

CHINESE STUDIES REVIEW

ISSN: 1833-2463

中国 研究 评论

No. 1, Vol. 3
May 2008



Australian Tertiary Chinese Teachers Association (ATCTA)
澳大利亚高校中文教师学会

Chinese Studies Review

《中国研究评论》

ISSN: 1833-2463

No. 1, Vol. 3

June 2008

Table of Contents

Ideographic versus Phonetic -- A Debate over the Nature of Chinese writing in the 1930s

Zhi-qun Chen

Monash University, Australia

The Pragmatic Functions of the Chinese Modal Auxiliaries -- In reference to Neng Verb Group

Wen Xiong

University of Rhode Island, USA

上海方言音变中社会认同的作用

Guo-qiang Liu

Deakin University, Australia

明嘉隆名臣史事新探—徐阶与海瑞

Deng-cheng Jiang

Australia

Annual Conference and Annual Meeting Report of ATCTA

Shaoming Zhou, Secretary of ATCTA

University of Melbourne, Australia

About Contributors

Notes for contributors and subscribers

Ideographic versus Phonetic

A Debate over the Nature of Chinese writing in the 1930s

Zhiqun Chen
Monash University, Australia

摘要

上个世纪 30 年代后期两个著名的汉学家 Creel 和 Boodberg 就汉字的性质问题展开了长达5年的辩论。这场辩论在西方汉字研究领域影响至今。本文着重探讨这场辩论的历史背景，分析并评价了双方的汉字观，并简略介绍这场辩论对西方汉字研究的影响，旨在对西方汉字研究的历史和现状有更深入的了解。

Introduction

In 1936, the famous American sinologist Herrlee Glessner Creel (1904-1994) published an essay with the title on the Nature of Chinese Ideograph, which engaged him into a debate over the nature of Chinese writing

with Peter A. Boodberg (1903-1972), also a renowned sinologist working at Berkeley University, California. The debate lasted for almost five years, during which the two of them argued hotly about the nature of Chinese writing: was it ideographic or phonetic. There was a series of essays, with each one having published two respectively: Creel, *On the Nature of Chinese Ideography* (1936); *On the Ideographic element in ancient Chinese* (1938) and Boodberg, *Some Proleptical Remarks on the Evolution of Archaic Chinese* (1937) and 'Ideography' of Iconolatry? (1940). The debate continued until the editor of *Tong Pao*, the journal where they published three of the four above-mentioned essays, called an end to it with a weak excuse that their discussion exceeded the intended scope of the journal because they both cited examples from cuneiform writing in their argument (DeFrances, 1984, pp. 86-87).

During the debate, the issue of compound ideograph in the Chinese writing system became a hot issue. The compound ideograph can be roughly defined as a class of Chinese characters wherein a typical example is composed of two or more components, each contributing to the meaning of the graph without playing any phonetic role. It was first defined by Xu Shen (67-148CE) in the preface to his *Shuowen Jiezi* 说文解字, the first etymological dictionary in Chinese (Duan Yucai, 1981). Typically the meaning of a character belonging to this category is represented

through a combination of the components. For example the character xiu 休 (to rest) is composed of two components: ren 人 (person) and mu 木 (tree) (ibid, p. 270). The two components are conjoined to form a picture of a man leaning against a tree, thus the meaning ‘to rest’ is evoked.

This paper will focus on a dispute between Creel and Boodberg’s with regard to the nature of Chinese writing, followed by critical comments of my own, together with a brief discussion of the influence of their debate on the studies of Chinese writing among western scholars.

Creel’s ideographic view of Chinese writing and the importance of the compound ideograph

1 Historical background

In the west, there have been two conflicting views about Chinese writing: Is it ideographic or phonetic? Western interest in Chinese writing started when the first catholic missionaries came into contact with Chinese writing in the early 16th century. The popular view till the mid 19th century was that Chinese writing was ideographic and that Chinese characters were invented to represent ideas directly without the interference of sounds. There were many attempts in the 17th and 18th century Europe to create ‘universal characters’, which was inspired by the then popular view: Chinese characters were composed

to express notions, not letters or words (Mungello, 1985). For example, Gutzlaff (1841) believed that Chinese characters could be used for successful communication by people who do not understand each other's own languages. Duponceau (1841) was perhaps the first scholar to conduct a serious investigation into this possibility. He viewed Chinese writing as an invention to represent words instead of ideas, just like an alphabetic script was invented to represent phoneme. He believed that Chinese writing is logographic and cannot be compared to an alphabetic script as the invention of the latter script involved analysis of sound. At the beginning of the 20th century the dominant view towards Chinese writing was that it was inferior compared to an alphabetic script, a product left unfinished. The popular view then was that the evolution of all writing systems should follow the same pattern: from pictographic to ideographic, finishing as alphabetic. Just as Manson summarized: the history of the art of writing the entire world over, among people of all races,....seems to have progressed along lines of growth practically identical with each other (cited by Creel, 1936, p. 86) [1]. Influenced by this view, the Romanization Movement for the Chinese writing system appeared in China in the early 20th century and was supported by some famous western Sinologists. Bernard Karlgren was one of them, as he advocated to be "Away with the ideograph, replace it with phonetic writing" (Karlgren, 1926).

2 Creel's viewpoint about Chinese writing and his criticism of Xu Shen's 'Liushu' theory

Not in tune with the popular view in the 1920s that Chinese writing is primitive because it is ideographic, Creel argues that Chinese writing followed a unique course in its development, roughly, it began with picture writing, then there was conventionalization of pictographs and the combination of the conventionalized pictographs to form compound ideographs. In this way, the ancient Chinese people chose to invent a writing system that deliberately avoids complete phoneticization, instead of accidentally failing to do so. Creel launched a serious, albeit laconic, criticism of the traditional 'Liushu' theory of Xu Shen, and pointed out pertinently that to "admire Xu Shen's work is one thing, but to follow blindly is another" (Creel, 1936, p. 127). In fact, it was Creel who became the first person in history to conduct a serious critique of the Liushu, a matter hitherto ignored by many Chinese scholars [2]. Among his criticism two points should be mentioned here 1) the inadequate study of the category 'compound ideograph'; 2) the more or less arbitrary classification of characters into semantic-phonetic compounds [3].

According to Creel, the category 'compound ideograph' is of most importance to Chinese writing as they are the



combination of pictographs without considering their phonetic value – thus proving the ideographic nature of Chinese writing. He suggested that the category ‘compound ideograph’ is divisible into several sub-classes, for there are great and significant differences in the ways in which pictographs may be combined to form new characters. This should be one of the most important facts to be recognized in the study of Chinese characters (ibid, p. 98). He does preliminary work on this sub-categorization. According to him, there are compound ideographs that are produced by combining two pictographs together to highlight a common feature. Examples of this category cited by Creel are 明 (bright) and 鮮 (delicious) . 明 is the combination of 日 (sun) and 月 (moon) , and the feature common to the two are bright, which is the meaning of the character 明; 鮮 combines 魚 (fish) and 羊 (sheep) , because the meaning ‘delicious’ is regarded as the common feature of fish meat and sheep meat. The other sub-category listed by Creel is the formation of compound ideographs by the principle of place value. To illustrate his point, Creel used as an example a pair of characters, 育 and 好 (ibid, pp. 99—101). In the oracle bone inscriptions (hereafter the OBI for short), the two characters were combined using the same components, but representing different meaning. The two components are 女 (woman) and 子 (child). When the component 女 (woman) is put above an inverted child, depicting ‘giving birth to’, we get the

graph 𠄎育. The position of the two components, when representing the above meaning, is fixed. In the case of the character hao 好, the two components 女 and 子 are juxtaposed, with no place value attached. Actually in the OBI, the character was sometimes written as 𠄎 with 女 on the left and 子 on the right, just as it is written today in modern Chinese, but it was sometimes written as 𠄎 with 子 on the left and 女 on the right.

Creel criticized Xu Shen for his often-erroneous classification of characters as the semantic-phonetic compounds, thus contributing to the false assumption that the majority of Chinese characters belong to this category; he referred to this as the ‘radical-semantic myth’. Based on his study of the new data from the OBI, Creel proposes that a large number of characters that were classified by Xu Shen as semantic-phonetic compounds should be reclassified as Compound Ideographs. A list of characters with 韋 as a component is given by Creel to illustrate his idea. The following are two of them.

𠄎 (the OBI) 𠄎 (the OBI) 韋 (the Small Seal Script)

Xu Shen's analysis is that the graph is a semantic-phonetic compound, with 舛 (be contradictory) as the semantic classifier and 冂 (the enclosure) a phonetic determinative, the meaning represented is 'be against each other'. Creel correctly pointed out that the grapheme in OBI shows two feet on either side of 冂 (the enclosure), in one allograph three feet are depicted, with the original meaning of the character as 'surround, protect'

 (the Bronze Inscription)  (the Small Seal Script)

Xu Shen's explanation is that this graph is a semantic-phonetic compound with 辵 (to leave) as a semantic classifier and 韋 as a phonetic indicator. Creel explained that it is a compound ideograph representing the meaning 'to leave, transgress, disobey'. It is composed of 韋 plus 辵, the latter as a semantic determinative meaning 'to go' to indicate the going out of or into a guarded or forbidden place, thus the meaning 'to leave' and to 'disobey (ibid, pp. 153-156). However, a recent research suggests that Creel's categorisation of this particular character as compound ideograph is arguable. As is shown from the graph in Bronze Inscription given by Li Gefei (1990), the components in this graph are 韋, together with 彳



(road) and 止(foot), all having something to do with ‘go’, thus justifying the meaning ‘to leave’.

3 Critical comments

Creel can be regarded as a strong supporter of the ideographic view of Chinese writing. To him, the impetus to the development of Chinese writing in the early stages lies exclusively in the representation of meaning, while the representation of sound is comparatively unimportant [4].

According to Zhao Cheng (2005), the principle of phonetic borrowing in the OBI is quite important, over 70 percent of all the deciphered graphs were used to write another word with the same pronunciation but unrelated in meaning, a fact obviously overlooked by Creel, as he interpreted phonetic borrowing as a temporary solution that was discarded after the invention of the ‘compound ideograph’ (Creel, 1936, p. 93). As a result, his interpretation does not conform to the actual evolution of Chinese writing. According to Li Xiaoding (1986), the number of compound ideographs in all the deciphered 1125 characters in the OBI is 398, about 32%, and the number of semantic-phonetic compounds in the OBI is 334, about 27%; In *Shuowen Jiezi* or *说文解字*, a dictionary compiled about 1000 years later than the use of the OBI, of 9475 characters included, 1167 are compound ideographs, about 12%

and semantic-phonetic compounds number 7697, over 81% (ibid, p. 21). Many, though not all, of the semantic-phonetic compounds are formed in two steps: first an existent graph is used phonophorically to write another word related in pronunciation but unrelated in meaning, termed as ‘phonetic borrowing’ in traditional Chinese philology; next a semantic determinative is added to the borrowed graph, thus creating a semantic-phonetic compound (Qiu Xigui, 2000; Tang Lan, 1949). Allowing for some misinterpretations by Xu Shen of the formation of characters, we still cannot deny the fact that a large number of characters are formed to represent the sound, not meaning.

Creel stressed that throughout the history of the Chinese language there has been a steady though no doubt unconscious insistence upon retaining the ideographic value of the characters (Creel, 1936, p.115) There are indeed examples when after a formerly pictograph lost its pictographic feature in later stages of Chinese writing, a semantic indicator would add to it to form a new character with the same meaning. A case in point is the character 蜀 (a kind of worm). In the OBI, the character was written as  , a pictograph resembling a worm, in the western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions, the character was written as , with a 虫 added to it (Li Gefei, 1990, p. 1338). The usual explanation is just as

Creel pointed out: to ‘retain the ideographic value of the character’. However, there are also many pictographs added with phonetic indicators to form semantic-phonetic compounds. A case in point is the graph 𣎵 (disaster). It was first a pictograph, consisting of three wavy lines to depict the flood 𣎵, frequently used from the first period to the third period of the OBI, roughly from 1200 BCE to 1131BCE while from the fourth period (c 1130-1116 BCE) a phonetic indicator 才 was added to it, creating a semantic-phonetic compound 𣎵 (Yu Xingwu, 1996, pp. 1274-1275). Another example is the character 齒 (tooth). In the OBI it was written as 𪗗, a pictograph A phonetic indicator 止 (toe) was added to it in the Bronze Inscriptions, creating a new graph 𪗗 (Zhao Cheng, 2005). Examples like these are good evidence to argue that at least some characters are formed to represent the sound of the language, a point not fully realised by Creel.

Perhaps it was these highly arguable concepts of Chinese writing that gave Boodberg a reason to challenge Creel and to present a different view of his own.

4. Boodberg’s phonetic view of Chinese writing and the nonexistence of compound ideograph

The divergences about the Chinese writing system between Creel (1936; 1938) and Boodberg (1937; 1940) can be roughly summarized into the following four points:

- 1) While Creel held that Chinese writing is ideographic in nature, Boodberg viewed it as phonetic;
- 2) Creel outlined unique evolutionary stages experienced by Chinese writing, whereas Boodberg thought that any logographic writing system experienced the same developmental stages, to which the Chinese writing system was no exception;
- 3) Creel hailed the category 'compound ideograph' as a solution to save the Chinese writing from fully succumbing to phoneticization, Boodberg totally rejected the concept of compound ideograph, claiming that what were classified into this category are just phonetic compounds with the phonetic value unnoticed;
- 4) Creel emphasized the importance of the semantic value bore by the components in compound characters, Boodberg, on the other hand, stressed that the phonetic value of the graph holds the key to the understanding of Chinese writing.

