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SOME LINGUISTIC REMARKS ON LANGUAGE REFORMS, POLICIES, AND PRACTICES THROUGHOUT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TODAY

by

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B.A., University of Massachusetts, Boston, 1978

A Thesis
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ABSTRACT OF

Some Linguistic Remarks on Language Reforms, Policies and Practices Throughout the People's Republic of China Today

In order to truly reflect, as closely as possible, what the current linguistic profile is in China, I have attempted to set the analyzed linguistic material in context as much as possible.

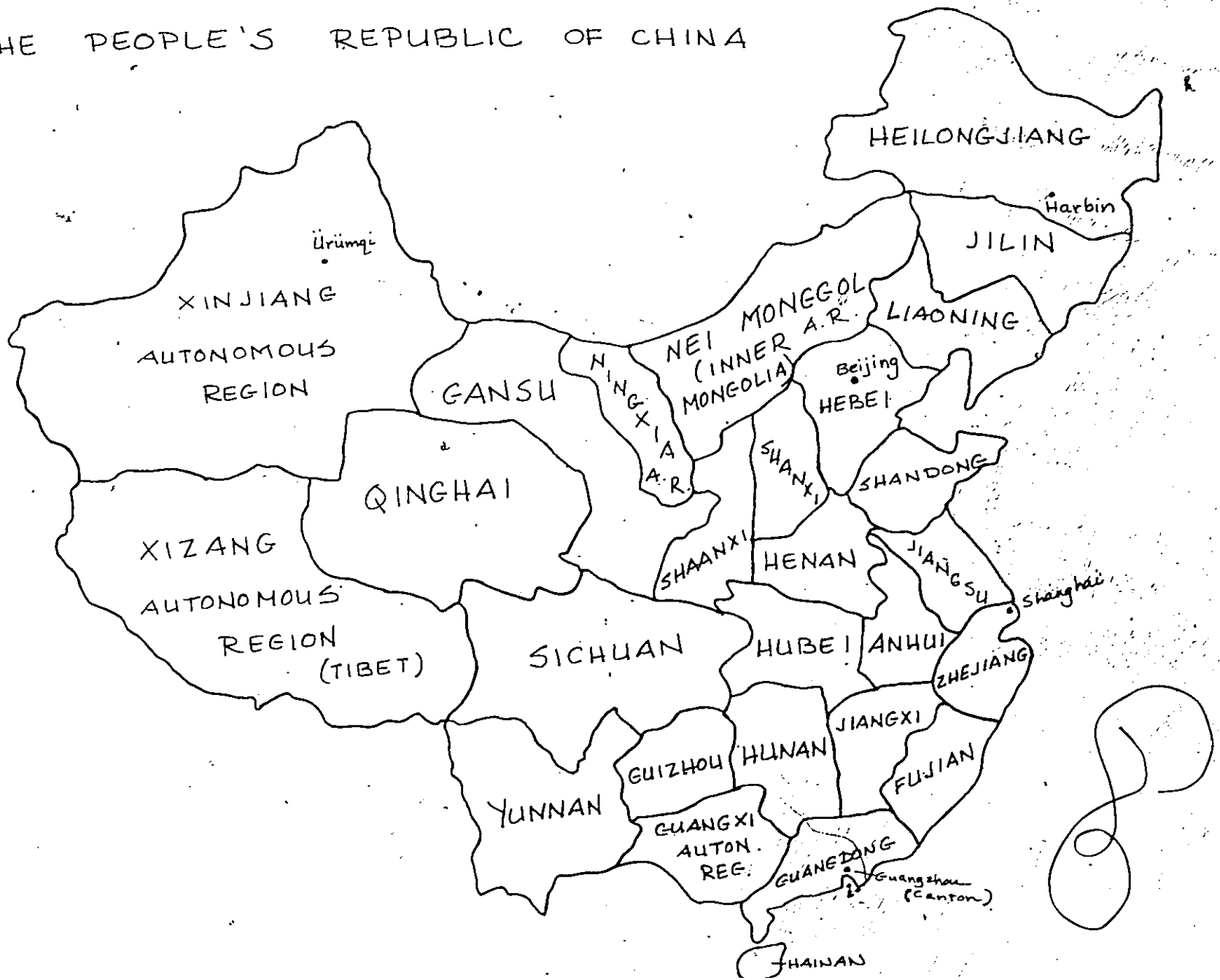
China is a very linguistically diverse and culturally strong multiethnic nation. There are many interdialectal and interlingual problems faced today in China. Language standardization, mass public education and the forces of the media have all greatly aided linguistic unity in China in the last thirty years.

As the level of education and literacy increases, more and more progress is being made towards complete popularzation of the national standard language, Putonghua. It is only when this level is very high that a romanized alphabet, pinyin, could replace the Chinese characters. Although this is definitely feasible and perhaps quite needed in the fields of science, extra-linguistic features truly determine what the outcome will be.

Further linguistic research, time, and advancements in communications equipment are all part of the linguistic solution to China's diverse needs.

Joyce A.M. Jacot

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA



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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to give as detailed an overview as possible of the current linguistic situation in the People's Republic of China. Published work both by linguists and sinologists in general is most often out of context. It is necessary, I feel, to present all the relevant information in context in order to clearly understand the linguistic situation in China. It is only with all the relevant information in place that one could attempt a meaningful all-encompassing discussion of China's linguistic profile. The following paper I hope will provide such information and stimulus for just such discussions.

As a result of a linguistically reliable background, having spent nine months in China researching and studying Mandarin, interviewing Chinese and minority people, and researching in Boston and Ottawa I here attempt the above. That is, in this paper I wish to pool all the current linguistically relevant information and issues in China regarding language policy, reform, and practice.

Here I would also like to note abbreviations, possibly confusable terms and diacritics used throughout the paper. In order to avoid always writing out the People's Republic of China, I often abbreviate it as, simply, PRC or just China. Any reference of Taiwan is just that, Taiwan.

I have put the romanized-script form of Chinese words into pinyin, the current romanized alphabet used in China. Not all, even the most recent, references use pinyin; this can indeed become quite confusing. Therefore, throughout, I have used the currently accepted spellings in reference to Chinese dialects, places, names, and terms. Some examples are the following:

Beijing (Peking)

Yue (Cantonese)

Kejia (Hakka)

Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai)

Huhehaote (Hohhot)

Xizang (Tibet)

Uygur (Uighur)

The only significant exception to this is the use of Mandarin for the dialect. In Chinese, this dialect is most often referred to by a specific location, for example, for Beijing: beijinghua. There is a term rarely used, guanhua, which means officials' speech. I have chosen, however, to avoid this term.

Throughout the literature on Chinese linguistics and the Chinese language in general, I found, and interchange to some degree myself, that the following terms are used as representing one and the same: phonetic script, alphabetization, romanization, and latinization.

The following diacritics are used to represent the four significant tones of Mandarin:

ˉ first tone

ˊ second tone

ˇ third tone

ˋ fourth tone

A fifth diacritic, ˚ , is sometimes used, mainly in teaching, to represent the neutral tone (absence of tone or stress). The other diacritic, ^ , is used for the Yue (Cantonese) transcription only.

Finally, another abbreviation used in the paper is PTH for Putonghua, the national standard language of China.

CHAPTER I.

LANGUAGES OF THE PRC: DESCRIPTION AND LOCATION

A. Spoken Chinese

In the predominantly Chinese speaking areas of the People's Republic of China there are many distinct speech regions. Many claim that these distinct regions form separate language areas, rather than dialect areas. The most extreme speech forms are Mandarin versus Yue, for example, Beijing versus Guangzhou (Canton), which are in fact almost totally mutually unintelligible. In comparison, for example, it is the same as comparing German and Dutch or French and Spanish (Chao 1973:97). However, as will be covered in the following section, the written forms of these dialects are, for the most part, mutually intelligible.

