
3. Following Japanese 訓讀 principle to pronounce a character compound.
4. Following Japanese 外來語 principle to pronounce a character compound.

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