The following discussion will focus on Boodberg's interpretation of the creation of two types of Chinese characters: the traditional compound ideograph and pictograph, which will help to get a glimpse of Boodberg's viewpoints about Chinese writing.

4.1 What the traditional 'compound ideograph' should be?

According to Boodberg, all compound characters were created to represent a certain sound, to explain otherwise is simply unacceptable and out of common sense. As to the traditional explanation of compound ideograph, Boodberg's explanation is that in archaic Chinese, there were many Chinese characters that had more than one reading, which was termed by Boodberg as polyphony phenomena. Boodberg reiterates his point that polyphony is an important and widespread phenomenon in the early stages of any writing, which has been overlooked by many scholars and led to the misconception of the existence of the category 'compound ideograph' (Boodberg, 1937, pp333-336).

According to Boodberg, if we accept the concept of polyphony phenomena and apply it into the analysis of the formation of the graphs belonging to the so-called 'compound ideograph' category, we will easily draw the conclusion that: "the majority (of that category) have to be immediately re-classified as phonetic

compounds” (ibid, p. 345) . He analysed one by one the ‘ten most adduced examples of ‘compound ideograph’ including 年(year), 明(bright), 鲜(delicious), 名(call, name), 家(home), and tried to prove through his own demonstration that eight of them belong to the category ‘phonetic compound’, except for the graphs 晃 (bright), 杳 (out of sight), which made their appearance due to the mythological significance attached to the explanation of the graph 東 as a ‘sun rising behind a tree, with the components mu 木 (tree) and ri 日 (sun) (ibid, pp. 345-349).




A typical example of Boodberg’s explanation of the formation of these so-called ‘compound ideographs’ 年 is illustrated in this paragraph. Xu Shen analysed this character as consisting of he 禾 (grain) as a radical, and qian 千 (thousand) as phonetic. It is now usually accepted that this character is a ‘compound ideograph’ because in the OBI, the two components are he 禾 (grain) and ren 人 (man) , meaning ‘man carrying grains’ and combined together to conjoining the meaning ‘a good harvest’ (Xu Zhongshu, 1989, pp. 782-783). Boodberg gave a different explanation to the formation of this character based on his own polyphony theory. As in modern mandarin, nian 年 and qian 千 are slightly different in pronunciation (with the only difference in initial consonant), he justifies Xu shen’s explanation that qian 千 acts as a phonetic indicator of the graph nian 年, citing Liu Xi’s exposition

in Shi Ming释名as年：进也 (make progress). In his book, Liu Xi explained the meaning of one word using another with the similar sound, thus nian年 must be pronounced the same with jin进 at that time. Boodberg constructs an archaic sound for千 as **tsnien, which could well serve as a phonetic for nian, for the archaic form which eventually evolved into ancient nien As to another alleged written form composed of ren人 as is shown in the OBI, Boodberg's explanation is that ren人 also had the pronunciation **znien, and could serve as a phonetic determinative just as qian千, he further tried to prove that ren仁, a character derived from 人 and with the same pronunciation, is a compound of千 and xin心 (heart), with the former as the phonetic indicator. Obviously Boodberg here tried to use this character to serve as an indirect example to show that 人, 千 had the same pronunciation.


In some OBI, however, 年 is written with just 禾. Boodberg's explanation to this is that: "the necessary conclusion that we are obliged to draw from these facts is that 禾 was a polyphone (being also read tsnien in the sense of 'harvest' and that the essential role played by the second element added to 禾 was that of a semantic-phonetic determinative to limit it in the sense of 'harvest' (Boodberg, 1937, p. 338). This semantic-phonetic role means that the determinative must have the same or similar pronunciation with the pronunciation of the character, at the same time, the

meaning it represents must be relevant with the meaning represented by that character. That is why Boodberg further proves himself that 人, 仁 has the meaning ‘kernel,’ ‘seed of grain’.

One problem with Boodberg’s interpretation of the graph 年 seems to be that he assumes that all the different graphemes were created to represent the same phonological system.

 (the OBI)  (western Zhou bronze inscription) 
(the small seal script)

年 is a very common character in the OBI, meaning harvest. It is composed of 人 and 禾. In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, the same graph is still used together with another two graphemes, one is composed with 人 and 千, and the other is composed of 人 and 壬. One explanation to the small seal grapheme is that the component 千 was a deviation of 壬 (Yu Xingwu, 1996).

 is first used in the OBI, representing the phonological system of Shang from the year 1200 to 1045 BCE, while the other two should represent the phonological system of western Zhou. 人 was pronounced as *njin and 壬*njim and as 年*nin (Baxter, 1992, pp. 779-784). At present there has been no systematic reconstruction

of the phonological system of late Shang. But from Baxter's reconstruction of Old Chinese, the Chinese language of the early and mid Zhou dynasty (eleventh to seventh centuries BCE), 人 and 壬 might be a phonetic indicator as they were pronounced similar with 年, the initial consonant have the same articulation point and the finals are in the same rhyme groups [5]. If this view is accepted then there seems no need to design a polyphonic role to the graph 人.

As to the other grapheme of the graph 仁, composed of 千 and 心, some scholars believe that it is a grapheme used during the Warring States period, belonging to the six states scripts, a period described as “言语异声, 文字异形” (people speak different languages and use different scripts) by Xu Shen in the preface to *Shuowen Jiezi* (Duan Yucai, 1981, p. 758). It is possible that they represent different phonological systems. If so, one may have good reason to question Boodberg's assumption that the grapheme has the same reading with 仁.

It is reasonable to assume that the identification of the time when a graph was invented is the first essential step when analysing the process of the formation of the character in question, especially from a phonological perspective, as Boodberg did. As is shown clearly in the above case of the character 年. It is obvious that the different allographs were invented in different times and most likely represent different phonological system.

Boodberg failed to do so with the above example. There is evidence that he ignored that essential point with all the examples he cited in his work.

4.2 Boodberg's 'graphic phonetization'

Just as Creel took a strong standpoint to argue for an ideographic explanation of Chinese writing, the same can be said of Boodberg when it comes to the phonetic explanation of Chinese writing system. To Boodberg, every Chinese compound graph, some pictographs included, was created to represent a sound. He coined the term 'graphic phonetization' (Boodberg, 1937, p. 353), the inner modification of a graph to represent sound, to explain a common phenomenon in early Chinese writing that some pictographs were written with one part grossly exaggerated. One of the examples Boodberg cited is 𠂇馬 (horse). As found in the OBI, the graph 馬 (horse) was written with 目 (eye) occupying the whole head. According to Boodberg (1937, p. 352), through pictorial emphasis on the eye, which he reconstructed to be pronounced as **mog , the early graphologists of China were endeavouring to indicate pronunciation of an early pictograph” .

It is not unusual to find in the OBI that some pictographs, especially these represent animals, were written with one part exaggerated. Creel (1936, p. 94)

discussed this phenomenon explaining that in this way, it was easy for the ancient Chinese to write these characters, at the same time, highlight the meanings they represent. Compare the following two pairs of

characters in the OBI: 𠂇 牛 (cow) and 𠂇 羊

(ram), 𠂇 犬(dog) and 𠂇 豕(pig).The only difference

between 牛 and 羊 in the OBI is the highlighted horns, with the cow's u-shaped and the ram's curved. With 犬 and 豕, the only difference lies in the tail, with the dog's tail curling up, while the pig's tail drooping down. To me, Creel's explanation is more reasonable than Boodberg's.

4.3 Critical comments

In his interpretation of the traditional compound ideograph, Boodberg depends heavily on his theory of polyphony phenomena, which was caused, according to him, by the initial consonant clusters in Old Chinese. These initial consonant clusters were split, giving rise to two different pronunciations. Although it was referred to as the 'unmistakable fact' by him (Boodberg, 1937, p. 337), the existence of the initial consonant clusters in Old Chinese is still questioned almost half a century after Boodberg published his essay, at least among some scholars in China. In 2003, Zhengzhang Shangfang published a book the *Phonetic System of Old Chinese*,

in which he manages to demonstrate that there existed a complicated and extensive initial consonant complex. Two years later, Pang Guanghua published a book *On the Nonexistence of Initial Consonant Complex in Old Chinese*, as the title suggests, Pang totally denies the existence of such a phenomenon in the Chinese language [6]. While some other scholars, both Chinese and western, acknowledge the existence of initial consonant clusters, they admit at the same time that the nature of initial consonant clusters has yet to be defined. “At the present time, while no one doubts the existence of initial consonantal clusters in Old Chinese, there is a considerable controversy over how to reconstruct them correctly” (Norman, 1988, p. 45). He Jiuying (1995, p. 262) expresses the similar viewpoint, albeit in Chinese. Even Boltz, a student of Boodberg and a strong supporter of the phonetic nature of the Chinese writing system, when discussing the same phenomena, says: “A rich and complex system of initial consonant clusters ... must have existed at the old Chinese stage [We] know only to a very small extent what nature of that system of initial clusters was, and how it devolved into later stages of the language” (Boltz, 2003, p. 93).

Summary

Boodberg aimed to build up a theory to explain the formation of Chinese characters from a phonetic

perspective in an attempt to prove that Chinese writing is phonetic in nature. The above discussion suggests, however, there are some issues in his theory that need further studies. In spite of that, his idea that the Chinese writing system is phonetic in nature has been supported by many sinologists since the 1940s. See Boltz (1986; 1996; 1999; 2003), Chao Yuenren (1940), DeFrances (1984; 1989) and Schafer (1974).

During the debate, Chao Yuenren supported Boodberg by publishing a short essay *A Note on the Early Logographic Nature of Chinese Writing*. Schafer (1974) in a brief introduction to Boodberg's works writes: "This study, ... supported the view, now adopted almost universally, that Chinese graphs did not and do not represent 'ideas' or 'concepts' but stand for words and morphemes, and that many of their components have hitherto unsuspected phonetic value". Pulleyblank (1979) considered Boodberg's work as food for thought "rather than demonstrated conclusions or even well-founded principles to be followed as a model". Nevertheless he holds that Boodberg's "insistence on the importance of the phonetic elements in understanding the script was sound".

As to Creel, it would be fair to say that despite his rather extreme viewpoint, Creel deserves more recognition for his work on Chinese writing. He was the first scholar to

conduct a systematic critique of the traditional ‘Liushu’ theory and the first to object openly, against the prevailing view of his time, to the Romanization Movement for Chinese. His sub-classification of compound ideographs, though far from being perfect, was innovative if we take into consideration of the fact that it was not until half a century later that Qiu Xigui (2000) did a similar job. Nevertheless his contribution to the study of Chinese writing has been largely ignored both in China and in the west. There is no mention of his work and the debate even in his obituary, which seems to have cited all his important works [7].

Over half a century passed since the debate between Creel and Boodberg, the two divergent viewpoints about Chinese writing still exist among western Sinologists. See Hansen (1993) and Boltz (1986; 1996; 1999; 2003). Hansen can be considered as a representative of those who hold that Chinese writing is ideographic in nature, while Boltz can be considered as an advocate of the phonetic nature of Chinese writing. Boltz’s work can be regarded as a systematic and theoretical development of Boodberg’s theory about half a century ago. It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the different views on the nature of Chinese writing system among contemporary scholars. Although there is no sign that the differences between the two schools will reach an agreement in near future, they do provide different perspectives on Chinese writing system.

Endnotes

[1] Gelb (1952) expressed the same opinion about all the writing systems in the world in his seminal book *A Study of Writing*, which represents a dominant view about Chinese writing among the west in the 1950-1960s.

[2] It is usually regarded among Chinese scholars that Tang Lan is the first scholar who conducted a comprehensive and systematic criticism on Xu Shen's 'Liushu' theory (He Jiuying, 1995). Tang Lan's book was first published in 1948, which was more than ten years later than Creel's *On the Nature of Chinese Ideograph*.

[3] The category 'semantic-phonetic compound' is another kind of Chinese characters defined by Xu Shen. They are also compound characters usually with one component represent the general meaning of the character and the other part plays the phonetic role (Qiu Xigui, 2000).

[4] Creel (1938) admits to too much adherence to the meaning representation of Chinese writing, while overlooking the phonetic value of the graph. "I was not sufficiently conscious of the bearing of phonetics on some of the important problems in the development of Chinese writing". Nevertheless, his main position on Chinese writing remains unchanged.

[5] There is no agreement to the criterion of a graph used as a phonetic indicator in another compound character. Generally it is acknowledged that the initials are of the same articulation position and the finals in the same rime groups. But Zhao Cheng (2005) holds that a graph must be have the same pronunciation with the character in order to play the phonetic role .