The question of "dialects or languages" in Chinese will not be disputed here. I take the stand, as does Chao, that:

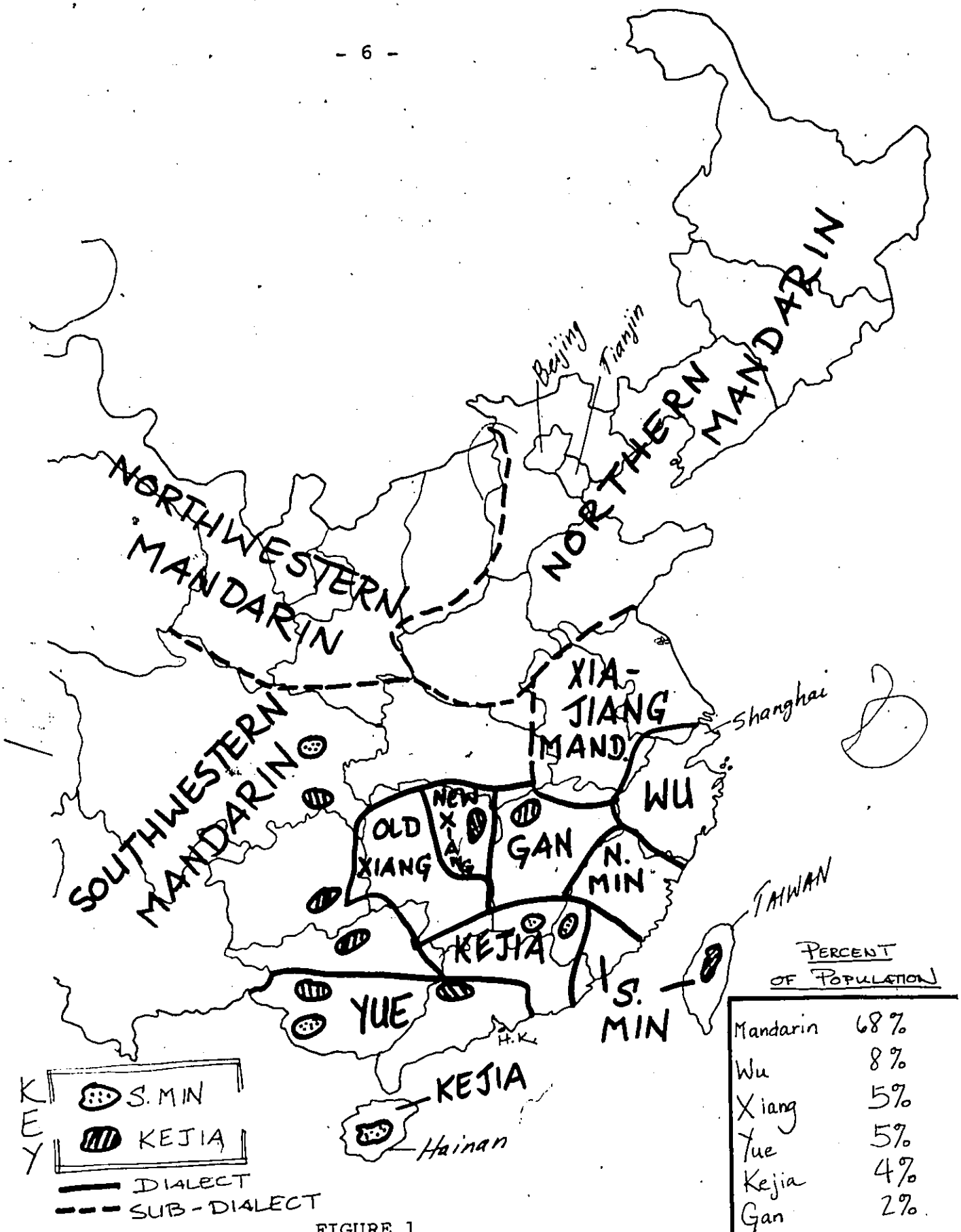
> Chinese is one language not only in the sense of being written with one script but also in a linguistic sense in having a common body of lexical units, a largely uniform grammatical structure,

> and a set of closely related phonological systems in the dialects. (1973:94)

Therefore, it follows that both the spoken and written language of the south and southeast of China are separate dialects and the variations within these dialect areas are sub-dialects. For example, the Yue dialect (Cantonese) is spoken in most of Guangdong province, however, the speech in Guangzhou differs from that of the rural areas. Thus, Guangzhou speech is categorized as a sub-dialect of the Yue dialect and, likewise, the speech of the rural areas as separate sub-dialects of the Yue dialect.

The spoken language of the central eastern, northeastern, northern, northwestern, and southwestern regions of Han China is categorized as one dialect, overall. The speech of each province or large city area in this region is thus a sub-dialect of this dialect, commonly known as Mandarin.

According to Wang (1973:52) the dialects of Chinese are categorized as in Figure 1. Please note that the approximate percentage of speakers of each dialect is also given by Wang in this map. However, in doing research in China and interviewing people from China, it has been pointed out to me that some of these terms and dialect areas are inaccurate. Thus, I have constructed a revised dialect map and readjusted Wang's percentages accordingly. See Figure 2.

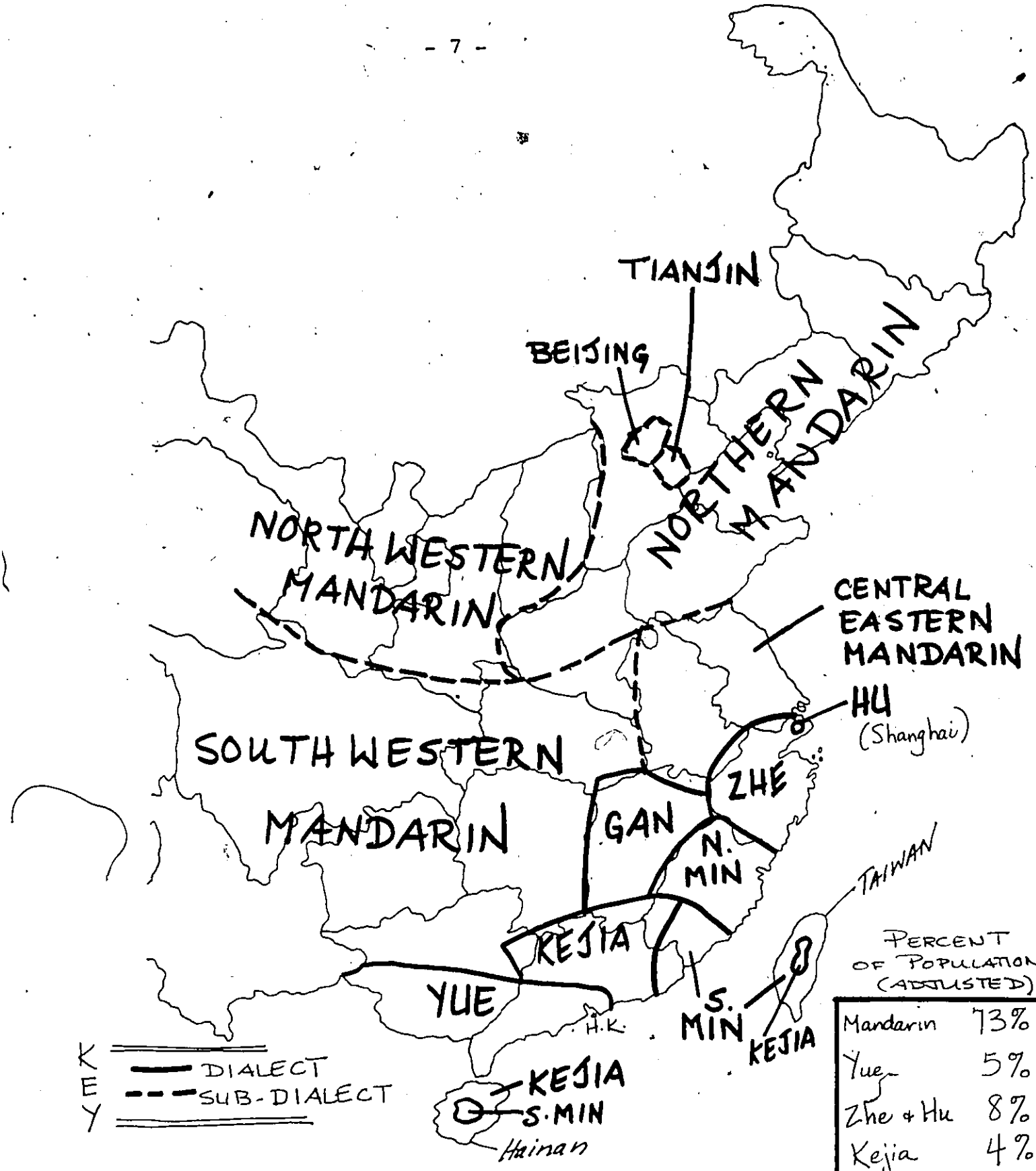


PERCENT OF POPULATION

Mandarin	68%
Wu	8%
Xiang	5%
Yue	5%
Kejia	4%
Gan	2%
Northern Min	1%
Southern Min	2%
Non-Chinese	5%

