UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_154918

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 495.117/D27N Accession No. 351

Author De Francis, J.

Title Nationalism and Language in China. 1950

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked

Nationalism and Language Reform In China

Nationalism and Language Reform in China

BY JOHN DE FRANCIS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
1950

Copyright, 1950, by Princeton University Press
London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press

Printed in the United States of America by Princeton
University Press at Princeton, New Jersey

TO

OLD WANG

PREFACE

THIS book is the product of a long effort to find the answers to some exceedingly complex but seemingly incidental questions which arose in the course of research on Chinese nationalism.

A number of years ago, while studying the great upsurge of nationalism in the second and third decades of the present century, I was led to examine one of its special phases, the Literary Revolution, and in the course of studying this political-cultural movement I was led further to investigate the specific proposals made for reform of Chinese writing. The generally available materials on this subject were overwhelmingly concerned with reforming the traditional ideographic script along the lines of Hu Shih's suggestion that the classical literary style be replaced by a vernacular style of writing. There were occasional references, however, to less prominent reformers who went so far as to suggest that the ideographs themselves be replaced by a phonetic system of writing. At first I paid little attention to this apparently fantastic proposal, for it did not enter my mind to doubt the prevailing dogma among students of the Far East that the ideographs neither could nor should be abandoned in favor of an alphabetic script. Yet the suggestion was made so insistently that scholarly fairness demanded a more searching examination into the pros and cons of the matter.

It gradually dawned on me that if the advocates of phonetic writing were not cranks with quite impractical ideas, then they and their proposals, far from being a mere side-issue of the Literary Revolution, might instead eventually turn out to be the most important part of the movement to use linguistic reform as an instrument of political change. This led me to make what proved to be a laborious search through obscure publications for materials which would answer my questions as to the evolution of the ideas for such a reform, the rival schools of thought on the subject, and the methods suggested for dealing

with the linguistic and political problems arising from the proposed change.

Further study led to the conclusion that the subject as a whole contained two main aspects, one political and the other linguistic, and that it was impossible to understand one without understanding the other. It therefore seemed necessary to make use of an inter-disciplinary approach, counting on political science to illuminate the political aspect and linguistic science to solve the linguistic problems. It also became apparent that the political aspect, though of decisive importance in the over-all picture, could be analyzed in full only after an accurate assessment had been made of the linguistic factors.

Just at this point in my research I was invited to join the faculty of Yale University in order to assist Professor George A. Kennedy in a new program of Chinese studies which involved, among other things, the creation of a practical phonetic system for teaching the language. Thanks to the experience gained in the program, I was able to make the necessary assessment of the linguistic problems in the proposed reform. I dealt with the theoretical aspects of this subject in an article, "The Alphabetization of Chinese,"* and with the more practical aspects in a book, *Beginning Chinese.*†

I now felt prepared to resume analysis of the political problems arising from the language reform movement as part of the nationalist movement in China. Not until the end of the war, however, was I able to get at this task. In 1947 I was finally able to complete the study. The result is the present book.

Thus this work does not fall exclusively within the sphere of either the social sciences or the humanities. Rather it represents an attempt to apply the techniques of both fields to a problem which can only be understood in full on the basis of a dual approach. It is perhaps indicative of this dual approach that the study was begun under a Rockefeller Fellowship and completed under a Social Science Research Fellowship.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to the Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Science Research Council for making this study possible. The latter organization was par-

* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII (1943), 225-40.
† Yale University Press, 1946.

ticularly generous in providing a supplementary grant for the purpose of obtaining assistance in getting at some of the materials used in Chapter 5.

It is difficult to thank individually all the scholars who have been of assistance to me in the writing of this book. Many helped by discussing various aspects of the subject in innumerable conversations. Several read and criticized all or part of the manuscript. Professor L. Carrington Goodrich, Mr. Owen Lattimore, Mr. C. C. Wang, Dr. C. M. Wilbur, and Dr. Edwin G. Beal, Jr. have gone over the whole work, Dr. Y. R. Chao has looked at Chapter 4, and Dr. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei has read Chapters 1-12. I am glad to acknowledge the comments and criticisms, by no means always favorable, presented by these and other scholars.

I should like to single out Professor George A. Kennedy for special thanks. It was he who contributed most to my understanding of the technical linguistic problems discussed in Chapters 7-12.

Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any errors of fact or judgment presented in this book.

I wish I could think of a variation of the last-but-not-least formula that would sufficiently express my gratitude to the person who typed the manuscript and otherwise helped in the preparation of the book. Fortunately, an acknowledgment of this sort is only one of the ways of thanking one's wife.

JOHN DE FRANCIS

The Johns Hopkins University
August 31, 1950

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
PART I. INTRODUCTION	1
1. Tens against Thousands	3
2. The West Shows the Way	14
PART II. NATIONALISM: UNITY THROUGH UNIFORMITY	29
3. Beginnings of Interest in Reform	31
4. One State, One People, One Language	55
PART III. NATIONALISM: UNITY IN DIVERSITY	85
5. The Influence of the Soviet Union	87
6. New Languages for a Federated China	109
PART IV. LINGUISTIC DOGMA AND LINGUISTIC SCIENCE	137
7. Linguistic Method	139
8. The Monosyllabic Myth	147
9. The Problem of Tones	166
10. What Can Be Alphabetized?	184
11. Dialects or Languages?	192
12. What Kind of Script?	199
PART V. THE SCRIPT AS A PROBLEM OF NATIONALISM	209
13. Language and Nationalism	211
14. The Script and National Unity	221
15. The Script and National Progress	237
Notes	255
Bibliography	281
Characters for Bibliography	294
Characters for Footnotes	296
Index	297

PART I

Introduction

1

TENS AGAINST THOUSANDS

IN recent years there has developed a tendency among Chinese and Westerners alike to re-examine their thinking about the Chinese language. In part this tendency reflects the increase in scientific analysis of the language with the techniques of modern linguistics. In part it reflects the heightening of a national consciousness which impels many Chinese to question the survival value of their heritage in a modern world. Regardless of the inspiration, the result has been to demand a more precise definition of commonly accepted generalizations about the Chinese language and even to raise doubts about their basic validity.

Perhaps the most common of these generalizations is that Chinese is a monosyllabic language. Another is that the language must inevitably be written with an ideographic script. A third is that the ideographs function as an instrument of Chinese unity. Such generalizations, which, it should be noted, possess a political as well as linguistic significance, have long been part of the thinking of Chinese and Westerners alike.

All these generalizations are related in some way or other to the distinctive Chinese system of writing, the ideographs, which after millennia of unquestioning regard have recently been subjected to more critical attention. Viewed in the light of linguistic science, the ideographs now appear to many to have a somewhat different relationship to the Chinese language from that hitherto supposed. Considered from the view-

NOTE: It will be the procedure throughout the present work to place the more important footnotes, represented by asterisks and daggers, at the bottom of the page and the less important ones, represented by superior figures, at the end of the book. Since the latter are largely bibliographical in nature, the reader need not, unless particularly interested, interrupt his reading to consult them.

points of divergent schools of Chinese nationalism, the ideographs appear to some Chinese as a blessing, to others as a curse, and to still others as something of a combination of both.

That the ideographs have come to be looked upon by some Chinese as anything else than the most natural and proper system of writing is perhaps the outstanding indication of the changed attitude toward the language. As Chinese nationalism has grown, broadened, and splintered into rival camps, so various schools of thought have emerged with respect to the signs which for more than three millennia have served the Chinese as a medium of written communication. These rival schools disagree both on minute details of the script and also on broader questions involving the relationship of the script to Chinese society.

The differences of opinion extend even to the manner in which the disputants invoke Chinese history in order to buttress their linguistic arguments. Those Chinese who oppose any change at all in the established system of writing place most of their emphasis on the literary treasures embodied in the ideographs and on the glories of Chinese dynasties ruled by scholarly bureaucrats. On the other hand those who seek some modification in the form or use of the ideographs stress the periodic changes that have taken place in the script in the course of its long history. Among these widely separated views the most pointed, perhaps, is that which relates changes in the script to changes in Chinese society.

Actually, the history of Chinese writing in its earliest phases is a matter of considerable dispute. The characterization of the historical stages of Chinese society is also a controversial subject. Despite their dubious validity in these respects, however, the attempts to relate script and society in China are valuable in illuminating other aspects of the controversy over the future of the Chinese script. Such is the case with what is perhaps the fullest attempt of this sort, that made by T'ung Chen-hua, the author of a work on the evolution of Chinese writing.

In the period before the Chou dynasty (*ca.* 1027-221 B.C.), T'ung argues, Chinese society was still in the stage of "tribalism." In this stage society was characterized by a lack of po-

litical unity. The political disunity of the tribal period was also reflected in a great diversity in styles of writing.

In the Chou period, T'ung continues, "tribalism" gave way to "feudalism," and as a result the old disunity was replaced for a time by a greater degree of political cohesion. This social transformation in turn provided the basis for reform of the script. A dual process of simplification and unification took place, as a result of which a new style of ideographic writing, called the Great Seal, came to the fore. In the confusion and turmoil which marked the last phase of the Chou era, however, speech and writing were affected by the political disunity to the point where they assumed a great variety of forms.

In the Ch'in period (221-207 B.C.) the process of political and economic change leading up to the unification of China laid the basis for a more extensive unification of the script. There were two phases of this development. The first was the attempt of a number of officials, led by the renowned Li Szu, to set up a new unified standard of writing called the Small Seal. The second was the effort, attributed to Ch'eng Mao, to provide a system of writing better suited to advancing the social reforms of Ch'in. To expedite the vast amount of bureaucratic work connected with these reforms, Ch'eng replaced the complicated Small Seal script by a much simpler style of writing based on forms which had actually come into being from the efforts of scribes to achieve speed and convenience rather than beauty in their writing. This Clerk Script, as it was called, gradually merged into the form of writing which with the development of printing became fixed in the square style that has survived to the present day. The fact that the form of the Chinese script has remained basically unchanged since Ch'in times is not unrelated, T'ung concludes, to the general stagnation of Chinese society.*

* T'ung Chen-hua, *The Evolution of Chinese Writing* (Shanghai, 1937), pp. 61-70 [in Chinese]. T'ung's remarks on the evolution of the script correspond fairly closely with the analysis presented in Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier* (Leiden, 1938), pp. 147-61. He is on less firm ground, however, in his characterization of the three main stages of Chinese society. In describing pre-Chou as tribal and Chou as feudal he is mixing his sociological categories. He also fails to specify the category in which the post-Chou period is to be placed. Nevertheless, T'ung's comments remain of interest as an attempt to relate script and society in China.

Introduction

Some Chinese students of language reform consider that the most important of the Ch'in activities relating to the ideographs is the unification that took place under the leadership of Li Szu.[1] Others follow T'ung Chen-hua in placing the greatest emphasis on the aspect of change in the form of the script. In the opinion of the latter, Ch'eng Mao should be ranked among the great "revolutionary heroes" in the field of Chinese writing.[2]

Those who hold to the thesis that the stagnation of Chinese society prevented any further change in the writing often illustrate their point by citing the conflicting approaches to the script on the part of the literati and of the ordinary people. According to this view, the tendency among the scholars was to freeze the ideographs in the accepted form or even to make them still more complex. In addition to using the square style of script for purposes of publication, the literati also evolved an extremely difficult running hand known as "grass writing." On the other hand the popular tendency was to simplify the writing by such devices as contracting ideographs with many strokes, substituting a simple character of the same sound for one of excessive complexity, and creating wholly new ideographs to represent words which existed only in colloquial speech.*

Scholarly slavishness and obsession with the idea of "correctness" are charged by one writer with preventing the kind of simplification of the writing that would have emerged if the people had been left to their own devices.[3] The government itself was accused of stepping in during the Ming and Ch'ing periods to oppose the simplified forms which were in popular use.[4] Such charges are in line with the thesis propounded as a general principle by Hu Shih on the basis of his study of the evolution of writing in China. "In the history of change in speech and writing," he asserted, "generally the common people are the reformers and the scholars and writers are the conservatives."[5]

* An example of contraction is the use of the character [1] for [2]. An example of substitution is the use of [3] for [4]. An example of creation is the use of the symbol [5] to express the idea of "not have" in Cantonese. (Bracketed figures substitute for characters. These will be found on page 296.)

The generalization advanced by Hu Shih appears to find some substantiation in various aspects of the Chinese language. In the case of literary style, for example, there is the long-standing divergence between the classical and the colloquial styles. The *paihua* or colloquial style was, roughly speaking, speech reduced to writing in the ideographic script. It was used in popular novels and like manner of works, the earliest extant examples of which go back to the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). The literati were inclined to look down on such writings and insisted on adhering instead to a stilted classical style which has not changed much since the Chou period. Some scholars affirm but others deny that the classical style was the natural reproduction of Chinese speech of that time.[6]

The special linguistic position of the literati exhibited itself not alone in the field of writing but in that of speech as well. The uneducated varied in speech according to geographical and other considerations. But the literati, though also speaking these local tongues and writing about them for philological purposes,[7] in addition sought to acquire what was known as *kuan hua*, or language of the officials. This form of speech, which approximated that of educated people in the capital, was used as a kind of *lingua franca*, especially for purposes of administration. Because of its use as an instrument of the centralized bureaucracy it received official support in successive dynastic periods. During the K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722), for example, the emperor became incensed at officials from Fukien and Kwangtung who when received in audience spoke so barbarous a tongue that they could not be understood. He therefore requested the governors of these provinces to establish Schools for Proper Pronunciation and admonished that henceforth people should no longer study the provincial idioms. Later in the Ch'ing dynasty these schools fell into a decline, but the principle of a standard language was by no means abandoned.[8]

The differences which existed between the literati and the rest of the population in respect to speech and writing was probably not due, as is sometimes suggested, to a deliberate policy of using language as a means of political control.* There

* This imputation is widespread in the literature dealing with reform of the script. I have not discovered any documentation for the charge,

is evidence, to be sure, that language and politics were not entirely divorced in the minds of the rulers of China.* Thus the government of the Ch'ing period (1644-1911) sought to implement its exclusion policy by impeding missionaries and other Westerners in their attempts to acquire the language.[9] Chinese merchants at Kiakhta were said to have been instructed to learn Russian so that Russian merchants would not have to learn Chinese, the aim being to preserve the secrets of trade and government policy.[10] No evidence has appeared, however, that the literati sought to hold the Chinese people as well as the unwanted outsiders at arm's length by consciously preserving and enhancing what has aptly been called "the Egyptian obscurity of writing."[11]

A more likely explanation for the continued complexity and obscurity of Chinese writing is to be found in the tendency, by no means limited to the Chinese, toward conservatism in the system of writing. Somewhat the same factors which have kept French and English spelling centuries behind the changes in speech existed also in China, but to a much more marked degree. Here the literati possessed a much longer accumulation of literary tradition. In particular the form of writing was fixed by the printing press centuries earlier in China than in the West. Extremely low literacy, a characteristic of pre-industrial society everywhere, abetted the tendency toward preciosity, antiquarianism, and other forms of literary exclusiveness which characterize in-bred scholarship in general. All in all there was much in the older society of China to reinforce the literati in the unquestioning assurance that their system of writing was superior to anything thought up by those outside their own self-contained circle.

This attitude of superiority is seen most clearly in the situation where the Chinese were able to compare their own difficult ideographic script with a simple phonetic system of writ-

---

however, and therefore feel it necessary to qualify my earlier views on the subject as presented in "The Alphabetization of Chinese," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII (1943), 240.

* It may be of interest to note here that in 1637 the Manchu leader who was later given the reign-title Ch'ung-te, bearing in mind the fate of the Chin Tatars, warned against "lightly changing" the Manchu language for Chinese. (*Ta Ch'ing shih lu, chüan* 34, p. 27a).

ing. The latter came to the attention of the Chinese largely through contact with foreigners. There existed, it is true, certain tendencies toward phonetic writing even among the Chinese themselves.[12] Examples of these are the very early creation of compound ideographs having partly phonetic value, the later use of one character or a combination of characters to represent the sound of another, and the more or less continuous tendency, especially pronounced among the semi-literate, to replace difficult ideographs by simpler ones of the same sound but different meaning.* The last is of particular importance because it formed part of the same general process which led to the creation of phonetic writing in the West and even in an ideographic-using country like Japan. In China, however, the literati prevented the debasement of the ideograph into a purely phonetic symbol.

In the millennium preceding the advent of the Westerner the literati also became acquainted with the phonetic scripts of the Uighurs, Tibetans, Mongols, and other so-called barbarians, but, as a Chinese writer has pointed out, found little in the writings of these peoples to inspire respectful consideration on their part.[13] The languages were studied chiefly for utilitarian reasons, as was the case in the bureaux of interpreters, where the Chinese students of barbarian speech and writing used ideographs to represent the sounds of other languages but do not appear to have thought of using barbarian alphabets to write Chinese.[14]

Even the Sanskritic script had only a limited effect on the literati. The literature embodied in the script was of course highly respected. Yet the influence of Buddhist literature was

* The creation of compound characters having partly phonetic value can be seen in the use of [6], which is pronounced *lai* and means "to rely on," as a purely phonetic element in the compound ideograph [7], which is pronounced *lai* and means "flute." The use of one character to represent the sound of another occurs frequently in the well-known dictionary *Tz'u-yüan* as a means of giving the pronunciation of individual characters. For example, this dictionary has an entry stating that [8] "is pronounced [9] [*ching*]." The common tendency to replace difficult characters by simpler ones of the same sound but different meaning is illustrated by the now generally accepted use of [10] for [11] in the meaning "then." (Bracketed figures substitute for characters. These will be found on page 296.)

not such as to lead the Chinese to think of abandoning their ideographs for a phonetic system of writing. In a comparison of Sanskritic and Chinese writing made by Cheng Ch'iao, a well-known encyclopedist of the Sung period (960-1280), the writer did go so far as to note that the foreign script was "very simple" because it could represent an endless number of sounds with a few simple hooks and curves. But his conclusion from this expressed succinctly the Chinese conviction as to the superiority of their own system of writing. "The world is of the opinion," he asserted, "that people who know ideographs are wise and worthy, whereas those who do not know ideographs are simple and stupid."[15]

There was little possibility of change in the form of the script so long as such an attitude characterized the thinking of the Chinese. Nor could this state of mind be transformed so long as the Chinese remained convinced of the superiority of their own way of life. It was only when the old order began to crumble that a new questioning attitude emerged with respect to almost every aspect of Chinese society. And it was only then that the script itself was subjected to a new and critical examination.

In China, as in the West, language reform was only one aspect of a larger cultural transformation which itself formed part of a vast complex of economic, political, and social change. In the West the cultural phase of this transition into modern society has been given the name of the Renaissance.[16] In China one phase of the cultural movement has been given the same name by Chinese language reformers in order to emphasize the fact that the process of change in their country is related to that in the West.[17] The wider context in which this movement has taken place is Chinese nationalism itself.

Just as there are various schools of nationalism in China, however, so are there various schools of thought on the subject of reforming the system of writing. Some Chinese desire no change either in society or in the writing. Others hope for a moderate reform in both respects. Still others seek a drastic change in the script as part of a basic transformation of society. To be sure there are some cases of social conservatives favoring reform of the script, and many cases of radically minded indi-

viduals opposing such a step. Yet the generalization can be made, as will be shown in more detail later, that there is a significant correlation between attitudes toward social change and attitudes toward linguistic reform in China.

The language reform movement which has hitherto received the greatest attention both in China and the West is that identified with the name of Hu Shih. Basing his program on trends which had long existed in Chinese writing, Hu Shih, together with other reformers of like mind, advocated the abandonment of the dead literary style for one based on living speech.[18] This movement for a *paihua* or vernacular literature encountered the opposition of conservative scholars and officials, such as Chi Yao-san, the civil governor of Chekiang, who in 1919 urged the government to suppress publications in the new medium because they expressed radical views harmful to the people.[19] The resistance of such officials was defeated when the purely literary goals were broadened to include social and political objectives as well. The victory of the *paihua* movement was made possible by its identification with the cause of Chinese nationalism.[20]

After Hu Shih other reformers sought to use the vernacular language as a means for attacking the high rate of illiteracy in China.[21] Perhaps the best advertised of these attempts is that identified with the name of Y. C. James Yen.[22] His Mass Education Movement, which actually contained many broad aspects of social reform in general, included also a program for promoting literacy by means of the celebrated Thousand Character Lessons. Although these lessons have been well publicized they have engendered a certain amount of confusion owing to the failure of the Mass Education Movement to make plain their precise significance. The confusion arises because it is not clear whether the thousand characters are envisaged as an end in themselves or simply as an introduction to more characters.

If the thousand characters are considered to be an introduction to the learning of the additional thousands which are generally thought to be necessary for literacy, then they have only a pedagogical significance as the first group in a series of graded lessons. If, however, as many have assumed, the thou-

sand characters are considered sufficient for purposes of ordinary reading and writing, then they have significance as a new literary medium for the masses. The assumption that this is the educational goal has led to sharp attacks on the Mass Education Movement. Opponents contend, firstly, that the ideographs themselves are unsuited to mass education and, secondly, that in any case limiting the number of ideographs means placing limitations on the expression of ideas. This, they maintain, represents cultural regress rather than progress.[23]

While many Chinese are content with the steps initiated by Hu Shih and James Yen, and some even think that they have gone too far, other Chinese consider that the *paihua* movement has not gone far enough toward meeting the need for reform of the written language. The victory of the vernacular style over the literary has in reality been no more than partial. This is indicated by the use of the terms "vernacular vernacular literature" and "literary vernacular literature" to distinguish the style really based on ordinary speech from the style of what most often passes for *paihua*, the latter being such a mixture of literary and vernacular as to lead one writer to dub it "a mule language that is neither horse nor donkey."[24] The ability to read and write is still limited to fifteen or twenty per cent of the people and perhaps to even less if effective literacy is made the criterion. In 1940 Hu Shih himself expressed the judgment that "The *paihua* movement has merely been of help to a few intellectuals."[25]

Long before this some Chinese had sought to go beyond the program embodied in the *paihua* movement. To their mind this reform was merely a reform in literary style and hence did not even begin to deal with the more basic problem of the Chinese script itself. They themselves went on to suggest the possibility that the difficult ideographs might be replaced by a completely new system of writing based on phonetic principles.

Thus in the view of some participants in the movement for reform of the written language the real struggle was not one of vernacular style against literary style. It was one of a few tens of phonetic symbols against thousands of ideographic signs.

The upholders of this view have always been in a minority

among those advocating change in the written language. Advocates of alphabetic writing have been numbered only in tens as against the thousands supporting the use of ideographs in a vernacular style of writing. As a result the activities of the minority reformers have been largely overshadowed by the more publicized events connected with the growth of the *paihua* movement. Hence, too, attention has been diverted from the fact that activities in behalf of alphabetic writing began even before the time of Hu Shih and have continued to the present day. In addition scientific interest in the subject has been inhibited by the tendency to dismiss the matter as impractical on the grounds that the Chinese language is monosyllabic and must be written in an ideographic script. At best the emergence of phonetic writing has been generally envisaged as something for the distant future. This idea has been fostered by those who, like Hu Shih, have argued that the victory of the *paihua* movement is a necessary pre-condition for an eventual transition to a phonetic script.[26]

Thus to a certain extent the victory of the *paihua* reformers represents a defeat for those who both before and after the Literary Revolution have sought to write an even more vernacular style in an even simpler script. To be sure, advocates of more drastic reform contend that this defeat is neither decisive nor permanent. Like those who have preceded them in the movement for phonetic writing they are confident that the Chinese language can be written with an alphabetic script. Like them, too, they feel that such a change is only part of a wider transformation accompanying the nationalist evolution of China.

The nationalist aspects of the controversy over phonetic writing have been developed almost entirely by the Chinese themselves. On the other hand the linguistic aspects, which arose before the political implications were fully realized, were first brought up by people who were already versed in the use of phonetic scripts. It was the West which introduced the issue of alphabetic writing in China.

2

THE WEST SHOWS THE WAY[1]

IN the sixteenth century, when hardy adventurers opened up new routes between the West and the East, there were no less intrepid bearers of the cross who blazed trails of a different sort. Theirs was the task of seeking new ways to reach the minds and hearts of the peoples of the East. For the latter, unlike the natives of Africa and America, included peoples whose culture was in many respects even higher than that of the Europeans themselves. Such was the case with the Chinese.

When Alessandro Valignani, Visitor of the Society of Jesus for the Far East, stopped off at the Portuguese colony of Macao in 1577, there was but little precedent to aid him in deciding how to advance the work of the Society in China. His observations led him to the opinion that the Chinese were the most cultured and superior people of the East, and he concluded from this that anyone who worked among them must be endowed with exceptional ability. Such qualities were especially necessary, he thought, because of the need to commit to memory "that innumerable multitude of exceedingly intricate ciphers which pass for writing among them."[2] This need to learn the language of the Chinese—their written as well as spoken language and their regional speech as well as the Mandarin language common throughout the country—was impressed upon Valignani by a member of China's scholar-official class. "Begin by studying our language," advised the mandarin, "and then you may teach us your doctrine later."[3]

Acting upon this advice, Valignani brought Michele Ruggieri from India to learn Chinese. While in India Ruggieri had studied Tamil with such good effect that within five months he was able to listen to confessions in that language. But Chinese was another matter. The first months of his stay in Macao

turned out to be, in Ruggieri's own words, "a semi-martyrdom," in part because of the difficulty of the language which he had been assigned to master. "In this language," he complained, "there is neither an alphabet nor any definite number of letters, but there are as many characters as there are words or expressions."[4]

One of the chief difficulties encountered by Ruggieri, and also by the celebrated Matteo Ricci, who joined him in 1582, was in making a correct analysis of the sounds of the language. This is not at all surprising, however, for what was involved here was something which had never been done before—the use of roman letters to create a phonetic system of writing for a language which already possessed a unique ideographic script, one which, moreover, from Ruggieri's day down to our own has been considered additionally unique in having "as many characters as there are words or expressions."

The first attempt at phonetic transcription, made by Ricci and Ruggieri about 1588, failed to distinguish tones and aspiration. In a later attempt in 1598 Ricci was aided by Lazzaro Cattaneo, who is described as being a good musician and having a good ear for tones, and by Chung Ming-jen, a Chinese Jesuit who acted as their informant. Together the missionaries succeeded in compiling a dictionary which made use of five marks to indicate tones and another to indicate aspiration. This was the first systematic application of the roman alphabet to Chinese.

Ricci's work attracted some interest among the Chinese but does not appear to have given them the idea of writing their language in a phonetic rather than ideographic script. The first missionary to arouse Chinese interest along these lines was Nicolas Trigault. As in the case of his predecessors, the starting point of Trigault's contribution lay in the need that he felt for aids in acquiring a language which to his mind was harder than any other for a foreigner to learn and even caused difficulties for the Chinese themselves. These difficulties, he thought, stemmed from the fact that "All Chinese words, without exception, are monosyllabic." It also appeared that many symbols had the same sound and could be distinguished in meaning only by the eye and not by the ear. He illustrated this

point as follows: "In fact it happens not infrequently that those who are conversing together do not fully and accurately understand one another's ideas even though they enunciate very clearly and concisely. At times they have to repeat what they have said, and more than once, or even to write it. If no writing material is at hand, they will trace the symbol on something with water, or perhaps write it in the air or even on the palm of the listener's hand." Unlike many writers who have reported similar instances of Chinese struggling to make themselves understood, Trigault qualified his statement by adding that this "would happen more frequently in the conversation of the more cultured and elegant classes because their spoken language is purer and more ornate and approaches more nearly the written language."[5]

To help in his study of the language Trigault published in Chinese in 1616 a book which he entitled *The Ear and Eye Assistant to Foreign Scholars.* This work analyzes Chinese sounds in terms of roman letters, presents a list of romanized syllables each followed by all the characters having the same pronunciation, and gives another list of some 20,000 characters followed by their transcription. Trigault's transcription, unlike Ricci's, received serious attention from native students of Chinese phonology. Among those who noticed his work were the seventeenth century scholars Fang I-chih, Yang Hsüan-ch'i, and Liu Hsien-t'ing.

The most explicit comments, and apparently the first to be made by a Chinese scholar on the subject, came from the politically active scholar and official Fang I-chih. Fang deprecated the multiplicity and confusion of Chinese ideographs and praised the superiority of the phonetic system of writing. He expressed these ideas as follows:[6] "Confusion among characters is due to borrowing. But supposing that each idea were represented by a separate word, and each word had only one meaning. In the West, for example, on the basis of ideas they form sounds, and on the basis of sounds they form words, these being unique and distinctive. Isn't this better?"

The preceding quotation represents the height of the influence exercised on Chinese scholars by the early Jesuit activities in the alphabetic writing of Chinese. Clearly, the influence

was of only limited significance, for little survives apart from a casual comment on the advantages of phonetic as against ideographic writing. That the influence was not greater is due in part to the limited nature of the Jesuit contribution itself. The creations of Ricci, Cattaneo, and Trigault were intended primarily as aids to the missionaries in learning Chinese. Their chief historical significance lies in the fact that they initiated the succession of transcriptions, dictionaries, grammars, and similar aids for the study of Chinese which were compiled by foreign students of the language. It was not until the nineteenth century that Westerners conceived of more extended uses for the romanized script, and not until then that the influence of this form of writing on the Chinese became of real and lasting importance.

When the Protestant missionaries initiated their work in China at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they encountered almost as many difficulties in acquiring a mastery of Chinese as had the early Jesuits. Their study of the language had to be carried on almost clandestinely with whatever Chinese were willing to brave official displeasure by teaching the despised foreigners. The officials in Canton are said to have gone so far as to behead one Chinese teacher for giving lessons to foreigners. Robert Morrison, the founder of the first Protestant mission to China, was obliged, as protection to his own teacher, to study at night in a room with the lights carefully screened.[7]

Morrison succeeded in mastering the language and even toyed with the idea of putting out a dictionary solely in roman letters. Even more unorthodox were the ideas propounded by the celebrated French sinologist of the early nineteenth century, Abel Rémusat, who wrote an essay vigorously combatting the idea held by "all missionaries, all philologists, and all travellers" that Chinese was a monosyllabic language.* But

* Abel Rémusat, "Sur la nature monosyllabique attribuée communément à la langue chinoise," *Mélanges asiatiques*, II (1826), 47 ff. Rémusat argues that there are some Chinese characters with no meanings by themselves and others which have one meaning by themselves and another in combination. This together with reduplication, the existence of grammatical particles, and the grammatical permutation of words are cited as evidence against the monosyllabic theory. He notes the existence of

Morrison failed to carry out his plan and Rémusat attracted little attention. At the time of Morrison's death in 1834 there was still almost unanimous agreement among experts and amateurs alike that the Chinese language should be characterized as exceedingly difficult, uniquely monosyllabic, and, most important of all, necessarily ideographic in its written form.

Indeed, in some respects Morrison's contemporaries went even farther than had the early Jesuits in recounting the peculiarities of Chinese. One commentator, making the most singular use of what he called his "singular opportunities for investigation," outdid Trigault by describing the spoken language as so much more ambiguous than the written that "the Chinese will scarcely answer the most simple question unless it is expressed in writing." Of a piece with this comment is his further observation that the poverty of the spoken language "obliges the Chinese to appear a very grave, reserved people, as they sit together frequently for a length of time without exchanging a word, and when they do speak, the sense is made out rather by observing the countenance and action of the limbs than by articulate sounds."[8]

In view of prevailing thought and writing on the Chinese language, it comes as somewhat of a surprise to find the pioneer American missionary, Elijah C. Bridgman, declaring a few months after the death of Morrison that he not only approved the latter's comments on the practicability of conveying the spoken language without characters but also would not be sur-

---

polysyllabic words in the best dictionaries compiled by foreigners. Elsewhere he states that such polysyllabic expressions can be written unambiguously in alphabetic letters and are a means whereby the Chinese can avoid the inconvenience of homonyms if they see fit. (*Élémens de la grammaire chinoise* [Paris, 1822], pp. 208-11.)

Rémusat's ideas did not pass entirely unnoticed. The author of the first great book on general linguistics, Wilhelm von Humboldt, wrote him an approving letter in which he also made the important point that an error in linguistic method was involved in the monosyllabic theory: "I think that the scholars who have almost let themselves be drawn into forgetting that Chinese is a spoken language have so exaggerated the influence of Chinese writing that they have, so to say, put the writing in place of the language." (G. De Humboldt [Wilhelm von Humboldt], *Lettre à M. Abel-Rémusat, sur la nature des formes grammaticales en général, et sur le génie de la langue en particulier* [Paris, 1827], pp. 80 and 84.)

prised to hear it announced in the course of a few years that "the written character of the celestial empire is giving place to the Roman."[9] In presenting these views Bridgman was apparently reflecting the existence of considerably more interest in alphabetic writing than had been expressed in publication up to that time. It was not until shortly afterward, however, that interest in the matter began to reveal itself in comprehensive consideration of the problem.

In August, 1835 *The Chinese Repository*, a journal founded and edited by Bridgman, carried a rather remarkable unsigned article which stated the case for the adoption of an alphabetic script with more cogency and comprehensiveness than had previously been displayed. The author argued that the difficulty of the ideographic script made it necessary for the Chinese to spend eight to ten years in study in order to learn to read and write. This meant at best a needless loss of time and at worst the discouragement and failure of many aspirants to literacy. He acknowledged, on the other hand, that there would be loss as well as gain in replacing the ideographs by an alphabetic script. On the debit side he placed a possible division of the empire and the loss of the books then in use. With regard to the latter, however, he added that this would inconvenience only one generation, for all that was valuable could be rewritten and republished. As to possible division of the empire, the author conceded that characters had tended to hold the country together, but maintained that political disunity would result only if different writings were devised for the different dialects. In his opinion, "The court dialect, which is now studied by everyone who aims at the character of a scholar or gentleman, would naturally be selected as the dialect to be used in forming the new written language."

The author of the article did not ignore the difficulties involved in alphabetizing the Chinese language. Brushing aside the attachment of the Chinese to their traditional script as a prejudice which would simply retard change but would eventually be overcome, he placed the greatest stress on the ambiguity that might appear in books written with an alphabet. This he felt to be a real difficulty and the only one attending the subject. "It results from the nature of the language," he

said, but was careful to point out further that this "would be little greater than actually attends the use of it in conversation." He thought that in any case the context would generally make the meaning clear, and that the use of accents and diacritical marks would greatly diminish the ambiguity that might otherwise exist.*

The actual production of a new script was first attempted by missionaries working among illiterate overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia who could speak only a local dialect of Chinese. During the Opium War of 1839-42, the Rev. Samuel Dyer of Penang, in collaboration with the Rev. John Stronach, published a work which boldly undertook to dispense with Chinese characters. This pioneer effort at writing Chinese in an alphabetic script presented *Aesop's Fables* in two closely related dialects spoken along the Fukien-Kwangtung border. The work as a whole was described by a contemporary reviewer as "the fullest attempt yet made to Romanize the Chinese language without giving the characters."[10]

The conditions which had led Dyer and Stronach to take up alphabetic writing were encountered to an even greater degree when missionary activities were initiated in the coastal areas which were opened to Westerners following the Opium War. The mass of the people in these areas spoke dialects which were quite distinct from the language of the officials. Most of the activities were carried on among the poorer sections of the

* For the preceding material see "An Alphabetic Language for the Chinese," *The Chinese Repository*, IV, No. 4 (August, 1835), 167-72.

Appended to this article is an unsigned note which the index to *The Chinese Repository* attributes to the Rev. Samuel Dyer. In the note Dyer stressed the point that a distinction should be made between written and spoken Chinese. "Whatever may be the monosyllabic character of the written," he said, "we cannot but think that the oral dialect may fairly lay a considerable claim to a polysyllabic character; for although the number of monosyllabic, homophonous words is great, yet there is a kind of permutation and combination of these words, which to a very great extent fixes their meaning." The addition of tone marks, the joining of verb and auxiliary by a special connective, and the use of hyphens as a link in polysyllabic words were among the devices suggested for attaining greater clarity.

Not only this note but the whole of the preceding article is attributed to Dyer by José F. Corta, S.J., "China tropieza en sus signos. Agonía de la escritura ideográphica," *Razón y Fe*, CXXV (1947), 134. The evidence for this is not given.

population. This required the use of the local dialect, the only one known to the vast majority of the people. It also stimulated the missionaries to seek a simpler means than the ideographic script for reaching their now greatly expanded audience. Sometimes independently, sometimes influenced by the work of others, many missionaries came to conceive of the possibility of "romanizing" the local dialect and began to experiment in this direction.

The Rev. Walter M. Lowrie of Ningpo, for example, went so far as to express the opinion that "in all parts of China, the written and colloquial dialects differ so widely as to be really two languages."[11] With equal emphasis he said that "the *spoken* language of China (my remarks are about the Mandarin, but they are substantially true of all the dialects) is like all other languages of the world, polysyllabic." He concluded that "in consequence of this fact, that the spoken language is not monosyllabic, it would be perfectly easy to write it with Roman characters; and there would be no more danger of mistaking the meaning than there is in English."[12]

Similar ideas were held by missionaries in near-by Amoy. They went further than Lowrie, however, and actually published a number of religious tracts in alphabetic writing. One of the items was described by S. Wells Williams, who published it, as "one of the first attempts at Romanizing the Chinese language for the purpose of teaching the natives through another medium than their own characters." In publishing the tract Williams sought to test the new script and to assist others in forming an opinion about it, especially in view of the "great expectations" that had been indulged in by people who fancied that henceforth the labor of learning Chinese would be almost done away with. Williams himself was much less sanguine. In discussing romanization he took pains to provide extracts illustrating the new systems, and to report the claim of experimenters that their schemes greatly aided missionaries in learning the dialects and enabled Chinese to read romanized materials in the course of a year or so. At the same time, however, he indicated his doubts about the validity of claims made for romanization.

Williams stated that "so long as there are scores of homoph-

onous characters, the characters are indispensable in order to discriminate the homophones. Even with the assistance of double and triple compounds, references to the characters are constantly made in speaking, in order to render the sense clear." These linguistic objections to romanization were accompanied by opposition on political grounds. Pointing out that the proposals for an alphabetic script would necessitate the creation of separate systems of writing for the Chinese dialects, he contended that such a policy would not only imperil the object of Christianizing China but would also "tend to break up the people into little clans and states," so that if, for example, Foochow and Canton were to imitate the romanization procedure adopted at Amoy and Ningpo the result would be "four new languages with as many nations to speak them."[13]

Despite objections such as those raised by S. Wells Williams, alphabetic writing was widely taken up by the missionaries. In the fifteen year period between 1851 and 1866 some thirty-seven missionaries, more than one-tenth of all the Protestant missionaries who had ever worked in China, published Chinese materials in some form of phonetic script. Their production included seventy-five separate items and totaled several thousand pages. Topically there was a heavy concentration on sacred scriptures, theology, catechisms, prayers, and hymns. There were also a few works dealing with geography, arithmetic, and other secular subjects.[14]

Thus a good many missionaries succeeded in putting out a not inconsiderable quantity of material in various systems of alphabetic writing on a number of different topics* Yet it should not be forgotten that romanized works formed only a small proportion of the total volume of materials produced by

* It is beyond the scope of the present work to give a detailed account or even a listing of the scores of systems created by the missionaries and others interested in the problem of phonetic writing. In addition the work of those who, like Wade, were primarily concerned with devising a system for transcribing characters rather than for use as a fully independent script has been omitted from consideration as having only an indirect bearing on the subject under discussion. For a chronological list of Chinese and foreign scholars who have created romanization schemes see Hu Ying, "Notes on 350 Years of Romanization in China," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 105 (September 30, 1933) and No. 106 (October 7, 1933) [in Chinese]. See also Fernando Bortone, S.J., *Sillabario cinese*, 1 (Shanghai, 1935), *passim*.

the missionaries. It is especially important to note that in the period mentioned not a single romanized item was published in the Mandarin dialect. This is to be only partially explained by the fact that, prior to the opening up of all China to missionaries after the treaties of 1860, they had been confined almost entirely to the coastal dialect areas. A weightier factor, and one which was to have particular influence on the future of the work in romanization, was that the missionaries in the Mandarin areas were less interested in attempting to apply an alphabetic writing to the language. There were several reasons for this.

The missionaries in the capital and other Mandarin areas, though also working chiefly among the masses, nevertheless had more opportunity and occasion than those in the south for contacts with Chinese who already knew how to read and write in characters. Such contacts suggested the possibility of working through the traditional script to Christianize China from the top down rather than from the bottom up. Moreover, this language of the officials already possessed an extensive ideographic literature in the colloquial as well as in the classical style. The missionaries felt that their chances were greater of persuading the Chinese to accept the milder reform of writing the Mandarin colloquial in the traditional ideographic script. They were therefore more interested in replacing the classical by the vernacular style than they were in abandoning the ideographs for an alphabetic form of writing.

Nothing so clearly reveals the lesser enthusiasm of these missionaries for romanization than their low output of materials in the Mandarin dialect. In the period from 1890 to 1904 the total output of romanized Bibles or Bible portions for all dialects amounted to 133,870 pieces. But the Mandarin areas, which contained some seventy per cent of the population of China, accounted for only about two per cent of the total. In the three years from 1900 to 1902 the total output of Bibles or Bible portions in all forms amounted to 4.1 million pieces. But only 47,000 of these, or about one per cent, were in romanized form, and virtually all of the latter were for non-Mandarin dialects. Of the overwhelming majority of pieces published in characters, 1.3 million were in classical or semi-classical style

and 2.8 million pieces in character colloquial; of the latter only 67,600 were in non-Mandarin dialects.[15] In short, most of the literature was published in characters, most of the character materials were in the colloquial style, and most of the character colloquial materials were in Mandarin. The colloquial had won out over the literary style and the characters had won out over romanization.

In addition to being more productive than the missionaries of the north and west in the publication of romanized materials those from the southern coastal area were also more outspoken in arguing for the simpler writing against opponents from all areas. When the Rev. John C. Gibson of Swatow, for example, addressed the general conference of Protestant missionaries in 1890 on the comparative advantages of roman letters and Chinese characters, he presented a rounded discussion of problems which ranged from the general and theoretical to the specific and practical. His arguments were expressed with such vigor and clarity as to outrank much that has been written on the subject before or even after his time.

Gibson defined literacy quite simply as "ability to understand a book written in a simple style upon any non-technical subject." On the basis of his definition he maintained that literates in China numbered less than thirteen millions and perhaps even as few as six millions. He argued that this was due to the difficulty of the ideographic script and could not be remedied merely by abandoning the classical for the supposedly easier vernacular style. In his opinion characters were especially unsuited for use in non-Mandarin areas. He objected to the use of the word "dialects" or "colloquials" for the speech of these areas because both terms suggested a local vulgar patois rather than the speech of millions of people, both educated and uneducated alike. He supported his choice of the term "vernacular" with the statement that "We shall feel that if, out of regard to the underlying unity of all forms of Chinese, we cannot call them distinct languages, neither can we call them 'colloquials.' "

These vernaculars, he thought, should be used in the people's books, though the established book language might continue to be used for the purpose of government and learned intercommunication. Those who objected to the use of romanization for

these vernaculars on the grounds that the book language reached the whole of the empire and the outlying countries besides, whereas the romanization was of only local utility, were reminded that in plain fact the old script reached only a small minority of less than thirteen million in China.

He met objections to romanization as incapable of reproducing the allusions of the ideographs with the comment that "Some of these allusions are patent, some are obscure, some are imaginary, but all are, strictly speaking, impertinencies, and the sentence is better off without them." Objections based on the frequent recurrence of words of the same sound and tone but of different meaning were countered with the statement that "The first and simplest reply to this objection is, that experience shows there is no such difficulty." Indeed, Gibson added, so clear is the romanized material that in the Ningpo dialect it was not even found necessary to mark distinctions of tones. His final word on this subject is worth quoting in full: "The fear of ambiguity may be dismissed when we consider that the Roman letter simply reproduces the spoken words. If a vernacular in Roman letters is ambiguous, it can only be because, as spoken, it was ambiguous. The one gives precisely the same discrimination of sounds, and, if we please, of tones that the other gives, neither more nor less. If intelligible vernacular speech is possible, then intelligible Romanized writing is possible. It either proves nothing against the use of Romanized vernacular, or it proves vernacular speech to be impossible."[16]

The ideas expressed by Gibson before the missionary conference in 1890 represented an extension and defense of ideas which he had formulated earlier in a pamphlet entitled *Learning to Read in South China* and in a rejoinder to the Rev. E. J. Eitel's critical review of this work. In Eitel's opinion the failure of the missionaries to reach the bulk of their converts through the book language was due not to the difficulty of the script, as claimed by Gibson, but to the fact that the converts were mostly from the lower classes. He maintained that the spread of Confucianism disproved Gibson's contention that the ideographic script had been given a fair trial for over 2,000 years and had failed. Perhaps his main point was that the Confucian-

ism of the Chinese was inseparably bound up with their language, their morality, and their civilization. "Take away from the typical Chinaman his written language," Eitel said, "and you not only denationalize him but destroy his Confucianism." He warned the missionaries that in using romanization they were playing with fire, for the Chinese might tolerate the new script for a while but as soon as they saw their classical teaching in danger, "there will arise a storm of national indignation which will sweep away the Romanized system and its temporary regime like stubble before the wind."[17]

To Eitel's claim of success for the characters Gibson replied: "What I said was that for *one* purpose the book language had proved a failure. That purpose is one which Confucius never set before himself, and which the Reviewer seems to esteem lightly—the making intelligent readers of the great mass of the people." As for Eitel's fear of dire consequences to Chinese civilization resulting from the proposed language reform, Gibson replied tartly, "All this talk of abolishing and destroying is a little ludicrous. It is not proposed that the knowledge of a single character should be taken from any man." Although willing to concede that the established script should be permitted to survive for the use of the learned, Gibson was adamant in stressing the need for a romanized writing for the bulk of the people regardless of the possible fall of Confucianism. "We will not stay our hands from any form of Christian work in order to save it," he said sternly. "It cannot claim that we must keep the bulk of the people in either educational or spiritual darkness, lest it should suffer from the means used to let in the light."[18]

In making the points that the ideographic script had limited literacy to an upper-class minority and that a literary reform aimed at changing this situation might also involve basic changes in the Chinese social order, Gibson was adding new stress to the social implications of language reform. More strongly than their predecessors, the missionaries of the later period who were interested in romanization came to view a reform in the script as a means of obtaining needed changes in Chinese society. In dealing with the connection between language reform and social change these missionaries especially

stressed the point that the ideographic script aided the literate minority in maintaining a privileged position at the expense of the uneducated majority. Nowhere was this more sharply expressed than in the following paragraph by the Rev. William N. Brewster, a missionary at Hsing-hua in Fukien Province:

"Herein lies another serious indictment against the classical character, namely, that it develops a *privileged class.* Where the ability to read and write in any nation is confined to a literary caste, it follows as the night the day, that the members of this caste obtain and permanently hold the reins of government. Such a class of men would be something more than human if they did not fashion the government, so that they would obtain all the political plums and enjoy every possible privilege at the expense of the ignorant and almost helpless masses. So China has a government of the literati, for the literati, and by the literati. Taxes are regulated by the simple rule of certain American railroad magnates regarding their freight tariffs. 'All the traffic will bear.' Literary bullies often terrorize and browbeat whole communities for a generation. The all but universal corruption in the administration of public affairs is a legitimate fruit of this system of government by a privileged class. It may be modified and made less gross and palpable by a reform of the general government, but as long as human nature continues essentially the same, government by a privileged class will be corrupt and oppressive. The illiterate classes have opinions. They know they are oppressed. They resent it. But they cannot be heard, because they cannot speak through the press. They cannot organize a reform without educated leaders. As long as the masses endure in sullen silence, or break out only in an occasional abortive uprising that is easily crushed, these privileged men will go on as near as possible in the ways of their fathers, oppressing the people whom they despise because they can neither read nor write."[19]

With the expression of such views by Brewster and other missionaries in the declining years of the empire the problem of reforming the language by the adoption of an alphabetic script had fully evolved from a technical linguistic question to one affecting the very foundations of Chinese society. And it is precisely this evolution of the problem, together with the grow-

ing ascendancy of the northern and western missionaries and their use of characters to express the Mandarin vernacular, which accounts in large measure for the declining interest of the missionaries as a whole in the adoption of an alphabetic script. As it became increasingly obvious that language reform was impossible without social change, most missionaries hesitated to advocate an upheaval in the internal order of China, though they hoped at the same time that the Chinese themselves would make some of the needed reforms. They were therefore pleased when the Chinese began to display an interest in what the missionaries had done. For the most part they were content to let the Chinese take over the further promotion of language reform.

Thus the romanizing activities of the missionaries excited Chinese interest in reforming the script but thereby effected a decrease in their own work on the problem. Beginning with the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Chinese began to take over the leadership in experimenting with the alphabetic writing of their own language.

PART II

Nationalism: Unity through Uniformity

3

BEGINNINGS OF INTEREST IN REFORM

CHINESE interest in reforming the written language by adopting an alphabetic script was aroused mainly by two factors. The first of these was the growing evidence that Chinese society was in such an advanced state of decay as to call for drastic attempts to revitalize the country. The second was the appearance at this point of a new system of writing which offered the possibility of effecting a needed modernization of the Chinese written language.

As to the decline of the Manchu empire, this was clearly revealed in a series of events which occurred in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The defeat of China by Japan in the war of 1894-1895 was a humiliating blow which led many Chinese to inquire into the causes of this astonishing reversal in the relative positions of the great Middle Kingdom and that upstart little nation to the east. The "Hundred Days of Reform" under the young emperor in 1898 roused hopes which came to an inglorious end in the palace counter-revolution of a woman whom an anachronistic system permitted to rule despite her ignorance, incompetence, and corruption. The Boxer uprising of 1900 sought to rid China of its Western tormentors but succeeded only in deflating the prestige of the Manchu rulers and aggravating the misery of their Chinese subjects. The spectacle in 1904-1905 of Japan and Russia fighting on the prostrate body of China itself for the privilege of dismembering the corpse contributed, along with other events of this period, to opening many eyes to the need for thoroughgoing change.

It was just when many Chinese were thus becoming psychologically prepared to consider new means of salvation that they

began to take serious notice of the work which the missionaries were carrying on for phonetic representation of the language. What they might previously have ignored now became an object to be studied for its possible utility to China. And they could hardly avoid hearing of this new activity of the foreigners, for the output of romanized materials, both religious and secular, was still considerable at this time.

Around the turn of the century the missionaries published romanized monthlies in Foochow, Shanghai, Canton, Amoy, and other centers.[1] The one put out at Amoy had a circulation of nearly a thousand copies.[2] There were five to six thousand readers of romanization in the Amoy area alone[3] and some 30,000 readers in all of China.[4] Most of these were Christians from the less privileged strata of society, but some non-Christian literati also became interested. During the Boxer troubles, for example, the monthly romanized newspaper, *The Revivalist*, which Brewster published at Hsing-hua, attracted many new readers of all classes when it was discovered to be the most trustworthy bearer of the latest news. Even non-readers knew of the publication. A group of non-Christian literary graduates was accustomed to congregate at the church whenever *The Revivalist* appeared in order to gather around a little nine-year old girl who read them the news from the North.[5]

It was in South China, as shown in the preceding chapter, that the bulk of the missionary work for reform of the language was carried on. It was here, too, that Chinese society had first begun to suffer, and to benefit also, from the commercial impact of the West. As a result it was in South China that the old order first broke down and that new potentialities were first revealed. Out of this situation came the impetus for change and the means of effecting it. It was in South China, therefore, that the influence of the work done by missionaries was first expressed in efforts by Chinese to apply an alphabetic system of writing to their own language.

The man who has come to be honored by Chinese advocates of phonetic writing as their pioneer worker in the field was Lu Kan-chang (1854-1928). He was a native of T'ung-an, near Amoy, in Fukien Province.* He did not begin to study until the

* Pai Ti-chou, "Introducing a Great Pioneer of the National Language

age of nine, and he was unsuccessful when, at the age of eighteen, he sat for an examination which might have opened his way to a career as an official. After teaching for a few years he went to Singapore, where he spent his time half in working and half in studying, the English language being one of the things that he took up. On returning to Amoy in 1878 Lu helped the English missionary, John Macgowan, in compiling the latter's *English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect.** And it was just at this time, when he became associated with Macgowan and observed the missionary activities in romanization, that Lu conceived the idea of devising his own system of alphabetic writing.

For more than ten years Lu Kan-chang worked at the problem of applying an alphabetic script to Chinese. Finally, in 1892, he published his first work on the subject, a book entitled *First Steps in Complete Understanding at a Glance: A New Chinese Script for the Amoy Dialect.* Actually, the script was not applied solely to Amoy for, although Lu was concerned primarily with his own dialect, he also worked on others. Basing his system for the most part on the roman alphabet, he devised 55 symbols to be used in various dialects: 36 for Amoy, two more for Chang-chou, seven others for Ch'üan-chou, and another ten for Swatow, Foochow, Mandarin, and other dialects. These semi-Western semi-Chinese symbols were written horizontally and a connecting sign was used to join together two or more syllables which made up a single expression. Tones were distinguished by a series of graphic signs.[6]

Movement—Lu Kan-chang," *Gwoyeu joukan,* No. 10 (November 7, 1931) [in Chinese]. Pai quotes a source stating that Lu was born and raised abroad and returned to China as an adult, but he does not explain the discrepancy between this statement and the other facts which he presents.

The discussion of Lu Kan-chang is based primarily on Pai's article and secondarily on Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement* (Shanghai, 1934), pp. 11-21 [in Chinese]. Other sources will be noted separately.

* Pai, *loc.cit.*, and Li, *op.cit.*, p. 11 both give the name of the English missionary only in Chinese as Ma Yo-han and refer to his book merely as "an English-Chinese dictionary." There can hardly be any question, however, as to my identification of the missionary and his dictionary, even though Macgowan nowhere acknowledges the assistance he received from Lu. The dictionary was published in Amoy in 1883, five years after Lu arrived there and began to work with Macgowan.

Nationalism: Unity through Uniformity

In creating his various alphabets Lu was following the missionary procedure of devising different systems of writing for different dialects. Nevertheless, he was also concerned with the problem of a uniform written language and toward this end advocated that, after illiterates learned the system for their own dialect, they should all go on to study the empire-wide standard written language. He first advocated the Nanking dialect as the standard but later fell in with the more general tendency to take the Peking dialect as basic for the whole country.

The starting point of Lu's approach to the whole question of reforming the written language, as he reveals in the introduction to *First Steps*, was the difficulty of the ideographic script, which he said could be learned only after more than ten years of hard work. He contrasted the high literacy of countries with simple alphabetic writing with the low literacy prevailing in China, and argued that a system of writing like his own would enable more people to become literate and would also save students ten or more years which could be better spent in studying modern sciences. In making these points Lu was speaking less as a technical language reformer than as a nationalist interested in advancing the general welfare of his country. In a passage which is somewhat reminiscent of the type of chain-reasoning so frequently found in the classical Chinese style of writing, he made the connection between alphabetic writing, scientific study, and national progress as follows: "I say that the wealth and strength of a country depend on science. The growth of science depends on everyone—men and women, young and old—having a love of learning and a knowledge of theory. Their ability to have a love of learning and a knowledge of theory depends on using a phonetic system of writing; then, once the alphabet and spelling have been mastered, everything can be read by oneself without a teacher. It depends on speech and writing being the same; then what is read by the mouth will be understood by the mind. It also depends on having a simple script; then the script will be easy to learn and easy to write. This will save more than ten years' time. If all this time is applied to the study of mathematics, the natural sciences, chemistry, and all sorts of practical studies,

how can there be any fear that our country will not be rich and strong?"

For such statements as these Lu Kan-chang has been praised by latter-day Chinese nationalists who have admired both the acuteness of his observations and the energy with which he promoted his own ideas. Special emphasis has been placed on the fact that he observed the need for reform even before other intellectuals were enlightened on this score by the eye-opening events which began with the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. This is a well-deserved tribute, though it must be shared, to a certain extent at least, with the millions of illiterate peasants who had expressed their desire for change a generation earlier through the medium of the Taiping Rebellion. Equally justified is the praise of Lu's promotional activities. He published his first book in several colors and provided it with an attractive cover. In a second work, *First Steps in the New Script for the Amoy Dialect*,[7] which he published a year later, in 1893, he advertised his earlier production in glowing terms and advised prospective purchasers that it could be bought through the missionaries for only twenty cents. He buttonholed people and wrote articles about his scheme. As a result of these activities his work attracted considerable attention. It was known to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, one of the celebrated intellectual leaders of the time, and was brought to the attention of the emperor during the reform period of 1898.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's interest in reform of the script stemmed from his concern over the fact that although literacy reached as high as 96 or 97 per cent in the United States and Germany and was more than 80 per cent in Japan,* yet it amounted to less than 20 per cent in China. This situation led him to call for an examination of the differences between China and other countries in order to find out what it was that made some countries strong and others weak. On this score he noted that some scholars who had already taken up the problem had come to attach great importance to alphabetic writing. It distressed him, how-

* Liang's reference to literacy in Japan is in line with the most frequently made estimates. Actually, effective literacy in the ideographs is far less than generally claimed. On this see John De Francis, "Japanese Language Reform. Politics and Phonetics," *Far Eastern Survey*, XVI, No. 19 (November 5, 1947), 217-20.

ever, that the work of Liu Hsien-t'ing and others who had taken an early interest in such a script had not been preserved. He thought it unfortunate, too, that the work of other scholars, including his own esteemed teacher, K'ang Yu-wei, had not been brought to completion. Impressed by the fact that the initial sounds of infants were the same throughout the world, K'ang Yu-wei had selected sixteen of these sounds as the basic ones and had elaborated some explanatory material, but this was all turned over to his daughter for editing and nothing more was heard of it.[8]

It was an article by Lu Kan-chang which seems to have introduced Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to the concrete attempts that were being made to apply phonetic writing to Chinese. Lu's article, a fairly long one of several thousand characters, was published in 1895 in the *Wan-kuo Kung-pao*, which Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who was its editor, and a number of other young literati had started in Peking in August of that year as a vehicle for their Western-oriented ideas for reform. Their newspaper was closely modeled after a Chinese-language missionary publication and drew on it heavily for material.[9] The missionary journal, called *The Review of the Times* in English and *Wan-kuo Kung-pao* in Chinese, had the objective of extending knowledge of the West among the higher officialdom of China. It published many articles of a reformist character, including, for example, one by S. L. Lin on the subject, "Phonetic Method of Writing Chinese."[10] The young reformers followed this journal so closely that they even took its Chinese title for their own publication. If this emulation had the purpose, as some of the missionaries suspected, of providing a screen for activities which the authorities might interpret as subversive, it was unsuccessful, for the newspaper was suppressed by the government after less than a year of publication.

After Liang Ch'i-ch'ao published Lu's article in his own short-lived *Wan-kuo Kung-pao* there appeared in the following year several more Chinese-made schemes for writing the language in a phonetic script. Two of these schemes came to Liang's attention and heightened his interest in the problem to the point where he was prompted to write an essay on the subject. This he did in a new journal, *The Needs of the Times*,[11]

which he had started in August, 1896 at Shanghai after the abrupt suppression of his Peking venture. Liang's essay, entitled "Introduction to Mr. Shen's Work on Phonetics," dealt with the activities of Lu Kan-chang and other language reformers to some extent but was aimed primarily at drawing attention to the work of a rival by the name of Shen Hsüeh.

Like his predecessor, Lu Kan-chang, Shen Hsüeh came from a non-Mandarin area, his native place being Soochow, near Shanghai. He took a medical course at St. John's Academy in the latter city and acquired a good command of the English language, so that his book on a shorthand system of phonetic Chinese was written in English, under the title *Universal System.* A partial Chinese translation of the work was published in 1896 in the *Shen Pao*, a British-owned Chinese newspaper published in Shanghai. Shortly thereafter Liang Ch'i-ch'ao decided to publish a full translation in *The Needs of the Times.* Starting off the serial publication of the work with an introductory essay of his own, the editor with becoming modesty disclaimed any ability to evaluate the various schemes that had come to his attention and was content merely to quote the creator himself on the merits of his own system. There was nothing backward about Shen Hsüeh. He stated flatly, "My scheme can be learned in half a day and is the easiest in the world. Mr. Lu's system is ultra-conservative and inferior to mine." With equal conviction and ardor the author expounded his system on Sundays in a Shanghai teashop to such patrons as would listen to his ideas. These were not many, however, and his passion for reform of the written language achieved only complete frustration. He ended his days as a broken and poverty-stricken failure.[12]

In the same year that the partial Chinese version of *Universal System* appeared in Shanghai another language reformer, Ts'ai Hsi-yung, whom Liang Ch'i-ch'ao also mentioned in his essay along with Lu Kan-chang and Shen Hsüeh, presented a rival scheme of shorthand writing. Like the two other men, Ts'ai was from the southern coastal area, being a native of Fukien, and like them too he had a mastery of English, his study of this language having been undertaken as part of his concentration on Western languages and literature at the im-

perial T'ung-wen College under the Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin. After his graduation he was sent on diplomatic missions to Japan, Belgium, and the United States, serving for four years as councilor of the embassy in Washington, D. C. While in the capital of the United States his observation of how Congressional speeches were taken down in shorthand led him to conceive the idea of devising such a system for Chinese. He died before the end of the century without ever having pressed his scheme very far, but a book by him, entitled *Rapid Phonetic Writing*, was sufficiently well known to be mentioned in a memorial along with the systems advanced by Lu Kan-chang, Shen Hsüeh, and two other men.[13]

One of the latter was Wang Ping-yüeh, a Cantonese living in Hongkong who was a pastor of the London Missionary Society. His system, which was somewhat similar to that of Ts'ai Hsi-yung, was published in a work entitled *A Table of Phonetic Signs*.[14] The last of the four men to devise phonetic systems of writing in 1896 was Li Chieh-san. His scheme, also a kind of shorthand, was applied in this year to his native dialect in his book, *Rapid Writing for Fukienese*, and several years later to the official language in his *Phonetic Mandarin without a Teacher*.[15] Li is the only one of this group of language reformers who is not reported as having had contacts with Westerners. All the others were quite obviously influenced by missionaries or other foreigners. Most of them had a command of English and were thus able to make a comparison between their own ideographic script and the alphabetic writing of the West. All were from the southern coastal area and, like the missionaries, were first interested in devising phonetic scripts for dialects in this area. As yet they were concerned less with solving the problem of a standard script for the whole country than with demonstrating the virtues of phonetic as against ideographic writing.

Their success along these lines is indicated by the interest which they aroused in young reformers of this period. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was only one of the prominent personages to interest himself in alphabetic writing. Another was T'an Szu-t'ung, the foremost of that little band whose zeal for reform earned them death at the hands of the empress dowager and honor by

posterity as the Six Martyrs of the Reform Movement of 1898.[16] But the greatest success of Lu Kan-chang and the four other would-be reformers of the language was achieved when their work was brought to the attention of the young emperor in the summer of 1898.

This was effected through the medium of a fellow-townsman of Lu Kan-chang who held an important post in the imperial government at Peking. As director of the Department of Weights and Measures in the Board of Works, Lin Lu-ts'un, the son of a wealthy official in the camphor industry of Formosa before the surrender of the island to Japan,[17] was in a position to know some of the influential people in the administration. During the "Hundred Days of Reform," he himself had memorialized on the necessity of establishing modern medical schools with partially Western faculties.[18] At the same time he was able to prevail on some officials in the Censorate to send up a memorial for him extolling the work done by Lu Kan-chang and the four other reformers and urging the adoption of a phonetic system of writing "in order to aid learning." In the memorial Lin stressed the use by Lu and the others of foreign principles and methods in devising their scripts, and he made bold to present the following request: "I dare to ask that our emperor command the various governors and directors of studies in the provinces concerned to despatch Lu Kan-chang and the others to the capital together with their writings on scripts, that the Translation Office and several scholars selected by the Educational Affairs Committee for their knowledge of writing compare the advantages and disadvantages of these and decide upon a new phonetic script, and that this be submitted to the emperor for inspection, criticism, and promulgation."

In response to this memorial the emperor handed down to the Grand Council, the most powerful advisory organ in the administration, a rescript with the vermilion endorsement, "Let the Office of Foreign Affairs carefully examine the works of Lu Kan-chang and the others and send up a memorial on them."[19] The emperor referred the matter to the Office of Foreign Affairs because there existed as yet no real ministry of education, and because the proposed reform, being apparently foreign in origin, was therefore presumably in the sphere of

the agency dealing with foreign matters. But despite the emperor's encouragement nothing was done. Shortly after issuing the rescript the emperor was placed under virtual house arrest by the empress dowager, the well-intentioned reforms of the hapless monarch and his advisers were nullified in the ensuing period of reaction, and the hopes of Lu Kan-chang and others for high-placed support of their schemes for language reform were completely dashed.

In his disappointment Lu Kan-chang, who by now had achieved a certain measure of fame, decided to leave China and accept the invitation of Viscount Kodama Gentaro, the Japanese governor-general of Formosa, to take a post there in the educational field. During the three years that Lu spent on the island his ideas about the kind of phonetic script to be used in China underwent important modification. He came to despair of getting acceptance for a script based on the roman alphabet and decided it would be more expedient to work for the adoption of phonetic symbols which looked like the established ideographic script. One explanation suggested for Lu's changed position is that during his stay in Formosa his introduction to the advantages of the Japanese phonetic *kana* script convinced him that a similar script would be better for China.[20] Another hypothesis suggests that "rather than say that he was influenced by the Japanese language it is better to say that he was influenced by the power of social reaction at that time."[21] Whatever the reason, the watering down of Lu's original demands for a decisive break with the ideographs was typical of the trend in language reform in the difficult times that followed the empress dowager's coup d'état. And by going along with this trend Lu lost the position of leadership which his advanced stand had previously earned for him. Henceforth he became only one of several men who also sought a limited change in the script.

The most prominent figure among the latter was a man who became a *cause célèbre* as a result of his role in the reform movement. In the summer of 1898 Wang Chao, a Secretary of the Board of Rites, requested his superiors to pass on a memorial urging the emperor, among other things, to set up a Ministry of Education and to make a trip abroad with the em-

press dowager. In violation of express orders which the emperor had previously issued asking for the expediting of such requests, Wang's conservative superiors refused to send up his petition. Wang protested and forced the issue. The upshot of the matter was that the memorial was dispatched and evoked from the emperor an edict summarily dismissing the top officials in the Board of Rites and commending the memorialist with praise and promotion in rank.[22] But with the return to power of the empress dowager shortly afterwards, the cashiered officials were restored to their positions and Wang Chao was forced to flee for his life.

After exiling himself for two years in Japan the fugitive stole back to China in the disguise of a Buddhist priest. The Monk of Formosa, as he called himself, landed in Shantung and proceeded from there to Kiangsu and other Yangtse valley provinces. The story is related by Timothy Richard, one of Wang's many missionary friends (he is said to have been a firm supporter of Christianity), that one day a Buddhist priest came to make a call in Shanghai but refused to send in a card, waiting instead until he was received personally before divulging his identity, which he did by tracing on the palm of his hand the characters of his real name.[23] Shortly afterward the hunted reformer made his way back to his native Chihli under another alias. Chao Shih-ming, as he now called himself, began in 1900 what was to be several years of underground existence and activity in the city of Tientsin. Much of his time was spent in creating and promoting a system of phonetic writing, in support of which he traveled to Peking to see Li Hung-chang, to whom he revealed his identity, but that timorous worthy, pleading illness, refused to see him and passed him on instead to one of Wang Chao's old comrades in office. The latter greeted him politely as "Old Senior" and asked him if he had any plans to save China.