[6] See

<http://www.jwc.fudan.edu.cn:8080/yayan/showArticle.php?key=50> for introduction to Zhengzhang Shangfang's book and for the introduction to Pang Guanghua's book, please refer to http://.bookschina.com//mianfeisd.asp?book_id=1342055

[7] For more information about his Obituary, refer to the website <http://.uchicago.edu//.shtml>

References

- Baxter, W. H. (1992). *A handbook of old Chinese phonology* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Boltz, W. G. (1986). Early Chinese Writing. *World Archaeology*, 17(3), 420-436.
- Boltz, W. G. (1996). Early Chinese Writing. In P. T. Daniels & W. Bright (Eds.), *The World's Writing Systems* (pp. 191-200). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Boltz, W. G. (1999). Language and Writing. In M. Loewe & E. L. Shaughnessy (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China : From the*

- Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (pp. 74-124).
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boltz, W. G. (2003). *The Origin and the Development of Chinese Writing system* (2nd ed.). New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Boodberg, P. A. (1937). Some Proleptical Remarks on the Evolution of Archaic Chinese. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2, 329-372.
- Boodberg, P. A. (1940). 'Ideography' or Iconolatry? *T'oung Pao*, 35, 266-288.
- Chao Yuenren. (1940). A Note on the Early Logographic Nature of Chinese Writing. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol,5,No.2, 189-191.
- Creel, H. G. (1936). On the Nature of Chinese Ideograph. *T'oung Pao*, 32, 85-161.
- Creel, H. G. (1938). On the Ideographic Element in Ancient Chinese. *T'oung Pao*, 34, 265-294.
- DeFrances, J. (1984). *The Chinese Writing, Fact and Fantasy*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- DeFrances, J. (1989). *Visible Speech: the Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Duan Yucai, 段. (1981). *Shuowen jiezi zhu 说文解字注*. Shanghai Shanghai guji chubanshe
- Duponceau. (1841). On the Chinese system of Writing. *Transactions of the American Philosophical society*, Vol.7., 10-29.
- Gelb, I. J. (1952). *A Study of Writing*. Chicago &

- London: the University of Chicago Press.
- Gutzlaff, C. (1841). Letter from the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff to John Vaughan, Esq., on the Chinese System of Writing. *American Philosophical Society*, .Vol.7.(1841). 7-9.
- Hansen, C. (1993). Chinese Ideographs and Western Ideas. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 52(2), 373-399.
- He Jiuying, 何. (1995). *Zhongguo gudai yuyanxue shi, 中国古代语言学史*. Quanzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe.
- He Jiuying, 何. (1995). *Zhongguo xiandai yuyan xueshi, 中国现代语言学史*. Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe
- Karlgren, B. (1926). *Philology and Ancient China* Oslo: H. Aschehoug & CO. (W. Nygaard)
- Li Gefei, 李. (1990). *Hanyu da zidian 汉语大字典*. Chengdu & Wuhan Sichuan cishu chubanshe & Hubei cishu chubanshe
- Li Xiaoding, 李. (1986). *Hanzi de qi yuan yu yan bian lun cong 汉字的起源与演变论丛*. Taipei Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi
- Mungello, D. E. (1985). *Curious land : Jesuit accommodation and the origins of sinology*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden.
- Norman, J. (1988). *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. (1979). Review: [Untitled] Reviewed Work: Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg.

Pacific Affairs, 52(3), 513-514.

Qiu Xigui, 裘. (2000). *Chinese Writing* University of California, Berkeley.

Schafer, E. H. (1974). Peter A. Boodberg. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 94.1, 1-7.

Tang Lan, 唐. (1949). *Zhongguo wenzixue 中国文字学* (2001 ed.). Shanghai Shanghai guji chubanshe

Xu Zhongshu, 徐. (Ed.). (1989). *Jiaguwen zidian 甲骨文字典* (2003 ed.). Chengdu: Sichuan cishu chubanshe

Yu Xingwu, 于. (Ed.). (1996). *Jiagu wenzi gulin, 甲骨文字诂林*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chubanshe.

Zhao Cheng, 赵. (2005). *Jiagu wenzixu gangyao 甲骨文字学纲要*. Beijing Zhonghua shuju.

The Pragmatic Functions of the Chinese Modal Auxiliaries -- In reference to Neng Verb Group

Wen Xiong
University of Rhode Island, USA

提要

汉语助动词是外国学生学习汉语的难点之一。无论是从汉语本体的角度，还是从汉语作为第二语言学习的角度，对汉语助动词的语用功能的考察，前人的研究基本是空白。类似的研究对深化对汉语的研究，进一步提高对外汉语教学的有效性是不可或缺的，因为语言的语用功能直接体现为如何用语言完成表达和交际。本文从对外汉语教和学的角度，选取助动词中最常用的“能”类助动词，对其中的四个助动词（能，可以，会，可能）的语用功能进行了详细列举和分析，研究的成果揭示了语言中语法形式，语义和语言功能的密切关系。

1. Introduction

The acquisition of Chinese modal auxiliary verbs (such as 能, 可以, 会, 应该.....) is highly complex for learners of Chinese (Ji, 1992; Tao, 1991; Xiong; 1996; Chen, 2002), and the learners continue to use them inaccurately, even at advanced level. This raises several

questions: Why is there a lack of mastery of the Chinese modal auxiliary verbs by learners? Where do their problems come from? Do we really understand the aspects of learning process? Is instruction helpful and effective?

In the studies of teaching English modal auxiliary verbs, Holmes (1988) noted that most of textbooks do not adequately cover modals, if they cover them at all. Kärkkäinen (1992) pointed out that a lack of research into the modals' pragmatic functions leads to the neglect of explicit teaching of the modal verb forms.

This paper sheds light on the teaching of Chinese modal auxiliary verbs as a second/ foreign language by exploring their specific pragmatic functions.

2. Literature Review

The studies of mood or modality have been related to each other for centuries and can be traced back to debates in the literature of logical and philosophical studies. From the perspective of language, mood (modal, -ity) is defined by Crystal (2003, p. 299) as follows:

Mood (“modality”, or “mode”) refers to a set of SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC CONTRASTS signaled by alternative PARADIGMS of the verb, e.g. INDICATIVE (the UNMARKED form), SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility.

Syntactically, these contrasts may be signaled by alternative INFLECTIONAL forms of a verb, or by using AUXILIARIES.

From this definition, it can be interpreted that mood or modality is a common category in language, and is a combination of syntactic elements (alternative PARADIGMS of the verb), semantic elements (a wide range of meanings) and pragmatic elements (including attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance).

Extending this argument, therefore, meanings such as permission, obligation, volition, possibility, necessity and prediction and so on can be expressed in different languages by alternative PARADIGMS of the verb. While it may not be possible to easily claim universality for these aforementioned meanings, it is highly likely that substantial parts of these meanings will be shared between languages (and cultures). One consequence of this is that the language users will need to understand how these meaning are expressed and the language learners will need to discover whether, and if so, how these meanings are realized differently in a new language.

Research on L1 development (Halliday, 1975; Wells, 1979, 1985; Perkins, 1983; Richards, 1990; Papafragou, 2000) claims that the acquisition of the modal auxiliary is particularly interesting because it is important in a child's linguistic development in relation to the acquisition stage, rate, variation and communicative strategies.

Richards' (1990, p. 5) , for example, points out that "Despite the possibility of alternative strategies to

express auxiliary meaning, however, an increasing mastery of the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of auxiliary usage is an inextricable part of language development from an early stage.”

Although the importance of the pragmatic functions has been long recognized because it is so closely related to the language use and speech acts, the pragmatic studies of modal auxiliaries are limited.

The relevant research is on children’s use of specific forms or speech acts, such as indirect requests (Menyuk, 1969; Perkins, 1983; Ervin-Tripp & Goron, 1986). Guo (1994) was the first to study the full range of sentence forms, semantic meanings, and discourse functions of Mandarin Chinese modal auxiliaries in children’s speech. He investigated the different uses of eleven major modal auxiliaries: yao (want), xiang (desire), xihuan (like), yuanyi (willing), hui (know-how-to) neng (can), dei (have to), gai (should), keyi (allow) and yong (need). He used these to determine how extensively meaning and form pairs were used in children’s daily interactive activities for the specific interpersonal and social goals the child speakers intended to achieve and how the uses of these modal auxiliaries were different among the 3-, 5-, and 7-year old children and what the developmental trend looked like. His strong emphasis on the relationships between social interaction, meaning and grammatical form was based on Halliday’s (1975) functional perspective that “modal auxiliaries provide a special illustrative example for the functionalist view because of their semi-opaque semantic and semi-grammatical status” (p. 5). Forty specific discourse functions including the three sub-categories of interpersonal oriented functions, informational oriented

functions and logical reasoning functions were used to categorize his data. For example, the study of *neng* shows the order of development of the different meanings from physical ability to permission to epistemic uses. All three meanings serve a common interpersonal function in dialogic discourse: a challenge to the addressee whereby the change in the meaning of *neng* is primarily motivated by this interpersonal function of challenge (Guo, 1995, p. 207).

Guo's (1994) findings of the development pattern of *neng* (from physical ability to permission to epistemic uses) in relation to interpersonal functions are consistent with the view that early modals are "without exception interpersonal and action-oriented" (Fletcher, 1979, p. 282). He also concluded that modals do not originate from the pragmatic performative use although they soon come to be used mainly for pragmatic purposes. The studies of pragmatic acquisition of modal auxiliaries shows that the task of pragmatic acquisition is incorporated with syntactic and semantic development, but the developmental patterns in these three dimensions may vary because of individual differences.

Some research have been conducted in the investigation of the L2 learners' inter-language pragmatic development, regarding appropriateness or inappropriateness when using the modal auxiliary verbs to realize some speech acts, such as request and refusal. In that way, modal auxiliary verbs have been researched as an indicator of the transfer or surrender of L1 cultural values and norms rather than as a grammatical category. As a marker of pragmatic integration, the studies reveal inconsistent relationships between linguistic knowledge and pragmatic competence. The inconsistency of

relationships holds true for different ages, length of exposure to the L2 and level of L2 proficiency (Kasper, 1979; Basham & Kwachka, 1989; Ellis, 1992; Hill, 1997; Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig, 2000, 2001,).

The literature shows that the pragmatic functions of modal auxiliaries are important in many ways in relation to how people express their subjective attitude, prediction and judgments. Therefore, a detailed exploration of the pragmatic functions of the Chinese modal auxiliary verbs becomes one of the essentials parts in the study of the Chinese auxiliaries.

3. The Neng Verb Group

Theoretically, Chinese auxiliary verbs are a finite set. Researchers agree that the modal auxiliaries exist both as a consistent formal system subject to some rules and as a group of semantic elements with individual variations in meaning. There are a few sub groups being gathered according to their meaning clusters.

In this paper, I have selected the Chinese modal auxiliary Neng Verb Group (NVG), which includes neng, keyi, hui and keneng as the major target of the study. The modal auxiliary verbs are clustered around particular semantic concepts. This Neng Verb Group (NVG) shares the meaning cluster of possibility, ability and permission.

Leech (1987, p. 71) explains the modal auxiliaries in general:

What makes it so difficult to account for the use of these words is that their meaning has

both a logical and a practical (or pragmatic) element.

A modal auxiliary always has a number of distinct, yet related meanings. Previous studies of the semantics of modal auxiliaries have mainly concentrated on their referential meanings (Lü, 1979 etc.). Few studies have explored pragmatic meanings (Xiong, 1994) (such as request, suggestion, promising).

The meanings of the NVG words traditionally incorporated three main conventional modal rubrics: ability, permission and possibility. Some scholars Lü (1979) etc, think the distinction between *neng* and *keyi* is that *neng* is frequently used to express the sense of ability, whereas *keyi* is frequently used to express the sense of possibility. However, Fu and Zhou (1991) investigated the Chinese modal auxiliaries based on statistics derived from the analysis of dialogues (play scripts) and concluded that in terms of expressing the meaning of “possibility”, *neng* is most frequently used in the interrogative sentence (64.3%) and seldom in affirmative sentences (6%); but *hui* is used more frequently in affirmative sentences (45%) rather than in interrogative sentences (20.2%). Guo’s (2005) 1, 8500, 000-word corpus based study provided more statistics about the different frequencies of using different modals and different meanings of a modal. For example, he found that *neng* was used in 295 declarative sentences, 83% of its usage was to express “ability” and 17% to express “root possibility”. Moreover, the constraints from the syntactic frames and pragmatic requirements also influence the meaning distribution of the modal auxiliary verbs. Table 2.1 (Guo, 2005, p. 18-19) shows that when the agent of the sentence is expressed in different personal pronouns the frequencies would be

varied. It can be seen that one of keyi's meanings, "permission", is always with the use of 2nd personal pronoun, whereas when the subject is 1st personal pronoun, most of the meaning of keyi is "root possibility".

Table 2.1 Frequency of the meanings distribution of keyi (Guo, 2005)

keyi		Total	Permis- sion	Root possibility	Ability	Evaluate
Ni (2 nd person) + keyi +VP	Amount	157	129	26	2	0
	%	100	82.2	16.5	1.3	0
Wo (1 st person) + keyi + VP	Amount	181	19	156	6	0
	%	100	10.5	86.2	3.3	0

The different distribution of the NVG words provides significant implications. It means that the NVG words do not share the same importance in being used to express the different meanings. The meaning overlaps between and within the NVG words in fact have been distributed in contexts. Each word has its major roles of different pragmatic functions.