FIGURE 1

Map of Chinese Dialects and Their Distributions
(Wang 1973:52)



Percent of Population (Adjusted)	
Mandarin	73%
Yue	5%
Zhe & Hu	8%
Kejia	4%
Gan	2%
Northern Min	1%
Southern Min	2%
Non-Chinese	5%

FIGURE 2

Map of Chinese Dialects and Their Distributions:

Revised

As can be noted in comparing Figures 1 and 2, the major difference is in considering the dialect(s) of Hunan province as separate from the Mandarin dialect area. What Wang has termed Old and New Xiang, I have found, are actually Xiang, a variation of the Mandarin sub-dialect: Southwestern Mandarin. Chao (1943:25) also accounts to this. Within the Mandarin dialect there are four sub-dialect areas: Northern Mandarin, Northwestern Mandarin, Southwestern Mandarin and Central Eastern Mandarin. In order to differentiate dialect, sub-dialect, and major sub-dialect variations, I have set the areas off with different markings. (Note key, Figure 2.)

Furthermore, the three largest cities of China, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing, are considered as separate from the dialect of their respective provincial areas. In the case of the speech of Shanghai, it is the Hu dialect, whereas, the speech of its province, Zhejiang, is the Zhe dialect. Beijing and Tianjin, part of the Northern Mandarin sub-dialect area, both have distinct speech variations of this sub-dialect. For Beijing this variation is called Jing and for Tianjin this variation is called Jin. In other words, the speech of Beijing and Tianjin are distinct variations of Northern Mandarin, a sub-dialect of Mandarin. Whereas, the speech of Shanghai, being outside of the Mandarin dialect area, is actually a separate dialect: the Hu dialect.

Also in Figure 2, I have renamed Wang's Xia-Jiang Mandarin as the Central Eastern Mandarin sub-dialect. This region consists of two provinces: Anhui and Jiangsu. Therefore, the Central Eastern Mandarin sub-dialect has two distinct variations as follows: Anhui as Wan and Jiangsu as Su.

In the overall Mandarin areas, mutual intelligibility is very high. The exception is very slight phonemic variation. Some of these are, for example, s/sh, f/h, k/g, and v/w. These differences, however, usually do not impede spoken communication whatsoever.

In comparing all the dialects of Chinese the major differences are drastic, sometimes total, differences of the pronunciation of the characters. Within pronunciation is the further differentiation of tone. Mandarin, for example, has four basic tones while Yue has nine. Merely considering the words for "one" to "ten" in Mandarin and Yue, one can see that the similarities are not strong enough for mutual intelligibility.(Refer to Table I on the following page.)

Although there are some similarities between the dialects, regarding pronunciation, in conversation these similarities do not provide enough information for sure communication. This lack of effective spoken communication has been the major issue of the language reform movement in China.

TABLE I

Comparison of Mandarin and Yue Dialects: "one" to "ten"

Mandarin		Yue
yī	1	yāt
èr	2	î
sān	3	sàam
sì	4	séi
wǔ	5	ńg̀
liù	6	lûk
qī	7	chāt
bā	8	baat
jiǔ	9	gáu
shí	10	sâp

B. Written Chinese

The current Chinese writing system "represents the forgotten speech of several thousand years ago." (Diringer 1968:72). This writing system, Literary or Classical Chinese, had a lexicon of almost all monomorphemic, monosyllabic words (French 1971:103). From this came the "Monosyllabic Myth", which is, simply, that Chinese is a monosyllabic language. However, Chao (1968:103) clarifies that in modern spoken Chinese, although the morpheme is still largely monosyllabic, the word is often more than one morpheme.

Thus, it is also false that the Chinese script is ideographic or logographic. Each grapheme, character, represents a morpheme; many of these graphemes have no meaning alone as a word, therefore, only exist in compounds. It becomes clear that the Chinese writing system is a morphemic writing system (Chao 1968:102, French 1971:105, Kratochvil 1968:157).

Chinese characters are made up of strokes of which there are about twenty (distinct strokes). A stroke is the mark one makes without lifting the writing instrument while writing a character carefully or when just learning how to write. Table II indicates the percentage of strokes in the two thousand most commonly used characters (Hsia 1956:20-1). Therefore, 1437 characters have more than nine strokes, that is, seventy-two percent of the list of the two

thousand most common characters.

TABLE II

Number and Percentage of Strokes
in the Two Thousand Most Commonly Used Characters

number of strokes	number of characters	percentage
1 - 5	181	9
6 - 8	382	19
9 - 12	737	37
13 - 16	479	24
17 +	221	11

According to DeFrancis (1966:xviii) the most frequent four hundred characters make up 73.1 percent of an average text; the most frequent 2,400 characters make up 97.5 percent. Although there are some six to seven thousand characters in common use, there are, by conservative estimate, fifty to sixty thousand characters in existence (Hsia 1956:113). However, knowing nine thousand one can read virtually everything that has been published (Alleton 1970:47). Just how necessary it is to know all of these nine thousand characters is debatable. For instance, DeFrancis (1968:xiii) states that it has been calculated that an average Chinese college graduate knows approximately fifty thousand compound words, but only 4,800 characters.

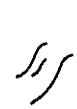
The characters as they are today, for the most part, have not changed since the Han Dynasty: 206 BC - AD 220 (Alleton 1970:25). Wang (1973:55) points out that while the evolution of spoken Chinese has been constant, in written Chinese there are still characters that Confucius used in the fifth century BC that are still in books today.

The same classification that was made of the Chinese writing system almost two thousand years ago is still valid today (with the exception of the chuanchu class which is obscure and has very few characters that have been established in it). The five classes are as follows (Chao 1968:103):

1) Pictographs originated from pictures (of objects). In Chinese writing today they are not immediately discernable to be sure, however, in comparing present forms with their historical equivalents the general notion is more evident. See Table III for examples.

TABLE III

Pictographs in Chinese: Past and Present

primitive forms	present forms	pronunciation	meaning
	(馬) 马	mǎ	horse
	木	mù	tree, wood
	人	rén	man, person
	牛	niú	cow, cattle
	川	chuān	river

2) Ideographs are"diagrammatic indications of ideas" (Chao 1968:103), as in the following table.

TABLE IV

Some Ideographs in Chinese

character	pronunciation	meaning
上	shàng	up
下	xià	down
一	yī	one
二	èr	two
三	sān	three

3) Compound ideographs are "characters in which the meaning of the whole is a combination of the meanings of its parts." (Chao 1968:104). His examples are in Table V.

TABLE V

Examples of Compound Ideographs

character	meaning	pronunciation	components	
武	'military'	wǔ	止	zhǐ, 'to stop'
			戈	gē, 'arms'
信	'honest'	xìn	亻	rén, 'man, person'
			言	yán, 'word'
明	'bright'	míng	日	rì, 'sun'
			月	yuè, 'moon'

As Chao (1968:104) further points out here, although the three preceding categories are often taken as being representative of Chinese writing, in fact they are only a minor

part of the Chinese writing system. Furthermore, he continues, they are not strictly pictographs or ideographs, they represent morphemes and do not directly represent meanings, rather, they are written forms to represent spoken words, logographs.

4) A loan character (not borrowed from another language) is used for its phonetic value although originally it represented a different, homophonous word (Chao 1968:104). For example, 来 lái, 'to come', was originally the pictographic character for '(a type of)grain', lái (Chao 1968:104). This type of borrowing has gone on for many, many years and in some cases the two characters do not appear as such because of changes in written form and sound (Newnham 1971:38).