"The Chinese government must stress lower education," Wang replied. "And in order to remove the obstacles to lower education it is necessary to create a script that will bridge the spoken and written languages and unite speech and writing."[24]

The official was by no means happy over this reply. Indeed, he said he expected something better than that from Wang. At

this remark the latter angrily took his leave. Nevertheless, he continued his clandestine activities in behalf of language reform and eventually succeeded in attracting considerable attention to his work. So much attention, as a matter of fact, that it became rather embarrassing for a man with a price on his head.

Wang Chao's first step was to apply his knowledge of Chinese and foreign systems of phonetic writing to the creation of a new script. According to a German missionary confidant of his, Wang Chao got some of the ideas for his phonetic symbols from the Manchu syllabary.[25] It is also evident that he was greatly influenced by the Japanese *kana* signs. What he did was to derive from parts of Chinese characters 62 symbols to represent 50 initials and 12 finals. He incorporated medial sounds into the initials, unlike Ts'ai Hsi-yung, who made them part of the finals, and was therefore able to use no more than two symbols to express a syllable, with another mark to indicate one of the four tones of the Peking dialect, the only one with which he concerned himself.[26] His refusal to use a separate symbol to represent medial sounds was criticized by Hattori Unokichi, a Japanese scholar employed as dean of a Chinese government teacher's training school, as creating unnecessary difficulties, but Wang replied that it was harder to learn a three-symbol system than a two-symbol system. His answer bears witness more to the doggedness of his views than to the simplicity of his system. Yet the possession of the former made up for the lack of the latter. In spite of persecution by the government and apathy on the part of most of his contemporaries, Wang Chao was able to achieve a notable measure of success in his attempts to spread the use of what he called his Mandarin Alphabet.

In 1900, under the pseudonym, The Poor Scholar among the Rushes, Wang Chao published the first tract on his system, a one-volume work entitled *Mandarin Phonetic Alphabet.* This book brought to Wang Chao a disciple, Wang P'u, who was willing to promote the system in the open while his master remained out of the public eye. In a school which Wang Chao set up in Peking in 1903 his colleague did all the teaching of the Mandarin Alphabet while he himself remained behind the

scenes. But despite all these precautions the authorities were beginning to close in on the wanted man. In the next year Wang decided to give himself up to the police in the hope of receiving a lighter sentence. For a moment it was touch and go as to what would happen to him. When an official asked the empress dowager how to dispose of the case, so the story goes,[27] she smiled coldly and, pointing to the emperor, said shortly, "Ask him!" After a long silence the unhappy man pleaded, "Spare him his life." Wang Chao was thereupon sentenced to life imprisonment, but in the amnesty which was proclaimed shortly afterward for most of the men condemned for their part in the 1898 reform movement, he was given his freedom.

Wang Chao was now able to do even more to promote his Mandarin Alphabet. He established a Society for Books and Periodicals in Alphabetized Mandarin in order to publish the considerable body of material which he wrote in his Mandarin Alphabet. He published more than 60,000 copies of works dealing with the alphabet itself and with such subjects as history, geography, geology, botany, zoology, and foreign relations. He also continued his school for the teaching of the alphabet. The empress dowager, still suspicious of Wang Chao and his ideas, sent her personal physician to pose as a student in order to find out what dangerous thoughts were being hatched in the No. 1 Free School for the Mandarin Alphabet. But in other quarters the harried reformer found a more sympathetic interest in his activities. His work attracted the attention of a number of prominent people ranging from scholar-officials to society women and military leaders.

Even before Wang Chao gained his freedom his work had begun to arouse interest. A compiler in the Hanlin Academy had his whole household—family, slave-girls, nurses, cooks, and carters—learn to read and write in the Mandarin Alphabet. In 1902 Wang Chao's colleague, Wang P'u, asked the newly appointed Superintendent of Educational Affairs to promote the Mandarin Alphabet as the quickest means to enable everyone to read books, newspapers, and imperial decrees. Shortly thereafter Wu Ju-lun, one of the foremost scholars of the day who, after being appointed by the Superintendent of

Educational Affairs to head the faculty of the reorganized Peking Imperial University had been sent on a tour of inspection to Japan, returned from there with the conviction that China should imitate Japan in developing a unified national language and that this end could best be achieved by the use of the Mandarin Alphabet. At the same time a group of students at Chihli University tried, without success, to have a petition sent up asking for an imperial decree to promulgate the Mandarin Alphabet and to set up courses in the national language in order to enlighten the people and to help the general situation.

Toward the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906 the Mandarin Alphabet began to come out into the open. Before long, according to one Western observer, one saw displayed on all the street-corners four huge characters in red representing the Chinese expression for Mandarin Alphabet, and one heard everywhere hawkers with pamphlets in the Mandarin Alphabet crying their wares for three cash.[28] Schools were established to teach the new system of writing—first in Hopei province, later in other areas of North China, and then also in Manchuria. It spread eventually into some thirteen provinces of China. Enthusiasm for the Mandarin Alphabet was so great that at one time in Peking alone there were twenty schools to teach the system to illiterates. Many of these were set up by wealthy Chinese ladies who, impressed with the simplicity of the method, gave money to open schools for girls and women where they could be taught to read in a few weeks by this system.[29] Altogether those who became literate through the medium of the new script were numbered in the tens of thousands.[30]

The Mandarin Alphabet was taken up not alone by a number of kind-hearted women of wealth but also by several hard-bitten men of affairs who were motivated by more practical considerations in their efforts to promote literacy. Chao Erh-sun, whose headquarters were located at Mukden, set up schools to teach the Mandarin Alphabet in his area. So did Chou Fu, a protégé of Li Hung-chang who over a period of years held the post of governor-general in various provinces. But the most active promoter of the new scheme was the great-

est militarist of them all—the renowned Yüan Shih-k'ai. The latter was greatly impressed when his eldest son, who had happened to run across some of Wang Chao's materials, learned the system and then taught it to a younger brother, who despite his youth was able to express himself by means of the new script without a teacher. On seeing the possibilities of the system Yüan ordered the office in charge of educational affairs in Chihli province, of which he was governor-general, to work out a plan for promoting the Mandarin Alphabet in the area under his control. Funds were provided for the establishment of a number of free schools, the employment of specialists to take charge of the promotional activities, and the publication of books and newspapers in the Mandarin Alphabet. Special emphasis was placed on the setting up of schools for workers and soldiers.[31] The troops under Yüan's command were supplied with a pamphlet by Wang Chao entitled *Talks to Soldiers*, in which it was stated that every officer and enlisted man should learn the system.[32]

The reasoning behind the desire of men like Yüan Shih-k'ai to promote literacy through the use of the Mandarin Alphabet is obvious. They saw that the countries with the greatest literacy were also the countries with the greatest power. They were particularly struck by the fact that their island neighbor to the east possessed, hardly by coincidence, an army which was able to read as well as to fight. It seemed especially significant that in contrast to China the literate and powerful countries of the world, including even Japan with its several scripts, made use of some form or other of alphabetic writing. They concluded from this that perhaps in China, too, literacy might be utilized in the search for power and a modernized script might help in developing a modernized army.

This view of the purpose behind the promotion of the Mandarin Alphabet was held by Dr. Arthur H. Smith, one of the most observant of the missionaries in China, and was expressed by him to the Rev. William N. Brewster in the course of a discussion on phonetic writing at the home of the latter in Fukien. "The leaders of the New China," said Dr. Smith, "had learned that one chief element in the amazing efficiency of the Japanese soldier lies in the fact that he can read. The Chinese soldier is

generally illiterate, and with the hieroglyphics only he will be so always. The organizers of the new army thought they saw in this simple phonetic method a way to emulate Japan." Brewster concurred in the view. It seemed to him further that the motivation was quite characteristic of the Chinese leaders of the period.[33]

In attempting to take over the Japanese policy of strength through literacy Yüan Shih-k'ai displayed much more flexibility—and also achieved much more success—than some other highly touted reformers of the period, such as for example Chang Chih-tung, the author of *Exhortation to Learning*, and Tuan-fang. The latter, an official of mixed Chinese-Manchu origin who traveled in the West and is considered to have contributed much toward reforms in administration and education,[34] disapproved at first of Yüan's innovation. In a letter to Alfred Forke, the "very progressive" Tuan-fang told his sinologist friend that Yüan was mistaken in thinking that the Chinese written language could be replaced by an alphabet.[35] Similar views were held by Chang Chih-tung. But Yen Fu, the famous translator of Western scientific and sociological works, defended the military man against the author of *Exhortation to Learning*. Asking why Yüan Shih-k'ai had taken up the Mandarin Alphabet, whereas Chang Chih-chung, the self-styled "great educator," would have nothing to do with it, Yen answered, "The reason is that he has not swallowed too much literary poison."[36]

Despite the support given by Yüan Shih-k'ai to Wang Chao's script, relations were not good between the reformer who had been forced to flee for his life and the militarist who had helped to bring this about by betraying the plans of the young emperor to the empress dowager. After Wang Chao was amnestied in 1904 Yüan Shih-k'ai expressed a desire to see him and extended him an invitation to call, but Wang refused to visit the man whom he held responsible for the turn of events in 1898. Nevertheless, the enmity between the two men did not prevent Yüan from supporting the schemes of Wang Chao or the latter from accepting assistance in the promotion of his Mandarin Alphabet. For a few years this situation contributed materially to advancing the new system of writing. But later,

somewhat ironically, the benefactor whom he hated became the cause of a devastating blow to Wang Chao. With the establishment of the regency following the death of the empress dowager in 1908, Yüan Shih-k'ai, who had supported the empress-dowager, fell from favor and as a result Wang Chao, too, suffered reverses. His Society for Books and Periodicals in Alphabetized Mandarin was forced to close and his Mandarin Alphabet was strictly forbidden. Henceforth Wang Chao relinquished his leadership to other competitors in the promotion of alphabetic writing.

The most prominent of Wang Chao's successors was Lao Nai-hsüan, a man of parts who attained fame as a mathematician, educator, and language reformer.[37] In the latter capacity he began by taking over completely the phonetic symbols devised by his predecessor. But whereas Wang Chao concerned himself with the Peking dialect alone, Lao considered it necessary to deal also with non-Mandarin dialects, and for this purpose he created some additional signs for the Shanghai, Cantonese, and other dialects of the southern coastal area. Another important contrast between Wang Chao and Lao Nai-hsüan was in the favored position enjoyed by the latter as against the handicaps suffered by the former. A holder of important posts in the educational field, a bureaucrat on the best of terms with many influential officials, and a monarchist to the end of his days in 1921, Lao was able during the period of the empire to apply his ideas openly and to present them to the highest tribunal in the land.

In 1904 Lao Nai-hsüan was invited by Tuan-fang, who had just been appointed acting governor-general of Liang-Kiang, to join him in Nanking as one of his private secretaries. He continued in this capacity under Chou Fu when that veteran administrator took over temporarily in 1905 from Tuan-fang pending the return of the latter as governor-general in the next year. Lao specialized in educational matters and particularly busied himself with adapting Wang Chao's symbols for use in other dialects than that of Peking. In 1905 he published his first works on the Mandarin Alphabet, a number of tables of simple phonetic signs which included a symbol for the Nanking fifth tone and other signs adapted to the needs of various dialects.

In the same year he induced Chou Fu to establish at Nanking the first of what was to be a series of schools for teaching the simple signs. Support for the program was also obtained from Tuan-fang. Previously the latter had thought Yüan Shih-k'ai in error in thinking that the Chinese written language could be replaced by an alphabet. Now he was so impressed as to order that supplementary classes in Lao's simple signs be set up in forty primary schools in Nanking.[38] Even more important recognition was to follow.

In December, 1907 Lao Nai-hsüan was invited, together with several other scholars of note, to proceed to the capital for a reception at court. His audience was with the empress dowager herself at the Summer Palace. When he was presented to her there in the following May, not long before her death, Lao seized the opportunity to explain to her the advantages of his simple alphabetic system of writing. Whether she understood the explanation is not recorded, but in any event this formidable old woman, who had previously hounded the actual creator of the Mandarin Alphabet because of his reformist ideas, did go so far as to ask Lao to send up a memorial on his proposals. Thereupon Lao Nai-hsüan offered up some examples of his simple signs together with a memorial[39] which first stressed the need to save China by creating a literate citizenry capable of enhancing her economic and military power and then went on to present some concrete proposals to attain this objective through the promotion of the new script. These recommendations called for the promulgation of the alphabet by imperial decree, the compulsory study of the symbols in a preprimary school year especially added for the purpose, the acceptance of literacy in the Mandarin Alphabet as also meeting the literacy requirement for citizenship after the anticipated promulgation of the constitution, and the supplementary use of the phonetic symbols in all government documents within five years after the date of the memorial.

In answer to this petition the empress dowager issued a rescript ordering the Ministry of Education to consider the recommendations and memorialize on them. But the matter was pigeon-holed. In the next year, with the accession of the new child-emperor and the preparation for constitutional govern-

ment, Lao presented another memorial repeating his earlier suggestions. An imperial rescript again ordered the Ministry of Education to consider recommendations and memorialize on them. Again the matter was pigeon-holed. Lao twice sent a request to the Ministry to expedite consideration of his memorial and even offered to appear in person for first-hand discussions. He received no reply. When a friend of his became Minister of Education in 1910 Lao hopefully sent him a letter urging consideration of the memorial. This request was ignored too.

With the establishment in 1910 of the National Assembly, to which Lao Nai-hsüan was appointed a delegate, he and his friends pushed that body into setting up a committee headed by Yen Fu to make a study of alphabetic writing. The committee won majority approval from the National Assembly for its recommendation that the Ministry of Education be ordered to take steps for the immediate adoption of the new phonetic symbols. But the Ministry continued its procrastination by turning over the matter to the Central Education Conference. And when this body met in the following year the problem of alphabetic writing was shunted aside by the more important events which ushered in the era of republican China.

Lao Nai-hsüan's frustrating experience with the red tape and indifference of Chinese bureaucracy was duplicated in the case of other would-be language reformers who also sought government support for their schemes. In the case of Lu Kan-chang,[10] his request to reopen consideration of his proposals encountered additional difficulties as a result of a government reorganization that had taken place in the meantime. When the pioneer creator of phonetic alphabets presented his first memorial on the subject in 1898, he did so to the Office of Foreign Affairs. This was the agency which a contemporary Western observer acidly characterized as deserving to be called in reality "a Board of Delay" because its members ensured irresolution by their lack of experience, ineptitude by their freedom from all responsibility, and paralysis by their excessive numbers.[41] In 1905, after the reorganization which replaced this agency with the Foreign Office, as the foreign powers had demanded after the Boxer troubles, and created a new Ministry of

Education, Lu Kan-chang presented to the latter his new scheme for a *kana*-like script and asked that a memorial be sent up for him on the matter. The Ministry of Education answered by stating that the imperial rescript of 1898 had turned the matter over to the Office of Foreign Affairs, so any inquiries should naturally be directed to the Foreign Office. Lu then approached the latter agency. After a fruitless wait of several months for a reply to his inquiries, he gave up hope of any action on the part of the Foreign Office. He therefore asked it to return the materials he had previously submitted so as to facilitate his memorializing the throne.

But the Foreign Office, which now concerned itself only with foreign affairs, had decided that the subject was beyond its sphere of authority and had therefore asked the Ministry of Education to look into the matter. The Ministry in turn had passed the problem on to the College of Interpreters, which was in charge of training personnel for transacting affairs dealing with foreigners. The College of Interpreters on its part handed the matter down to its Committee for Dictionary Compilation. Here Lu Kan-chang's request came to the attention of a scholar, Wang Jung-pao, who was himself interested in reform of the written language and had his own pet ideas on the subject. This official took the trouble to draft a long statement on the proposed phonetic script. At long last, in the spring of 1906, after the statement had meandered back through the proper channels to the Foreign Office, this agency finally passed on the official reaction to Lu's proposals. It was unfavorable.*

The indifference of the government to the schemes advanced by Lu Kan-chang and others who hoped to extend literacy in China by a reform in the written language gave way slightly toward the end of the dynasty because of needs arising from the establishment of the National Assembly. The problem then arose of making stenographic reports of the speeches delivered by China's first parliamentarians. At first it was planned to

* Wang Jung-pao, although favoring the adoption of phonetic signs, was interested in using them only in conjunction with the ideographic script. He also objected to Lu's proposals on such technical grounds as possessing insufficient initials and lacking signs for Cantonese finals.

make use of the "Chinese Shorthand System" which had been devised by a Japanese, Kumasaki Kenichiro, and to invite the creator to China to give training in his system. When these plans failed to materialize the government took under consideration the shorthand system devised by Ts'ai Hsi-yung in 1896. One of his sons, Ts'ai Chang, was invited to work on the problem. The latter borrowed from the Pitman and Kumasaki systems of shorthand and introduced some innovations of his own to work out a new scheme. In subsequent years he taught his system to more than 2,000 people in legislative, judicial, and journalistic circles.[42]

Even the degree of success enjoyed by Ts'ai Chang in promoting his system of shorthand, modest though it was in comparison to the larger objectives of other language reformers, was denied to the lesser personages who also invented new scripts in the years immediately preceding the establishment of the republic. There was about a dozen such schemes. Most were inspired by such diverse phonetic systems as Western romanizations, Japanese *kana*, and even the Mongol-Manchu script. One set of symbols had a form suggestive of a more prosaic inspiration; it was called the Beansprout Alphabet. This concoction was used privately by its creator, Wu Chih-hui, who in his younger days wrote for a Paris anarchist journal a series of articles advocating the replacement of Chinese by Esperanto but in his later years became a venerable elder of the Kuomintang.[43] Another scheme came into being in the course of an attempt made by Chang Ping-lin, a noted scholar and calligrapher, to refute the arguments advanced by Chinese students in France who had advocated the adoption of Esperanto in China. Although less strange in appearance than some of the other schemes, Chang's system was not at the time much more successful in winning support.[44]

The bizarre appearance of some of the phonetic symbols was doubtless a factor in repelling many people from accepting the idea of language reform. It was naturally difficult to give serious consideration to the ideas of men who were somehow involved with beansprouts, Esperanto, and like manner of linguistically unorthodox subjects. Moreover, from the point of view of most Chinese the roman letters on which some of

the phonetic scripts were based were even more of a curiosity than symbols which were created, in some measure at least, on the basis of Chinese or Japanese writing. Many reformers concluded from this that those symbols which deviated least from the established script would have the most chance of overcoming opposition to acceptance of a phonetic system of writing.

The dominance of the thesis that the new script should resemble the old ideographs was one of the chief characteristics of the language reform movement in the two decades preceding the transition from the empire to the republic. In sharp contrast to the missionaries, who had begun their reform of the written language with the phonetic system best known to them and had published all but a minor part of their materials in romanized form, the Chinese gave little consideration to the roman alphabet. The influence of the work of the missionaries thus appears to have been limited in the main to suggesting the idea that the language might be written in some sort of phonetic script. But the precise form of the new writing to be adopted was something that the Chinese thought up themselves or borrowed from non-missionary sources. In the case of the first of the Chinese language reformers, Lu Kan-chang, his initial interest in phonetic writing was aroused by the romanizing activities of the missionaries, but his later work was concerned with creating and using a system of symbols resembling Japanese *kana* signs. In the case of most of the other reformers, too, the West provided the inspiration but Japan provided the model.

This emulation of Japan as to the form of the script is to be attributed in part to the admiration of Chinese nationalists for the achievements of their eastern neighbor and in part to their observation of the similarities between the systems of writing used by the two countries. The combined influence of these factors was felt also in other aspects of the language reform movement in this period. On some of these aspects the influence was particularly strong because it reinforced attitudes already held by many Chinese. Such was the case with the key problem of dialects versus national language.

The approach of the missionaries to this problem had been to stress the need of devising separate scripts for the various

dialects. Those from the south, working in the area of greatest dialectical variations, were the first to raise the question of using an alphabetic form of writing and remained the foremost advocates of adopting new scripts for the dialects of the areas in which they were located. The first Chinese to think of applying a phonetic script to the language also came from the south. They, too, began by inventing separate scripts for separate dialects. But almost immediately this aroused among the Chinese a far stronger opposition than had been engendered among the missionaries. The feeling against writing down dialects and for using a uniform script, motivated as it was for the most part by nationalistic considerations to which the foreigners were largely immune, tended to affect most educated Chinese regardless of their provincial origin. Hence the north-south cleavage that had characterized the missionary approach to the problem of dialects versus national language, though it existed to some extent also among the Chinese themselves, was gradually overshadowed by the more general insistence on a uniform national language for the whole country.

When Lao Nai-hsüan, in contrast to Wang Chao, came out in favor of applying separate phonetic systems to the various dialects, he was roundly criticized by the Shanghai organ of the anti-reformers. It was his thesis that southerners should first learn to read and write their own dialect in their own script as the easiest means of becoming literate, and that then they should learn the Mandarin or northern pronunciation in the Mandarin script as the best means of achieving a unified language for the country as a whole. But his opponents accused Lao of wanting to split up the language and countered with the slogan, "Force the South to follow the North." In vain Lao protested that he stood for unity, too, and simply advocated a different method, that of persuasion or indirection, to achieve the same objective.[45] He was opposed by the growing feeling that linguistic and political unity could be achieved only through uniformity in the script.

A further development of this view found expression in the report made by Yen Fu and his committee to the National Assembly and approved by a majority of its members. In requesting the Ministry of Education to take steps for the im-

mediate adoption of Lao Nai-hsüan's new phonetic symbols the report presented its reasons for advocating the new script in the following terms: "There are two uses for the phonetic symbols. The first is to provide an orthography for the National Language which will make it possible to bring knowledge to the 390,000,000 illiterates from the middle class down and to unify the sentiments of the scattered non-Chinese-speaking peoples—the Mongols, Tibetans, Jungars, and Mohammedans. The second is to standardize the pronunciation of the Chinese ideographs by using the phonetic symbols alongside new ideographs in textbooks."[46]

Thus on the eve of the revolution the views of highly placed Chinese on the adoption of a phonetic system of writing were beginning to crystallize around the following points: First, whatever symbols were adopted should resemble ideographs and should be derived from them, as was true of the Japanese *kana* signs. Second, the new symbols should not be divorced from the old ideographs but should be used alongside the latter to indicate their pronunciation, as was the case also with the Japanese phonetic symbols. Third, the symbols should be applied not to the various Chinese dialects but only to the standard national language in order to bring about a uniform language for all the peoples in the country, including also those who were not Chinese.

Although a strong trend existed in the direction of adopting these points as the basis for any reform of the script, there was yet no unanimity of opinion among the various Chinese who were interested in the problem. There was still a good deal of independent thought on almost every aspect of the reform. Yet the weight of opinion was clearly accumulating on the side of those nationalists who sought to achieve unity through uniformity. This trend which grew up in the period of transition from the empire to the republic was to find its strongest expression after the victory of Chinese nationalism in the revolution of 1911.

4

ONE STATE, ONE PEOPLE, ONE LANGUAGE

WHEN the republican government of China was established in 1912 it was fortunate enough to obtain as its first Minister of Education a man whose attainments as a scholar were no less great than his eminence as a liberal. Because of these qualities in Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei the republican Ministry of Education was made to follow a different line from that pursued by its imperial predecessor when confronted with demands for reforming the written language by adopting a phonetic system of writing. Within a few months of its establishment the new Ministry convened a provisional educational conference in Peking, accepted the conference's Proposal for the Adoption of a Phonetic Alphabet, and followed through by announcing its own plans to convoke a Conference on Unification of Pronunciation.[1] The stated tasks of the conference were to establish a standard national pronunciation for the ideographs, to analyze the national pronunciation in terms of its basic sounds, and finally to adopt a set of phonetic symbols to represent these basic sounds. To accomplish these tasks it was proposed to invite as participants in the conference a number of scholars who could qualify on the basis of expert knowledge in one of the four fields of phonetics, primary school education, foreign languages, or dialect studies. The personnel was to include two representatives from each of the provinces and one each for the Mongols, Tibetans, and overseas Chinese.

To implement these plans the Ministry of Education invited Wu Chih-hui to become chairman of a committee in charge of preparation. Invitations were then sent out to eighty people to participate in the conference. These included such well-known language reformers as Wang Chao, Lu Kan-chang, and

Ts'ai Chang. The name of the monarchist Lao Nai-hsüan was conspicuously absent from the list. When the meetings began in Peking on February 15, 1913, only forty-four delegates were able to attend. By then the political atmosphere had undergone rapid deterioration, marked by a widening cleavage between the views of the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen and those of the more conservative Yüan Shih-k'ai. Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei was no longer Minister of Education, having resigned in the previous summer, shortly after initiating the steps which led to the convocation of the Conference on Unification of Pronunciation. The air was charged with conflict and disagreement.

In one of the first items of business, the conference elected Wu Chih-hui as chairman and Wang Chao as vice-chairman. But after enduring two months of incessant wrangling among the delegates Wu Chih-hui exclaimed, "I can't stand this!" and abruptly resigned. Wang Chao took over for two weeks but himself quarreled vigorously with Wu Chih-hui, Wang P'u, and others. He gave up the chairmanship to Wang P'u, his erstwhile disciple, whom he rebuffed by refusing to write a preface to a book written by his old colleague in the promotion of the Mandarin Alphabet. The cause of these outbursts of temper and temperament, as Wu Chih-hui himself remarked,[2] was the desire of almost every delegate to go down in history as the originator of a great reform in the written language. The injection of such personal factors into the discussion of a problem which was already complicated by dissension over its linguistic and political aspects made it difficult to reach accord on any point without extended and acrimonious debate.

One of the basic points of disagreement was the form that the proposed phonetic script should take. Many pet schemes were advanced which ranged all the way from romanizations to *kana*-like symbols, shorthand systems, and picture-scripts.[3] Some of these schemes had already appeared in print. Others were hastily put out in mimeographed form for consideration by the assembled delegates. It soon became apparent that the sentiment of the conferees was generally against the adoption of any system based on the roman alphabet and in favor of a system of symbols resembling characters. After further ex-

tended debate on the precise set of symbols to be chosen, the celebrated writer Lu Hsün and several students of Chang Ping-lin suggested as a compromise that the phonetic alphabet created by Chang, which was being used provisionally for purposes of phonetic notation by Wu Chih-hui's preparatory committee, be accepted in order to get the material together for the conference. Continued discussion of the matter in April and May finally brought agreement on a set of 39 symbols, 15 of which were identical with those created by Chang Ping-lin. These signs were given the name Chu-yin Tzu-mu or Phonetic Alphabet. Later they were frequently referred to also as Kuo-yin Tzu-mu or National Phonetic Alphabet.[4]

The most important issue confronting the assembly was the question of what sounds were to be represented by these symbols. In view of the fact that the conference which the delegates had been invited to attend had been designated as a Conference on Unification of Pronunciation, their task was clearly one of deciding on a standard language for the whole country. On this issue the delegates split into two groups. One comprised delegates from the Mandarin-speaking area under the leadership of Wang Chao. The other consisted of representatives from the southern coastal area under the leadership of the Kiangsu-Chekiang bloc, which in turn was led by Wu Chih-hui and Wang Jung-pao of Kiangsu, the latter being the man who in 1906 had drafted the reply of the Ministry of Education rejecting the phonetic scheme proposed by Lu Kan-chang. The two groups were about equal in strength. The focal point of their disagreement was Wang Chao's insistence that the Mandarin pronunciation should be taken as the standard as against the equally strong contention of southern representatives that such a procedure would not meet the problem of southern dialect sounds not existing in Mandarin. "Southerners cannot get along without voiced sounds and the entering tone," maintained Wang Jung-pao. He was echoed in this by Wu Chih-hui, who argued that Germany was strong because its language contained many voiced sounds and that China was weak because Mandarin was lacking in them.*

* Voiced sounds (e.g. the sound represented by *b* in English *bat*) do not exist in Mandarin, which has only unvoiced sounds, either aspirated

After a month of stalemate Wang Chao called a separate meeting of the thirty delegates, a majority of those attending the conference, who were representatives either of the Mandarin area or of the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. Wang told his audience that the stand taken by the absent Kiangsu-Chekiang bloc was tantamount to advocating the pronunciation of this region as the national language, a course which if adopted would bring disaster to China for generations to come. He repeated this assertion to the plenary conference and also advanced a proposal for a new system of voting to resolve the deadlock. His suggestion, calling for one vote for each province regardless of number of delegates, was quickly identified as a means of giving ascendancy to the numerically preponderant Mandarin provinces. The conference was thrown into an uproar. Wang Chao attempted to exert pressure to split the southern group by threatening to walk out on what he referred to as the "Kiangsu-Chekiang Conference on Unification of Pronunciation." Finally he almost came to blows with Wang Jung-pao. One day, when the latter happened to use the colloquial Shanghai expression *huang-pao ch'e* "rickshaw," Wang Chao mis-heard it as the Mandarin oath *wang-pa tan* "turtle's egg," whereupon he bared his arms and chased the speaker out of the hall. That was the last of Wang Jung-pao at the conference.

The upshot of all this controversy was a complete victory for the Mandarin group. Wang Chao got his way in the matter of voting procedure and was thereby enabled to end the more than three months of discussion by receiving approval for a series of agreements to his liking. The symbols remained limited to the 39 needed for representing the sounds of the standard language. They were to be used only for the standard language and were not to be adapted for writing the various dialects of the coastal area. The standard language was defined by fixing the pronunciation of some 6,500 characters in a *Dictionary of National Pronunciation.* Finally, accord was reached on submitting to the Ministry of Education a series of recommendations under the general heading of How to Promote the

(e.g. somewhat like *p* in English *pat*), or unaspirated (e.g. like *p* in English *spat*). The entering tone, commonly called the fifth tone, does not exist in standard Mandarin, which has only four full tones.

National Pronunciation. Chief among these recommendations were the following: (1) The Ministry of Education should immediately promulgate the alphabet. (2) The Ministry of Education should call on the highest officials in the provinces to expedite the learning of the symbols by establishing Bureaus for Propagating the Alphabet of National Pronunciation. (3) The National Literature course in primary schools should be replaced or supplemented by a National Language course. The national pronunciation should be taught by primary school teachers, and also by teachers of National Literature courses in middle and normal schools. (4) After the publication of the *Dictionary of National Pronunciation*, the national pronunciation should be indicated alongside the Chinese characters in primary school textbooks and in all public documents.

In general these recommendations amounted to suggesting an extension of the program which Wang Chao had himself pursued a few years earlier when he promoted his own Mandarin Alphabet with the aid and encouragement of Yüan Shih-k'ai. They were offered under somewhat different circumstances from those surrounding the harassed reformer under the empire. Now the patron of Wang Chao's original alphabet was no longer a mere regional leader, however powerful, but was president in fact and emperor in hope over all the vast territory of China. He was therefore in a position to promote literacy by extending the use of the new simplified writing over the whole country. But Yüan Shih-k'ai no longer displayed the same degree of interest in promoting literacy as he had before outdistancing his competitors in the race for leadership in China. During the period of his ascendancy he went no further than to approve a request made by Minister of Education Chang I-lin for the erection of a school to teach the new system.[5]

The new alphabet won a greater measure of support in other official or semi-official quarters. In 1915 Wang P'u established a Society for the Unification of Pronunciation, whose members contributed from their own pockets for establishing schools to teach the Phonetic Alphabet. In the following year, under the leadership of Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Chang I-lin, who also resigned as Minister of Education and broke with Yüan, there

was set up a National Language Study Society for the purpose of studying and promoting a standard National Language. In 1918, after the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai, this society finally induced the Ministry of Education to promulgate officially the alphabet which the Conference on Unification had recommended for immediate adoption five years earlier.[6]

In its order to this effect the Ministry revealed its motivation as fear that the aim of unification might be impeded if the symbols were not fixed by government order but were permitted to develop in perhaps unorthodox directions. To assist in achieving its objectives the Ministry of Education established in 1919 a new National Language Unification Commission, one of its tasks being to supervise the use of the National Phonetic Alphabet. In 1920, when the government officially substituted National Language for National Literature in the curriculum of primary schools, it also stipulated that the alphabet should be taught first in order to give the correct pronunciation. But this order was not enforced by the government and was nullified three years later.[7] For a number of years thereafter there was little official interest in the subject.

In 1930 the hopes of those who looked to the government for support in an over-all program for reforming the script were revived once more. In that year the National Education Conference which was held in Nanking passed a resolution in favor of the National Phonetic Alphabet and sent a delegation to discuss the matter with Chiang Kai-shek and other top Kuomintang and government leaders, all of whom were reported as very enthusiastic about the phonetic signs as a means to attack illiteracy. Shortly thereafter the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee was moved to adopt a resolution proposed by Chiang Kai-shek and many other leaders who were in a position to speak for the government. The resolution called for setting a fixed time for putting into practice the following recommendations:

"1. That all branches of the Party should instruct their members to use this phonetic system in order to facilitate the propaganda of Party principles.

"2. That the National Government should notify all officials and employees that they must learn the phonetic signs so that

they may easily realize and help the difficulties of the illiterate masses.

"3. That the Ministry of Education be instructed to notify all the educational institutions that teachers and students alike should learn the phonetic signs and teach the masses."[8]

To the delight of advocates of the National Phonetic Alphabet, the Ministry of Education took steps to implement these instructions from the Central Executive Committee by issuing in the same year what was called a General Mobilization Order. Enthusiastic response was reported from various provinces. In some places special campaigns involving mass meetings, lectures, and radio talks were conducted. Hope ran high for the cause of literacy. Success was reported from Nanking: "practically all the sign boards of the government institutions are written with characters coupled with phonetic signs."[9] But such successes as were reported were not commensurate with the hopes that were entertained. This disparity characterized the promotional activities for the National Phonetic Alphabet from the time the new system was first advanced in 1913.

Apart from the initial indifference of the government to the hopeful recommendations made by the Conference on Unification of Pronunciation in 1913, there was also some question as to how the official alphabet would fare in competition with the other schemes which were being advocated at the time. For a while Wang Chao's Mandarin Alphabet remained in high favor, especially among some of the missionaries, who had started to take over this Chinese-made system at the same time that they had begun to minimize the use of scripts based on foreign alphabets.[10] The Mandarin Alphabet inspired a Japanese student of Chinese, Isawa Shūji, to publish an imitation which was so close to the original as to stir Wang Chao to the charge of plagiarism.[11] Among the Chinese, too, there was for a while considerable activity in the creation of new scripts.[12] None of these won many converts, however, and the new alphabet soon took the lead over all other schemes. What decided the issue in its favor was official acceptance and promulgation of the new alphabet by the government in 1918. But this action, motivated as it was largely by the desire of the government to discourage unorthodoxy in the script by the adoption of an

official system, succeeded only in fixing the usage of the National Phonetic Alphabet and in reducing the production of new scripts. The alphabet failed to fulfill the expectations for more positive achievements.

The official nature of the National Phonetic Alphabet induced some missionaries to abandon the Wang Chao script and to place even less emphasis than before on the use of romanized forms of writing. Their motive in going over to the new phonetic symbols was reported by *The Chinese Recorder*, the chief organ of the Protestant missionaries in China, in the following terms: "It was felt that by linking up with the government in its effort to meet the need of illiterates it will be possible to promote a drive that will produce better results than under any other circumstances." It added that "The primary aim of the movement to adopt and promote the use of a new system of Simplified Chinese Writing is to enable those who are now illiterate to read and write intelligibly simple Mandarin."[13] Similar views were expressed by a missionary conference with the declaration, "We are of the strong opinion that preparation of primary literature in local dialects should be discouraged, and that all localities should center around the National Phonetic System from the very beginning."[14]

Reports of success attending this program ranged all the way from moderately impressive figures on the output of religious materials to the account by one missionary of how his servants who had learned the system surprised him occasionally by bringing in a cake or pie with a verse in the new script.[15] But other missionaries, not content with these triumphs, pointed out that though it was all right to promote the Phonetic Alphabet so as to bring about a standard language, it would still be a long time before the people of the South would give up their dialects for Mandarin, and in the meantime romanized local dialects should be permitted.[16] This was a minority view, however, and failed to change the trend toward a decline in missionary activity in romanization without a compensating increase in the promotion of the Phonetic Alphabet.[17]

Among the Chinese, promotion of the official phonetic script varied according to the personal interest and whim of teachers, educational leaders, and holders of real power in the political-

military organs of administration. In the period when he was still known as the "model governor," Yen Hsi-shan was reported as maintaining a most aggressive propaganda for the system, even to fixing time limits in which various sections of the community were expected to become literate in the new script.[18] Yet for all his autocratic power he does not appear to have effected a noticeable increase of literacy in his domain. A certain amount of success was reported by lesser individuals, such as Wang P'u and his associates, whose activities in Peking were credited with teaching over ten thousand people to read and write in five-week courses in the Phonetic Alphabet.[19] Yet not even the few who learned the new system remained literate in it. Twenty years after the creation of the new script the complaint was made that students who had learned the National Phonetic Alphabet gradually forgot it after leaving school.[20]

Perhaps the greatest success of the script was achieved by its use in the Mass Education Movement. In the early twenties, when he was promoting his five-year plans to wipe out illiteracy in Changsha, Chefoo, and other cities under such slogans as "An illiterate nation is a weak nation," James Yen was also beginning his initial experiment with the use of the phonetic script.[21] For a time he gave up the attempt in the face of the strong opposition which he encountered "from practically all sides," but later he tried again after the movement had acquired somewhat more prestige.[22] The Mass Education Movement used the phonetic script only as an adjunct to characters, that is, as a means of learning the established ideographs, and made plain that the symbols were not to function as an independent form of writing.[23] The new script was said to have been well received by illiterates. Even those who had studied characters first in one or two years of primary school demanded to learn the symbols. "The Phonetic Alphabet is simpler than characters," they said. "After we have learned it we can read any book."[24] Indeed, it was even suggested by one writer that only by the use of the phonetic symbols could the Mass Education Movement achieve any real success. He maintained that the results were negligible with mass education in characters owing to their difficulty, and that even the "Thousand

Character Theory" would provide no solution, so that the only way out was to use the Phonetic Alphabet and characters together, as in Japan.[25]

Such use of the phonetic symbols stimulated the creation of fonts of type for the publication of materials in the alphabet. Gothic, roman, cursive, and other styles of type were designed.[26] In some cases the symbols were cast as independent units. In others they appeared in fonts of characters with the symbols attached alongside or above. They were even applied to the linotype machine. In the United States the Mergenthaler Linotype Company, stirred by the prospects of a typographical variation on the theme of an extra inch to the Chinese shirt-tail, succeeded in making "a simple type system of forty symbols out of the chaos of forty thousand ideographs." When this accomplishment was announced in 1922 the symbols were hailed as "the open sesame to literacy." Yet a quarter of a century later the high hopes had dwindled to regret that no further developments had been made.[27]

What hindered real progress in the use of the National Phonetic Alphabet was a combination of apathy, disagreement, and distrust. Lack of official interest in the new system is made plain by the fact that the government, for all its acceptance of the alphabet in 1918 and its later gestures in the direction of promoting the script, was content for the most part to issue paper plans rather than to undertake concrete actions. Those few bureaucrats who were sincerely interested in pushing the script were so frustrated by official half-heartedness that they were forced to give up the main burden of promotion to private individuals. But here too the enthusiasm of the few was circumscribed by the indifference of the many.

Disagreement over the new alphabet arose with respect to both the form of the script and its application. Not everyone was satisfied with following the dominant group of reformers in the belief that the adoption of phonetic symbols resembling simplified characters constituted the maximum change that would be permitted. Others remarked on the superiority of a script based on the roman alphabet. In some cases such admission of superiority was of little significance because it was accompanied by the conviction that the adoption of roman letters

could only follow a long period of transition in which the official Phonetic Alphabet would act as a bridge from ideographs to romanization. But in other cases a number of reformers, Chinese as well as foreign, echoed the query posed by Toriyabe Yōtarō, an exponent of romanization against the *kana*-script imitated by supporters of the Phonetic Alphabet, when he asked, "Why does China even now continue to insist on creating such a script when we already have a universal and very convenient roman alphabet?"*

Differences of opinion arose also with regard to the manner in which the Phonetic Alphabet was to be applied. As a result, although the aim was to achieve uniformity in the use of the symbols, in practice there was considerable variation. There was disagreement as to whether to indicate four or five tones, whether to represent them by the traditional system of dots or by a new series of graphic symbols, and whether to indicate the tones of all syllables or only those where ambiguity might result. In actual practice most people ignored tone representation altogether.[28] More important still was the division of opinion over the relation of the symbols to the old script. The dominant opinion held that the phonetic symbols should be used only in combination with the ideographs; to discourage the idea that the symbols might be used as an independent system of writing the government in 1930 ordered the official name Chu-yin Tzu-mu (Phonetic Alphabet) to be changed to Chu-yin Fu-hao (Phonetic Signs.)[29] This stand, which was greatly strengthened by the nature of the signs themselves, amounted to a negation of any basic reform of the written language, for the new symbols were expected merely to aid in the acquisition of the old. Dissatisfaction with this

* Quoted by Yang Yü-fu, "The Japanese and the Reform of the Chinese Script," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao* (August 1922), p. 137 [in Chinese], from an article by Toriyabe Yōtarō in *Rōmaji zasshi*, the organ of the *rōmaji* movement in Japan. Toriyabe's position was not typical of that taken by most Japanese commentators on the Chinese language. More common was the view expressed by Sakamoto Ichiro that homonyms and dialects would make it difficult to use any phonetic system of writing for Chinese, and that therefore the only reform which seemed likely of success was one involving a reduction of the number of strokes in the ideographs. ("Language," *Lectures on Contemporary China*, VI [1939], 227 [in Japanese].)

view was expressed partly by the independent use of the Phonetic Alphabet but chiefly by ignoring it altogether.

There was a lack of unanimity, too, with regard to the relation of the new script to the dialects of China. The main emphasis was on using the symbols to indicate the pronunciation of the official standard language. To this end considerable use was made of the signs in dictionaries as a new and improved means of providing the standard pronunciation of characters. In some printed texts, especially those used in mass education and primary school teaching, the symbols were used alongside the characters as an aid to reading the characters in the approved pronunciation. But southerners who did not know the official language were not aided much by this device. It was therefore considered a stroke of sheer genius when Wu Chih-hui suggested that the vertical columns of characters should be accompanied by phonetic symbols on *both* sides, with those on the right indicating the official pronunciation and those on the left the dialect sounds.[30] Yet somehow even this failed to solve the contradiction between the dialects and the standard language.

Still another source of disagreement had to do with the question of just what constituted the standard language that was to be represented by the National Phonetic Alphabet. In the 1913 Conference on Unification of Pronunciation the system of majority voting had been applied also to determining the official Mandarin pronunciation of the approximately 6,500 characters listed in the *Dictionary of National Pronunciation.* The result was a compromise which the Chinese dubbed Blue-Green Mandarin because of its mixed quality. Later this mixed Mandarin was replaced by an approximation of the Peking dialect as the standard. But disagreement continued both as to what the standard should be and even as to whether there should be a single official language at all.

All these instances of apathy and disagreement, serious though they were, might perhaps have been overcome by the indefatigable little band of supporters of the National Phonetic Alphabet if they had not been confronted also with opposition engendered by distrust of the new script. There were two aspects of this distrust, one linguistic or cultural and the other

social or political. Many Chinese resisted the use of the symbols because they feared that these would undermine the established written language and would thereby cause a break with the traditional culture of China. Holders of this view were described by a supporter of the Phonetic Alphabet as looking upon the symbols as a hidden dagger which assassins hoped to plunge into the heart of China. To them he said, "Don't get the superstitious idea that the ideographs are the soul of China." He also protested that the Phonetic Alphabet intended no harm to the symbols of old.[31] Despite these admonitions the suspicion remained that the old script and therefore the old culture of China would be endangered by the introduction of a new system of writing.

These misgivings were compounded by the greater fear of the social and political consequences which might result from adopting a form of writing that might be readily accessible to the people as a whole. It took no great political acumen to discern that more might be endangered than the old script and the old culture by a change to a new form of writing. To some who were intent on maintaining the established order, therefore, the National Phonetic Alphabet appeared as an instrument of revolution and its supporters as advocates of subversive ideas. Thus Chang Tso-lin, military overlord of Manchuria with a fear of revolution and a fondness for Japanese yen, viewed the new developments as an underhand plot against his regime. In 1924 he banned the teaching of the National Phonetic Alphabet at the same time that he ordered the use of only the old literary style in school textbooks, forbade scholars to make trips into the countryside, and placed a ban on athletic competitions and the Boy Scout movement.[32]

Yet not all those who opposed the National Phonetic Alphabet were motivated by opposition to the basic idea of reform as such. Many thought that there were better ways to achieve a modification of the script. Specific defects of the new symbols were considered cause either for revising the signs or for abandoning them entirely. Some felt that the symbols could not succeed because they were too intimately tied to characters. Others thought the form of the symbols to be the main obstacle to their suitability as a popular system of writing.[33]

As a result of all this the victory of the new script over its rival systems proved to be short-lived. Just about the time that the National Phonetic Alphabet succeeded in gaining ascendancy over the Mandarin Alphabet and other schemes, the evolution of literary and political movements into a new stage gave rise to renewed consideration of the roman alphabet as the basis for reform of the Chinese written language.

What seems to have initiated the new stage of discussion was a letter written in March 1918 by Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, a well-known philologist and professor of literature at National Peking University, to Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who at the time was editor of *La Jeunesse*, the leading organ of young Chinese intellectuals, and who soon afterward became one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. In his letter Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung expressed approval of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's demand for a break with the Confucian ideology which had dominated Chinese life for more than two thousand years, and also offered his idea as to how this was to be carried out. "If you want to abolish Confucianism," he said, "you must first abolish the Chinese script." To his mind there was little of value in Chinese literature, 99.9 per cent of which he dismissed as merely transmitting Confucian ideology and Taoist mythology.

It seemed to Ch'ien that the ideographic script could not be adapted to the needs of modern China. He also saw no solution in the attempts which had thus far been made to apply a phonetic system of writing to Chinese. Indeed, it appeared to him that it would be impossible to apply a phonetic system of writing to Chinese at all. These views also led him to the conclusion, reached earlier by Wu Chih-hui and others, that Chinese writing itself would have to be abandoned and replaced by Esperanto. As an intermediary step he suggested using Chinese for ordinary purposes and resorting to English or French for complicated ideas. He also advanced as an alternative solution the recommendation of Wu Chih-hui to use the *paihua* or vernacular style of ideographic writing as the basis of the written language while effecting a gradual transition through the piecemeal introduction of Esperanto terms to express special ideas which were not susceptible of translation into Chinese.[8]

In his answering letter Ch'en Tu-hsiu argued that to abolish

the writing of Chinese also meant to abolish Chinese speech. This he felt to be impossible. His solution was to retain Chinese speech but to write it in a roman script.[35] Somewhat similar views, but with important modifications, were expressed by Hu Shih, who joined the discussion by writing to Ch'en Tu-hsiu as follows: "I think China will have to have an alphabetic writing in the future. But there are too many monosyllables in the literary language and it would be impossible to change over to an alphabetic script. So it is first necessary to replace the literary writing with *paihua* writing, and after that to change from *paihua* writing to alphabetic writing."[36]

Hu Shih reiterated these views in continued discussion of the problem in *La Jeunesse* and elsewhere. He argued against the use of the National Phonetic Alphabet on the grounds that "such half-hearted measures" did not satisfy the literary revolutionists, adding, "Literature it is, they hold, and not any pronouncing alphabet or pronouncing dictionaries which will eventually standardize the spoken language." As part of his emphasis on the necessity of creating a vernacular written language Hu Shih stressed the need of using polysyllabic compounds in place of the terse monosyllables of the older literary style. Such a usage, he pointed out further, would prepare the basis for obviating the confusion of homonyms which appeared to many to be the chief stumbling block to the eventual adoption of a phonetic system of writing.[37]

To those who opposed any tampering at all with the established system of writing in ideographs and in the old literary style, Hu Shih's proposed reform smacked of the radical, but to others it seemed not to go far enough. They agreed with Hu Shih on the need for basing the written language on the vernacular, but they went farther than he by demanding that the vernacular be written in a phonetic system of writing rather than in the ideographic script. Many were at the same time not so convinced as Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung of the hopelessness of doing something about the Chinese language short of abandoning it for Esperanto.

Thus in 1918 and 1919, when the upsurge of Chinese nationalism known as the May Fourth Movement added further stimulus to demands for reform, the renewal of debate re-

vealed cleavages between those who wanted no change in the written language, those who sought to write the vernacular with ideographs, those who hoped to write the vernacular with a phonetic script, and those who despaired of Chinese to the extent that they thought it would have to be replaced by Esperanto. In the over-all controversy, which aroused the most passionate feelings of the disputants,[38] Hu Shih's compromise proposal emerged into a position of ascendancy over all other suggestions for solving the problem of the Chinese written language. But even as it grew in favor his solution was viewed as inadequate by those who turned again to the roman alphabet as the basis for the Chinese script.

The fullest expression of the views of the new adherents to the cause of romanization was made by Fu Szu-nien, another leader of the younger intellectuals, in an article which bristled with barbed comments against the ideographs and their supporters. "The ancient books have never been accessible to the masses," he maintained, "and our national learning has had no influence in the lives of the ordinary people." He therefore expressed agreement with Wu Chih-hui's judgment that "*The Six Classics* and the *Three Histories* should be used to paper windows or as fuel to burn the *Erh Ya* and the *Shuo Wen*." Did the conservatives contend that the old literature was valuable and the old script artistic? "Ha! Ha!" he exclaimed, "this really makes me die laughing." In his view this was like saying that bound feet were also artistic and should be preserved. No, in reality the script was merely a tool. "Language is a means of expressing ideas," he said, "and writing is a means of expressing language." Those who disagreed with him and looked with reverence upon the ideographs were upbraided as "the foremost fools in the world."[39]

What Fu Szu-nien proposed as a means of overcoming the difficulty of the old script, which he considered to be an obstacle not only to the spread of literacy but also to the extension of knowledge "among the few who are literate," was to devise a new system of writing based on the roman alphabet. He did not himself work out the new system but undertook instead to advance the theoretical principles which he thought should govern its creation. Foremost among these principles

was reliance on the roman alphabet as the basis of the new orthography, but with the addition of symbols borrowed from the Cyrillic alphabet or specially created to represent unusual Chinese sounds. He advocated the policy of adopting one pronunciation as the standard for the whole country, as opposed to writing the dialects separately, in order to promote a "unified national language," selecting for this purpose the Blue-Green Mandarin which had already achieved a certain status in the years since it came to the fore in the 1913 Conference on Unification of Pronunciation. He considered it essential, finally, to indicate tones and also suggested the use of a few special symbols, unrelated to the pronunciation, for the purpose of solving the problem of homonyms.[40]

Although not everyone agreed in full with the tenets advanced by Fu Szu-nien, the nearest approach to unanimity was achieved on the point that the new writing should ignore the dialects in favor of a standard national language. Only a few followed Ch'en Tu-hsiu in seeking separate systems of writing for various dialects, though rather more advocated minor concessions to regional speech, such as permitting variant indications of tones according to the dialect pronunciations.[41] But the dominant group of romanizers, supported by Hu Shih and other advocates of a single system of vernacular writing in characters, now enjoyed greater relative strength than had been possessed by their like-minded predecessors in 1913 and before. As a result they had little difficulty in taking the lead in the new phase of discussion for reform of the written language. The *National Language Monthly*, the organ which they founded in 1922 to disseminate their views on the need for a uniform national language, soon became the leading journal in the movement for reform of the script. It attained particular influence through the publication in 1923 of a special number which carried the English title, "Reformation of the Chinese Characters," and another which dealt even more directly with the problem of alphabetic writing.[42]

In his introductory remarks which led off the special issue on reform of the Chinese script, Hu Shih reported that his historical researches had led him to discover a general principle: "In the history of change in speech and writing, generally the

common people are the reformers and the scholars and writers are the conservatives." From this he evolved a supplementary principle: "In promoting reform in speech and writing, scholars and writers should understand that it is their duty to observe the trend in the speech of the people, to accept the people's proposals for reform, and to give them formal recognition." His own conclusion from these principles was that reform of the script should concern itself with following the tendency of the people to evolve simpler ideographs by a reduction in the number of strokes.

But whereas Hu Shih was content to advocate "reform," Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung asked for nothing less than "a revolution in the Chinese script." Li Chin-hsi sought to soften the effect of this immoderate language by pointing to previous revolutionary changes in the history of Chinese writing. Then he presented sample texts written in various schemes of alphabetic writing that had been created by his colleagues. Abandoning some of his earlier views on Esperanto and the possibility of alphabetizing Chinese, Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung contributed two such schemes, one based on the International Phonetic Alphabet and the other on the simple roman alphabet. The most important contribution, however, was made by Y. R. Chao (Chao Yüan-jen).[43]

In 1916, while still a student of linguistics in the United States, Chao had become interested in alphabetizing Chinese. Though maintaining a cautious and scholarly approach to the problem, he went so far as to draw up a list of fourteen arguments in favor of alphabetizing the language, and at the same time incisively countered sixteen frequently made objections to such a change.* The first step in effecting the transition, he emphasized, was systematic study by "*wise* experts" and "for decades if necessary."[44] Later he himself sketched out a sys-

* Chao's compilation of sixteen frequently made objections to alphabetization is of special importance because supporters of the ideographs have failed to present equally reasoned and comprehensive statements of their position. Instead they have remained on the defensive and merely advanced occasional generalized assertions to the effect that characters are a unifying force, are not as difficult as claimed, and are better suited to the language than any phonetic script would be. Some of these assertions have already been presented; others will be taken up in subsequent chapters, especially in Chapters 7-15.

tem of romanized writing and, in 1921, while teaching Chinese at Harvard University, made experiments in the use of his scheme. In his earliest attempts at alphabetic writing there was much that was purely tentative and experimental. The choice of roman letters to represent specific Chinese sounds was not yet entirely fixed and, more important still, the treatment of tones was still flexible, as indicated by his suggestion that tones need be indicated only occasionally by means of marks of punctuation (periods, commas, etc.) placed before the syllable. "The use of tone marks," he stated, "is also to be optional, being needed only where its absence leads to ambiguity or insufficient degree of auditory intelligibility."[45]

This uncertainty and flexibility began to disappear in the later stage of Chao's ideas which were presented in his contribution to the special number of the *National Language Monthly* on reform of the Chinese characters. Here Chao also refuted objections to the romanization of Chinese and at the same time presented twenty-five "principles which everyone who proposes a national phonetic alphabet should carefully note." Chief among these were the use of only the twenty-six letters of the roman alphabet without diacritical marks, the writing together of syllables which formed words, and, most important of all, the adoption of a fixed system of indicating tones by a fundamental change in the spelling of the syllable.[46]

The twenty-five principles advanced by Chao were for the most part quickly accepted by the leading advocates of reform in the Chinese script. Henceforth the National Phonetic Alphabet came to be looked upon even more as a mere adjunct of the ideographs and the roman alphabet became more generally accepted as the basis for reform among those few who took any interest at all in the subject. In 1923 Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung asked the Ministry of Education's National Language Unification Commission, of which he was a member, to establish a romanization unit. This was approved along with the request to ask the Minister of Education to promulgate a standard system of romanization for the whole country. As a first step in carrying out this program an eleven-man Committee for Research on the Romanized Spelling of the National Language was set up under the National Language Unification Commis-

sion. But the political situation made it impossible to achieve any positive results.

Later what amounted to a new subcommittee was formed by five of the members who were in the habit of meeting informally to study phonetics and to discuss the problem of romanized writing. The dominant figure in this informal subcommittee was Y. R. Chao. Another member was Li Chin-hsi, a specialist on Chinese grammar who was also the chief historian of the movement for reform of the script. Two other members, Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung and Wang I, were students of Chinese phonetics. The last of the five was the well-known writer, Lin Yutang. These scholars presumably qualified as the "wise experts" into whose hands Y. R. Chao had previously asked that the study of the problem of the script be entrusted. That they were themselves not unaware of their importance is indicated by the incident in which Li Chin-hsi, in response to the request of a Peking newspaper for contributions on the theme "Who are the Pillars of the New China?" submitted an article claiming this distinction for the members of the study group, himself included.[47]

From the autumn of 1925 to the autumn of 1926 the five experts held a series of twenty-two meetings which were designed to result in the elaboration of a definitive system of alphabetic writing. In general they encountered little difficulty in reaching agreement. Closely following the proposals made by Y. R. Chao, the experts evolved a new system which they designated in the orthography of the system itself as Gwoyeu Romatzyh, or G.R. for short, a name meaning National Language Romanization.[48]

The most distinctive feature of this new romanization was the indication of tones by what was called "tonal spelling." Instead of using diacritical marks or numbers, as in the case of the Wade and other well-known systems of transcribing Chinese, G.R. indicated the tonal variations of otherwise similar syllables by a somewhat complicated system of variations in the spelling of the syllables themselves. To give one of the simpler examples, Wade *fen*^{1}, *fen*^{2}, *fen*^{3}, *fen*^{4} appeared respectively as *fen, fern, feen, fenn* in the National Language Romanization. In this case the first tone was represented by the basic

syllable *fen*, the second tone by interpolating a silent *r*, the third tone by doubling the vowel *e*, and the fourth tone by doubling the final *n*. The tones indicated were those for the Peking dialect.[49]

The G.R. technique of tone representation has been described by one ardent Western admirer as an "epoch-making innovation."[50] Similar views have been expressed by equally enthusiastic Chinese supporters of the new romanization. Such enthusiasm might be dismissed as typical of all adherents of new schemes of writing were it not that the supporters of G.R., in comparison with those who had been most active in promoting earlier phonetic schemes, were generally much more highly trained in the field of modern linguistics. Y. R. Chao himself unquestionably ranks as one of the world's foremost phoneticians.

Lin Yutang, too, though better known as a novelist and wit, had received training as a student of language, as was true also of Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, Wang I, Chou Pien-ming,[51] and other Chinese supporters of Gwoyeu Romatzyh. Denzel Carr and Walter Simon, the foremost Western proponents of the new scheme, were likewise steeped in the science of language. Scholars such as these of course encountered no difficulty whatsoever in grasping the technique of tone representation and in reaching a learned judgment on the merits of the new romanization. It was owing to such outstanding scholars that the support given G.R. was distinguished more for its quality than its quantity.

The National Language Romanization was able to win considerably wider support for its other main feature, namely the writing of the Peking dialect as the standard language for the whole country. In contrast, toward the end of the Manchu period reformers like Lao Nai-hsüan had insisted on devising separate scripts for the southern coastal dialects. At the 1913 Conference on Unification of Pronunciation, too, there were reformers with somewhat similar views who had been defeated only by parliamentary maneuvers and threats of physical violence. But by the time that G.R. was created the idea of achieving national unity through uniformity in the script had made considerably more headway in the dominant intellectual circles

of the day. Of the five men who created the National Language Romanization, not one was a native of Peking. Indeed, apart from Li Chin-hsi, who was a native of Hunan, the remaining four all came from the southern coastal area. Yet they found no difficulty in reaching agreement to promote the Peking dialect as the exclusive standard. Among educated Chinese generally this was becoming increasingly accepted also as the form of speech and writing which was to effect the unification of the country.

The adoption of the Peking dialect as the standard marked the abandonment of the "old pronunciation" for a "new pronunciation." The trouble with the old Blue-Green Mandarin, from the point of view of linguistic science, was that it amounted to nothing more than an artificial standard with no basis in living speech. Such a compromise assemblage of sounds could not be used by the new National Language Romanization to record the speech of the people. It was therefore replaced by a new standard which was defined most precisely as "the speech of natives of Peking who have received a middle-school education."[4] The new standard was provided with a fixed basis when the old *Dictionary of National Pronunciation* was replaced in 1932 by a new *Vocabulary of National Pronunciation for Everyday Use* in which the Peking pronunciation of characters was represented by the new romanization.

Despite its creation in 1926 as a new instrument for effecting the unification of the country, no use was made of Gwoyeu Romatzyh during the victorious sweep of Chinese nationalism which reached its height in the great anti-warlord drive of 1926-27. In the latter year one journal devoted a special issue to consideration of the new scheme, but it was not until the next year, in 1928, that G.R. became somewhat more widely known. At this time the controversy over the problem of the Chinese script was rekindled when P'eng Hsüeh-p'ei, who almost two decades later became a Kuomintang Minister of Information at the end of World War II, published an article with the provocative title, "Abolish Chinese characters! Adopt a phonetic script!" The ideas presented therein were generally akin to those previously stated by Fu Szu-nien. P'eng added that he had learned of G.R. only after writing up his own pro-

posals, and commented further that he agreed with most of the tenets of G.R. except the system of tone representation, which appeared to him to be excessively difficult.[53]

A supporter of the new romanization rebutted this contention with the statement that the system was only a little troublesome and could be learned by everyone in the country in twenty-five years, or maybe one or two years more than that, if enough spirit and effort were put into it.[54] A somewhat different time-period was suggested by Li Chin-hsi in an article entitled, "It is Even Possible in a Hundred Years." But this estimate was conditional upon the expenditure of a considerable amount of energy in promoting the system. Otherwise Li thought it might take as long as five hundred years for G.R. to replace characters, a figure which he said was a theoretical average based on Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung's estimate of a hundred years and Wu Chih-hui's estimate of a thousand years.[55]

Much of the energy expended toward reaching the desired goal was concentrated, especially in the early days, on continued discussion of various technical aspects of the new script. These activities were supplemented by the production of textbooks to explain and illustrate the system. The best known of the texts was Y. R. Chao's *Tzueyhow Wuu-fen Jong* (*The Last Five Minutes*), an adaptation of A. A. Milne's one-act play, *The Camberley Triangle*. Another text by the chief creator of the National Language Romanization presented Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-glass* in G.R., Chinese characters, and English. In addition to its use in such textbooks the National Language Romanization was also used in a number of dictionaries, chiefly as another means of indicating the pronunciation of characters. Finally, there were a few short-lived journals devoted to the promotion of the new romanization. The earliest of these appeared to be aimed chiefly at the restricted audience interested in technical aspects of the new script, but there were two later journals which were designed to assist in the two main attempts that were made for the actual promotion of G.R. among the masses.[56]

The first experiment in the popular application of the National Language Romanization was conducted in 1934 at Cheng-chou, Honan, under the auspices of Huang Hsüeh-chou,

a high official of the Lunghai Railroad who was instrumental in establishing a branch office of the Association for the Promotion of G.R. in order to bring the new system to the railway workers under his direction. It was claimed that in a period of four months, by studying one hour a day, the workers learned not only the reading and writing of the new script, but also the use of a typewriter. Chief among the publications used at this time was a journal entitled *Pudding*. The other non-technical journal of the new romanization, entitled *Shiangshiah Ren* (*The Villagers*), was used in the second attempt to promote G.R. that was initiated in 1936 among the peasants of P'ing-yüan in Shantung. Success was also claimed in this experiment. The results of the Cheng-chou and P'ing-yüan tests were summarized by a supporter of the National Language Romanization in the following statement: "These experiments have proved beyond a doubt that ignorant farmers and laborers need only 100 hours to learn the National Romanized."[57]

In making these claims the adherents of G.R. revealed themselves as no less vocal than supporters of other schemes in extolling the potentialities of their systems. But in terms of actual accomplishments the proponents of the new romanization were rather more reticent. They made no claims of success comparable to those advanced by predecessors of G.R. who boasted of thousands and even tens of thousands of new readers in their systems. Despite the exhortations of Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, a leading exponent of G.R., the new scheme was not pushed vigorously even by its supporters.[58] All in all G.R. aroused perhaps even less interest than had previous attempts to reform the script.

The chief objection raised against Gwoyeu Romatzyh, at least initially, was concerned with certain technical aspects of the system. Doubts about the practicality of G.R. were expressed by Bernhard Karlgren, a linguist and sinologist of note, with the remark that the system "is based on a series of very fatal phonetic lies, and for this reason it will be very difficult to learn, and consequently impractical."[59] Lu Hsün stated a similar opinion on the difficulty of the script, apparently having in mind also the difficulty for ordinary Chinese and not for trained linguists.[60] Another Chinese commentator, in a typical

summation of this point of view, contended that the difficulty of G.R. stemmed from an unnecessarily rigid and complicated system of tone representation. He thought that apart from a very few special cases where ambiguity might arise, the context would make the meaning clear without any tone-representation at all. To illustrate his point he presented a sentence containing the simple syllable *ma*, which might have the meaning of either horse, oath, or hemp, and another simple syllable *mai*, which might theoretically be understood as sell, buy, or several other words. He maintained that with no indication of tones whatsoever the sentence *Mama pu kei wo mai t'ang ch'ih* still could be understood only as meaning, "Mama won't buy any candy for me to eat." "Here *mai* is of course to be read as 'to buy' and not 'to sell,'" he said. "To pronounce it as 'sell' would make the sentence meaningless. And the one who won't give me any candy to eat is certainly mama, and not horse, oath, or hemp—any three-year-old child knows that."[61]

Such objections to the G.R. technique of tone-representation and even to indicating tones at all accounted for much of the refusal of Westerners and Chinese alike to have anything to do with the system. The missionaries, who had first created their own romanizations and had then made use of the Chinese-made National Phonetic Alphabet, ended up by almost completely ignoring this latest scheme to reform the script. Even the Chinese, who could not be charged, as were the Westerners,[62] with a native inability to appreciate the importance of tones, showed little approval for the G.R. technique. But in the case of the National Language Romanization, as also earlier in the case of the National Phonetic Alphabet, objections of this sort might perhaps have been overcome by the scholarly supporters of the new system if there had not been other difficulties to contend with as well. These other difficulties had to do with the G.R. objective of unification of the national language.