4. The pragmatic functions of the NVG words

The issue of whether to use modal auxiliaries in an utterance largely depends on the speaker's communicative intent. With modal auxiliaries, the utterance focuses on making comments and judgments, and the resulting utterances are colored by the speaker's involvement in the form of opinion, affect, or personal dynamics so that an utterance that contains modal auxiliaries is more complex in meaning than an

utterance without modal auxiliaries, although the underlying grammatical structures may be the same. There are correlated relationships between the meanings and the functions in the NVG, which are summarized in Table 3.1 and exemplified below.

Table 3.1 Relationship between meanings and functions in the NVG (Xiong)

Meaning	Function	The NVG words	Note
Possibility	Prediction	neng, keyi, hui, keneng	
	Hypothesis	neng, keyi, hui, keneng	
	Promise	neng, keyi, hui	The subject is the first person pronoun.
	Likelihood, truth	hui	
Permission	Granting/asking permission	neng, keyi	keyi is more frequent. Negative form is bu neng
	Suggestion/feasibility	keyi	Negative form is bu neng
	Request	neng, keyi	Only keyi can be used in independent response.
Ability	Showing ability/boasting	neng, keyi	
	Showing great skill	hui	

1. Related to the meaning “possibility”, there are three basic pragmatic functions: prediction, hypothesis, and promise. All four NVG words can be used to express one or more aspects of the function of possibility, but there are differences as shown below:

(1) Prediction

<i>NVG words</i>	<i>pragmatic features</i>	<i>semantic features</i>
<i>Neng/ keyi</i>	active/ preferred	subjective
<i>keneng</i>	medium/ non-preferred	↓ ↑
<i>hui</i>	active/medium/non-preferred	objective

E.g. 3-1

多吃肉 能/可以/可能/会 长胖。

duo chi rou neng/ keyi zhang pang. (Speaker hopes to become fat)

duo chi rou keneng zhang pang. (The result of eating more meat is becoming fat)

duo chi rou hui zhang pang. (It is possible the tendency of eating more meat will make you fat.)

More eat meat AUX grow fat

Eat more meat **can** put on weight.

(2) Hypothesis

E.g. 3-2

要是咱们的买卖越做越好，我能不给你长工钱吗？

Yaoshi zanmen de maimai yue zuo yue hao, wo neng bu gei ni zhang gongqian ma?

If 1PL POSS business getting better, 1SG AUX NEG.
give you raise in salary

If the business has improved, wouldn't you have got a raise?

(3) Promise: This meaning cannot be expressed through the use of keneng, because keneng is used to express a

tentative possibility, therefore the mood is not strong enough for making a promise.

E.g. 3-3

我可以 给你一个星期的假期。

Wo keyi gei ni yi ge xingqi de jiaqi

1SG. AUX give you one CL week MOD holiday

I can give you one-week holiday.

(4) Likelihood, truth. Only hui has this sense.

E.g. 3-4

人都是会死的。

Ren dou shi hui si de

Person all be AUX die PRT

Anyone can die.

2 Related to the meaning “permission”, there are three pragmatic functions. They are granting/asking permission, suggestion and request, which are expressed by neng and keyi.

(5) Granting / Asking permission

E.g. 3-5

你可以走了。(In relation to something within the authority of the speaker)

Ni keyi zou le

2SG. AUX zou PRT

You can/may leave.

(6) Suggestion

E.g. 3-6

处长清闲的时候，可以来跳跳舞，玩玩牌，喝喝咖啡。(From “Teahouse”, 老舍《茶馆》)

Chuzhang qingxian de shihou, keyi lai tiaotiao wu, wanwan pai, hehe kafei.

Sir leisure DET time, AUX come dance, play card, drink coffee

When you've got time to kill, sir, you can enjoy dancing, cards and coffee.

(7) Request: it is an interrogative question, requesting a behavior from the interlocutor rather than information. The speaker wishes the listener to do something for him/her.

E.g. 3-7

A: 能不能把书递给我?

Neng bu neng ba shu di gei wo?

AUX NEG. AUX PREP book pass 1SG

Can/ could you pass me the book?

B1: (no response just passes the book.)

B2: 好的。/ 行。/ 可以。

Hao de./ xing./ keyi

Good PRT/ all right/ AUX

Ok, all right.

*B3: 能。/ 我能。

Neng/ wo neng.

AUX / 1SG. AUX

Can / I can

3. Related to the meaning of “ability”, there is a pragmatic function which can be labeled as showing ability/boasting, in which neng and keyi can be used.

(8) Showing ability/ boasting

E.g. 3-8

小王能一口气喝八瓶啤酒。

Xiaowang neng yi kou qi he ba pin piji

Little wang AUX one CL breath drink eight CL beer

Xiaowang can drink eight beers in one go.

(9) Showing great skill, only hui applies in this case.

E.g. 3-9

张三很会说话

Zhangsan hen hui shuohua.

Zhangsan (name of person) very AUX talk

Zhangsan is very eloquent.

Therefore, related to each basic meaning rubric, there are specific embedded pragmatic functions, which enable the speakers to have options to choose the different meanings and pragmatic functions to communicate.

Using modal auxiliaries such as the NVG words can demonstrate the relationship not only between the meaning and the function, but also between the speaker and the listener. For example, in the case of expressing the meaning “permission” involves the granting of permission and asking for permission. When the subject uses different pronouns, the choice of which pronoun to use usually relates to the authority attached to either the speaker or the listener.

E.g. 3-10

我可以走了吗? (The authority of the listener by using 1st person pronoun.)

Wo keyi zou le ma?
1SG AUX go PRF PRT
Can / May I leave?

你可以走了。(The authority of the speaker by using 2nd
person pronoun.)
2SG AUX zou PRF
You can/may leave.

The NVG word that is included in the utterance can also show the intention and the attitude of the speaker. As in Example 3-1, using *hui* and *keneng* means a kind of objective tendency, whereas using *neng* and *keyi* implies the speakers' wish or desire.

5. Conclusion and Implications

From the above analyses and description in sections 4 and 5, it can be seen that the pragmatic functions of the Chinese modal auxiliary words play a very important role in communication. Therefore, they comprise a necessary component of second or foreign language teaching and learning, which will need to be taken account in exploring the process of the acquisition of Chinese. Furthermore, this description has underlined the view that the Chinese modal auxiliary words consist of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic layers that only partially collocate. In essence, the three layers act largely independently to provide the subtle and varied meaning potential of the Chinese modal auxiliary words. It does not appear possible to outline any singular or dominating relationship between particular words, their semantic and pragmatic meanings and the syntactic forms in which they appear.

In current teaching practice for the Chinese modal auxiliary verbs, the syntax and the core meaning are taught in the early stages, but teaching is limited to the basic structure. Beyond the basic structure and the core meanings, the complex collocations of syntax and semantics have not been woven into the syllabus systematically. The pragmatic functions of the NVG words, which are context dependent, have not received enough attention. There is a gap between what we design for the teaching and what the learners need to learn in terms of the Chinese modal auxiliaries.

If a teacher assumes that teaching the NVG words can be completed in a few lessons at the basic level, the students will certainly have some problems. Despite the apparent mastery of the syntax of the basic structure in early stage, clearly there are other substantial levels of meanings and pragmatic functions that the learners need to grasp. These analyses involve the relationship between syntax and lexis, which also include the relationships between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Therefore, any instruction program dealing with this area needs to have later lesson activities that will help learners retrieve the earlier knowledge and re-examined it in the light of more refined semantic and pragmatic differentiation.

Thus, it can be concluded that the teaching of the NVG would be better if it were extended beyond the basic level. The learners need time to discover the relationships between items. Consequently, we know that a “one size fits all” teaching approach is not going to work because it is not sufficient to meet the needs of the L2 learners of Chinese.

Conventions, Translations and Abbreviations

(1) Each Chinese example has two lines of English below it. In the line immediately below the example, I have attempted to gloss each Chinese character with the clearest and most literal English equivalent possible. In the second line I put a translation of the whole utterance into idiomatic English. () is used to supply some constituents omitted in Chinese but essential in English version.

(2) Pinyin, which is the official Romanization system of Chinese used to spell out the sound, is given below each character line.

(3) Chinese nouns in general do not indicate singularity versus plurality. I gloss all nouns as singular nouns in English.

(4) Chinese has no grammatical categories of tense, so I have chosen the appropriate tense in each case according to the context.

(5) Chinese pronouns make no distinction between masculine and feminine. I have glossed them as 1, 2, 3 plus SG or PL, for example “Wo (I)” glossed as 1SG.

(6) () is used to supply some constituents omitted in Chinese but essential in English version.

(7) *: an utterance that is either structurally or semantically unacceptable to native speakers

(8) (?): an utterance that is odd and can not be translated as the whole, but not necessarily unacceptable

(9) Special Chinese grammatical abbreviations are listed below:

CL: classifier

PL: plural

SG: singular

PRT: utterance-final particle

NEG: negative
POSS: possession (de)
MOD: modifier (de)
COMP: complementizer of verb
PRF: perfective (le)
PROG: progressive (-zhe, zai)
EXPR: experiential (guo)
AUX: modal auxiliary verb

References:

- Basham, C., & Kwachka, P. (1989). Variation in modal use by Alaskan Eskimo student writers. In S. Gass (Ed.), *Variation in second language acquisition* volume 1: Discourse and pragmatics: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Chen, Y. H. (2002). *Hanyu nengyuan dongci "keyi" zhi jiaoxue yufa* (the pedagogical grammar of Chinese modal auxiliary verb "keyi"). Taiwan Guoli Shifan Daxue (National Normal University of Taiwan), Taipei. Unpublished M.A thesis
- Crystal, D. (2003). *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics* (2nd ed.): Basil Blackwell Ltd. U.K.
- Ellis, R. (1992). *Learning to communicate in the classroom: A study of two learner's requests*. *SSLA*, 14, 1-23.
- Ervin-Tripp, S., & Gordon, D. (1986). The development of request. In R. Schiefbusch (Ed.), *Language competence: Assessment and intervention*. San Diego, CA: College-Hill Press.
- Fu, Y. X., & Zhou, X. B. (1990). *Kouyu zhong de zhudongci* (Chinese modal auxiliary verbs in spoken language): Guang Dong Education Press.

- Guo, J. S. (1994). *Social interaction, meaning, and grammatical from: Children's development and use of modal auxiliaries in mandarin Chinese*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Berkeley, the U.S.A.
- Guo, Z. J. (2005). *Hanyu zhudongci de qingtai biaoda yanjiu* (the studies of modal expressions in Chinese modal auxiliaries). Shanghai Normal University, Shanghai. Unpublished Post-Ph.D report
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1975). *Learning how to mean: Exploration in the development of language*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hill, T. (1997). *The development of pragmatic competence in an EFL context*. Temple University, Tokyo. Unpublished Ph.D thesis
- Ji, Y. X. (1986). *Hanying qingtai dongci de duibi* (the contrastive studies of Chinese modal auxiliary verbs and its English counterpart). Yuyan Jiaoxue Yu Yanjiu (Language Teaching and Researching), 4.
- Kasper, G. (1979). *Communication strategies: Modality reduction*. *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin*, 4, 266-283.
- Leech, G. N. (1987). *Meaning and the English verb*. London & New York: Longman.
- Lü, S. X. (1979). *Hanyu yufa fenxin wenti* (issues on analyses of Chinese grammar). Shanghai, China: Shangwu Yinshu Guan (The Commercial Press).
- Menyuk, P. (1969). *Sentences children use*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Papafragou, A. (2000). *Issues in the semantics-pragmatics interface*: Amsterdam/ New York.
- Perkins, M. (1983). *Modal expressions in English* (1 ed.). London: Frances Pinter.

- Richards, B. J. (1990). *Language development and individual differences---a study of auxiliary verb learning* (1 ed.): Cambridge University Press.
- Salsbury, T., & Bardovi-Harlig, K. (2000). *Oppositional talk and the acquisition of modality in L2 English*. In B. Swierzbin, F. Morris, M. Anderson, C. A. Klee & E. Tarone (Eds.), *Social and cognitive factors in second language acquisition* (pp. 56-76): Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Tao, L. (1991). *Xiandai hanyu zhudongci taolun* (discussion on modal auxiliary verbs in modern Chinese). Paper presented at the 4th Symposium of Teaching Chinese as a Second Language, Beijing
- Wells, C., G. (1979). *Learning and using the auxiliary verbs in English*. In V. Lee (Ed.), *Language development*. New York: Wiley.
- Wells, C., G. (1985). *Language development in the pre-school years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Xiong, W. (1996). *Hanyu "neng " lei zhudongci he yingyu qingtai zhudongci "can " leide duibi yanjiu* (comparative study on Chinese modal verb "neng" verb group and English auxiliary verb "can" group). In T. N. A. O. T. C. A. A. S. Language (Ed.), *The 5 th National Symposium of Teaching Chinese as a Second Language* (pp. 288-309). Shen Zheng: Beijing Language University Press.

上海方言音变中社会认同的作用

Guo-qiang Liu

Deakin University, Australia

Abstract

This paper explores, through reporting a study on a sound change in the Shanghai dialect, the issue of social identity promoting language change. It will show that social identification by young people with a formerly undesirable variant sound in the Shanghai dialect was pivotal in pushing this sound variation into a sound change.