5) Phonetic compounds make up about ninety percent of the Chinese characters (Alleton 1970:34, Newnham 1971:38). These characters consist of a radical (signific) and a phonetic component. The radical, in a remote way, at least, gives the vague meaning or category of the character. Table VI gives examples of this principle. See the following page.

TABLE VI

Many Characters, Same Radical

the radical: 讠		its meaning: 'speech'			
word	pronunciation	meaning	word	pronunciation	meaning
认识	rènshí	'to know'	说	shuō	'to speak'
讲	jiǎng	'to explain'	话	huà	'words'
话剧	huàjù	'a play'	让	ràng	'to ask someone to do; to let'
语言	yǔyán	'language'			
谁	shéi, shuí	'who'	语法	yǔfǎ	'grammar'
试	shì	'to try; to have a fitting'	电话	diànhuà	'telephone'
				(diàn: 'electric' 电)	

The traditional set of radicals was 214, however, in 1971 some were merged so that now there are 189 radicals cited in a dictionary (Wang 1973:53).

The phonetic component of a character indicates the pronunciation of the character, however, tone can never be predicted. An example of this is 青 qing, a phonetic component; characters and words containing this particular phonetic component are given in Table VII on the following page. The pronunciation indicated in the table is Mandarin; for each dialect the pronunciation and tone may be, and usually are, different.

The example in the table was chosen because of the clear correlation between the phonetic component and current

TABLE VII

Many Characters, Many Words: One Phonetic

character	pronunciation	word	pronunciation	meaning
清	qīng	清楚	qīngchǔ	'clear'
青	qīng	青年	qīngnián	'youth'
情	qíng	情况	qíngkuàng	'situation'
请	qǐng	请	qǐng	'invite'

pronunciation. However, due to the fact that the phonetic component of a character was developed so far in the past (thousands of years ago), the pronunciation in a lot of cases is not therefore, clearly discernable (Wang 1973:54). One example of this is the following: 生 shēng: 'birth'
星 xīng: 'star'

(Wang 1973:54).

In short, the phonetic component of a character is not reliable. It also was not reliable in the ancient language either (Karlgren 1971:45). According to Wang (1973:54-5):

> Since it is not the primary purpose of the characters to represent sounds, the Chinese written language has been largely independent of the evolutionary changes that have taken place in the spoken language.

Not only, however, are the phonetic components not reliable, but the radicals are not always reliable either. As stated and demonstrated above, the radicals at best indicate the general category of meaning of a character. Some characters, though, have two radicals, one, both or neither

of which may indicate the general meaning. For example, the character 百 has two radicals: 一 'one' and 白 'white'; the character means 'one hundred' (Newnham 1971:47). The major use of the radicals and phonetic components is in coming across an unknown character in a text and guessing at the meaning and pronunciation. Of course, in organizing the characters (in a dictionary, for example) the radicals are extremely useful.

Differences in written Chinese among the dialects will be covered in further sections.

C. Literary versus Vernacular Chinese

Literary Chinese is the formal, verbose, highly ambiguous, highly monosyllabic written language more or less used in all writing up until the 1940s in China. It is commonly known as Classical Chinese: wényán in pinyin. As Serruys (1962:74) states in the following:

> The classical written language requires a much greater number of characters than the minimum required in the modern language (5000 - 6000). It uses many characters that for words and expressions are already completely obsolete and have disappeared from the living language. In grammar and style it has become entirely distinct from the spoken language.

The drastic need to reform this literary form was seen in the establishment of the PRC not only as an aid to combat illitaracy, but to bring the written and spoken language closer together. Vernacular Chinese, báihuà, was seen

as part of the process of Chinese nationalism (DeFrancis 1950:11).

This modern written language, based on the vernacular, baihua, is basically the written form of the national language of China: pǔtōnghuà (Mandarin, basically). This topic will be dealt with further in Chapter II.

D. Minority Nationalities and Their Languages

The term minority nationality is used by the Chinese in reference to non-Han peoples who live in China. These minority peoples make up only six percent of the population (56,000,000) of China while occupying fifty to sixty percent of its land area. Although seldom used, the term for the Chinese (Han) themselves is the majority nationality.

The majority of the non-Han peoples live in the border regions of China. As is evidenced in Figure 3, basically all the border areas are minority nationality regions (land borders, that is).

Although I have collected this information from various sources, the population figures and the spellings are all taken from a Chinese publication, China Pictorial (1/81:10-11). The specific locations of each minority group has been modeled after National Geographic's map supplement, "The Peoples of China" (7/80). For the most part, if a written language is not mentioned in the descriptions below, then there was no written language before 1949. However, in

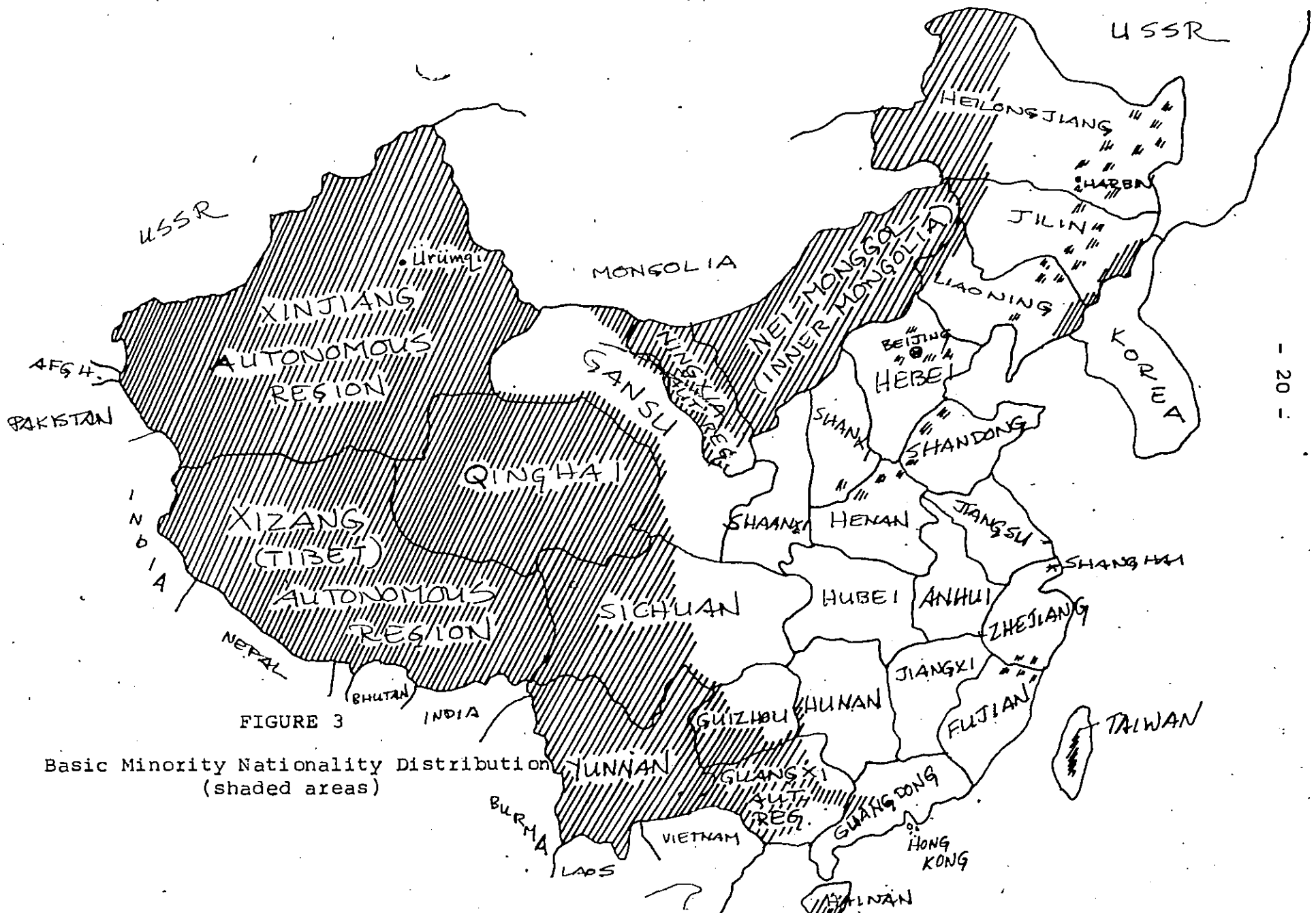


FIGURE 3

Basic Minority Nationality Distribution
(shaded areas)

a few cases I was just not able to find sources to indicate whether a specific minority had a written language or not. For those written languages that have been devised or reformed since 1949, the discussion is included in the section on language reform in Chapter II.