Part of the failure of G.R. to make any significant progress toward this goal stemmed from the widely held conviction that there were better ways to attain the desired end. Many people, especially those in a position of influence in the government, considered that the ideographic script already supplied the means for achieving linguistic and political unity. As

a result when the National Language Unification Commission, under whose auspices G.R. had been created, sought approval for the new system from the Ministry of Education, it was rebuffed and was forced to offer the scheme to the public on its own. Not until two years later, in 1928, did the Ministry of Education officially promulgate the system, and then only because Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei had returned to take charge of this office. Even so G.R. was promulgated not as a new system of writing but merely as the Second Pattern of the National Alphabet. What little government interest there was in such matters was concentrated on the earlier National Phonetic Alphabet. At the time that Chiang Kai-shek and other top officials in the government were passing resolutions in favor of the earlier alphabet, plans to extend the promotion of the National Language Romanization had to be given up for lack of funds.[63]

Official support for the ideographs as against new schemes of phonetic writing was of such a nature as to discourage the mildest attempts at reform. In 1934 there was a strengthening of the forces opposed even to the Hu Shih movement for writing Chinese in the vernacular instead of the literary style. Wu Chih-hui charged that the standards for official preferment were such as to lead to greater stress on literary Chinese in schools in order to enable students to get jobs in the government.[64] Even the attempt to simplify the script by a reduction in the number of strokes of the ideographs was halted when the Ministry of Education was forced to rescind its plan for the compulsory use of simplified characters.*

Left to their own devices, the adherents of the National Language Romanization had a hard time going beyond the creation of a new script to the promotion of its use. There seemed to be a feeling among some supporters of the basic tenets of G.R. that perhaps what was needed was a perfection of the

* The abandonment of these plans was ordered by the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang in January, 1936. ("Simplified Chinese Characters," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, III, No. 1 [March, 1936], 20; III, No. 2 [June, 1936], 92.) The Central Political Council was a small body which had the function of exercising "the Party's sovereign control over the government." (Paul M. A. Linebarger, *The China of Chiang Kai-shek* [Boston, 1943], p. 16.) At the time, the Council had as chairman Wang Ching-wei and as vice-chairman Chiang Kai-shek. The then Minister of Education was Wang Shih-chieh.

system by more research on its technical features. Chou Pien-ming, as a result of research extending over a period of two decades beyond the creation of the National Language Romanization, announced that he had "vastly improved upon G.R." by various innovations, such as making use of the letter *v* to indicate the pronunciation of the sound represented by Wade *ü*.[65] Y. R. Chao himself was of the opinion that the ideographs would have to remain for a long time and that it might therefore be necessary to devote attention also to elaborating a system of Basic Chinese.[66] Others became discouraged and did nothing more either in revising or promoting the new romanization.*

The movement was also held back by reformers who, unlike their predecessors who were emphatic in relating language reform to political progress, tended instead to meet the crisis of the mid-thirties by questioning the existence of any relationship between language and politics.[67] Many supporters looked not to themselves but to a strong man to force the reform of the script, as had happened in the case of Turkey. "If China had a Kemal Pasha," said a Western admirer of the National Language Romanization, "we should probably see this system replace the characters in daily life."[68] This sentiment was echoed by many Chinese adherents of G.R., among whom

* Mention might be made here also of reformers who though not precisely belonging to the G.R. school were nevertheless closer in outlook toward it than toward any other of the major movements for reform of the script. One of these advocated the indication of the four tones by the letters *c, q, v, x* and addition of other letters to indicate the radical of the character represented by the romanized syllable. (C. C. Wang [Wang Ching-ch'un], "Hsinhanzyx [Phonetic Chinese]," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XXIV [1940-41], 263-90, 453-56 and Wang Chin-chun [Wang Ching-ch'un], "The New Phonetic System of Writing Chinese Characters," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XII [1929], 144-60.) Another reformer suggested as a means of distinguishing words of different meaning but identical pronunciation the capitalization of substantives and the addition of a silent *h* to mark verbs. ([Wang] Liao-i, "The Possibility of the Europeanization of Chinese writing," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 198 [April 26, 1936], 11-14 [in Chinese]. For a defense of the G.R. system of tone-representation as against Wang's proposals see Liu Hsüeh-chün, "The Europeanization of Chinese Writing and the National Language Romanization," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 200 [May 10, 1936], 15-18 [in Chinese].) These and many other proposals of the same general nature were not taken up to any extent and do not merit extensive discussion.

Turkey replaced Japan as the model for reform of the written language.[69]

The frustration engendered among supporters of G.R. by their inability to rely on the aid of an enlightened dictator was heightened by the enormity of their task in attempting to promote a single national language. Under any circumstances they would have found it no easy matter to plan for universal literacy in a country of 450,000,000 people of whom eighty or ninety per cent were as yet unable to read or write. But their task was rendered infinitely more difficult when they sought to achieve their goal with a script that was not of the easiest and in a dialect that was almost totally incomprehensible to about a fourth of the population. Yet failure left them undaunted in their conviction that a standard language was of primary importance. When the veteran educator Chiang Monlin ventured to stress the priority of literacy he was bluntly reminded by a supporter of G.R. that "Literacy is necessary, but unification of the National Language is even more important."[70]

As to the means of attaining this end, little was said except to reiterate that only the National Language Romanization based on the Peking dialect should be used by everyone in the country. A few, like Chou Pien-ming,[71] attempted to meet the problem of dialects by suggesting the possibility of devising a compromise script that would be pronounced differently according to the dialects, a procedure which some Jesuit missionaries claimed they had already succeeded in working out in their so-called "interdialectical romanization."* Most Chinese

* The interdialectical romanization of the Jesuits, which made its first appearance in the early thirties, was conceived by Father H. Lamasse and carried out by Father Ernest Jasmin in North China. It was taken up also by missionaries in Shanghai and Manchuria. (Corta, "China tropieza en sus signos," *op.cit.*, p. 137.)

The Jesuit system, and one by Lin Feng, were both based on what might be called "historical spelling." Lin claimed the discovery of "protophones," or the basic or original sounds of characters, dating back to around the sixth century A.D. The same pronunciation was taken by Lamasse and Jasmin as their orthographic base. All three argued that if Chinese were given a uniform spelling based on the early pronunciation it would be possible for modern dialect speakers to read the same word in various ways according to their own particular dialect because of the operation of what Chou Pien-ming called "a sort of Grimm's law." (*Internationalizing the Chinese Script: Progress in Quokyu Romanization 1937-*

who sought to achieve national unity through uniformity in the script considered that it was only the ideographs which should be used to bind together all the millions of people in China. In the opinion of Ch'en Kuo-fu, one of the principal leaders of the Kuomintang who thought that "China's ability to achieve unity is entirely dependent on having a unified written language," it was wrong for Chinese to use a Western script even for signing their names.[72] There was also a widely held conviction that even the non-Chinese peoples of the frontier regions should be made to join the process of unification by compulsory instruction in the standard ideographic script. This policy was officially advanced in the 1942 "Three-Year Education Plan" of the Ministry of Education, then headed by Ch'en Li-fu, the brother of Ch'en Kuo-fu, with the statement that frontier education should be first of all in the Chinese language and should be "planned, enforced, and undertaken by the Central Government."[73]

---

45 [Amoy, 1945], p. 22.) As Lin Feng put it (in his "A Phonetic Method of Learning Chinese," *The Chinese Critic*, VI, No. 33 [August 17, 1933], 812):"A fortunate point is that when a dialect alters a sound (protophone), then the whole group of characters of that sound varies alike; that is to say, characters of one group do not change their sounds among themselves; they vary according to definite laws.

"The very fact that the various dialects are derived from the protophones under definite laws helps the adaptability or convertibility of the protophones back to the various dialects including *mandarin*, the recognized National Language."

To give one example from Lamasse and Jasmin, the forms *lyk*, *lyp*, and *lyt* are supposed to be recognizable to both a Cantonese and native of Peking as meaning respectively "force," "a kind of hat," and "chestnut," though the northerner will pronounce them all as *li* with a falling tone and the southerner will pronounce them with three different finals. (See H. Lamasse and Ernest Jasmin, "L'écriture alphabetique du chinois . . .," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*, IV [1931], 639-57, 755-93, 935-47, 1061-73. Also Ernest Jasmin, "Exposé plus simple de la théorie de la romanisation interdialectique," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*, V [1932], 732-35.)

There are the usual eulogies as to the excellence of the interdialectical romanization. Considerably less enthusiasm has been exhibited by speakers of Cantonese who complained that the system was unintelligible to them. (*Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*, VI [1933], 28-31.) For a fuller criticism of the system see Willem A. Grootaers, "Dialectes chinois et alphabétisation. A propos de la Romanisation Interdialectique," *Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore*, Series III, VIII (1946), 207-35.

Nationalism: Unity through Uniformity

But all these disparate views on linguistic unification expressed differences more of means than of ends. The disagreement as to means went no further than debate on the relative merits of the National Phonetic Alphabet, the National Language Romanization, the interdialectical romanization, the ideographic script, and the innumerable minor variations on these forms of writing. The more important agreement as to ends revealed itself in the emphasis on the necessity for achieving linguistic unity. This latter was part of the wider tendency among the dominant political and intellectual circles of China—originating in the period of the empire and growing in strength after the establishment of the republic—in the direction of a kind of integral nationalism. Their goal might be summarized by the formula one state, one people, one language.

PART III

Nationalism: Unity in Diversity

5

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION*

THE way in which the Soviet Union became involved in the problem of the Chinese script was through the Chinese minority in Soviet territory. In 1926 the U.S.S.R. included within its confines some 100,000 Chinese.† Most of these emigrants lived among the peoples of the Soviet Union in scattered groups which ranged in size from only one or two individuals to as many as several thousands. The majority were to be found as urban dwellers in cities as far apart as Vladivostok in the east and Leningrad in the west. A few, however, had taken to the soil, especially in the Soviet Far East. In general their small numbers and scattered condition, combined with the fact that almost nine-tenths were adult males, made for a strong tendency toward absorption by the surrounding population. This tendency seems to have been stimulated by the Soviet policy of non-discrimination along ethnic lines.‡

* I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council for a grant which enabled me to obtain assistance in translating Russian language materials for this chapter at a time when I had not yet taken up the study of Russian.

† I. Laikhter, "O Latinizatsii Kitaiskoi Pis'mennosti [On the Latinization of the Chinese Script]," *Kul'tura i Pis'mennost Vostoka*, No. 9 (1931), 22. Somewhat different figures for the 1926 statistics on the Chinese in the Soviet Union are given by Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects* (Geneva, 1946), pp. 61-64 and 139. The latter mentions 92,030 "Chinese" and 14,600 "Dungans." It is not clear whether Laikhter's figure of 100,000 includes the Dungans. In other respects Laikhter's information on the Chinese in the Soviet Union is usually more detailed than that provided in the more general work of Lorimer. The latter adds (p. 139) that only 10,247 of the 92,030 "Chinese" were citizens of the U.S.S.R.

‡ One of the main propaganda themes of the Soviet Union has been the success of its policy of national equality in easing tension among its diverse population groups. During World War II, however, there appears to have

Some of the Chinese in the U.S.S.R. were so distinctive that they were given a separate classification in the census of 1926. These were the Dungans, or Chinese Moslems, descendants for the most part of fugitives who had sought asylum in Russian Central Asia from Chinese-Manchu repression in northwest China around the year 1877. In the fighting that followed the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, many fled back to China for refuge. At the time of the 1926 census there were 14,600 Dungans in the Soviet Union. By 1930 the population had somewhat increased in size with the return of the refugees to Soviet territory. In that year an on-the-spot observer estimated Chinese Moslems as numbering 20,000-25,000 as against another writer's estimate of 50,000. Of the 14,600 noted in the 1926 census, 6,004 were reported as living in the Kirghiz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and 8,455 in the Kazakh A.S.S.R. The former traced their provincial origin chiefly to Kansu and the latter to Shensi, a distinction which is evidenced to this day in the dialects spoken in the respective Chinese communities. Rough attempts made in 1926 to classify the Dungans on the basis of occupation gave the proportions of 70 per cent peasants, 20 per cent handicraft workers or seasonal laborers, 5 per cent petty merchants, and 5 per cent clergy. Illiteracy among these Chinese was estimated as amounting to almost 100 per cent.[1]

The most important concentrations of Chinese were in the Far Eastern Region of the Soviet Union. The Chinese in this area, most of whom were emigrants from Shantung via Manchuria, comprised about seventy per cent of the total in the U.S.S.R. The majority lived in cities: 22,000 in Vladivostok alone, 4,000 in Khabarovsk, a like number in Blagoveshchensk, 2,000 in Chita, and 1,000 in Irkutsk. In addition there were peasants who took to the land and later organized themselves into a number of collective farms. The non-peasant population consisted chiefly of artisans, handicraftsmen, and miscellaneous workers, including a large number of miners. The cultural level of the population as a whole was low.[2]

---

been an important departure from the traditional policy when the Volga Germans, among others, were apparently punished *as a people*. This development took place after the events discussed in the present chapter.

Influence of the Soviet Union

At the time of the 1926 census only nineteen per cent of the 100,000 Chinese in the U.S.S.R. were considered to be citizens of the Soviet Union. Whether citizens or not, the Chinese in their illiterate thousands presented a difficult cultural problem. The official approach toward this problem, as stated by one Soviet writer, was that "Irrespective of citizenship, the Soviets cannot bypass the cultural and political needs of the Chinese population in the U.S.S.R." To provide for their needs it was further felt to be imperative, among a people so largely illiterate, to begin at the beginning with measures to enable the Chinese to read and write. But this requirement, far from being limited to the Chinese minority, was also a pressing need of all the Soviet peoples, and most especially of the comparatively even more backward peoples of Soviet Asia. The problem of Chinese literacy was therefore taken up as part of the problem of literacy in general.[3]

The Soviet approach to the problem of literacy was conditioned by a theory of nationalism which stressed unity in diversity. In the belief that Soviet-style political unity was not incompatible with cultural diversity, the U.S.S.R. decreed that all its peoples or "nationalities" were to have the right to primary instruction in their own language. This meant a departure from the Tsarist policy of Russification by imposing a state language from above while denying to non-Russian peoples, especially those who were few in number and backward in culture, the right to receive schooling in the speech to which they were most accustomed. It also involved the necessity of reexamining existing written languages from the point of view of their ability to meet the needs of the people. Some languages possessed written forms which were so complicated that they had become the exclusive property of that secular or religious minority which had the time and the money to become literate. Other languages had no written form at all. This made it necessary either to simplify existing scripts or to create new ones. The problem was especially acute in the backward areas of Asia, and it was here that it was first taken up.

In the early twenties the Azerbaidzhan Soviet Socialist Republic undertook to lay the basis for the extension of literacy by doing away with its difficult Arabic script in favor of a

simpler system of writing based on the Latin alphabet. By so doing it initiated a movement which received the approval of Lenin with the remark that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East." Thereafter Latinization spread to other peoples of Central Asia, including the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, who similarly felt held back by the incubus of their peculiarly ill-adapted scripts. These and other Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia who were interested in simplifying their scripts took the initiative in holding a congress at Baku in 1926 in order to discuss their common problems. The decision was reached here to set up a committee for the elaboration of a Latinized alphabet, which came to be known as the New Turkic Alphabet, that could be used jointly by the various peoples in the area. Later non-Turkic peoples also joined the movement. This brought about the widening of the original committee into a new All-Union Central Committee on the New Alphabet, which was set up under the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., the supreme governing body of the country. As the movement spread into the two Central Asian republics in which the Dungans were concentrated, this minority was also provided with a Latinized script along with some other small groups whose languages were written down in the years 1928-29.[4] Thus it came about that the first Chinese in the Soviet Union to be provided with a simplified alphabetic system of writing were the Chinese Moslems of Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, of all Chinese the most backward in the U.S.S.R., who owed their priority to the fact that it was in their general area of Soviet Central Asia that the first attempts were made to reform outmoded systems of writing.

The alphabet devised for the Dungans consisted of letters selected from the New Turkic Alphabet that had been created for use among the peoples of Soviet Central Asia. Like the one from which it was derived, the Dungan alphabet included among its Latinized letters a number that had been created specially in order to supplement the strictly Latin alphabet, which was felt to be inadequate for expressing some of the sounds that were unique to the Turkic languages. Like its parent, too, the Dungan alphabet was expected to provide the means for breaking the monopoly of literacy maintained

by that tiny fraction of the religious and secular elite which had command of the ideographs or made use of scripts like the Russian and the Arabic, the latter being especially favored because of its use in the Koran.

But it was soon discovered that the choice of the New Turkic Alphabet as the basis for the new orthography of the Dungans was not an altogether happy decision. The Dungans were Moslem in religion but Chinese in speech, and their language therefore had nothing to do with the Turkic speech of their co-religionists in the area. As a result critics arose who argued that it was impossible to base Dungan writing on the New Turkic Alphabet. Even Kirghiz and Kazakh language reformers who had been instrumental in bringing about the original decision on the Dungan alphabet became somewhat dubious as to the wisdom of their action. At the fourth plenary session of the All-Union Central Committee on the New Alphabet, held in Alma-Ata in the spring of 1930, a Kirghiz delegate admitted that the new script had made less headway among the Dungans than among the other peoples of the area. An explanation for this was provided by a Kazakh representative with the statement that they had had a hard time even in creating a Dungan alphabet because Chinese scholars had not responded to an appeal for help. So he reported that it had been decided to postpone the use of the New Turkic Alphabet among the Dungans and to consider means of proceeding with the uplift of the Chinese by attacking the problem of the alphabet "on another basis."[5]

A new basis for attacking the problem had indeed already been laid elsewhere. Independently of the Kirghiz and Kazakh reformers, a few individuals had also begun to consider the question in Moscow in 1928 and 1929, just at the time that the New Turkic Alphabet was being applied to the language of the Dungans. The Moscow work on the Latinization of Chinese was begun in the Scientific Research Institute on China, a unit of the Communist Academy, which in turn had been set up under the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. as the center of theoretical study along Marxist lines. Here the problem of the Chinese script was taken up as "a most important theoretical and practical question of the cultural revo-

lution in China." It was first raised at the end of 1928 in a thesis presented by a graduate student by the name of Leichtenberg. In January of the next year a speaker named Kolokolov discussed the subject at a meeting that was conducted in the Chinese language and was attended by some eighty people, mostly Chinese students. The audience was generally dubious as to the necessity or possibility of Latinizing the language, but a resolution was passed to participate in studying the problem, and a number of Chinese became interested in pursuing the matter further.[6] Foremost among these was Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai.*

The latter was a leading student intellectual who had first come to Moscow in 1920 at the age of twenty-two as a special correspondent of one of China's foremost newspapers. While in the Soviet Union he became a Communist, left his newspaper job, and turned to teaching in the University of the Toilers of the East. He was interpreter for Ch'en Tu-hsiu when that Communist leader visited Moscow in 1923 and was himself elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in the same year following his return to China. After a period of Party work and other activities which attracted public attention he returned to the U.S.S.R. again in 1928, at which time he became Moscow representative of the Chinese Communist Party as well as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Third International.[7] In addition he became one of the most active workers for the Latinization of Chinese.

As early as 1921 Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai had been influenced by the anti-illiteracy movement in the U.S.S.R. to study the problem

*Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was also known by the Russian name of Strakhov. His choice of this for his Russian surname is explained by the fact that *strakh* means "fear" and is therefore related to the character [14] in his surname meaning "to look with fright." (Bracketed figure substitutes for character, which will be found on page 196.) In some Chinese articles his name appears in characters having the value Hsü-t'u-la-k'e-fu, representing an attempt to approximate the sound Strakhov. (Cf. B. M. Alexeiev, *Kitaiskaya Ieroglificheskaya Pis'mennost' i ee Latinizatsiya* [*The Chinese Hieroglyphic Script and its Latinization*] (Leningrad, 1932), p. 88 and note 172.) This example illustrates the difficulty in identifying Chinese whose names appear only in a Russian form. It has not been possible to identify two Chinese proponents of Latinization whose names appear solely as Burenin and Smit.

of writing Chinese with an alphabetic script.[8] But it was not until February, 1929 that he began the task, in cooperation with Kolokolov, of actually devising a system of Latinization for Chinese. For several months the two men conducted experiments on the script among the numerous students who formed part of the Chinese community in Moscow. In May the results of their research were first presented to the public by Kolokolov at a large meeting that was attended also by several professional students of Chinese who had begun to take an interest in the question, as for example A. I. Ivanov, who shortly thereafter was moved to review Chinese activities on the problem in an article entitled "The Struggle for the Alphabet in China." At the beginning of 1930 Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, with the assistance of Kolokolov, published the further results of their studies in a little pamphlet which made use of Russian, ideographs, and Latinized Chinese to present a new scheme for writing the language. The pamphlet was entitled *Zhonguo Latinhuadi Zemu*, i.e. *Chinese Latinized Alphabet*.[9]

The starting-point of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's approach was made plain in the first sentence in his pamphlet: "The 'Chinese script' of China is certainly too difficult for the masses and only the gentry class can have time enough to learn it, so that politically and culturally it is an enormous impediment." Although such ideas were similar to those expressed by previous language reformers, the writer went further than most in stressing the need for simplicity. At first he thought to make only a few modifications of the G.R. system that had been created a few years earlier in China, but gradually he came to the opinion that it was possible to dispense with tone-representation entirely except for a very few cases. This was the only important technical divergence from earlier systems devised by Chinese and Westerners. There was nothing very unusual in his decision to limit his script to letters available on an ordinary typewriter or to write syllables together as words, but his thesis that Chinese could be written intelligibly in an alphabetic script without tone-representation was a sharp break with the prevailing idea, as expressed especially by the adherents of Gwoyeu Romatzyh, that Chinese could be written alphabetically only with indication of tones.

The only other distinctive feature of importance in the new system had to do with the problem of dialects. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai discounted fears that the use of alphabetic writing would make it impossible for people of different regions to understand each other and that there would no longer be a unified Chinese writing. He expressed his views on this subject in the following statement: "In the first place, if the various regional 'dialects' are very different from each other, then basically they cannot be forcibly unified but must be provided with several different scripts. In the second place, China now has a *p'u-t'ung hua* [common language] which can serve as a general standard and can be used provisionally in creating a common script." Apparently what he had in mind was something in the nature of a common denominator to all the various forms of Mandarin. He did not elaborate on this, however, so that the only way of knowing just what he meant by the term "common language" is through an analysis of the script which he himself created. But much more important than his suggestion on a common language was his insistence on providing the main dialects of China with their own systems of writing. This was his second sharp break with the general Chinese approach to the problem of alphabetic writing.[10]

With the publication of this pamphlet, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and his colleagues began to arouse widespread interest in the new plan for Latinization of Chinese. A meeting called in May, 1930 to discuss the work was attended also by several people who were concerned with the promotion of the New Turkic Alphabet in Soviet Central Asia. At the same time the Leningrad sinologue A. A. Dragunov joined Ch'ü and Kolokolov in order to add his expert technical assistance. Numerous meetings of Chinese in Moscow and other cities were provided with the pamphlet as a basis for eliciting the views of the audience on plans to promote the new script. Contact was established with supporters of Latinization in the Soviet Far East, where newspaper articles dealing with the subject paved the way for meetings in Vladivostok and other cities in order to discuss the problem further. Throughout all the Chinese communities in the Soviet Union there was a sharp debate in 1930 and 1931 on the proposals advanced by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai.[11]

In the course of this debate divergent views were presented on the new Latinization. These ranged from total acceptance to total rejection. The pamphlet was greeted with a devastating review by B. M. Alexeiev, dean of Russian sinology and himself the author of a system of alphabetic writing that had been created two decades earlier, though only for use in the analysis and teaching of Chinese. Equally sharp criticism was presented in some of the Chinese comments that appeared in *The Worker's Way,* a Chinese newspaper published in Vladivostok as the organ of the Communist Party and the trade unions in the Soviet Far East.[12] Through these reviews and other discussions aroused by the pamphlet all the issues involved in the Latinization of Chinese were debated at considerable length. But now the questions were taken up by well-trained linguists and sinologists like Alexeiev as well as by predominantly political workers such as Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai. As a result of this dual approach the treatment of both the linguistic and political aspects of the problem was much more comprehensive and effective than had hitherto been possible.

One extreme of the reactions evoked among Chinese and Russians alike to the proposals of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was that of uncritical approval of the new script as a means of destroying the old. Those who held this opinion emphasized in even stronger terms than had been used by their predecessors of like opinion in China that the ideographs would have to be replaced. As the revolutionary Chinese poet Hsiao San put it, "In reality the Chinese hieroglyphic script is nothing but an archaic survival of feudal ages, a symbol of centuries-old slavery, a tool for the enslavement of the working masses by the governing class. The hieroglyphs represent a tremendous hindrance to raising the cultural and political level of the workers and peasants of China. . . . The laboring classes of China need a different kind of script, one which is not hieroglyphic but phonetic." To his mind the previous attempts at reform of the script in China had not gone far enough. The Hu Shih movement was viewed as merely a literary reform and not really a "literary revolution" since it said nothing about destroying the ideographs. All earlier efforts to alphabetize the language were dismissed as inadequate. But Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's system was ap-

proved in every respect. Its rejection of tone-indication was accepted on the grounds that "tones are nothing but stress." Its method of dealing with dialects was seconded as being in conformity with Lenin's policy against the imposition of a single state language on peoples of different speech. The system as a whole was viewed as adequate in itself and therefore as capable of meeting the need to destroy the old form of writing.[18]

Such views as these were met at the other extreme by opposition to any tampering with the ideographs. The revolutionary poet was not surprised that those whom he called "the hangmen of the Chinese toilers" objected to Latinization. What disturbed him more was that "even some Chinese revolutionary leaders are doubtful and irresolute on this question." Opposition was encountered also among non-Chinese scholars in the Soviet Union, as in the case of Kharinskii and Chernovetskii, two teachers in the Far Eastern Institute of Economy. At a meeting called to discuss Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's pamphlet and proposals for Latinization of the language, the report of a supporter of the new script was sharply attacked in a speech made by Kharinskii. The latter summed up the opposition to the proposed Latinization in the following terms: "The modern hieroglyphic languages cannot free themselves from the hieroglyphs. . . . The introduction of the alphabet in Chinese schools in the Far East is even harmful. . . . We, Europeans, think in sound symbols. The peoples with hieroglyphic languages think not only in sounds, but also in graphic symbols. . . . The concept of the hieroglyphs as a dead shell oppressing the language is absolutely wrong. Just the opposite is true—the alphabet would form such a shell and the introduction of it in China would mean a lowering of the language to a barbaric level." Remarks such as these revealed complete rejection of Latinization for substantially the same reasons that had been advanced time and again in the whole history of the attempts to apply an alphabetic writing to Chinese. Latinization was viewed first of all as impossible and in any case as undesirable. Those who held to these views would have nothing to do with the new script.[14]

In addition to those opponents who rejected Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's

Latinization completely as against those partisans who accepted it in its entirety, there were some in the Soviet Union who were more judicious in their evaluation of the proposed scheme. The review of *Chinese Latinized Alphabet* by Alexeiev was devastating not because it rejected out of hand the proposals advanced by the author but because it undertook to examine the work through the microscope of Soviet sinology. On the basis of a careful analysis the leading Russian sinologist concluded that the pamphlet by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai abounded in errors which the author might have avoided had he kept himself in the scientific swim of things by consulting what had already been done on Chinese phonetics by Westerners like Karlgren and Polivanov and by Chinese like Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung and Lin Yutang. Had he done this the author would not have confused tone and stress, would not have invented a vague common language, would not have presented such a "hopelessly chaotic" treatment of what constituted a word, and would have been able to avoid many other technical pitfalls. The author was considered to have earned the criticism of the reviewer in *The Worker's Way* who commented that "desiring to simplify the Latinization in the name of facilitating its mastery by the proletarian masses, he instead abused simplification and subjected them to unexpected difficulties, precisely because of his lack of system and principle."[15]

But the Soviet commentators did not confine themselves to negative criticism. They went further and took up the task of making a careful scientific study of the problems involved in the Latinization of Chinese. After the Leningrad sinologist, A. A. Dragunov, joined Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Kolokolov, other specialists in the field of Chinese studies also participated in the work. In October, 1930 the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad set up a commission under the chairmanship of B. M. Alexeiev for the purpose of drawing the best sinologists of the Soviet Union into the study of Latinization. Alexeiev was seconded in this Latinization Commission by A. A. Dragunov as sinologist-linguist and secretary. The participation of B. A. Vasil'ev, who had collected material on the language of the Dungans while working among them in the summer of 1930, made it possible for the first time to treat the

Dungan problem as part of the general problem of the Chinese in the Soviet Union. Y. K. Tschutskii through his knowledge of the dialects and languages of South China and Indochina enabled the scholars to take account of this linguistic material. Of more direct significance was the specialized knowledge of A. G. Shirintsin, whose study of the Shantung dialect and its fragmentation into sub-dialects in the Far Eastern Region provided expert information on the speech of the majority of the Chinese in the Soviet Union. In addition the predominantly political workers of the Communist Academy in Moscow were joined with this group of highly qualified linguists and sinologists from the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, with the aim of forming a team capable of promoting as well as creating a new system of writing.[16]

The first step in the renewed attack on the problem of Latinization was to review all points at issue. After three months of collective work the experts of the Latinization Commission, who assumed the main burden of research on technical issues, were able to reach a series of agreements covering not only general problems but also specific proposals for the Latinization of Chinese. The scholars concluded that the objective of literacy, which they placed first among the cultural needs of the Chinese in the Soviet Union, could not be achieved by the program of those supporters of the ideographs who imposed as a prerequisite for literacy the learning of not one but three languages—a local dialect, the national language, and the ideographic script. Even with an alphabetic script, they said, the task would not be an easy one, as attested by difficulties encountered in dealing with illiteracy in the Soviet Union as a whole. In their view the need for simplicity demanded a script which was based on dialect speech and was Latinized in form. For the same reason it was also considered necessary to limit the indication of tones only to those cases where ambiguity might otherwise result.

In general these conclusions were similar to those of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, though they were reached by scientific analysis rather than by intuition or guess-work and were devoid of the inconsistencies and inaccuracies which had marred his work. Even the letters selected to represent specific sounds were not

greatly different from those advanced in *Zhonguo Latinhuadi Zemu.* The scheme that was finally evolved, following experiments conducted by Dragunov and Shirintsin on Chinese workers in Leningrad, used only those letters available on an ordinary typewriter, indicated tones but rarely, and was based on the Shantung dialect spoken by the Chinese in the Far Eastern Region of the Soviet Union. It was first called simply *Latinxua,* i.e. *Latinization,* and later was designated as *Sin Wenz,* the *New Writing.**

The next step after the creation of the new script was to promote it. In January, 1931 Professor Alexeiev presented the results of the work of the Latinization Commission in a report delivered to the session on social sciences at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. The material in this report was published later by Alexeiev in book form under the title *The Chinese Hieroglyphic Script and Its Latinization.* Slightly retouched in Moscow, the proposed Latinization was approved in May by the All-Union Central Committee on the New Alphabet, which then took up the question of its practical application among the Chinese in the U.S.S.R. In the next few months primary emphasis was placed on the establishment of practical courses for the guidance of "shock workers" and also of "activists, instructors, students, and auditors" in various Chinese institutions of learning, among which were included "workers' faculties, party schools, and pedagogical technicums." In addition there were organized large-scale discussions of Latinxua in the cities with the greatest numbers of Chinese—Leningrad, Moscow, Chita, Blagoveshchensk, Khaborovsk, and Vladivostok. All this was by way of preparation for the calling of a conference to reach a definitive conclusion on the new Latinization.[17]

The First Conference on the Latinization of Chinese was held in a Chinese theater in Vladivostok from September 26 to 29, 1931. It was attended by 87 members who included representatives of Chinese throughout the Soviet Union. The Communist Academy and the Academy of Sciences were also

*Alexeiev, *op.cit., passim. Latinxua* is *La-ting-hua* [15] in Wade transcription. *Sin Wenz* is *Hsin Wen-tzu* [16]. (Bracketed figures substitute for characters. These will be found on page 296.)

represented by a delegation headed by A. A. Dragunov, who took a conspicuous part in the discussions. The conference decided unanimously to adopt the proposed Latinization. It called for the compulsory introduction of Latinization from 1932 on in all Chinese schools in the U.S.S.R., the printing of textbooks and other books in the Latinized script, and the organization of campaigns to liquidate illiteracy among the Chinese on the basis of the new writing.

In order to carry out this program a new Far Eastern Committee on the New Alphabet was formed as a branch of the Communist Academy's Scientific Research Institute on China. This new Committee was given the task of working with Party and Soviet organizations in the area as part of the movement known as *Likvidatsiya Bezgramotnosti,* or *Likbez* for short, meaning "Liquidation of Illiteracy." These moves meant that for the time being there was to be an end to discussion of Latinxua and the beginning of concrete steps to test the new system by adopting it in a program of mass education. A review of the results and re-opening of discussion was to take place a year later with the calling of another conference.[18]

This second conference was attended by some 1,000 people. Though designated as the Far Eastern Regional Conference on the Latinization of Chinese, it was actually almost all-Union in character, for it was attended also by representatives of the East Siberia Region and the Kazakh Republic. It met at Vladivostok from October 25 to 29, 1932. During these five days there was a thorough review of the Latinization scheme itself and of the results achieved in the past year in promoting the new script.

One of the first items of business was consideration of a report presented by the Far Eastern Committee on the New Alphabet. The report stated that the committee had begun its work with the establishment of a number of courses for training teachers of Latinxua, more than 100 of whom had been turned out, and with the creation of district committees on Latinization in ten areas with the largest concentrations of Chinese workers. These activities were said to have been facilitated by support from the highest organs of authority in each area—the Regional Committee of the Communist Party

and the Regional Executive Committee. Yet serious obstacles were admitted in the form of "organizational difficulties." Nevertheless, the report concluded, it was possible to announce that in the past year the Committee on the New Alphabet had brought literacy in Latinxua to some 2000 Chinese.

The conference endorsed the report as justifying what had already been done and as assuring success in the future. The delegates then devoted much attention to suggestions for revision of the orthography, particularly those advanced by the All-Union Central Committee on the New Alphabet, but after considerable discussion the majority decided to reject the proposals of the parent body and to leave the alphabet unchanged. Final decision on the matter was left to a special committee of scientific workers under the chairmanship of a Chinese referred to only as Burenin, who was director of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Branch of the Academy of Sciences. Much time was devoted also to problems of teaching Chinese their native language. Finally, plans were drawn up for the promotion of Latinization in the second Five Year Plan, with particular emphasis on the program for the immediate future. The conference set itself the goal of liquidating illiteracy among the organized Chinese workers and collective farmers in the Far Eastern Region on the basis of the Latinized script.

The expectation of the conference that it would be able to meet this goal was based on the reports that had been received on the reactions to the campaign of the preceding year. The chief difficulty reported by the Committee on the New Alphabet was not so much the kind of flat opposition that had been expressed by Kharinskii, though such opposition undoubtedly existed, as rather the failure of some organizations to prosecute the program with sufficient vigor. A number of trade unions and educational organizations were taken to task for failing to evaluate the importance of the work correctly. Yet the considerable harm done to the movement by such slowness of response was considered to have been offset by the enthusiasm with which the Latinization was greeted among the Chinese. Some even were said to have gone too far in support of the new script as against the old. The conference felt it necessary to deplore the tendency that had arisen to neglect

completely the study of the ideographs—"the strongest weapon in the hands of the class enemy."[19]

The program for 1932-34 was set in motion by introducing the Latinized script into all Chinese educational institutions in the Far Eastern Region as a compulsory part of the course on instruction in the native language. All teaching in the first four years of Chinese elementary schools was based on Latinization. The ideographs were not introduced until the second year, and then only as a special course.[20]

In order to provide the new materials needed for these classes, funds were set aside for the publication of textbooks and reading matter in the Latinized script. By October, 1934 about fifty such works had been published in a total of some 100,000 copies. The first items to be published were several textbooks for teaching the system itself in elementary and adult schools. Later other materials were put out for the new literates on subjects ranging from news of the day to history, geography, political economy, and belles-lettres. By 1937 the earlier list of fifty items had been increased by the appearance of another twenty titles.

Typical of the Latinxua textbooks which were designed either to explain the system itself or to teach other subjects by means of the new script were the following items:

Latinized Chinese Reader for Workers (1931)
Latinized Chinese-Russian Dictionary (1933)
Natural Science Textbook for Primary Schools (1933)
Geography Textbook for Primary Schools (1934)
Mathematics Exercises for Partial Literates (1936)

The literary works published as reading matter rather than as textbooks included the following titles:

How Did He Die? (1934)
Don't Forget (1934)
The Prisoner of the Caucasus (1937)
Selected Narrative Poems [of Pushkin] (1937)

Such purely literary publications, like the textbooks and other works in the new script, generally appeared in editions of either 1,500 or 3,000 copies. Tolstoi's *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* was presented in an attractive little book under the

title *Kawkazdi Fulu* in an edition of 1,500 copies. The volume of Pushkin's narrative poems, published in 1937 to commemorate the centenary of the poet's death, was put out in 3,000 copies. In addition to such translations of Russian authors the literary output in Latinized Chinese included works by writers in China and also by new Soviet Chinese authors, some of whom had formerly been coal miners or coolies. When the All-Union Congress of Writers met in 1934 the publications presented to that polyglot assembly included an anthology of writings in Latinxua with contributions by a number of young Soviet Chinese writers.

The new script was also represented in the periodical field. As early as 1932 editions in Latinized Chinese were published for the character-newspapers, *The Dockworker* and *The Worker's Way*, the latter being the chief Chinese newspaper published in the Soviet Union. But the most important periodical was the all-Latinxua journal *Support the New Writing*. This periodical was started in Khabarovsk in January, 1934 as a ten-day journal. Soon thereafter it was changed into a six-day journal. Its name was later used as the title of a propaganda play that was included in a two-volume anthology of Chinese plays published in the Soviet Union.

Both the periodical and book literature in Latinized Chinese included many items which emphasized Soviet themes similar to those dealt with in other languages of the U.S.S.R. Histories of the Soviet Union and books like *The Great Leader, Karl Marx* were typical of the literature in the new script. Information on one of the Soviet Union's key problems, that of increasing labor efficiency and productivity, was provided by the publication of a Latinxua pamphlet entitled *The Stakhanovite Movement*. And at the beginning of 1937 a special effort was made to inform the Chinese of the new Stalin constitution by publishing the full text in Latinxua in Nos. 152 and 153 of the journal *Support the New Writing*.[21]

In order to increase the number of literates who could read these Latinxua materials strenuous efforts were made to train teachers of the new script. At the time of the 1932 conference only about 100 special workers had been trained. By 1934 the number of those who had received from two to six months of

intensive training in the new script increased to more than 330.[22] This was approximately one for every 300 Chinese in the Soviet Union.

Such large numbers of teachers, operating through the intensive literacy courses given either in the ordinary elementary schools or in special evening classes, were apparently able to make short work of illiteracy among the Chinese. In the first year of the program only 2,000 Chinese had learned Latinxua. In 1934 some 5,200 graduated from evening literacy classes in the Far Eastern region alone. By 1938 it was reported that most of the Chinese in the Soviet Union had become literate in the new script.[23]

The acquisition of literacy by the Chinese facilitated their further education. As a result the boast was made that former Chinese illiterates came to be included among the Soviet Union's engineers, teachers in higher educational institutions, specialized doctors, and proletarian men of letters.[24] Yet it is obvious that the Chinese in the U.S.S.R., who totaled only about 100,000 in all, could hardly have contributed large numbers to these professions. At least they could hardly have been numerous enough to warrant the creation of separate institutions of higher learning where the Chinese could study highly technical subjects in a Latinized version of their own language. For such advanced studies it was necessary to rely on the existing facilities of large linguistic groups like the Russians. Hence in the situation existing in the Soviet Union the new script could have only a limited utility. For most Chinese it served primarily as the simplest introduction to book-learning. Moreover, since literacy in one language facilitates literacy in another, it served also as the easiest bridge to literature in other languages.

Such acquisition of non-Chinese forms of learning both facilitated and was facilitated by the general process of assimilation of Chinese in the Soviet Union. Although in some places the Chinese were fairly numerous, they nowhere comprised even a local majority of the population. For the most part they were scattered among other urban dwellers in the cities—"points of assimilation in which non-Russians have been transformed into Russians."[25] Even those who organized themselves

into the collective farms in the Soviet East or formed little agricultural communities in the Kazakh and Kirghiz republics were in constant contact with non-Chinese peoples. Such contact was heightened by the fact that the high proportion of males (eighty-eight per cent) among the emigrant groups made for frequent intermarriage. In the frontier town of Kiakhta, for example, as early as 1926 most of the Chinese men were found to have Russian wives.[26] This has special significance in view of the well-known fact that the linguistic development of children is influenced more by the mother than by the father. It is therefore not surprising that even the relatively more backward Moslem Chinese in the Central Asiatic republics were bilingual and even trilingual.[27]

These indications that the Chinese were undergoing rapid assimilation appear to be borne out by a comparison of the results elicited in the 1926 and 1939 censuses with respect to the number of people claiming Chinese nationality. At the time of the earlier census, when the question dealing with nationality was couched in terms of *narodnost'*, or nationality considered from an ethnographical point of view, about 100,000 registered as having Chinese nationality. At the time of the 1939 census, when the question on nationality was phrased in terms of *natsionalnost'*, or nationality based on Stalin's definition of a nation as an "historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture,"[28] only 29,620 registered as having Chinese nationality.[29]

The difference in the number of Chinese as revealed in the 1926 and 1939 censuses can, it is true, be explained in part by emigration from the U.S.S.R. In this period a number of Chinese peasants who had migrated from Shantung to Siberia, where many had become skilled workers, made their way to Sinkiang in order to help in the building up of the province after Japan invaded Manchuria and Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai adopted a policy of friendship toward the Soviet Union. Yet these emigrants back into China do not appear to have been sufficiently numerous to explain the large drop in the Soviet Chinese population between 1926 and 1939.* A more likely

* Aitchen K. Wu, a Central Government representative in Sinkiang

explanation is that most of those who in 1926 might ethnically have been classed as Chinese chose instead in 1939 to register as having the nationality of the group in which they resided—Kazakh, Kirghiz, Russian, etc. In this event it can be said that the Chinese merely followed other small and scattered groups in the U.S.S.R. in experiencing what has been called "a cultural-psychological trend toward the association of individuals in larger ethnic groups, and toward the substitution of identification with political units in place of identification with traditional ethnic groups."*

Just about the time that the 1939 census was revealing the gradual disappearance of the Chinese, the script which had been especially created for them also dropped out of sight. After 1937 nothing more appears to have been published on the use of the script in the U.S.S.R. It is known only that not long after 1937 the use of Latinxua was "discontinued."†

Details are not available as to the precise timing and immediate motivation in the abandonment of Latinxua. It is possible, however, that both are related to the outstanding development which took place with respect to systems of writing in

during the Sheng Shih-ts'ai period, has stated that shortly after the Japanese attack in Manchuria the Chinese population in Sinkiang was increased by "about 20,000 Chinese nationals from the Russian Far East." ("The Fourteen Peoples of Chinese Turkistan," *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, xv, Series A [1944], 90) This is not mentioned in his earlier *Turkistan Tumult* (London, 1940). Mr. Chang Chih-yi, who visited Sinkiang on a government mission in 1943, has informed me in a conversation that he saw some of the returned Shantung Chinese in Sinkiang. All whom he met had learned to speak Russian and many had become skilled workers. He believes that they entered Sinkiang after the Japanese attack in 1937 and that they numbered at most 10,000.

* Lorimer, *op.cit.*, p. 137. Lorimer points out that not only the Chinese but most other groups not identified with an autonomous republic or district show absolute decreases in number between 1926 and 1939. He adds, "In some cases such decreases may be associated with net emigration; in most cases, however, the decline is probably not demographic at all, but simply indicates the cultural identification of such persons with one of the major Soviet nationalities."

† Reported to the author by Academician B. M. Alexeiev in letters dated October 27, 1944 and May 10, 1947. It has not been possible to obtain amplification of this information. A close check of the extremely detailed Soviet indexes of book and periodical literature (the *Knizhnaya Letopis'* and *Zhurnal'naya Letopis'*) reveals many references to Latinxua in the Soviet Union in the early period but nothing beyond 1937.

the period mentioned. This was the general Soviet abandonment of Latinized alphabets for Cyrillic scripts from 1939 on.*

In the case of Chinese the abandonment of the Latinized script does not appear to have been followed by the adoption of a Cyrillic alphabet. Instead it was apparently decided to

* In the initial phase of writing reform in the U.S.S.R. during the twenties, Latinized rather than Cyrillic alphabets had been selected to replace the Arabic scripts of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. One reason for the choice was that these peoples were less opposed to the Latin than to the Cyrillic alphabet, which had become identified in their minds with the Tsarist policy of Russification. Another factor stemmed from the expectation that the Russians themselves might abandon the Cyrillic in favor of a Latinized alphabet. This hope was dashed in the thirties. The very success of the literacy movement with the Cyrillic script militated against its replacement by a Latinized alphabet. So also did the fact that the non-Russian peoples themselves were becoming increasingly acquainted with the Cyrillic script in view of the general policy of studying Russian as a second language. (Summarized from F. Braun, "U.R S S.," in International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, *L'adoption universelle des caractères latins* [Paris, 1934], pp. 147-58.)

In the late thirties the collapse of the movement to Latinize the script of the eighty per cent who used the Cyrillic alphabet was followed by a movement to Cyrillize the scripts of the twenty per cent who used Latinized alphabets. Information is lacking as to whether this change encountered the same sort of opposition which confronted the earlier break with the Arabic script. In any event the Tajiks led off by abandoning their Latinized script for a Cyrillic alphabet in 1939. They were followed by the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and other nationalities. For some groups, such as the Kazakhs, Cyrillization marked a return to the alphabet originally used by the first nationalist writers in the native languages. The Kazakh nationalist Ibrai Altynsarin (1841-89), for example, attempted to promote education among his people by writing textbooks in the Cyrillic alphabet. (See Thomas G. Wiener, "Kazakh Literature and Oral Art of the 19th Century; Reflections on Russian Rule," *The American Review of the Soviet Union*, VIII, No. 2 [March, 1947], 64.)

It may be of interest to reproduce here from *Sobranie Postanovlenii* [*Collection of Decrees*], December 16, 1939, No. 57, p. 1005 the text of the first decree on the change, that relating to the Tajik language:

"The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. decrees:

"1. To satisfy the request of the public and party organizations of the Tajik S.S.R. regarding the change of Tajik writing from the Latinized to the Russian alphabet.

"2. To assist the Council of People's Commissars of the Tajik S.S.R. in organizing a governmental commission for the purpose of implementing the said measure for the transition to the new alphabet.

"3. To authorize the transference of secretarial work in the governmental institutions, public organizations, and periodical press into the new alphabet beginning with June, 1940.

"4. To transfer teaching and instruction in schools into the new alphabet

give up the alphabetic writing of Chinese altogether. Henceforth the needs of the largely bilingual or trilingual Chinese remnants in the Soviet Union were apparently to be met by literature in other forms of writing.

Despite the end of Latinxua in the U.S.S.R. it is the opinion of Soviet scholars who worked on the system that it was an unqualified success.[80] If this was so, the reason is to be found not alone in the labors of the scholars themselves but also in the activities of the political workers who helped to promote the new writing. By themselves the political workers had been able to stir up interest in Latinxua but had been unable to develop a scientifically acceptable system. By themselves the scholars had succeeded even earlier in creating scientifically accurate systems but had made no headway in promoting them. It was only the joint effort of political workers and students of language which enabled Latinxua to emerge from the scholar's study and serve the needs of illiterate Chinese in the U.S.S.R.

There was one other important factor which contributed to this development. Latinxua was created in the course of the general reform of systems of writing used in the Soviet Union. It thus owed its existence to the Soviet policy of seeking to find unity in diversity by conceding to its many nationalities the right to develop their own forms of speech and writing.

---

as of September 1, 1940, starting with the elementary classes, and preparing teaching cadres in advance for this and publishing the necessary textbooks in the new alphabet.

"5. To submit the question of change to the new alphabet for confirmation by the next session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik S.S.R.

"Signed by chairman V. Molotov and executive secretary M. Khlomov of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

"Moscow, Kremlin, November 21, 1939, No. 1928."

The wording of the decrees relating to the change for the Kirghiz and Kazakhs is almost identical. In the case of the Kirghiz instruction in the new script was to start on September 1, 1941. In the case of the Kazakhs instruction was to begin on September 1, 1941 in the first to the fourth classes and on February 1, 1942 in the fifth to the tenth classes.

The dates mentioned above suggest that the timing of the decrees may have been related to the outbreak of war in September, 1939. Documentation on this point, as well as on the background of the change from Latin to Cyrillic scripts, has not been forthcoming in my limited study of the subject, which has necessarily concentrated on the Chinese aspect. The whole subject deserves more extensive research.

6

NEW LANGUAGES FOR A FEDERATED CHINA

THE first intimation obtained by the Chinese public of the new developments in the Soviet Union was received through the medium of a routine news dispatch to one of the country's leading newspapers. In October, 1931, shortly after the end of the first Vladivostok conference on Latinization, the Shanghai *Shen Pao* carried the following headline: "Romanization Invented for Writing Chinese." The news item then went on to state that Chinese and Russian scholars in the Academy of Sciences at Leningrad had succeeded in creating a new romanization. The report mentioned also that it was planned to introduce the script among the Chinese in the Soviet Far East in the coming year. "It is believed that they will be able to read and write without having to learn the ideographic script," the dispatch concluded.[1] And that was all. It was to be almost three years more before the full details of the revolutionary new system filtered into China.

The story of Latinxua was unfolded in a curiously indirect and piecemeal fashion by several obscure periodicals which were published by Chinese Esperantists, supporters of Gwoyeu Romatzyh, and other small groups. One of the first articles to add to the snippets of information provided by the newspapers was written in Gwoyeu Romatzyh and published in October, 1932 in the periodical *G.R.*, which in turn had taken it from the June issue of a little Tientsin magazine called *The Four Seas.*[2] In August, 1933 Chiao Feng, a leading Esperantist in Shanghai, presented in the Chinese edition of *International Literature* a translation from the Esperanto of an article by E. Sjao entitled "La Alphabeto de l'Ĉina Revolucio," which had been published in August, 1932 in *La Nova Etapo*[3] and itself appears

to have been a translation of a Russian article which came out in a Soviet journal in 1931 under the signature of E. Siao (Hsiao San).[4] Thereafter the Shanghai organs of the Chinese Esperantists dealt with the subject of Latinization in almost every one of their issues.[5] But the lack of detailed information still limited the scope of the discussion.

In October, 1933 the Tientsin *Ta Kung Pao* published a Tass News Agency dispatch reporting that more than 100,000 copies of Latinized books had been put out as part of the large-scale campaign to promote the new script in the Soviet Union. This news roused Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, one of the chief supporters of Gwoyeu Romatzyh, to call on the "generals" and "enlisted men" of the National Language Movement to bestir themselves. "Don't let other people meddle in our business!" he exclaimed, adding that it was high time to follow Y. R. Chao's G.R. reader *The Last Five Minutes* with other publications of the same sort—"lest *The Last Five Minutes* really becomes the last five minutes." He also called for further study of the new scheme so as to enable supporters of G.R. to accept its advantages, if any, or to be in a better position to attack this creation of outsiders.[6]

It was Chao himself who first learned enough about the new scheme to undertake an analysis of its phonetic features. In the spring of 1934 a friend who was passing through Vladivostok sent him from there a copy of one of the textbooks being used in the Soviet Union. From the concrete information contained in this work Chao was able to summarize the main features of the system in an article which was originally written in Gwoyeu Romatzyh for the journal *G.R.* and was later published in characters in another organ of the National Language Romanization. Apart from the description of the scheme there was no indication of what the creator of G.R. thought about the rival system.[7] Before long, however, the position of the G.R. school toward the new scheme was made quite plain. It was one of vehement opposition.

Among the chief objections were those relating to certain technical features of the new system, and foremost among these was opposition to non-indication of tones. "Since a phonetic script represents pronunciation," said one opponent, "why is it

that something which is present in speech is omitted in writing?" He attributed this to the failure of foreigners to appreciate the value of tones, and predicted that if the scheme were used in China it would eventually lead to such confusion as to necessitate revision. "Then the Russian comrades who carry on research in 'Eastern studies' will have made a great advance and will realize that Chinese writing must distinguish tones," he concluded disdainfully.[8]

Another writer expressed similar views when he argued that the failure of Latinxua to distinguish syllables of the same spelling but of different tones would make it necessary to write roundabout expressions for ordinary monosyllables, such as the phrase, "the animal that catches rats" instead of the single-syllable word for "cat." Such a procedure, he maintained further, would divorce speech from writing and would therefore give rise to a new literary language.[9] Still another supporter of Gwoyeu Romatzyh, though conceding the Latinxua thesis that ambiguity could be cleared up by context, agreed nevertheless that the system would still be unable to dispense with tones. His main argument was presented in the following terms: "The statement [that context removes ambiguity] is of course correct. But context is only a small help and can by no means be relied upon wholly to understand the meaning of isolated words. If one were to depend entirely on context to understand the meaning of isolated words, then the system of writing would consist only of sentences and would no longer have any words. Language tends to progress in the direction of analysis. Yet Latinxua would now force the analytic Chinese language to revert to a primitive synthetic language."[10]

Although on the one hand Latinxua was criticized for subverting the true nature of the Chinese language, on the other hand it was also reproached with attempting to preserve other features of the language, notably the dialects. The strongest opposition was expressed toward the policy of providing separate systems of alphabetic writing for the main dialects of China as against the G.R. emphasis on unification of the National Language. "It won't do!" cried Li Chin-hsi. He sought to arouse further opposition to the proposals by asking, "Can it be that we will stand idly by and await a 'literary invasion' by

other people?"[11] This theme was reiterated by other supporters of G.R. to strengthen the charge that adherents of Latinxua were laying the basis for splitting up and destroying the country. When the Committee for the Promotion of the National Language Romanization summoned delegates to its first all-national conference in the fall of 1934, it attributed Latinxua to "the meddling of foreigners" and described one aim of the conference as "to investigate how to resist destruction from abroad."[12]

Such opposition to the new system of writing was not confined to China's leading students of linguistics. Others who lacked their technical ability to assess the phonetic features of the scheme nevertheless reacted against the system as something peculiar and perhaps even dangerous insofar as it threatened the position of the ideographic script. This reaction was strengthened by the movement which Wu Mi and other old-style scholars had started at Nanking in May, 1934 for the restoration of the literary style of writing. The movement itself was part of increased official opposition to cultural and political unorthodoxy.[13] The result was a converging of opposition against the new script even before it was able to win much attention.

At the same time that these developments were taking place, however, a counter-movement was growing up among many intellectuals who also feared "destruction from abroad" but were inclined to attribute this danger to encroachment by Japan and repression by Chinese authorities of those working for internal unity against foreign aggression. In the cultural sphere the attempt to revive the literary style gave rise to a storm of disapproval among writers of all shades of opinion who urged renewed emphasis on making the vernacular written language a truly popular style of writing. Against the demand for "literary language" was raised the slogan of *ta-chung yü*, "popular language" or "mass language." This battle-cry, which marked an extension and refinement of the old slogan of *paihua* or "vernacular language," was taken up also by Hu Shih himself, the man who had had most to do in popularizing the simpler style in the preceding twenty years. He was joined by many well-known writers, educators, scientists, artists, and

other intellectuals. Their participation resulted in what was described as "the most heated, broadest, and most effective discussion carried on during the last few years."[14]

The discussion ranged over a number of fundamental questions, such as the nature of the popular language, the relationship between it and vernacular language, the bearing of popular language on dialects, and the manner of recording the popular language. Among the various opinions expressed on all these problems was one which contended that "The creation of a mass language is not the establishment of a nationally unified spoken language, but the transformation of the spoken words of different localities into their respective written forms." Those who held this view often went further and argued that the written form of these mass languages should be based on an alphabetic system of writing. At this point the question of Latinxua entered the picture.[15] And so it turned out that the movement against cultural and political unorthodoxy, far from stopping the first faint beginnings of interest in Latinxua, served instead to rouse cultural circles in China to the point where their attention was more and more drawn to the new script. At the beginning of 1934 the new system of writing was virtually unknown in China. By the end of the year a Latinxua movement had already gotten under way.

One of the men who had most to do with bringing the movement into life was the greatest Chinese writer of modern times, Lu Hsün. This master of the ideographic script was immediately impressed with the importance of the new system of writing, which he was among the first to learn about in detail from samples of Latinized materials sent to him from Khabarovsk, the publishing center for the new script in the Soviet Union.[16] It appeared to him from the outset that the very existence of the Chinese people hung on the issue of doing away with the old system of writing in favor of something easier. "Shall we sacrifice ourselves for the ideographs?" he asked. "Or shall we sacrifice the ideographs for ourselves? All but the insane can answer this immediately."[17]

Later, in 1934 and after, when Latinxua came under attack from various quarters, Lu Hsün wrote frequently in defense of the new script and did much to give it wide publicity.[18] He

supported the non-indication of tones against the G.R. system, which he considered too complicated to be of practical value. He defended, too, the creation of separate scripts for separate dialects, arguing that ordinary people simply could not learn a standard National Language, and that it would therefore be necessary to provide them with written forms of their own speech. Against the danger of the permanent splitting up of the language he envisaged the gradual emergence of a common language that would be made up of elements taken from all the dialects of China. All these views stemmed from his conviction that Latinxua was better suited to the needs of the people as a whole than were G.R. and other rival schemes. "It is not a plaything of the study or library," he said. "It is a thing of the streets and the alleys. Its connection with the old writing is tenuous, but its relation to the people is close." He called for the active promotion of the new script and expressed his contempt of those who preferred to continue endless discussions of fine points and technicalities. "There are some reformers," he remarked, "who are very fond of talking about reform, but when a real reform reaches them it throws them into a panic."*

In the same month that the supporters of G.R. were calling for an attack on Latinxua a few unpanicked reformers set up the first organization for the promotion of the new script. In August, 1934 a group of Shanghai Esperantists headed by Chiao Feng established the Society to Study the Latinization of Chinese Writing. Within a few months the society published the first book to appear in China on the new system of writing, a work entitled *The Latinization of Chinese Writing*. The first edition of 1,000 copies was sold out within a month, and the subsequent editions, numbering some half dozen of one or two thousand copies each, were likewise bought up in a short time. This success of the Shanghai Esperantists encouraged their colleagues elsewhere to follow their example. Esperantists also

* It will be remembered that these remarks were not the first indications of Lu Hsün's interest in phonetic writing. In 1913 he had participated in the Conference on Unification of Pronunciation. And in 1921, when he published his famous *Story of Ah Q*, he took a gentle dig at those who looked askance at the campaign in *La Jeunesse* for the use of an alphabetic system of writing. (See Wang Chi-chen, *Ah Q and Others* [New York, 1941], p. 80.)

took the lead in establishing organizations to study and promote Latinxua in Hongkong, Nanning, and other cities.[19]

In undertaking these activities the proponents of the new system of writing had to withstand not only the panic mentioned by Lu Hsün but also the more substantial fear of reprisal at the hands of the authorities. In 1935 the man who was honored by the Chinese as the real creator of Latinxua, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, who had slipped back into China in 1931 and had later taken the post of Commissioner of Education in the South China Soviet, was seized and put to death by a Kuomintang firing squad. Throughout the country the new script was interdicted and publications dealing with the system were confiscated and suppressed.[20] Official disapproval of non-ideographic writing was even said to account for the end of the efforts being made by Huang Hsüeh-chou, a permanent member of the Lunghai Kuomintang Headquarters, to promote the government-approved G.R. system of writing.[21]

Yet the movement in support of the new Latinization was by no means partisan in character or limited to individuals of the political persuasion of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai. Indeed, perhaps its chief characteristic was the eminence of its chief proponents and the breadth of its popular following. There is no question but what Lu Hsün himself, in taking up the cause of Latinxua, was motivated by the same broad humanism which had won him an audience among almost all circles in China. The eminent journalist Ko Kung-chen, who returned from the Soviet Union in 1935 with a large batch of Latinxua materials in order to promote the system,[22] was likewise motivated by cultural considerations rather than those of partisan politics. The same was true of Professor T'ao Hsing-chih, a leading educator and National Salvationist who was no less active in promoting Latinxua than he was patriotic in urging resistance to Japanese aggression. A somewhat similar middle-of-the-road position was taken by another supporter of Latinxua, Kuo Mo-jo, who had won widespread fame for his versatile scholarship. In the same group belong the celebrated novelists Mao Tun, Pa Chin, and T'ien Chün. Such were the men whose support of Latinxua gave to the movement a distinction which removed it from the category of partisan activities.

Besides aiding the Latinxua movement by his writings, Lu Hsün contributed financial support by turning over all the income which he received from his articles on the new system.[23] In addition he did not hesitate to express his support of Latinxua in ways which were bound to earn him even greater disapproval from the authorities. He wrote a short piece in favor of the new script for a December, 1934 issue of the Latinxua periodical *Support the New Writing* which was published in the Soviet Union. (This piece, and also one written by Mao Tun for the same journal a few months later, subsequently appeared in China in ideographic form.) Such actions as these encouraged others to join the Latinxua movement and earned Lu Hsün the gratitude of those who agreed with him on the new script. Among the eulogistic scrolls submitted at the time of his death in October, 1936 was one by Kuo Mo-jo which said:

"The greatest masterpiece in the world is his *Story of Ah Q*
But even greater in his life was his activity for Latinxua."[24]

Perhaps no less effective than the support given by Lu Hsün was that provided by Professor T'ao Hsing-chih. The latter was instrumental in getting the National Salvation Association to include in its educational program special emphasis on the new script, which he said was able to attain nation-wide support precisely because of its association with this patriotic movement. In promoting literacy by the new system of writing T'ao was especially interested in developing a program which would be self-supporting rather than dependent on outside contributions and would enlist the aid of volunteer workers recruited from the people themselves. In this respect he said that the new mass education movement should be distinguished from the type of education advocated by James Yen. "Ting Hsien *advocates* mass education," he said, "but in practice it results in an education of the few, while the new mass education aims at a real education of the mass, by the mass, and for the mass." He was convinced that the new script provided a revolutionary means of bringing culture to the people. He therefore joined in the tendency to abandon the term Latinxua for the new designation Sin Wenz or New Writing;

he himself translated the name into English as New Language. Until his death, he continued to support the Sin Wenz Movement as the answer to China's cultural needs.[25]

The impetus given to the new script by such supporters was enough to launch a movement that spread rapidly throughout the country. In the area controlled by the semi-autonomous Kwangsi militarists before their capitulation to the Central Government in 1936 the movement flourished under official encouragement. Elsewhere it encountered official opposition and was forced to proceed by more or less clandestine means. What enabled the movement to survive repression and to win widespread support was the fact that from the beginning it became part of the general movement for cultural and political progress in China. This interconnection was especially stressed by the leading supporters of the New Writing. In a sickbed interview given in the summer of 1936, Lu Hsün repeated his warning that "If the ideographs are not destroyed, China is sure to die," and he added, "The movement for Sin Wenz should merge and go forward with the present national liberation movement, and promotion of the New Writing should be taken on as a duty by every progressive person of culture."[26] T'ao Hsing-chih considered the movement as nothing less than a cultural revolution. "It is quite natural," he added, "that this cultural revolution should be inextricably connected with the movement for national liberation."[27] Such views by widely respected supporters of the new script helped to remove it from the scholar's study to the political arena. The result was a movement in behalf of Sin Wenz that was as much political as it was cultural.

This dual character of the New Writing Movement was most strikingly illustrated when the script was taken up by the great student movement of the mid-thirties. In Peking and elsewhere students took pride in evading the censorship and baffling the police by corresponding in what was sometimes thought to be a strange foreign language. On a more serious level, they organized discussion groups and published journals and other works in Sin Wenz. A small weekly was published by the students at Yenching University and similar activities

were carried on at Tsinghua and other schools in the city. By the end of 1935 there were thirty-four units of the Peiping Sin Wenz Study Society with more than 800 members. Similar organizations were set up in Tientsin, Kaifeng, Taiyuan, Nanking, Hankow, Changsha, Kweichow, Chungking, Shanghai, Ningpo, Amoy, Canton, and many other cities.[28] The activities were brought to the illiterate masses by the publication of materials especially for their use and by the establishment of classes to teach the New Writing.[29]

In the same month that the student movement reached its climax in the demonstrations of December, 1935, the Shanghai Society to Study the Latinization of Chinese Writing initiated a movement to collect signatures expressing approval of a declaration entitled "Our Views on Promoting the New Writing." The declaration was a comprehensive statement of the position of those who supported the new script. It is therefore summarized in some detail in the following paraphrase:

"China has reached the critical point of life or death, and we must therefore organize and educate the masses in order to resolve our national difficulties. But at the very outset this task of educating the masses runs into an enormous difficulty, namely the Chinese ideographs. It is necessary to expend several years' time and several tens or hundreds of dollars before it is possible to acquire even a superficial knowledge of them. The masses, who work hard for twelve or thirteen hours a day, lack the time and the money to divert themselves with this pastime.

"Simplified characters are merely the conventional characters in another form and are not a basic solution. The National Phonetic Alphabet is a means of indicating the pronunciation of the ideographs and is simply auxiliary to them. The National Language Romanization venerates the speech of Peiping as the National Language; nominally it advocates the unification of the National Language, but actually it sets up a dictatorship of the Peiping speech. In the opinion of people with leisure and money, no special effort is involved in learning Peiping speech and then using the roman letters to read and write. But if a poor person of Shanghai or Foochow or Canton

has to study the Peiping speech and at the same time to learn romanization, that is almost as difficult as learning a foreign language. Moreover, the National Language Romanization emphasizes the indication of tones, thereby confusing the student at the beginning of his studies.

"What the masses need in the way of a new script is a new phonetic writing, a new writing without the nuisance of tone-indication, a new writing that deals with regional dialects. Such a writing has already appeared. Our brothers in Vladivostok were the first to create the new Latinized script, and with very good results. But let us make no mistake about it—the Chinese in Vladivostok were also Chinese. So this scheme, though created outside the country, is still the creation of Chinese.

"Experience in Shanghai shows that people can learn to read and write Sin Wenz by spending one hour a day for half a month, or, if they are somewhat dull, for a month. The cost is three cents per person. This is much more economical in time and money than any other means of becoming literate.

"The fear that Sin Wenz will disunite China is unjustified. The ideographs are only nominal unifiers and the National Language is suited only to a few intellectuals. The unity which we need must be neither abstract, illusory, or artificial, but one derived from real life. Sin Wenz will enable the masses within a region to communicate with each other internally. Items of local significance need be written up only in the local Sin Wenz, whereas items of nation-wide interest can be translated and given wide distribution by intellectuals. Thus more intellectuals will be produced and culture will be further developed. This will aid the unity of China.

"We ask that apart from Northern and Shanghai Sin Wenz, which have already been created, the speech of other dialect areas and of the minorities be studied with a view to preparing systems of writing for them. We ask that textbooks be prepared in the New Writing and used in all schools. We ask for the publication of periodicals, newspapers, dictionaries, literary works, and other reading material in Sin Wenz, together with materials comparing the dialect of the north with other dialects.

We hope everyone will study the New Writing, promote it, and make of it an important instrument for promoting popular culture and national liberation."[30]

Although the declaration was not permitted to circulate freely it nevertheless succeeded in obtaining widespread support. Within a few months more than a thousand people had expressed their agreement by affixing their signatures to the document. Those who did so ranged all the way from leading intellectuals of the country to unknowns who signed themselves merely by "milk-names" like Mei-mei, Ah . . . , etc. Among the former were some whom we have already encountered as active exponents of the new script, as for example Lu Hsün, T'ao Hsing-chih, Kuo Mo-jo, and Mao Tun. Other prominent signers included former Minister of Education Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, the *paihua* reformer Hu Shih, the Kuomintang leader Sun Fo, and the National Salvationist Shen Chün-ju. The declaration with its long list of signatures was subsequently published in May, 1936 in two journals and as a separate broadside which was distributed widely throughout the country.[31] As a result the New Writing was able to win still more supporters.