一、引言

语言变化起始于语言变异。从这个意义上来说，语言变异就是语言变化的一个先决条件。不过，并非所有语言变异都会演变成语言变化。语言变异是由什么引起的？为什么有的语言变异后来演变成了语言变化，而有的语言变异却稳定下来，最终成了长期的语言变体现象？是什么因素促成了某个语言变异发展成语言变化的？研究结果发现，语言变化一方面是由语言内部的力量所推动的，另一方面社会动力也对语言变化产生了影响（Aitchison 2001；

Chambers 2001)。

本文报告的研究案例涉及上海方言中一个语言变化。我将试图从社会的视角来探讨该语言变化，特别是要讨论语言接触和社会认同促成该语言变化的问题。本文在此提出两个问题：（1）语言接触在什么情况下会触发语言变异？（2）社会认同在把语言变异推向语言变化中起什么样的作用？通过报告对上海方言中“我”字发音变化的研究结果，本文将在最初的语言接触和其所导致的语言变化方面深入探究与社会认同相关的一些因素在促成这一语言变化中的作用。这些因素包括语言接触的社会场合、各年龄段的身份认同、对使用发音新变体与年龄段身份认同之间的看法、以及其他一些社会因素。

语言特征承载语言使用者的社会形象并反映使用某种语言特征的人的社会地位。一种语言或方言与另一种语言或方言接触本身并不必然导致这种语言或方言会使用另一语言或方言的特征。一种语言或方言的某个特征若要被另一种语言或方言所采用，它就必须被那种语言或方言的言语社区中的人所接受。这其中涉及该言语社区怎样看待这一新的语言特征。本文将试图论证社会认同是上海方言中“我”字新发音被融入上海方言的一个触发因素，因为上海方言言语社区对这一新的语言特征持有正面的态度，并正面认同这一新的语言特征所产生的社会形象。再者，一个语言变异现象需要得到进一步的推动才能演变成语言变化，否则的话它就会成为一种长期存在的语言变体。本文显示，社会认同在促进上海方言中“我”字发音变化中起了关键的作用。当该词的新发音得到了上海方言言语社区在

社会层面上的接受并从年轻人向岁数较大的年龄段蔓延后，它就演变成了一种语言变化，对上海方言的语音体系产生了影响。本文由此认为社会认同在推动语言接触转变成语言变异中，在将语言变异继而推向语言变化中都起了至关重要的作用。

人们研究社会认同与语言变异和语言变化的关系，为的是试图从社会语言学的角度解释语言变异和语言变化。社会认同是指人们属于哪种呈现社会人口特征的人群，比如所属年龄段、职业、社会经济层次、教育层次、语言或方言背景等等（Milroy 2002）。从另一层面来说，社会认同还指某个人怎样确定自己与他人的关系，即此人与什么人认同。无论在哪个层面，社会认同在人们使用的语言中都会有所反映（Tajfel 1982；Turner, Hogg [et al.] 1987）。

在本文中，我将通过对上海方言中的一个发音变化来探究社会认同在触发语言使用中的变异和促成这种语言变化所起的作用。首先，我将概述上海方言中“我”字发音变化；然后我将简单叙述语言变化的重要外部或社会因素和语言变化的重要内部或语言因素。最后，我将陈述并分析数据，讨论社会认同怎样影响这一发音变化。

二、上海方言中的一个音变

在其一百六十年的历史中，上海一直是一座移民城市。在前一百年中，百分之八十的上海人口是来自中国各地的移民。自二十世纪八十年代中起，上海经历了快速的经济的发展，其结果是又一次吸引了来自全国各地的大量移民。在2006年底，上海永久居民人口为一千八百十五万，其中四百六十七万是移

民，占上海人口的26%（上海市统计局，2007年）。此外，上海还有数百万生活和工作在该城市的非永久居民人口。

因此，上海市区人口使用的上海方言与来自全国各地的移民所使用的方言之间一直有接触。近几十年来，上海方言还受到了中国官方方言普通话的很大压力。由于这些原因，上海方言也一直在发生变化。正如钱乃荣所注意到的，上海这个城市在经历重大的经济和文化变化的同时，上海方言也发生了快速和巨大的变化。这些重大变化中的一个例子就是上海方言中元音和复合元音的数量下降。1853年上海方言中有六十三个元音和复合元音，而到了2003年时只存在三十二个（钱乃荣，2003年）。从这点上来说，上海方言为语言变化研究提供了一个独特的案例。

上海方言中语言变化的一个实例是“我”的一字发音。“我”一般发作 [ŋu:]，而且大多数40岁以上的人仍然发此音。不过此词还被发成 [u:]，发此音的一般为年轻人。二十多岁的人几乎全发 [u:] 音，二十岁以下的人更是如此。该词发音的这种变体在过去曾被看作“外地人”学上海话的非标准发音，而且发此非标准音的人常常会受到歧视（上海人以前常被指“严重排外”）。但是，这种发音近年来已被年轻的上海人采用。新发音 [u:] 正在取代原有的发音 [ŋu:]，因此这可被认作上海方言中的一个语言变化（Liu 2007）。

本文行至此处显现一个问题，即以前曾被看作地位低下的非本地发音变体 [u:] 怎么会被上海居民接受，继而又被融入本地方言中并正在取代原有的发音 [ŋu:]？

为了更好地回答这个问题，我们有必要先来探讨语言变化一般是怎样发生的。

三、语言接触引起的变化和语言内部发展导致的变化

语言和方言始终处于变化的压力之下，其中有语言或方言外部的压力，也有内部的压力。从外部压力来讲，一种语言如果与其他语言或方言接触，会导致其他语言或方言的特征引入这种语言或方言，这种引入可能继而使受方语言或方言发生变化。从内部压力来讲，语言本身就是“生命体”，在语言使用者对语言的说和写的使用及听和读的理解中，语言也在不断发展，不断地进行语言形式的重组，其中包括语音体系、语法体系和功能运用等的重组。

在这日益全球化的世界中，语言或方言之间的接触对于世界人口中很大比例的人来说成了日常生活的一部分，比如通过移民，比如通过第二语言或外语的学习。正如Thomason所观察到的，在大多数情况下，语言变化的原因可归于语言接触（Thomason 2003）。语言接触以多种方式引起受方语言的变化。它可能导致受方语言体系失去一些特征；它可能将一些新特征加入受方语言体系；它也可能致使受方语言体系中一些原有特征被新特征所取代。

由语言接触引起的最常见变化是词汇借用。当一种新物品或一个新概念从另一语言被引进时，如果受方语言没有相应的词来表示这一物品或表达这一概念，从另一种语言中借用这一物品或概念的词汇就是很自然的事。现代汉语中含有许多从其他语言借用的词汇，特别是从英语和日语借用的词汇。从英

语借用的词汇包括咖啡（coffee）、巧克力（chocolate）、沙发（sofa）、逻辑（logic）等等；从日语借用的词汇包括服务、干部、健康、俱乐部等等。

语法的直接借用现象也存在，但远远不如词汇借用那么广泛。语法借用的一个例子是东南亚华语和台湾的国语中使用英语完成时态，比如：

—这部电影你看过了吗？
—我有看过。

这种用法近年来也在中国大陆的年轻人中间流行开来。

在把一个新的语言特征引入受方语言中，引入者是否能够标准地说供方语言对由此引起的语言变化也产生很大的影响。通过语言接触引入新的语言特征中，如果一种语言的母语者引入另一种语言的特征，最初借用的一般是非基本词汇；如果这两种语言之间的接触保持下去，随后借用的会是语法结构特征，最后再借用另一语言的基本词汇（Comrie 1981; Moravcsik 1978; Thomason & Kaufman 1988）。反之，如果一种语言的学习者在不能标准、流利地讲这种语言的时候把这种语言的一些特征引入自己的母语，最先引入的语言特征一般为语音和句法方面的特征，而不是词汇。只有在他们认为讲另一种语言的人地位更高时，他们才会引入那一种语言的词汇。从这点上来说，语言接触引起的两种不同的语言变化可通过引入者是不是母语者来区别，即受方语言借用与供方语言强加之间的区别（Thomason and Kaufman 1988; van Coetsem 1988）。

除了语言接触等外部对语言变化的压力之外，语言还处于内部系统不断优化的压力之下。Aitchison (2001:153) 概述道，这个优化过程通常涉及语言的简化和经济化；换句话说，这个过程就是由人的惰性而推动的。英语中 *Saturday*（星期六）一词的发音就是简化和经济化的一个例证。在英语的一些方言中，越来越多的人把这个词说成 *Satday*，省略掉了其中的一个音节。英语中的另一个例子是 *particularly*，它已被简化成 *particuly*，也省略掉了其中的一个音节。

在语音层面上，语言优化反映在发音简便的趋向上。长期以来有这么一种看法，即人在讲话时总是想以最简便的方式发音，而这是推动语言变化的一种力量。这种优化的一个结果是省略词尾的辅音，因为发出词尾的辅音并不是最容易做到的事情。汉语中也有这类变化，比如韵母 [an] 的发音中的 [a] 就被鼻音化，而该韵母尾的鼻音 [n] 却被省略（Chen & Wang 1975）。在汉语的各方言中，粤语所保留的古汉语特征数量最多，因此也最接近古汉语，其中一个古汉语的特征是词尾的声门塞音。相比之下，普通话简化掉了这种发音，现在已完全没有词尾的声门塞音。

不过，合理化并不意味着语言会向最合理的体系这个目标进化。世界上每个事物都有其制衡因素。说话者一般都想很轻松、简便地发音、说话；就这点来说，它的制衡因素就是听话者都想清晰地听到说话者所说的话。在交流中，说话者需要被听话者听到、听懂，这样才能满足说话者的交流需求；正是这点限制了说话者轻松、简便地发音、说话的程度。在这里，我们可以看到“互相竞争的动力”

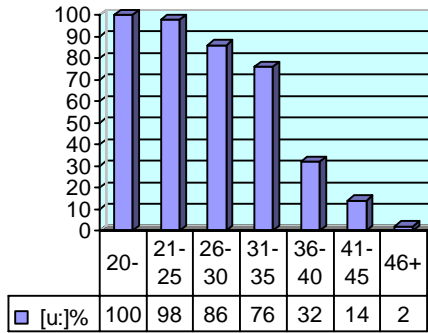
(Newmeyer 2003: 29) 在起作用；两者之间针锋相对，朝着完全相反的方向推进，结果形成类似“拔河比赛”的一种胶着状态，从而保持语言的相对稳定。但是，这种平衡的状况可被外部的动力所打破，引起语言体系的变化。在这个意义上，语言体系又是“固有地不稳定”（Croft 1995: 524）。语言之间的接触就是这种外部动力的一种，它可能打破这种语言平衡状态，触发语言变化。

四、数据

直到十多年以前，“我”字在上海方言中的发音还一直是 [ŋu:]。钱乃荣在《上海语言发展史》(2003) 中引述了1992年开展的一项调查，其中“我”字的发音仍是[ŋu:]。但是近年来，以前曾被认作非本地人的不标准发音 [u:] 已被本地人接受，成了上海方言中“我”字的发音变体并逐步演变成上海方言中的一个新发音。

本文的数据采自2003年11月至2006年11月之间开展的一项“田野”调查。访谈对象为说本地方言且在上海居住两代以上的上海当地居民。受访者分成七个年龄段，即20岁以下、21-25岁、26-30岁、31-35岁、36-40岁、41-45岁、及46岁以上，每个年龄段有50名受调查对象。以下是调查中所得到的与本文相关的一些数据。

表 1: 在自然语境中发音为 [u:] 的比例



如上图所示，受访者中年龄越小，发音为 [u:] 的可能就越大。受访者如果超过45岁就不会发 [u:] 音，而20岁以下和21-25岁年龄段的受访者几乎全部发 [u:] 音。受访者中26-45岁年龄段可被看作从 [ɲu:] 的发音到 [u:] 的发音的过渡年龄段。41-45岁年龄段中仅有14%的受访者发 [u:] 音，而26-30年龄段中却有86%的人发此音，表明这个年龄段基本上完成了过渡。31-35岁和36-40岁这两个年龄段似乎可被视为上海方言中“我”字新与老发音的分界线或过渡年龄段。

语言变异起于年轻人，而语言变化其实就是年轻人创新使用语言的结果；上海方言中“我”字新发音 [u:] 的案例就是这一点的旁证。研究结果证明，就一个人的语言发展过程来看，20岁以前其语言发展已经基本上稳定下来（Labov 1994、Cukor-Avila 2000）。很大比例的年轻人使用 [u:] 的发音这点显示，随着上海方言使用者中年龄较大的人逐渐消失，现在年轻人所使用的发音 [u:] 将取代原来的发音 [ɲu:]，[u:] 也将由一种语言变异中的变体转成发音变化并在上海方言中稳定下来。

表 2： 20 岁以下和 21-25 岁年龄段所认同的社会网络

朋友	100	(100%)
年龄相似的同事	100	(100%)
年龄较大的同事	23	(23%)
年龄相似的邻居	100	(100%)
年龄较大的邻居	57	(57%)
父母	18	(18%)