One of the largest minority nationalities is the Hui (6,400,000). The Hui people are part Han and part Islamic. Exactly which Islamic people is not sure. Due to a vast historical mobility and intermingling with the Han, their only language today is Chinese. They are distributed virtually throughout China.

Of the Sino-Tibetan language group of other than Chinese speakers, there are three major language families: Tai, Tibeto-Burman, and Miao-Yao.

Tai: The largest minority nationality in the Tai language family is the Zhuang (12,000,000). The majority of the Zhuang, approximately eleven million, live in Guangxi Autonomous Region in southern China (CR 6/79:34). Their original writing was in characters which are "still occasionally used for religious texts, songs, deeds and correspondence." (Chang 1967:166).

The Dai minority nationality (760,000) inhabits parts of southern and southwestern Yunnan province on the borders of Laos and Burma. There are five alphabets used among different groups of Dai speakers. These alphabets are

all of the same origin as the Burmese script (Chang 1967:169). There are seven other minority groups who speak languages in the Tai language family. The Buyi minority (1,700,000) inhabits the central-southern region of Guizhou province. The Dong minority (1,100,000) inhabits parts of northern Guangxi, eastern and southeastern Guizhou and western Hunan province. The Li minority nationality (680,000) inhabits most of central and southern Hainan Island (Guangdong province). The Shui (230,000), Mulao (70,000), and Maonan (30,000) minorities inhabit parts of northern Guangxi Autonomous Region and southern Guizhou province. The Pumi minority (20,000) inhabits three small areas in northwestern Yunnan province.

Tibeto-Burman: The largest minority nationality in the Tibeto-Burman language family is the Tibetan (Zang) minority. Numbering some 3,400,000, they inhabit Xizang Autonomous Region (Tibet), the entire southern and eastern regions of Qinghai province, the western region of Sichuan province and into the northwestern corner of Yunnan province. The Tibetan alphabet, based on the Devanagari script, dates from the seventh century AD (Katzner 1975:203). Tibetan writing having been based on an archaic form of the language, still includes many silent consonants and vowels which are not necessarily spoken as written; this situation, however, minimizes the influence of the local dialects on the written language (Henze 1977:373).

The Luoba (300,000) and Menba (40,000) minority nationalities inhabit the southern border of Xizang (Tibet) with India, just east of Bhutan. Just to the east, the Dulong minority (4,000) inhabits the far northern tip of Yunnan bordering Burma and Xizang. South and southeast from the Dulong in Yunnan are the Nu (10,000), the Bai (1,000,000), the Naxi (230,000), the Lisu (470,000), the Jingpo (80,000), and the Achang (10,000) minority nationalities. "The Nahsi [Naxi] shamanistic priests have two writing systems: one is a syllabary; the other is pictorial." (Chang 1967:171).

The Yi (Lolo) minority (4,800,000) inhabits sections throughout Yunnan province, southern Sichuan and western Guizhou. Some Yi speakers use a syllabic writing system of characters which resemble Chinese characters (Chang 1967:170).

The Hani (960,000), the Lahu (270,000), and the Jinuo (10,000) minorities inhabit parts of southern Yunnan province. The Jinuo were only recognized by the Chinese government as a minority nationality in June 1979; they do not have a written language (WC 1/81:18).

The Qiang minority (80,000) is located in central Sichuan province in-between the Tibetan and Han linguistic areas of the province. Far removed from the other Tibeto-Burman language areas is the Tujia minority nationality (770,000) located in northwestern Hunan province.

Miao-Yao: The four languages of this family are Miao (Hmong) (3,900,000), Yao (1,200,000), She (330,000),

and Gelao (20,000). The Miao (Hmong) and Yao minorities are spread throughout central southern China from Hainan Island to Hunan province. Samuel Pollard, a British missionary, developed a script for the previously ideographic Miao written language. This so-called Pollard script, dating from 1904, is a syllabary. The Gelao minority are located in western Guizhou province. The She minority, located in northern Fujian and southern Zhejiang provinces, now speak Chinese mainly (NG 7/80:map).

Another main language group of China's minorities is the Altaic group. This group is made up of the Turkic, Mongol, Tungus-Manchu and Korean language families.

Turkic: The largest minority nationality in the Turkic language family is the Uygur minority (5,400,000). They inhabit most of the entirety of Xinjiang Autonomous Region in northwestern China. The Uygurs are Islamic people and adopted the Arabic alphabet. The next largest group of this family, inhabiting parts of Xinjiang and northern Qinghai province, is the Kazak minority with some 800,000 speakers. Like the Uygurs, the Kazaks too are Islamic people and use the Arabic alphabet. The other Turkic minority nationalities of China who use the Arabic alphabet for their writing systems are: the Kergez (90,000) of northwestern Xinjiang, the Uzbek (7,000) scattered throughout Xinjiang, and the Tartar (2,000) of western Xinjiang. I presume that the Sala

minority (50,000) of eastern Qinghai province also uses the Arabic alphabet. Henze (1977:373) pointed out that although the Arabic alphabet is not entirely suitable for these Turkic languages due to its limited possibilities for accurate representation of vowels, it is good in the sense that thusly, some dialect differences are obscured.

The other minority nationality of the Turkic group is the Yugur (8,000) of Gansu and Qinghai provinces' common border region. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they adopted the Tibetan script for their own language (Henze 1977:374).

Mongol: The largest minority nationality in the Mongol language family is the Mongolian minority (2,600,000). They are located throughout Nei Monggol (Inner Mongolia) Autonomous Region with scatterings also in Xinjiang and Qinghai. The Mongolian written language was borrowed from the Uygurs (who now use the Arabic script, above) in the thirteenth century; it is written vertically from left to right (Katzner 1975:205). Like Tibetan, the Mongolian script is based on an archaic form of the language, while representation may not be exact, there is minimal interference from the dialects (Henze 1977:373).

The other Mongol minority nationalities are as follows: the Dongxiang (190,000) and the Baoan (6,000) both of southern Gansu province, the Tu (120,000) of eastern Qinghai province, and the Daur (70,000) of western Heilongjiang

province on the USSR border.

Tungus-Manchu: The largest group of this language family is the Manchu minority (2,600,000). "It is now spoken only by some old people in remote villages in the extreme north of Heilongjiang province." (CR 11/79:29). The Manchu nationality is scattered throughout northeastern China and speak and write Chinese (Mandarin).

The Xibo minority nationality (40,000) are "descendants of Manchu cavalrymen who came from northeast China in 1764 and still speak the original Manchu language." (CR 1/81:33). Their script is written vertically and is a "slightly reformed version of literary Manchu" (Lehmann 1975:122). The Xibo minority is located in northwestern Xinjiang and also in northeastern China.

Of this language family also located in northeastern China are the Ewenki (10,000), Oroqen (3,000), and Hezhe (800) minority nationalities.

Korean: The Korean minority nationality (1,600,000) resides in northeastern China on the North Korean border. The written language of this minority group is the same as that of the South Koreans: an alphabet of twenty-five symbols plus some borrowed Chinese characters (Katzner 1975:221).

The two language families in the Austroasiatic language group of the minority nationalities of China are Mon-Khmer and Vietnamese.

Mon-Khmer: There are three minorities who speak languages of this family: the Wa (260,000), the Bulang (50,000), and the Benglong (10,000). These minority groups inhabit sections of the Chinese border with Burma in Yunnan province.

Vietnamese: The only minority nationality of China who speaks a Vietnamese language is the Jing minority (5,000) who reside in the southern corner of Guangxi Autonomous Region bordering Vietnam.

There are two minority nationalities of China who speak Indo-European languages. The Tajik minority (20,000) speak Tajik, an Iranian language, "for all practical purposes, the same language as Persian." (Katzner 1975:138). They use the Arabic alphabet for writing. The Tajiks inhabit the western section of Xinjiang Autonomous Region bordering Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the USSR. The other minority of the Indo-European category is the Russian minority of China (600) who live in Xinjiang. They, of course, use the Cyrillic alphabet.