But there was still one group, the adherents of Gwoyeu Romatzyh, who would have nothing to do with Sin Wenz and continued to do battle with its supporters. This situation was deplored by the latter as dissipating the strength of those who should join hands in a common effort for reform of the script. They therefore seized the opportunity presented by the beginnings of national unity following the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek to attempt the creation of a similar united front in the cultural field. In January, 1937 a journal called *Language and Literature* was started in Shanghai with a view toward smoothing over the antagonisms among the various schools of language reform, and most especially between Gwoyeu Romatzyh and Sin Wenz. "The time has come when we should call a halt to all internecine warfare!" said an article in the first issue. "The intensification of foreign aggression has opened everyone's eyes. If we continue our antagonisms it will merely lead to the extinction of Chinese language and literature." The article called on all advocates of the National Phonetic Alpha-

bet, G.R., simplified characters, Sin Wenz, and other schemes to join hands in protecting national language and literature and in promoting national-salvation education in order to resist foreign aggression.[32]

In response to this plea Wang Yü-ch'uan, an adherent of G.R., wrote an article entitled "The Mistakes of Sin Wenz" for a subsequent issue of *Language and Literature* in which he reiterated his objection to the non-indication of tones by listing 655 examples of homonyms which he thought would cause difficulty in the New Writing. The article was answered by Yeh Lai-shih, a colleague of the Esperantist Chiao Feng in establishing the first Latinxua organization in China, with the contention that the list of 655 should actually be reduced to a mere ten or so. Wang Yü-ch'uan returned to the attack with an article entitled "The Way to Join Hands." He presented the G.R. offer on this subject in the following terms: "Let all comrades of literary reform patiently learn, study, and become acquainted with the principles and orthography of the National Language Romanization. After they have studied it, if they consider it no good, we invite them to give us their views without restraint. If they consider it good, we invite them to join in fighting for the National Language Romanization."[33]

Wang's statement evoked from Yeh Lai-shih the indignant charge that "This is not a joining of hands. This is an exclusive undertaking." He remarked caustically that he saw nothing in the ten-year history of G.R. to justify the assumption that the system was capable of effecting a revolution in Chinese language and literature. "We are different from Mr. Wang," he went on. "We have no intention at all of pretending to 'join hands' in order to swallow the National Language Romanization Movement and monopolize China's revolution in language and literature." Quite the contrary, he continued, it was unfortunate that G.R. had had so little success and it was to be hoped that the system would flourish and thereby add strength to the whole movement for reform. He therefore called for an immediate joining of hands with a view to effecting a compromise and perhaps amalgamating the two systems themselves.[34]

Despite intensified aggression on the part of the Japanese, who began their all-out war against China in the summer of

1937, no working compromise was effected between the rival schools of alphabetic writing. The language reform movement was further weakened by the war itself. After Japan struck in 1937 the thriving activities carried on in behalf of the New Writing in Peking and many other cities were abruptly halted as these areas came under the control of the enemy. The beginning of war marked the end of one phase of the Latinxua movement. Thereafter activities for the new script were confined to centers not yet occupied by the Japanese.

But in one respect the Japanese onslaught had the effect of aiding the spread of the New Writing. When the Japanese began to hammer at the Chinese sections of Shanghai, a horde of refugees fled into the International Settlement, where they were herded into a number of refugee camps. Various organizations, such as the International Red Cross and several patriotic Chinese groups, attempted to minister to the needs of these unfortunates. One of the Chinese groups which sought to do so was the Shanghai Sin Wenz Study Society. In January, 1938, after it had already begun extensive educational work in the camps, this society petitioned the authorities of the International Settlement to register it as a legal organization. At the same time it sent a delegation to ask the cooperation of Dr. H. C. Ch'en, the Chinese Commissioner of Education in the Settlement. This official was a graduate of Teachers College in New York who had won a reputation as a practical educator because of such contributions as his extremely valuable work in Chinese along the lines of the Thorndike word-lists. He was therefore willing to accede to the request to look into the New Writing and to make an on-the-spot investigation of what had been achieved through the use of Sin Wenz in the refugee camps. The result was to win the enthusiastic support of this important educator.

After his introduction to the New Writing Dr. Ch'en used to carry a pamphlet on the system with him at all times and to expound the principles of Sin Wenz at every opportunity. He argued that the New Writing should be used because it was easier and more practical than any other script, G.R. included. He advocated the creation of separate systems of writing for

five dialect areas of China and defended this position by stating that a trip through the U.S.S.R. had convinced him that "Linguistic division does not at all lead to political division." At the same time, however, he stressed the necessity for a National Language and for the preservation of the ideographs. These views were expressed in numerous talks and articles, including one in English. In addition Dr. Ch'en wrote a number of pamphlets which were put out by the Red Cross in Shanghai and by other interested organizations. Among his publications in the New Writing were biographies of Lincoln, Franklin, Edison, Watt, Ford, Chaplin, and other noted Westerners.

Besides promoting Sin Wenz among the refugees by writing and talking on the system, Dr. Ch'en also took an active part in organizational activities aimed at winning wider support for the new script. These activities were facilitated when the International Settlement, following the lead of the Central Government, issued an order in March, 1938 giving the system official recognition. As a result attacks on the New Writing by people like the nephew of Wang Ching-wei could now be more easily ignored and promotion of the script could be more freely carried on. In the same month the Society to Study the Latinization of Chinese Writing hired a Y.M.C.A. hall to hold the first demonstration of the accomplishments of refugees in learning the new script. Among the exhibits was a weekly called *New Students*, the first issue of which consisted solely of contributions by graduates of literacy classes in the refugee camps. Dr. Ch'en participated in this exhibition and also in a conference of the society held the next month that was attended by some 200 people, including Hu Shih. In addition he was instrumental in getting the International Red Cross, which he served in the capacity of educational director, to undertake various activities on behalf of the new script. In August this organization released a report of its achievements in promoting Sin Wenz. The statistics showed that it had conducted 121 classes in the New Writing and had taught the system to 4,285 people, of whom more than three-quarters were children.[35]

Following the legalization of the New Writing in the International Settlement a similar step was taken in the British Crown Colony of Hongkong, though not until a year later. Shortly thereafter, in July, 1939, the Hongkong Sin Wenz Study Society was set up with Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei as honorary chairman of the board of directors. The working chairman was another ex-Minister of Education, Chang I-lin, who was converted to the new script from his early support of the National Phonetic Alphabet. Among the other members of the board were a number of prominent Hongkong intellectuals, several of them from Hongkong University, as for example Hsü Ti-shan, a leading authority on Buddhism. The activities of the organization were largely financed by Chang I-lin out of his own pocket or from contributions which he obtained as a result of his constant oral and written propaganda for the New Writing. With these funds the Hongkong group was able to publish a number of Sin Wenz textbooks and readers in the Cantonese and other dialects. Among the more unusual activities of the group was an English-language broadcast on the system from radio Hongkong in the summer of 1940.[36]

The total output of Sin Wenz materials in Hongkong and Shanghai and in Peking and other centers before their fall to the Japanese was impressive.[37] Dozens of textbooks were published for Northern Mandarin, the dialect which received the most attention, and also for the other dialects which were given their own scripts, as for example Shanghai, Cantonese, Hakka, Ningpo, Wenchow, and Ch'ao-chou. More than thirty periodicals were devoted to promoting these various forms of Sin Wenz. Of that number a half dozen or more were published entirely in the New Writing. Scores of character publications showed their sympathy with the system by printing their names in Sin Wenz. Some newspapers carried sections written in the new script. Numerous wall newspapers, most of them inexpensive handwritten affairs, were plastered on any convenient wall to provide news for those who had learned the New Writing. Other reading material was provided by the dozens of books and pamphlets which presented translations of Western publications, Sin Wenz versions of Chinese materials in the ideographic script, and new original works in Sin Wenz. In

addition to the items already mentioned the following works may be noted as revealing the scope and content of the literature in the New Writing:

Story of Ah Q
Diary of a Madman
Outside Literary Chats
Lu Hsün is Not Dead
Guerrilla Warfare
Stories of All Countries
The Sino-Japanese Problem
Open Your Eyes and Look
Introduction to Political Economy
Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People
Slaves of Machines and Masters of Machines
Popular Songs in the New Writing
Fight Back to Our Old Home
A Dog of Flanders (by Louise De La Ramé)

The concentration of publishing and other activities in foreign-controlled areas like Shanghai and Hongkong, particularly after 1937, helped to preserve the New Writing Movement and to spread its ideas among wider circles. From China the movement spread to overseas communities of Chinese. The New Writing was taken up by Chinese in Annam, Malaya, the Pacific Islands, Europe, the United States, and other areas. In San Francisco the local New Chinese Alphabetized Language Study Society published a journal which advocated that the Chinese in the area first learn Latinized Cantonese as the standard language and later acquire Latinized Northern Mandarin as the second language. In Lyon, France, a school for children of Chinese workers set up classes in the standard Sin Wenz in order to teach Chinese language and literature to those who did not know the ideographic script. Even a few Westerners also learned about the New Writing. The system seems to have been ignored by the missionaries, however, except for a Spanish Jesuit priest, José F. Corta, whose admiration for Sin Wenz was tempered with regret that it was not the Church which was promoting this simplest of scripts.[38]

The New Writing Movement also spread into Chinese territory which had not yet fallen to the Japanese. In Kweilin and some other cities in unoccupied China there were a number of groups which devoted much time and energy to the subject. But perhaps the most important activity in Kuomintang China

was that which centered around the attempts to enlist the aid of the government and of people in high official circles. Even before the Japanese attack such an attempt had been made when the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang was asked by the China Sin Wenz Study Society to make a statement expressing approval of the system. But it was only after the government had moved to Hankow and political harmony had reached its height that a gesture was made in this direction. In March, 1938 the Propaganda Ministry issued a statement saying, "There is no objection if the Chinese Latinization movement is made the subject of research in the field of pure scholarship or is viewed as an instrument of the social movement." This statement was interpreted by the supporters of the New Writing as giving them freedom to pursue their activities. But strong opposition to any such interpretation soon arose and brought about the amending of the original pronouncement.[39]

After the Central Government moved to Chungking the National Educational Conference which met in that city under the auspices of the Ministry of Education received a petition from the Shanghai supporters of Sin Wenz asking that a study be made of the New Writing with a view to expediting the elimination of illiteracy. Nothing came of the request. About a year later, at the time of the Fifth Session of the People's Political Council in April, 1940, ten members petitioned the Ministry of Education to call a conference to discuss the New Writing. This request was likewise ignored. The best that adherents of Sin Wenz could do was to gain the support of a few individuals who were more prominent than powerful. Thus the signers of the P.P.C. petition included Wang Yün-wu, the well-known head of the Commercial Press who later became Minister of Economics and then of Finance in the Kuomintang government. When Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei died he was succeeded by Sun Fo as honorary chairman of the Hongkong Sin Wenz Study Society, the work of which was also supported by Madame Sun Yat-sen. And when plans were discussed at the end of 1940 to set up a similar society in Chungking, the sponsors of the proposed organization included the noted vocational educator

Huang Yen-p'ei and the Kuomintang veterans Shao Li-tzu and Marshal Li Chi-shen.[40]

But no support was forthcoming from those who wielded the real power in the country. A Hongkong University professor who sought Madame Chiang Kai-shek's support in promoting the New Writing failed to receive an answer. Chiang Kai-shek was equally unresponsive when Chang I-lin seized the opportunity presented by a dinner engagement with the head of state to launch into a discussion of what he considered to be the only script which could bring universal literacy to China. The former Minister of Education was no more successful in the appeal which he made in 1940 to the then Minister of Education. When Chang I-lin criticized as impractical Ch'en Li-fu's 1940 plan to wipe out illiteracy in five years and sent him a letter asking the adoption of the New Writing, the Kuomintang leader wrote back that "As to the Latinized writing, there is as yet no way of knowing its effectiveness."[41]

A more decided opinion as to the effectiveness of the New Writing was held by the leaders in the Communist-controlled areas of China. Initially, it is true, the Communist leaders appear to have paid little attention to the new script. This was probably due in the main to the fact that at the time when news of Latinxua first seeped into the country, the Chinese Soviet areas were fully engaged in attempting to ward off the Kuomintang extermination campaigns. The year 1934, when Chinese knowledge of the New Writing finally became more or less complete, was also the year when the Long March got under way.

This is not to say that the Communists were unaware of the new developments. Even before the evacuation of their South China strongholds they had been in a position to receive first-hand information through the return of several Chinese who had been active in the Latinization movement in the Soviet Union. Chief among these was Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, who was Communist Commissioner of Education until his capture and death in 1935. He was succeeded in this position by Hsü T'e-li shortly after the return of the latter from two years of study in the U.S.S.R. Another Communist who returned at about the same time after making a special study of the Latinization work

was Lin Tsu-han or Lin Pai-ch'ü.[42] Yet the information possessed by these men was not easy to apply under the conditions existing in South China. It was not until the Communist center of gravity stabilized itself in the hills of northern Shensi that a program for the promotion of the New Writing could be initiated in the areas under Communist control.

When Edgar Snow visited Red China in the summer of 1936 he found that the Communists had already begun a limited use of Latinized Chinese. They had published a little pocket dictionary in the new system and were printing part of the newspaper *Red China* in Latinxua. Hsü T'e-li, who had taken the lead in promoting the scheme, was experimenting with it on a class of youngsters.[43] When Mrs. Edgar Snow spoke to Hsü a year later she found him an ardent enthusiast for Latinizing the language.[44] He answered a query as to the possibility of mass education in the ideographic script by saying, "I think it would be impossible under present economic conditions." He elaborated on this point by emphasizing that the cost in time and money placed the old-style education beyond the means of the ordinary people, adding: "In three months we can teach a person to read and write through the Latinized alphabet. In two years we can make him entirely literate so that he can read newspapers and ordinary political and social lectures. To achieve this same result by the use of the old characters would take at least ten years of study in a classroom."

As part of the campaign for the promotion of the new script Yenan was reported to have organized many night schools where both the old ideographs and the New Writing were available. During the preceding winter a hundred night schools were said to have been created for the peasants. Among the books used were several written by Hsü T'e-li himself. The system was also used extensively in the army with the encouragement of leaders like Yeh T'ing, commander of the New Fourth Army, who said, "Promotion of Latinxua is the best means for the literacy movement in the Army."[45] Hsü estimated that in the Communist Party and among the Red Army officers alone "at least twenty thousand" were able to read and write Sin Wenz. The script was also used for writing the languages

of the Mongols, Lolos, and other minorities attending the Communist Party School.[46]

In the promotion of the Latinxua campaign much emphasis was placed on the development of trained teachers and the elaboration of slogans, songs, and other propaganda materials.[47] The chief slogan, the same as that advanced by Lenin two decades earlier, was "Latinization is the great revolution of the East." This was, naturally enough, the central theme of the "Song of the Militants," which sought to urge on the teachers of Latinxua with such hortatory phrases as "Let us wipe out illiteracy. Let us finish with ignorance and the lack of culture. Let us unify the language." An unusual note was struck by the same song when it urged, "Let us imitate the spirit of the Christian missionaries." In addition to such songs for the teachers there were also songs for the taught. One, called "Song of the Graduates," went as follows:

> What a disgrace not to know how to read!
> Impossible to describe the depth of our sorrow.
> For four millennia we lived like oxen and horses,
> And life had become unbearable to us.
>
> Wanting to read, to live, and to sustain ourselves,
> Now we have learned the New Writing—
> We have made use of Latin letters to write.
> This is a new life for the Chinese language.
> This is the great revolution of the East!

In order to expand still further the campaign for the promotion of the New Writing, a call was issued in 1940 for the establishment of a Sin Wenz Society in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In the statement calling for this action the following points were stressed: "The great New Culture Movement of May 4th . . . was limited to an extremely small group of progressives, while the masses remained centuries behind. The reason for this is China's political and cultural backwardness, but the difficulty of the ideographic script is also one of the most important factors. . . . A Great Wall has been erected between the masses and the new culture. . . . This has facilitated the imperialist invasion of the Chinese nation.

. . . We do not at all propose to effect an immediate substitution of the ideographic script by the New Writing, nor to call a halt toward continued modification of the latter. . . . What we want to do now is to use Sin Wenz to teach illiterates, so that they will be able in a short time to use it to study politics and science and also the ideographs. But the New Writing must be studied until it can be read and written and only then will it be possible to go beyond it to the study of the ideographs."

Among the ninety-nine people who signed their names as original sponsors of this call were some of the most prominent leaders of Communist China. They included Lin Pai-ch'ü, chairman of the Border Region Government; Hsü T'e-li, Commissioner of Education; Wu Yü-chang, one of the men who had worked on Latinxua in the Soviet Union; Hsiao San, the revolutionary poet who had also returned from the U.S.S.R.; Tung Pi-wu, the Communist elder statesman who in 1945 attended the San Francisco conference setting up the United Nations; and Ting Ling and other writers. These sponsors were joined later by fifty-three other persons, including the top Communist leaders Mao Tse-tung, Chu Te, Wang Ming, Wang Chen, and Ch'en Pai-ta.

On November 7, 1940, the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region Sin Wenz Society was set up. More than 1,000 people attended the initial ceremonies that were held in the main auditorium in Yenan. An honorary presidium consisting of Mao Tse-tung, Sun Fo, Chang I-lin, Shen Chün-ju, Kuo Mo-jo, and Huang Yen-p'ei was chosen. The working presidium of seventeen people included some of those already mentioned as active workers for the New Writing. In addition it included other important figures like Lo Mai, the secretary-general of the Border Region Government and head of the Party School in 1944, and Kao Kang, a man of peasant origin who had risen to Party chief of the Shen-Kan-Ning area at the same time. As part of the program of reports and lectures Lin Pai-ch'ü informed the audience that the Border Region Government had already given legal standing to the New Writing by legislating for it equal validity with the ideographic script in reports, petitions, accounts, correspondence, and other docu-

ments. He added that henceforth the most important of the laws and public announcements of the Government were to be published in both Sin Wenz and characters. Lo Mai reported that the Border Region Department of Education had been ordered to experiment in teaching the New Writing in all schools in the coming winter. Another speaker expressed the official attitude toward Sin Wenz when he said, "The revolution in the script is no less significant than the revolution in politics." In general the view of the conference was summed up by Wu Yü-chang's remark that only by means of the New Writing would it be possible to build a state on the foundations of the New Democracy.[48]

Such vigorous official support given to the Sin Wenz Movement in the areas under Communist control appeared to assure the movement even more success than it had gained in other parts of China. Yet four years later, when the foreign correspondents penetrated the blockade of the Border Region in the summer of 1944. they found that the campaign to promote Sin Wenz had come to a halt.* It was not only in the Communist areas that the great expectations for the New Writing had failed to materialize. In other areas too the intervening years had witnessed the almost complete cessation of work on the system. The reasons for this are to be found mainly in the events of the preceding years.

The chief development between 1940 and 1944 was of course the intensification of hostilities following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. At one stroke the flourishing activities in behalf of Sin Wenz in Shanghai, Hongkong, and other foreign-controlled areas taken over by the Japanese were brought to an end. In Shanghai the invaders arrested Ni Hai-shu, the leading historian of the Sin Wenz Movement. They also dissolved the Shanghai Sin Wenz Study Society and

* Gunther Stein, *The Challenge of Red China* (New York, 1945), p. 260. The halting of the Sin Wenz movement was not a complete abandonment but a reduction to an extremely low level. Occasional Latinxua items continued to be published, as for example the dictionary *Gianz*, a crudely printed affair put out in 1943 by a Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region Sin Wenz committee. A few other miscellaneous activities are reported in Ni Hai-shu, "The Movement for a Chinese Alphabetic Script in the Year Since Victory," *Shih-tai jih-pao* (Shanghai), October 8, 1946 [in Chinese].

suppressed the journal *Newspaper of the Masses* and like publications in the new script. By such actions the New Writing Movement was completely destroyed in occupied China.[49]

In unoccupied Kuomintang China the movement for the new script simultaneously encountered increasing difficulties. Not long after the government moved to Chungking and the first steps were taken there for the promotion of Sin Wenz the political atmosphere began to change. This trend was accentuated after the New Fourth Army incident in the winter of 1940 and the spread of civil war in the succeeding winter. In such a situation the New Writing Movement, which was almost as much political as cultural, inevitably encountered even more opposition than before. The objections were the same as those previously raised against the new script. In the context of the deepening political crisis, however, the controversy over the New Writing acquired renewed significance in high-lighting the basic cleavages within Chinese society.

On the more or less purely technical level the New Writing met with continued opposition on the part of adherents of G.R. and of those who objected to phonetic writing altogether. But most often such opposition reflected only one aspect of disapproval on wider grounds. Among the main arguments against Sin Wenz was one which made it necessary for its supporters to deny that there was anything factional about the system or that it was a "Soviet article" and not a "Chinese article."[50] Apart from this issue the chief point of disagreement, and the one which most clearly illustrated the basic differences in approach toward reform in China, involved the question of applying the New Writing to the various dialects. Supporters of Sin Wenz thought it necessary to create what amounted to several distinct written languages for Shanghai, Canton, and other areas of markedly non-Mandarin speech. Such a step, opponents charged, would lead to the break-up of China.

What was involved here was a difference of opinion as to the organization of the Chinese state. Chinese who desired a unitary state sought to achieve unity through uniformity in the script. The principle of uniformity was extended by some opponents of Sin Wenz, as for example the Ch'en brothers, to include the concept of authoritarian centralization of political

power. On the other hand supporters of the New Writing hoped to find unity in diversity through a federation of areas which were linguistically differentiated and politically autonomous. The clash was thus one of integral nationalism versus federal nationalism.

This clash of nationalisms was a basic underlying factor in bringing an end to the Sin Wenz Movement even in Communist-controlled territory. In the years 1940-44 actual armed conflict developed between Kuomintang and Communist forces, both on the periphery of the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region and in other areas. Simultaneously there was an intensification of the enemy drive against the liberated areas behind the Japanese lines. The period was one of intense difficulties for the Communists, whose resources were strained to the utmost merely to assure survival. Under such conditions it appears unlikely that they could successfully launch a complex, large-scale campaign for the New Writing, particularly when it was found that the difficulties, both technical and organizational, had been underestimated.[51]

Technical difficulties stemmed in part from the dearth of personnel competent to solve some of the rather tricky linguistic problems involved in creating scientifically adequate romanization schemes, compiling materials in the new script, and devising methods of teaching the new writing to illiterates. In the U.S.S.R. these problems had been solved because the most competent Soviet linguistic scientists had made their services available to the Latinization movement. In China, however, the best-trained linguists, with few exceptions, withheld their support from Latinxua.

Organizational difficulties, too, were a greater problem in China than they had been in the Soviet Union, in part because of the far greater number of illiterates involved. Indifference and indeed outright opposition greeted Latinxua in China as well, both in the Communist and non-Communist areas, and could only be overcome by a much more massive organizational drive than that which in the Soviet Union had successfully propagandized Latinization by bringing together trained linguists and political workers, drawing large numbers of Chinese into discussion groups, and training no less than one

teacher for every 300 illiterates. Under the war-time conditions prevailing in China the personnel available for such activities was utterly inadequate to mount a nation-wide campaign for literacy in Latinxua. Rather than adopt the as yet unproved alternative strategy of sporadic small-scale campaigns, somewhat similar to those by which James Yen achieved his limited success in mass education, the supporters of the New Writing apparently decided it was preferable to suspend the movement.

Yet even though Sin Wenz was brought to a halt it was not viewed as permanently ended. The chief prerequisite for its revival was stated by Hsü T'e-li in the summer of 1944 when he said, "We hope to reintroduce the New Writing in a unified, democratic China."[52]

Elsewhere too this precondition was considered essential by others who hoped for a revival of attempts to reform the written language by the adoption of an alphabetic script.[53] After the surrender of Japan the discussion of the problem was renewed, though on a more modest level. From Shanghai Ni Hai-shu reported the creation of a number of new scripts. One by Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien, who had worked with Karlgren in Sweden, was called National Language Democratic Alphabet.[54] But both Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien and Ni Hai-shu stressed the need of a new political climate in order to accomplish anything in the way of language reform. The former, who attributed the failure of the otherwise successful Sin Wenz Movement to the war situation, said a revival was possible only "when peace is restored."[55] Ni Hai-shu reported that activity for the new script was not being revived on a large scale in post-war China "because of the intensification of the civil war situation, the difficulties of life, and both tangible and intangible repression and restraint." He, too, expressed the opinion that the Sin Wenz Movement could revive "only after the establishment of a coalition government."[56]

But despite these expressions of hope for the future the question still remains as to the possibility of success for the New Writing or any other of the innumerable suggestions for the reform of the Chinese script. Can it be that the lack of final success for any of the proposed schemes has been due to the impossibility of writing Chinese in other than the familiar

ideographic script? Is the final solution to be sought in the perfection of one of the suggested alphabets or in the creation of an entirely new system? Will the character of the language reform be determined by non-linguistic factors such as the political orientation of the government? The answers to these questions are to be found in an analysis of the linguistic and social-political problems arising from the history of the attempts to write Chinese with an alphabetic script.

PART IV

Linguistic Dogma and Linguistic Science

7

LINGUISTIC METHOD*

IN the whole history of the language reform movement in China, from the time of the missionaries down to the latest controversy over the New Writing, the problem of the script has revolved around two aspects—the social-political and the purely linguistic.[1] The actual participants in the movement frequently failed to observe the dual character of the problem. They also failed to note—and this is much more serious—that the two aspects are not really commensurate. One involves the question, "*Can* the Chinese language be alphabetized?" This is capable of only one answer, "Yes" or "No," which can be determined by objective analysis based on linguistic science. The other aspect involves the question, "*Should* the Chinese language be alphabetized?" This is capable of more than one answer, depending on the subjective desire for universal literacy, willingness to meet the cost of implementing one or another script, and similar factors involving individual value-judgments.

Analysis of the controversy over reform of the script can hardly have much scientific validity unless the two main aspects of the problem are clearly separated. This does not mean that the two are unrelated. If the answer to the first question

* The reader uninterested in the details of the linguistic discussion embodied in this and the five following chapters of Part IV will perhaps be satisfied to pass directly to Chapter 13 after reading the concluding paragraph of Chapter 12. However, I have attempted to make Part IV as simple as possible so that the linguistic problems and their solutions will be comprehensible to the intelligent layman. If I seem to belabor some points, it is only to make them clear to the average reader. To the linguistic scientist many of the generalizations made in Part IV will seem so obvious as to appear unnecessary. Yet the generalizations and the detailed argument need to be made to clear up many wide-spread misconceptions among students of Chinese—by no means excluding those with a knowledge of linguistic science.

is "No," that disposes of the second query. If the answer is "Yes," that still leaves the second question open. But in any event the answer to the first question, whatever it is, will provide a vantage point from which to view the reform movement as a whole. This applies both to evaluating the linguistic arguments of the various protagonists and to analyzing the social-political conclusions which they have drawn from these.

The process of determining whether or not Chinese can be written with an alphabetic script raises the crucial question of linguistic method. Yet this question has often been lost in the heat of the controversy over other aspects of the problem. The very existence of linguistic science, whose basic tenets provide the key to approaching the problem of the Chinese script, has been especially obscured by the dogma of popular sinology. And it is not only among sinological laymen that linguistic dogma has replaced linguistic science. Our primary task, therefore, is to settle the problem of linguistic method.

We must note first of all that the science of modern linguistics is based on three simple propositions. These have been derived from empirical study and are believed to have universal application. Some of them are taken so much for granted that they are often not stated explicitly in the textbooks of the science. We shall do well, therefore, to deal with them briefly.

The first proposition can be stated tersely as follows: *Language is speech.* Professor Bernard Bloch of Yale University has defined language somewhat more informally as "the sounds you make with your face." What language is can be pointed up by emphasizing what it is not: Language is *not* writing, or conversely, writing is not language. "Not merely is writing not language," said one of the founders of modern linguistics, "but it is in no way equivalent to it."[2] Doodling is a form of writing which perhaps expresses subconscious thoughts, but it has nothing to do with language. Musical notation is a form of writing which defines certain sounds, but it has nothing to do with language either. Chemical symbols and mathematical formulas are used to represent ideas rather than utterances. Those forms of writing which are applied more directly to the recording of speech rarely achieve anything more than a rough approximation. In short, relationship between writing and speech must

be proved and cannot be assumed. As Leonard Bloomfield has put it, "Writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks. . . . In order to study writing, we must know something about language, but the reverse is not true. To be sure, we get our information about speech of past times largely from written records . . . but we find this to be a handicap. We have to use great care in interpreting the written symbols into terms of actual speech; often we fail in this, and always we should prefer to have the audible word."[3]

It would be incorrect to dismiss all this as a mere matter of definition. Nor is it correct to say that one definition is as good as another. Basically the problem is to make clear what is involved in the question of whether or not it is possible to write the Chinese language in an alphabetic script. If "language" in general and "Chinese language" in particular are vague entities to be defined according to the whim of individual analysts, then there can be no precision in the problems under discussion. The same term is likely to mean different things to different persons. Even worse, it is likely to mean different things to the same person. This is not a theoretical possibility but a situation which has already arisen many times in the history of the controversy over the script. The following are some of the things which are commonly considered as belonging in the category of "Chinese language": (1) The oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty; (2) The speech of an illiterate peasant living today near Peking; (3) The contents of a newspaper published yesterday in Canton; (4) The speech of a T'ang dynasty official in Sian; (5) Szu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Records*; (6) A talk given by a Foochow professor on atomic energy; (7) The contents of a dictionary recently published in Shanghai.

So long as we realize clearly what we are doing, there is no harm in going along with the by now firmly established custom of using the term "Chinese language" or simply "Chinese" as a loose designation for such distinct but somehow related phenomena. Trouble arises, however, because of the tendency to glide from one aspect of Chinese to another without becoming aware of the transition. The unconscious use of facts about the Shang dynasty oracle bone inscriptions to reach conclu-

sions on the speech of illiterate Peking peasants today is an example of how it is possible to fall into serious error in discussing "Chinese language." Frequently also the mistake is made of building up a conception of this term by drawing on ill-assorted facts pertaining to diverse and perhaps even unrelated phenomena. Errors of this sort, a common result of exposure to the Chinese script, are perhaps most pronounced among highly literate Chinese.*

Such difficulties can be avoided in large measure by defining "language" as "speech" and "Chinese language" as "Chinese speech." This is still not sufficiently precise, however, as there exist in China and other countries more than 450,000,000 people who are considered to speak the Chinese language today, and there have been billions of such people in the course of the past few millennia. If considerations of space and time have to be taken into account, the result is likely to be a not particularly useful generalized definition, which in any case can only be formulated on the basis of more detailed analysis. The linguistic method deals with this problem by beginning, if possible, with the analysis of the speech of a specific individual

* Many examples can be cited of the confusion attending the concept of "Chinese language" as a result of the failure to distinguish sufficiently between speech and writing. One writer, after remarking that "the number of characters in the largest dictionaries runs around fourteen thousand," in the next breath states that "two thousand are sufficient for the ordinary speech of a well educated man." (David Dean Barrett, *A Primer in the Writing of Chinese Characters* [Shanghai, 1934], p. viii). This is reminiscent of the Russian, cited in Chapter 5, who advanced the delightful concept that the Chinese—who are largely illiterate—"think graphically" in ideographic symbols. The absurdity of these statements is readily apparent when it is remembered that the overwhelming majority of the population must do its speaking and thinking without the benefit of knowledge of the ideographs. At a more scholarly level the confusions are of a more subtle sort. Some of these will be pointed out below. For the present it may suffice to cite as a typical example of the difficulty experienced by highly literate Chinese in distinguishing between speech and writing the note by Lien-sheng Yang, "The Concept of 'Free' and 'Bound' in Spoken Chinese," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XII (1949), 462-69. Here Dr. Yang, who defines a Chinese word as a Chinese ideograph, rejects my mention of the spoken word *shanhu* "coral" as made up of two completely meaningless syllables, on the grounds that "For those who know enough characters the syllables can be identified as [the character representing *shan*] and [the character representing *hu*], and for them they are not entirely meaningless."

and then generalizing by making a comparison with the speech of other individuals. Proceeding on this basis, let us assume a specific individual speaker of Chinese. To make him as concrete as possible, we might describe him as follows: "Known as Old Wang. Age thirty-five. Totally illiterate. Occupation: peasant. Lives in a tiny village four and a half miles northeast of Peking. Married to the daughter of a peasant from a near-by village. Has three children ranging in age from four to nine. Wife and children are likewise illiterate." Restraining the impulse to characterize this Chinese family group as "typical," we can assume with safety that each member of the Wang family speaks Chinese. At the very least, recalling that language is speech, we can confidently subsume the speech of Old Wang under the category of "Chinese language." Old Wang can be thought of as the specific individual whose speech will serve as the beginning point in our analysis of "Chinese."

The second proposition on which the science of modern linguistics is based can be stated baldly as follows: *Speech is intelligible.* The truth of this statement is attested by observation of people about us. It is presumably true also of people in other parts of the world and in earlier periods of time. It holds good as a generalized truism despite the occasional cases of ambiguity which can be cited in our own language and also in the speech of other peoples. Assertions to the contrary need to be proved and spelled out carefully. Otherwise the danger arises of falling into errors such as Father Trigault's assertion that Chinese conversationalists "not infrequently" have to resort to writing their thoughts, or the later assertion that "the Chinese will scarcely answer the most simple question unless it is expressed in writing."[4] Observation of the speech of Old Wang and other Chinese shows that such statements are not true. Old Wang is illiterate anyway, and if he does encounter ambiguity in speech he cannot seek aid in writing. For the same reason probably more than 350,000,000 people in China must stumble along as best they can merely with speech. Observation shows that they do not stumble. The reason is simply that they have no serious difficulty in expressing their ideas in speech.

This last point must be reiterated with the utmost emphasis in order to counter exaggerated notions of the ambiguity of Chinese. People who hold to the latter view assert their contention without advancing any scientific verification. Most often the claim is made merely by reference to theoretical possibilities of ambiguity or to isolated instances of real misunderstanding. This is comparable to pointing out that "He's a miner" might be confused with "He's a minor" or that there are at least three homonyms of the word *right*, and then generalizing that English is a terribly ambiguous language. Another common error is to assume ambiguity in Chinese *speech* because of observed ambiguity in Chinese *writing*. Indeed, the approach to the Chinese language through writing makes such a conclusion virtually inevitable. Among those who equate writing with language the theory of ambiguity of Chinese speech would have to be created if it did not already exist.

In reality Chinese speech, no less than that of other peoples, is so unambiguous that it remains clear enough even when submitted to considerable manipulation and even distortion. English words like *don't* for *do not* and *UNESCO* for *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization* have their counterpart in Chinese *péng* "needn't" contracted from *puyung* and in *Peita* for *Peiching Tahsüeh* "[National] Peking University." English children who ask *Anca ouya alkta Igpa Atinla?* for *Can you talk Pig Latin?* have their counterpart in Chinese children who speak by adding nonsense syllables to words.* All this simply goes to show that Chinese as well as

* Schlegel notes the existence of secret languages among European children and adds that he found in Amoy in 1850 "a similar secret language among the Chinese children constructed upon the same principles as those in the West." He describes it as follows: "It was called the *sa-la language*. E.g. instead of saying: *goá* (I) *kā* (to) *lí* (you) *kóng* (say), they said: *goásoa kāsa lísi kóngsong*, or *goáloasoa kālasa lílisi kónglongsong*. As it will be seen by this example, the dodge consists in doubling or trebling the syllable and changing the initial consonant into *s* or *l*."

See G. Schlegel, "Secret Languages in Europe and China," *T'oung Pao*, O.S. II (1891), 161. For a further discussion of secret languages in China see Chao Yüan-jen [Y. R. Chao], "Eight Varieties of Secret Language Based on the Principle of *fan-ch'ieh*," *Academia Sinica Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, II, Part 3 (1931), 312-54 [in Chinese].

Westerners are complete masters and not bewildered slaves of their language. The burden of proof that Chinese have any real difficulty with their language rests with those who propound a thesis which so flagrantly contradicts a basic and well-established tenet of linguistic science, not to mention common sense.

The third proposition on which the science of modern linguistics is based stems from the fact that language is speech and speech is intelligible. It can be stated as follows: *Whatever can be spoken intelligibly can be written phonetically.* Indeed, even speech which is not intelligible to the listener can be written in a phonetic script. The sounds made by the speaker of a strange language can be described and noted down by someone ignorant of their meaning. It is also possible to read aloud the signs noted down for the language, again without understanding their meaning. In less than an hour an American totally ignorant of German can be taught to read aloud a newspaper in that language sufficiently well to be understood by a native of Berlin. Linguists do not question their ability to reduce to writing the hitherto unstudied languages of primitive peoples. The only question is how.

Chinese students of language like Y. R. Chao and foreign linguistic scientists like Alexeiev carried on their work for the alphabetization of Chinese with full awareness of the linguistic method. The early Jesuits exhibited a mixture of practical understanding and theoretical confusion. When Ricci, Cattaneo, and Chung Ming-jen compiled their Chinese dictionary in 1598, they proceeded along the most approved line by using the native speaker as their informant and Cattaneo and Ricci as analysts. But the Jesuits were held back by their agreement with Ruggieri's dictum that in the Chinese language "there are as many characters as there are words or expressions." The Protestant missionaries achieved more understanding than had the Jesuits. Their sometimes naïve accounts of their discoveries should not obscure the fact that it was correct linguistic method which led them to the conviction that it was possible to write Chinese in an alphabetic script.

In some measure both the method and the conviction have been the joint property of most of those who have urged the

adoption of an alphabetic system of writing. The absence of both has frequently characterized their opponents. This is seen especially clearly in the adherence of the latter to the theory that Chinese cannot be written alphabetically because it is a monosyllabic language.

8

THE MONOSYLLABIC MYTH

THE theory that Chinese is a monosyllabic language is almost as widely held as the knowledge that the Chinese people write their language with an ideographic script. It is often illustrated by reference to the famed thirty-eight varieties of homophonous words pronounced *i* with a falling tone.[1] The unique character of the language is also claimed by citing whole passages written in ideographs which are pronounced with only four tonal variations of a common syllable like *shih*.[2] Presentation of such ideas can be found even at scholarly levels.

In his popular exposition of sinology, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, Professor Bernhard Karlgren says, "On the one hand, Chinese is *monosyllabic*, on the other hand, it is *isolating*. . . ."* Shau Wing Chan states in his widely used textbook of beginning Chinese, "Chinese as a language is noted for its monosyllabism."[3] Karlgren finds in "the peculiar relation between the spoken and the written language in China, and above all in the nature of the latter as being a language that can be understood by the eye but not by the ear alone" the explanation of "the strange fact" that "the peculiar Chinese script is *indispensable*."[4] Mr. Chan is of the same opinion as to the indispensability of the ideographs but has a somewhat different explanation for his assertion. His reasoning is so typical of many supporters of the monosyllabic theory that his formulation can be taken as a convenient starting point in discussing the whole problem.

In dealing with modern tendencies in the Chinese language, Mr. Chan says: "Another movement advocated the alphabetization of the Chinese language. . . . On the surface such a sug-

* Bernhard Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (London, 1923), p. 20. By "isolating" Karlgren means that Chinese "treats the words as if they were isolated units, without modifying them according to their function in the sentence."

gestion is very easy to carry out after a standardized system is worked out. Furthermore, it appears to be quite practical, for all the Chinese peasants will then have to do is to learn the alphabets, which is a much simpler and easier process. However, a moment's reflection will convince anyone who knows anything about the nature of Chinese that such an attempt is not only highly impracticable but extremely confusing as well. The great number of homophonous words in Chinese is an obstacle to alphabetization. The fact that a Chinese written character is a significative symbol which can hardly be replaced by its mere equivalent in sound is another obstacle to phoneticizing the language." To illustrate his argument that alphabetized writing is too ambiguous to succeed, the writer presents the following sentence in Wade romanization: *Pa pa pa ti ti ti shih shih shih liao.* Such a system of writing, unlike the ideographs, is unable to show that the first *shih* means "history," the second means "poem," and the third means "lose." If the sentence is written in alphabetized form, says Mr. Chan, it can hardly convey to the reader any meaning. The ideographs are considered indispensable because they alone can make clear that the sentence means, "Father lost younger brother's epic poem."[5]

The assumptions underlying these arguments can be seen most clearly if we remove them from the world of the exotic East, where almost anything seems credible, to the more familiar field of the English language. If all our utterances had to be divided into their component syllabic units, as has been demanded in the case of Chinese, the alphabetized form of our language would present the appearance of the following sentence: *Fa ther lost young er broth er's ep ic po em.* But according to the monosyllabic argument the language cannot be written alphabetically because a script of this sort is unable to distinguish such phonetically identical syllables as the *er* in *younger* and the *er* in *brother.* An ideographic script, on the other hand, would make clear that the first *er* means "more" and the second—well, what does the *er* in *brother* mean? An ideographic script would insist that a meaning be attached to the ideograph representing the latter *er* and therefore to the sound *er* itself. In this situation some dictionary-maker is likely

to conclude that the *er* in *brother* is related to the *er* in *mother*. So our "monsyllabic English" might acquire a "word" *er* meaning something like "close relatives" as a homonym of "words" like the *er* meaning "more" (young*er*), the *er* meaning "one who does" (sing*er*), the *er* meaning "dressed skin" (leath*er*), the *er* meaning "many" (sev*er*al), and so on to equal the thirty-eight Chinese homonyms pronounced *i* with a falling tone.

Clearly, assertions of ambiguity resulting from the existence of such monosyllabic homonyms call for a closer inquiry into the nature of these syllabic units. Such study reveals that the syllables of both Chinese and English can be classified into three groups, namely *bound syllables, semi-bound syllables*, and *free syllables*. These forms may be illustrated from the English sentence given above by citing the *fa* of *father* as bound, the *er* of *younger* as semi-bound, and *young* and *lost* as free. Other examples, in which both the Chinese syllables and their English equivalents belong to the same categories, are the following: bound: *shan* "cor" as in *shanhu* "coral"; semi-bound: *shih* "lith" as in *shihyin* "lithography"; free: *p'ao* "gun," also *shou* "hand" and *ma* "horse."

It is apparent from the preceding that the free syllable can have a life of its own. (By "free" we mean "not always spoken in close juncture with another syllable.") The semi-bound syllable leads a more restricted existence and must always appear in combination with one or more of a limited number of syllables, as *lith* does in *lithography, monolith, lithic*, etc., and as *shih* does in *shihyin* "lithography," *shiht'ou* "stone," *shihkao* "gypsum," etc. The bound syllable has no freedom whatever; it never appears in more than one combination of syllables. A meaning can be attached to the free and semi-bound syllables, but the bound syllable means nothing in itself: *shan* in *shanhu* has no more meaning (or life) than has *cor* in *coral*.*

* It is of course impossible to make a clear-cut classification of many syllables in view of the fact that there are degrees of closeness in juncture. Yet there is no question as to the existence of the two main categories of bound and free syllables. If the sentence *Ni ch'ü pu-ch'ü*? "Are you going?" is answered with *Ch'ü*, "Going," the latter is clearly a free syllable, for it is both preceded and followed by a pause. In the sentence, however, it is spoken in rather close juncture with the other syllables. *Shan* in *shanhu* is just as clearly a syllable which is never free and indeed

In both Chinese and English the various kinds of syllables combine with others in the same class or in other categories insofar as is permitted. Examples of comparable combinations in the two languages are the following:

FORM	CHINESE	ENGLISH
free + free:	*p'ao* + *shou* "gunner"	*rail* + *road* "railroad"
semi-bound + semi-bound:	*mu* + *ch'in* "mother"	*bi* + *ped* "biped"
bound + bound:	*shan* + *hu* "coral"	*po* + *em* "poem"
free + semi-bound:	*ma* + *fu* "groom"	*bank* + *er* "banker"
bound + semi-bound:	*ts'ang* + *ying* "fly"	?

Among the three kinds of individual syllables, only the free form is considered in English to be a word. The term is also applied to all the combinations of syllables given above. On the same basis our definition of word in Chinese is as follows: *A word in Chinese is either a free monosyllable or a free combination of bound syllables, semi-bound syllables, and free syllables.* The monosyllabic theory, on the other hand, insists on calling all three kinds of individual syllables "words." It also insists that the combinations of these syllables equivalent to English *gunner, mother,* etc., should be written separately and each syllable defined as a word. This is quite as if *er, cor, bi,* and *ped* were all designated as such in English.

But by now it is clear that there is something wrong with the monosyllabic theory. Just how wrong it is can be shown by analyzing the whole range of definitions which scientific and popular sinology have stated or implied for the term "monosyllabic." We shall deal with these individually below.

"Chinese is monosyllabic because every word consists of only one syllable." But it is readily apparent that this extreme

---

never occurs apart from *hu.* In other cases the distinction is less clear and in these cases, perhaps, criteria other than those based on juncture can also be adopted. These are questions which need not concern us here, however, though they are of practical importance in determining just what kinds of syllables to write together in an orthography of Chinese.

view cannot be upheld, for *p'aoshou* "gunner," *much'in* "mother," *mafu* "groom," *ts'angying* "fly," and *shanhu* "coral" are examples of countless Chinese words of more than one syllable. Some recognition of the existence of such words is seen in Shau Wing Chan's admission that "Chinese, despite the fact that its primary symbols are monosyllabic, manifests a tendency toward polysyllabism." Most often, however, the category of polysyllabic words is denied altogether on the grounds that *p'aoshou* and the other items cited are really compound words—*composita*, in the terminology of Bernhard Karlgren. As a result a retreat is made to the next argument for the monosyllabic theory.

"Chinese is monosyllabic because every word consists of individual syllables each of which is also a word." But consistency would demand that we accept the English sentence *New York has countless miles of railroads, highways, and streams* as an example of monosyllabic language because all thirteen of its syllables are words: *new, count, rail, less, high*, etc. Yet quite apart from the dubious propriety of characterizing such a sentence as monosyllabic, the thesis is untenable because not all the syllables of Chinese words are themselves words. The syllable *fu* in *mafu* "groom" is comparable to the *er* in *banker* but can no more be considered a word than can its counterpart in English. This calls forth another retreat in the argumentation.

"Chinese is monosyllabic because every word consists of individual syllables each of which means something." But consistency would demand that we accept the English sentence *Only thirteen oxen were exported yearly* as an example of monosyllabic language because all twelve of its syllables mean something. We should have to write this example of "monosyllabic English" as follows: *On ly thir teen ox en were ex port ed year ly.* The various "words" of this sentence would then have to be defined as follows: *on* "one," *ly* "body," *thir* "three," *teen* "ten," *ox* "male of cattle," *en* "pluralizing word," *were* "past tense of are," *ex* "out," *port* "carry," *ed* "past," *year* "period of time," *ly* "body." To be sure, many of these syllables are somewhat modified versions of words which once existed as such but are not now used independently. Some perhaps

never had independent existence. But this is precisely the situation with respect to that large category of Chinese syllables which are also to be designated as semi-bound. The Chinese suffix *le* in *taile* "carried" is roughly analogous to *ed* in *exported*. The Chinese ending *men* in *nimen* "you" has the same pluralizing function as English *en* in *oxen*. The *jan* of *tzujan* "naturally" is similar to the *ly* of *yearly* and *only*. Neither *le*, *men*, or *jan* is used independently in modern speech. Whether they ever were is debatable and in any case is irrelevant in characterizing the Chinese language of today. Neither in Chinese nor English can the semi-bound syllable be accepted as a word. Nor can either language be described as monosyllabic merely because of the existence of semi-bound syllables. If it is true that all syllables in Chinese are either free or semi-bound, and hence mean something, then the most we can do to describe a language of this sort is to coin some such term as "ideosyllabic."

But that Chinese is either ideosyllabic or monosyllabic is disproved by the existence of a category of completely meaningless syllables of the type represented by *shan* and *hu* in the Chinese equivalent for coral.* In *A Mandarin Phonetic Reader*, a work as sound in its scientific judgments as his *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* is misleading in its popularized sinology, Professor Karlgren notes the existence of such syllables with the remark, "Words consisting of more than one syllable and yet uncapable of being divided into component parts with semological values have always existed in 'monosyllabic' Chinese and they still exist, though in a rather limited number." He classifies such words as follows: (a) a number of dissyllabic words of uncertain etymology, perhaps originally loan-words or compounds, such as *p'i-pa* "guitar"; (b) a good many ono-

* Some linguistic scientists, contending that there is no such thing as a "completely meaningless" syllable, defend the thesis of monosyllabism by arguing that in *shanhu* "coral" the syllable *shan* is a word which combined with *hu* means "coral," and the syllable *hu* is a word which combined with *shan* also means "coral." This is like saying that in English the syllable *cor* is a word which combined with *al* means "*coral*," and *al* is a word which combined with *cor* also means "coral." I fail to see the utility of this concept. If it is insisted upon, however, as an argument for the thesis of monosyllabism, then we must conclude that not only Chinese but *all* languages are monosyllabic.

matopoetic words, such as *ha-ha* "laugh"; (c) a great number of loan-words, mostly modern, such as *t'ieh-lü-feng* "telephone."[6] All this was omitted in Karlgren's later and more widely read work. At the same time he dismissed semi-bound items like *le* in *taile* as insufficient in number to invalidate the generalization that Chinese is monosyllabic and isolating. Statistics tell a different story.

As far as completely meaningless syllables are concerned, a rough estimate suggests that they occur not "in a rather limited number," as Karlgren maintains, but in the proportion of almost one-quarter of the total number of syllables in Chinese. As for semi-bound meaningful syllables, the same estimate indicates that these syllables, which also, like the fully bound syllables, cannot be classified as words, amount to almost half of the total number of syllables.* In an even more detailed survey Professor George A. Kennedy of Yale University, basing himself on an analysis of Dr. H. C. Ch'en's work on the model of the Thorndike word-counts, found that occurrences of the two syllables *le* and *ti* alone comprised five per cent of the total count. Twelve such syllables, including the two mentioned,

* In Yuen Ren Chao and Lien Sheng Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947) a pioneer attempt has been made to classify Chinese syllables into two categories, called by the authors "free" and "bound." Their category of "free" syllables appears to be the same as the one which I had also designated earlier as "free," but their category of "bound" syllables includes my two categories of "bound" and "semi-bound." On the basis of the information supplied by the authors concerning each of the 5,000-odd syllables which they analyze, it is possible to determine which of the syllables are fully bound and which only semi-bound.

A sampling examination of all the items occurring in ten pages of their dictionary chosen at random yields a rough estimate of the proportions of the three kinds of syllables mentioned above. This estimate suggests that of the total syllables occurring in spoken Chinese, 29 per cent are "free," 22 per cent are "bound," and 49 per cent are "semi-bound." (See my review of the book by Chao and Yang in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, VII, No. 4 [August, 1948], 447-48.) These figures are of course only rough estimates and should be checked by more detailed counts, a task quite beyond the scope of the present work. Nevertheless they suggest that the number of quite meaningless syllables in Chinese, comparable to *cor* in English *coral*, may be much greater than is commonly supposed, and that the number of genuine monosyllabic words and even of monosyllabic morphemes may be far smaller than upholders of the monosyllabic theory have maintained.

comprised twelve per cent of the total. Further study led him to the conclusion that at least sixty-three per cent of the vocabulary was in polysyllabic form.[7] Even more revealing are the figures obtained by Dr. Denzel Carr from a statistical analysis of various kinds of materials. Dr. Carr discovered that conversation of an extremely colloquial style is no less than forty per cent polysyllabic. The closest thing to conversation of a more serious and elevated nature, the modern written style, is estimated to be only thirty per cent monosyllabic as against more than fifty per cent for comparable material in English. The drift of the Chinese language toward greater polysyllabicity is seen even more clearly in the fact that not more than fifteen per cent of the Chinese equivalents of foreign technical terms consist of only one syllable.[8]

To be sure, available statistics do not tell us what are the relative proportions of bound, semi-bound, and free syllables in Chinese, any more than they tell us what these proportions are in English or any other language. But let us assume that such statistics were available and showed that the proportion of meaningful syllables was 78 per cent in Chinese as against 59 per cent in language B and only 22.8 per cent in language C. These figures would merely enable us to say that Chinese is a 78 per cent ideosyllabic language, B is a 59 per cent ideosyllabic language, and C is a 22.8 per cent ideosyllabic language. They certainly would not support the argument that Chinese is monosyllabic.

So far all the arguments for this theory have used meaning as the criterion for defining Chinese as monosyllabic. In no case has there been any scientific validity to any of the contentions. As a result some upholders of the monosyllabic theory have retreated to other positions from which to defend their thesis.

"Chinese is a monosyllabic language because every word consists of individual syllables each of which is an invariable unit of sound." Some such idea is suggested by the views expressed by the eminent Chinese student of language, Dr. F. K. Li. In his authoritative article on language in *The Chinese Year Book* for 1936-37 Dr. Li, in speaking of the Indo-Chinese family of languages, remarked, "One of the characteristics of this fam-

ily is the tendency towards monosyllabism."[9] This cautious statement was repeated without further elaboration in successive issues of the year book. Not until the issue published in 1946 was an explanation added, as follows: "By monosyllabism we do not mean that all words in these languages consist of single syllables, which is obviously false; but we mean by it that a single syllable is a phonological unit, the structure of which is rigidly determined by the phonological rules of the language, and serves as the basis for the formation of words, phrases, and sentences."[10]

Leaving aside the last clause in this sentence, which merely repeats the idea that the syllable is the unit of meaning in Chinese, the statement makes two points. The first, that "a single syllable is a phonological unit," means simply that Chinese talk in syllables. But since no one in the world has ever been found talking less than a syllable, this does not make Chinese very distinctive and certainly does not make it monosyllabic. The second point, that the structure of the syllabic unit in Chinese "is rigidly determined by the phonological rules of the language," also does not distinguish Chinese from English, except insofar as a significant difference in the phonological rules of the two can be ascertained. The qualification needs a slight elaboration.

In English the verb *bellow* has a past tense form which is spelled *bellowed.* Each form is spoken as two syllables, for *low* and *lowed* are both single syllables. Chinese, on the other hand, does not appear to permit the type of internal change represented by the substitution of *lowed* for *low.* In a comparable situation in Chinese, *tai* "carry" becomes *taile* "carried" by the addition of a syllable. Again, speakers of English can say *hoe, hoes* by, so to speak, incorporating the pluralizing *s* in the original syllable. Chinese attempting to pronounce the two English words would have to say *hou* for "hoe" and *hou-szu* for "hoes"—two syllables for our one. Yet it is perhaps not entirely correct to say that the Chinese syllable permits of no internal change. When *men* "door" appears in a variant form as *men-erh* in the Wade system, the spelling disguises the fact that the word is still a single syllable with the pronunciation *mer.*

In any event the fact that the single syllable in Chinese is a

phonological unit which is determined by different, and perhaps more rigid, rules than in English does not warrant calling the language monosyllabic. Chinese is at most a *syllabic* language, as are all other languages in the world.[11] But this still does not exhaust the premises which have been advanced for defining the language as monosyllabic.

"Chinese is monosyllabic because history shows it to have been so at one time." The argument that earlier Chinese, if not the modern form, was monosyllabic generally proceeds along the same line as Karlgren's classic formulation, which goes somewhat as follows:[12] The earliest form of written Chinese, as surviving specimens show, was monosyllabic. This written Chinese was the same or similar to spoken Chinese, which, though monosyllabic, was intelligible because of the relatively great complexity of its sounds. Gradually sound simplification took place, to the point where "the number of homophones must have become detrimental to the intelligibility of the spoken language." The speaker of Chinese could no longer frame his sentences with simple words of one syllable, so that "in proportion as the number of homophones increased, he had to make elucidative additions to the simple words and thus radically reshape the materials of his language. In this way the spoken language came to be thoroughly changed some centuries after the beginning of the Christian era." Among the ingenious elucidative devices was the synonym-compound. For example, someone thought of joining *fan* "translate" to the ambiguous spoken word *i* "translate" to make the unambiguous compound word *fan-i* "translate." Thus a wide divergence gradually grew up between spoken and written Chinese, made possible by the fact that the latter was ideographic in form: "If the Chinese had possessed an alphabetic script like ourselves, all these simple words, all the *is* and *chis* and *kus*, &c., would have been quite as indistinguishable in writing as in speech. But the script distinguished to the eye what was homophonous to the ear.... Thus, while the spoken language had to reshape its word-material, the written language did not need to modify the old stock of simple words."

Without going into details of the essentially historical problem raised above, several points suggest themselves against the

theory that Chinese ever was monosyllabic. The first is that the preceding formulation turns the linguistic method on its head by viewing speech through the distorted mirror of writing. Reversal of the process results in some such line of reasoning as the following: Modern spoken Chinese is polysyllabic. There are two kinds of written Chinese extant today. One, called the "classical style," has been more or less monosyllabic throughout its history, which can be traced back more than a millennium B.C. to the Shang dynasty. The other, called the "colloquial style," has been polysyllabic throughout its history, which can be traced back to around the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). The contemporary vernacular written style is close to the contemporary spoken style. We suspect that the colloquial written style of the T'ang dynasty was also close to the colloquial spoken style of the period. The colloquial written style has only recently come into favor; previously it was despised and little used in writing. As a result the bulk of surviving written materials are in the classical style. The lack of materials in the colloquial written style antedating the T'ang dynasty is probably due to the fact that there was not much of it in the first place and that none of it has survived or come to light.[13]

If the preceding approach is correct, it would be the task of scholarship to hunt for specimens of earlier colloquial materials by archaeological research, by scrutiny of classical materials for words or passages in the colloquial, and by other forms of research. Thus if the earliest form of an expression is found to be polysyllabic and the later forms monosyllabic, it would be reasonable to assume that the latter represent an abbreviated version of the former. There are already ample grounds for suspecting that Chinese writing represents a contraction of Chinese speech, and not, as claimed by holders of the monosyllabic theory, that Chinese speech is an expansion of Chinese writing. If this is reminiscent of the question, "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" the answer is actually much less debatable. Professor Creel is unquestionably correct in rebutting Karlgren by pointing out that the old texts are too laconic ever to have functioned as a spoken tongue.[14]

Another point against the theory of an original monosyllabic Chinese language is that the stock of monosyllabic words could hardly have been large enough to meet the requirements of Chinese society by the time it had developed to the point of sophistication where its thoughts were written down. Professor Kennedy reminds us that "we have no record of any period when Chinese speakers had fifty thousand or even five thousand phonetically distinct syllables at their command.[15] The modern dialect of Peking uses only about 1,300 different syllables out of a theoretically possible total of 4,764. The past and present phonetic poverty of Chinese, surely a limiting factor on the possibilities of monosyllabism in the language, will be even more apparent when it is remembered that the phonetic structure of English, as Jespersen has pointed out, would admit the formation of more than 158,000 phonetically distinct syllables, of which only 8,000 or so are in actual use.[16]

But the basic error in the appeal to history is the same as that underlying all the previously mentioned definitions of the monosyllabic theory. In reality it is only superficially that these definitions appear to be different. At bottom they all rest in varying degrees on the same fallacious premise. This premise is itself the final argument advanced to justify the monosyllabic theory.

"Chinese is monosyllabic because the script is monosyllabic. This line of reasoning is especially favored, whether consciously or unconsciously, by those who invoke the authority of history. Today the fact that there is a wide gap between Chinese writing and Chinese speech can be shown simply enough by asking Old Wang to demonstrate his language for us. There is no need to depend on writing for information about modern spoken Chinese. But we cannot now listen to the speech of a Chou dynasty or T'ang dynasty official as a check on the texts of those periods. As a result the mistake is often made of ignoring known disparities between speech and writing. Some of these will be discussed below. In the process the last argument for the monosyllabic theory will be seen to have no more validity than the others mentioned above.

Every script imposes on the writer various limitations and compulsions stemming from the nature of the script itself. In

the case of the ideographic system of writing there is significant pressure toward abbreviating polysyllabic *spoken* words to monosyllabic *written* units. This pressure is apparent even today, despite the victory of the vernacular style, and is therefore to be suspected as a factor in the extremely terse styles which characterize earlier Chinese writing. The contradiction between the polysyllabicity of modern Chinese and the pressure toward abbreviations in writing helps to explain why the high hopes attached to writing the vernacular in the ideographic script have not been and perhaps never can be realized. In spite of important progress, much back-sliding is in evidence, and to this day a great deal of material in newspapers and other publications is written in a style not sufficiently colloquial to be understood if read aloud to the average person. It is important to see how this situation arises, for by so doing it will be possible to observe a basic error leading to the fallacy of the monosyllabic theory.

We can illustrate the process of abbreviation in terms of the English language by imagining that it has an ideographic script in which may be found half a dozen characters all having the phonetic value *er*. One character is made up of a series of time-pieces and means "always" (*ever*). A second illustrates the idea "more" (young*er*). A third depicts clouds, rain, and snow and signifies "climate" (weath*er*). A fourth suggests the idea "one who does" (sing*er*). A fifth pictures a high mountain and stands for a place-name (Ev*er*est). A sixth shows a man with streamers of light radiating from his head and illustrates the idea "bright, smart" (clev*er*). These six characters pronounced *er* would appear in our "ideographic" literature, both ancient and modern, in terse sentences which though intelligible to the eye might sound something like this if spoken aloud: *er has worse er than er.* Only recourse to the ideographs can show that this is supposed to mean "Everest *has worse* weather than ever."

But in this "ideographic English" it is clear that the characters would not represent the spoken units of a monosyllabic tongue but would function as short-cuts in symbolic notation of polysyllabic speech. Most likely the classical literature of China, which is generally designated as monosyllabic solely by

equating written ideograph with spoken word, also owes its clipped style more to similar abbreviations than to imitation of spoken sentences analagous to *er has worse er than er.*

By giving equal emphasis to every ideograph the Chinese script disguises the difference not only between word and non-word but also between bound, semi-bound, and free syllables. The problem is accentuated by the fact that unlike English, which has derived the semi-bound syllables *ex* "out" and *port* "carry" from Latin and *ly* from Anglo-Saxon, Chinese has been accustomed to derive such roots only from earlier forms of the Chinese language itself. Since the written forms of these elements, despite historical changes in pronunciation, have always been represented by the same ideographs, the result is to make literate Chinese much more conscious than Westerners of the real or fancied etymology of the individual syllables. But at the same time they are much less conscious of the difference between a dead word and a living one. These factors have also affected Westerners in their observations of the Chinese language.

It is now obvious, however, that the whole theory of the monosyllabicity of the Chinese language must be considered an error compounded from the mistake of beginning with written rather than spoken Chinese, or, in Kennedy's apt phrase, of "putting the lexicon before the language."[17] The same point was made more than a hundred years ago by Wilhelm von Humboldt when he charged scholars with so exaggerating the influence of Chinese writing that they "put the writing in place of the language."[18] By this inverted method a number of doubtful observations with respect to the written form of Chinese lead almost imperceptibly into incorrect judgments on the spoken form of the language. The beginning of all the trouble lies in the failure to observe that although a meaning and sound must, by the very nature of the ideographic script, be attached to every character, this does not mean that the character necessarily represents a word now or did so at some time in the past. "No system of writing could be better designed for the encouragement of false etymologizing," points out Professor Kennedy, "and this advantage of Chinese has been exploited to the full." His illustrations reveal the core of

the error in the monosyllabic theory: "For example, one of the lines of a very ancient poem may be paraphrased 'Chirp go the crickets.' Later commentators tell us gravely that the crickets feed on plants, the crics eating the stems while the kets eat the leaves. Again we have the name 'phoenix' for a mythological bird. Dictionaries tell us that phoe is the male and nix the female. Specimens of this kind could be collected by the hundreds."[19]

What this means is that dictionary-makers have invented a monosyllabic word *feng* "male phoenix" and another monosyllabic word *huang* "female phoenix" by analyzing a two-character expression in the early Chinese text as having individual meanings instead of merely standing for a single word *fenghuang* "phoenix." It also means that even in the earliest literary remains polysyllabic words like *fenghuang*, in which the syllables had no individual meanings, existed not in "a rather limited number," as Karlgren suggested, but in sufficient numbers to raise the question as to whether even the earliest writing, much less the earliest speech, can properly be classified as monosyllabic. In any event it is clear that failure to take such facts into account and to distinguish between speech and writing lie behind the arguments for the monosyllabic theory in general. This failure is especially clear in the attempts to prove the theory by reference to the excessive number of homonyms of this or that sound.

Such attempts have been made by both Bernhard Karlgren and Shau Wing Chan. The former stresses the fact that the modern Peking dialect of Chinese has only about 420 phonetically distinct syllables. Then he adds: "The case is then, that all the simple words of this highly developed language have to be distributed among these 420 syllables. A small dictionary, including only the very commonest words of the language, gives about 4,200 simple words, which gives an average of *ten* different words for each syllable. But it is not expected that the words should be evenly distributed among the syllables; the number of homophones in a series is therefore sometimes smaller, sometimes larger." As a result of this uneven distribution, Professor Karlgren says, there are no less than thirty-eight

"words" pronounced *i* with a falling tone, such as *i* "wing," *i* "meaning" or "intention," *i* "translate," and so on.[20]

But supposing we abandon the dictionary view of the language for observation of living speech. Analyzing the utterances made by our informant, Old Wang, we discover the word for "wing" in sentences like "All birds have wings" to be a dissyllabic expression, *ch'ihpang*. The word for "translate" is another dissyllable, *fani*. The fact is that the spoken forms of the thirty-eight "words" pronounced *i* with a falling tone are *all* polysyllabic.

That there is anything ambiguous about the so-called monosyllabic homophones is trenchantly refuted by Professor Kennedy in the following terms: "Although *i* is the favorite syllable selected by the puzzlemakers, it is an ironic fact that modern Chinese has not a single real word pronounced *i* with falling tone. The 38 'common words' that we are invited to see in a small dictionary are nothing but abstractions. Some of them are parts of living words, as in *fan-i* 'translate' or *i-szu* 'meaning.' Some of them are ghosts from days gone by, some never had any life of their own. But then the hypothetical situation of the speaker saying *i* and the hearer looking blank is purely a Western fabrication. There is no reason for a Chinese to understand anything by *i*, because *i* does not mean anything, and no one in his right mind would say it."*

* George A. Kennedy, *The Monosyllabic Myth* (unpublished), pp. 13-14. It is important to note that there is considerable difference of opinion as to whether various monosyllables are ever really used by themselves in any of the meanings claimed for them. At least two observers have reported to the author the use of the sentence *Na pushih wode i*, "That isn't my meaning," but Chao and Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, pp. 83-84 has a listing indicating that this *i* never appears as a free form and hence could not be used by itself in the sentence cited. On the other hand, the same work (pp. 172 and 204) lists three independent words pronounced *i* and having the meaning "loyal," "to criticize," and "to translate." This is not likely to receive wide acceptance in view of the use in normal conversation of the words *chunghsin* or *ich'i* for "loyal," *ilun* for "criticize," and *fani* for "translate." In view of the frequent failure of those who know ideographs to distinguish between what is written and what is said, perhaps the decisive test on whether a monosyllable is used by itself should be whether it is so used by an illiterate Chinese. It is with the latter that we are primarily concerned at this point. For a further comment on criteria for defining normal speech see below, page 251, note.

In the case of Shau Wing Chan, analysis of his remarks cited earlier reveals that a confused linguistic method has led him to say that the nature of Chinese writing is an obstacle to phoneticizing the Chinese language. Actually, the ideographs are irrelevant to the subject. The question of whether Chinese writing can be phoneticized has no bearing on the question of whether the Chinese language—Chinese speech—can be phoneticized. Because of his error in starting with the ideographs, Mr. Chan made the further mistake of writing his sentence in detached syllables, as follows: *Pa pa pa ti ti ti shih shih shih liao.* The reason is that he wrote down the sounds commonly attached to the ten ideographs in which the sentence was written, instead of writing down the sounds that a speaker of Chinese would make in giving utterance to the idea expressed by the sentence.