表2显示了20岁以下和21-25岁年龄段受访者与他们的社会网络中各类人所认同的不同程度。在访谈中，我向受访者提起他们的社会网络中的五组人，然后让他们说他们与这五组中的哪些人认同。在语言使用上来说，这种认同是指愿意与交谈者说“相同的语言”，也就是使用相同的语言特征。如同表2显示，20岁以下和21-25岁的年轻人完全与朋友及年龄相仿的朋友、邻居认同。反之，受访者中愿意与年龄较大的同事或自己的父母认同的人不多。仅23%的受访者说他们会使用与年龄较大的同事相似的语言特征，仅18%的受访者说他们会使用与父母相似的语言特征。有意思的是，相当高比例的受访者（57%）却似乎也愿意与年龄较大的邻居认同。

表 3： 20 岁以下和 21-25 岁受访者中不会发 [ŋu:] 音的人的住房种类

与邻居保持交往的老式住房	0	(0%)
与邻居无交往的新式住房	26	(100%)

表3显示了受访者与邻居保持交往的程度。在受访的20岁以下和21-25岁两个年龄组中，有些人能够发“我”字原有的音 [ŋu:]，虽然他们在一般场合说上海话时都发新音 [u:]。但是，这两个年龄组中的还有一些人不会发 [ŋu:] 这个音，就是让他们试着发这个音也不行。如表3所示，26位不会发 [ŋu:] 这个音的人都住在新式住房中。据这些人说，他们所住的新式住房中邻居之间没有来往，因此一般也没有语言上的交流。这些人中无人住在老式住房中，而在老式住房中，邻居之间一般都保持着比较密切的往来。

五、讨论

上海方言中“我”字的原有发音 [ŋu:] 对于非上海本地人来说很难学，因为这个音不存在于汉语的其他大多数方言中。与原有的发音 [ŋu:] 相比，上海方言中“我”字新音 [u:] 的发音要容易得多，人们一般都能很轻易地发出这个音。从这点看来，上海方言中采用新发音 [u:] 是合乎逻辑的，因为这个音先见于非土生土长的新上海人口所用的上海方言中，是这些人的母语方言与上海方言接触的结果，也是语言简化的一个自然结果。不过在这种语言变化的过程中，我们可以看到不同层面上身份认同这只无形的手在推动着这一语言变化。

首先，上海方言中“我”字的新发音 [u:] 作为非本地人使用的一种发音变体已经存在了很长的时间。事实上，它一度曾被看作非上海本地人身份在语言上的标记，也是被认为一种负面的语言特征，使用这种语言特征的人会受到上海本地人的歧视。换言

之，这一新发音是上海方言与其他汉语方言相接触的产物，但是起初它没有得到上海本地人口的接受或认可。我们可以将上海本地人过去对这种语言变体的不采纳归于身份认同问题；更加精确地说，这是一种不认同，也就是对使用这一受歧视的发音的人缺乏身份认同。

再者，上海方言中“我”字的新发音是原有发音简化的当然结果。两者的韵母相同，被简化掉的只是声母中的鼻音，而此音为上海方言所特有，也是讲其他方言者在学讲上海方言中难以掌握的一个音。新发音与原有发音相比容易得多，另一方面也不会引起被误听成另一词的现象。不过，虽然新发音早就存在，但这一简化过程直至最近才开始，而促成这一过程的是年纪轻、教育程度高、收入高的上海新移民开始被本地年轻人所接受、所认同，而且本地年轻人也开始使用这一新发音。

身份认同对年轻的上海本地人与上海方言中“我”字原有发音的接触或缺乏接触也产生了影响。如前所述，在与岁数较大的人交往中，上海年轻人更可能与邻居认同而不与父母认同；他们不但不与父母使用相同的语言特征，而且还会对父母使用的语言特征产生抵触。因此，使用“我”字新音的年轻人很可能不使用父母所发的原有音。相比之下，岁数较大的邻居所使用的原有发音或许就是年轻人能够接触到的唯一语音“样本”。在老式的上海住房中，特别是有合用厨房、卫生间、庭院等公用设施的住房，邻居之间来往较密切。不过，在上海的现代化公寓住宅中，邻居之间很少来往、交谈，互相之间很可能不认识，更不要说形成什么密切的关系。好奇的人在听到走道上有人经过时或许会透过门上的“猫眼”看看外面是什么人，但邻居相遇时

互相之间很可能视而不见。人们的手机上存有两、三百个电话号码很常见，不过可能其中没有一个是邻居的。因此，上海的年轻人如果不与岁数较大的邻居接触，就缺乏与上海方言中“我”字原有发音 [ɲu:] 的接触，也就没有机会学会发这个音，这就进一步加强了新发音在上海方言中的采用。

六、结论

由此可见，上海方言中“我”字的新发音 [u:] 是一个由身份认同所推动的语言变化。身份认同在其中似乎起了一种过滤作用，有选择地将非本地人使用的一个语言特征引介到上海方言中并由上海方言的本地使用者所采纳。过去，上海本地人不愿意与将“我”字发成 [u:] 的人认同，所以这个新发音一直没有被采纳；它只是作为一种发音变体而存在。最近，上海当地人，特别是年轻人，开始与将“我”字发成 [u:] 的人认同并使用这个新发音，从而启动了上海方言中的这个音变过程。

References

- Aitchison, J. 2001. *Language change: progress or decay?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chambers, J. K. 2001. “Patterns of variation including change”. In Chambers, J.K., P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The handbook of language variation and change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Chen, M. & Wang, W. 1975. *Sound change: actuation*

- and implementation*. *Language* 51, 255-81.
- Comrie, B. 1981. "On the go/went alternation: a contribution to the generative phonology of English". In T. Ernest and E. Smith (eds.) *Lingua franca*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Croft, W. 1995. *Autonomy and functionalist linguistics*. *Language* 7: 490-532.
- Cukor-Avila, P. 2000. *The Stability of Individual Vernaculars*. University of North Texas MS.
- Kiparsky, P. 1988. "Phonological change". In F. J. Newmeyer (ed.) *Linguistics: the Cambridge survey*, Vol. 1: Linguistic theory: foundations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, William, 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Liu, G. 2007. "A Sound Variation or a Sound Change in Shanghai Dialect?", *Chinese Studies Review*, Vol. 2.
- Milroy, Lesley. 2002. "Social Networks". In Chambers, J.K., P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The handbook of language variation and change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Moravcsik, E. A. 1978. "Verb borrowing". In J. H. Greenberg (ed.) *Universals of human language*, Volume 1. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Newmeyer, F. J. 2003. "Formal and functional motivation for language change". In Raymond, H. (ed.) *Motives for language change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (ed.) 1982. *Social identity and intergroup relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomason, S. G. 2003. "Contact as a source of language change". In Joseph, B. D. and Janda, R. D. (eds.) *The handbook of historical linguistics*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Thomason, S. G and Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and Genetic linguistics*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Turner, J., Hogg, M. [et al.] 1987. *Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- van Coetsem, F. 1988. *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*. Dordrecht and Providence: Foris.
- 钱乃荣, 2003, 《上海语言发展史》上海: 上海人民出版社
- 上海市统计局, 2007年, <http://www.stats-sh.gov.cn/2007shtj/shgl/rkjy/rkjy.htm>

明嘉隆名臣史事新探—徐阶与海瑞

Deng-cheng Jiang

Abstract

Xu Jie and Hai Rui, two famous historic figures in the Ming Dynasty, were very close to each other. Their interpersonal relationship was closely related to the Ming politics of their time. This paper explores the relationship between the two in incidents surrounding Hai Rui's Memorial to the Throne and Hai Rui's radical policy of land-tenure during Emperor Longqing's period. It seeks to clarify ambiguity and misconception in our understanding arising from these incidents.

一、引言

徐阶（1503—1583）松江华亭人，嘉靖二年（1523）进士。三十一年（1552）入阁为次辅，四十一年（1562）继严嵩为首辅，掌内阁六载。徐阶从政于内阁权势显赫的嘉隆时期，周旋于世宗恩威叵测之下、内阁人际倾轧之中，而能顺时应势，维系政体平衡。嘉靖末严嵩专擅，徐阶隐志忍辱，悉力调维，救护言事获罪忠良不遗余力；嘉隆之际徐阶藉草拟《嘉靖遗詔》、《隆庆登极詔》，平反嘉靖一

朝之冤案，扫除积弊，开创崭新政局。其政绩对明朝中、末叶政治产生巨大影响。嘉隆间能臣纷立，各领风骚，而史家独将徐阶与嘉靖朝开元名相杨廷和并称“救时之相”。

海瑞，琼山人。嘉靖二十八年（1549）举乡试，初任淳安知县、户部主事等职。知淳安时，兵部尚书胡宗宪之子过境横行为海瑞所重惩，宗宪以其刚直竟不罪之。嘉靖末年，海瑞上《治安疏》冒死谏世宗，论绞繫狱，刚直之声远播天下。隆庆初巡抚应天，摧豪强，抚贫弱，豪势多窜他乡而避之。万历初为张居正所不喜，久不召用。海瑞一生极尽俭朴。万历十五年（1587）卒，《明史》记其卒时葛幃敝簏，有寒士所不堪者。时“葬出江上，白衣冠道者夹岸，酹而哭者百里不绝。”死后赠太子太保，諡忠介。

徐阶、海瑞同为明中叶人，在嘉隆政治舞台上表演著截然不同的角色。一位是顺时应势，事功卓著的救时之相；一位是刚正不阿，憨直狷介的百姓清官。一位身处逆境能隐忍求济，政绩之所建深刻影响明中叶之政治，是仕途成功的典范；一位则屡起屡扑，出污不染而成为大众心目中传奇英雄，是理想悲歌的化身。二臣曾有过一段恩怨，与当时政治紧密关连。

二、徐阶于嘉靖末年营救海瑞之史事

明嘉靖四十四年（1565）十月，明世宗专制行将终结之前夕，海瑞上著名《治安疏》，激烈批评世宗，震惊朝野。疏中言：世宗一意玄修，侈兴土木，二十余年不视朝，纲纪废弛，天下吏贪将弱，民不聊

生……赋役增常。天下臆称嘉靖为：“嘉靖者，言家家皆净而无财用也。” [1] 同疏对时政评论云：“严嵩罢相之后，尤严嵩未相之先而已……任天下重，使社稷灵长终必赖之者未见其人焉。” [2] 认为严嵩蠹政之后政治并未见改善，锋芒直指内阁首辅徐阶。 [3]

海瑞《治安疏》，字字确凿。然而，如果对嘉靖朝有关外廷规谏皇帝、弹劾权贵情况加以研究，就会感觉到问题。

其实嘉靖末年，严嵩久去，贪黷奔竞之风已煞。徐阶掌内阁行“三语”之政，阁部协调，言路舒展，稳定和谐的政治局面已经形成。 [4] 而且，此时人们久已对谏诤世宗事玄修醮的荒政行为失去信心，容纳了这一嗜痂之癖。从实际效果来看，世宗此一弱点对外廷行政的负面影响并不甚大。《治安疏》与嘉靖末年朝政情况并不协调，是一个并不切合时局的奏章。

《治安疏》对世宗精神的打击是沉重的，引起世宗的不仅仅是狂怒，还有悲观与绝望，由此而造成海瑞个人强烈的悲壮效应，也给日趋稳定的政局带来动荡。

史载嘉靖皇帝阅海瑞《治安疏》后暴怒，环顾左右曰：“趋执之，无使得遁。”下旨曰：“瑞，畜物，诃君不臣悖道，锦衣卫其捕付镇抚司，严詰主使同商者。”刑部惧于圣怒定海瑞“子骂父律”罪，当处绞刑。 [5] 刑部尚书黄光昇事后解释：“不拟重律进者，上怒瑞，瑞立死矣。宁少安上意，俾就长繫，

宽解或有日。”当在情理中。参照朱国禎《大事记》：

方瑞下狱，[徐]阶实用意保全，其初拟罪，故令法司重之尝上意。盖上有怀疑，凡轻拟必重处，重则沉冷未即从。阶探得要领，从中斡旋，瑞疏即得留中，深感之。而人譁张谓徐欲杀瑞，赖上圣明不听。[6]

重判海瑞，似非刑部尚书黄光昇的地位所敢承担的风险，一旦不测，海瑞性命不得保全而自身名节俱毁。首辅徐阶位高地近，有独与世宗接议之便，故此项策划当为徐阶所定。海瑞疏留中不批，徐阶便有了充分机会解世宗之怒，救海瑞一命。但是危机远不止一谏臣之生杀那般简单，《治安疏》导致传继风波骤起。

据徐阶《世经堂集》载：嘉靖四十四年十月十四日，海瑞上疏后，世宗即詔谕徐阶：“朕屡有密谕卿阶，以为今人心之恨不新其政，此物（原注：指海瑞）可见也。他说都是。朕今疾人，不能如甲午之前，怎克视事？天恩下眷，决不敢忘，惟传继为第一计。卿等拟票来行。”[7] 谕中提到的“传继”是传位给儿子裕王。世宗暮年衰老多病，精神异常脆弱，此使内阁拟票传皇位于子，喧洩愤怒之余也流露出悲观与自暴自弃。杀此一谏臣已不能弥合世宗精神的损伤，故传继是假，要胁内阁与外廷是真。徐阶答对：