Finally, the one other minority nationality recognized by the People's Republic of China belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian category. They are the Gaoshan. Although they are located primarily on Taiwan, they are considered to be a minority nationality due to the fact that, officially, Taiwan is considered as a province of the PRC. There are 300,000 people of the Gaoshan minority, very few of them located in

Fujian province on mainland China.

In the above I briefly described the fifty-five minority nationalities the PRC recognizes. Field research is an ongoing process in China both to clarify the existing official minorities and to categorize groups who may constitute minority nationality status also.

CHAPTER II.

LANGUAGE REFORM IN THE PRC

A. Putonghua: the National Standard Language of the PRC

The idea of a national language in China is certainly not a post-1949 concept exclusively. The Beijing sub-dialect itself had been declared the official national language before. In fact, for actually hundreds of years the Beijing sub-dialect was considered the norm of the standard spoken language (Serruys 1962:51).

Putonghua, literally: 'common spoken language', has been the official national language of the PRC since 1955. It is also the official language of Taiwan. Barnes (1973:38) paraphrases from PTH Changshi (1957:10), a Chinese publication, concerning the description of Putonghua as follows:

> The Conference on Standardization arrived at a formula characterizing PTH as a speech form based phonologically on the dialect of Peking, grammatically on the structure of the North Chinese dialect group, and lexically and stylistically on the works of certain representative modern Chinese writers.

Although this makes it seem like a lot of time and planning

went into the formulation of Putonghua, in actuality, it is almost identical to the speech of Beijing. The most noticeable difference is that Putonghua, for the most part, does not include the rotarization of words that terminate in a vowel as does the speech of Beijing.

One of the sub-dialects of Mandarin was an inevitable choice as the standard for China, if for no other reason than, due to the fact that seventy to seventy-five percent of the Han population speak Mandarin. Furthermore, not only is Beijing the capital of China, but the Beijing sub-dialect's terms, as a rule, are better understood nationally, compared with those of other dialects (Barnes 1973:42). After all, the goal in establishing an official national language is to bring the entire populous together linguistically, at least. Given that the dialects are sometimes highly mutually unintelligible, a knowledge of Putonghua would enhance communication, education and even the financial state of the country.

Of course, all the people of China will never speak Putonghua exactly alike; local dialects influence pronunciation. The goal is simply to have a standard so that people from different areas can understand each other. This is also relevant to vocabulary; a norm is needed. As Chao (1971: 100) stated, "In matters of vocabulary, the relation between dialects is in most cases skewed, in other words, with much overlapping and duplication and relatively rare exact equiv-

alences."

Putonghua as the national language does not mean the abolishment of the other Chinese dialects or of the minorities' languages. In fact, in the 1950s Putonghua was only obligatory in Chinese language classes in the primary and secondary schools throughout China. The languages and dialects of instruction in the schools will be discussed further in Chapter III.

Putonghua, officially, is the language to be used in the schools (today), by the military, on most radio stations, on the television, in plays and in the transliteration of the Chinese characters. Especially through education and radio, PTH is expected to reach a goal of total popularization throughout China in the near future. The actual success of PTH so far in China will be dealt with in following chapters.

B. Standardization of Written Chinese

The standardization of written Chinese focuses mainly on the problem of the grammatical differences between the major Chinese dialects. Pronunciation is standardized by instigating Putonghua on a national level, as are variations and inconsistencies in the lexicon. The simplification of Chinese characters and their standardization are separate issues and will be discussed in the following section.

Commonly used as evidence that Chinese is one language, not several, is the "fact" that the written language

is the same for all the dialects. While the forms of the characters themselves are more or less universal[1], there are some differences in written Chinese among the dialects. The difference, however, is quite minimal. According to Tan (1/82), and Sun, Zeng, Huang, and Tsai (2/82), the estimate of written intelligibility among the dialects was stated as being up to ninety percent for the basic level of vocabulary and writing style. Of course, in highly educated and specialist literature the percentage of interdialectal intelligibility varies accordingly. This, naturally, is also the case with specifically dialectal writings, for example, poetry or regional-specific literature.

Differences among the dialects regarding grammar, Chao (1971:99) addresses in the following:

> Word order is practically the same everywhere. The best known type of divergence is the order of direct and indirect objects. Thus, while Mandarin has the order 'give me some water', the Wu and Cantonese dialects have 'give some water me'.[2]

Chao (1971:99) further points out that the "main grammatical difference between Mandarin and the other dialects is in the use of particles, if we do not consider differences in particles as cases of vocabulary." As an example, he gives the

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1 There are a few dialect-specific characters; one example is 冇 in Yue versus 沒有 in Mandarin, both meaning 'have not'.

2 As indicated in Figure 2, Wu actually is two dialects: Zhe and Hu. Cantonese is the Western term for the Yue dialect.

contrastive verbal suffixation in the Mandarin and Yue dialects; Mandarin has one, le, whereas Yue has two, cox and lhoh (1971:99).[1] Therefore, although the greatest differences amongst the dialects is pronunciation, there are also some grammatical ones too, although certainly not that numerous.

Today in China all writing and printing of materials is done in the left-to-right scheme. The exceptions are calligraphy and writing such as on signs. Writing from left to right enables the easy insertion of Arabic numerals, pinyin, and foreign words, names, and phrases. Another advantage is punctuation. It is only recently that punctuation has been used in writing with the characters; in the older texts the absence of punctuation increases ambiguity immensely (Forrest 1973:262). Chao (1959:297) gives the following example of a house guest, wishing that his host would ask him to stay because it started to rain, receiving a note from his host which could have two distinct variations based on punctuation alone:

punctuated as: (2 & 3) & (2 & 3),	'It rains and the weather keeps the guest; although the weather keeps him, I won't keep him.'
punctuated as: 3 & 3 & 3 & 1,	'Raining weather, keep-guest weather. Keep me or not? Keep!'

---

1 Chao's Yue romanization here may not be in pinyin; I suspect that it is not pinyin.

Currently, the symbols: ",.?! are used in the same way as in other languages. This, obviously, greatly aids the clarity of the writing.

As mentioned in the previous section, Putonghua is a standardized spoken language. This includes the use of the most commonly known terms (not always necessarily those of the Beijing sub-dialect) in the lexicon. The other problem is the use of old literary forms instead of modern spoken forms in the written language.

The issue of literary versus vernacular Chinese was described briefly in Chapter I. Serruys (1962:134) points out that "there are in the literary language, many expressions and words that are far distant from the spoken language." For the most part, in China the struggle to use the vernacular in written texts of all kinds has been very successful and far-reaching. The writings of older intellectuals and even some vocabulary usage in everyday usage are still undergoing investigation and reform.

All these elements have greatly aided in the establishment of a standard by which all people can understand all writings at their level and the unification of the written language in the PRC.

C. Character Simplification

The simplification of, at least, a percentage of the characters is the first step in the reform of the Chinese

script. The objective of this aspect of the language reform was to aid in the expulsion of illiteracy and further increase the force of education. It takes many years even to learn the basic, most common, characters. Simplification greatly aids the student in learning how to write.

Simplification merely means a reduction, sometimes drastic, in the number of strokes in a character. This, however, is not a new phenomenon; Hsia (1956:5) points out, as far back as almost 2,000 years ago there were simplified forms used that are still being used today. The difference of past character simplification is that these simplified forms just gradually appeared in the written language; nothing was officially or formally stated or instigated, whereas, today the simplification of characters is done and popularized officially throughout China (Hsia 1956:7). Therefore, there is consistency that to a certain degree was lacking in the past.

In 1956 in China, 516 simplified characters were officially established by the Language Reform Committee "chiefly on the basis of their degree of adaptability, acceptability and usefulness." (Hsia 1956:10). An important point not to be overlooked here is the fact that more than three hundred of these simplified characters had been in everyday use for centuries and most of the literate people in China were already acquainted with them (Hsia 1956:10-11).

Furthermore, fifty-four common character components were also simplified, thus, affecting an even further number of characters. The above mentioned simplified characters and simplified components were all implemented in 1956 and have now been firmly established in education, publications and printing, that is, everywhere in the PRC.[1] This was said to come to a total of 2,238 simplified characters (GMRB 20/12/77).