But let us abandon these abstractions and again invoke the aid of our informant, Old Wang, who fortunately speaks the National Language, which Mr. Chan said he was describing. We find in Old Wang's speech the word *papa* "father." It is made up of two syllables, both of which are bound, that is, they appear in no other word spoken by our informant. We find also the word *pa* "take," used to introduce the object of the verb. We find also the word *titi* "younger brother." It is made up of two syllables, both of them semi-bound. Old Wang's pronunciation of the particle which Mr. Chan writes as *ti* is actually *te*. It is a semi-bound syllable, equivalent to *'s* in English. Our informant does not know the Chinese equivalent for "epic poem" but educated speakers of the same dialect suggest that it might be *shihshih*, the first syllable being a bound form meaning "history" and the second a full word meaning "poetry" or "poem." The word for "lose" is *tiu*, not *shih*, which turns out to be actually a literary form not used in ordinary speech.* The suffix which Mr. Chan writes as *liao* is pronounced *le* by Old Wang. It is a semi-bound syllable.

If now we write down the whole sentence as pronounced by

* The syllable *shih* "to lose" occurs as a possibly independent word in the phrase *shihle chihui* "lost the opportunity." It also occurs as a semi-bound form in the more freely used word *shihtiao* "to lose." But *shih* could not possibly be used as a normal spoken form in the sentence advanced by Chan.

Old Wang, we get the following: *Papa pa titite shihshih tiule.* This still looks odd, but it begins to look as if it might be intelligible—at least as intelligible as the comparable picking of pickled peppers by Peter Piper. We shall defer a fuller discussion of the intelligibility of this sentence until the next chapter in order to make good our failure to take account of the tones in which the syllables would be pronounced. Even at this stage, however, it may be of interest to compare our written version with the English equivalent.

The English sentence reads: *Father lost younger brother's epic poem.* The Chinese sentence reads: *Papa pa titite shihshih tiule.* The English sentence consists of six words and eleven syllables. The Chinese has only one less of each. In both languages only one of the words is a monosyllable. Comparing the syllables, we find the bound syllables to number eight in English and two in Chinese; semi-bound, one in English and five in Chinese; free, two in English and three in Chinese. They are as follows:

	English	*Chinese*
bound:	8: *fa, ther, broth, er* or *er's* (in brother's), *ep, ic, po, em*	2: *pa, pa* "father"
semi-bound:	1: *er* (in younger)	5: *ti, ti, te, shih* "history," *le*
free:	2: *lost, young*	3: *pa* "take," *tiu, shih* "poem"

On the basis of this single sentence it would appear that English favors the bound syllable and Chinese the semi-bound. But whether the two languages can actually be characterized in this way can be determined only on the basis of more extensive counts. At present the data tends to confirm what common-sense observation has already suggested to many people, namely, that Chinese is a polysyllabic language.

In point of fact all those concerned with the use of an alphabetic script for Chinese understood to a greater or less degree that the language was polysyllabic. When Ricci compiled his Portuguese-Chinese dictionary in the 1580's, he rarely defined a Portuguese term by a single Chinese syllable.[21] Rémusat

praised the dictionary-making of the missionaries as revealing the polysyllabic nature of the language; he was one of the first to refute the monosyllabic theory. The great Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote to Rémusat, "You have proved, and it could not have been done better, sir, that it is entirely mistaken to call this language monosyllabic."[22] The Rev. J. C. Gibson dismissed the fear of ambiguity by arguing that the alphabetic writing simply reproduced speech and was therefore unintelligible only if speech was unintelligible. Li Chin-hsi was at least correct in his conclusion, if of doubtful accuracy in his history, when he stated that Chinese speech, once as monosyllabic as Chinese writing, was forced to become polysyllabic "because the mouth cannot utter signs or the ears grow eyes."[23] Whether from scholarly research or common-sense observation, many others likewise concluded that Chinese was a language like other languages.

There can be no other conclusion. If linguistic dogma is replaced by linguistic science, the monosyllabic myth must inevitably give way before the polysyllabic reality of Chinese speech. Chinese studies can then progress by dealing scientifically with problems that are difficult enough without embellishment. There are a number of such problems, some of which are only now beginning to receive attention, that are of special importance to the question of alphabetization. One of the most important of these is the problem of tones.

9

THE PROBLEM OF TONES

CLOSELY associated with the monosyllabic myth is the view of Chinese tones as a fortunate device for removing some of the ambiguity which might otherwise result from the excessive number of monosyllabic homophones in the language. According to Mr. Chan, "This state of uncertainty and confusion in the Chinese language, however, is remedied by the system of so-called tones, which was invented for distinguishing the various musical accents with which a monosyllable can be pronounced, thereby reducing the extent of possible confusion of meanings conveyed by a given sound combination. . . . With the aid of the tone system, then, the listener can figure out the intended meaning with greater certainty and ease."[1]

Leaving aside the question of whether it is possible to speak of tones as "invented," it is worth noting that whereas Mr. Chan stresses the value of tones in distinguishing otherwise homophonous syllables, yet he made no use of tone marks in the sentence which he cited as proving the impossibility of writing Chinese in an alphabetic script. In contrast, the supporters of Gwoyeu Romatzyh are noted for their insistence on tone-indication, attributing special virtue to their system because it incorporates the tone in the spelling of the syllable. A typical statement of the advantages of G.R. over a system like Wade, which often omits tone marks and other signs, is the following from the pen of Walter Simon:[2] "In addition, the difficulty of printing these signs has led to the practice of omitting them altogether in the transcription of Chinese words in books for the general public. While this procedure is admissible so long as the reader is not interested in the pronunciation of such words, it must be pointed out that the resulting ambiguities are enormous. *Kuo-yu* for 'National Language' is theoretically liable to no less than 64 possible pronunciations, *Tu-chun*

(Military Governor of a Province) to 128, and Kuo-min-tang (National People's Party) to 256. On the other hand, the G.R. spelling *Gwoyeu, Dujiun* and *Gwomindaang* leave no doubt whatever as to the correct pronunciation." If we discount from the figures cited here the possible mispronunciations due to the omission of signs for umlaut and aspiration, lack of tone-indication would still make it theoretically possible to read the three words in sixteen, sixteen, and sixty-four different ways respectively. Even so the result is an alarmist picture of the need to indicate the tones of syllables in order to obviate the ambiguities which might otherwise result.

The preceding statements suggest that two kinds of ambiguity are possible in the alphabetic writing of Chinese. The first is in pronunciation and the second in meaning. Fears of ambiguity owing to excessive numbers of homophonous syllables lead one writer to demand a fixed system of tone-indication and another to view the ideographic script as indispensable. Here too, however, the issue must not be obscured by irrelevant references to the ideographs. We must return again to speech for our facts.

In the first place, there is no denying the importance of tones in Chinese speech. Foreigners who make themselves understood without tones or with the wrong ones are incorrect in assuming that such broken Chinese is much different from "He is a pad poy to do such a ding." Some Chinese, too, have been overzealous in pointing out that they can speak to each other quite intelligibly without regard to tones. One supporter of G.R. reported that when a Cantonese audience was presented with a series of phrases in which all the tones were intentionally pronounced incorrectly, the listeners were still able to understand the phrases.[3] At best, however, such facts merely prove the flexibility and non-ambiguity of the Chinese language. It is more important to discover how tones are actually used in speech.

Analysis of Chinese speech reveals that it is not a monotonous succession of monosyllables to each of which one of four tones is unalterably attached. In many words and phrases the final syllable has a neutral tone which in some cases is fixed but in others is in free variation with one of the four tones. A

low tone under some conditions is modified before another low tone. The second syllable of a reduplicated adverb becomes a high tone whatever it may be in isolation. A falling tone is sometimes modified before another falling tone. Most important of all, unstressed syllables in all sorts of positions are frequently found to become neutral as to tone.* Some of these points can be illustrated by further reference to the citations presented above.

By ordinary canons of tone-indication Mr. Chan's sentence would appear as *Pa*^{1} *pa*^{4} *pa*^{3} *ti*^{4} *ti*^{4} *ti*^{1} *shih*^{3} *shih*^{1} *shih*^{1} *liao*^{3} or as *Pà pà pǎ tì tì tī shǐh shīh shīh liǎo.* Apart from tones, the sentence needs first of all to be corrected, as already indicated, to the following: *Papa pa titite shihshih tiule.* When we come to indicate tones, we find at the outset that the first word is actually pronounced *pàpa,* that is, the second syllable is neutral as to tone. The second syllable of *tìti* is likewise neutral. The same is true of the suffixes *te* and *le.* Writing the sentence as pronounced produces the following: *Pàpa pǎ tìtite shǐhshīh tīule.* It thus turns out that no two syllables are alike and that no less than four of the ten syllables are neutral in tone. If we analyze more extended material, we find that in actual speech only about half of the syllables are uttered in tones generally ascribed to them by dictionaries.[4]

It is to their credit that the supporters of G.R. have been most careful to note the real pronunciation of Chinese words, especially emphasizing the existence of neutral tones. A great deal of extremely important work on this feature of the Chinese tonal system has been done by Dr. Y. R. Chao, as for example in his marking of fixed or semi-fixed neutral tones in the latest editions of the Fenn and Mathews dictionaries. Because of research by scholars like Dr. Chao, materials written in G.R.

* The following are some examples of these points: In *haitzu* "child" the syllable *tzu* is always neutral in tone. In *hsitzu* "actor" the syllable *tzu* can be either a neutral or a third tone. Normally *hen* is a low tone, but before *hao* "good," which is also a low tone, it becomes rising. In *haohaoerhti* "carefully" the syllable *hao,* appearing here in a reduplicated adverb, is pronounced with a low tone in its first appearance and with a high tone in its second. The syllable *pu* "not" is a falling tone in isolation but is pronounced with a rising tone when stressed before another falling tone. In rapid speech the syllable *ch'ü* "go," which by itself has a falling tone, is unstressed in *chinch'ü* "go in" and becomes neutral in tone.

are more accurate representations of the sounds made in speech than are the materials in most other systems. The chief criticism that has been leveled against G.R. is not that it fails to give correct pronunciation but that it does so in an unnecessarily cumbersome fashion. This derives from the fact that the tone as well as the basic sound is included in the spelling of every syllable.

In order to indicate the neutral tone G.R. must resort to diacritical marks, freedom from which is supposed to be one of the strong points of the system. It writes *kùo-yü* or *kùo-yǘ* "excessively" as *guoh* (·)*yu* to show that the last syllable can be pronounced either as a neutral tone or as a second tone. It writes *lìhai* "fierce" as *lih·hay* to show that the neutral tone is not optional but compulsory for the last syllable. We are thus first informed by the spelling *hay* that the syllable has a fourth tone and then told by the dot that it has a neutral tone after all. An even more complicated case is G.R. *lao*(·)*huu* "tiger." The spelling of the syllables indicates a third tone in each case. But the dot in parentheses shows that the second syllable may actually be pronounced either as a third or a neutral tone. A rule governing the sequence of two third tones must be invoked to obtain the real pronunciation of the first syllable, which is in the second tone. It might be possible to defend the writing of the first syllable in the third tone on etymological grounds by reference to the characters in which the word is conventionally written. If we write the word down directly from speech, however, we can only record *láohǔ* or *láohu*.

Whatever the relative virtues of the various systems of tone indication, there is no question as to their ability to give the correct pronunciation. Wade *ti*^{4}*-ti* or *tìti* is no less accurate than G.R. *dih·dih* in giving the pronunciation of the word for "younger brother." All three forms tell us that the word is a two-syllable expression, that the stress is on the first syllable, that the first syllable is pronounced with a falling tone, and that the second syllable is neutral in tone. That is all we need to pronounce the word with complete accuracy. What is true of this one word is true of others. By correct indication of tones an alphabetic system of writing is able to remove the possibility of ambiguity in pronunciation.

What then about the possibility of ambiguity in meaning? The question is whether, even with correct indication of tones, there may not be so many words spelled the same way as to lead to confusion. In order to answer this question it is best to start by finding out, accurately and objectively, how many homonyms there are of certain specific words, such as those mentioned by Simon and Chan as possibly ambiguous. The task is impeded at the outset, however, by the lack of word-lists or dictionaries adequate to our purpose. Most dictionaries are based on Chinese writing rather than Chinese speech and are therefore badly arranged and full of extraneous material. As Professor Kennedy has put it, "A Chinese lexicon is strictly speaking not a dictionary of words at all, but at best a Collection of Syllabic Symbols, Ancient and Modern." Perhaps the most useful collection for our purposes is the large 4,485-page *National Language Dictionary.*[5] It at least has the virtue of giving correct pronunciation and of being arranged more or less by pronunciation.

Examining this dictionary, then, how many items do we find that would have the same pronunciation (including tones) as *pàpa, tūchūn*, and the other words mentioned above? We find the following:

WORD	HOMOPHONES
pàpa "father"	none
pǎ "take"	three
tìti "younger brother"	none
shǐhshīh "epic poem"	none
tīu "lose"	none
tūchūn "military governor"	none
kúoyǔ "National Language"	none
Kúomíntǎng "Nationalist Party"	none

What this means is that with one exception, the foregoing Chinese words are as unique and distinctive as the much longer English word *disestablishmentarianism.* If there is any ambiguity in the sentence *Pàpa pǎ tìtite shǐhshīh tīule,* it is not due to homonyms. Four of the five words in the sentence are not duplicated anywhere in the language. The remaining one has three homonyms, but all are bound forms,[6] one occurring

in the word *pătzu* "target," another as a measure of objects with handles, and the other in the transliteration of *palladium*, so that they cannot possibly conflict with *pă* "take." The remaining three words given in the above list are unique in form.

On the basis of this sampling the suspicion is aroused that the problem of homophony may be not much, if any, greater in Chinese than in English. The precise picture can be drawn only after much more detailed lists are compiled of real homophones in Chinese. Even without awaiting the completion of this urgent task, however, we can state categorically that homophony is not an unsurmountable problem in the alphabetization of Chinese, for it is not a serious problem in ordinary speech and therefore need not cause undue difficulties in any script which reproduces the essentials of speech.

Indeed it has frequently been argued in the history of the language reform movement that the script does not even need to reproduce many features present in speech. Actually, no system that has been suggested does so fully, any more than do the scripts used in the West. Sentence intonation is described by scholars but not indicated in our ordinary writing. Precise information on pronunciation and stress as well as on the meaning of words, including homonyms, is to be found only in our dictionaries and not in the orthography in general use. The inadequacies of traditional systems of writing have led many scholars to devise strictly phonetic alphabets, such as Bell's "Visible Speech" and Jespersen's "Analphabetic Notation." But in alphabets designed for ordinary use a compromise is sought between accuracy and simplicity. In China there have been heated debates as to the relative stress to be given to these two aspects. In general it can be said that the supporters of G.R. emphasize accuracy and the adherents of Latinxua stress simplicity. The chief point of disagreement is over the Latinxua contention that, except in a very few cases, tones do not need to be indicated in ordinary writing.

It is at once apparent that failure to indicate tones in Chinese greatly increases the number of words with the same spelling. If the tone marks are omitted from the words *pă* "take" and *pà* "quit" the result is a common form *pa* for both of the words. Such common forms cannot accurately be desig-

nated merely as homonyms. We need more precise terms to make clear just what happens in a system of writing like that of Latinxua. For our purposes the terminology advanced by Harold E. Palmer in his discussion of related phenomena in Japanese will serve admirably. These terms, illustrated by reference to English, are as follows:[7]

A. *Homophones*: Two or more words having exactly the same pronunciation, as *right, write, rite, wright*; and *too* "also," *too* "excessively," *two* "2." Such homophones divide into two groups:

1. *Heterographic homophones*: Homophones having different spellings.

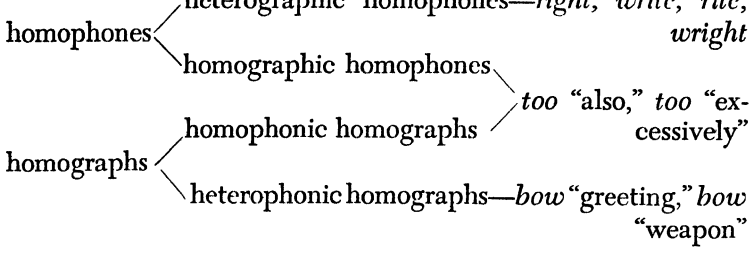
2. *Homographic homophones*: Homophones having the same spelling.

B. *Homographs*: Two or more words having exactly the same spelling, as *bow* "weapon," *bow* "greeting," *bow* "front part of a ship." Such homographs divide into two groups:

1. *Homophonic homographs*: Homographs having the same pronunciation. Hence identical with homographic homophones.

2. *Heterophonic homographs*: Homographs having different pronunciations.

The following will make these terms clearer:



In Chinese the forms *pà* "quit" and *pà* "dike" can be designated either as homographic homophones or as homophonic homographs. They are words of the same sound and spelling but of different meaning. But if *pà* "quit" is written *pa*, and *pǎ* "take" is also written *pa*, that is without tones, the two words *pa* "quit" and *pa* "take" are heterophonic homographs, words

of the same spelling but of different pronunciation. Such omission of tone-indication means that *pa* includes both the homophonic homographs or homographic homophones *pa* "quit" and *pa* "dike" and also the heterophonic homograph *pa* "take." A rare comparable case in English is *bow*, which includes the homophonic homographs *bow* "greeting" and *bow* "front part of a ship" and the heterophonic homograph *bow* "weapon." Such a falling together in the spelling of different words is the product of a sub-phonemic system of writing, one which does not indicate all the distinctive features of the language.

The argument against non-indication of tones as a sub-phonemic and hence ambiguous system of orthography generally starts by citing the various meanings which this or that written form might have. Proceeding on this basis, we may take the words mentioned by Simon and Chan as our starting point. What is the total number of additional items in the *National Language Dictionary* that would have the spelling *papa, titi*, etc., without tone indication? The answer is as follows:

FORM	ADDITIONAL OCCURRENCES
papa	3
pa	34
titi	8
shihshih	45
tiu	0
tuchün	0
kuoyü	3
Kuomintang	0

It thus appears that even without tone-indication three of the eight words are unique and distinctive in form. Examining the other cases, we find that many of the items listed were derived from *The Book of Odes*, the various histories, the poems of Po Chü-i, and other sources in the classical literary style. The material thus includes many items which are not ordinarily spoken today, if they ever were. We must therefore discover which of the items listed in the *National Language Dictionary* are likely to enter into speech and hence to interfere with the intelligibility of the words under discussion, if written with-

out indication of tones. In order to do this as objectively as possible we shall invoke the authority of another work, the *Standard Dictionary*,[8] which despite its defects at least asserts that it includes only expressions used in speech. The following table shows the number of additional occurrences in the *National Language Dictionary* which appear as spoken items in the *Standard Dictionary*:[9]

FORM	IN NLD	IN SD
papa	3	0
pa	34	6
titi	8	1
shihshih	45	15
tiu	0	0
tuchün	0	0
kuoyü	3	0
Kuomintang	0	0

It now appears that even without tone indication no less than five of the eight words are unique forms. But even with respect to the six homographs of *pa*, the one of *titi*, and the fifteen of *shihshih* it is not yet possible to speak of conflict and ambiguity. Citing the dictionary to prove ambiguity in Chinese is one of the favorite procedures, but it is also one of the most fallacious. Jespersen has a remark about English which is extremely pertinent in this connection:[10] "I repeat: it is not homophony as such—the phenomenon shown in the long lists lexicographers can draw up of words of the same sound—that is decisive, but the chances of mistakes in connected speech." This point can also be applied to writing. We may paraphrase Jespersen as follows: It is not homography as such—the phenomenon shown in the long lists lexicographers can draw up of words of the same spelling—that is decisive, but the chances of mistakes in connected writing. Further detail on this subject can be provided by citing an article by Professor Robert J. Menner on the conflict of homonyms in English. He reminds us that ". . . two homonyms are unlikely to interfere unless they belong to the same part of speech: a verb is unlikely to conflict with a noun or a noun with an adjective. . . . Usually the homonyms must also have the same syntactic function,

and be capable of being used in the same construction. Cleave "sunder" is usually transitive and cleave "adhere" intransitive, but even when the former is used intransitively, as it sometimes is, it is distinguished from the second verb by the fact that the latter is always accompanied by the preposition, in Modern English *(un)to*. A second condition is that the words must fall within the same sphere of ideas and be likely to appear in similar contexts."[11]

Taking into consideration the factors suggested by Jespersen and Menner, what do we discover about the homographs of *pa, titi,* and *shihshih*? The single homograph of *titi* "younger brother" turns out to mean "resist the enemy" (*tǐtí*). There is considerable doubt as to whether it is really a spoken form, but apart from this, it is certainly not a noun and can hardly conflict with the word for "younger brother." The six homographs of *pa* include three verbs, one meaning "strip off" (*pā*), another "pull out" (*pá*), and the last "quit" (*pà*). They are quite different in meaning and function from *pǎ* "take," which is actually a mere coverb (somewhat like a preposition in English) and never appears as the main verb in the sentence. The other three *pa* are "scar" (*pā*), "postface" (*pá*), and "dike" (*pà*). There can hardly be any confusion as to the meaning of *pa* in the sentence under discussion. As to the fifteen homographs of *shihshih*, they include seven which might possibly function as nouns. Conceivably one or more of these might be used in the same position as the word for "epic poem" in our sentence.

The score now stands at seven words distinctive and unambiguous and one as possibly leading to confusion. But there is still more to be said about the problem of *shihshih*. The syllable *shih* in its various tonal permutations is among the most frequently used in the Chinese language. This means that the syllable, whether used by itself or in combination with others, is relatively less clear in speech and in writing than other syllables and words which Chao characterizes as "clear and full." The trouble stems initially from the failure to use in speech syllables or words which are clear and full and have a small number of homonyms. As Chao puts it,[12] "If in talking normal Chinese a person makes use of such a number of homo-

nyms as to give his hearers trouble, then it is a sign that his art of language is not good enough in the first place. If, on the other hand, he takes care to make his language clear and full in sound, then it is a language which is automatically good for writing in romanization." Even with indication of tones, *shǐh-shīh* is ambiguous to the ear. Moreover, it turns out that *shǐhshīh* "epic poem" is not given in the *Standard Dictionary* at all. It is a semi-literary form, and though it might be used in the speech of educated people, it is inferior, by Chao's standards, to the more or less synonymous expression *ying-hsiung shih*. The latter is clearer even without tone indication, though certainly not as clear as the rest of Mr. Chan's sentence.

The facts presented so far tend to minimize the importance of tone-indication. Yet they do not suffice for generalizing on this subject. They do provide a background, however, for taking up the views which have been expressed by various schools of thought on the matter.

The two poles of opinion on the subject of tones are represented by the views of the G.R. and Latinxua schools. In defense of the G.R. position Walter Simon mentions the distinctiveness of *Gwoyeu* "National Language" and *guohyu* "too (much)" in contrast to the ambiguity of Wade *kuoyii*, which might mean either one.[13] Another writer, asking why Latinxua omits in writing something present in speech, charges the system with failing to distinguish between *litzu* "pear," *litzu* "plum," and *litzu* "chestnut."[14] Chou Pien-ming considers Latinxua inferior to the "tonalphabetic method" of G.R. "because to every *four* forms in tonal spelling there is only *one* form in Latinxua. In consequence, the degree of word-intelligibility tells against Latinxua. . . ."[15] Another opponent of Latinxua points out that the number of words given special spellings in the system numbered six in 1932 and sixteen in 1936, and concludes that Latinxua was on the way to becoming as difficult as G.R.[16]

The supporters of the New Writing in turn reject Gwoyeu Romatzyh on two grounds, first that its technique of tone-representation is too difficult and second that it is unnecessary. In defense of their own system they argue chiefly that the context would make the meaning clear without tone-indication.

They admit that there are a few exceptions to this generalization and are prepared to provide for them by creating special spellings. Thus "chestnut" is spelled in Latinxua as *liz* and "plum" as *liiz*. The word for "pear" is actually the monosyllable *li*, not a disyllabic expression. Latinxua writes *mai* for "sell" (Wade: *mài*) and *maai* for "buy" (Wade: *mǎi*); *Shansi* for "Shansi" (*Shānhsi*) and *Shaansi* for "Shensi" (*Shǎnhsi*); *yanz* for "courtyard" (*yüàntzu*) and *yaanz* for "garden" (*yüántzu*). There are only a few other cases of such special spellings.[17]

Despite the confusion that exists in the controversy over indication of tones there is one point on which there is a certain amount of clarity and agreement. It is obvious to all concerned that there are cases where failure to make distinctions undoubtedly causes ambiguity. It is not the existence of ambiguity that is at issue but rather its extent and its manner of treatment. The supporters of G.R., having in mind a huge range of expressions in all sorts of materials, stress the need for a fixed system of tone indication to provide distinctions for any contingency. The adherents of Latinxua, having in mind chiefly connected texts for the average reader, see only a few cases of ambiguity and suggest that these be treated more or less on an *ad hoc* basis as they arise.

In a sense, therefore, the protagonists are arguing about different things. In any event it is readily apparent that there is something to be said on both sides. There is no question as to the greater distinctiveness of G.R. spelling as against that of Latinxua. The advantages of tone-indication are especially clear in the case of isolated words where context is not available to provide clues as to meaning. Some supporters of Latinxua lay themselves open to attack when they betray their unfamiliarity with linguistics by stating, as did Hsiao San, that tones need not be indicated because they are nothing but stress anyway. Then, too, in their emphasis on context and materials for mass consumption, they often ignore problems raised by words in isolation and by materials of interest to more educated readers.

But if the adherents of Sin Wenz are inclined to err by ignoring problems of interest to the scholar, the supporters of G.R. also often go astray by failing to note the distinction be-

tween a theoretical difficulty and a practical issue in real life. The theoretical 256 or even 64 possible pronunciations, and therefore possible distinct words, for *Kuomintang* can hardly cause much ambiguity in the world of reality since the Chinese language actually has no other word which would be spelled in this way. *Kuoyü* "too (much)" is not likely to be confused with *Kuoyii* "National Language" because they are different parts of speech and would occur in different positions and contexts. Anyway, *kuoyü* "too (much)" is semi-literary (it does not occur in the *Standard Dictionary*) and therefore constitutes no problem for the vast majority of the people. The charge that Latinxua is inferior in word-intelligibility is not made convincing when the evidence advanced includes syllables which are attached to ideographs but do not occur as words in speech. For all their proficiency in linguistics the supporters of G.R. often have more difficulty than the adherents of Latinxua in driving out the ideographs from their minds when dealing with the main problems of alphabetic writing.

On balance the weight of the evidence confirms the thesis that the everyday system of orthography can dispense almost entirely with indication of tones. In reality the thesis is not new in the controversy over reform of the Chinese script. It was stated by the Rev. J. C. Gibson in the nineteenth century. It was tacitly acknowledged by most users of the National Phonetic Alphabet through their failure to use the system of tone-representation provided for by the orthography. The possibility of getting along with only partial indication of tones was mentioned very early by Y. R. Chao. At one time Li Chinhsi, too, saw no need to indicate tones in most polysyllabic words.[18] These conclusions were reached sometimes theoretically, sometimes empirically. They are justified on both grounds. Theory based on facts such as those cited earlier rather than on astronomical improbabilities suggest that there is not much chance of ambiguity if tone-indication is ignored in writing ordinary Chinese. Practical confirmation of this is found in the large body of materials published primarily in Latinized Chinese but also in other systems without indication of tones. Included in such materials are newspapers, histories,

scientific studies, general works, and translations of Chinese and Western literary masterpieces.

But if the supporters of Latinxua are correct in their contention that the system has proved the possibility of dispensing with indication of tones, the adherents of G.R. are also correct in stating that there are cases when such a procedure might lead to ambiguity which could be removed by tone-indication. There are cases when words appear in isolation. There are cases, too, when the context does not suffice to identify a word. The differentiation of names—both personal names and surnames—is sometimes necessary to a greater degree than is permitted by an orthography like Latinxua. The fully correct pronunciation of words will be needed at some time or other. Such problems have not been given the attention they deserve by supporters of Latinized Chinese.

Yet it does not follow that problems such as these justify the G.R. dismissal of a scheme like Latinxua as unworkable. The need for indicating tones *sometimes* is no argument for indicating tones *always*. Nor does it follow that the everyday orthography is the place to make all of the suggested tonal distinctions. Between the rigidity of G.R. and the simplicity of Latinxua, what seems to be called for is a flexible system which might compromise the different viewpoints and in any case would meet the requirement of scientific accuracy. The basis for such a compromise is suggested by Y. R. Chao's early statement that "The use of tone marks is also to be optional, being needed only where its absence leads to ambiguity or insufficient degree of auditory intelligibility."

What this suggests is a system of tone marks, such as those in *pā, pá, pǎ, pà,* which can be used or not according to the type of material and the feeling of the individual writer. Something can be said also for the Latinxua device of creating a few special spellings comparable to the English homophonic heterographs *right, write, rite, wright.* But such spellings can only be used sparingly, as in Latinxua, for common words of frequent recurrence, for otherwise there is danger of the orthography becoming so complicated as to defeat the objective of simplicity. The number can be limited if the system remains flexible enough to permit tone-indication wherever this

is felt to be necessary. Such flexibility may result in different treatment of the same words under various conditions or even perhaps in the same situations. One shopkeeper may conclude that he will have no difficulty in attracting customers if he displays the sign

li 9mao ch'ien ichin

Another may feel it necessary to write

lí 9mao ch'ien ichin

Still another may think that clarity demands

lí 9máo-ch'íen ìchīn

Experience will show how much or how little must be written to get across the idea "pears 90 cents a catty." If a scholar fears that a passage with the word *Kuoyü* may lead the reader to think of "excessively" rather than of "National Language," then he can write the word as *Kúoyü*. New words introduced to the reader for the first time, as in the case of elementary textbooks especially, can be provided with tone-marks at first and then gradually written without them as the material is mastered by the student. In all these cases practice rather than theory must provide the decisive answer to the question of how much has to be indicated. If a writer indicates so few tones that his material is ambiguous, he will not be read. If he writes so many as to overburden his text and insult the intelligence of his reader, he is also likely to be ignored. The fear that so many tones will have to be indicated as to make the orthography cumbersome does not seem to be justified. On the basis of available evidence, both theoretical and practical, it would appear that almost anything that can be said in Chinese can be written down alphabetically with no more tone marks than there are diacritics in an orthography like the French.

But however flexible the system there is no avoiding the need for a definitive authority on the spelling and pronunciation of words. What this emphasizes is the need for a real dictionary of the Chinese language, one which will provide the same sort of information that is given in dictionaries of the likewise sub-phonemic orthographies of Western languages. Just as our English dictionaries provide information as to pronunciation, stress, and meaning, including those attached to different words of the same spelling, so Chinese lexicons of

the alphabetized script can take over the task of providing all necessary information with equal facility. Lexicons of this sort would not even have to indicate basic pronunciation or syllabification, as do ours, if the phonetic writing is as clear in these respects as are Gwoyeu Romatzyh or Latinxua. They need to indicate only tones, stress, and meaning, with perhaps some etymology. There is room in China for alphabetized dictionaries ranging from something on the model of an unabridged Webster to a pocket vocabulary. With such dictionaries the problem of tones can be reduced to manageable proportions.

The compilation of a satisfactory Chinese dictionary is doubtless a formidable task which requires great care in preparation and execution. Yet the general lines of what is needed are clear. Perhaps these can be suggested most clearly by presenting the following as typical of the entries which might appear in a simple dictionary of Chinese:

'Kúomintǎng, *mt. [kúo* kúochīa + **mín* jénmín + *tǎng* ìchǔng t'úant'i] Sun Chung-shan ch'uangpienti chengtang.

*kùo'yú, *ft.* [*kùo* ch'āokùo + **yǔ* tsài] T'ài (tō).

'kúoyǔ, *mt* [*kúo* kúochia + **yǔ* yǔyén] Kungkei ch'uan-kuo kungyungti ichung yuyen, bèi kuochia kueitingti.

'kùoyu, *ft.* Chien *kùoyǔ.*

'Lószufú, *jm.* [YW. Roosevelt] Meikuoti tsungt'ung ts'ung 1933 nien tao 1945 nien.

pǎ, *tt.* Ná (*pf.* Pa t'a fangtsai chotzushang).

'pàpa, *mt.* Fuch'in.

*shǐhshīh, *mt.* [**shǐh* lìshǐh + *shīh* yǔ hóhsíeh shēngtiàoti ìchǔng wénchāng] Yinghsiung shih.

't'ǎnk'èch'ē, *mt.* [*t'ǎnk'è* > YW. *tank* + *ch'ē* lùshangti chīaot'ūng chīch'i] Chūnyungti chanch'e.

tūchūn, *mt.* [**tū* tūch'á + **chūn* chūntùi] Minkuo ch'umien chihp'ei isheng chünchengti kuan.*

* The sample entries are meant to be suggestive rather than definitive. I am by no means sure of accuracy in my treatment of specific items with respect to stress, etymology, definition, etc. More careful study needs to be made, for example, to determine whether the stress really falls on the first syllable in *kúoyǔ* "national language" and on the second syllable in *kùoyǔ* "too (much)," and whether stress is so evenly distributed between the two syllables of *shǐhshīh* as to call for no indication of stress at all. Such problems are left to the dictionary-makers for solution.

In the foregoing the entries preceded by an asterisk are literary or semi-literary forms. In the case of the bracketed syllables preceded by an asterisk, the item is a root not used by itself in the meaning indicated.[19] The bracketed material gives the etymology of the word. The abbreviations are as follows: *mt.* for *mingtz'u* "noun," *ft.* for *futz'u* "adverb," *jm.* for *jenming* "name of a person," *tt.* for *tungtz'u* "verb," and *pf.* for *pifang* "for example."[20] The symbol ' stands for stress and > stands for *ts'ung* "from." Thus the material is readily understandable as equivalent to the following in English:

'Kúomíntǎng, n. [*kúo* state + °*mín* people + °*tǎng* a kind of organization] The political party created by Sun Yat-sen.

°kùo'yú, adv. [*kùo* pass + °*yú* at] Too (much).

'kúoyu, n. [*kúo* state + *yu* language] A kind of language determined by the state for the common use of the whole country.

°'kùoyu, adv. See *kùoyú*

'Lószufú, name. [Eng Roosevelt] The president of the United States from 1933 to 1945.

pǎ, v. Take (e.g. Take it and put it on the table.)

'pàpa, n Father.

°shǐhshīh, n. [°*shih* history + *shīh* a kind of writing having rhymed sounds] Heroic poetry.

't'ǎnk'èch'ē, n. [*t'ǎnk'è* > Eng. *tank* + *ch'ē* machine for land communication] War vehicle for military use.

tūchūn, n. [°*tū* oversee + *chūn* army] An official who supervised the military administration of a province in the first years of the Republic.

A dictionary of this sort would raise a host of difficult, but not insoluble, problems. The need for brevity in the etymologies would tax the ingenuity of the compiler to the utmost. There would be sharp disagreement as to what to include in the dictionary. Some might advocate including everything in every form of Chinese, as the *National Language Dictionary* has apparently attempted to do. Others might suggest leaving out such semi-literary items as those preceded by an asterisk in our sample entries. It might also be argued that etymology should be ignored in the first dictionary efforts as too difficult for immediate solution. Most of these problems, it must be noted, can be mitigated if not solved completely by initially renouncing the ideographs as a source of informa-

tion—and of misinformation. Perhaps the best results would be achieved by beginning with illiterate informants and writing down their words as pronounced without reference at all to the ideographs.

Such a dictionary based on actual speech would probably not contain any, much less thirty-eight, words pronounced *i* with a falling tone. It would include *t'ài* "excessively" but not a word *kùoyǘ* having this meaning. It might have the expression *yīnghsiung shīh* "epic poem" but would quite definitely lack one of that meaning with the pronunciation *shīhshīh*. Together with providing an accurate listing of real words it would also tell all that needs to be known about the tones, stress, and meaning of the words. Then if readers of alphabetized materials encountered an unfamiliar word, all they would need to do, like Westerners in similar situations, is to look it up in the dictionary. A lexicon of this sort would also make clear just how many homophones there are, in common speech, of any specific word. It would even tell us, finally, how many words would be written the same way without indication of tones.

Concrete information of this sort would show, if our samplings are any indication, that non-representation of tones is not a basic problem in the ambiguity feared by Walter Simon and Shau Wing Chan. It would also help to suggest what can and what cannot be written clearly without indication of tones. In addition to revealing the limitations in this direction it would further indicate the limitations on the use of alphabetic writing itself. The latter have already been hinted at in the detailed analysis of the sentence and words cited earlier. More needs to be said on this subject, however, in order to complete the analysis of alleged ambiguity. The question remains as to just what can be written in an alphabetic system of writing.

10

WHAT CAN BE ALPHABETIZED?

THE answer to the question of what can be alphabetized can be reached with comparatively little difficulty if we bear in mind the linguistic dictum that whatever can be spoken intelligibly can be written phonetically. If we take a specific speaker of Chinese, such as Old Wang, then we can say that anything spoken by him can be alphabetized. The chief problems presented by the writing down of his speech have already been discussed.

Yet this is not the whole story. However representative Old Wang may be of the average Chinese, the fact that he is illiterate and uneducated makes him immune to problems which arise in the case of other Chinese. It has been argued, for example, that the speech of educated people presents special difficulties which render it incapable of being reduced to writing in an alphabetic form. The question has also been raised as to the possibility of alphabetizing the vast body of material already written in the ideographic script. In particular it is widely held that only the simplest things can be written alphabetically and that complex ideas must continue to be expressed by means of the ideographs.

These questions can be answered by the application of the same linguistic method which led to the conclusion about the possibility of alphabetizing the language of Old Wang. Perhaps the easiest problem to dispose of is that concerning materials in the ideographic script. In reality what we are dealing with here is the question "Can *Chinese writing* be alphabetized?" To find out if written materials can be alphabetized, we need only discover whether they can be read aloud intelligibly. Shang dynasty oracle bone inscriptions read aloud in the presence of Old Wang or even of the most learned epigraphist are not intelligible. The conclusion is therefore

that they cannot be alphabetized. Szu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Records* read aloud to Old Wang and to educated hearers make no sense to the former and not much to the latter. Hence they cannot be alphabetized either. The same conclusion is to be reached for virtually all materials published in the classical literary style.

As to materials in the colloquial or semi-colloquial written style, the conclusion is not so clear-cut. Such items would generally be unintelligible when read aloud to Old Wang but would often be more or less intelligible to educated hearers. Hence the material could not be transcribed character for character into an alphabetic script for Old Wang, but such might be possible for educated people. Even for the latter, however, it would generally be found necessary in most materials to bring the writing more in line with speech. Almost all literature in the "colloquial" style is full of literary forms like *chih* "of" (spoken: *te*), *i* "particle indicating completion" (spoken: *le*), *i* "already" (spoken: *ǐching*), etc. To the extent that such literary affixes, words, and constructions are replaced by their spoken equivalents, the materials can be alphabetized for anyone who can understand the subject-matter. What this actually involves is translation from one medium to another. From this point of view anything written in the characters, including classical materials, can be translated into a form intelligible to the ear and hence capable of being alphabetized. The point to emphasize is that mere transcription rather than translation will not do. Otherwise the thirty-eight or even more characters—not words—pronounced *i* with a falling tone really will cause trouble.

The problem of alphabetizing the speech of educated Chinese is closely related to the question of complexity in the ideas that can be written in this way. It is frequently argued that a simple alphabetic script might do for peasants like Old Wang, who have only simple thoughts anyway, but that it could not be applied to the speech of educated people, whose more complicated ideas require more complicated phraseology and more complicated forms of writing. Such a formulation presents in reality a jumble of exceedingly difficult problems which can only be touched upon here. Yet enough can be said

to throw some light on the general question of alphabetization.

Perhaps the chief assumption underlying the comparison of the speech of educated and uneducated persons is that the latter have only a small stock of words at their command. Statistics on this subject are totally lacking in China and are not uniform in the West. Nevertheless, no serious student of the problem any longer believes that uneducated people use only a few hundred words. Yet this fable crops up repeatedly, both in the West and in China, where even a self-avowed friend of the Chinese masses, Agnes Smedley, says of some peasants whom she encountered, "I suppose the number of their words does not reach a hundred."[1] As against such guesswork must be placed the findings of objective scientific studies.

There are in the English language some 166,000 basic words and 204,000 derivative words. (*Quick* is a basic and *quickly* a derivative word.) The average number of these basic words which an individual can recognize (can understand when spoken and/or when written) is as follows:

Age four	5,600
Age five	9,600
Age six	14,700
Age seven	21,200
Age eight	26,300
Age nine	29,300
Age ten	34,300
College undergraduate	59,848

The number of these words which an individual actually uses is approximately the same in both speech and writing. In the case of college undergraduates the use vocabulary amounts to about 45,000 words. The total recognition vocabulary, including both basic and derivative words, is 23,700 for first-grade children and 155,736 for college undergraduates.[2]

An earlier estimate by a Swedish scientific worker estimated the use vocabulary of a Swedish peasant as at least 26,000 words. A Chinese peasant, unlike his Swedish counterpart, is without benefit of schooling, but even so these and the preceding figures are suggestive. We can hardly be wrong in assuming that an average untutored Chinese has a vocabulary

equivalent to at least that of a first-grade child in the United States. In any event it is clear that gross underestimates of the vocabulary of Chinese peasants, no less than of peasants and other people in the West, can only be described, in Jespersen's words, as "the most utter balderdash."[3]

The words at the command of a Chinese peasant are so numerous, if the figures cited above are any criterion, as to provide the means for discussing a wide variety of subjects. The complexity and profundity of the discussion is limited not so much by the vocabulary as by the experience of the peasant. In some cases he doubtless commands words and concepts unknown to his educated countrymen. The latter, on the other hand, possess a range of vocabulary and experience which is beyond the knowledge of the peasant. Moreover, they are able to make better use of that segment of the vocabularies which is common to both the educated and the uneducated. No serious obstacle to alphabetization is encountered in the common vocabulary or in that known only to the peasant. Any difficulty, if it does arise, can come only from the vocabulary unique to educated Chinese.

In the case of both Westerners and Chinese of education the range of words known to them but not to uneducated people includes pedantic expressions, scholarly-scientific terminology, and less specialized words of fairly common usage. Pedantic English can be illustrated by the sentence, "It is indubitably true that the status quo can be maintained not by a laissez faire policy but only by a policy of *divide et impera.*" In China, too, there are people who talk like this. The main character in a story by Lu Hsün earned the derision of people of less education by overburdening his speech with expressions taken from the literary.[4] But there is an important difference between English-speaking pedants and Chinese-speaking pedants in the fact that the literary expressions used by the former are likely to be long whereas those used by the latter are likely to be short, with many *shih, i,* and other ambiguous sounds. The trouble here, as the previously quoted comment by Y. R. Chao suggests, is that the speaker's art of language is not good enough in the first place. The solution is to make the language

"clear and full in sound," in which case it will be a language which is automatically good for writing in romanization.

The problem of scholarly-scientific terminology, on the other hand, cannot be solved in this way, as there are occasions when the terminology is fixed by the subject-matter. But this situation also exists in English, where discussion at a scientific level makes use of terms which do not form part of the ordinary speech even of educated people. How far could a Western scholar go in a scientific discussion of feudalism, for example, without using expressions like *beneficium, villeinage, alodium, capitulary,* and *ius primae noctis*? A specialist on Chinese feudalism also cannot avoid using terms specially created for his field or taken from earlier literature. Since all Chinese literature is in the ideographic script, this is indispensable both as a tool of research and as a means of clarifying terminology not translatable into spoken Chinese. A Western professor of feudalism must write certain terms on the blackboard for his college audience. So must Chinese professors of many subjects, especially those dealing with Chinese history. If English and Chinese professors wrote out their lectures beforehand, they would have to use a mixture of literary expressions and ordinary spoken language. An English professor might write: "Let us now discuss what *ius primae noctis* means." A comparable Chinese sentence would be: "Women hsientsai chiang shìh 十 te iszu [Let us now discuss what *shìh* 十 means]."

The preceding analysis shows that limitations do exist in Chinese on what can be spoken intelligibly and therefore on what can be written intelligibly in an alphabetic system of writing. Such limitations will be felt more strongly in certain scientific fields than in others. For obvious reasons they will be most acute in the fields of literary history, epigraphy, historiography, sinology, and other subjects the sources of which are largely in the classical written language. They will be less troublesome in the modern sciences, as indicated by Carr's discovery that not more than fifteen per cent of the Chinese equivalents of foreign technical terms consist of monosyllables.

A realistic appraisal of pedantic speech and scholarly-scientific terminology in Chinese refutes the exaggerated impres-

sion given by some writers that ambiguity in the spoken language forces everyone to go around with a pad in one hand and a pen in the other. Ideas which cannot be dealt with intelligibly in Chinese speech and hence cannot be written down alphabetically are extensive in only a few fields, chief among which are those mentioned in the preceding paragraph as having their sources largely in the classical written language. It is in conversing about such subjects that Chinese encounter the greatest need to supplement speech by writing on their palms or some other convenient place. Yet even these fields, extensive though they are, make up after all only a small segment of human knowledge as a whole. Perhaps only the smallest proportion of the words known to educated Chinese falls into the category of pedantic or scholarly-scientific terms. The next largest group probably consists of less specialized words in fairly common usage among educated people regardless of specialization, being analogous to English words like *subjective, evolutionary, environmental,* etc. In all likelihood the greatest proportion consists of words also known to uneducated people. The categories are of course not clearly defined and are in constant flux. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the story of a newspaperman who overheard a street brawl in which one North China rustic cursed another with "You . . . you . . . you . . . subjectivist!"[5]

In reality the key question in determining whether or not complex ideas can be written in an alphabetic script revolves around whether or not Chinese speech is capable of dealing with such concepts. In this connection a distinction must be made between the alleged inherent unfitness of a language for scientific thinking and the temporary difficulty of adjusting it to sudden new requirements. Language is a social thing, created by society and reflecting the needs of the people who use it. Since the language of old China is not entirely adequate for the new, the attempts to transform the country into a modern state are inevitably accompanied by pressure for changes in the language in line with the new duties placed upon it. In vocabulary alone perhaps a greater change has been made during the past half century than in any other comparable period. Only a master-race theory of language can contend that Chi-

nese or any other language is not adaptable to the needs of a modern society.

Of course Chinese is by no stretch of the imagination a backward language. Its adaptability to any demands which may be placed upon it will therefore be even more apparent in the light of the following statements from Dr. Margaret Schlauch's popular work on linguistics: "Let us grant that at this particular moment in world history some languages, remote from major currents of events, are less developed than others in the directions required by a dominant civilization based on industry and machines. The grammar may employ cumbersome, repetitious constructions to express simple relations. Nevertheless even these languages are dynamic, not static. Change is always going on rapidly or slowly according to the stimulus of cultural change. The complex syntax may be simplified; the needed words borrowed or created by compounding. . . . Even sentence structure is modified with the ages. Useless distinctions are sloughed off when the need for them has died. If this has occurred unconsciously, for the most part, in the past, it is increasingly done with conscious direction today.

"Under kindly tutelage directed toward the people's cultural advancement, a backward language can be speedily adapted, out of its own potential resources, to meet the requirements of modern civilization."[6]

This does not mean, as Professor Creel would have us believe, that "If Chinese is to be written phonetically, it must become a different language. One might almost as well suggest that the Chinese adopt English and French."[7] The fallacy that the Chinese language is so lacking in resources as to necessitate the adoption of English, French, or Esperanto was also stated by Chinese like Wu Chih-hui and Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung in their more pessimistic moods. The trouble is that they saw only the weaknesses of the literary script and failed to see the strength of the spoken language. In reality Chinese as well as Western forms of speech can be adapted to the most complex subjects. With a phonetic system of writing a Chinese can write anything he can say and can read anything he can hear.

What Can Be Alphabetized?

The answer to the question "What can be alphabetized?" is "Virtually anything."

While all this is true there remains one serious problem which has not yet been treated in the discussion of alphabetization. So far we have referred only to the speech of Old Wang, to the speech of educated people from nearby Peking, and to literature in the classical and colloquial styles of writing. Nothing has been said as yet about the speech of people in Canton, Shanghai, and other areas who speak what are commonly called "dialects" of Chinese. The relation of Old Wang's speech to that of his countrymen needs to be studied in order to complete the discussion of alphabetization.

11

DIALECTS OR LANGUAGES?

IN proceeding from an analysis of Old Wang's speech to that of his 450,000,000 countrymen mention must be made of a number of facts which are obscured by the use of terms like "Chinese," "Chinese language," "Peking dialect," "Cantonese dialect," "Nanking dialect," etc. Such terms imply that the dialects mentioned are as closely related as, say, Yorkshire dialect and Cockney dialect in British English. In reality this is true only of the Peking and Nanking dialects. The order of difference between these two and Cantonese is in another sphere altogether. Y. R. Chao states that the difference between Mandarin and Cantonese is as great as between Italian and Spanish[1] or between English and Dutch.[2] This calls for an examination of why Italian and Spanish on the one hand and English and Dutch on the other are distinguished as separate languages whereas Mandarin and Cantonese are distinguished simply as separate dialects. Can it be that the latter are really different languages?

An examination of the criteria advanced by linguistic science in its diffident attempts to distinguish between dialect and language reveals at least five factors which are relevant to the problem in China. The first factor is historical affinity. Cantonese and Mandarin have a common ancestry and Italian and Spanish also have a common ancestry. The first two belong to one language family and the last two to another. But although history tells us this much it does not tell enough to distinguish in either case whether we are now dealing with dialects or languages.

The second factor, already mentioned, has to do with the degree of affinity among various forms of speech *today*. In order to establish the relationship, a close linguistic analysis

of various forms of speech is called for. Such an analysis would show that Cantonese uses the finals *p*, *t*, *k*, and *m* and Mandarin does not. It would show also that the Peking dialect has only four tones whereas Cantonese has nine. But after all the facts are in, there might still be disagreement in interpreting them. Karlgren presents an opinion widely held in sinological circles when he says that it is still correct to regard such different idioms as mere dialects and not as different languages, arguing that "it is mainly in the evolution of *sounds* that they have diverged so widely; in other grammatical respects they agree so closely that they cannot be called different languages."[3] On the other hand Y. R. Chao, though also adhering to the usual terminology, points to a degree of disparity which suggests that Cantonese and Mandarin are really as much different languages as are Italian and Spanish or English and Dutch.*

The third factor is intelligibility. This is in reality the preceding factor restated in a more practical and manageable form. It is easier to assess even though dialects overlap to such an extent as to make for a continuum in speech rather than a sharp break. Professor Kennedy has suggested that two forms of speech the mutual intelligibility of which amounts to at least seventy-five per cent be considered as dialects and any having a lower proportion be considered as separate languages. Even on the basis of these generous figures it is obvious that from the point of view of mutual intelligibility Cantonese and Mandarin are no less different languages than are English and Dutch or Italian and Spanish. This last point needs special emphasis. Anyone with first-hand acquaintance with the speech of the Chinese people knows that the mutual intelligibility of Mandarin and Cantonese approaches zero.

* Sturtevant notes that in attempting to classify a specific language, and especially a mixed language like English, which includes both Teutonic and Romance elements, "it is usual to make the commonest and most familiar words of the language the criterion. Since in English the pronouns, most of the numerals and conjunctions, and many of the most familiar nouns and verbs are Teutonic, the language itself is said to be Teutonic." (E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change* [Chicago, 1913], p. 154.) It is precisely in the commonest elements, such as the pronouns and grammatical particles, that the Mandarin and non-Mandarin forms of speech are most different.

Others do not sufficiently realize that the question "Do you speak Chinese," is like asking "Do you speak Romance?"

The fourth of the five factors is writing. Spanish has one form of writing and Italian another; therefore they are considered to be different languages. Mandarin and Cantonese are supposed to have the same form of writing; therefore they are considered to be the same language. But it is not entirely correct to say that these forms of writing are "the same." To be sure the script is the same, being ideographic in both cases, but this can be said also of Italian and Spanish, both of which use the roman alphabet. The script used in China disguises the fact that the ideographs are often used in different meanings in Mandarin and Cantonese, that they appear sometimes in different order, that some are used in Cantonese and not in Mandarin or vice versa, that they often represent a kind of Chinese Latin which exists only on paper, and that they have quite different pronunciations in the two forms of speech.* The ideographs are abstractions, like the symbols 1, 2, 3, which are read *uno, duo, tre* in Italian, *uno, dos, tres* in Spanish, *i, erh, san* in Mandarin, and *yat, ni, sam* in Cantonese. These phonetic transcriptions indicate that we must consider all four forms of speech as four different languages.

The last of the five factors has to do with political divisions. Yet this is not clear-cut either. Political separation has helped to set off Italian and Spanish as two separate languages but has not had this effect in the case of English in England, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and other

* Some of these points can be illustrated as follows: The character [17] has in the Peking dialect the specialized meaning "to be heavy" as well as its general meaning of "to sink." Cantonese lacks this special meaning (Chao and Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, p. 123.) The character [18] is used in the Wu language in the meaning of "to float," but it does not even exist in Mandarin. (*Loc.cit.*) The expression [19] means "dime" in Cantonese but not in Mandarin. (*Ibid.*, p. 121.) The character [20] is used to represent a full monosyllabic word meaning "banana" in Cantonese, but in Mandarin it represents a bound syllable and must be joined with [21] to form *hsiangchiao*, the word for "banana" in Mandarin. (*Ibid.*, p. 187.) The character [22] is frequently used as a literary expression for "to finish." It is not used, however, to represent the spoken word having this meaning, [23] being used instead. (*Ibid.*, p. 153.) (Bracketed figures substitute for characters. These will be found on page 296.)

areas. On the other hand, a political community is not necessarily a linguistic community. By other than territorial-political criteria the Catalonian and Castilian forms of speech are considered different languages. On the basis of linguistic rather than political criteria the same must be said of Mandarin and Cantonese.

It is readily apparent that the view of these forms of speech as one language stems either from addiction to inherited terminology, or from an exaggerated idea of the significance of the ideographic script, or from opposition to the possible linguistic and social-political implications of other terminology. Enough has been said about overestimating the importance of characters. The political implications have nothing to do with the purely linguistic problems dealt with here. They will therefore be set aside until the last part of this book. For the present, limiting ourselves to purely linguistic criteria, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that mutually intelligible forms of speech are at most different dialects, and mutually unintelligible forms are at least different languages. For this reason we shall speak hereafter of the Cantonese language, the Mandarin language, etc.

Opinions differ widely as to the number of mutually unintelligible forms of speech which exist in China, or, more precisely, among the Chinese people, for we exclude from consideration the speech of the Tibetan, Mongol, Uighur, and other minorities. In his address before the missionary conference of 1890 the Rev. S. F. Woodin attempted to buttress his argument for romanization by asserting that there were no less than twenty-four different languages spoken in China, ranging from T'aining (in Fukien) with 225,000 speakers to Mandarin with 240,000,000.[1] At the other extreme is the common division of China into six main linguistic areas, all distinct from each other but each including a number of what may really be called dialects. The largest region includes three-fourths of the area of China and about the same proportion of the population. Here the over-all language is Mandarin, which is subdivided into the dialects of Northern Mandarin, Southern Mandarin, and Southwestern Mandarin, these being in turn still further divided into sub-dialects.[5] The remaining five lan-

guages are Wu, Cantonese, Hakka, Amoy-Swatow, and Foochow, each of which has its own dialectical subdivisions. The number of people who speak these languages is approximately as follows:

Mandarin	348,500,000
Wu	37,000,000
Cantonese	22,000,000
Hakka	20,000,000
Amoy-Swatow	8,500,000
Foochow	6,000,000[6]

More important than determining the precise number of languages spoken by the Chinese is the question of assessing their effect on the problem of alphabetization. The existence of these languages constitutes a special problem for which solutions have been sought in at least three different directions. The supporters of G.R., who as trained linguists are careful to record in minutest detail the differences between all forms of speech in China, as language reformers adopt a quite different course. Setting apart an approximation of the Peking dialect of the Mandarin language as the official standard, they apply G.R. exclusively to this dialect as the form of speech that everyone in the country is expected to speak, read, and write. Thus in order to become literate in this alphabetized script, speakers of Cantonese or one of the other mutually unintelligible forms of speech must learn what is virtually a foreign language. This is as if speakers of English had to learn Dutch for purposes of reading and writing.

At the opposite extreme of the approach which singles out a dialect of one language as standard for the whole country is the attempt to apply a single orthography to all the diversities of the Chinese languages. One of these, already mentioned earlier, was the attempt of the Catholic priests Lamasse and Jasmin to create a single system of transcription which would have a normal standard pronunciation but at the same time could be read in any dialect or language of Chinese by regularly changing the sounds. Such a possibility had been suggested earlier by Y. R. Chao, who noted however that it was a very delicate matter.[7] The warning apparently went un-

heeded, for the so-called Romanisation Interdialectique which they created soon proved unequal to the task of serving, as it was really supposed to, as a kind of romanized interlanguage. Such an interlanguage may be of interest as an intellectual exercise or as a problem in the history of Chinese phonology. But as an everyday system of orthography it must be dismissed as impractical.[8] As Carl Abel has remarked of attempts to establish a common spelling for related but distinct Slavic languages, "To establish a common orthography for distinct dialects, however closely related, must be pronounced an impractical task."[9]

In between the unsuccessful attempts which have been made to devise a romanized interlanguage and to promote an exclusive standard script stands the creation of separate romanizations for mutually unintelligible forms of speech. Most of the work done by Protestant missionaries was along these lines, but the chief exponents of separate romanizations have been the adherents of Sin Wenz or Latinxua. The latter, pointing out that phonetic writing is simpler and more convenient than the ideographic because it is the written form of what people speak, argue that it is precisely because of this that one form of speech cannot be imposed as standard for the whole country.

At the same time, however, they are uncertain as to the exact number of separate scripts which might have to be devised in order to achieve the objective of simplicity. Nor are they especially concerned about the number, being prepared to devise as many scripts as necessary, whether this be five or fifty. Among the languages which they have already provided with separate Latinizations are those of the areas around the coastal cities of Shanghai, Amoy, and Canton.[10] After the people in these areas learn to read and write in the alphabetized form of their own language it is expected by the supporters of Latinxua that they will then go on to learn the Mandarin Sin Wenz as a second language. The latter script, which is based on a non-Peking form of Northern Mandarin, is designed for use in the regions, comprising about three-quarters of the area of China, in which some form of Mandarin is spoken. These regions are listed as follows:[11] (1) The Three Eastern Prov-

inces, Hopei, Shantung, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Sinkiang;* (2) Kiangsu north of the Yangtze, northern Anhwei; (3) Hupei, Szechuan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kiangsi, part of Hunan; (4) Nanking, Hangchow.

Among the three solutions which have been advanced for dealing with the problem of mutually unintelligible forms of speech by the use of alphabetized writing, that proposed by Fathers Lamasse and Jasmin has not been and is not at all likely to be taken up by Chinese reformers as a practical solution. Only the proposals advanced by the rival supporters of Gwoyeu Romatzyh and Sin Wenz have been seriously considered in China. The debate between the two groups on this subject has been one of the most important in the whole movement for reform of Chinese writing. It has clarified issues obscured by the habit of using the word "dialect." It has also revealed that the problem of the Chinese languages is not, as one might expect, primarily linguistic in nature. The "dialect" problem is basically a political problem. It will therefore be discussed further in Part V.

From a purely linguistic point of view there is no question but that Cantonese and other non-Mandarin languages are as susceptible to phoneticization as is the Mandarin language itself. To reach this conclusion requires no knowledge of Chinese at all, for the elementary principles of linguistic science show that any and every form of speech can be written with a phonetic script. The only problem which confronts linguists, granting that the job is to be done at all, is *how* to do it: how to handle tones, what to write together, how to deal with the relationship between mutually unintelligible languages (insofar as this is a linguistic problem), etc. Such are the problems which enter into the decision, political considerations aside, as to what kind of alphabetic script is to be used.

* In Sinkiang the chief language is the Uighur form of Turkic. Chinese is a minority language, spoken by only five to ten per cent of the population.

12

WHAT KIND OF SCRIPT?

WHEN Bernhard Karlgren rather wearily remarked that "There are as many romanization schemes as days in the year" he was exaggerating only a little, if at all, the proliferation of schemes since Ricci worked up the first systematic transcription of Chinese some 350 years ago. Yet at the same time Karlgren very appropriately warned against going to the other extreme of failing to note the need for more than one system of romanization. In his view there was a need for no less than three systems: an A system for philological purposes, a B system for sinological use, and a C system to enable the Chinese "to write a new, modern, colloquial literature in Roman letters."* These categories are similar to the three uses of the roman alphabet noted by Palmer—as a phonetic notation, as a transliteration or transcription, and as a conventional orthography.[1]

The need for several systems of writing Chinese is often ignored by those who are not concerned with other uses and is often opposed by those who dislike to learn new systems.

* Bernhard Karlgren, *The Romanization of Chinese* (London, 1928), pp. 1, 17-18, and *passim*. In this work Karlgren offers his own suggestions for a C system based on a modification of G.R. It should be noted that Karlgren's comments on the possibility of a C system dispose of his earlier remark that the ideographs are indispensable. As a matter of fact, in speaking of the traditional script as indispensable he meant not that a phonetic script could not be used, but that such a system of writing would compel the Chinese to discard their literature of 4,000 years, which he considered to be the backbone of their entire civilization, and to abandon a medium so ingenious and supple "that the preservation of the political unity of China through the ages can be ascribed to a large extent to its unifying force." (*Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, pp. 40-41.) In other words, his thesis of the indispensability of the ideographs is based on other than linguistic factors. These will be dealt with in the following chapters.

The latter attitude is of special importance. It appears with such regularity that one might almost speak of a Law of the First Script. The first script learned is generally considered the most natural and satisfactory, if not most perfect, of all possible systems. Those who have learned Wade as their first transcription of Chinese are annoyed at the French use of another system and at suggestions for modification or replacement of Wade in one or more of its uses. Western students whose introduction to Chinese was by means of Gwoyeu Romatzyh swear by "their" system as staunchly as others do for "their" rival orthographies. The Law of the First Script is especially apparent in the mental block against using any alphabetic script at all in place of the traditional ideographs.

But it is readily apparent that no single all-purpose romanization is capable of serving all the needs noted by Karlgren and Palmer. Each of the categories mentioned by these scholars requires at least one and perhaps even several separate romanizations. Nor is it certain that the list of categories is limited to three. In fact, although there is a plethora of romanizations for some purposes, it is possible that there are not enough for others.[2]

As a phonetic notation, romanization is used to record as minutely as possible all the phonetic features of speech, to reconstruct in detail the features of earlier language, to bring out the distinctions revealed by dialect studies, and to achieve other aims of scholarly research. Various complex systems have been used by a variety of scholars for these purposes. A well-known example is that used by Karlgren in his brilliant reconstruction of ancient Chinese. For this work Karlgren could not have relied on any of the established romanizations, such as Wade. At the same time, however, Karlgren's scheme and others in this category are equally unsuitable as B and C systems.

As a transliteration or transcription, romanization is used to write a foreign language for those unfamiliar with either the language or its system of writing. If a foreign language has a similar script, as in the case of French in relation to English, there is no pressing need for transcription, for the word *Paris*, for example, can be taken over into English in the same spell-

ing even though the pronunciation is not the same. Romanization is most useful when the foreign language is written in a quite unfamiliar system of writing, as is the case with Chinese, Arabic, or Russian for speakers of English, and with Chinese, Arabic or English for speakers of Russian. Among English-speaking people Wade is the most commonly used B system of transcribing Mandarin Chinese. It has been rejected as unsuitable by speakers of French, German, and other languages on the grounds that it does not sufficiently approximate the symbols which they use to record their own forms of speech. So, for example, Wade *sha* is replaced by *cha* in the French system and by *scha* in the German system.

When Wade created his transcription he had uppermost in mind the needs of sinologists like himself. Since then the scheme has become firmly established among English-speaking sinologists, and to a lesser extent among others as well. In the hands of those who know how to handle it the Wade romanization functions as a clear but somewhat clumsy system. Its chief deficiencies stem from the fact that the system is primarily a transcription of Chinese writing rather than a means of recording Chinese speech. It has thus helped to perpetuate the monosyllabic myth by such practices as transcribing the characters for "China" as *Chung kuo* or *Chung-kuo* instead of recording the spoken word as *Chungkuo*, a practice comparable to writing *Eng land* or *Eng-land* for the name of that country.

The deficiencies of Wade have led to many attempts at revision. Nevertheless, the system has become so firmly entrenched as a tool of sinology that such attempts are likely to bring more annoyance than success. The difficulty is not in creating better systems, which can be done by the dozens, but in getting one of them accepted generally by sinologists. There appears to be no conceivable chance of this. The Wade system has therefore been used throughout the present work despite its inadequacies for many of the problems under discussion.

Only when the Wade transcription emerges from the scholar's study do its defects become most plain. It is hard to imagine a worse system for use by the average newspaper reader and other non-sinologues. Walter Simon is quite right in his

criticisms on this score. Yet here, too, the system has become so firmly entrenched that it would be pointless to attempt to dislodge it in favor of any one of a dozen superior systems that could be created.

But there is one situation in which Wade is not only defective but also replaceable. This is in teaching spoken Chinese to Westerners. Such a use probably represents a new D category additional to the three mentioned by Karlgren. The inadequacy of Wade for this purpose can be indicated by a single example. When the Wade romanization expresses the Peking expression for "a little" but as *i tien erh* or *i-tien-erh* or *i*^{1}*-tien*^{3}*-erh*^{2} it fails to indicate that not all the syllables retain their tones, that *tien*^{3} and *erh*^{2} are not to be read as separate syllables, that the quality of the full vowel in *tien* is changed because of what follows, and that the three syllables are not to be read with equal stress. The failure to do all these things stems primarily from an approach that emphasizes syllabic representation of characters rather than of speech. It could perhaps be remedied by resorting to a number of makeshift devices, which would, however, further encumber a system already overburdened with diacritical marks. The preferred alternative is to use a system which would write the word in question as something like *yidyăr*. Through some such system the teaching of Chinese, which has hitherto been incredibly backward, can be placed on a more efficient and scientific basis.

It is as a C system—as a practical orthography to be used by the Chinese themselves—that Wade is perhaps most defective and most dispensable. The needs in this respect are quite different from those of the A, B, and D systems discussed above. Moreover, as Karlgren reminds us, "To make a good B system is the business of Western sinologues; but to work out a good practical C system for use in a new, romanized, colloquial literature in China must be a task principally for the Chinese themselves."[3] The point to be emphasized here is that if foreigners do extend advice for or against a romanization for use in China, the needs of the foreigners should not be projected as needs of the Chinese. The latter are perfectly capable of getting along with a system which would be

quite unacceptable to Westerners—unless, of course, the Chinese were to establish their romanization as solidly as the French or other foreign systems of alphabetic writing, in which case we could no longer ignore the Chinese system in favor of one catering to our own tastes.