臣等捧读，不胜惊悚，不胜惊悚！切惟世道下降，人心固不古若至如“此物”，其言诚为狂妄，然未尝有一字及于传继，可以见良心之不容尽泯矣……。 “惟传继为第一计”，命

臣等拟票来行，臣等决不敢闻命。谨将原票同本封进，伏乞圣裁施行。[8]

对此棘手传继之要胁，徐阶首先要阻止世宗传继之想法。世宗多年疏远裕王，至此不行册立，父子关系冷漠而微妙。倘世宗时常提及传继，极可能都乱外廷判断，导致父子关系进一步复杂化。其二要营救海瑞。偌海瑞以建言死，则杀言者之戒重开。徐阶原本封还，拒绝拟票。世宗当日再谕：“卿等于此“畜物”（原注：指海瑞）不依朕处，将来必不可言之者纷欺多事了。朕仰承天眷，自不惜谨，乃致病患一年，日弱一日，如可起御政，岂受此“畜物”肆骂焉？”[9] 世宗此谕指责徐阶不重处海瑞，恐“纷欺多事”。徐阶回奏，百般调合：

臣等捧读，切惟纷欺多事，委当预防，然亦有不足防者。如此“畜物”所言，凡有识见之人，皆知其狂谬，自不肯踵而为之，以致多事也。臣等闻：主圣则臣直，今此畜物据其迹，委不可并处。若原其心，似只仰恃圣主在上，欲沽一直谏之名耳……臣等辄敢仍原票封进，伏乞圣裁施行。[10]

徐阶封还第二本，世宗又下第三谕重提传继之事：“比景泰之岁，皇曾祖考避南内，今朕已御西内，如忌尊无二上，于南京建一宫宇，居朕何贬云，岂谓“畜物”耶？”[11] 世宗以英宗囚避南宫之鉴提出避隐南都，思路含混。尤其以英宗为例，隐约透出复杂的心态。徐阶惶恐答对，否决的语气十分坚定：

臣等捧读，益不胜惊惧，不胜惊惧！臣惊惧臣等适因愚昧错解圣谕，然使仰知圣意其所

以上对者，亦只有此乃若今奉圣谕（云云）。
此乃天下古今所必无之理，所必不可行之
事。臣等万万不敢闻命者也！[12]

世宗传继之渲洩，终以徐阶此三奏缓解。而海瑞的
刑期也因徐阶机智答对得以延宕。谈迁《国榷》记
徐阶百般庇护海瑞，世宗心知肚明，尝忿忿曰：“相
国右瑞，岂少朕耶？”[13]

嘉靖四十五年（1566）十二月世宗驾崩，海瑞尚在
狱中待处。首辅徐阶拟《嘉靖遗詔》平反嘉靖一朝
建言冤案，海瑞案为平反之首。

三、海瑞应天勒令徐阶退田之史事

海瑞复职后，歷任兵部主事、尚宝司丞、大理右寺
丞及南北通政司右通政等职，而此类閒职并非海瑞
的志向，閒寂无聊之际常与徐阶书札往还，颂扬徐
阶于嘉隆交替之际所建之功业。到隆庆三年
（1569）六月海瑞以僉都御史巡抚应天十府，终于
得到内心向往的能够实现理想的职位。此时徐阶已
致仕归乡，徐阶家乡松江府是为应天十府之一。满
怀衝动的海瑞在江南确有轰动作为，而徐阶悠哉游
哉的山居生活却由此而改变。

海瑞到应天即整顿钱粮赋役宿弊，清理沉积冤狱，
肃清吏治，兴疏浚吴淞江、白茆河工，革废应天募
兵，养练乡兵民壮等，于江南一隅掀动跃进局面。
海瑞应天之政无私为国，体现其忧民为民之恳切本
心，同样也表现了浓重的理想化色彩。其间行事乏
于灵活应变、委曲求成的济事策略，以极端化、简
单化作法处理复杂多变之政务。

黄仁宇先生言：“他（海瑞）最后的垮台，则是因为他干预了境内的农田所有权所致。” [14] 江南土地问题乃国家财政军政之所系，海瑞整理江南赋税确实无法规避土地问题。海瑞于应天所行涉及土地所有权之政主要有两项内容：其一，清理有关土地所有权引起的诉讼。其二，勒令大户退还佔夺之田。但是，江南农业发达，赋税繁重，土地佔有与土地产权游移情况错综纷繁。尤其苏松常镇四府，乡宦大户居多，因而处理土地诉讼，尤其有关田土投献、诡寄诸弊及退还佔田等涉及土地所有权问题时，大量细緻持久的调查工作便必不可少。而以当时省府州县各级行政、财政机构的职能与效率而言，不可能对土地情况开展大规模细致详实的调查工作，由此而引出太多的弊病，致使江南经济陷于混乱。

以下就海瑞迫使徐府退田事，分析海瑞应天新政之失误。

海瑞于苏松清理土地诉讼，勒豪门退田，徐府为乡宦大户自首当其冲。徐家首批退田后徐阶曾书报海瑞，海瑞复书云：“近阅退田册，益知盛德出人意料，但所退数不多，再加清理行之可也。昔人改父之政，七屋之金须臾而散，公（徐阶）以父改子无所不可。” [15] 认为退数不多，言“父改子无所不可”，迫使再退，并无任何数量上的参照依据，令徐府非常为难。时操江御史吴时来，内阁首辅李春芳致书海瑞欲为徐阶解，海瑞复书拒绝，其致书春芳云：

存翁（徐阶）近为群小所苦太甚，产业之多令人骇异，亦自取也。若不退之过半，民风

刁险可得而止之耶？为富不仁，有损无益，可为后车之戒。公非如此如此者，承教及，口头说话，姑谈及之，区区欲存翁退产过半，为此公百年后得安静计也。[16]

话说得相当不客气。“产业之多令人骇异”乃依据投诉者的喧嚷之辞，而要求“退之过半”也是个没有依据的虚数。

徐府的土地到底有多少？由于诉讼者任意告作与风闻传言，有各种说法：一说六万亩，一说十万亩，一说十八万亩，一说二十四万亩，一说四五十万亩等众说纷纭。[17] 今人研究对这些数字亦无从考证，任意选用。笔者此据徐阶当时致友人书札中所显示的有关徐府地产资料，力求获得接近真实的情况。隆庆五年徐阶当时致曹贞菴书云：

至于家下田宅虽不敢言无，然亦原无十万，郡县册籍俱在可考。中间亲友所寄，自阶罢官，各见失势不足凭依，又因官司概派，均徭加徵贴役，有害无利，俱已收去。其明白置买者，除奉某某（海瑞）教令退还原主及因田租无收卖去已及三分之一，余二分正在典卖，期于萧然作一布衣，稍得优游畎亩，待天年之尽。[18]

据此可见徐府地产中有一部分是虚数，即“亲友所寄”者。徐阶当朝为相，亲友将田产寄附于徐府，冀借势以逃避重赋。尔后见当权户主去政失势，便将田产收回，此一部分土地的所有权并不在徐府。徐阶于致潘恩书札中又谈到徐府田产数量：

家下田亩，其载书册不过二万，册外又别无户，不知所谓四五十万者安顿何处？若当道诸公肯加查核，有无便立见矣。夫田既少则所入薄，所入薄则家人自不能多养。只观家下无歌童，无食客可类推也。[19]

徐阶此致潘恩复书与上引致曹贞菴复书同按时间顺序收入《世经堂续集》卷十一〈书札〉中，两文仅间隔两札，是为徐阶于隆庆五年间相距很近的书札。复曹贞菴书札已言“其明白置买者，除奉某某（海瑞）教令退还原主及因田租无收卖去已及三分之一。”加后札所云“其载书册不过二万”，可知海瑞巡抚应天前徐府田产应在三万亩左右。徐府以徐璠等弟兄二十余年经营，于苏松聚积三万亩田产及松江和京师的纺织品生意已属可观。而徐族徐阶及弟徐陟东西两房，族亲众多，支出繁钜，江南土田赋税苛重，三万亩土田收入尚需有织业辅助方能维系一个大家族稳定、体面的物质生活和社会形象。

徐府田产数量被任意夸大的原因在于讼怨者的姿意告作和各级官府不能进行有效的核实调查。而海瑞勒令乡宦大户将土地退还于小民，削夺豪强，在造成轰动的政绩效应的同时，并不能解决江南土地问题和丝毫减缓江南地区的社会矛盾。江南农业发达，商业繁荣，社会并非简单由地主和农民两个成份构成，社会问题与土地问题同样复杂。海瑞仓促急进行退田，削夺富豪，迎合于小农、佃户心理上的仇富情绪，同时也造成奸刁游手之徒乘机蒙骗官府，欺诈巧取。大量情绪化民众涌入富豪乡宦之家骚扰讹诈，官府亦无力制止，无法惩治，大户只得散财以自保。江南社会陷于动荡与失控之中。

海瑞应天之失除此近忧之外还有远患，数年之后给江南人们带来极大灾难。

海瑞巡抚应天之初，徐阶就曾清楚认识此一远患。曾致书松江知府衷贞吉忧虑海瑞退田“罄富者之有”的做法会令“其贫弱之民乃更无所于贷”。[20]江南人口密集、赋役繁重，偌富户有囤积便可构成一种能以信贷实现的地区社会经济的容量与平衡，遇有不测粮食借贷便能发挥自给自救的弹性。无此，地区经济就会变得极为脆弱，不堪动荡。

至万历六、七两年江南水患，果然映证了徐阶的忧虑。时苏松“平原十里，巨浸渺然，豆麦秧苗无一存者。”而政府库藏空虚不能发赈，江南富家经海瑞新政之劫仓箱匱竭无能称贷，则苏松百万之众嗟吁待毙。徐阶致救荒疏于内阁首辅张居正，亟乞蠲卹。救荒疏中重言海瑞应天之政带给百姓的灾难：

自隆庆庚、辛间，吏兹土者不思以端己裕民为政，而导之以嚣讼，教之以争夺，民靡然斲丧其廉耻之心，毁弃其忠厚之俗，攫微利骨肉为仇，旧族故家所在破败。彼其意以为富者之财散入于贫，则贫者均当富矣。则岂知人情得财即易，用财遂轻，加以姦恶之徒竞相诱引，淫奢饮博视如泥沙，讼墨未干，空乏如故，而富者之衰落则不可复振，盖里巷之间无富民者数年矣……苏松之人，素恃耕作，一失农业，更无可以谋生。[21]

徐阶曾做过张居正的馆师，对居正有提携之恩。虽致仕乡间，以恩师的面子，居正自不敢怠慢。遂折徵苏松漕粮之半，蠲存留之半，苏松百姓额手称功

于徐阶。[22] 海瑞苏松新政之失赖徐阶之力而减少损失，苏松广大生灵得拯救于灾荒之中。

四、评述

黄仁宇论云：海瑞一生“希冀以个人的力量，领导社会回复到历史上和理想中的单纯……体现了一个有教养的读书人服务于公众而牺牲自我的精神，但这种精神的实际作用却至为微薄。”[23] 此一评点相当精辟。海瑞行事专以洁身为要，视政治为追求个人道德成功之机会，壮怀激烈，屡起屡扑，能成为民众心目中传奇偶像，却不能真正建功于国家、造福于百姓。而徐阶向被史家称为嘉隆救时良相，因其稳健务实之行事风格屡能建功立业，以上述与海瑞恩怨二事便可明白看出。

隆庆四年（1570）初，海瑞因应天之政为言路所攻去政，徐阶致书友人兴叹云：“敝乡近来诚为新政所困，然刚峰（海瑞）初意亦出为民，只缘稍涉偏颇，刁徒遂乘之妄作，伪播文檄，谬张声威，煽惑愚顽，凌蔑郡县，始犹诬讦，继乃扛抬，白占田庐，公行抢夺，纪纲伦理荡然无存，不独百姓莫能存生，而刚峰亦因之损誉，良可慨也！”[24] 徐阶能体察海瑞为民之本心，视应天新政之失在于海瑞“直节而不鲜事，顾高自标许”，[25] 刁徒小人乘机牟利兴乱。