In December 1977 the second and final list of simplified characters was published, more specifically, the draft of the second list was published. This list contained 853 simplified characters: 248 already known and being used to some extent already and 605 not as yet well known (GMRB 20/12/77). "This 'Draft' is designed to encompass 4,500 commonly used characters." (GMRB 20/12/77). Given that this is a draft and not an official list yet, these simplified characters are not compulsory for everyday use; this has been left up to the individual. They are merely at this point on a trial basis in order to determine their linguistic and social feasibility.

Altogether, therefore, it is estimated that 6,738 characters have been or will be affected by both the 1956 and 1977 official simplifications. This, obviously, alleviates the learning process. Printing, filing, cataloguing, dictionary writing, and a number of other areas have also been greatly influenced by simplification.

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1 In Hong Kong and Taiwan the original characters are still used for the most part.

Regarding the process of simplification itself, Hsia (1956:11-19) lists the following fourteen approaches used both in the past and by the Language Reform Committee. I have included a few of his examples with each type of simplification. As was mentioned earlier, number one below makes up about two thirds of the simplified characters.

Principles of the Simplification Process[1]

1. To adopt the common prevailing simple forms:

   complex: 辦 , 頭 , 歡

   simple: 办 , 头 , 欢

2. To regularize the Grass Style Characters[2]:

   complex: 韋 , 興 , 時

   simple: 韦 , 兴 , 时

   For convenience in writing, the curved strokes of these characters are changed into straight ones.

3. To use the antiquated forms which are still in current use:

   complex: 個 , 爾 , 衆

   simple: 个 , 尔 , 众

   These characters have been continually in use. However, most Chinese don't realize that they are antiquated forms.

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1 For the meanings and pronunciations (Mandarin) of the characters used here, see the Appendix.

2 The Grass Style is a type of writing much like cursive writing; the strokes are all run together. It originated many years ago, even before the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 219) (Forrest 1973:43-45).

4. To use the antiquated forms which are also the component parts of the present regular forms:

   complex: 處，雲，電

   simple: 処，云，电

5. To use simpler characters as substitutes for complex characters having identical or similar sounds:

   complex: 裏，祇

   simple: 里，只

   By doing this it would be necessary to learn a lesser number of characters.

6. To use the simpler variant forms:

   complex: 詠，黏，髣

   simple: 咏，粘，仿

   These are easier to write and the unnecessary variants are thus eliminated.

7. To use the "Logical Combination" way of constructing characters as stated in Shwowen Jyedz:[1]

   complex: 雙佳，陽

   simple: 双，阳

   Each part of the character contributes to the meaning of the whole character so it is easy to learn and remember.

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1 Hsia (1956:21) explains this publication as being published circa AD 120 and as the first standard work on Chinese etymology. The title is in the Yale Romanization, presumably.

8. To use the "Phonetic Compounds" way of constructing characters in Shwowen Jyedz:

   complex: 墳，擔

   simple: 坟，担

   One part represents the meaning and the other part the sound.

9. To make the over-wide characters narrower:

   complex: 噸，襯

   simple: 吨，衬

10. To make the over-long characters shorter:

    complex: 鼕，鄉

    simple: 咚，向

11. To delete the redundant part:

    complex: 蟲虫，聞耳

    simple: 虫，聂

12. To make a part of the complex character stand for the whole character:

    a. Use the top part of the original character:

       complex: 習，産，醫

       simple: 习，产，医

    b. Use the left part of the original character:

       complex: 號，殺

       simple: 号，杀

c. Use the right part of the original character:

complex: 條

simple: 条

d. Use the upper half of the original character:

complex: 從

simple: 人人

e. Use the lower half of the original character:

complex: 雲 , 電

simple: 云 , 电

f. Use both the top and the bottom ends of the original character:

complex: 尋 , 奪

simple: 寻 , 夺

g. Use the inner or outside frame of the original character:

complex: 関 , 厳

simple: 关 , 厂

13. To introduce for general use certain simplified forms otherwise prevailing in small professional circles:

complex: 療

simple: 疗

The above example was formerly only used for people connected with medicine.

14. To use certain symbols to represent various components of comlicated characters:

		complex:	simple:
又	substituted for 雚 →	歡	欢
	虘 →	戲	戏
不	substituted for 睘 →	還	还
舌	substituted for 褱 →	壞	坏
	爨 →	亂	乱
丷 /	substituted for 興 →	興	兴
	雁 →	應	应

In closing here I would like to point out that the role of simplification was seen as temporary, mainly to aid the elimination of illiteracy and increase education. Later pinyin would replace the characters so that simplified characters would really have no further value. However, the language reform statements have been modified along the way. This issue will be dealt with in more detail in a following section.

D. Alphabetization of Chinese

The alphabetization of Chinese, as seen with the simplification of the characters and popularizing a national

standard language (Putonghua), was not initially the attempt of post-1949 Chinese linguists. Beginning with Christian missionaries in the late sixteenth century many attempts, in fact some alphabets actually were devised, had been made. My point in this section, however, is to describe the official system of alphabetization of Chinese (pinyin) and the official uses of it.

In the beginning, the early 1950s, alphabetization was regarded as a very necessarily immediate aspect of the language reform of the PRC. In 1951 Mao voiced the focus that was put on the alphabetization or phonetization, as quoted in Lehmann (1975:51), as follows, "Our written language must be reformed; it should take the direction of phonetization common to all the languages of the world."

The Latin alphabet was finally chosen after an unsatisfactory attempt was made by Mao to ask the people for their ideas; apparently over 1,200 schemes were submitted (DeFrancis 1967:144). Among those that were considered were: a Chinese-devised, the Cyrillic, and the Japanese kana writing systems. This initial alphabet, pinyin (pin: 'spell'; yin: 'sound'), was officially declared in 1956 as a draft of the final alphabet. The final pinyin system was declared and established in 1958.

Pinyin makes use of four diacritics as tone marks (with a seldom used fifth one to represent the neutral tone) and the twenty-six letters of the roman alphabet. The tone

diacritics were given in the Introduction. The individual phonemes are symbolized as follows here in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

Conversion Table of Chinese Phonetic Alphabet and IPA

a (a)	h (x)	ng (ŋ)	si (sɿ)	xue (ɕyɛ)
b (p)	-i (i)	o (o)	t (t')	y (j)
c (ts')	-ian (iɛn)	p (p')	-u (u)	yan (jɛn)
ch (tʂ')	-ie (iɛ)	q (tɕ')	-ui (uei)	ye (jɛ)
chi (tʂ'ɿ)	-iu (iou)	qu (tɕ'y)	-un (uən)	yu (y)
ci (ts'ɿ)	j (tɕ)	que (tɕ'yɛ)	-ü (y)	yuan (yɛn)
d (t)	ju (tɕy)	r- (ʐ)	-üan (yɛn)	yue (yɛ)
e (ɤ)	jue (tɕyɛ)	(-r (r))	-üe (yɛ)	z (ts)
ei (ei)	k (k')	ri (ʐɿ)	v (v)	zh (tʂ)
er (ər)	l (l·)	s (s)	w (w)	zhi (tʂɿ)
f (f)	m (m)	sh (ʂ)	x (ɕ)	zi (tsɿ)
g (k)	n (n)	shi (ʂɿ)	xu (ɕy)	

(CCED 1978:710)

The overzealousness of the initial plans for alphabetization subsided even by 1958 itself. Zhou Enlai (1958:17) clearly stated the objectives of the language reform as: "the scheme is to annotate the characters phonetically and to popularize the common speech. It is not to replace the Chinese characters." In the primary schools children first learn pinyin and then as they learn the characters, they are taught the pinyin for each character. In non-Mandarin areas this greatly aids the teaching of PTH. Pinyin is used for PTH, not the other Chinese dialects.

Street signs, railroad signs, posters, advertising, telegrams and a variety of other public items are supposed to be in both characters and pinyin (telegrams, of course, are

in either not both[1]). This all greatly aids in popularizing Putonghua, especially in non-Mandarin areas. There is even a newspaper from Shanghai, Hànyǔ Pīnyīn Xiǎobào (Chinese Pinyin Little Newspaper), that is in both characters and pinyin.