As for actually creating a C system, what is needed first of all is a correct linguistic analysis of Chinese speech. By now the main facts are so well established that there is no serious debate on this subject. In the case of the Peking dialect of the Mandarin language, it is generally accepted that there are thirty-five basic sounds or phonemes.* The problem now arises of how to represent these phonemes. This rather secondary issue has engendered a great deal of tiresome debate among those who prefer this or that symbol for this or that sound. The controversy stems in part from the widespread and rather naive belief, especially held by inventors of new alphabets, that the symbols control the language, even to the extent of removing language barriers. This is illustrated by the case of the former senator who invented a "global alphabet" which he asserted would enable any reasonably intelligent foreigner to learn Chinese in two months.[4]

In reality, although there is a wide disparity in effectiveness between ideographic and alphabetic writing, there is not a tremendous difference among various alphabetic schemes themselves. The latter retain their relative simplicity even when subjected to considerable distortion in the form of obsolete spelling, diverse representation of the same sound, subphonemic orthography, and even what is commonly called "misspelling." The margin of error or distortion permitted by an ideographic script is very much less. In view of these facts,

* I do not mean to suggest by this that there is only *one* possible phonemic analysis of Northern Chinese, or that everyone is in entire agreement on the basic sounds in the language. Y. R. Chao has pointed out somewhere that in Chinese, as in other languages, more than one phonemic analysis is possible. It would certainly be possible to reduce the number of phonemes below 35. To illustrate this, it may be pointed out that *a*, *an*, *e*, and *en*, which Wade, G.R., and Sin Wenz all consider to be four separate phonemes, can be reduced to three: *a*, *e*, and *n*. (For a detailed scientific analysis of Peking phonemics see Lawton M. Hartman, "The Segmental Phonemes of the Peiping Dialect," *Language*, xx [1944], 28-42.)

therefore, all that can be demanded of an alphabet is that it represent the sounds of a language with reasonable consistency and simplicity. If there is agreement on these essentials, other differences become trivial, at least in the creation of a C system for Chinese. To the Chinese it does not matter a great deal whether phoneme number fourteen, say, is represented by the symbol *hs*, *sh*, *x*, or *s*. An exclamation point would serve just as well for Chinese who possess no conditioned reflex to established symbols.

The main schemes which have been taken up by the Chinese as a C system, that is as a native orthography, are Gwoyeu Romatzyh and Sin Wenz. These two, together with most of the systems mentioned in earlier chapters, are in agreement on the phonemes of the Peking dialect.[5] The two systems are not far apart even in respect to the basic symbols used to represent these sounds. It is in the treatment of tones that the two schemes present the greatest contrast. As the most important of all systems that have been advanced so far by the Chinese, the two schemes are singled out for illustration below. We first present the basic symbols used by Gwoyeu Romatzyh (G.R.) and Sin Wenz (S.W.) to indicate the thirty-five phonemes of the Peking dialect. For purposes of contrast we give also the basic symbols used by Wade Romanization (W.R.) as a representative of the B category and the Yale Romanization (Y.R.)* as a representative of the D category. In

* The Yale Romanization was created in 1943 largely through the efforts of Professor George A. Kennedy. It was designed as a simple orthography for use in teaching the spoken form of the Peking dialect to Americans. Actual use showed the system to be much more simple and efficient than Wade or any of the other familiar schemes of transcription.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Yale Romanization is the use of *y*, *w*, and *yw* for the semi-vowels *i*, *u*, and *yu* (Wade *yü*) when some other vowel is present. This permits ready differentiation between such words as *dai* "carry" and *dayi* "overcoat." In an early form of the scheme phoneme no. 28 (see below for these numbers) was represented by *ay*, 29 by *aw*, 33 by *ey*, and 34 by *ew*. Technically these forms are logical and accurate. In actual use, however, they proved somewhat confusing, especially in the linking of syllables. Thus *chawan* might be considered by a student to represent either *chaw-an* or *cha-wan*. By changing *chaw* to *chau* it becomes perfectly clear that *chawan* can only be *cha-wan*, and *chauan* can only be *chau-an*.

A fuller description of the Yale Romanization is given in John De

order to provide a fuller illustration of the schemes we add their treatment of a typical news item which first appeared in Latinxua in a hand-written Sian wall-newspaper entitled *Laobaising Bao*, which may be rendered as *The People's Paper*. For comparison we give the same item in ideographs and finally in English translation.

BASIC SYMBOLS

I. INITIALS†

	Labials				*Dentals*				*Gutturals*			*Palatals*		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
W.R.	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	h	ch	ch'	hs
G.R.	b	p	m	f	d	t	n	l	g	k	h	j	ch	sh
S.W.	b	p	m	f	d	t	n	l	g	k	x	g	k	x
Y.R.	b	p	m	f	d	t	n	l	g	k	h	j	ch	s

	Cerebrals				*Fricatives*		
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
W.R.	ch	ch'	sh	j	ts	ts'	s
G.R.	j	ch	sh	r	tz	ts	s
S.W.	zh	ch	sh	rh	z	c	s
Y.R.	j	ch	sh	r	dz	ts	s

II. INITIALS-MEDIALS-FINALS

	22	23	24
W.R.	i, y	u, yü	u, w
G.R.	i	iu	u
S.W.	ı, j	y	u, w
Y.R.	i, y	yu, yw	u, w

III. FINALS

	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
W.R.	a	an	ang	ai	ao	e, o	en	eng	ei	u, uo	erh
G.R.	a	an	ang	ai	au	e, o	en	eng	ei	ou	el
S.W.	a	an	ang	ai	ao	e, o	en	eng	ei	ou	r
Y.R.	a	an	ang	ai	au	e, o	en	eng	ei	ou	r

Francis, *Beginning Chinese* (New Haven, 1946), especially pp. 1-14. For a Chinese comment on the system and its application see Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien, "The Yale Romanization and Grammatical Explanations of Chinese," *Hsin yü-wen*, No. 15 (July 2, 1947), 6 [in Chinese]. For another criticism see Homer H. Dubs, "A Solution of the Literacy Problem in China," p. 7 [unpublished].

† Very roughly, initials 1-6 are used before finals 22 and 24-34; initials 7-8 before finals 22-34; initials 12-14 before finals 22-23; and initials 9-11 and 15-21 before finals 24-34. Sin Wenz also uses initials 19-21 before finals 22-23. For a more precise statement on what phonemes are actually combined in the Peking dialect see De Francis, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-5 and 11-14.

Linguistic Dogma and Linguistic Science

NEWS ITEM

IN IDEOGRAPHS

西班牙造反的軍隊發出消息說: 畢爾巴鄂的周圍村莊合各山頭都已經被他們占領. 畢爾巴鄂城裏有兩處失火. 現在造反軍隊的前線離開畢爾巴鄂只有二十里路.

IN WADE ROMANIZATION

Hsi^{1}-pan^{1}-ya^{2} tsao^{4}-fan^{3}-ti^{1} chun^{1}-tui^{4} fa^{1}-ch'u^{1} hsiao^{1}-hsi^{2} shuo^{1}: Pi^{4}-erh^{3}-pa^{1}-o^{4} chou^{1}-wei^{2} ts'un^{1}-chuang^{1} ho^{2} ko^{4} shan^{1}-t'ou^{2} tou^{1} i^{3}-ching^{1} pei^{1} t'a^{1}-men^{2} chan^{4}-ling^{3}. Pi^{4}-erh^{3}-pa^{1}-o^{4} ch'eng^{2}-li^{3} yu^{3} liang^{3}-ch'u^{4} shih^{1}-huo^{3}. Hsien^{1}-tsai^{4} tsao^{4}-fan^{3} chun^{1}-tui^{4}-ti^{1} ch'ien^{2}-hsien^{4} li^{3}-k'ai^{1} Pi^{4}-erh^{3}-pa^{1}-o^{4} chih^{3} yu^{3} erh^{4}-shih^{2} li^{3} lu^{4}.

IN GWOYEU ROMATZYH

Spaan tzawfaande junduey fachu shaushyi shuo. Bilbao jouwei tsuenjuang her geh shantour dou yiijng bey tamen jaanlıng. Bilbao chenghi yeou leangchuh shyhuoo. Shianntzay tzawfaan junducyde chyanshiann likai Bilbao jyy yeou ellshyr lii luh.

IN SIN WENZ

Sibanja zaofandi gyndui fachu siaosi shuo: Bilbao zhouwei cunzhuang xo go shantou du igng bey tamn zhanling Bilbao chengli iou liangchu shxuo. Xianzai zaofan gunduidi ciansian likai Bilbao zh iou 20 li lu.

IN YALE ROMANIZATION

Sībanyá dzàufǎnde jyūndwèi fāchū syāusi shwō: Bilbao jōuwéi tswēnjwang lié gè shāntóu dōu yijng bèi tāmen jànling. Bilbao chéngli yǒu lyǎngchù shīhuǒ. Syàndzài dzàufǎn jyundwèide chyánsyàn líkai Bilbao jǐ yǒu èrshrlǐ lù.

IN ENGLISH

The Spanish rebel forces have issued a report which states: The villages and hilltops surrounding Bilbao have all been occupied by them. Within the city of Bilbao there are two places which have caught fire. At present the front lines of the rebel forces are only twenty *li* from Bilbao.

There is no question as to the ability of these and other schemes mentioned in the preceding chapters to serve the purposes for which they were designed. There is wide disagreement, however, as to the relative merits of the various systems. Of all the schemes that have been advanced only those based on the roman alphabet have received serious support as independent scripts in view of their superiority in

word-linking, ready adaptability to typewriters and other modern business machines, and other advantages.* Of the romanized scripts G.R. is highest on the list of those Chinese who insist on indicating tones by changes in the spelling of the syllable itself. Latinxua is preferred by those who think it possible to dispense with tone-indication altogether. In reality it is only in this respect that the schemes are quite different from each other. If G.R. and the New Writing were to reconcile their differences in the treatment of tones, as by the optional use of diacritical marks such as those used in the Yale Romanization, they would not be far apart in other respects.

Although these and other schemes are eminently workable there is still no certainty that *any* scheme of alphabetic writing will ever be adopted in China. The National Phonetic Alphabet and other non-romanization schemes have by now been completely discredited as mere appendages of the ideographs. Even if China had a Kemal Pasha it is doubtful that we should see Gwoyeu Romatzyh replace characters in daily life. Sin Wenz is not likely to receive the support of most scholars as long as it fails to take account of some of their special problems. Conflict among supporters of these systems weakens the chances that any scheme at all will be adopted.

Yet it is apparent in all this controversy that the linguistic problems confronting the alphabetization of Chinese are not insoluble and the linguistic differences among the chief systems are not irreconcilable. The preceding analysis shows that the purely linguistic problems can be solved by purely linguistic means by any scholar with a modicum of competence and a correct linguistic method. It is now clear that the question "*Can* the Chinese language be alphabetized?" is, in a way, a rather silly question, for there can be no other answer than "Yes." The only doubtful question is "*Should* the Chinese language be alphabetized?" Only the Chinese themselves can determine whether an alphabetic script is to be adopted, and if so, what sort. On the surface this question appears to be no

* These advantages are, to be sure, shared by other alphabetic scripts, such as the Cyrillic. Although interest in China has hitherto been concentrated on the roman alphabet, the possibility of a move to adopt the Cyrillic alphabet should by no means be excluded.

less linguistic in nature than the one posed earlier. In the answers made by the Chinese, however, factors other than the purely linguistic have actually played a decisive role. The history of the language reform movement shows that the problem of the Chinese script is nothing less than a problem of nationalism.

PART V

The Script as a Problem of Nationalism

13

LANGUAGE AND NATIONALISM

THE preceding chapters have shown that the linguistic aspects of the Chinese script can only be understood within a larger framework, that of linguistic science, the basic tenets of which are applicable to Chinese as well as to Western languages. In like manner those aspects which go beyond technical linguistics are also understandable only within a larger framework, that of political science, which has attempted to establish generalizations of equal validity for the East and the West. To be sure, there is less agreement among political scientists than there is among linguistic scientists on the basic truths in their respective fields. Nevertheless, there is one point on which most students of politics are agreed. This is the close relationship between language and nationalism.

The connection between the two requires special emphasis because it has been so largely ignored in writings on China. The reason lies not alone in the fact that the application of the social sciences to Far Eastern problems lags behind the use of these techniques in the West. Another and perhaps weightier reason is the difficulty of explaining the relationship between language and nationalism in China without resorting to the sort of inter-disciplinary approach that is more talked about than actually put into practice. The linguist or sinologist tends to limit his consideration of the problem to those aspects which fall within his own discipline. The political scientist, if aware at all that the problem also falls within his own sphere, does not even go as far as that for fear that his unfamiliarity with the technical aspects may lead him into error. If the existing sinological literature on the problem is characterized by its inadequacy, the political literature is characterized by its almost total absence. A discussion of the relation-

ship between language and nationalism therefore becomes even more imperative than the replacement of linguistic dogma by linguistic science.

The emergence of language as a politically significant factor, as Carlton Hayes points out, has occurred parallel with "the revolutionary growth of capitalism and the middle classes" and with other developments accompanying the rise of nationalism.[1] "Feudalism cared nothing for language," remarks another student of the subject.[2] To be sure, feudalism showed a marked tendency toward differentiating between "courtly" and "common" language. Otherwise, however, there was so little feeling on the subject that people who in other respects had much in common were content to remain divided by the use of distinctive local forms of speech. The educated among them even did not mind using alien or obsolete languages, like Latin, as the medium of speech and writing. But as feudalism disintegrated and gave way to modern economic development, such as the widening of the market, a demand was voiced to elevate a popular form of speech to the position of a unified national language in order to cope with the new situation and prepare for further capitalistic advance. As a result language itself, and more particularly attempts at language reform, have come to be regarded as a significant aspect of nationalism. One student of the subject even goes so far as to contend that "Perhaps the most important factor in modern nationalism is language."[3]

Typical of the new emphasis on language is that revealed at the time of the French Revolution. The "fiercely democratic"[4] leaders of the revolution, who sought to make a complete break with feudalism in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, undertook as part of their program to promote a unified national language. In 1790 the French national assembly published a manifesto which sought to arouse in all districts "a holy emulation to banish jargons, the last remains of feudalism and monuments of slavery."[5] One of the intellectual leaders of the revolution expressed a widely-held thought when he stated: "We have revolutionized the government, the habits, the customs, commerce, and thought; let us also revolutionize the language which is their daily instrument." "Citi-

zens!" he exclaimed, "the language of a free people ought to be one and the same for all. . . . It is treason to *la Patrie* to leave the citizens in ignorance of the national language."[6]

Initially the demand for a national language was promoted mainly by exhortation and appeals to national patriotism. Later, particularly in polyglot countries where elements of the population were distinguished not as compatriots speaking different dialects but as minorities speaking totally different languages, the dominant group sought to elevate its language by repressive measures against other forms of speech within the state. With the intensification of nationalistic feeling increasing emphasis was placed also on the superiority of the national language over other forms of speech outside the state.* These developments were particularly marked in the evolution of what Hayes aptly designates as "integral nationalism" and cogently describes as at once "the outgrowth and the antithesis" of earlier nationalism.†

The aim of integral nationalism is to achieve a unitary state in which language and other aspects of nationalism are as nearly uniform as possible. This brand of nationalism seeks to enhance the position of one people at the expense of other peoples within the same state. It also attempts to subordinate peoples outside the state. Generally it has fostered autocratic centralization of authority, denied linguistic and cultural, not to mention political, autonomy, and preached contempt for other peoples.

Hitler's Third Reich even more than Bismarck's imperial Germany is representative of this kind of nationalism. So also, according to Hayes, is the Italy of the inter-war period and the many other countries where a "succession of theorists and

* For a brief survey of linguistic conflict, particularly in the polyglot countries of eastern Europe, see Carl Darling Buck, "Language and the Sentiment of Nationality," *American Political Science Review*, x (1916), 44-69. As an example of extreme linguistic chauvinism Buck mentions that Bismarck is said to have refused to read German books printed in Roman type. (*Ibid.*, p. 65, note 8).

† Carlton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evaluation of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931), p. 231. The term "integral nationalism" appears to have been coined in 1900 by Charles Maurras in his article "Le Nationalisme intégral." See William Curt Buthman, *The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France* (New York, 1939), p. 110.

events . . . have conspired in our own day to produce a more or less well organized movement in behalf of integral nationalism."[7] The language policy of Germany and Italy epitomizes the attempt to create a unitary state. The policy in Germany is described by one authority as follows: "The National Socialist regime did not regard those inhabitants speaking other than German as minorities, but rather as Germans speaking different languages. Every attempt was therefore made to assimilate them into the German majority."[8] In Italy, too, the policy euphemistically described as "assimilation" was invoked. The same writer says: "The Italian governments, both pre-fascist and fascist, were determined to destroy the use of minority languages within the Italian boundaries. Not only were no minority rights and privileges accorded the people, but every method of language persecution was adopted."[9]

As against this sort of integral nationalism there has emerged another type in which ethnic diversity and its accompanying regional feeling are viewed as not necessarily divisive or incompatible with a healthy nationalism. Something of the underlying basis of compromise between regionalism and nationalism is indicated by one authority[10] in the following passage: "Love of homeland is an ethical concept fundamental to all nationalism. In regions of mixed nationality, however, this idea may serve as a unifying element for rival nationalities and also as a check on the development of a conscious and too ardent nationalism. There is thus both a sympathetic and an antagonistic relationship between nationalism and regionalism. . . . A healthy nationalism makes use of this feeling of local attachment and finds in it an effective counterpoise, for it is conducive to nationalism of a defensive and intensive rather than of an aggressive and extensive nature. On the other hand, because of their tendencies toward decentralization, their emphasis upon cultural factors and a certain type of pacifism, regionalist or federalist currents are looked upon with suspicion by the political nationalist movements of the great states." In its concessions to local feeling federal nationalism tends to grant political as well as linguistic and cultural autonomy. In contrast to integral nationalism, which attempts to impose unity through uniformity, federal nationalism seeks

to achieve unity in diversity by agreement among various peoples to live as partners in the same state.

A well-known example of a federal nationalist state is Switzerland. Here the equality of the four main groups making up the population is expressed in the cantonal system of government and in the granting of equal official or national status to the German, French, Italian, and Romansch languages.[11] Another example, but one differing in important respects from Switzerland, is the Soviet Union. Here intense centralization in some matters, such as military affairs, is combined with extensive local autonomy, especially in cultural affairs. In the constituent republics, such as the Russian, Ukrainian, and Georgian, the primary language for official, educational, and other uses is that of the republic or "nation" itself—Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, etc. In the non-Russian republics Russian is the second language. As a result languages which formerly occupied an inferior position have acquired new standing and prominence. In the words of a non-Soviet writer: "Under the Tsarist governments the languages other than Great Russian were deliberately suppressed. There is now freedom of language for all communities, and efforts have been made to record the folklore, songs and literatures of the lesser-known languages of the Union. While local languages are used in all walks of life and governmental departments in the various parts of the country, Great Russian is the *lingua franca* of the whole Union."[12] The Soviets themselves assert that this language policy, as part of a general policy of regional autonomy, is a factor for strength and unity rather than for disunity.[13] Integral nationalists, on the other hand, are contemptuous of such assertions. A typical reaction was expressed in the remark that "There is something childish in the attempts to revive dead languages or to convert into literary idioms barbarous dialects which do not even possess an alphabet."[14]

The classification of states as integralist or federalist on the basis of language policy does not necessarily apply in other respects in view of the fact that language is after all only one aspect of nationalism. Yet this policy often throws light on other aspects of nationalism because language itself has political as well as linguistic implications. Attempts to divorce

language and politics by conceding cultural autonomy but rejecting all political nationalism have not been notably successful. They have been especially resisted by minorities in ethnically mixed states on the grounds that linguistic privileges are not enough but must be guaranteed by political rights as well. The controversies that have arisen in Europe on the subject of language amply reveal the difficulty of establishing a purely cultural or ethnic nationalism.[15]

The evolution that has taken place in the West regarding the role of language in nationalism has been repeated in the East. Indeed, the course of nationalism as a whole has been similar in both areas. As Hans Kohn has pointed out in his standard history of nationalism in the East, "Nationalism, as it penetrated the East, was accompanied by the same changes that Europe had experienced in modern times."[16] In the East as in the West, he makes clear, the process of change has included the fostering of national languages as part of the attempt to replace feudalism by industrialism and the dominance of the middle class.

There is an important difference between Western and Eastern nationalism, however, in that the former developed much earlier than the latter. In most of the East nationalism existed only in embryonic form prior to the nineteenth century, attained significant strength only after 1918, and reached its maximum power only after World War II. Owing to their late start the national movements of the East, though developing chiefly on the basis of internal factors, have in addition been influenced to some degree by the various types of nationalistic developments which had already occurred in the West. Thus when Japan sought to enter the ranks of modern nations in the second half of the nineteenth century, it did not imitate the integral nationalism of the French revolution, which broke decisively with feudalism, but followed that of Bismarckian Germany, which went in for less drastic change.[17] The integral nationalism of Japan, together with that evolved in the West, has in turn influenced other countries in the East. So also has federal nationalism, particularly the type evolved in the Soviet Union. The result of such disparate influences has

been to sharpen the differences among indigenous rival schools of nationalism in many countries in the East.

More than elsewhere in the East, Chinese ideas about nationalism, like Chinese political forces now thrown into internecine warfare, have tended to gravitate toward two extreme positions. At present a strong school of integral nationalism at one extreme stands in opposition to a strong school of federal nationalism at the other extreme. These schools are related to, but are by no means synonymous with, the two main contestants in the current Chinese struggle for power. In this as in earlier struggles of Chinese nationalism the problem of the Chinese script has been one of the many points of dispute.

Historically the system of writing used by the Chinese has been the key to a distinctive Chinese culture which other peoples could absorb and thereby transform themselves into Chinese. There is some debate as to whether early Chinese awareness of their own distinctive qualities can be classified under the heading of nationalism,[18] but there is no doubt that such awareness emerged very early, and was brought about at least partially by the system of writing used by the Chinese. In modern times, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the concept of a distinctive Chinese nationality has grown in strength in measure as the Chinese have struggled to transform their country into a modern state. In the course of this struggle the problem of the script has come to be looked upon as part of the problem of Chinese nationalism itself.

The first to point out the interconnection of script and nationality were those who were the first to concern themselves with the question of reforming the system of writing. These were the missionaries. To be sure, the missionary advocates of alphabetic writing were concerned mainly with aiding their proselytizing activities and, secondarily and somewhat later, with facilitating progress among the Chinese. It was the missionary opponents of language reform who raised the question of the bearing of such a step on Chinese nationalism. The first to do so was S. Wells Williams, who asserted that the need for separate systems of alphabetic writing would "tend to break up the people into little clans and states." The creation of separate romanizations for Foochow, Canton, Amoy, and

Ningpo, he said, would result in "four new languages with as many nations to speak them." The Rev. E. J. Eitel likewise considered the script as a criterion of nationality, arguing that to tamper with the ideographs was tantamount to denationalizing the Chinese.

The issue posed by Williams and Eitel was not debated at length by the missionaries. For the most part those in favor of romanization ignored the question as to whether China could survive as one political unit if divided up into several linguistic units. The farthest that they went in discussing the political implications of the proposed reform was to stress, as did Brewster and Gibson, the connection between linguistic reform and social and political change in general. Further discussion of the problem was left to the Chinese themselves.

In Sun Yat-sen's discussion of the factors which define a *min-tsu*, that is, a nation, he included "blood kinship, common language, common livelihood, common religion, and common customs."[19] The five elements which go to make up Sun's definition of nation have not received uniform emphasis among the Chinese, most of whom, regardless of political persuasion, profess to accept his teachings. Prominent Kuomintang leaders like Chiang Kai-shek have stressed the aspect of common blood by arguing that "the various stocks in China constitute not only one nation but also one race."[20] This assertion has been vigorously combated by those Chinese who reject the idea of racial purity and stress instead the ethnic diversity of the population.[21]

Both before and after Sun Yat-sen there has been more general agreement among the Chinese that language is a factor in nationalism. As we shall see, however, there has been sharp disagreement as to the nature and significance of this factor. Some Chinese argue that the most important linguistic fact in China is the possession of a distinctive script which helps to distinguish its users from peoples of other nationalities. One exponent of this viewpoint even goes to the extreme of suggesting a new basis for the classification of nations by asserting that "China is a monosyllabic nation."* Those who hold to

* Pan Chung-kuei, "The New Nation and the New Writing," *Hsin min-tsu*, II, No. 5 (August 14, 1938), 76 [in Chinese]. The statement

such views argue for the retention of the ideographs as a means of assuring the survival of China as a nation. Precisely the same objective, however, has led other Chinese to the diametrically opposite conclusion that, in Lu Hsün's words, "If the ideographs are not destroyed, China is sure to die."

Many Chinese who do not go so far as to urge the destruction of the traditional script favor some sort of writing reform as a means of aiding China's national progress. The best known attempt in this direction is that commonly designated as the Literary Renaissance or the Literary Revolution. Here the objective was not to destroy the traditional script, or even to modify it, but simply to use it in writing a literature based more or less on speech rather than on the dead literary language. Even with this limited objective the reformers became involved in a struggle with those who felt that their proposals ran counter to the national interests of China. As a result the Literary Revolution became an important phase in the whole social and political movement which marked the upsurge of Chinese nationalism in the present century.

But the *paihua* movement of Hu Shih and his colleagues, though it has drawn most of the attention of those interested in the problem of language reform, is by no means the whole of the reform movement—perhaps not even the most important part of it. There are many Chinese who argue that the Literary Revolution was too limited in its objectives and achievements to satisfy the needs of Chinese nationalism. Their view of the linguistic factor in Chinese nationalism stresses the need for reforming the script itself. Because of this emphasis the problem of the script, far from being merely a technical linguistic question, has become in large part a problem of Chinese nationalism itself.

In actual fact the history of the controversy over reform of the script has been tied in closely with the history of the national movement in China. The course of Chinese nationalism up until the end of World War II has been marked by five peaks of intensity at the summit of which stand the Reform

---

was made in a lecture delivered to officers of the Kuomintang 13th Army in Wuchang in 1934. The expression translated as "monosyllabic nation" is *tan-yin-ti min-tsu*.

Movement of 1898, the Revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement of 1919, the Revolution of 1926-27, and the anti-Japanese movement of the mid-thirties that culminated in the war of resistance. All five of these periods of intense nationalism coincide roughly with periods of the most active interest in reforming the script. The first period was marked by the interest in the proposals advanced by Lu Kan-chang and other inventors of new scripts, the second by the 1913 Conference on Unification of Pronunciation, the third by the discussion of language reform initiated in *La Jeunesse*, the fourth by the creation of the National Language Romanization, and the fifth by the controversy over Latinxua.* The correspondence is not accidental. The history of the language reform movement in China merely confirms the generalization made by political science of the connection between language and nationalism.

Some aspects of the problem have already been noted in the historical survey presented earlier in Parts II and III. But such treatment does not bring out sufficiently the issues involved in the clash of nationalisms with respect to reforming the script. There are a number of issues which, although present in varying degrees in most periods of the controversy, only reached their full maturity in the last and most intense phase of the reform movement in the thirties. Some of these issues revolve around the question of how to maintain national unity and what part the script is to play in such an attempt. Others have to do with the relationship between the script and efforts to put China on the road to national progress. A detailed discussion of these issues is needed to bring out the role of the script as a problem of nationalism.

* A somewhat similar phenomenon can be seen in Japan in the correspondence between periods of democratic upsurge and periods of most intense interest in the Rōmaji movement. On this see John De Francis, "Japanese Language Reform. Politics and Phonetics," *Far Eastern Survey*, XVI, No. 19 (November 5, 1947), 217-20.

14

THE SCRIPT AND NATIONAL UNITY

ON the surface national unity seems to be one thing which is desired by all Chinese regardless of their views on other matters. Yet the common objective is negated by disagreement as to what constitutes unity and how to attain it. Some insight into the disagreement is provided by the controversy over the relationship of the script to national unity.

One significant point of disagreement is the role of the ideographs. Many Chinese and foreigners believe, as a Western supporter of G.R. has most succinctly put it, that "at present the characters are what they have always been for millennia: the greatest single bond of Chinese unity."[1] Upholders of this view often argue that speakers of mutually unintelligible languages like Mandarin and Cantonese can now communicate in writing by means of mutually intelligible ideographs. Conversely they contend that the use of phonetic writing would lead to linguistic disintegration and hence to political Balkanization.

Closely related to the thesis that ideographs, unlike alphabets, can overleap dialect barriers is the opinion that they can annihilate time by permitting the reader of Chinese to turn at will from today's newspaper to such historical masterpieces as the poems of Li Po and the sayings of Confucius. As against this unique timelessness of the ideographic script the use of phonetic writing, it is feared, would entail the loss of an incomparable literary heritage and hence would uproot the cultural and political foundations of Chinese society. One Chinese opponent of alphabetic writing summed up these views by arguing that the ideographs should be retained as a unifying force because they have a temporal span of thousands of years and a geographic span of thousands of miles.[2]

Such sweeping statements are difficult either to prove or to disprove in view of the lack of any scientific yardstick with which to measure the effectiveness of the script as against other unifying factors. Insofar as the effect of characters can be measured at all, rough statistics tell us merely that only ten or fifteen per cent of the population now and only one or two per cent throughout most of Chinese history have been bound together by literacy in the ideographic script. Equally rough estimates suggest that the effort required to bring a Cantonese to the point where he can write to a native of Peking and read the poems of Li Po is perhaps not much different from the effort required to bring an Italian to the point where he can write to a native of Paris and read the poems of Horace. The ideographs give an appearance of uniformity which on closer examination turns out to be largely illusory. This point has special significance in view of the tendency to equate unity with uniformity.

The thesis that the ideographs have been the greatest bond of Chinese unity has as its natural corollary the contention, neatly summarized by Ch'en Kuo-fu, that "China's ability to achieve unity is entirely dependent upon having a unified written language."[3] Some Chinese, while not going so far as to place the full burden of unity on the ideographs, agree that unified writing is necessary and should be based on the traditional script. One group among them, represented by the supporters of literary Chinese, who were formerly of much importance but have now greatly decreased in influence, thinks that the ideographs should be used to preserve the classical literary style as the main factor in holding China together.

Another group, represented by Hu Shih and his followers, urges the use of the ideographs to write a more modern style in order to facilitate the study of science and other techniques which would strengthen Chinese unity both internally and in relation to foreign countries. The value of such a system of writing was expressed by one writer shortly after the turn of the century as follows: "The possession of a common language will not only enable the people to travel with ease, or become united, increase their intelligence and thus fit them to engage in industries, or acquire other arts necessary for their self-

preservation, but it will prove in the hands of the Government a factor of great power in bringing the distant and disassociated provinces and dependencies under her supreme control. This will tend to centralize governmental power under the Central Government, and thus give China a strong political organism, the weakness of which has hitherto made her bow to every caprice of the diplomatic coterie of Peking."[4] Nationalistic objectives of this sort facilitated Hu Shih's attempt to promote the kind of literary reform that would most fit the ideographs to serve as a vehicle for a modern system of writing. They were important also in the recurrent student movements for linguistic as well as political reform. At one time Shanghai students wore badges with the inscription "Unify the National Language" as a sign that they were studying Mandarin.[5]

Despite the partial success of these movements the continuing high level of illiteracy more and more raised the question as to whether the ideographs really were the most effective script with which to unify the country. Doubt about China's sole dependence on the ideographs for unity was expressed by Li Chin-hsi when he said, "Don't get the superstitious idea that the ideographs are the soul of China."[6] Those who advocated change to a phonetic script were reminded by one reformer, however, that any proposed change must not interfere with maintaining "unity and uniformity."[7]

What this meant chiefly was that while a phonetic script might be permitted, it was to be used only to write a uniform national language for the whole country. The policy of writing different languages like Mandarin and Cantonese with separate alphabets, as advocated by the early missionaries and the later supporters of Latinxua, was vehemently denounced. Fear of disunity was one of the factors leading to the suppression of the New Writing.[8] The only program that has received any degree of official approval is that embodied in the National Language Romanization.

Thus a national language written either in ideographs or in a phonetic script has become the objective of all those Chinese who consider a uniform system of writing to be a prerequisite for national unity. G. R. has outdistanced all other competitors

as the phonetic script to be used for writing the standard language. But the ideographs are still favored for this purpose by the majority of linguistic integralists.

In opposition to these Chinese are others who minimize the unifying power of a uniform script, whether phonetic or ideographic. Rejecting the thesis that the common ideographic writing was responsible for China's political unity, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai expressed the view that in reality it was political unity which had prevented linguistic disunity. As he put it: "For a variety of reasons China in its political development has not formed a Cantonese state, a Chiangnan [Wu] state, etc., and so linguistic distinctions have not had the opportunity of leading to individually independent systems of writing for Cantonese, Chiangnan, etc. Nevertheless, to select from these dialects one of them in order to bring about by force a uniform national language is certainly an impossibility."[9]

Ch'ü even went on to make the extreme assertion that the ideographs "at most enable the gentry in the Peking area to communicate in writing with the gentry of the Canton area." A somewhat similar idea was expressed by a Soviet writer who rejected the unifying role of the ideographs with the statement that "the workers and peasants of China are nearly all illiterate and the hieroglyphs do unite, if they unite at all, only the exploiting top strata of literates."[10] Another writer, echoing Ch'ü's idea that other than linguistic factors accounted for Chinese unity, argued that it was not writing but class interests which held people together.[11]

Such attempts to minimize the positive achievements of the ideographs were outdistanced by suggestions that the characters actually played a harmful role. One writer maintained that the ideographs had aided disunity because the lack of a phonetic script had permitted the dialects to go their independent way instead of becoming unified.[12] By contributing to China's political and economic backwardness the ideographs were also charged with facilitating the imperialist invasion of China by Japan.[13] In the middle thirties "appeasers" in the Nanking government were accused by one writer of propounding the thesis that the Japanese and Chinese belong to the

same race and have a common language based on the same ideographs.[14]

It is clear that in the heat of the political controversy there was a tendency to overlook the positive contributions of the ideographs toward the creation and preservation of a distinctive Chinese culture which, contrary to exaggerated assertions, must have had at least some influence even among those who were illiterate. Yet the very grossness of the attacks on the ideographs was itself symptomatic of the profound dissatisfaction with the limitations of the traditional system of writing. Whatever the one-time contributions of the ideographs, it was felt increasingly that they were no longer suited to the requirements of the people as a whole. Even the Literary Renaissance was viewed as inadequate, and by no less a person than Hu Shih himself, who stated that "The *paihua* movement has merely been of help to a few intellectuals."[15] He called for greater attention to the problems of alphabetic writing and separate scripts for distinctive forms of speech. In so doing he reflected anti-ideographic views which were most strongly propounded by the supporters of Latinxua.[16]

People like Lu Hsün, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Kuo Mo-jo, and other Latinizers were of the opinion that no single script, whether ideographic or phonetic, could succeed in preserving Chinese unity. The very survival of China, they felt, demanded the acceptance of a number of separate phonetic scripts for use by the masses in Canton, Shanghai, and other areas of distinctive speech. What they proposed was a kind of linguistic federalism.

The clash of nationalisms revealed in differences over the form of national unity expressed itself also in debate on the subject of a national language. In the early stages of the Literary Revolution the reformers were satisfied to raise the slogan of *paihua.* This term, which is generally translated as "vernacular language," actually has less to do with speech than with writing, for the reformers sought mainly to replace the classical literary style with a vernacular literary style. Insofar as the latter style had any basis in speech, it was most closely related to what was called *kuan hua,* or "official speech," also rendered as "mandarin." As early as 1910 a

memorandum had been sent to the Chinese Minister of Education urging that the term *kuan hua* be abandoned because it implied that this form of speech was important only for officials and not for the rest of the population. What was recommended to replace it was the less class-conscious and more nationalistic expression *Kuo-yii*, or "National Language."

The new term eventually assumed the meaning attached to the older terms and gradually began to displace them both. It finally became established in the dual meaning of "standard written language" and "standard spoken language." Viewed as a standard spoken language, the National Language was based on an approximation of the Peking dialect of the Mandarin language. Viewed as a standard written language, it had two scripts, one ideographic and the other phonetic. The former was the traditional system of writing and the latter was the National Language Romanization or G.R.

The concept of the unified National Language based either on the ideographs or on a phonetic script came to the fore along with the general strengthening of integral nationalism in the twenties. But in the thirties the whole concept of a standard national language was challenged by those Chinese whose approach to nationalism was along the lines of federalism. Insofar as the idea was accepted at all it was expressed by the adoption of a new term for "national language." The earlier term *Kuo-yii*, though always translated as "National Language," can also be rendered as "State Language," for *kuo* is the common expression for "state" or "country." In this terminology nation is equated with state; the language of the Chinese nation is considered identical with the language of the Chinese state. But this identification has been challenged by the adoption of a new term, *min-tsu yii*, which though meaning also "national language" has a rather special connotation. The term *min-tsu* is used chiefly in the sense of an ethnic or cultural group. A distinction is made between *min-tsu* or "nation" viewed as an ethnic entity and *kuo* or "nation" viewed as a political entity.[17]

Those who adhere to this distinction contend that the political entity known as "China" actually includes a number of different nations—the Chinese, the Uighurs, the Mongols, and

others.* They reject the idea that the language of the Chinese nation should be elevated to the rank of a state language and imposed on the other nations within China. They are even dubious that a uniform state language should be imposed on the Chinese nation itself.

The differences of opinion suggested by the adoption of rival terminology are brought out further by the debate on specific aspects of a national language. This term is too generalized a concept to reveal just what the protagonists have in mind. More revealing of the disagreements on the form of national unity is the discussion of national language in relation to standard language and common language.

It is characteristic of those Chinese who are principally interested in a national language that they also advocate what they call *piao-chün yü* or "standard language." Until recent times the literary style of ideographic writing has been looked upon as a standard written language. The nearest approximation to a standard spoken language was *kuan hua*, the language of the officials, who regardless of provincial origin were supposed to learn some form of what has become known as Mandarin. But although the ideographic script lent itself to enforcing a standard in the written style, it was incapable, by its very nature, of fixing the spoken word with any precision. Hence a rather loose standard based on the Mandarin language was inherited when reformers began to take an interest in phonetic writing.

The very first of the reformers, such as Lu Kan-chang, did not actually concern themselves with standardizing the new phonetic writing, which they thought should be applied differently to different forms of speech in order to enable people to write as they spoke. It was not until Wang Chao's Mandarin Alphabet was taken up by Wu Ju-lun shortly after the turn of the century that the idea of a standard phonetic script began to take hold. On a trip to Japan, Wu had been persuaded by a Japanese friend that China should imitate its island neighbor

* For a fuller discussion of this point of view, as well as of the integralist and other rival theories of nationality, see Chapter IV, "The Peoples of Sinkiang," in Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950).

in setting up the dialect of one area as standard in order to do away with the situation where people from different parts of the country could not understand each other. In the educational reform of 1903 Wu was instrumental in getting Chang Chih-tung to include in the new regulations the following statement: "In every country speech is uniform throughout the whole land. Hence it is very easy to harmonize the feelings of the people in the same country. This actually begins with the teaching of alphabetic writing in the primary schools. . . . At present the speech of the empire is unified by Mandarin. Hence the departments of literature in normal schools and upper primary schools should add courses in Mandarin."[18] Wu Ju-lun is credited by Li Chin-hsi with coining the phrase "Unification of the National Language." This has become the chief slogan of those advocating a single standard language for China.

At the time the Committee on Unification of Pronunciation met in 1913 there was a sharp debate between two groups of delegates, one demanding separate romanizations in line with the slogan "Unification of Speech and Writing" and the other demanding a single standard in line with the slogan "Unification of the National Language." The latter won out. The delegates then proceeded to fix a more precise standard by determining the pronunciation, by majority vote, of several thousand characters. But the Blue-Green Mandarin that resulted from this procedure was so mixed that it was later abandoned in favor of a form of Mandarin based on the speech of people in a specific area. It is this that has been accepted as the standard for the National Language.

Yet there is still much confusion and disagreement on the new standard even among those who accept the idea of a national language. Some exponents of uniformity and centralization have argued that the standard should conform precisely to the speech of educated adults native to the city of Peking. Articles have been written attempting to define the extent of deviation from the National Language which might be permitted. One writer concluded that deviations from the norm in word tones, sentence intonation, and expressive intonation would be permitted, but that none would be allowed in basic

pronunciation, vocabulary, or syntax.[19] Another irately listed examples of non-National Language pronunciations which he had heard on the radio and demanded that this situation be remedied so the radio could be a force in standardizing the National Language.[20]

Among those accepting the idea of a national language were some who objected to too rigid a definition of what constituted the standard. One foreign observer reported that the group of languages centering upon the Shanghai area was exerting such an influence on the pronunciation of the standard language that the Peking sounds could no longer be considered as the definitive criteria for correctness of pronunciation.[21] Some Chinese even went so far as to advocate using the speech of Shanghai as the standard for the national language. The arguments used to back up this demand were that the Shanghai "dialect" was phonetically superior to that of Peking, that the importance of the city as a communications center would help eliminate "dialects," and that Shanghai was bound to show the way to the rest of the country because of its cultural and industrial preeminence.[22]

The internal contest among supporters of the idea of a standard national language was easily won by those who backed the Peking form of speech as the standard in preference to the languages of Shanghai, Nanking, Canton, or other areas which had been put forward. The victory was aided materially by the help of linguistic experts like Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and other proponents of the National Language Romanization. But the struggle between supporters of a standard language and those who opposed any standard at all was a much more intense and drawn-out affair.

Those who sought unity by means of a standard language felt it necessary to defend themselves from the charge that the National Language was aimed at putting everyone into a linguistic strait jacket. Unification of the National Language, argued Li Chin-hsi, does not really involve abolishing the "dialects," for these cannot be done away with anyway, have a historical significance, and are valuable from a literary point of view. "What we mean by National Language is a sort of universal language which all the people use to express their

ideas," he said. "Everyone *may* speak it, but everyone doesn't *have to* speak it. Although everyone doesn't have to speak it, we want all the people to be able to speak it, for all are Chinese and it should not be that they cannot speak Chinese when they see each other."[23]

A somewhat similar argument was presented by another proponent of the National Language Romanization. Ho Jung contended that people interpreted unification of the National Language in too mechanical a way, fearing that it would impede the development of "dialects." Actually, he maintained, it was not that strict. Refuting the charge that linguistic unification entailed a kind of authoritarian uniformity, he argued that "unification of the National Language" was not at all "centralization of authority" but was more akin to "decentralized cooperation" or "equalitarianism in authority." Ho Jung explained these terms by suggesting that elements from the various "dialects" of China would gradually become absorbed by the standard language until the "dialects" themselves disappeared. He quoted another writer in summarizing this process as "National Language-izing the dialects and dialectizing the National Language." He made it plain, however, as did Li Chin-hsi and other supporters of a standard language, that while "dialects" might be permitted to survive as the speech of the uneducated they would not be allowed to contaminate the National Language to any great extent. Giving examples of inappropriate "dialect" expressions which would be refused admittance into the standard National Language, he rebuked the author of a National Language textbook for writing *chiang-hao-le ku-shih* instead of *chiang-wan-le ku-shih* for "after having finished telling the story."[24]

Together with refuting the charge that they advocated authoritarian uniformity, the supporters of a standard language also found it necessary to deny that the National Language had been adopted as the official standard because it was tied up with the authorities and officials of the country. In an article condemning the idea of a standard language Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai had used the phrase "the so-called National Language of bureaucrats" (*kuan-liao-ti so-wei Kuo-yü*). "But we only know of National Language as National Language," replied Ho Jung

to the use of "so-called" by Ch'ü. "There is no other."[25] As to the National Language being a language "of bureaucrats," this was denied by equating standard language with "popular language." In the view of Li Chin-hsi, standard language (*piao-chün yü*), popular language (*ta-chung yü*), National Language (*Kuo-yü*), and vernacular language (*paihua*) were all one and the same thing.[26]

Ho Jung conceded that the National Language was based on Peking speech as the standard, and that this was the same thing as what used to be known as *kuan hua*, or speech of the mandarins. But he denied that there was any causal relationship between the advocacy of Mandarin as the standard and the use of this language by Chinese bureaucracy. He also conceded that the National Language had been approved by the Kuomintang government and might therefore be considered as having a "bureaucratic" taint. But he said the language was no more the property of bureaucrats than would be the case if Ch'ü and his proletarian cohorts came to power and gave official approval to the kind of language advocated by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai.[27]

Li Chin-hsi added a further point to the refutation of the bureaucratic character of the standard language by citing Wang Chao's views on the subject. To explain his support of Mandarin as the universal language for China, Wang had argued that the *kuan* in *kuan hua* (Mandarin) meant "public" (*kung*), and hence *kuan hua* was a language for "public use" (*kung-yung*). Li Chin-hsi went on to add that those who rejected *kuan hua* as the standard language because the name included the word *kuan* "official" should also say that the masses ought not to be allowed to use a *kuan ts'e-so* "public toilet" for the same reason.[28]

The main bone of contention, however, has not been whether all Chinese should be allowed to use the National Language, but whether they should be forced to do so. When Lao Nai-hsuan, in opposition to Wang Chao, suggested separate phonetic schemes for the various Chinese languages, his integralist opponents countered with the slogan "Force the South to follow the North." A similar position was taken by those delegates to the Conference on Unification of Pronunci-

ation who insisted on setting up Mandarin as the exclusive standard. As a result the National Phonetic Alphabet came to be looked upon more as a device for unifying pronunciation than as a means for making people literate.

In an attempt to reconcile these two objectives there was a rather feeble suggestion that the ideographs be written with the phonetic symbols on both sides, those on the right indicating the standard national pronunciation and those on the left the "dialect" pronunciations. This suggestion made no more headway than the one advanced by a few supporters of G.R. who recommended that the National Language Romanization be adapted to other forms of speech than Mandarin. The weight of integralist opinion has been overwhelmingly on the side of restricting the ideographs, the National Phonetic Alphabet, and the National Language Romanization to the writing of the standard National Language.

Federal nationalists, on the other hand, are opposed to any stand which directly or indirectly supports the policy of subordinating Cantonese or other forms of speech to an exclusive standard language. Insofar as they accept at all the idea of a universal language they speak not of a "standard language" but of what they call *p'u-t'ung hua* or "common language." The first to popularize the use of this term was Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai. In his *Chinese Latinized Alphabet* and subsequent publications he urged the adoption of separate romanizations for Cantonese, Fukienese, etc., together with the use of a generalized "common language" or "modern Chinese common language" that would be intelligible to the majority of the population.[29] These remarks were criticized not alone by the opponents of separate romanizations but also by supporters of Latinxua. A G.R. supporter critical of the new writing said that the proposals for separate romanizations would result at best in a Shanghai common language, a Canton common language, etc., but not in a Chinese common language.[30] Alexeiev, too, criticized Ch'ü for inventing "a vague common language." Mao Tun said that there was no such thing as "a modern Chinese common language."[31] Lu Hsün rejected both common language and standard language as equally inaccessible to most people.[32] The last three, however, agreed with Ch'ü on the

necessity for creating separate romanizations for mutually unintelligible forms of speech.

Among Latinizers the rejection of the vague ideas advanced by Ch'u regarding common language did not mean that they rejected the concept as such. Their discussion of the subject led rather to a more precise formulation of what was involved in the term. In its final evolution the expression came to emphasize the idea of "popular language." But whereas the G.R. school thought of popular language as the form of speech most widespread in the country, and hence identical with the standard National Language, the supporters of Latinxua thought of popular language as the forms of speech in common use among ordinary uneducated people. They therefore related the idea of common language more closely to various regional languages than to a single standard language.

The Latinizers objected not only to a standard language for all of China but also to standard languages for each of what they, too, continued to designate as "dialects." Hence when it came to the concrete problem of providing a written form for Cantonese, for example, the concept of a Cantonese common language was advanced in order to counter tendencies toward a narrow definition of this form of speech. Instead of limiting written Cantonese to a standard based on a restricted geographic area or educated group or any other criterion, it was proposed to allow a wide latitude to the sub-dialects of Cantonese. Similarly in the case of Mandarin there was strong objection to emulating the G.R. supporter who had refused to accept the suffix *hao* in place of *wan* to express the idea of "to finish." Much more freedom was envisaged by the Latinizers in respect to vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar.[38] As applied to the separate romanizations, therefore, common language placed most stress on the aspect of flexibility.

When applied specifically to Mandarin the term also came to stress aspects other than flexibility for speakers of Mandarin dialects. During the early phase of the Latinxua movement, which coincided with a period of acute political strife within China, the emphasis in the program was strongly against the idea of a standard language for the whole country. Under the influence of political harmony this attitude underwent mod-

ification. While still opposing the idea of an exclusive standard language, supporters of Latinxua came around to the idea that Mandarin does after all have a special significance relative to other forms of speech like Cantonese and Fukienese. One writer, remarking that Northern Mandarin was an axle around which other forms of speech revolved, went so far as to say that "Northern speech can provisionally function as the official language for the whole country."[34] A similar view was expressed by another writer in the statement that "The northern common language is the common language of all the Chinese people."[35]

Thus a kind of "national common language" based on Northern Mandarin has been advanced along with the "regional common languages" of Canton and other areas. There is also an increasing tendency among Latinizers to talk of the former as *min-tsu yü* or even as *Kuo-yü*.[36] But while they are beginning to accept the idea of a National Language they continue to oppose the integralists in defining the term. In their view the National Language is not a fixed standard which is to be imposed on all the people. Instead it is to function in the present as a common language only for those who need it and is to emerge in the future as a uniform language only after a long process of fusion with other forms of speech.

In other instances, too, the rival integralist and federalist schools have adopted the same terminology but are not always in agreement as to the significance of the terms. Both groups have spoken in favor of a common language for China. Some at least among the supporters of G.R. appear to suggest the possibility of applying the script to non-Mandarin forms of speech. To some degree this indicates the possibility of compromise between the conflicting views of the two schools of reformers. At the same time, however, it glosses over a basic divergence of opinion. The key to this divergence is to be found in the different programs envisaged for handling the various languages spoken by the Chinese.

When in the last years of the Manchu dynasty the integralist opponents of separate romanizations raised the slogan of "Force the South to follow the North," they set the tone for those who wished to use compulsion in achieving their goal of

political unity through linguistic uniformity. Yet it would be incorrect to picture most supporters of a standard language as desiring to use actual force to attain their objective. Despite the violence of their language they have sought for the most part merely to restrict all Chinese to a choice between literacy in the standard National Language and no literacy at all. They do not contemplate suppressing languages like Cantonese and Fukienese but expect these to die away as everyone learns the National Language.

Not much stock is placed in the charge that if non-Mandarin speaking Chinese are forced to start their education by acquiring the National Language, it would be impossible ever to make the whole population literate in a uniform script. There is more inclination to agree with the opinion advanced in 1930 by Li Chin-hsi that it might even be possible, with adequate expenditure of effort, to make everyone literate in the standard National Language by the year 2030 A.D.

Chinese opposed to the integralist approach are more inclined to agree with the estimate made by Wu Chih-hui that universal literacy as expressed in the replacement of the ideographs by G.R. might not be achieved until around 2930 A.D. Instead of reconciling themselves to another millennium of illiteracy in China or putting their hopes on the possibility that it might not last more than a century, they consider it preferable to abandon the emphasis on a standard language if such a course would expedite the spread of literacy. Their primary aim is to make groups like the Cantonese and Fukienese literate in their own local languages. This is reflected in the fact that the Latinxua literature deals a great deal with non-Mandarin forms of speech but hardly at all with the problem of a standard language.

In contrast to the G.R. adherent[37] who, with the objective of national unity in mind, argued that "Literacy is necessary, but unification of the National Language is even more important," the Latinizers maintain that only through literacy is it possible to achieve linguistic unification and political unity. While Latinxua also desires linguistic unification, said one supporter, this cannot be attained immediately and in any case can only be pursued along a road that can actually be

traveled, so that the primary aim of the New Writing is to provide illiterates at once with a knowledge of book-writing.[38] This means that a Cantonese peasant, say, is expected to start his education by spending the first years of school in learning to read and write in Latinized Cantonese, after which he would be better equipped to go on, if possible, to learn Latinized Mandarin, the common language of the whole country.

In his support of the Latinxua position Lu Hsün, rebutting the arguments of integralists who sought to limit education to the National Language, said that the masses would not be badly off even if they became literate only in the language of their own area. He also reiterated the Latinxua contention that it would be a long time before a universal common language could evolve in China. To avoid the danger of the permanent splitting up of the language he advocated that students be taught their own "dialect" and then be gradually acquainted with elements of the nationwide form of speech. He warned further against fear that the language would be debased by the infiltration of popular elements from the speech of the people. He was mainly concerned not with an ideally perfect system that would be standardized throughout the whole country but with diffusing knowledge among the masses by the easiest means at hand so as to provide a basis for cultural and political unity in China.[39]

These remarks by Lu Hsün indicate that the federal nationalists are less concerned with unity in form than with unity in outlook. It does not especially matter to them if the process of amalgamating the various kinds of speech and writing in China takes several millennia or even never comes about at all. They are content to have some people use ideographs, some Latinized Mandarin, some Latinized Cantonese, and others still different forms of writing. Not uniformity in the script but only literacy in whatever script is readily accessible to a particular group is considered to provide the basis for national unity. If the script is related to national unity, they say, that is only because of the relationship between the script and national progress. The nature of this relationship is perhaps the core of the controversy over the problem of the Chinese script.

15

THE SCRIPT AND NATIONAL PROGRESS

THROUGHOUT the movement to reform Chinese writing the proponents of reform have invoked the cause of progress in terms that appear to have been cast in the same revolutionary mold. The monarchist Lao Nai-hsüan sounded much like the anarchist Wu Chih-hui in warning that reform of the script was a life and death matter for China. The Kuomintang supporter Fu Szu-nien was just as fiery as the Kuomintang victim Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai in insisting upon the abolition of the ideographs. Often, to be sure, the reformers flaunted their zealousness more in their utterances than in their actions, more in their captious youth than in their cautious later years. More important, the similarities in phraseology tended to obscure differences in ideology. These differences were not fully revealed until highlighted by the intensification of the internal political struggle.

In the early stages there was more or less agreement among the reformers on such objectives as strengthening the country, promoting the advance of scientific studies, and welding the people more firmly together. Although there was some understanding of these objectives as related to the nationalist struggle in China, it was only after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 that the relationship began to be stated in more political terms. Sporadically in the twenties and more consistently in later years, Chinese nationalists came to speak of their goal as destroying the vestiges of "feudalism" in China.

It is a common characteristic of both the integralist and federalist schools, though more characteristic of the latter than of the former, that both have defended their programs as forwarding China's national unity and national progress by combating feudalism. But there is an important difference in the

anti-feudalism of the two groups. The integralist reformers have specifically tied in their proposals with the development of capitalist institutions in China. In their view national unity must be found in capitalist unity. The federalists, on the other hand, reject the integralist definition of capitalist unity and either seek a modified form of the same thing or, more frequently, hope to build up a state on the foundations of what some call the New Democracy.

One of the best statements of the integralist position was made by Chang Ti-fei in an article attacking the views of the Latinxua school as presented in the popular textbook *The Latinization of Chinese Writing*.[1] Chang presented the thesis that only a single phonetic script based on the Peking dialect or, preferably, the ideographic script itself, can be considered as conforming to the needs of a society which is in a process of transition from feudalism to capitalism. With a forcefulness of language that is strengthened by iteration he attacked the opinions of the Latinxua school as "a mouthful of revolutionary verbiage and a bellyful of reactionary theories." To his mind the Latinizers are in error because they are ignorant of the laws of history. As he put it: "They are completely ignorant of the laws of Chinese historical development. At this stage, when we seek to eliminate feudal anarchy and to proceed toward capitalist unity, the creation of separate regional scripts so as to develop independent regional cultures is either a manifestation of backwardness (of preserving feudal anarchy) or an act of reaction (of opposing historical development). Of what 'revolutionary activity' can they speak?" Chang repeated this idea in castigating the Latinizers for advocating separate "dialect" romanizations. He said: "Chinese characters are a unified national script. Modern Chinese history is in the process of moving from feudalism to capitalism. It is still in the stage of nationalism. Hence Chinese characters are suited to this stage. The special characteristics of this stage are economic, political, and cultural unification. Only that which unifies is progressive; division means reaction."

Invoking Chinese history to show that division belonged to the earlier stage of feudalism, he went on: "At that time each area possessed only a patois or dialect and had no writing.

Hence many patois and dialects were without a written form. Later, following the ancient development of industry and commerce, the First Emperor of Ch'in unified China. . . . Then there was formed a unified national script for the whole country. Thereupon the feudal patois and dialects, since they had no written basis, grew and died by themselves and were gradually weeded out. The Latinizers, in this period when the world is drawing together and national unity is passing into international unity, still advocate the feudal patois and dialects and even create scripts for them. In simple truth they do not understand the needs of the times. How reactionary! How backward!"

Chang reiterated these ideas as follows: "I have already said that Chinese history is proceeding from feudal division to capitalist unity. The power of feudalism has already become vestigial and is gradually dying out. In order to push history forward, revolutionaries should in the present stage uphold capitalist unity and oppose feudal disunity. . . . Unity is the core of everything in China's present stage. Reform of the script cannot ignore this either: in speaking of reform of the script we must pay attention to unity in the script. Patois and dialects are an aspect of feudal mentality which together with its social basis is going into the discard. Hence we cannot aid it to grow. Our aim in revolutionizing the script is to promote the internationalization of Chinese writing, so that in the future it can proceed to the stage of world language. Our beginning point is a unified national state, not a patchwork of small tribes. Therefore the standard in reforming the Chinese script is unity."

Thus in Chang's view the capitalist stage in the development of China necessitates the consolidation of the people into a uniform national unit. Anything less than uniformity is viewed as tending to divide China into a number of small nations. The Latinizers are taken to task because of their contention that the movement for a single National Language goes counter to "all the principles of national policy." On the basis of such statements Chang charged Latinizers with questioning that China is really a single nation and therefore with playing into the hands of the Japanese invaders. "Can it be that China is

not a unified nation," he asked, "that every region is a national unit?" In answer to this question he said: "Latinizers! Let me tell you that history shows the little feudal states to be regional, the capitalist nations to be all-national, and the socialist world to be international. Since the Ch'in dynasty China has been an all-national unified nation. The division into little states was a matter of the Spring and Autumn and Warring Kingdoms periods and before. People who talk about social revolution should understand this ABC of history. Otherwise, please tell me, what is a 'nation?' What are 'all the principles of national policy'? Do you plan to become a tool of Japanese imperialism and, in line with their splitting off of Manchuria, divide united China into a number of national units? . . . The dialects in China are not limited to five. There are a number of isolated places where the dialect of every county is distinctive. You ought to create 'independent scripts' for each of them. But such a policy would make a dream out of your aim of amalgamating the dialects. The result would be to force every province and every county to form an 'independent' cultural system which would be isolated from every other. And then, if China is wiped out by Japan, your policy would divide up the country into a number of isolated 'autonomous regions,' each having 'its own independent script.' Thus your present Latinization movement creates the cultural basis for imperialism to divide up the country. And so the dialect Latinization movement is a cultural movement of traitors."

In addition to defending linguistic unity as an aspect of capitalist unity Chang Ti-fei also defended capitalists from the Latinxua charge that "The ruling class in China does not want the workers to become literate, knowing that if the workers and peasants become literate they will be able to see just who their enemy really is." Chang rejected this idea in the following statement: "On the contrary, since ancient times the ruling classes have all energetically sought, in accordance with the stage of production of their societies, to raise the intellectual level of their people. Because of this, in the period of capitalist development the bourgeoisie without exception promote universal education for their people, on the one hand to raise the cultural level of the workers in order to increase their pro-

ductive capacity, and on the other to establish a new state and civilize their own people."

This picture presented by Chang Ti-fei of the bourgeoisie educating and civilizing their people is part of a broader canvas on which they are depicted as playing the decisive role in the nationalist revolution as a whole. It is natural, therefore, that such Chinese nationalists have taken as their revolutionary prototype countries which they felt had set an example in replacing feudalism with capitalism. In the earliest phase of the movement for reform of the script it was Japan which served as the ideal of many Chinese reformers. A few continued to hold to this view even in the later phase of the movement. Thus Li Chin-hsi, an admirer of the Japanese phonetic symbols, stated in 1934 that "we must henceforth proclaim clearly that we are completely following Japan."[3] In the course of the Sino-Japanese war Ch'en Kuo-fu expressed enthusiasm for the educational methods of Japan as turning that country into a first-class power.[4] But in general with the repeated attacks on China by its island neighbor emulation of Japan became outmoded except among those few who continued to admire Japanese-style capitalism. As early as the middle twenties the revolutionary movement led by Kemal Pasha in Turkey had become the new model for many Chinese. This was true in both the linguistic and political fields.

In 1928 Turkey was able to replace its archaic Arabic script with a simple Latinized system of writing as a result of the forceful measures undertaken by Mustapha Kemal. In the same year the National Language Romanization received only half-hearted approval from the Kuomintang government of China. The success of the language reform in Turkey led many supporters of G.R. to call for emulation of the Turkish example.[4] "If China had a Kemal Pasha," said one supporter of the National Language Romanization, "we should probably see this system replace the characters in daily life."[5] A similar idea, but with a political objective, was stated by an organ of Wang Ching-wei in pointing out that Kemal had a unique advantage over Chinese revolutionary leaders in that the people "were not only willing but anxious to act promptly upon orders given them." The lesson for the Chinese people to

learn from Turkey's "amazing achievements," it added, could be expressed "in two words—discipline, sacrifice."[6]

Among federal nationalists there seems to be little such enthusiasm for the Kemalist revolution in Turkey. Instead of asking for a dictator to enforce the use of romanization they call on reformers to join in promoting a popular movement on behalf of the new script.[7] They state that the National Language Unification Movement advocated by people like Chang Ti-fei is merely, in the words of the book criticized by Chang, "a movement of the gentry and compradores." A similar idea has been expressed by a writer who in answer to Chang and others of like opinion charges them with speaking of feudal reaction and using historical pretexts merely in order to oppose concessions to the "dialects" of China. "Their idea," says this critic, "is that the war of resistance, the reconstruction of the country, and the revolution are all very fine, but that these are matters of concern only to the conscious upper-class bourgeois element. The peasants and workers, being backward, are not to be permitted to participate."[8]

Such critics are opposed to the thesis that Turkey can serve as any sort of revolutionary prototype for China. One of the sharpest expressions of this opposition was presented by Mao Tse-tung during the war just about the time that he gave his support to the movement for adoption of Latinxua. Mao wrote: "If under certain specific conditions (e.g., like that of Turkey, where the bourgeoisie defeated the aggressive Greeks while the proletariat was not strong enough), a small Kemalist bourgeoisie-ruled Turkey had come into existence after the first world war and the Russian October Revolution, the same can never happen again after World War II and after the Soviet Union has accomplished her socialist reconstruction, especially when the 'Turkey' in this case is one composed of 450,000,000 people. Owing to the particular conditions in China (the compromising character of the bourgeoisie and the thoroughgoing character of the proletariat) there has never happened in the country before such an easy-going affair as that of Turkey. Did not the bourgeoisie of China loudly sing the song of 'Kemalism' after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927? But

where now is the Kemal of China? And where is the capitalist society ruled by China's bourgeoisie?"[9]

In place of a Turkish-style nationalism for China, Mao Tse-tung proposes an eventual transition to socialism and communism via a preparatory stage which he calls the New Democracy. As expounded by him this appears to be a combination of capitalism and socialism with heavy emphasis on land reform. Such a revolutionary program is to be carried out, not under the leadership of capitalists, but by an alliance of several groups. In Mao's words: "The first step or stage of this revolution is certainly not to, and certainly cannot, establish a capitalist society dictated by the bourgeoisie, but to establish a New Democracy ruled by the alliance of several revolutionary classes." Stating more specifically what these revolutionary classes are, he said: "Therefore, no matter under whatever condition, the proletariat, the peasants, the intelligentsia, and other petit-bourgeois elements of China are the basic forces that determine the destiny of the country."

In rejecting the leadership of capitalists and advocating an alliance of several groups Mao did not give equal importance to the various revolutionary elements. To his mind the peasantry has a leading role in China's struggle for progress. He stressed this point in the following passage: "That is to say, China's revolution is a revolution of the peasantry; the present war of resistance against Japan is in essence a war of resistance of the peasantry; the politics of New Democracy is in essence the empowering of the peasantry; the New San Min Chu I or the genuine San Min Chu I is in essence the revolutionary principle of the peasantry; the content of popular culture is in essence the elevation of culture among the peasantry. . . ."

The program proposed by Mao Tse-tung has been categorically rejected by some Chinese who see in it merely communism in disguise. Many middle-of-the-road Chinese, however, consider that his immediate program if not his ultimate objective provides a basis for cooperation. In particular many intellectuals feel that, leaving aside the more economic and political aspects of Mao's program, with which they are not directly concerned, there are other phases, notably the cul-

tural, which are akin to their own ideas. It is primarily for this reason that intellectuals like Lu Hsün, Dr. H. C. Ch'en, Kuo Mo-jo, Mao Tun, and many others have been willing to join with Communists in cultural activities directed toward the peasantry. The Latinxua movement is a specific instance of such cooperation.

This emphasis on the peasantry clashes with the view that participation in politics and government should be limited to those who can meet a literacy qualification for suffrage. Such a view has been widely held among foreigners and Chinese alike. Thus the Governor of Hongkong, in discussing a proposed reform in the Colony in 1946, suggested that qualifications for electors might include moderate property qualifications together with the ability to read and write either Chinese or English.[10] A forceful objection to extending suffrage to illiterates was made also by a Chinese writer in connection with elections held in Kirin province in 1946. On discovering that the name of the governor, Chow Pao Chung [Chou Pao-chung], as the latter himself admitted, had been miswritten by one of the provincial councillors who had voted for him, the critic wrote: "What 'governor' Chow disclosed on this occasion was shocking. He disclosed that a representative on the 'Provincial Council' cannot read and write properly. If this is true of one of the representatives, it must be all the more true of those who elect the county delegates. It points out the abominable fact that illiteracy, which has always been as high as 95% in China, is still the major obstacle to conquer if free elections are to be held. When the mass has not yet reached the educational level at which they can exercise their rights and privileges properly, they can easily be led in any direction by a few trained political workers. This is especially true in Manchuria, whose population was under the influence of Japanese Fascism for 14 years. Under these circumstances, election not only has no meaning, but also has no connection with democracy."[11]

Those Chinese who oppose participation by the illiterate 90 or 95 per cent of the population in the governing of the country have not been limited to opponents of Latinxua but include also those who object to any kind of language reform at all.

One of the most striking statements of this position was made by a well-known literatus whose opposition extended even to the Hu Shih literary movement and to the May Fourth Movement of 1919. With a simulated levity which merely served to underscore the deadly seriousness of his intent, Ku Hung-ming,* writing shortly after the student demonstrations of 1919, expressed himself as follows: "It seems to me that instead of complaining, all of us, foreigners, militarists, politicians and especially we returned students, who are now still having such a good time here in China, should give thanks to God every day in our lives for the fact that 90 per cent of the four hundred million people in China are still illiterate. Imagine what a fine state of things we would have, if here in Peking, the coolies, mafoos, chauffeurs, barbers, shopboys, huxters, loafers and vagabonds, *hoc genus omne*, all became literate and wanted to take part in politics as well as the University students. It is said that recently five thousand telegrams were sent to the Chinese delegates in Paris on the Shantung question. Now calculate out the number of telegrams that would have to be sent and the amount of money it would cost to send the telegrams, if the 90 per cent of the four hundred million people in China all became literate, and wanted to be patriotic like us returned students!"[12]

Besides warning patriotic students against excessive zeal in seeking the support of the masses, Ku also emphatically warned foreigners against encouraging Western learning because "the real, the most valuable asset of civilization in the world is the *unspoilt real Chinaman*; and the real unspoilt Chinaman is an asset of civilization, because *he is a person who costs the world little or nothing to keep him in order.*" Pleading for the preservation of the "moral nationality" of the Chinese, Ku presented himself as a nationalist in the style of those few who had made Japan, which he greatly admired, strong enough to be respected by foreigners. He was opposed

* Ku was one of the earliest returned students. He defended the system of concubinage, kept a queue until his death in 1928, and in his last days lived on a subsidy provided by Japan. (For these and other notes see Chang Hsin-mai, "Mr. Ku Hung-ming," *The China Critic*, I, No. 1 [May 31, 1928], 12-13.)

to the more widespread nationalism of the May Fourth Movement and applauded the action taken against it by the foreign authorities in Shanghai. Ku wrote: "In short, when once the 90 per cent of the four hundred million people in China . . . get vulgate (!) English, 'New Learning,' and modern patriotism into their hungry stomachs—well then, as I have said, foreigners in China will certainly not have such a good time of it, as they are having now. *Verbum Sapientibus.* I am glad, however, to see from the action of the Municipal Council *at the last moment* during the recent riots—that some foreigners at least are beginning to realize that they have put their money on the wrong horse—the new Chinaman!"