应天巡抚大员海瑞被劾去政，山居致仕老臣徐阶百感交集。

注释：

- [1] 海瑞：《海忠介公全集》，卷 1，〈奏疏·治安疏〉，頁 74，台湾：海忠介公全集辑印委员会印行，1973。〈疏〉言：“陛下……一意玄修……侈兴土木。二十餘年不视朝，纲纪弛矣。数行推广事例，名爵滥矣。以猜疑诽谤，戮辱臣下，人以为薄於君臣。乐西苑而不返宫，人以为薄於夫妇。天下吏贪将弱，民不聊生，水旱靡时，盗贼滋炽，自陛下登极初年亦有之而未甚也。今赋役增常，万方则效，陛下破产礼佛日甚，室如悬磬，十余年来极矣。天下因陛下改元之号而臆之曰：嘉靖者，言家家皆净而无财用也。且陛下之误多矣，大端在修醮。修醮所以求长生也。自古圣贤，只说“顺受其正”盖天地赋予於人而为性命者，此尽之矣。尧舜禹汤文武之君，圣之盛也，未能久世不终……至谓天赐仙桃药丸，怪妄尤甚……桃言采而得，药以人工捣和而成者也。无因而至，桃药有足耶？天赐之者，右手执而付之耶。陛下修玄多年矣，一无所得。至今日左右奸人逆揣陛下悬思妄念，区区桃药，中之长生，理之所无，而玄修之无益可知矣。”
- [2] 海瑞《海忠介公全集》卷 1 〈奏疏·治安疏〉，同上引，頁 77。
- [3] 《明史》载海瑞评论徐阶嘉靖末年行政，颇具微词：“阶事先帝（世宗），无能救於神仙土木之误，畏威保位，诚亦有之。”《明史》卷 226 〈海瑞传〉頁 5931，北京：中华书局 1974。
- [4] 徐阶继严嵩任首辅后，推行“以威福还主上，以政务还诸司，以用舍行赏还公论。”政纲，意在整顿内阁，使之摆脱严嵩时内阁附内专外的运作模式。参见拙著《徐阶与嘉隆政治》，天津：古籍出版社 2002。
- [5] 谈迁《国榷》頁 4022，北京：古籍出版社 1958。
- [6] 朱国祯《皇明史概》〈大事记〉卷 38 頁 1525，江苏：广陵古籍刻印社 1991。
- [7] 徐阶《世经堂集》卷 3 〈答传继谕一〉，《四库全书存目丛书》集部 79—412。
- [8] 同上。
- [9] 徐阶《世经堂集》卷 3 〈答传继谕二〉（《四库全书存目丛书》集部 79—412）。
- [10] 同上。
- [11] 徐阶《世经堂集》卷 3 〈答传继谕三〉（《四库全书存目丛书》集部 79—412）。
- [12] 同上。

- [13] 谈迁《国榷》页 4018。
- [14] 黄仁宇《万历十五年》第五章〈海瑞—古怪的模范官僚〉，页 176，台湾食货出版社 1996。
- [15] 前引海瑞《海中介公全集》卷 5〈復徐存斋阁老〉页 448
- [16] 上引海瑞《海中介公全集》卷 5〈復李石麓阁老〉页 447—448。另见同书卷 5〈復吴悟斋操江都院〉页 446。
- [17] 徐府田產诸说法见于：焦竑《宪徵录》卷 17 王世贞〈大学士高拱传〉页 619—621（上海书店景印 1986）：“蔡国熙所具狱……没其（徐府）田六万亩於官。”朱国禎《皇明史概》〈大事记〉卷 38 页 1525（江苏广陵古籍刻印社 1991）：“徐在事久家富，传言有田十八万亩，诸子嗜利，奴仆多藉势纵横。”伍袁萃《林居漫录》卷 1，页 31（台湾：伟文出版有限公司 1977）：“华亭在政府久，富於分宜，有田二十四万，子弟家奴暴横閭里，一方病之如坐水火。”徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 11〈復曹贞菴司空〉：徐阶针对徐家佔田十万亩之谣传辩解云：“至於家下田宅虽不敢言无，然亦原无十万。”徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 11〈復潘笠江〉：徐阶於致潘恩此书，诉说徐家佔田四五十万亩之说之荒谬。
- [18] 徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 11〈復曹贞菴司空〉（明刊本）。
- [19] 徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 11〈復潘笠江〉。
- [20] 徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 11〈東衷洪溪郡侯〉。
- [21] 徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 12〈上太岳少师乞救荒〉。
- [22] 吴伯与《内阁名臣事略》卷 7〈徐文贞公年谱〉页 308，《北京图书馆古籍珍本丛刊第》第 15 册。
- [23] 黄仁宇《万历十五年》第 5 章〈海瑞—古怪的模范官僚〉，页 167，台湾：食货出版社 1994。
- [24] 徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 11〈復翁见海中丞〉。
- [25] 徐阶《世经堂续集》卷 2〈都諫继峰舒君奏书序〉。

Annual Report of ATCTA

Shaoming Zhou
Secretary of ATCTA

The Australian Tertiary Chinese Teachers Association's fifth annual meeting took place on the 13th of June, 2008 at the Asia Centre, The University of Melbourne. The meeting was well attended and warmly received.

In the first half of the meeting, three research papers were delivered, covering a wide range of fields. The members' highly inspiring presentation immediately set off an intense discussion among the attendants, who all feel that they benefited from the discussion. They all agreed that regular scholarly forums should be organized in the future. The papers were highly recommended to be published in the journal of *Chinese Studies Review*.

The meeting was followed by the Chairperson's annual report, highlighting the association's activities and achievements in the past year. The chairperson firstly extended his gratitude to Dr Lijian Hong for working tirelessly as the Editor in Chief of this Association's journal *Chinese Studies Review*. He also reported to the members about the Association's successful collaboration with the Education Office at the Chinese Consulate General in Melbourne, in organising this year's Chinese Bridge Competition conducted on 7 May 2008. Three students from Monash University and RMIT were chosen to represent Australian university

students to compete against other contestants from all over the world at the competition's final round, which will be held in China in July, 2008. Hunan TV Station recorded the competition to be broadcasted on their national network in China.

The meeting also proposed some social activities promoting the learning of Chinese, such as the organising of a social and cultural event conducted in the Chinese language for students of Chinese and students from China. Activities may include speeches, story-telling, singing, musical instruments, kung fu, etc. This would encourage learners of Chinese to interact among themselves and with native speakers of Chinese. A possible date is around the Mid-Autumn Festival. Members are encouraged to further explore this possibility.

Participants had a lovely dinner together afterwards.

About Authors

Ms Zhiqun Chen is a PhD candidate in the faculty of Arts at Monash University, Australia. She gained her MA at Ocean University, China. Her research interests cover the area of the studies of Chinese writing system, and the history of the study of Chinese writing in the West.

Dr Wen Xiong was an associate professor of Shanghai University, China before coming to Australia. She completed her PhD thesis at the School of Educational Studies, La Trobe University. She is now teaching at the University of Rhode Island, USA Her research interests cover the area of language teaching and education, language acquisition, and language and culture contrast.

Dr Guo-qiang Liu is senior lecturer and coordinator of Chinese language and culture studies, Faculty of Arts, Deakin University, Australia. His teaching and research interests are in Chinese language and cultural studies, linguistics and applied linguistics, second language acquisition and cross cultural communication, with consulting experience in intercultural communication and intercultural business management. He has also been awarded a National Teaching Development

Grant from the Committee for the Advancement of University Teaching.

Dr Decheng Jiang completed his PhD at Hong Kong University. He is teaching Chinese at La Trobe University, the University of Melbourne and the University of Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. His research interest is in history and politics of the imperial court of the Ming Dynasty.

Notes for contributors and subscribers

The Chinese Study Review (《中国研究评论》) is the official and scholarly publication of ATCTA (澳大利亚高校中文教师学会).

It aims to publish original and high-quality research reports and articles with in-depth analysis focusing on China from members and other researchers. It intends to cover a range of subjects including Chinese language teaching and research, literature, history, education, politics and cultural studies.

Regular columns provide book reviews and academic development and news of ATCTA members.

The Chinese Studies Review invites submission of original articles on China in all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. All articles are refereed for acceptance. Literature reviews are invited. *The Chinese Studies Review* welcomes the submissions of manuscripts from scholars in Australia and abroad, including postgraduates, on all aspects of Chinese studies and from all points of view.

The views expressed in articles are those of individual authors and do not necessarily represent the views of ATCTA.

ATCTA editorial board reserves the right to publish /postpone /reject submitted articles.

Length, Style and Format:

Please read this section carefully before you submit your contribution.

Articles should be submitted to the editor via e-mail or mail (see below for contact details of editors) in MS Word format. They should normally not exceed 5,000 words in length with footnotes at the end.

An author's brief information and a 100-150 words abstract in English or in Chinese should be provided for all submissions.

Please provide Chinese characters and Pinyin for all Chinese terms and proper nouns.

1. Citations

Books or articles cited in the manuscript should conform to the following:

All references should be listed in a bibliography at the end of the article. Endnotes, not footnotes, should be used.

2. Referred books in English

Author, *title of the book*; place of publication, publisher, date; page number(s).

3. Referred books in Chinese

Author, *Chinese title of the book, (translation of title)*; place of publication, publisher, date; page number(s)

4. Referred articles in English

Author, *title of the article*; *Journal title*, *Vol. number*, *issue number*, *Year of publication*, *page number(s)*

5. Referred articles in Chinese

Author, *Chinese title of the article*, (*translation of title*); *Chinese Journal title*, (*translation of journal title*), *Vol. number*, *issue number*, *Year of publication*, *page number(s)*

6. Online publication

Author, name of ISP/ICP, URL and access time.

Copyright

Submission of a manuscript is taken to imply that it has not previously been published in any form and that it is not currently being considered elsewhere.

It is a condition of publication in the *The Chinese Studies Review* that authors assign copyrights to the ATCTA. In assigning copyright, authors may use their own material in other publications provided that the *The Chinese Studies Review* is acknowledged as the original place of publication, and ATCTA is notified in writing and in advance.

Copying

This journal is registered with the Australian Copyright Centre.

Organizations may copy materials beyond the limits permitted by sections of Copyright Law subject to payment to ATCTA.

Permission should be sought from ATCTA for all other use.

Submission

Please forward all submissions to:

Chief Editor

Dr Lijian Hong
Chinese Studies Program
School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Monash University
Vic 3800, Australia
Tel. + 61-3 9905 2954
Fax. + 61-3 9905 5437
Email: lijian.hong@arts.monash.edu.au

Deputy Chief Editor

Dr Baoqiang Gao
Asian Studies
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria 3086, Australia
Tel. + 61-3 9479 1332
Fax. + 61-3 9479 1880
Email: B.Gao@latrobe.edu.au

Subscriptions and processing fee

The Chinese Studies Review is published twice a year (in June and December). Copies will be sent to ATCTA members for free.

The subscriptions price which includes delivery is \$50 Australian dollar for organizations and institutions; \$25 Australian dollar for individuals; and \$15 Australian dollar for full time students.

Please note \$100 Australian dollar non-refundable processing fee must be received with the submission. Processing subscription and processing fees shall be sent to the treasurer of the ATCTA:

Dr Yunji Wu
Chinese Studies
Room 236
Sidney Myer Asia Centre
Building 158, Parkville Campus
The University of Melbourne
Australia
Tel: +61 3 8344 4956
Fax: +61 3 9349 4870
Email: [yunjiw@unimelb.edu.au](mailto:yunjw@unimelb.edu.au)

《中国研究评论》 欢迎惠赐稿件、欢迎订阅

《中国研究评论》（The Chinese Studies Review）是澳大利亚高校中文教师学会（Australian Tertiary Chinese Teachers Association）主办的国际性专业学术刊物。是澳大利亚唯一一本由高校专业人士编辑出版的中英文双语学术刊物。

本刊登载和发表以英文或中文撰写的高质量的研究成果、文稿、书评等，主要涉及领域包括中国语言文化教学、文学、历史、教育、政治、文化交流与研究等。

《中国研究评论》欢迎澳大利亚及世界各地学者同仁包括研究生就中国研究各领域发表见解，惠赐稿件。

本刊将采用匿名审稿制度。文责自负。

来稿登载与否最后决定权在本刊编委会。

来稿篇幅及写作格式

来稿可用中文或英文。请用 MS WORD 文件撰写，一般不超过五千字。

来稿须附作者简介及文章梗概或摘要，以一百至一百五十字为宜。

中文名称和专有名词请附汉字和拼音。

来稿请不要使用 MSWORD 中的任何自动设置。注释应置于文稿结尾；文稿引用书刊文章须按下列格式：

书籍：作者名、书名、出版地、出版商、出版时间、涉及页数等。

刊载文章：作者名、文章题目、刊物名称、期号、出版时间、涉及页数等。

网络发表作品：网址详情和登陆时间。

关于版权

作者提交的稿件必须未曾以任何形式在任何刊物上发表过。同时请勿一稿两投。

作者的稿件一经《中国研究评论》版权即归本刊。作者可以在其他刊物上使用经本刊发表过的作品，但必须事先书面通知本刊，并在发表时注明作品原由《中国研究评论》发表。

来稿请寄：

主编

Dr Lijian Hong
Chinese Studies Program
School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Monash University
Vic 3800, Australia
Tel. + 61-3 9905 2954
Fax. + 61-3 9905 5437
Email: lijian.hong@arts.monash.edu.au

副主编

Dr Baoqiang Gao
Asian Studies
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria 3086, Australia
Tel. + 61-3 9479 1332
Fax. + 61-3 9479 1880
Email: B.Gao@latrobe.edu.au

订阅与审稿费

本刊将免费赠送澳大利亚高校中文教师学会会员。

其他机构和个人的订阅费如下：

机构（一年）： 50 澳元
个人（一年）： 25 澳元
全职在校生（一年）： 15 澳元

无论稿件采取与否，作者都须交纳 100 澳元审稿费。

订阅本刊和缴纳审稿费请与澳大利亚高校中文教师学会财长联系。具体方式如下：

Dr Yunji Wu
Chinese Studies
Room 236
Sidney Myer Asia Centre
Building 158, Parkville Campus
The University of Melbourne
Australia
Tel: +61 3 8344 4956
Fax: +61 3 9349 4870
Email: yunjiw@unimelb.edu.au