Thus in his opposition to literary and political reforms aimed at drawing wider segments of the population into the revolutionary movement this "nationalist" was willing to side with foreign powers in suppressing Chinese nationalism as manifested in the May Fourth Movement. Wu Mi, another scholar opposed to literary reform, even envisaged the possibility of preserving the classical literature and culture of China "irrespective of the fortune or fate of the existence of China as a nation, and irrespective of the final outcome of our intellectual and spiritual struggles."[13]

In contrast to these Chinese who place preservation of the old culture before preservation of the nation, Latinizers argue that without the aid of the illiterate masses it would be impossible to preserve either Chinese culture or the Chinese nation. They therefore object to limiting suffrage to literates and charge advocates of such a step with insisting on literacy in one of the most difficult scripts in the world as a means to preserve illiteracy and hence to continue to exclude all but five or ten per cent of the population from having a say in the government. They consider that even the National Language Romanization is too difficult for most of the people. While not themselves insisting on literacy as a voting qualification, they demand that the simplest possible script be used in order to wipe out illiteracy in the shortest possible time.

There is an economic as well as political aspect to this controversy over literacy and language reform as related to the

role of the peasantry in the Chinese nationalist revolution. At the beginning of the Latinxua movement in the early thirties there was a marked tendency to demand destruction of the ideographs on the grounds that their acquisition by the people was an absolute impossibility. This represented an extreme version of the recurrent emphasis by previous reformers on the fact that literacy in the ideographs could be acquired only after five or ten or fifteen years of study and hence was beyond the economic resources of the masses. Later the stress on absolute impossibility was replaced by the idea of relative difficulty, and the demand for destruction of the characters was set aside.

Thus in 1937 Hsü T'e-li qualified his statement that mass education in the ideographs was impossible by adding the phrase "under present economic conditions." A Soviet work published in 1940 echoed the idea presented by Hsü and added further detail, as follows: "The fact is that to characterize the Chinese ideographic script as absolutely inaccessible to the masses would be incorrect. The Chinese ideophonographic script, especially if relieved of superfluous accretions and regulated by a definite and reasoned system, is not so much difficult as it is labor-requiring, needing, as it does, considerably more time for mastery than alphabetic writing. Thus the overwhelming degree of illiteracy in China (almost 98 per cent) is conditioned, it seems to us, not so much by the difficulty of the script, by its absolute inaccessibility, as by the difficult conditions of life of the toiling masses.

"At the present time, when the Chinese people are heroically fighting for an independent democratic China, this situation can and must change. It is precisely now that the problem must be posed, in its full scope, of the co-existence for the present period of the ideophonographic and Latinized scripts. Planned government organization of people's education, extensive work to divest the script of useless accretions, division of the ideographs into groups for consecutive study (as is done in the National Revolutionary Eighth Route Army), and, most important, the improvement of the living conditions of the toilers—all these measures will considerably facilitate the access of the broad masses to the Chinese ideophonographic

script, and through it to the vast complex of Chinese culture which to a considerable degree is tied to this script."[14]

Somewhat similar emphasis on improving the economic conditions of the people as a prerequisite for their acquisition of the ideographic script is present in the Mass Education Movement initiated by James Yen. It is absent from the plan proposed by Ch'en Li-fu in 1940 to wipe out illiteracy in China in five years.[15]

The fact that literacy and economic advancement are closely interwoven poses an especially troublesome problem if the peasantry must confine its literacy to the ideographs. Raising the literacy level depends on raising the economic level, but raising the economic level depends on raising the literacy level. To resolve this dilemma the supporters of Latinxua suggested in 1940 that education start with a simple form of Latinxua and go on to the ideographs if the student has the time and the means to absorb them.[16]

Such a program, in addition to resolving the above-mentioned dilemma, also has a bearing on a psychological problem involved in teaching Sin Wenz to the peasantry. Reverence for the ideographs has become so deeply imbedded that even illiterates have reacted against Latinxua. One report states: "Plain peasants said they wanted the old Chinese script for their children and for themselves. If they were to learn reading and writing it must be in the script in which the officials, the landlords, and merchants read and wrote and in which all the books are printed."* It was partly in order to counter this reaction that the program drawn up in 1940 stressed the idea of studying Latinxua as a step to acquiring the ideographs.

Yet there does not appear to be much expectation that the entire peasantry will ever be able to acquire effective literacy in the traditional script. In order to give the people as a whole access to China's literary heritage, Latinizers count rather on eventually translating a gradually increasing body of ideographic literature into the various Latinized scripts which they anticipate will come into use throughout the country. By this procedure they hope that eventual relegation of the ideo-

* Stein, *The Challenge of Red China*, p. 261. Stein also reports popular opposition to compulsory school education. (*Loc. cit.*).

graphs to the scholar's study, far from entailing abandonment of China's cultural past, as many opponents of romanization fear, will actually make it available to far more people than can ever enjoy it directly through the ideographs.

But a program of this sort can succeed only if those who undertake it can accommodate their literary style to the needs of the peasantry. It has been the contention of many people, Chinese and Westerners alike, that romanization cannot succeed in China because it must be based on a style of writing unacceptable to educated people. Although it is true, as pointed out earlier, that whatever can be spoken intelligibly can be written phonetically, the problem in romanization is not merely one of getting people to write as they speak. The speech of educated people, particularly on formal occasions, is more elevated than that of the people as a whole. If educated people wrote in romanization as they spoke, the material might be understandable to other educated people but would often make no sense to the uneducated. Under such conditions there is little incentive to write in romanization, for people of learning can already read the material if written in characters, while others cannot make it out regardless of the script. Thus one of the decisive factors conditioning the success of romanization hinges on the possibility of getting educated people to speak and write in a style comprehensible to the uneducated as well.

This problem is often viewed as essentially one of "talking down" and "writing down" to a less educated audience. In such cases there is a natural reluctance to place limitations on the modes of expression for fear that this would necessitate limitations even on the ideas expressed. In point of fact, although the whole history of the language reform movement has emphasized the need for greater simplicity, despite the valiant efforts of reformers like Hu Shih there is little in the ideographic literature or in that written in G.R. which can be understood by illiterates. A high proportion of the Latinxua material, however, has been written to be read by uneducated peasants. The result is, indeed, a new literary style, one which has been rejected by adherents of G.R. as padded, wordy, and artificial but has won popularity among supporters of the New

Writing, who maintain that the speech of illiterate peasants is a better guide to good literary style than the writings or utterances of scholars.

Even so it would be quite incorrect to envisage all federal nationalists as being distinguished from other Chinese by their adherence to a popular style of speaking and writing. Actually, even those who profess their interest in the masses often write in a style which is incomprehensible to most of the people. Mao Tse-tung has denounced what he calls *pa-ku*, a term originally referring to the literary style of the old examination system but applied also by him to cover foreignisms, meaningless verbiage, stilted expressions, and other forms incomprehensible to the people as a whole. He maintains that "the words we use must be in close touch with the masses."[17] In his view this does not mean that intellectuals should "give themselves airs" and talk down to the people. "They ought to know a truth," he said, "that many of the intelligentsia do not possess as much knowledge as the workers and peasants."[18]

Mao goes on to demand a mutual interchange of knowledge between the intellectuals and the masses. He does not appear to envisage this process as reducing culture to a uniform low level but rather as raising the cultural level of educated and uneducated alike. Behind this reasoning is his contention that real knowledge consists of a combination of book learning and practical work.[19]

This formulation by Mao Tse-tung has won little support from those literati who even with the best of intentions have been unable to avoid a patronizing attitude toward people of lesser education. It has been accepted more in theory than in practice by many Chinese who profess to share Mao's views. But others have acted upon Mao's central thesis of the overriding importance of the peasantry in the cultural and other phases of China's nationalist revolution. It is precisely these Chinese who have been most intent upon meeting the needs of the peasantry by writing and speaking in a truly popular style. Their concern on this score is especially manifest in the efforts made to devise different Latinxua scripts for all the different Chinese languages.

The work of such reformers points up one of the key facts

conditioning the future of the whole romanization movement. This is that only those Chinese who are fully convinced of the essential role of the peasantry in China's national progress appear likely to succeed in the effort required to write in a style comprehensible to the uneducated majority as well as to the educated elite.*

Thus in the final analysis the problem of the Chinese script reduces itself at almost every point to some aspect or other of Chinese nationalism itself. Many controversial items which superficially appear to be nothing more than problems of technical linguistics in reality bear upon such broader questions as national unity and national progress. As a result, although there appears to be a wide variety of views on many points of detail, these differences reduce themselves to only two overall positions on the script as a problem of nationalism. These positions have already been identified by the terms integral nationalism and federal nationalism.

Integral nationalists stress the point made by Ch'en Kuo-fu that "China's ability to achieve unity is entirely dependent upon having a unified written language." In elaborating the linguistic basis of unity Ch'en and his followers contend that the ideographs should remain the exclusive system of writing for all the people in China. A few integralists concede the possibility of using an alphabetic script for such a uniform written language. Most incline in greater or less degree toward the view held by Ch'en Li-fu that even non-Chinese groups like

* In this partly-literary, partly-political attitude toward the peasantry is to be found, perhaps, the key to a linguistic problem which was raised but not adequately solved in the linguistic chapters. Some attempt was made there to distinguish between what is normally spoken and what is literary or semi-literary. The trouble is that no clear-cut distinction exists, for educated people often use literary expressions in speech. But apparently those language reformers who stress the need of adapting the style of writing to the needs of the peasantry are willing to use peasant vocabulary as the main criterion of "normal speech." This would be of no use, of course, in the case of subject-matter which is not reflected in words used by illiterates. Perhaps the chief use would be in distinguishing between spoken and literary homonymns. Thus on the basis of peasant vocabulary it is possible to say that *t'ai* "too (much)" is an ordinary spoken word, whereas *kuoyü* having the same meaning is at best a semi-literary form, for its use is confined to the educated. Presumably *kuoyü* "too (much)" would be considered outside the range of "normal speech" and hence would not be used in a Latinxua text.

the Mongols should be assimilated by receiving education through the medium of the standard Chinese writing. All tend to equate unity with uniformity. Their goal can be summarized by the formula one state, one people, one language.

The political and economic basis of such an integralist state, as reiterated by Chang Ti-fei, is to be found in capitalist unity. The foreign states most frequently invoked by Chinese integralists as prototypes for a unitary China are Meiji Japan and Kemalist Turkey rather than the more revolutionary France of the eighteenth century.* In contrast to the "fiercely democratic" French revolutionists, the admirers of Japan and Turkey are regarded by their opponents as fiercely undemocratic, and the style of their integralism is considered more late German than early French. In addition they are regarded as failures even in pushing China from the stage of feudalism to the stage of capitalism.

Federal nationalists stress the idea that unity and progress are to be sought more through literacy than through unification of the script. In one direction this thesis leads to fostering simple Latinxua scripts for Cantonese, Fukienese, and others who, while considered as quite definitely belonging to a single Chinese nation, nevertheless speak non-Mandarin languages. In another direction it leads to granting the Mongols, Uighurs, and other minorities the right to full linguistic freedom. There is a secondary emphasis on the optional use of the National

* It is perhaps worth noting that besides those countries which China is called upon to emulate are others which are held up as warnings of what may happen to China if it does not pursue the correct linguistic course. Integral nationalists have most frequently invoked as a warning the case of Annam, which, they say, once had a literature entirely in ideographs but later, to the detriment of its survival as an independent nation, was provided by the French with a system of alphabetic writing. Federal nationalists reject this idea. Replying to a warning that the Indo-Chinese have forgotten their culture and hence have virtually ceased to be Asiatics, S. S. Tu, who under the pseudonym of T'o Mu wrote *All about the Latinization of Chinese*, remarked that actually the Annamese as a result of their education in romanization have awakened to the point where they are fighting the French for their liberation. (S. S. Tu, letter to the editor of *The China Weekly Review*, CVI, No. 4 [June 28, 1947], 95. For a note on the success of Annamese romanization see George Sheldon, "Status of the Viet Nam," *Far Eastern Survey*, XV, No. 25 [December 18, 1946], 377).

Language either in its ideographic or Latinxua form. Those who hold to these views consider that diversity is not incompatible with unity. Their goal can be summarized by the formula one state, several peoples, many languages.

Many exponents of such a state propose to combine linguistic diversity with political federalization and economic decentralization by granting national autonomy to the ethnic minorities and local self-government to the regional groupings in China. Their economic and political as well as cultural focus is centered on the peasantry and also, of late, on its urban allies. What they count upon to hold the country together is the sum total of the policies which they designate as the New Democracy. Although more or less influenced by the Soviet Union, federal nationalists contend that their cultural program is different from that advanced by the U.S.S.R. They describe culture in the Soviet Union as "national in form and socialist in content." But they envisage culture in China as "national in form and New Democratic in content." Chinese who look askance at such formulas, however, reject the concept of federal nationalism as being either a move toward a communist society or a return to feudal division.

Although Mao Tse-tung and Ch'en Kuo-fu can be taken as examples of the two extremes of nationalist thinking, it would be quite incorrect to assume that all federal nationalists agree in full with the former or that all integral nationalists see eye to eye with the latter. Dr. H. C. Ch'en echoed Mao Tse-tung's linguistic opinions when he said, "Linguistic division does not at all lead to political division,"[20] but this does not mean that the American-trained educator had precisely the same political and economic objectives as the leader of Communist China. Similarly Huang Hsüeh-chou and Lo Ch'ang- p'ei, who as supporters of G.R. appear to agree with Ch'en Kuo-fu on the need for linguistic uniformity, in other respects are sufficiently differentiated from the Kuomintang leader to win approval even from Latinxua supporters as fellow-reformers in the mainstream of China's nationalist revolution.[21]

Despite the fact that there is not always complete correspondence between an individual's linguistic views and his nationalist outlook, the situation that has now developed in

China appears more and more to be forcing language reformers, if they wish to be effective, into cooperation with one or the other of the two main schools of nationalist thinking. In any practical attempt at language reform linguistic federalists must look for aid to the heterogeneous supporters of the New Democracy. Linguistic integralists for their part can only hope for assistance from elements in the Kuomintang who seek a unitary state. Thus the problem of the script is becoming more than ever a problem of nationalism.

Linguistically it is certain that alphabetic writing is possible in China. Politically it has long been in doubt. The social, political, and military struggle raging in China is now deciding the fate of Chinese nationalism and with it the future of Chinese writing. The stage is being set for the most far-reaching cultural revolution in all Chinese history.

Notes

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. E.g. Chang Ti-fei, "The Unity of China and the Latinization of Chinese," *Wen-hua chien-she*, III, No. 5 (February, 1937), 43 and *passim* [in Chinese].

2. T'ung Chen-hua, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

3. Ho Chung-ying, "An Historical View of Reform of the Chinese Script," in Li Chung-hao, ed., *The Script in Historical Light and Revolutionary Discussion* (Peiping, 1931), pp. 186 and 189 [in Chinese].

4. T'ung Chen-hua, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

5. Hu Shih, "Introductory Remarks," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao, August*, 1922, p. 1 [in Chinese].

6. The thesis that the Chou dynasty texts were "the natural reproduction of the spoken language" has been advanced by Bernhard Karlgren, *Philology and Ancient China* (Oslo, 1926), p. 43 and *passim*. This assertion is denied by Herrlee Glessner Creel, "On the Nature of Chinese Ideography," *T'oung Pao*, XXXII (1936), p. 125 and *passim*.

7. Some of the most important material on dialects in China is contained in the various local gazetteers. Information on the location of dialect materials in the gazetteers in contained in Chu Shih Chia, *A Catalogue of Chinese Local Histories in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1942). Among the gazetteers which provide the most important coverage on dialects are those for Yin-hsien in Chekiang, Liu-chou and Ma-p'ing in Kwangsi, and Soochow, Chou-chuang, Kun-shan, Hsin-yang, and Ch'uan-sha in Kiangsu.

8. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement* (Shanghai, 1934), pp. 26-27 [in Chinese]. For the imperial decree on the subject see also Robert Thom, *Esop's Fables Written in Chinese by the Learned Mun Mooy Seen-shang* (Canton, 1840), p. viii.

9. William C. Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton* (3rd ed., Shanghai, 1938), p. 37. See also "The Emperor's Edict Against Foreign Books," *The Asiatic Journal*, New Series, XX, Part II (May-August, 1836), 37-38 (reprinted from the *Canton Register* of October 6, 1835).

10. Reported by "an eminent East India merchant." See "Chinese Instructions to Their Merchants," *Herapaths's Railway and Commercial Journal*, IX, No. 418 (June 12, 1847), 707.

11. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York, 1940), p. 48, note 1.

12. The early use of ideographs for phonetic purposes is stressed in Bernhard Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 33 and *passim*. Karlgren's theories are opposed by Creel, *op.cit.*, especially p. 105 ff. For a third view of the controversy see Paul Pelliot, "Brèves remarques sur le phonétisme dans l'écriture chinoise," *T'oung pao*, XXXII (1936), 162-66.

13. Ho Chung-ying, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

14. For an illustration of how the "barbarian" languages were transcribed by the Chinese ideographs see E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, "A Chinese Vocabulary of Cham Words and Phrases," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, x, Part 1 (1939), 53-91. There are numerous works dealing with the bureaux of interpreters. See, among others, E. Denison Ross, "New Light on the History of Chinese Oriental College, and a 16th Century Vocabulary of the Luchuan Language," *T'oung pao*, IX (1909), 689-95; G. Devéria, "Histoire du Collège des Interprètes de Péking," *Mélanges Charles de Harlez* (Paris, 1896), pp. 94-102; Norman Wild, "Materials for the Study of the Ssu I Kuan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XI, Part 3 (1945), 617-40.

15. Cheng Ch'iao, "Monograph on the Six Classes of Characters," in his *T'ung chih* (Commercial Press Edition), I, 511 [in Chinese].

16. For an illuminating study on the relationship of the Renaissance to the larger social changes in the West, and especially to the rise of "the new individualist entrepreneur," see Alfred von Martin, *Sociology of the Renaissance* (New York, 1944).

17. Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance* (Chicago, 1934), especially pp 44-62.

18. *Loc.cit.*

19. Editorial in *Millard's Review of the Far East*, XI, No. 3 (December 20, 1919), 104.

20. On the nationalist aspects of the *paihua* movement see Wang Tsi Chang, *The Youth Movement in China* (New York, 1927), *passim*.

21. For a discussion of illiteracy in China see Herbert Day Lamson, *Social Pathology in China* (Shanghai, 1935), 187-221.

22. See, for example, Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement, *The Ting Hsien Experiment in 1934* (Peiping, 1934).

23. Among those expressing this view is the Chinese poet E. Siao [Hsiao San], "Latinizatsii Kitaiskai Pis'mennosti [Latinization of the Chinese Script]," *Literatura Mirovoi Revoliutsii*, XI-XII (1931), 145.

24. Lin Hsi, "A New Discussion of Popular Language," *Ch'ün-chung*, VIII (October 16, 1943), 514 [in Chinese].

25. Quoted in Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing* (N.p., 1941), p 152 [in Chinese]

26. Hu Shih, Letter in reply to Chu Ching-nung, *Hsin ch'ing-nien*, V, No. 2 (August, 1918), 165-68 [in Chinese].

CHAPTER 2

1. The material in this chapter has been condensed from my article "A Missionary Contribution to Chinese Nationalism," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, LXXIII (1948), 1-34. This article is provided with detailed documentation.

2. Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'historia della compagnia di Giesu. La Cina. Terza parte dell'Asia* (Rome, 1663), p. 155.

3. Henri Bernard, *Aux portes de la Chine. Les missionaires du seizième siècle, 1514-1588* (Tientsin, 1933), p 147.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

5. Nicolas Trigault, *The China that Was. China as Discovered by the*

Jesuits at the Close of the Sixteenth Century, translated from the Latin by L. J. Gallagher, S.J. (Milwaukee, 1942), pp. 43-47.

6. Fang I-chih, *T'ung-ya, chuan* 1, p. 18a-b [in Chinese].

7. William C. Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton* (3rd ed., Shanghai, 1938), p. 37, quoting Morrison.

8. C. Toogood Downing, *The Fan-qui in China* (London, 1838), I, 172.

9. E. C. Bridgman, review of *Select Papers on the Subject of Expressing the Languages of the East in the English (Roman) Character*, in *The Chinese Repository*, III, No. 8 (December, 1834), 386.

10. S. Wells Williams, review of *Esop's Fables*, in *The Chinese Repository*, XIII, No. 2 (February, 1844), 98.

11. Walter Macon Lowrie, letter of April 21, 1846 to the Rev. John Lloyd, in *Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie* (New York, 1849), p. 361.

12. Letter of May 30, 1845 to his father, *ibid.*, pp. 317-19. The parenthetical remark in the sentence quoted was made by Lowrie; it is not my addition.

13. For the material in this and the preceding paragraph see S. Wells Williams, review of *Chhòng-sè Tòan*, &c., in *The Chinese Repository*, XX, No. 7 (July, 1851), 472-78.

14. See Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai, 1867), *passim*. This work contains the most complete list available of early missionary publications in alphabetic writing. A few items have been omitted from the list of romanized materials, but such minor omissions do not significantly alter the over-all picture.

A convenient comparison of various dialectical schemes of transcription is provided by the extract from the *Sacred Edict* given in eight dialects in S. Wells Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (Tung Chou, 1909), pp. xxxvi-xli.

15. For the figures in this paragraph see J. A. Silsby, "The Bible in China," *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXVI (1905), 281; *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXIV (1903), 350.

16. For this and the preceding material see John C. Gibson, "Review of the Various Colloquial Versions and the Comparative Advantages of Roman Letters and Chinese Characters," *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai, 1890), pp. 62-89.

17. E. J. E. [E. J. Eitel], review of *Learning to Read in South China*, in *The China Review*, XVII (1888-89), 118-22.

18. John C. Gibson, "Learning to Read in China," *The China Review*, XVII (1888-89), 348-52.

19. William N. Brewster, "China's Intellectual Thraldom and the Way of Escape," *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXII (1901), 295-96.

CHAPTER 3

1. John Darroch, "Christian Literature," *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records* (New York [1907?]), pp. 195 and 208; *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXIII (1902), 358; P. W. Pitcher, "Amoy Romanization," *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXV (1904), 573.

2. Pitcher, *loc.cit.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 572.

4. *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXIII (1902), 359.

5. William N. Brewster, *The Evolution of New China* (Cincinnati and New York, 1907), p. 110.

6. For brief notes on Lu's system see Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *History of the Development of the National Phonetic Alphabet* (Shanghai, 1934), pp. 11-12 [in Chinese].

7. This was an abridged version of his earlier work. (Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing* [N.p., 1941], p. 9 [in Chinese].)

8. Unless otherwise indicated, the material on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao is taken from his "Introduction to Mr. Shen's work on Phonetics," *Yin-ping shih wen-chi, chüan* 3, pp. 46b-48a.

9. Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912* (Shanghai, 1933), pp. 90-91 and also 54-55.

10. Christian Literature Society for China, *"No Speedier Way"* (Shanghai, 1938), pp. 29-30 and 98-100.

11. For a discussion of *The Needs of the Times* (*Shih Wu Pao*) see Britton, *op.cit.*, p. 91 ff.

12. Chia Yin-keng, "The Movement for Simplified Symbols before the Promulgation of the National Phonetic Symbols," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 47 (August 13, 1932) [in Chinese].

Yin-keng was the pen name of Dr. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, the original author of the material contained in the preceding article. His material was later rewritten into the vernacular style by Pai Ti-chou and published under the name of Chia Yin-keng. For the Chia [12] in this name one is to assume the character [13] "false." (Communication from Lo Ch'ang-p'ei dated August 10, 1947.) (Bracketed figures substitute for characters. These will be found on page 296.)

13. *Loc.cit.*

14. Timothy Richard, "Non-Phonetic and Phonetic Systems of Writing Chinese," *The Chinese Recorder*, XXIX (1898), p. 542; Chia Yin-keng, "The Movement for Simplified Symbols," *op.cit.*, No. 48 (August 20, 1932).

15. Chia Yin-keng, *op.cit.*, No. 47.

16. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

17. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese* (Tokyo, 1928), p. 260 [in Japanese].

18. Wang Shu-min and Wang Yen-hsi, *Huang-ch'ao Tao-Hsien-T'ung-Kuang tsou-i* [*Memorials Presented to the Emperors of the Tao-kuang, Hsien-feng, T'ung-chih, and Kuang-hsü Periods*] (Shanghai, 1902), *chüan* 7, pp. 25a-b.

19. The quotations from the memorial and the rescript are taken from Pai Ti-chou, "Introducing a Great Pioneer of the National Language Movement—Lu Kan-chang," *op.cit.* Here the date of the rescript is given as the 28th day of the 7th month, or September 13, 1898. The reform period ended a few days later. I have not been able to locate either the memorial or the rescript. The latter is not mentioned under the date given above in either the *Ta Ch'ing shih-lu* or the *Tung Hua hsü-lu.*

20. Pai Ti-chou, *loc.cit.*

21. T'o Mu, *All about the Latinization of Chinese* (Shanghai, 1939), p. 16 [in Chinese].

22. The edict, which was issued on September 4, appears in the *Ta Ch'ing shih-lu*, Kuang-hsü section, *chüan* 424, pp. 17b-18a. For further details on this incident see Li Chin-hsi, "Biography of Wang Chao," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 129 (March 17, 1934) [in Chinese]; Arthur H. Smith, *China in Convulsion* (New York, 1901), I, 144-46; J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 191-97.

23. Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China* (New York, 1916), p. 97.

24. Li Chin-hsi, "Biography of Wang Chao," *op.cit.* This article, together with "The Language Movement in the Kuang-hsü and Hsüan-t'ung Periods," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 130 (March 24, 1934) [in Chinese] and "The Works of Wang Chao," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 129 (March 17, 1934) [in Chinese] by the same author are the chief sources of information on Wang Chao. See also Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 23-40.

25. C. W. Kastler, "Die neuesten Versuche zur Vereinfachung der chinesischen Schriftzeichen," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, XII (1909), 207.

26. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "The Mandarin Alphabet and the Simple Phonetic Signs," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 39 (June 18, 1932) [in Chinese]. For other comments, chiefly unfavorable, on Wang's system see Walter Simon, "Die nationalsprachliche Bewegung in China," *Deutsche literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaft*, No. 39 (1926), columns 1968-1970.

27. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 35. A slightly modified version of the story appears in Bland and Backhouse, *op.cit.*, p. 449.

28. Kastler, *op.cit.*, pp. 206-7.

29. Brewster, *The Evolution of New China*, pp. 114-15.

30. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "The Mandarin Alphabet and the Simple Phonetic Signs," *op.cit.*

31. A. Forke, "Neuere Versuche mit chinesischer Buchstabenschrift," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, IX, Part I (1906), 401-8.

32. Liu Fu, *Les mouvements de la langue nationale en Chine* (Paris, 1925), p. 10.

33. Brewster, *The Evolution of New China*, p. 115.

34. Hiromu Momose, biography of Tuan-fang in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, 1943), II, 781.

35. Forke, *op.cit.*, p. 403.

36. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 37.

37. The chief source for the discussion of Lao Nai-hsüan is his *The Posthumous Manuscripts of Mr. Lao of T'ung-hsiang*, 2 *t'ao* (1927). (Lao was born in Hopei in 1843, but his ancestral home was in T'ung-hsiang in Chekiang province.) Especially useful is the chronological biography at the beginning of this work. Another important source is Li Chin-hsi's *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 28-33 and 41-43. This material is largely a reprint of his articles, "The Language

Movement in the Kuang-hsü and Hsuan-t'ung Periods," *op.cit.* and "Further Important Publications in the Mandarin Alphabet," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 133 (April 14, 1934) [in Chinese].

38. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "The Mandarin Alphabet and the Simple Phonetic Signs," *op.cit.*

39. This memorial appears in *The Posthumous Manuscripts of Mr. Lao of T'ung-hsiang, chüan* 4, pp. 5a-10b. A punctuated version is presented in Li Chung-hao, ed., *The Script in Historical Light and Revolutionary Discussion* (Peiping, 1931), pp. 335-39 [in Chinese].

40. For the material on Lu Kan-chang see Pai Ti-chou, "Introducing a Great Pioneer of the National Language Movement," *op.cit.*; Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 14-17. Another source of information is an anonymous article entitled, "Syllabic Language Is the Prime Need in the Reformation of China," *The Chinese Recorder*, XXXIII (1902), 194-95. The article consists largely of a translation of a tract by Lu elaborating his new *kana*-like system of writing. The translation was apparently done by the Rev. James Sadler of Amoy, an associate of the Rev. John Macgowan, whom Lu aided in the compilation of an English-Chinese dictionary of the Amoy dialect. The original of this tract may not have been preserved. It is not mentioned in the bibliographies of Lu's work, e.g. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *History of the Development of the National Phonetic Alphabet* (Shanghai, 1934), p. 38 [in Chinese].

41. G. N. C. Curzon, *Problems of the Far East* (New York, 1896), p. 263.

42. Chia Yin-keng, "The Movement for Simplified Symbols," *op.cit.*, No. 47 (August 13, 1932).

43. Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, p. 26; Chia Yin-keng, "The Movement for Simplified Symbols," *op.cit.*, Nos 46-48 and 53-55; Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 21.

44. Li Chin-hsi, *op cit.*, p. 46.

45. Li Chin-hsi, "The Language Movement in the Kuang-hsü and Hsüan-t'ung Periods," *op.cit.*, No. 130. This material is also reproduced in his *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 29.

46. Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, p. 27.

CHAPTER 4

1. The chief source for the material in the following pages on the Conference on Unification of Pronunciation is the graphic account given by Li Chin-hsi in his article, "Records of the 1913 Conference on Unification of Pronunciation," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 133 (April 14, 1934) and No. 134 (April 20, 1934) [in Chinese]. This material is also reproduced in his *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 50-63. A translation of the regulations governing the calling of the conference is given in Isidore Saura, O.F.M., "L'écriture alphabétique de la langue chinoise," *Le bulletin catholique de Pékin*, XX (1933), 420, note 1.

2. Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, p. 30.

3. On these other scripts see especially Chia Yin-keng, "The Movement for Simplified Symbols, *op.cit.*, Nos. 44-48 and 53-55.

4. For a concise phonetic analysis of these signs see George A. Kennedy, *Key to Chinese Reading for Beginners* (New Haven, 1939), pp. 3-6. A full table of the syllables made by combining the symbols and adding the tones, as well as a comparison with the Wade-Giles and Lessing-Othmer systems of transcription, is given in W. Trittel, "Das 4-Ecken-Aufschlagesystem und die amtliche Lateinumschrift der Reichssprache," *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin (frühen Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen)*, XI (1937), 107-48. Another description is provided by Paul C. C. Lu, "The Chinese Phonetic System and How to Teach It," *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, XVI, No. 2 June, 1921), 555-57.

5. Saura, "L'écriture alphabétique de la langue chinoise," *op.cit.*, XIX (1932), 372.

6. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 66 ff.; Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, p. 31 ff.

7. Li Chin-hsi, *loc.cit.*, Ni Hai-shu, *loc.cit.*

8. Herman C. E. Liu, "Mass Education and Phonetic Character," *The China Christian Year Book, 1931* (Shanghai, 1931), p. 216.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

10. E. J. and S. G. Peill, "The Scriptures in Phonetic for North China," *The Chinese Recorder*, XLVII (1916), 329; S. G. Peill, "No Competition with the Government," *The Chinese Recorder*, XLIX (1918), 206-7; T. F. Carter, "Phonetic Writing of Chinese," *The Chinese Recorder*, L (1919), 40.

11. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 64.

12. Chia Yin-keng, "The Initial Stage of the National Language Romanization Movement," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 38 (June 11, 1932) [in Chinese]; Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *History of the Development of the National Phonetic Alphabet*, p. 16 ff.

13. "Conference on Simplified Chinese Writing," *The Chinese Recorder*, XLIX (1918), 685; Carter, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

14. "Notes on Teaching the Phonetic Script," *The Chinese Recorder*, L (1919), 785.

15. "Phonetic Literature," *The Chinese Recorder*, LII (1921), 361; "Notes on Teaching the Phonetic Script," *op.cit.*, p. 707; E. G. Tewksbury, "Phonetic Promotion Committee," *The China Mission Year Book 1925* (Shanghai, 1925), pp. 390-92.

16. W. B. Cole, "Romanized Script in Fukien," *The Chinese Recorder*, LI (1920), 857.

17. Cf. A. G. Bryson, "Present Use of Phonetic System in Teaching Illiterates to Read the Bible," *China Mission Year Book 1924* (Shanghai, 1924), pp. 325-39.

18. S. J. Garland, "Promotion of Phonetic Writing in China," *The China Mission Year Book 1919* (Shanghai, 1920), p. 179.

19. R. R. Gailey, "Government System of Simplified Chinese," *The China Mission Year Book 1917* (Shanghai, 1917), p. 534.

20. Shen I, "A Respectful Warning to Middle School Teachers of National Literature with Respect to the Phonetic Signs," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 3 (September 19, 1931) [in Chinese].

21. Y. C. James Yen, "Chinese Mass Education Movement Progresses Strongly," in Institute of Pacific Relations *News Bulletin* (October 16, 1926), p. 10; Wang Tsi Chang, *The Youth Movement in China* (New York, 1927), pp. 238-41; see also Yen's articles on the Mass Education Movement in *The China Mission Year Book* for 1923 and 1924.

22. Y. C. James Yen, "Chinese Mass Education Movement Progresses Strongly," *op.cit.*, p. 10.

23. Herman C. E. Liu, "Mass Education and Phonetic Character," *op.cit.*, p. 216.

24. Yuan Chien-fu, "The Teaching of Language and Literature in the Ting-hsien Experiment," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 136 (May 5, 1934) [in Chinese].

25. [Hsiao] Ti-ch'en, "Phonetic Signs and Mass Education," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 2 (September 12, 1931) [in Chinese].

26. Li Chin-hsi, "A Great Highway for the Advance of the Revolutionary Army of the Chinese Script," *Kuo-yi yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao* (August, 1922), pp. 51-61 [in Chinese]; Johannes Schubert, "Etwas über die Versuche zur Vereinfachung der chinesischen Schrift," in Rudolf Stöwesand, *Nunquam retrorsum, Beitrage zur Schrift- und Buchkunde als Ehregabe für Herr Professor Dr. Albert Schramm anläszlich seines 50. Geburtstages am 5. August 1930* (N p., 1930), pp. 102-3; "New Chinese Types," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, II, No. 1 (March, 1935), 3.

27. Mergenthaler Linotype Company, *China's Phonetic Script and the Linotype* (Brooklyn, 1922); letter from the company to the author dated January 31, 1947.

The symbols of the Phonetic Alphabet were increased to forty in 1920 by the adoption of one new sign.

28. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 91-94.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 233 and Introduction, p. 48; Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, p. 52. In a previous article, following W. Simon and C. H. Lu, *Chinese Sentence Series* (London, 1942), I, 15, note 1, I incorrectly gave the date of the change in name as 1928. (De Francis, "The Alphabetization of Chinese," *op.cit.*, p. 229, note 27.)

30. Pai Ti-chou, "Introducing a Great Pioneer of the National Language Movement," *op.cit.*

31. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, Introduction, pp. 42-43.

32. "The Restoration of 'Wen Li,'" *The Chinese Recorder*, LV (1924), 488.

33. T'ung Chen-hua, *The Evolution of Chinese Writing* (Shanghai, 1937), pp. 169-70 [in Chinese].

34. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, "The Problem of the Present and Future Script," in Chao Chia-pi, ed., *Chung-kuo hsin-wen-hsüeh ta-hsi*, I (1935), 141-42 [in Chinese].

35. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

37. Hu Shih, Letter in reply to Chu Ching-nung, *op.cit.*, pp. 165-68; Hu Suh [Hu Shih], "The Chinese Literary Revolution," *Millard's Review*

of the Far East, VIII, No. 8 (April 19, 1919), 277. Cf. also Chia Yin-keng, "The Growing Period of the National Language Romanization," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 66 (December 24, 1932) [in Chinese]; Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *History of the Development of the National Phonetic Alphabet*, p. 21.

38. E. E. Liu, "The Romanization of Chinese," *The China Critic*, XX, No. 4 (July 28, 1938), 57.

39. Fu Szu-nien, "Preliminary Discussion on Changing Over to a Phonetic Script for Chinese," *Hsin ch'ao*, I, No. 3 (March, 1919), 393-408 [in Chinese].

40. *Loc.cit.*

41. For various opinions expressed on these subjects see Li Chin-hsi, "The Principle of 'Non'-Unification of the National Language," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 127 (March 3, 1934) [in Chinese].

42. The *National Language Monthly* (*Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an*) was published in fifteen issues between 1922 and 1925, when it ceased publication because it had become too highly specialized. This journal was succeeded by the *National Language Weekly* (*Kuo-yü chou-k'an*) which was published in nineteen issues from June 14 to December 27, 1925, when it ceased publication because it too had become overly technical. It was followed by the *National Language Ten-Day Journal* (*Kuo-yü hsün-k'an*), which was published in thirteen issues between August 1 and December 11, 1929. A fourth and last journal in this series had the same title as the second. (Li Chin-hsi, "Statement on Publication [of the second *National Language Weekly*]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 1 [September 5, 1931] [in Chinese].) This second *National Language Weekly* ran to 182 issues between September 5, 1931 and March 23, 1935. It is a particularly rich source of information on the history of the language reform movement in China.

The "Reformation of the Chinese Characters" number (Han-tzu kai-ko hao) of the *National Language Monthly* was dated August, 1922 but did not actually appear until 1923. The special number on alphabetic writing was published in 1924. (Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of the New Chinese Script in the Past Five Years," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 5 (October 3, 1931) [in Chinese].

43. Hu Shih, "Introductory Remarks," *op.cit.*, pp. 1-2; Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, "A Revolution in the Chinese Script," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao* (August, 1922), pp. 5-25 [in Chinese]; Li Chin-hsi, "A Great Highway for the Advance of the Revolutionary Army of the Chinese Script," *op.cit.*, pp. 27-65; Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, "Two Systems for a National Language Alphabet," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao* (August, 1922), pp. 119-20 [in Chinese]; Chao Yüan-jen, "Studies on National Language Romanization," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao* (August, 1922), pp. 87-117 [in Chinese].

44. Yuen R. Chao [Chao Yüan-jen], "The Problem of the Chinese Language," *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, XI, (1916), 587 and *passim*. (Dr. Chao's name also appears in various forms: Chao Yüan-jen, Jaw Yuanrenn, Yuen Ren Chao, Yuen R. Chao, and Y. R. Chao). For the kind of objections which Chao refuted in his article see C. T. Chu, "Observations on Romanization of the Chinese Language," *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, No. 7 (May, 1916), 472-76.

45. Yuen Ren Chao, "A System of Romanization of the National Language," *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, XVII, No. 3 (January, 1922), 198 and *passim*.

46. Chao Yüan-jen, "Studies on National Language Romanization," *op.cit.*, especially pp. 102-11. This article is summarized by Johannes Schubert in "Rapport," in International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, *L'adoption universelle des caractères latins* (Paris, 1934), pp. 60-66.

47. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *History of the Development of the National Phonetic Alphabet*, p. 35 and *passim*; Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of the Chinese Writing*, pp. 44-49; Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of the New Chinese Script in the Past Five Years," *op.cit.*; Chia Yin-keng, "The Growing Period of the National Language Romanization," *op.cit.*, Nos. 66 and 68.

48. *Ibid.* See also Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, especially pp. 164-66 and Introduction, p. 59.

49. Details of the technical features of G.R. are presented in Denzel Carr, "The Gwoyeu 'Transcription,'" *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, X (1934), 77-86; Simon and Lu, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, especially pp. 24-62; Trittel, "Das 4-Ecken-Aufschlagesystem und die amtliche Latenumschrift der Reichssprache," *op.cit.*, pp. 104-48.

50. Carr, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

51. His name also appears as Chiu Bien-ming, Jou Bienming, and Benjamin Chou. His relevant writings include "Bridging the Gulf Between Speech and Writing," *The China Journal*, VIII (1928), 61-67 and 122-29, and IX (October, 1928), 175-76; "Progress in Romanization: Q.R. 1937-38," *The Chinese Recorder*, LXX (June, 1939), 319-32; *Internationalizing the Chinese Script: Progress in Quokyu Romanization 1937-45* (Amoy, 1945).

52. [Chang Shih-i], "Mr. Chang Shih-i on Standard Language," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 86 (May 20, 1933) [in Chinese]. See also Y. R. Chao, "The Idea of a System of Basic Chinese," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, I, No. 4 (December, 1934), 173. For a detailed discussion of the differences between the old and the new standard pronunciations see Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Some Questions Regarding the National Pronunciation," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 172 (January 12, 1925) [in Chinese].

53. P'eng Hsüeh-p'ei, "Abolish Chinese Characters! Adopt a Phonetic Script!" in Li Chung-hao, ed., *Wen-tzu li-shih-kuan yü ko-ming-lun* (1931), pp. 427-33 [in Chinese]. (Reprinted from *Hsien-tai p'ing-lun, ti-san chou-nien chi-nien tseng-k'an*). See also Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of the Chinese Script in the Past Five Years," *op.cit.*

54. Li Wei-yüeh, "Comments Provoked by Reading 'Abolish Chinese Characters, Adopt a Phonetic Script,'" *Hsüeh i*, IX, No. 6 (April 15, 1929), 1-8 [in Chinese].

55. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 188-91.

56. Tu Tzu-ching, "Monthly Records of the Problem of the New Chinese Writing," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 76 (March 11, 1933) and No. 78 (March 25, 1933) [in Chinese]; Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, pp. 180-82; Simon and Lu, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 227-30.

57. Wang Yuchuan [Wang Yü-ch'uan], "National Romanized vs. Latinxua," *The China Critic*, IV, No. 3 (July 16, 1936), 59.

58. Hsin T'ien [Lo Ch'ang-p'ei], "A Noteworthy Bit of News," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 116 (December 16, 1933) [in Chinese].

59. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Romanization of Chinese* (London, 1928), p. 20.

60. Lu Hsün, "Outside Literary Chats," *Lu Hsün Ch'üan-chi*, VI, 102-3 [in Chinese].

61. Yü Se, "On Abolishing the Four Tones," *Hsüeh-i*, X, No. 5 (June 15, 1930), 1-5 [in Chinese]. I have transposed Yü Se's transcription into Wade in order not to introduce a needless complication into the discussion. His original version is *mama bu ge wo mai tang chu.*

62. See, among others, Li Chin-hsi, "Questions and Answers on Reform of the Chinese Script," *Wen-hua yü chiao-yü*, No. 21 (June 10, 1934), 2 [in Chinese]; *idem*, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 297.

63. Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of the New Chinese Script in the Past Five Years," *op.cit.*

64. Wu Chih-hui, "Long Live the Popular Language," *Wen-hsüeh*, III, No. 3 (September, 1934), 647-48 [in Chinese].

65. Jou Bienming [Chou Pien-ming], *Internationalizing the Chinese Script*, p. 15 and *passim*. See also Chiu Bien-ming [Chou Pien-ming], "Progress in Romanization," *op.cit.*, 319-32.

66. Y. R. Chao [Chao Yüan-jen], "The Idea of a System of Basic Chinese," *op.cit.*, pp. 171-83.

67. [Wang] Liao-i, "The Theory and Practice of Reform of the Chinese Script," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 205 (June 14, 1936), 7-8 [in Chinese].

68. Denzel Carr, "A Characterization of the Chinese National Language," *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Jesykoznwczego*, III (1932), 4.

69. E.g. Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of a New Chinese Script in the Past Five Years," *op.cit.*; [Wang] Liao-i, "The Theory and Practice of Reform of Chinese Characters," *op.cit.*, p. 8; Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, Introduction, p. 60.

70. Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of a New Chinese Script," *op.cit.* Another of the rather infrequent instances of early support for the idea expressed by Chiang of primary emphasis on literacy in local dialects is Feng Mao-sung's article, "A Phonetic Alphabet for the Hainan Language," *Kuo-li Chung-shan ta-hsüeh yü-yen li-shih hsüeh yen-chiu-so chou-k'an*, VIII, Combined Nos. 85-87, *Fang-yen chuan-hao* (June 26, 1929), 57-63 [in Chinese].

71. Jou Bienming [Chou Pien-ming], *Internationalizing the Chinese Script*, especially pp. 19-24. See also "Chinese Language Reforms," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, II, No. 3 (September, 1935), 75; Lin Feng, "A New Phonetic Method of Learning Chinese," *The China Critic*, VI, No. 33 (August 17, 1933), 812-13.

72. Ch'en Kuo-fu, *The Problem of Reforming Chinese Education* (Nanking, 1941?), pp. 7 and 62 [in Chinese].

73. C. Y. W. Meng, "China's War on Illiteracy Advanced by the Government's 3-Year Education Plan," *China Weekly Review*, XCVIII, No. 6

(October 11, 1941), 163. See also Ch'en Li-fu, *Chinese Education During the War (1937-1942)* (N.p., 1942), *passim.*

CHAPTER 5

1. B. A. Vasil'ev, "Dungane [The Dungans]," *Kul'tura i Pis'mennost Vostoka*, Nos. 7-8 (1931), 141-47. The figure of 14,600 Dungans is the same as that given by Lorimer, *op.cit.*

2. Siao San [Hsiao San], Introduction to A. S. Pushkin, *Gush Sh Syanzi* [*Selected Narrative Poems*], translated into Latinized Chinese by Ting Shan [T'ing Shan], with an introduction by Siao San (Khabarovsk, 1937), p. 9; Laikhter, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-23.

3. Laikhter, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

4. Société des relations culturelles entre l'U.R.S.S. et l'étranger, "Resumé du developpement de la latinisation des alphabets dans l'U.R.S.S.," in International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, *L'adoption universelle des caractères latins* (Paris, 1934), pp. 161-74; F. Braun, "U.R.S.S.," *ibid.*, pp. 142-61.

5. *Stenograficheskii Otchet IV Plenuma Bcesoyuznogo Tsentral'nogo Komiteta Nobogo Alfavita* [*Stenographic Report of the Fourth Plenum of the All-Union Central Committee on the New Alphabet*] (Leningrad, 1931), pp. 144 and 162-63, Vasil'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

6. "Rabota Gruppy po Latinizatsii i Dvizhenie za Latinizatsiyu Kitaiskoi Pis'mennosti v SSSR [The Work of the Group on Latinization and the Movement for Latinization of the Chinese Script in the USSR]," *Problemy Kitaya*, Nos. 4-5 (1930), 221.

7. Hatano Kanichi, *Politics and People of Contemporary China* (Tokyo, 1937), pp. 376-79 [in Japanese].

8. Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology . . .*, p. 37.

9. Tsyui Tsyubo [Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai], *Zhonguo Latinhuadi Zemu* [*Chinese Latinized Alphabet*] (Moscow, 1930), (In Latinized Chinese, ideographic Chinese, and Russian); Tsyui Vei-to [Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai], "Kitaiskaya Latinizirivannaya Azbuka [Chinese Latinized Alphabet]," *Problemy Kitaya*, No. 2 (1930), 136-39; A. I. Ivanov, "Bor'ba za Alfavit v Kitae [The Struggle for the Alphabet in China]," *Novyi Vostok*, XXVI-XXVII (1929), 256-60; "The Work of the Group on Latinization," *op.cit.*, p. 221; Aleksandr Shi, "Dvadtsat' Vosem' Protiv Tysyach (O Kitaiskom Novom Alfavite) [Twenty-eight against Thousands (On the New Chinese Alphabet)]," *Zvezda*, IV (1936), 241.

10. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, *Chinese Latinized Alphabet*, pp. 7-88; *idem*, "Chinese Latinized Alphabet," *op.cit.*, pp. 136-39.

11. "The Work of the Group on Latinization," *op.cit.*, pp. 221-22.

12. Alexeiev, *op.cit.*, p. 85 and *passim.*

13. E. Siao [Hsiao San], "Latinizatsii Kitaiskoi Pis'mennosti [Latinization of the Chinese Script]," *Literatura Mirovoi Revoliutsii*, XI-XII (1931), 144-47. (The name of this writer appears in various forms: Emi Siao, Hsiao Ai-mei, Hsiao San, Siao San.)

14. "The Work of the Group on Latinization," *op.cit.*, p. 222; Laikhter, *op.cit.*, p. 27, note 2.

15. Alexeiev, *op.cit.*, pp. 85-89.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93; E. N. and A. A. Dragunov, "K Latinizatsii Dialektov Tsentral'nogo Kitaya. Dialekty Syantan' i Syansyan (Hunan') [Toward the Latinization of the Dialects of Central China. The Dialects of Hsiang-t'an and Hsiang-hsiang (Hunan)]," *Isvestiya Akademii Nauk SSR-ION*, III (1932), 239; Leo Magnino, "L'oriente sovietico e gli studi orientali nell' U.R.S.S.," *Bolletino dell' istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente*, XI (1935), 444-46; Shi, *op.cit.*, p. 242.

17. Magnino, *op.cit.*, p. 446; E. Gasperdone, review of B. M. Alexeiev, *Kitaiskaya Ieroglificheskaya Pis'mennost' i ee Latinizatsiya* [*The Chinese Hieroglyphic Script and its Latinization*], in *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extreme-Orient*, XXXII (1932), 553; Shi, *op.cit.*, p. 242; [Commission for the Latinization of the Chinese Language], "K Voprosi Latinizatsii Kitaiskogo Yazuka [To the Question of the Latinization of the Chinese Language]," *Zapiski Instituta Vostokvedenia Nauk SSSR*, No. 1 (1932), 35-55.

18. *Ibid.* See also the Tass News Agency report of Oct. 31, 1931, as published in *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*, V (1932), 44-45.

19. For the material in the preceding paragraphs on the 1932 conference see T. F. Skvortsov-Tokarinin, "Vtoraya Dal'nevostochnaya Kraevaya Konferentsiya po Latinizatsii Kitaiskoi Pis'mennosti [The Second Far Eastern Regional Conference on the Latinization of the Chinese Script]," *Vestnik Dal'nevostochnogo Otdeleniya Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R.*, I (1932), 105.

20. Shi, "Twenty-eight against Thousands," *op.cit.*, p. 246.

21. For the material in the preceding paragraphs on Latinxua publications see José F. Corta, "China tropieza en sus signos. Agonía de la escritura ideográfica," *Razón y Fe*, CXXXV (1947), 138; Hsiao San, introduction to A. S. Pushkin, *Selected Narrative Poems*, p. 9, L. N. Tolstoi, *Kawkazdi Fulu* [*The Prisoner of the Caucasus*], translated into Latinized Chinese by T'ing Shan and edited by Hsiao San (Khabarovsk, 1937); A. V. Marakueff, "Desyat' Let Vostokovedeniya na Sovetskom Dal'nem Vostoke (1922-1932) ["Ten Years of Oriental Studies in the Soviet Far East (1922-1932)]," *Vestnik Dal'nevostochnogo Otdeleniya Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R.*, I-II (1932), 40, note 29; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, pp. 53-99.

22. Skvortsov-Tokarinin, *op.cit.*, p. 105; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 62 .

23. Skvortsov-Tokarinin, *loc.cit.*, Ni Hai-shu, *loc.cit.*; "Should the Chinese Language be Romanized?" *Asiatic Review*, XXXIV (1938), 493.

24. Hsiao San, *loc.cit.*

25. Chauncey D. Harris, "Ethnic Groups in Cities in the Soviet Union," *Geographical Review*, XXXV (1945), 472.

26. John De Francis, tr., *Chinese Agent in Mongolia*, by Ma Ho-t'ien (Baltimore, 1949), p. 173.

27. V. Minorsky, "Oriental Studies in the U.S.S.R.," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXX (1943), 83.

28. Rose M. Somerville, "Counting Noses in the Soviet Union: the 1939 Census," *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, XXX, Nos. 2-3 (November, 1940), 62-64.

29. Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union*, p. 139.

30. Letter from B. M. Alexeiev dated May 10, 1947.

Notes

CHAPTER 6

1. Tu Tzu-ching, "Monthly Records of the Problem of the New Chinese Script," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 76 (March 11, 1933) [in Chinese].

2. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 300.

3. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 61; T'o Mu, *All about the Latinization of Chinese*, p. 42; Shig, "A Letter from Shanghai," *International Literature*, February, 1935, p. 89.

4. The article which appeared in both Esperanto and Chinese versions was probably E. Siao [Hsiao San], "Latinizatsii Kitaiskoi Pis'mennosti [Latinization of the Chinese Script]," *Literatura Mirovoi Revoliutsii*, XI-XII (1931), 144-49. Comparison of the material in the Chinese and Russian articles suggests that they are one and the same item.

In a letter dated July 14, 1947, Mr. M. C. Butler, Education Secretary of the British Esperanto Association, kindly informed me that the journal *La Nova Etapo* was published in the U.S.S.R. He adds that the article was originally written by E. Sjao but was put into Esperanto by V. Elsudo, whom he tentatively identifies as Maurice Hyde of Australia.

5. Ni Hai-shu, *loc.cit.*; Shig, *loc.cit.*

6. Hsin T'ien [Lo Ch'ang-p'ei], "A Noteworthy Bit of News," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 116 (December 16, 1933) [in Chinese].

7. Chao Yuan-jen, "Latinized Chinese Writing in the Soviet Union," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 139 (May 26, 1934) [in Chinese].

8. Lao T'an [Ho Jung], "'Tone-rejecting 'Latinxua,'" *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 170 (December 29, 1934) [in Chinese].

9. Hsien Liu, "The Instrument of the 'New Literary Language'—'Latinxua,'" *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 168 (December 14, 1934) [in Chinese].

10. Hsiao Ti-ch'en, "Can Latinxua Dispense with Tones?" *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 163 (November 10, 1934) [in Chinese].

11. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 302; *idem.*, "The Principle of 'Non'-Unification of the National Language," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 127 (March 3, 1934) and No. 128 (March 10, 1934) [in Chinese]; *idem*, "Questions and Answers on Reform of the Chinese Script," *Wen-hua chiao-yi*, XXI (June 10, 1934), 4 [in Chinese].

12. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 73.

13. For details see Er Yeh, "The Mass Education Movement in China," *China Today*, I, No. 11 (August, 1935), 214; Hu Tsu-yuan, "Terror against Culture under the Chiang Kai-shek Regime," *International Literature*, May, 1936, pp. 121-26.

14. Er Yeh, *loc.cit.* See also Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

15. Er Yeh, *op.cit.*, pp. 214-15.

16. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 41-42.

17. Lu Hsün, "Ideographs and Latinxua," in *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* (Shanghai, 1938), V, 615 [in Chinese].

18. Lu Hsün, "The New Writing," *ibid.*, VI, 435. See also his "Letter in Reply to Mr. Ts'ao Chü-jen," *ibid.*, pp. 78-81; "Outside Literary Chats," *ibid.*, pp. 102-3; "The Rebirth of Chinese Language and Literature," *ibid.*, p. 117; "On the New Writing," *ibid.*, pp. 161-63 [all in Chinese].

19. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 73 ff.

20. Tao Xing-zh [T'ao Hsing-chih], "China's New Language," *The Voice of China*, I, No. 4 (May 1, 1936), 2 and 16.

21. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-35.

22. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

23. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

24. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, pp. 75, 77-78, 97; Lu Hsun, "On the New Writing," *op.cit.*, pp. 161-63.

25. Tao Xing-zh [T'ao Hsing-chih], "The New Mass Education Movement," *The Voice of China*, I, No. 1 (March 15, 1936), 2 and 22; "China's New Language," *op.cit.*, pp. 2 and 16; notes taken by I. Epstein on his interview with T'ao in 1938 and with other National Salvationists later and kindly made available to the author.

26. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

27. Tao Xing-zh [T'ao Hsing-chih], "The New Mass Education Movement," *op.cit.*, p. 22.

28. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 77 ff.

29. Such as the one set up at Shih-chia-chuang by the Korean revolutionary Kim San. (Kim San and Nym Wales, *Song of Ariran* [New York, 1941], p. 203).

30. "Wo-men tui-yu t'ui-hsing hsin wen-tzu-ti i-chien [Our Views on Promoting the New Writing]," *Sheng-huo chiao-yu*, III, No. 5 (May, 1936), 195-97.

31. *Ibid.* Also Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 88; T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

32. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, p. 52 ff.

33 Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 104 and *passim.*

34. *Ibid.*, p. 104 ff.

35. For the material on Ch'en and his work in Shanghai see H. C. Ch'en, "Latinization of the Chinese Language," *China Quarterly*, III (Spring, 1938), 158-66, Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 113 ff.; Corta, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

36. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 138 ff.

37. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-51; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, *passim.*

38. Huai Hsing, "Expanding the Sin Wenz Movement," *Yu-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, p. 4 [in Chinese], T. Z. M., "The New Writing among Overseas Chinese," *ibid.*, pp. 40-41 [in Chinese]; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p 99; Corta, *op.cit.*, pp. 138-45.

39. Corta, *op.cit.*, p. 140; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, pp. 99 and 114-15.

40. "Hsin wen-tzu yun-tung ch'ing-pao [News of the Sin Wenz Movement]," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, p. 4; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, pp. 138, 149-52, 164.

41. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, pp. 149, 153, 162.

42. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China* (Revised edition; New York, 1939), p. 229; Nym Wales, *Inside Red China* (New York, 1939), p. 145.

43. Snow, *op.cit.*, p. 232.

44. For the material in this and the following paragraph on Hsü see Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 142-48.

45. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

46. Wales, *loc.cit.*

47. For the material in this paragraph see Corta, *op cit.*, p. 141.

48. For the material in the preceding paragraphs see Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 149 ff.

49. Hui Yüan, "The Enemy's Cultural Invasion and Destruction of the New Writing Movement," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, p. 6 [in Chinese].

50. Wu Mei-p'ing, "On the 'Factionalism' of the New Writing," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, p. 7 [in Chinese].

51. Stein, *op.cit.*, pp. 260-61.

52. Notes taken by Gunther Stein on his interview with Hsü T'e-li in the summer of 1944 and kindly made available to the author.

53. Ni Hai-shu, "Answers to the Questionnaire of the American Mr. John De Francis Regarding the Problem of the Reform of the Chinese Script," *Wen-hui Pao* (Shanghai), March 5-6, 1947 [in Chinese].

The preceding article is the published answer to a questionnaire on language reform sent by the author to the United States Information Service in China and distributed by that agency to interested persons there. The author is glad to acknowledge his thanks for the cooperation of all concerned in the handling of this questionnaire.

54. Answers by Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien to the questionnaire mentioned in the preceding note. Mr. Ch'i assisted Mr. Thurston Griggs in reestablishing the U.S. Embassy language program in Peking at the end of the war. The author is grateful to Mr. Ch'i for providing answers to the questionnaire and to Mr. Griggs for transmitting the answers in his letter to the author dated March 30, 1947.

55. Ni Hai-shu, "The Movement for a Chinese Alphabetic Script in the Year since Victory," *op.cit.*

56. Ni Hai-shu, "Answers to the Questionnaire . . . ," *op.cit.*, March 5.

CHAPTER 7

1. In an earlier article I mentioned those two aspects and presented a brief analysis of the material now discussed at much greater length in Chapters 7-12. See John De Francis, "The Alphabetization of Chinese," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII (1943), pp. 225-40. This article has been translated into Chinese by Hai Kuan under the title "Lun Chung-kuo wen-tzu-ti kai-ko [On the Reform of the Chinese Script]" and published in Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1945) of Kuo Mo-jo's journal *Chung-yüan*.

2. Herman Paul, *Principles of the History of Language* (Translated from the second edition of the original by H. A. Strong. New and revised edition. London, 1890), p. 434.

3. Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York, 1933), p. 21.

4. In order not to increase unnecessarily the number of footnotes, references will not be repeated for material already cited in previous sections.

CHAPTER 8

1. Bernhard Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (London, 1923), p. 31 and *passim*.

2. An example is cited by Yuen R. Chao, "The Problem of the Chinese Language," *op.cit.*, p. 579. Dr. Chao paraphrases the passage into spoken Chinese.

3. Shau Wing Chan, *Chinese Reader for Beginners* (Stanford, 1942),

p. xiv. The revised edition of 1945 repeats all the citations from the first edition.

4. Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

5. Chan, *op.cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

6. Bernhard Karlgren, *A Mandarin Phonetic Reader* (Stockholm, 1918), p. 38.

7. George A. Kennedy, *The Monosyllabic Myth* [unpublished], p. 9. It is unfortunate that this brief article, a witty refutation of the main fallacies underlying the monosyllabic myth, remains unpublished although written several years ago.

8. Denzel Carr, "The Polysyllabicity of the Modern Chinese 'National Language,'" *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, x (1934), especially pp. 66-70.

9. F. K. Li, "Language and Dialects," *The Chinese Year Book 1936-37* (Shanghai, 1936), p. 122.

10. F. K. Li, "Language," *The Chinese Year Book 1944-45* (Shanghai, 1946), p. 129.

11. For other comments against the monosyllabic theory on phonetic grounds see Tchen Ting-ming, *Etude phonetique des particules de la language chinoise* (Paris, 1938), pp. 40-42 and *passim*.

12. Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, pp. 26-36 and *passim*.

13. For other comments on polysyllabism in ancient Chinese see Tchen Ting-ming, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-23.

14. Herrlee Glessner Creel, "On the Nature of Chinese Ideography," T'oung Pao, xxxii (1936), 125.

15. Kennedy, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

16. Otto Jespersen, *Monosyllabism in English* (London, 1928), pp. 9-16.

17. Kennedy, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

18. Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Lettre à M. Abel Rémusat*, p. 80.

19. Kennedy, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

20. Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, pp. 29-31.

21. The author is indebted to Father Pasquale M. D'Elia for providing in advance of publication a page proof of a sample of Ricci's dictionary from volume two of the forthcoming Fonti Ricciane.

22. Von Humboldt, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

23. Li Chin-hsi, Introduction to Kao Ch'eng-yüan, *Kuo-yü hsüeh* [Studies on the National Language], reprinted in *Chiao-yü tsa-chih*, xiv, No. 3 (March, 1922), 9 [in Chinese].

CHAPTER 9

1. Chan, *op.cit.*, xv.

2. W. Simon and C. H. Lu, *Chinese Sentence Series* (London, 1942), p. 17.

3. Liu Fu, *Les mouvements de la langue nationale en Chine* (Paris, 1925), p. 50.

4. This rough estimate is based on a count which shows that the syllables without tone marks and those with tones different from the ones regularly assigned to them by dictionaries amount to about one-half of the syllables in the transcription made by Professor Kennedy in *Simple Chinese Stories* (New Haven, 1942) from Y. R. Chao's recordings of these texts.

5. *Kuo-yü tz'u-tien* [National Language Dictionary] (8 *ts'e*. Shanghai, 1946?).

6. In determining whether a single syllable is a free form or a bound form we rely on Yuen Ren Chao and Lien Shang Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese.*

7. Harold E. Palmer, *The Principles of Romanization* (Tokyo, 1931), p. 128 and *passim.* Palmer's terminology is taken over as clearer than that proposed in my article, "The Alphabetization of Chinese," *op.cit.*, p. 236.

8. *Piao-chun yü ta-tz'u-tien* [*Standard Dictionary*] (Shanghai, 1935).

9. Although the *Standard Dictionary* lists only those polysyllabic expressions which are claimed as spoken forms, it does not distinguish which of the individual characters actually represent items used in speech. We have therefore relied on Chao and Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese,* for information on which of the ideographs with the spelling *pa* actually occur as free forms, that is, as real words.

10. Otto Jespersen, *Language* (London, 1922), p. 286, note 1.

11. Robert J. Menner, "The Conflict of Homonyms in English," *Language,* XII (1936), p. 231.

12. Y. R. Chao, "The Idea of a System of Basic Chinese," *op.cit.*, pp. 175-76.

13. Simon and Lu, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

14. Ho Jung, "Tone-rejecting 'Latinxua,'" *Gwoyeu joukan,* No. 170 (Dec. 29, 1934) [in Chinese].

15. Chou Pien-ming, *Internationalizing the Chinese Script,* pp. 5-6.

16. Wang Yuchuan, "National Romanized vs. Latinxua, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

17. T'o Mu, *All about the Latinization of Chinese,* p. 249.

18. Li Chin-hsi, introduction to *Studies on the National Language,* p. 13.

19. The decision as to which syllables are non-free is based on Chao and Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese, passim.*

20. For an analysis of parts of speech in Chinese see John De Francis, *Beginning Chinese* (New Haven, 1946), *passim.* Compare also Chao and Yang, *op.cit.*, pp. xxvii-xxxi.

CHAPTER 10

1. Agnes Smedley, *China Fights Back* (New York, 1938), p. 14.

2. Robert H. Seashore and Lois D. Eckerson, "The Measurement of Individual Differences in General English Vocabularies," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* XXXII (1940), 33-36; Mary Katharine Smith, "Measurement of the Size of the General English Vocabulary through Elementary Grades and High School," *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* XXIV (1941), 343-44; *New York Times,* August 3, 1947.

3. Jespersen, *Language,* p. 126; *idem, Growth and Structure of the English Language* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 213.

4. Lu Hsün, "K'ung I-chi," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi,* VI (1938), pp. 292-97 [in Chinese].

5. Told to the author by I. Epstein.

6. Margaret Schlauch, *The Gift of Tongues* (New York, 1942), p. 286.

7. Herrlee Glessner Creel, *op.cit.*, 89.

Notes

CHAPTER 11

1. *Trans-Pacific*, July 17, 1930. This is a reprint of an interview with Dr. Y. R. Chao published in the *Manchester Guardian*. The same point is made in Chao and Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, p. xi.

2. Yuen Ren Chao, "Languages and Dialects in China," *The Geographical Journal*, CII (1943), 63, Chao and Yang, *op.cit.*, p. xi.

3. Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, p. 28, note 1. A similar view is stated by S. Wells Williams to the effect that the dialects of China differ as do the Romance languages, but are still not different languages. (Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* [Tung Chou, 1909], p. xxxi.)

4. Rev. S. F. Woodin, "Review of the Various Colloquial Versions and the Comparative Advantages of Roman Letters and Chinese Characters," *Records of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries of China* (Shanghai, 1890), p. 89.

5. This terminology follows that used by Chao, "Languages and Dialects in China," *op.cit.*, p. 64. This article is a good brief statement of the linguistic situation in China; the map accompanying it is especially valuable. Another good short survey, which analyzes the linguistic situation province by province, is contained in Fernando Bortone, S.J., "Situazione linguistica in Cina e nelle regioni limitrofe," *Il Marco Polo*, II, No. 3 (February, 1940), 71-85.

6. Estimated for the author by Dr. Ch'en Han-seng from the population figures given in the *China Handbook 1937-1943* and the language areas as defined by Y. R. Chao in the map accompanying his "Language and Dialects in China," *op.cit.*, pp. 63-66.

7. Yuan R. Chao, "The Problem of the Chinese Language," *op.cit.*, p. 584.

8. For a thorough exposition of the fallacies and errors of Romanisation Interdialectique, see Willem A. Grootaers, "Dialectes chinois et alphabétisation. A propos de la Romanisation Interdialectique," *Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore*, Series III, Vol. VIII (1946), 207-35.

9. Carl Abel, *Linguistic Essays* (London, 1882), p. 185. The whole of chapter VII, entitled "On the Possibility of a Common Literary Language for the Slav Nations," provides an interesting basis of comparison for the even more difficult task taken on by those who hope to devise a workable interlanguage for China.

10. The Latinxua scripts for four non-Mandarin languages are given in T'o Mu, *All about the Latinization of Chinese*, pp. 287-309.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

CHAPTER 12

1. Palmer, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-17.

2. A great many systems of romanization, particularly those adapted to the use of people of various different languages, are mentioned in Fernando Bortone, *Sillabario cinese*, I (Shanghai, 1935), pp. 23-28. Comparative tables showing several systems of phonetic writing, especially some of the earlier and more obscure Chinese schemes, are given by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *History of the Development of the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, passim*. Some of the details of the main systems of romaniza-

tion are presented by Walter Simon in the section entitled "Chinisisch" in M. Heepe, *Lautzeichen und ihre Anwendung in verschiedenen Sprachgebieten* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 96-104. See also Charles S. Gardner, "The Western Transcription of Chinese," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, LXII (1931), 136-47.

3. Karlgren, *The Romanization of Chinese*, p. 23.

4. Leonard Bloomfield, "Secondary and Tertiary Responses to Language," *Language*, XX (1944), *passim*.

5. Although Latinxua is based primarily on a non-Pekingese form of Northern Mandarin, its transcription is adapted to both forms. For its different treatment of the two see T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 337-441.

CHAPTER 13

1. Carlton J. H. Hayes, "Nationalism. Historical Development," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XI (1937), 241.

2. Clarence A. Manning, "The Menace of Linguistic Nationalism," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXIV (1945), 14.

3. Max Hildebert Boehm, "Nationalism. Theoretical Aspects," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XI (1937), 235.

4. Carlton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931), p. 69.

5. Karl Vossler, *The Spirit of Language in Civilization*, translated by Oscar Oeser (London, 1932), pp. 126-27.

6. Hayes, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-65.

7. Hayes, *op.cit.*, p. 222.

8. Stanley Rundle, *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe* (London, 1946), p. 86. This work provides a useful survey of the language situation in Europe. Especially valuable is the country-by-country survey of language policies.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

10. Boehm, *op.cit.*, pp. 233-34.

11. Rundle, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

13. The standard Soviet work on the subject is Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New York, 1937). For a non-Soviet analysis of nationalism in the U.S.S.R. see Hans Kohn, *Nationalism in the Soviet Union* (London, 1933), especially pp. 88-106.

14. Roger Labonne, "Les pays turcs et la politique orientale des Soviets," *La Revue de Paris*, XIX, No. 16 (August 15, 1922), 742.

15. For further information on cultural nationalism see Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, translated by Ray E. Chase (New York, 1937), especially pp. 276-93.

16. Hans Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East* (New York, 1929), pp. 9-10.

17. For a penetrating study of Japan's transition from feudalism to capitalism see E. Herbert Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (New York, 1940).

18. The history of Chinese nationalism is traced back to the period 317-581 by Hsu Yung-ying, "Dimensions of China's Unity," *Pacific Affairs*, XV (1942), 287-310. Some of the ideas presented by Hsu are

opposed by Franz Michael in a letter to the editor, *Pacific Affairs*, XV (1942), 482-85.

19. Sun Yat-sen, *San Min Chu I. The Three Principles of the People*, translated by Frank W. Price (Chungking, 1943), p. 11.

20. Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*, authorized translation by Wang Chung-hui (New York, 1947), p. 13.

21. For a long refutation of Chiang's theories made by a leading Chinese Communist, see Ch'en Pai-ta, "Critique of Chiang Kai-shek's book: 'China's Destiny,'" *The Communist*, XXII (1944), 31-62.

CHAPTER 14

1. Denzel Carr, "A Characterization of the Chinese National Language," *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Jezykoznawczego*, III (1932), 44.

2. Quoted in Tu Tzu-ching, "The Problem of the New Chinese Script in the Past Five Years," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 8 (October 24, 1931).

3. Ch'en Kuo-fu, *The Problem of Reforming Chinese Education*, p. 7.

4. S. K. Lee, "The Educational Problem and the Adoption of Kuan-hua as the National Language of China," *The World's Chinese Students' Journal*, I, No. 2 (September, 1907), 11.

5. Wang Tsi Chang, *The Youth Movement in China* (New York, 1927), p. 158.

6. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, Introduction, p. 42.

7. Wang Chin-chun [Wang Ching-ch'un], "The New Phonetic System of Writing Chinese Characters," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XIII (1929), 149.

8. Tao Xing-zh [T'ao Hsing-chih], "China's New Language," *op.cit.*, p. 2.

9. Quoted in Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, pp. 55-56.

10. Laikhter, "On the Latinization of the Chinese Script," *op.cit.*, p. 25.

11. Siao, "Latinization of the Chinese Script," *op.cit.*, p. 147.

12. T'ung Chen-hua, *The Evolution of Chinese Writing* (Shanghai, 1937), p. 180 [in Chinese].

13. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 159.

14. Hu Tsu-yuan, "Terror against Culture under the Chiang Kai-shek Regime," *International Literature*, May, 1936, p. 124

15. Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

16. *Loc.cit.*

17. T'ung Chen-hua, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-82.

18. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, p. 26.

19. Ho Jung, "On Spoken Language which Approximates Standard Language," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 92 (July 1, 1933) [in Chinese].

20. Liu Hsüeh-chün, "Radio Broadcasting and the National Language," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 174 (January 26, 1935) [in Chinese].

21. John C. Ferguson, "Chinese Studies," *Open Court*, XLIX (1935), 251.

22. Reported and refuted by Chi Kuo-hsüan, "What After All Is the Area Whose Speech Should Be Made the Standard of the Popular Language?" *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 162 (November 3, 1934) [in Chinese].

23. Li Chin-hsi, "The Principle of 'Non'-Unification of the National Language," *op.cit.*, No. 128.

24. Lao T'an [Ho Jung], "Dialects and the Unification of the National Language," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 52 (September 17, 1932) [in Chinese].

25. Ho Jung, "What Is 'the So-called National Language of Bureaucrats'?" *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 48 (August 20, 1932) [in Chinese].

26. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, Introduction, pp. 21-27.

27. Ho Jung, *loc.cit.*

28. Li Chin-hsi, *op.cit.*, Introduction, pp. 13-14.

29. Tsyui Tsubo [Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai], *Chinese Latinized Alphabet*, p. 8; Feng Yu-hsing, "A Fresh Attack on the Chinese Language," *The China Weekly Review*, LXIX (August 4, 1934), 386; Lin Hsi, "A New Discussion of Popular Language," *Ch'ün-chung* VIII (1943), 515 [in Chinese]; Ni Hai-shu, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

30. Ho Jung, *loc.cit.*

31. Ni Hai-shu, *loc.cit.*

32. Lu Hsün, "Outside Literary Chats," *op.cit.*, p. 104.

33. Lin Hsi, *op.cit.*, p. 517 and *passim.*

34. T'o Mu, *All about the Latinization of Chinese*, p. 57.

35. Ni Hai-shu, "Answers to the Questionnaire . . . ," *op.cit., passim.*

36. E.g. Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien's National Language Democratic Alphabet, mentioned earlier. Also Xianggang Sin Wenz Xyoxui [Honkong Sin Wenz Study Society], *Latinxua Sin Wenz Guoy Koben* [*Latinized New Writing National Language Textbook*] (Hongkong, 1947). I am indebted to the Esperanto Association of North America for this item.

37. Tu Tzu-ching, *op.cit.*, No. 9.

38. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-83.

39. Lu Hsün, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-9.

CHAPTER 15

1. Chang Ti-fei, "The Unity of China and the Latinization of Chinese," *Wen-hua chien-she*, III, No. 5 (February, 1937), 39-48 [in Chinese].

2. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, Introduction, p. 49.

3. Ch'en Kuo-fu, *The Problem of Reforming Chinese Education*, p. 6.

4. Li Chin-hsi, *History of the National Language Movement*, Introduction, p. 60; [Wang] Liao-i, "The Theory and Practice of Reform of the Chinese Script," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 205 (June 14, 1936), p. 8 [in Chinese]; Tu Tzu-ching, *op.cit.*, No. 6.

5. Carr, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

6. "Sino-Turkish Similarities," *The People's Tribune*, IX, No. 2 (April 16, 1935), 81-84.

7. T'o Mu, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

8. Lin Hsi, *op.cit.*, p. 516.

9. Mao Tse-tung, *China's New Democracy* (New York, 1944), pp. 31-32. For the succeeding quotations from this work see pp. 22, 25, and 44.

10. Broadcast of August 8, 1946, over radio Hongkong.

11. H. Y. Sung, "China at the Crossroads," *The China Monthly*, VII (1946), 309.

12. For this and the following quotations see Ku Hung-ming, "Returned Student and Literary Revolution—Literacy and Education," *Millard's Review of the Far East*, IX, No. 11 (August 16, 1919), 432-38. See also Ku Hung-ming, "Against the Chinese Literary Revolution," *op.cit.*, IX, No. 6 (July 12, 1919), 221-23.

13. Quoted by H. C. Meng, "The New Literary Movement in China," *The Weekly Review of the Far East*, XX, No. 7 (April 15, 1922), 250.

14. I. V. Bunakov, "Kitaiskaya Pis'mennost' [The Chinese Written Language]," in B. M. Alexeiev, L. I. Duman, and A. A. Petrov, eds., *Kitai [China]* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940).

15. See Ch'en Li-fu, "Education during the War," *The China Quarterly*, IV (1938-39), 25-40; *idem*, *Chinese Education during the War (1933-1942)* (N.p., 1942).

16. Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, pp. 160-61.

17. Mao Tse-tung, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

18. *Idem*, "Some Wayward Tendencies in Party Work," *National Affairs Monthly*, III (1946), 316.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 317 and *passim*.

20. This comment by Dr. Ch'en is quoted in Ni Hai-shu, *Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*, p. 118.

21. For comments on Huang see T'o Mu, *All about the Latinization of Chinese*, p. 35. For comments on Lo see Lin Hsi, "A New Discussion of Popular Language," *op.cit.*, p. 515.

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. CHINESE AND JAPANESE*

(including Latinized Chinese)

1. [Chang Shih-i]. "Chang Shih-i hsien-sheng lun piao-chün-yü [Mr. Chang Shih-i on Standard Language]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 86 (May 20, 1933).
2. Chang Ti-fei. "Chung-kuo t'ung-i yü chung-kuo-hua la-ting-hua [The Unity of China and the Latinization of Chinese]," *Wen-hua chien-she*, III, No. 5 (February, 1937), 39-48.
3. Chao Yüan-jen. "Fan-ch'ieh yü pa-chung [Eight Varieties of Secret Language Based on the Principles of *fan-ch'ieh*]," *Academia Sinica Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, II, Part 3 (1931), 312-54.
4. ———. "Kuan-yü su-o-ti la-ting-hua chung-kuo-tzu [Latinized Chinese Writing in the Soviet Union]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 139 (May 26, 1934).
5. ———. "Kuo-yü lo-ma-tzu-ti yen-chiu [Studies on National Language Romanization]," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao*, August, 1922, pp. 87-117.
6. Ch'en Kuo-fu. *Chung-kuo chiao-yü kai-ko wen-t'i* [*The Problem of Reforming Chinese Education*]. Nanking, 1941 (?).
7. Cheng Ch'iao. "Liu shu lüeh [Monograph on the Six Classes of Characters]," in his *T'ung chih* (Commercial Press Edition), I, 487-522.
8. Chi Kuo-hsüan. "Ta-chung-yü tao-ti ying-tang na na-erh-ti-hua tso piao-chün? [What After All Is the Area Whose Speech Should be Made the Standard of the Popular Language?]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 162 (November 3, 1934).
9. Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien. "Yeh-lu ta-hsüeh-ti chung-wen lo-ma p'in-yin fang-an ho wen-fa chu-chieh [The Yale Romanization and Grammatical Explanations of Chinese]," *Hsin Yü-wen*, No. 15 (July 2, 1947), 6.

* This is a complete list of Chinese and Japanese works cited in the notes. Characters needed to identify these items are given at the end of the Bibliography.

10. Chia Yin-keng. "Chu-yin fu-hao kung-pu-ch'ien-chih chien-tzu yün-tung [The Movement for Simplified Symbols before the Promulgation of the National Phonetic Symbols]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 44 (July 23), No. 45 (July 30), No. 46 (August 6), No. 47 (August 13), No. 48 (August 20), No. 53 (September 24), No. 54 (October 1), No. 55 (October 8, 1932).
11. ———. "Kuo-yü lo-ma-tzu-ti fa-yü ch'i [The Growing Period of the National Language Romanization]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 66 (December 24, 1932) and No. 68 (January 14, 1933).
12. ———. "Kuo-yu lo-ma-tzu yün-tung-ti meng-ya ch'i [The Initial Stage of the National Language Romanization Movement]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 38 (June 11, 1932).
13. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung. "Chung-kuo chin-hou-chih wen-tzu wen-t'i [The Problem of the Present and Future Script]," in Chao Chia-pi, ed., *Chung-kuo hsin-wen-hsüeh ta-hsi*, I (1935), 141-46.
14. ———. "Han-tzu ko-ming [A Revolution in the Chinese Script]," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao*, August 1922, pp. 5-25.
15. ———. "Kuo-yü tzu-mu erh-chung [Two Systems for a National Language Alphabet]," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao*, August, 1923, pp. 119-20.
16. Chin Ni-ko [Nicolas Trigault]. *Hsi-ju erh-mu tzu*. 1626.
17. Chu Shih Chia. *A Catalogue of Chinese Local Histories in the Library of Congress*. Washington, 1942. (Title in English, text in Chinese.)
18. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai. *Zhonguo Latinhuadi Zemu* [*Chinese Latinized Alphabet*]. [In Latinized Chinese, ideographic Chinese, and Russian.] Moscow, 1930.
19. Fang I-chih. *T'ung-ya*. 52 *chüan*. 1666.
20. Feng Mao-sung. "Hai-nan-hua p'in-yin tzu-mu [A Phonetic Alphabet for the Hainan Language]," *Kuo-li chung-shan ta-hsüeh yü-yen li-shih hsüeh yen-chiu-so chou-k'an*, VIII, Combined Nos. 85-87, *Fang-yen chuan-hao*, (June 26, 1929), 57-63. Reprinted from *Hua-p'i tsa-chih*, No. 1, 33-42.
21. Fu Szu-nien. "Han-yü kai-yung p'in-yin wen-tzu-ti ch'u-pu t'an [Preliminary Discussion on Changing over to a Phonetic Script for Chinese]," *Hsin ch'ao*, I, No. 3 (March, 1919), 393-410.

22. Gaimushō Jōhōbu. *Gendai Shina jimmei kan* [*Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese*]. Tokyo, 1928.
23. *Gwoyeu joukan.*
24. Hai Kuan, tr. "Lun Chung-kuo wen-tzu-ti kai-ko [On the Reform of the Chinese Script]," *Chung-yüan*, II, No. 1 (March, 1945), 23-34. This item is a translation of John De Francis, "The Alphabetization of Chinese," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII (1943), 225-40.
25. Hatano Kanichi. *Gendai Shina-no seiji to jimbutsu* [*Politics and People of Contemporary China*]. Tokyo, 1937.
26. Ho Chung-ying. "Han-tzu kai-ko-ti li-shih-kuan [An Historical View of Reform of the Chinese Script]," in Li Chung-hao, ed., *The Script in Historical Light and Revolutionary Discussion*, Peiping, 1931, pp. 177-95. This article, reprinted from *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an*, I, No. 7, is dated March 30, 1922.
27. Ho Jung, [pseud.] Lao T'an. "Kuo-yü t'ung-i ho fang-yen [Dialects and the Unification of the National Language]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 52 (September 17, 1932).
28. ———. "Lun 'chin-yü piao-chün-yü-ti k'ou-yü' [On 'Spoken Language which Approximates the Standard Language']," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 92 (July 1, 1933).
29. ———. "Pu-yao sheng-tiao-ti 'la-ting-hua' [Tone-Rejecting 'Latinxua']," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 170 (December 29, 1934).
30. ———. "Shen-mo chiao-tso 'kuan-liao-ti so-wei kuo-yü'? [What Is 'the So-called National Language of Bureaucrats'?]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 48 (August 20, 1932).
31. [Hsiao] Ti-ch'en. "Chu-yin fu-hao yü min-chung chiao-yü [Phonetic Signs and Mass Education]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 2 (September 12, 1931).
32. ———. "La-ting-hua neng-kou pu-yao sheng-tiao-ma? [Can Latinxua Dispense with Tones?]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 163 (November 10, 1934).
33. Hsien Liu. "Hsin wen-yen-ti kung-chü—'la-ting-hua' [The Instrument of the 'New Literary Language'—'Latinxua']," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 168 (December 15, 1934).
34. Hsin T'ien. See Lo Ch'ang-p'ei.
35. "Hsin wen-tzu yün-tung ch'ing-pao [News of the Sin Wenz Movement]," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, pp. 4-8.
36. Hu Shih. "Chüan-t'ou yen [Introductory Remarks]," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao*, August, 1922, pp. 1-4.

37. ———. Letter in reply to Chu Ching-nung, *Hsin ch'ing-nien*, v, No. 2 (August, 1918), 165-68.
38. Hu Ying. "San-pai-wu-shih-nien-lai tsai-chung-kuo-ti lo-ma-tzu p'in-yin chi-lüeh [Notes on 350 Years of Romanization in China]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 105 (September 30, 1933) and No. 106 (October 7, 1933).
39. Huai Hsing. "Chan-k'ai hsin-wen-tzu yün-tung [Expanding the New Language Movement]," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, pp. 4-5.
40. Hui Yüan. "Ti-k'ou-ti wen-hua ch'in-lüeh yü p'o-huai hsin wen-tzu yün-tung [The Enemy's Cultural Invasion and Destruction of the New Writing Movement]," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, p. 5.
41. *Kuo-yü chou-k'an*. See *Gwoyeu joukan*.
42. *Kuo-yü tz'u-tien* [*National Language Dictionary*]. 8 *ts'e*. Shanghai, 1946?
43. *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao*, August, 1922.
44. Lao Nai-hsüan. *T'ung-hsiang Lao hsien-sheng i-kao* [*The Posthumous Manuscripts of Mr. Lao of T'ung-hsiang*]. 2 *t'ao*. 1927.
45. Lao T'an. See Ho Jung.
46. Li Chin-hsi. "Fa-k'an tz'u [Statement on Publication]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 1 (September 5, 1931).
47. ———. "Han-tzu kai-ko wen-t'i ta k'o-wen [Questions and Answers on Reform of the Chinese Script]," *Wen-hua yü chiao-yü*, No. 21 (June 10, 1934), 2-6.
48. ———. "Han-tzu ko-ming-chün ch'ien-chin-ti i-t'iao ta-lu [A Great Highway for the Advance of the Revolutionary Army of the Chinese Script]," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kao-ko hao*, August, 1922, pp. 27-65.
49. ———. Introduction to Kao Ch'eng-yüan, *Kuo-yü hsüeh* [*Studies on the National Language*], reprinted in *Chiao-yü tsa-chih*, XIV, No. 3 (March, 1922), 8-14.
50. ———. "Kuang-Hsüan yü-yün shih-lüeh [The Language Movement in the Kuang-hsü and Hsüan-t'ung Periods]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 130 (March 24, 1934).
51. ———. "Kuo-yü 'pu'-t'ung-i chu-i [The Principle of 'Non'-Unification of the National Language]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 127 (March 3, 1934) and No. 128 (March 10, 1934).
52. ———. Kuo-yü yün-tung shih-kang [*History of the National Language Movement*]. Shanghai, 1934.
53. ———. "Min-erh tu-yin t'ung-i ta-hui shih-mo chi [Rec-

ords of the 1913 Conference on Unification of Pronunciation]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 133 (April 14, 1934) and No. 134 (April 20, 1934).

54. ———. "Shao-shu kuan-hua tzu-mu-ti shu-pao lu-yao [Further Important Publications in the Mandarin Alphabet]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 133 (April 14, 1934).
55. ———. "Wang Chao chuan [Biography of Wang Chao]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 129 (March 17, 1934).
56. ———. "Wang Hsiao-hang hsien-sheng i-shu chien-mu [The Works of Wang Chao]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 129 (March 17, 1934).
57. Li Chung-hao, ed. *Wen-tzu-ti li-shih-kuan ho ko-ming-lun [The Script in Historical Light and Revolutionary Discussion]*. Peiping, 1931.
58. Li Wei-yüeh. "Tu 'Fei-chih chung-kuo-tzu, yung p'in-yin wen-tzu' jo-ch'i-ti hua [Comments Provoked by Reading 'Abolish Chinese Characters, Adopt a Phonetic Script']," *Hsüeh i*, IX, No. 6 (April 15, 1929), 1-8.
59. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. "Shen-shih yin-shu hsü [Introduction to Mr. Shen's Work on Phonetics]," in his *Yin-ping-shih wen-chi, chüan* 3, pp. 46b-48a.
60. Lin Hsi. "Ta-chung-yü hsin-lun [A New Discussion of Popular Language]," *Ch'ün-chung*, VIII (October 16, 1943), 514-17.
61. Liu Hsüeh-chün. "Chung-kuo wen-fa ou-hua yü kuo-yü lo-ma tzu [The Europeanization of Chinese Writing and the National Language Romanization]," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 200 (May 10, 1936), 15-18.
62. ———. "Kuang-po yü kuo-yü [Radio Broadcasting and the National Language]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 174 (January 26, 1935).
63. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei. Hsin T'ien. "I-ko k'o-chu-i-ti hsiao-hsi [A Noteworthy Bit of News]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 116 (December 16, 1933).
64. ———. Hsin T'ien. "Kuan-hua tzu-mu yü ho-sheng chien-tzu [The Mandarin Alphabet and Simple Phonetic Signs]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 39 (June 18, 1932) and No. 40 (June 25, 1932).
65. ———. Lo Hsin-t'ien. "Kuan-yü kuo-yin-ti chi-ko wen-t'i [Some Questions Regarding the National Pronunciation]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 172 (January 12, 1935).

66. ———. *Kuo-yin tzu-mu yen-chin shih* [*History of the Development of the National Phonetic Alphabet*]. Shanghai, 1934.
67. ———. Hsin-t'ien. "Liu Chi-chuang-ti yin-yün-hsüeh [The Phonological Studies of Liu Chi-chuang]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, Nos. 32-34 (April 30, May 7, and May 14, 1932).
68. ———. "Yeh-su-hui-shih tsai-yin-yün-hsüeh-shang-ti kung-hsien [Jesuit Contributions to Chinese Phonological Studies]," *Academia Sinica Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, I (1930), 267-338.
69. Lu Hsün. "Han-tzu ho la-ting-hua [Ideographs and Latinxua]," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, V, 613-15.
70. ———. "Kuan-yü hsin-wen-tzu [On the New Writing]," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, VI, 161-63.
71. ———. "K'ung I-chi," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, VI, 292-97.
72. ———. "Lun hsin-wen-tzu [The New Writing]," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, VI, 433-35.
73. ———. "Ta Ts'ao Chü-jen hsien-sheng hsin [Letter in reply to Mr. Ts'ao Chü-jen]," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, VI, 78-81.
74. ———. "Men-wai wen-t'an [Outside Literary Chats]," *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, VI, 86-111.
75. *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*. 20 vols. Shanghai, 1937.
76. Ni Hai-shu. *Chung-kuo-tzu la-ting-hua yün-tung nien-piao* [*Chronology of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*]. N.p., 1941.
77. ———. "Sheng-li i-nien-lai-ti chung-kuo p'in-yin wen-tzu yün-tung [The Movement for a Chinese Alphabetic Script in the Year Since Victory]," *Shih-tai jih-pao*, October 8, 1946.
78. ———. "Ta-fu mei-kuo John De Francis chün kuan-yü chung-kuo wen-tzu kai-ko-ti wen-t'i [Answers to the Questionnaire of the American Mr. John De Francis Regarding the Problem of the Reform of the Chinese Script]," *Wen hui pao* (Shanghai), March 5-6, 1947.
———. See also item 108.
79. P'an Chung-kuei. "The New Nation and the New Writing," *Hsin min-tsu*, II, No. 5 (August 14, 1938), 75-78.
80. Pai Ti-chou. "Chieh-shao kuo-yü yün-tung-ti chi-hsien-feng—Lu Kan-chang [Introducing a Great Pioneer of the National Language Movement—Lu Kan-chang]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, Nos. 10-12 (November 7-21, 1931).
81. ———. "Ts'ung fan-ch'ieh tao p'in-yin [From *fan-ch'ieh* to

Spelling]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, Nos. 57-60 (October 22-November 26, 1932).

82. P'eng Hsüeh-p'ei. "Fei-chih chung-kuo-tzu, yung p'ing-yin wen-tzu [Abolish Chinese Characters, Adopt a Phonetic Script]," in Li Chung-hao, ed., *Wen-tzu li-shih-kuan yü ko-ming-lun*, (1931), pp. 427-33. (Reprinted from *Hsien-tai p'ing-lun, ti-san chou-nien chi-nien tseng-k'an.*)
83. *Piao-chun yü ta-tz'u-tien* [Standard Dictionary]. Shanghai, 1935.
84. Pushkin, A. S. *Gush Sh Syanzi* [Selected Narrative Poems], translated into Latinized Chinese by Ting Shan [T'ing Shan], with an introduction by Siao San [Hsiao San]. Khabarovsk, 1937.
85. Sakamoto Ichiro. "Gengo [Language]," *Gendai Shina Kōza* [*Lectures on Contemporary China*], VI (1939), 185-228.
86. Shen I. "Wei chu-yin fu-hao ching-kao chung-hsüeh-ti kuo-wen chiao-yüan [A Respectful Warning to Middle School Teachers of National Literature with Respect to the Phonetic Signs]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 3 (September 19, 1931).
87. *Ta Ch'ing shih-lu.*
88. T'o Mu. *Chung-kuo wen-tzu la-ting-hua ch'üan-ch'eng* [*All about the Latinization of Chinese*]. Shanghai, 1939.
89. Tolstoi, L. N. *Kawkazdi Fulu* [*The Prisoner of the Caucasus*], translated into Latinized Chinese by Ting Shan [T'ing Shan] and edited by Siao San [Hsiao San]. Khabarovsk, 1937.
90. *Tu-li p'ing-lun.*
91. T. Z. M. "Hsin wen-tzu tsai hua-ch'iao she-hui [The New Writing among Overseas Chinese]," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, pp. 40-44.
92. Tu Tzu-ching. "Chung-kuo hsin-wen-tzu wen-t'i yüeh-p'u (i-chiu-erh-chiu chih i-chiu-san-erh) [Monthly Records of the Problem of the New Chinese Writing (1929-1932)]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 76 (March 11, 1933) and No. 78 (March 25, 1933).
93. ———. "Tsui-chin wu-nien-lai-ti chung-kuo hsin-wen-tzu wen-t'i [The Problem of the New Chinese Script in the Past Five Years]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, Nos. 4-9 (September 26-October 31, 1931).

94. T'ung Chen-hua. *Chung-kuo wen-tzu-ti yen-pien* [*The Evolution of Chinese Writing*]. Shanghai, 1937.
95. [Wang] Liao-i. "Chung-kuo wen-fa ou-hua-ti k'o-neng-hsing [The Possibility of the Europeanization of Chinese Writing]," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 198 (April 26, 1936), 11-14.
96. ———. "Han-tzu kai-ko-ti li-lun yü shih-chi [The Theory and Practice of Reform of the Chinese Script]," *Tu-li p'ing-lun*, No. 205 (June 14, 1936), 6-8.
97. Wang Shu-min and Wang Yen-hsi, compilers. *Huang-ch'ao Tao-Hsien-T'ung-Kuang tsou-i* [*Memorials Presented to the Emperors of the Tao-kuang, Hsien-feng, T'ung-chih, and Kuang-hsü Periods*]. Shanghai, 1902.
98. Wen Hsi-t'ien. "Lo-ma-tzu ch'ieh-yin yün-tung-chih k'uo-chang shih-ch'i i-ch'i-erh-szu i-pa-pa-chiu [The Period of Expansion in the Romanized Phonetic Movement 1724-1889]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 175 (January 2, 1935). (Reprinted from Chapter 4 of Wen's *History of the National Language Romanization Movement*).
99. "Wo-men tui-yü t'ui-hsing hsin wen-tzu-ti i-chien [Our Views on Promoting the New Writing]," *Sheng-huo chiao-yü*, III, No. 5 (May, 1936), 195-97.
100. Wu Chih-hui. "Ta-chung-yü wan-sui [Long Live the Popular Language]," *Wen-hsüeh*, III, No. 3 (September, 1934), 647-50.
101. Wu Mei-p'ing. "Kuan-yü hsin wen-tzu-ti 'tang-p'ai-hsing' [On the 'Factionalism' of the New Writing]," *Yü-wen yen-chiu*, April, 1942, pp. 7-8.
102. Xianggang Sin Wenz Xyoxui [Hongkong Sin Wenz Study Society]. *Latinxua Sin Wenz Guoy Koben* [*Latinized New Writing National Language Textbook*]. Hongkong, 1947.
103. [Yang Yü-fu]. Yü Kung. "Jih-pen-jen ho han-tzu kai-ko [The Japanese and the Reform of the Chinese Script]," *Kuo-yü yüeh-k'an, Han-tzu kai-ko hao*, August, 1922, pp. 137-40.
104. Yü Kung. See Yang Yü-fu.
105. Yü Se. "Fei-ch'u szu-sheng lun [On Abolishing the Four Tones]," *Hsüeh-i* x, No. 5 (June 15, 1930), 1-5.
106. *Yü-wen yen-chiu*. April, 1942. Published in San Francisco by the New Chinese Alphabetized Language Study Society.
107. Yüan Chien-fu. "Yü-wen chiao-hsüeh tsai Ting-hsien-ti shih-yen [The Teaching of Language and Literature in

the Ting-hsien Experiment]," *Gwoyeu joukan*, No. 136 (May 5, 1934) and No. 137 (May 12, 1934). Reprinted from *Hsiang-ts'un chiao-yü* [*Village Education*].

108. Ni Hai-shu. *Latinxua zhungguoz yndung 20 nian lunwenzi* [*Collection of Articles on Twenty Years of the Movement for Latinization of Chinese Writing*]. [Shanghai], 1949. Note: This item was drawn to my attention by Professor Derk Bodde after the present work had already gone to press. It is an extremely useful, but by no means exhaustive, collection of material on Latinization.

B. WESTERN LANGUAGES*

Alexeiev, B. M. *Kitaiskaya Ieroglificheskaya Pis'mennost' i ee Latinizatsiya* [*The Chinese Hieroglyphic Script and Its Latinization*]. Leningrad, 1932.

A detailed discussion of the Chinese ideographic script, the development of Latinxua, and the rules for writing the latter. The author played a leading role in the creation of the Latinxua script.

"An Alphabetic Language for the Chinese," *The Chinese Repository*, IV, No. 4 (August, 1835), 167-72.

Important as the first reasoned analysis of the possibility of "Romanizing" Chinese.

Bortone, Fernando, S.J. *Sillabario Cinese*, I. Shanghai, 1935.

Useful for its extensive list of proposed schemes of alphabetizing the Chinese language.

Chao, Yuen Ren. "The Problem of the Chinese Language," *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, XI (1916), 437-43, 500-9.

A valuable scientific discussion in favor of alphabetizing Chinese. Particularly good for its refutation of the arguments advanced against such a procedure.

——— "A System of Romanization of the National Language," *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, XVII, No. 3 (January, 1922), 194-200.

Proposal for a flexible system by a scholar who later devised the National Language Romanization.

Corta, J. Franciscus, S.J. "De Latinizatione linguae Sinensis," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*, XIV (1941), 989-1005, 1130-86; XV (1942), 188-205; XVI (1943), 376-86, 489-509.

*It has seemed preferable to list here only a few of the most important of the 250-odd items in Western languages cited in the footnotes.

Extensive quotations from statements by individuals supporting the idea of alphabetization.

Corta, José F., S.J. "China tropieza en sus signos. Agonía de la escritura ideográfica," *Razón y Fe*, cxxxv (1947), 125-46.
Useful chiefly for its collection of obscure bits of information on the Latinxua movement in China.

De Francis, John. *Beginning Chinese.* New Haven, 1946.
An example of the use of a simple romanization scheme, in this case the Yale Romanization, for the purpose of teaching Chinese to foreigners.

Gibson, John C. "Review of the Various Colloquial Versions and the Comparative Advantages of Roman Letters and Chinese Characters," *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China. Held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai, 1890), pp. 62-89.
The best discussion in favor of romanization by a missionary. Particularly good for its common-sense approach.

Karlgren, Bernhard. *The Romanization of Chinese.* London, 1928.
A straightforward and generally sound discussion of the need for various schemes of alphabetic writing of Chinese.

——— *Sound and Symbol in Chinese.* London, 1923.
Important as an example, in this case an extremely influential one, of the misleading approach to Chinese which has confused the thinking of many students of the language.

Kennedy, George A. "The Monosyllabic Myth." Unpublished.
A witty refutation of the main fallacy underlying the thinking of those who believe it is impossible to write Chinese with an alphabet.

Laikhter, I. "O Latinizatsii Kitaiskoi Pis'mennosti [On the Latinization of the Chinese Script]," *Kul'tura i Pis'mennost' Vostoka*, No. 9 (1931), 22-32.
Illuminating account of the controversy over the adoption of Latinxua in the Soviet Union.

Lamasse, H. and Jasmin, Ernest. "L'écriture alphabetique du chinois. . . ." *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*, iv (1931), 639-57, 755-93, 935-47, 1061-73.
Probably the most extensive discussion in favor of a scheme of "interdialectical" romanization.

Palmer, Harold E. *The Principles of Romanization.* Tokyo, 1931.

The fullest scientific discussion of the linguistic principles involved in creating schemes of romanization. The chief emphasis is on Japanese, but the principles are universally valid.

Schubert, Johannes. "Etwas uber die Versuche zur Vereinfachung der chinesischen Schrift," in Rudolf Stöwesand, ed., *Nunquam retrorsum. Beitrage zur Schrift-und Buchkunde als Ehrengabe für Herr Professor Dr. Albert Schramm anläszlich seines 50. Geburtstages am 5. August 1930* (N.p., 1930), pp. 93-104.

A good brief survey of attempts to simplify the script. Particularly useful for its illustrations of some of the proposed schemes, including the National Phonetic Alphabet.

Simon, W. and Lu, C. H. *Chinese Sentence Series.* London, 1942.

Discussion and detailed presentation of the National Language Romanization.

Bibliography

CHARACTERS FOR BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. 張士一　2. 張滌非　文化建設
3. 趙元任　反切語八種　6. 陳果夫
7. 鄭樵　六書略　通志　8. 紀國宣
9. 齊滄田　新語文　10. 貫尸耕
13. 錢玄同　趙家璧　中國新文學大系
14. 漢字革命　16. 金尼閣　西儒耳目資　18. 瞿秋白　19. 方以智　通雅
20. 馮茂松　方言專號　華匹雜志
21. 傅斯年　22. 現代支那人名鑑
23. 國語週刊　24. 海觀　中原
25. 波多野乾一　現代支那の政治と人物　26. 何仲英　27 何容　老談
31. 蕭迪忱　33. 先六　34. 草田
36. 胡適　37. 新青年　38 胡英
39. 懷興　40. 鞏垣　42. 國語辭典
43. 國語月刊　漢字改革號　44. 勞乃宣　桐鄉勞先生遺稿　45. 老談

46. 黎錦熙　47. 漢字改革問題答客問
文化與教育　49. 高承元　國語學
教育雜誌　51. 國語不統一主義
52. 國語運動史綱　53. 民二讀音統一
大會始末記　54. 紹述官話字母的書
報錄要　56. 王小航先生遺書簡目
57. 李中昊　58. 黎維嶽　學藝
59. 梁啟超　飲冰室文集　60 林曦
胖眾　61. 劉學濬　63 羅常培　心
恬　64 莘田　65. 羅莘田　66. 國
音字母演進史　67 劉繼莊的音韵學
69. 魯迅　75. 魯迅全集　76. 倪海曙
77. 時代日報　78. 文匯報　79. 潘重
規　新民族　80. 白滌洲　盧戇章
82. 彭學沛　83. 標準語大辭典
85. 坂本一郎　言語　86. 沈頤
87 大清實錄　88. 拓牧　中國文字拉
丁化全程　90. 獨立評論　92. 杜子
勁　94. 童振華　中國文字的演變

95. 王了一　97. 王樹敏　王延熙、皇朝道咸同光奏議　98. 温錫田　99. 生活教育　100. 吳稚暉　大衆語萬歲　文學　101. 伍美屏　103. 楊遇夫　遇公　104. 遇公　105. 余瑟　學藝　106. 語文研究　107. 袁世甫　108. 拉丁化中國字運動二十年論文集

CHARACTERS FOR FOOTNOTES

1 国　2 國　3 才　4 纔
5 冇　6 賴　7 籟　8 驚
9 京　10 才　11 纔　12 貫
13 假　14 瞿　15 拉丁化　16 新文字
17 沈　18 尒　19 毫子　20 蕉、
21 香　22 矣　23 了

INDEX

Abel, Carl, 197
Academy of Sciences (U.S.S.R.), 97-101, 109
Aesop's Fables, 20
Alexeiev, B. M., 92-99, 106, 145, 232
All-Union Central Committee on the New Alphabet, 90-91, 99-101
All-Union Congress of Writers, 103
Alma-Ata, 91
Altynsarin, Ibrai, 107
Ambiguity of Chinese, 15-16, 125, 143 ff., 167 ff.
Amoy dialect, 21-22, 32-33, 118, 197
Amoy-Swatow, 196
"Analphabetic Notation," 171
Anglo-Saxon, 160
Annam, 125, 252
Arabic script, 89, 91, 107, 241
Association for the Promotion of G.R., 78
Azerbaidzhan Soviet Socialist Republic, 89

Baku congress, 90
Balkanization, 221
Barrett, David Dean, 142
Basic Chinese, 81
Beansprout Alphabet, 51
Belgium, 38
Bell, A. M., 171
Bible, 23
Bilingualism, 105
Bismarck, 213
Blagoveshchensk, 88, 99
Bloch, Bernard, 140
Blue-Green Mandarin, 66, 76, 228
Board of Rites, 40-41
Board of Works, 39
Bodde, Derk, 5
Book of Odes, 173
Border Region Government, 130
Bortone, Fernando, 22
Bound syllables, 149
Boxer Uprising, 31-32, 49
Boy Scout Movement, 67
Brewster, William N., 27, 32, 45, 218
Bridgman, Elijah C., 18-19
British English, 192
Buddhist literature, 9
Bureaus for Propagating the Alphabet of National Pronunciation, 59
Burenin, 92, 101

Camberley Triangle, 77
Cantonese dialect, 22, 32, 118, 124, 192 ff., 229
Carr, Denzel, 75, 154
Carroll, Lewis, 77
Castilian, 195
Catalonian, 195
Cattaneo, Lazzaro, 15, 17, 145
Censorate, 39
Central Asia, 88, 107
Central Education Conference, 49
Central Executive Committee (Chinese Communist), 92
Central Executive Committee (Kuomintang), 61, 126
Central Executive Committee (U.S.S.R.), 90-91
Central Government, 83, 123, 126
Central Political Council, 80
Chan, Shau Wing, 147-48, 161, 166, 168, 176, 183
Chang Chih-tung, 46, 228
Chang Chih-yi, 106
Chang-chou dialect, 33
Chang I-lin, 59, 124, 127, 130
Chang Ping-lin, 51, 57
Chang Ti-fei, 238-42, 252
Chang Tso-lin, 67
Changsha, 118
Ch'ao-chou dialect, 124
Chao Erh-sun, 44
Chao Shih-ming, 41

Chao, Y. R., 72-77, 81, 110, 145, 168, 175-79, 187, 192-93, 196
Chaplin, 123
Chemical symbols, 140
Ch'en brothers, 132
Ch'en, H. C., 122-23, 153, 244, 253
Ch'en Kuo-fu, 83, 222, 241, 251, 253
Ch'en Li-fu, 83, 127, 248, 251
Ch'en Pai-ta, 130
Ch'en Tu-hsiu, 68-69, 71, 92
Cheng Ch'iao, 10
Cheng-chou, 77-78
Ch'eng Mao, 5-6
Chernovetskii, 96
Ch'i Ts'ang-t'ien, 134
Chi Yao-san, 11
Chia Yin-keng, 260
Chiang Kai-shek, 60, 80, 120, 127, 218
Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, 127
Chiang Monlin, 82
Chiangnan dialect, 224
Chiao Feng, 109, 114, 121
Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, 68-69, 72-77, 97, 190
Chihli, 41, 45
Chihli University, 44
Ch'in dynasty, 5-6, 239-40
Chin Tatars, 8
China Sin Wenz Study Society, 126
Chinese Hieroglyphic Script and Its Latinization, 99
Chinese Latinized Alphabet, 93, 97, 232
Chinese Recorder, 62
Chinese Repository, 19
"Chinese Shorthand System," 51
Chinese Year Book, 154
Chita, 88-99
Chou dynasty, 5
Chou Fu, 44, 47-48
Chou Pao-chung, 244
Chou Pien-ming, 75, 81-82, 176
Chow Pao Chung, 244
Chu Te, 130
Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, 92-98, 115, 127, 224-25, 230-32, 237
Chu-yin Fu-hao, 65
Chu-yin Tzu-mu, 57, 65
Ch'üan-chou dialect, 33
Chung Ming-jen, 15, 145
Ch'ung-te, 8
Chungking, 118, 126
Classical style (*see* Literary style)
Cockney dialect, 192
College of Interpreters, 50
Commercial Press, 126
Committee for Dictionary Compilation, 50
Committee for Research on the Romanized Spelling of the National Language, 73
Committee for the Promotion of the National Language Romanization, 112
Committee on Unification of Pronunciation, 228
Common language, 94, 97, 232 ff.
"Common" language, 212
Communist Academy (U.S.S.R.), 91, 98-100
Communist Party (China), 68, 128
Communist Party (U.S.S.R.), 95, 100
Communist Party School, 129-30
Composita, 151
Compound words, 151
Compulsory education, 249
Conference on Unification of Pronunciation, 55-57, 60-61, 66, 71, 75, 114, 220, 231
Confucianism, 25-26, 68, 221
Corta, José F., 20, 125
Creel, H. G., 157, 190
Cultural autonomy, 216
Cyrillic alphabet, 71, 91, 107, 207

De La Ramé, Louise, 125
Department of Weights and Measures, 39
Dialects, 7, 14, 19-20, 24-25, 32, 47, 52-54, 62, 71, 94 ff., 111, 191-98, 222 ff.
Diary of a Madman, 125
Dictionary, alphabetic, 181 ff.
Dictionary of National Pronunciation, 58-59, 66, 76
Disestablishmentarianism, 170
Dockworker, 103
Dog of Flanders, 125
Don't Forget, 102

Doodling, 140
Dragunov, A. A., 94, 97, 99-100
Dungan alphabet, 90
Dungans, 87-91, 97
Dutch, 192-93
Dyer, Samuel, 20

Ear and Eye Assistant to Foreign Scholars, 16
East Siberia Region, 100
Edison, 123
Educational Affairs Committee (Ch'ing), 39
Eighth Route Army, 247
Eitel, E. J., 25-26, 218
Empress Dowager, 40-43, 46-48
English, 68, 158, 174, 192-94
English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect, 33
Entering tone, 57
Erh Ya, 70
Esperanto, 51, 68-72, 109-10, 114, 121
Europe, 125
Exclusion policy, 8
Exhortation to Learning, 46

Fang I-chih, 16
Far Eastern Committee on the New Alphabet, 100
Far Eastern Institute of Economy, 96
Far Eastern Region, 88, 98-102
Far Eastern Regional Conference on the Latinization of Chinese, 100
Federal nationalism (*see* Nationalism, federal)
Fenghuang, 161
Fenn dictionary, 168
Feudalism, 5, 212, 216, 237 ff., 253 ff.
Fight Back to Our Old Home, 125
First Conference on the Latinization of Chinese, 99
First Emperor of Ch'in, 239
First Steps in Complete Understanding at a Glance, 33-34
First Steps in the New Script for the Amoy Dialect, 35
Five Year Plan, 101
Foochow dialect, 22, 32-33, 118, 196
Ford, Henry, 123
Foreign Office (*see* Office of Foreign Affairs)
Forke, Alfred, 46
Formosa, 39-40
Four Seas, 109
France, 252
Franklin, 123
Free syllables, 149
French, 68, 215
French Revolution, 212
Fu Szu-nien, 70-71, 76, 237
Fukien, 7, 20

General Mobilization Order, 61
Geography Textbook for Primary Schools, 102
Georgia (U.S.S.R.), 215
German, 145, 215
Germany, 35, 57, 214, 216
Gibson, John C., 24-26, 165, 178, 218
"Global Alphabet," 203
G.R., 74-84, 93, 109-33 *passim*, 93, 109, 118-22, 166, 179, 196, 204, 207, 223, 226, 232-35, 249, 253
Grand Council (Ch'ing), 39
Grass writing, 6
Great Leader, Karl Marx, 103
Great Russian, 215
Great Seal, 5
Greeks, 242
Grimm's Law, 82
Grootaers, Willem A., 83
Guerrilla Warfare, 125
Gwoyeu Romatzyh, 74 (*see also* G.R.)

Hakka dialect, 124, 196
Hankow, 118, 126
Hanlin Academy, 43
Hao, 233
Harvard University, 73
Hattori Unokichi, 42
Hayes, Carlton, 212-13
Heterographic homophones, 172
Heterophonic homographs, 172
Historical Records, 141, 185
"Historical spelling," 82

Historical stages, 4
Hitler, 213
Ho Jung, 230-31
Homographic homophones, 172
Homonyms, 22, 69, 71, 121, 147-49, 156, 161, 170 ff.
Homophonic homographs, 172
Honan, 77
Hongkong, 115, 124, 244
Hongkong Sin Wenz Study Society, 124, 126
Hopei, 44
Horace, 222
How Did He Die? 102
How to Promote the National Pronunciation, 59
Hsiao San, 95, 110, 130, 177
Hsin Wen-tzu, 99 (*see also* Latinxua)
Hsing-hua, 27, 32
"Hsinhanzyx," 81
Hsü T'e-li, 127-28, 130, 134, 247
Hsü Ti-shan, 124
Hu Shih, 6-7, 11, 13, 69-72, 80, 95, 112, 120, 123, 219, 222-25, 245, 249
Hu Ying, 22
Huang Hsüeh-chou, 77, 115, 253
Huang-pao ch'e, 58
Huang Yen-p'ei, 127, 130
Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 18, 160, 165
"Hundred Days of Reform," 31, 39

I, 147, 162 ff.
"Ideographic English," 159
Ideographs, and unity, 3-8, 19, 21-22, 221-36; barred to Westerners, 8, 17; class nature of, 7-8 26-27, 93, 95, 102, 224-25; difficulty of, 14-15, 18-19, 24, 34, 93, 118, 247; history of, 4-8, 156 ff., 238 ff.; indispensability of, 3, 147 ff., 188 ff., 222 ff.; nationalist attitudes toward, 3-4, chaps. 3-6, 13-15; simplification of, 6, 80, 118, 121; timelessness of, 221-22; used as phonetic symbols, 6, 9
"Ideosyllabic," 152, 154
India, 14
Indochina, 98, 154
Integral nationalism (*see* Nationalism, integral)
Interdialectical Romanization, 82
Inter-disciplinary approach, 211
Interlanguage, 197
International Literature, 109
International Phonetic Alphabet, 72
International Red Cross, 123
International Settlement, 122, 124
Introduction to Political Economy, 125
Irkutsk, 88
Isawa Shūji, 61
"Isolating," 147
Italian, 193-94, 215
Italy, 213-14
Ivanov, A. I., 93

Japan, 9, 35, 38, 44, 52, 64, 82, 216, 220, 227, 241, 252
Jasmin, Ernest, 82-83, 196, 198
Jespersen, Otto, 158, 171, 174-75, 187
Jesuits, 14-18, 82-83, 145
Jungars, 54

Kaifeng, 118
Kana, 40, 42, 51-54
K'ang Yu-wei, 36
Kansu, 88
Kao Kang, 130
Karlgren, Bernhard, 78, 97, 134, 147, 151-52, 156-57, 161, 193, 199-202
Kawkazdi Fulu, 103
Kazakh A.S.S.R., 88, 100
Kazakhs, 90-91, 105-7
Kemal Pasha, 81, 207, 241-43, 252
Kennedy, George A., 153, 160, 162, 170, 193, 204
Khabarovsk, 88, 99, 103, 113
Kharinskii, 96, 101
Kiakhta, 8, 105
Kirghiz, 90-91, 105-7
Kirghiz A.S.S.R., 88
Kirin, 244
Ko Kung-chen, 115
Kodama Gentaro, 40
Kohn, Hans, 216
Kolokolov, 92-94, 97

Ku Hung-ming, 245-46
Kuan hua, 7, 225-27, 231
Kuan ts'e-so, 231
Kumaski Kenichiro, 51
Kuo Mo-jo, 115-16, 120, 130, 225, 244
Kuo-yin Tzu-mu, 57
Kuo yu, 226, 231, 234 (*see* also National Language)
Kuomintang, 51, 60, 80, 83, 115, 120, 126-27, 231
Kuomintang 13th Army, 219
Kwangsi militarists, 117
Kwangtung, 7, 20
Kweichow, 118
Kweilin, 125

La Jeunesse, 68-69, 114, 220
La Nova Etapo, 109
La-ting-hua, 99 (*see also* Latinxua)
Lamasse, H., 82-83, 196, 198
Land Reform, 243
Language (*see also* common language, dialects, national language, National Language, *pai-hua,* popular language, standard language), and dialect 24, 192-98; and writing 70, 140 ff.; intelligibility of, 143 ff.; nature of, 70, 140 ff.
Language and Literature, 120-121
Language policy, 214 ff.
Languages, number of Chinese, 195 ff.
Lao Nai-hsüan, 47-49, 53-56, 75, 231, 237
Laobaising Bao, 205
Last Five Minutes, 77, 110
Latin, 160, 212
Latinization, 90 ff. (*see also* Latinxua)
Latinization Commission, 97-99
Latinization of Chinese Writing, 114, 238
Latinized Cantonese, 125, 236
Latinized Chinese Reader for Workers, 102
Latinized Chinese-Russian Dictionary, 102
Latinxua, 93-134, 171, 176-80, 205-7, 220, 223, 232-38, 244, 248
Law of the First Script, 200
Le, 152-53
Learning to Read in South China, 25
Leichtenberg, 92
Lenin, 90, 96, 129
Leningrad, 87, 94, 97, 99
Li Chi-shen, 127
Li Chieh-san, 38
Li Chin-hsi, 72-77, 111, 165, 178, 223, 228-31, 241
Li, F. K., 154
Li Hung-chang, 41, 44
Li Po, 221-22
Li Szu, 5-6
Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, 35-38
Liang-Kiang, 47
Likbez, 100
Likvidatsiya Bezgramotnosti, 100
Lin Feng, 82-83
Lin Lu-ts'un, 39
Lin Pai-ch'ü, 128, 130
Lin, S. L., 36
Lin Tsu-han, 128 (*see also* Lin Pai-ch'ü)
Lin Yutang, 74-75, 97
Lincoln, 123
Lingua franca, 7
Linguistic change, 190
Linguistic science, 139-46
"Liquidation of Illiteracy," 100
Literacy, 89, 222; definition of, 24; in G.R., 77, 82, 235, 244; in ideographs, 12, 24, 26; in Japanese, 35; in Latinxua, 101, 104, 123, 128; in missionary romanizations, 32; in National Phonetic Alphabet, 44
"Literary language," 112
Literary Renaissance, 219, 225
Literary Revolution, 13, 95, 219
Literary style 6, 11-12, 80, 157, 249 (*see also Pathua*)
"Literary vernacular literature," 12
Liu Hsien-t'ing, 16, 36
Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, 78, 110, 229, 257, 260
Lo Mai, 130-31
Loan-words, 152

Lolos, 129
London Missionary Society, 38
Long March, 127
Lowrie, Walter M., 21
Lu Hsun, 57, 78, 113-16, 120, 187, 219, 225, 232, 236, 244
Lu Hsün is Not Dead, 125
Lu Kan-chang, 32-40, 50-57, 220, 227
Lunghai Railroad, 78
Lyon (France), 125

Ma, 149
Macao, 14
Macgowan, John, 33
Mafu, 151
Malaya, 125
Manchu empire, 31, 88
Manchu language, 8
Manchu script, 51
Manchu syllabary, 42
Manchuria, 44, 88, 240, 244
Mandarin, 23, 33, 53, 193-95, 227, 231 (*see also* National Language)
Mandarin Alphabet, 42-48, 56, 59, 61, 68, 227
Mandarin Phonetic Alphabet, 42
Mandarin Phonetic Reader, 152
Mao Tse-tung, 130, 242-43, 253
Mao Tun, 115-16, 120, 232, 244
Martin, W. A. P., 38
Mass Education Movement, 11-12, 63, 248
"Mass language," 112
Mathematical formulas, 140
Mathematics Exercises for Partial Literates, 102
Mathews dictionary, 168
May Fourth Movement, 69, 129, 220, 237, 245-46
Meiji period, 252
Menner, Robert J., 174-75
Mergenthaler Linotype Company, 64
Milne, A. A., 77
Min-tsu, 218, 226
Min-tsu yü, 226, 234
Ministry of Education, Ch'ing, 40, 48-50, 53; Republican, 55, 59-61, 73, 80, 126
Minorities, 54, 129, 195
Missionaries, 14-28, 32-34, 52, 61-62, 79, 145, 217
Mongol script, 51
Mongols, 9, 54-55, 129, 195, 226, 252
Monk of Formosa, 41
"Monosyllabic English," 149, 151
"Monosyllabic nation," 219
Monosyllabism, 3, 15, 21, 65, 69, 147-65 (*see also* Polysyllabism)
"Moral nationality," 245
Morrison, Robert, 17-18
Moscow, 91-94, 98, 99
Moslems, 88, 90
Much'in, 151
Mukden, 44
Musical notation, 140

Names, 179
Nanking dialect, 34, 47, 229
Nanning, 115
Narodnost', 105
National Assembly, 49-50, 53
"National common language," 234
National Education Conference, 60, 126
National language, 7, 52-54, 71, 212 ff.
National Language, 59-60, 76, 118, 226 ff.
National Language Democratic Alphabet, 134
National Language Dictionary, 170, 173-74, 182
National Language Monthly, 71, 73
National Language Romanization, 74 (*see also* G.R.)
National Language Study Society, 60
National Language Unification Commission, 60, 73, 80
National Language Unification Movement, 242 (*see also* G.R., National Phonetic Alphabet, National Language)
National Literature, 60
National Peking University, 68
National Phonetic Alphabet, 57-

69, 73, 80, 118, 120, 124, 178, 207, 232
National Salvation Association, 115-16, 120
Nationalism, Chinese schools of, 217 ff., federal, 87-135, 214-17, 226-52; in the East, 216 ff.; in the West, 212 ff.; integral, 31-84, 213-17, 226-52
Natsionalnost', 105
Natural Science Textbook for Primary Schools, 102
Needs of the Times, 36-37
New Chinese Alphabetized Language Study Society, 125
New Democracy, 131, 243, 253-54
New Fourth Army, 128
New Fourth Army Incident, 132
New Language, 117
"New pronunciation," 76
New San Min Chu I, 243
New Students, 123
New Turkic Alphabet, 90-91, 94
New Writing, 99 (*see also* Latinxua)
Newspaper of the Masses, 132
Ni Hai-shu, 131, 134
Ningpo dialect, 22, 25, 118, 124
No. 1 Free School for the Mandarin Alphabet, 43
Northern Mandarin, 195, 197, 234
Northern Sin Wenz, 119

October Revolution, 242
Office of Foreign Affairs (Ch'ing), 39, 49, 50
"Old pronunciation," 76
Old Wang, 143
Onomatopoetic words, 153
Open Your Eyes and Look, 125
Opium War, 20
Oracle bones, 141, 184
Oriental Institute (U.S.S.R.), 97
Outside Literary Chats, 125

Pa Chin, 115
Pacific Islands, 125
Paihua, 7, 11-13, 68-69, 112, 219, 225, 231
Pai Ti-chou, 32-33
Pa-ku, 250
Palmer, Harold E., 172, 199-200
P'ao, 149
P'aoshou, 151
Pearl Harbor, 131
Peasantry, 243 ff.
Pedantic expressions, 187
Peiping Sin Wenz Study Society, 118
Peita, 144
Peking dialect, 34, 161, 192 ff., 203-6, 226 (*see also* Mandarin, National Language)
Peking Imperial University, 44
Penang, 20
Péng, 144
P'eng Hsueh-p'ei, 76
People's Paper, 205
People's Political Council, 126
Phonemes, 203
Phonetic Mandarin without a Teacher, 38
Phonetic Signs, 65
P'i-pa, 152
Piao-chün yü, 227, 231
Pig Latin, 144
P'ing-yüan, 78
Pitman, 51
Po Chü-i, 173
Political science, 211
Polivanov, 97
Polysyllabism 17-18, 21, 149 ff. (*see also* Monosyllabism)
Poor Scholar among the Rushes, 42
Popular language, 112, 231, 233
Popular Songs in the New Writing, 125
Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, 164
Prisoner of the Caucasus, 102
Propaganda Ministry, 126
Proposal for the Adoption of a Phonetic Alphabet, 55
"Protophones," 82
"Public toilet," 231
Pudding, 78
Pushkin, 103
P'u-t'ung hua, 94, 232

Rapid Phonetic Writing, 38
Rapid Writing for Fukienese, 38

Red Army, 128
Red China, 128
Red Cross, 123
Reform Movement of 1898, 35 ff., 220
"Regional common languages," 234
Regional Executive Committee (U.S.S.R.), 101
Rémusat, Abel, 17-18, 164-65
Renaissance, 10
Review of the Times, 36
Revivalist, 32
Revolution of 1911, 220
Revolution of 1926-27, 220
Ricci, Matteo, 15-17, 145, 164, 199
Richard, Timothy, 41
Rōmaji, 65, 220
Romanisation Interdialectique, 197
Romanization, principles of, 73
Romansch, 215
Ruggieri, Michele, 14-15, 145
Russification, 89, 107

St. John's Academy, 37
Sakamoto Ichiro, 65
San Francisco, 125, 130
San Min Chu I, 243
Sanskritic script, 9-10
Schlauch, Margaret, 190
Scholarly-scientific terminology, 187
Schools for Proper Pronunciation, 7
Scientific Research Institute on China, 91, 100
Scripts, comparison of, 205-6
Second Pattern of the National Alphabet, 80
Selected Narrative Poems [of Pushkin], 102
Semi-bound syllables, 149
Sentence intonation, 171
Shang dynasty, 141
Shanghai, 246
Shanghai dialect, 32, 119, 124, 197, 229
Shanghai Sin Wenz Study Society, 122, 131
Shanhu, 142, 149 ff.
Shantung, 78, 88, 105
Shantung dialect, 98-99
Shantung Question, 245
Shao Li-tzu, 127
Shen Chün-ju, 120, 130
Shen Hsüeh, 37
Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region Sin Wenz Society, 130
Shen Pao, 37, 109
Shensi, 88, 128
Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 129, 131, 133
Sheng Shih-ts'ai, 105-6
Shiangshiah Ren, 78
Shih, 147
Shihkao, 149
Shiht'ou, 149
Shihyin, 149
Shirintsin, A. G., 98-99
Shorthand, 50-51
Shou, 149
Shuo Wen, 70
Siao San (*see* Hsiao San)
Simon, Walter, 75, 166, 176, 183, 201
Sin Wenz, 99 (*see also* Latinxua)
Singapore, 33
Sinkiang, 105-6
Sino-Japanese Problem, 125
Sino-Japanese War, 35
Six Classics, 70
Six Martyrs of the Reform Movement of 1898, 39
Sjao, E., 109-10 (*see also* Hsiao San)
Slaves of Machines and Masters of Machines, 125
Slavic languages, 197
Smedley, Agnes, 186
Smit, 92
Smith, Arthur H., 45
Snow, Edgar, 128
Snow, Mrs. Edgar, 128
Society for Books and Periodicals in Alphabetized Mandarin, 47
Society for the Unification of Pronunciation, 59
Society to Study the Latinization of Chinese Writing, 114, 118, 123
"Song of the Graduates," 129
"Song of the Militants," 129
Soochow, 37

Index

Sound and Symbol in Chinese, 147, 152
Sound simplification, 156
South China Soviet, 115
Southeast Asia, 20
Southern Mandarin, 195
Southwestern Mandarin, 195
Soviet Asia, 89
Soviet Central Asia, 90, 94
Soviet East, 105
Soviet Far East, 87, 94, 95, 109
Soviet Union, 87-108, 133, 215-16, 242, 252-53
Spanish, 192-94
Speech (*see also* Language), intelligibility of, 143 ff.; normal, 251
Spring and Autumn period, 240
Square characters, 6
Stakhanovite Movement, 103
Stalin, 105
Stalin Constitution, 103
Standard Dictionary, 174, 176, 178
Standard language, 7, 34, 57, 58, 62, 66, 75, 227, 231
"State language," 226
Stories of All Countries, 125
Story of Ah Q, 114, 116, 125
Strakhov, 92
Stronach, John, 20
Students, 44, 117, 223
Sturtevant, E. H., 193
Sub-phonemic orthography, 173
Suffrage, 244
Sun Fo, 120, 126, 130
Sun Yat-sen, 56, 218
Sun Yat-sen, Madame, 126
Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, 125
Superintendent of Educational Affairs, 43
Support the New Writing, 103, 116
Swatow dialect, 33
Switzerland, 215
Syllabic language, 156
Syllables (*see also* Monosyllabism, Polysyllabism), kinds of, 149 ff.; number in Chinese, 158; number in English, 158
Synonym-compound, 156
Szu-ma Ch'ien, 141, 185
Ta-chung yü, 112, 231
Ta Kung Pao, 110
Table of Phonetic Signs, 38
T'aining, 195
Taiping Rebellion, 35
Taiyuan, 118
Tajiks, 107
Talks to Soldiers, 45
Tamil, 14
T'an Szu-t'ung, 38
T'ang dynasty, 141, 157
T'ao Hsing-chih, 115-17, 120
Tass News Agency, 110
Teachers College, 122
Third International, 92
Third Reich, 213
Thorndike word-lists, 122, 153
Thousand Character Lessons, 11
"Thousand Character Theory," 63-64
Three Histories, 70
"Three-Year Education Plan," 83
Through the Looking-glass, 77
Ti, 153
Tibetans, 9, 54-55, 195
T'ieh-lü-feng, 153
T'ien Chün, 115
Tientsin, 41, 118
Ting Hsien, 116
Ting Ling, 130
T'o Mu, 252
"Tonal spelling," 74
"Tonalphabetic method," 176
Tones, 168-83; indicated by G. R., 74 ff., 176 ff.; indicated by Lu Kan-chang, 33; indication unnecessary, 25, 65, 73, 79, 171 ff.; missionary handling of, 5, 20, 25; not indicated by Latinxua, 93 ff., 110 ff., 176 ff.
Toriyabe Yôtarō, 65
Translation Office, 39
"Tribalism," 4
Trigault, Nicolas, 15-18, 143
Trilingualism, 105
Ts'ai Chang, 51, 56
Ts'ai Hsi-yung, 37-38, 42, 51
Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, 55-56, 59, 80, 120 124, 126
Ts'angying, 151
Tshutskii, Y. K., 98
Tsinghua, 118

Tu, S. S., 252
Tuan-fang, 46-48
T'ung Chen-hua, 4-6
Tung Pi-wu, 130
T'ung-an (Fukien), 32
T'ung-wen College, 38
Turkey, 81-82, 241-42, 252
Turkic languages, 90, 107, 198
Tzueyhow Wuu-fen Jong, 77

Uighurs, 9, 195, 198, 226, 252
Ukraine, 215
UNESCO, 144
"Unification of Speech and Writing," 228
"Unification of the National Language," 228
United Nations, 130
United States, 35, 38, 125
Unity, national, 3-8, 53-54, 79-84, 212 ff., 221-36, 251 ff.
Universal System, 37
University of the Toilers of the East, 92

Valignani, Alessandro, 14
Vasil'ev, B. A., 97
"Vernacular vernacular literature," 12
Villagers, 78
"Visible Speech," 171
Vladivostok, 87-88, 94-95, 99-100, 119
Vocabulary, size of, 186 ff.
Vocabulary of National Pronunciation for Everyday Use, 76
Voiced sounds, 57
Volga Germans, 88

Wade, 74, 166, 177, 200-1, 204
Wan, 233
Wan-kuo Kung-pao, 36
Wang Chao, 40-47, 53, 55-62, 227, 231
Wang Chen, 130
Wang Ching-ch'un, 81
Wang Ching-wei, 80, 123, 241
Wang I, 74-75
Wang Jung-pao, 50, 57-58
Wang Liao-i, 81
Wang Ming, 130
Wang-pa tan, 58
Wang Ping-yüeh, 38
Wang P'u, 42-43, 56, 59, 63
Wang Shih-chieh, 80
Wang Yü-ch'uan, 121
Wang Yun-wu, 126
Warring Kingdoms, 240
Watt, 123
Wenchow dialect, 124
Williams, S. Wells, 21-22, 217
Woodin, S. F., 195
Word, definitions of, 15, 97, 142, 150
Worker's Way, 95, 97, 103
World War II, 242
Wu, Aitchen K., 105
Wu Chih-hui, 51, 55-57, 66, 68, 70, 77, 80, 190, 235, 237
Wu dialect, 196, 224
Wu Ju-lun, 43, 227-28
Wu Mi, 112, 246
Wu Yu-chang, 130-31

Y.M.C.A., 123
Yale Romanization, 204
Yale University, 140
Yang Hsüan-ch'i, 16
Yang Lien-sheng, 142
Yang Yü-fu, 65
Yeh Lai-shih, 121
Yeh T'ing, 128
Yen Fu, 46, 49, 53
Yen Hsi-shan, 63
Yen, Y. C. James, 11-12, 63, 116, 248
Yenching University, 117
Yin-keng, 260
Yorkshire dialect, 192
Yüan Shih-k'ai, 45-48, 56, 59-60

Zhonguo Latinhuadi Zemu, 93, 99