A further function of pinyin is "to serve as a common basis on which the various national minorities may create or reform their written languages." (Zhou 1958:19). This will be discussed more specifically in the following section.

The other uses of pinyin are to aid foreigners in learning Chinese, to give pronunciation and order to dictionary entries, to compile indices, to aid in the use of foreign terms in Chinese, and in writing names and places. "Pinyin is obligatory for Chinese proper names in diplomatic documents and in publications in languages using the Latin alphabet." (CR 11/80:41).

After Zhou's article was published, of course, much more research on and comments concerning pinyin have been publicized. Commonly accepted now is that, once PTH is sufficiently widespread, pinyin will replace the characters. This will not be tomorrow, of course. Research is still ongoing especially regarding word boundaries and tone indications (Lehmann 1975:52). Furthermore, Chinese linguists are

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1 Telegrams in pinyin, according to DeFrancis (1967:149), sent or received are: Harbin 95%, Beijing 30%, and Shanghai 8%. Harbin is in the far northeast of China (Manchuria).

still investigating North Korea's and Vietnam's transformations to a romanized alphabet, especially since they both had used, at least, a percentage of, Chinese characters before.

Other problems such as homophony and ambiguity, along with the ones mentioned above, will be covered in the following chapters.

E. Minority Nationality Languages

The language reformers of China have laid out the basic principles to be followed regarding the minority nationality languages as follows:

a. Ultimately, all minority nationality scripts will be romanized;

b. Transcription of sounds in the minority languages should correspond as closely as possible to the pinyin symbol used for Putonghua;

c. Either diacritics added to pinyin or specially devised letters should be used when pinyin is insufficient for the sound being transcribed;

d. Loanwords from Chinese are to be transcribed in pinyin;

e. A basic dialect must be chosen to represent the standard language for each of the minority languages as necessary.

(Lehmann 1975:115-6)

As stated in a. above, romanization is the ultimate goal for all the national minority languages of China. In some cases romanization is not an immediate reform goal; Dai (Tai) is an example of this as will be seen below.

Although the reform of the minorities' languages is still an ongoing operation, the years of the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976, put virtually a standstill to all minority language work at that time. The famous "Gang of Four" promoted Han chauvanism, of course, destroying minority-Han relations. The "Gang's" attitude was to allow those minorities that had an established written language already, namely the Mongolians, the Tibetans, the Uygurs, the Kazaks, and the Koreans, to use their written languages "for the time being and don't mention the rest." (GMRB 8/4/77). This, to say the least, put not only linguistic work, but all positive interaction between the Hans and the minorities at a standstill. Even though research has recommenced since the official end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, it certainly does not receive as much attention as the pre-Cultural Revolution period.

The two languages most widely spoken in China's large northwest region, Xinjiang, are Uygur and Kazak of the Turkic language family. In 1960 a romanized script based on pinyin was officially established to replace their Arabic script. Although this was supposed to be on a trial basis, this romanized script pervaded education and publications in both Uygur and Kazak until 1979. Finally in 1979, due to the general disapproval among the Uygurs and Kazaks of this new script, education and publications were switched back to their original Arabic alphabet.

The Zhuang language, originally in characters, was romanized in the 1950s. Thirty-two letters were used: the Roman alphabet with six additional letters (CR 8/62:25); that is, nineteen consonants, eight vowels and five to indicate tones (Katzner 1975:212). Also romanized were the Jingpo and Lahu languages. The "Pollard script" used for the Miao language was replaced with a romanized script developed in 1956. The Yi language was also romanized, in 1958.

Another language that has undergone script reform is Dai. The Dai language, however, was not reformed according to romanization, but according to its own script. The two most widely used of their (five) scripts were chosen for their language reform (CR 8/62:26). These two alphabets were improved, for example, by discarding useless letters and improving or adding tone marks (CR 8/62:26).

Although the eventual goal, as seen by the Hans, is to transform these existent scripts into romanized ones, it is viewed in general that this can only effectively happen when the concerned minority positively approves of the change. This was a lesson the Hans learned with the Uygurs and Kazaks as was mentioned above. Likewise, romanized Tibetan is used only in teaching so far (Lehmann 1975:120).

Although the minority nationalities of China are expected to learn PTH, at least eventually, the policy is that if their languages do not already have a script, one should be devised according to pinyin. Certainly not all the lan-

guages of the minorities have such a script. By 1958 the following languages had had original scripts devised according to pinyin: Li, Buyi, Hani, Lisu, Naxi, Dong, Wa. The Naxi are included here because their language, although previously written by shamanistic priests, was not widespread among the Naxi people.

The main force of minority language reform was concentrated in the 1950s. Work is still continuing today on the minority languages, but the main efforts throughout China are being concentrated on education (in Putonghua) and technical advancement.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE PRACTICE IN THE PRC

A. Teaching in Elementary and Secondary Schools: Languages of Instruction

Not only did education increase after 1949, but in the countryside this especially was true. To give a general idea of this increase in education, here are some early statistics for all of China - Table IX.

TABLE IX

Enrollment in Educational Institutes in China 1949-58

(the numbers represent thousands)

school year	primary	secondary	university
1949-50	24,391	1,039	117
1953-54	51,664	2,933	212
1957-58	64, 279	6,281	441

(Kwong 1979:69)

One example of this increase is in Anhui province. Enrollment in primary school, for example, increased from forty-eight percent to ninety-two percent by the end of 1958 (Kwong

1979:104). Throughout China, primary school attendance was estimated to be eighty-five percent in 1959 (Kwong 1979:104). As is still true today, the progress is mainly in primary education.

These statistics and generalizations, of course, are for Han students, not the minority nationalities. Education for the minorities will be covered in the latter part of this section.

With the exceptions of media and entertainment, teaching in the primary and secondary schools is the target area for the success of both the popularization of Putonghua and pinyin. However, in the beginning of the Communist Regime, PTH was mandatory only in Chinese language courses. Even as late as 1965, DeFrancis (1967:142) pointed out that it was still frequently the case that the local dialect was used for other courses such as history and science.

More and more teachers have been trained now in PTH and today the frequency of PTH as the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools is quite high. A further controlling factor is the impact of pinyin.

Pinyin is the first writing system the children learn and is always given as representing PTH, not the local dialect. Initially, the length of study of pinyin varies slightly according to the dialect area (Lehmann 1975:55). Generally speaking, at the end of the second year of school a student can spell and pronounce syllables written in pinyin and once

finished primary school, control of pinyin and knowledge of the basic characters (2,800-3,000) is expected (Lehmann 1975: 55-6).

In middle school, pinyin is used only to introduce a new character. Therefore, the characters are used for all writing.

Before moving on to educational practices regarding the minorities, I would like to point out that the Han population in minority regions goes to strictly Chinese schools and all instruction is done in PTH. Non-Mandarin Chinese dialects never had a stronghold in these regions due to the forced migration and thus somewhat superficial set-up of the communities. There is a very high percentage of Han people in both of the capitals of Xinjiang and Nei Monggol (Inner Mongolia), Urumqi (seventy-six percent Han) and Huhehaote respectively.

Since 1949, school enrollment among the minority groups has increased significantly. Table X indicates the increase in a mere seven year period.

TABLE X

School Enrollment: Minority Nationalities

Year	primary	secondary	college/ university
1951	943,000	40,000	2,000
1958	4,240,000	395,000	22,000

(LAQC 1976:20)

According to Kwong (1979:104), in Xizang (Tibet) and Nei Monggol the increase in enrollment was as high as fifty percent before the Cultural Revolution.

In the larger minority areas, such as Nei Monggol, Xinjiang, Xizang, Qinghai, Ningxia, Gansu, and Guangxi, for those who have their own written language in both primary and secondary schools the minority language is used for almost all instruction. Commencing in secondary school, language courses in Chinese, Putonghua, are given both in characters and pinyin. For the minorities who do not yet have a written language, the primary and secondary instruction is in PTH.

Since a minority student must know Putonghua very well to enter a higher institution, there are also courses for the minorities in Chinese language alone after completion of secondary school. A recent development, however, is the establishment of higher level institutions in Xinjiang in which the minority languages are used as the language of instruction in some courses (CR 1/81:37).

B. Media, Entertainment, Publishing

In the following passage Barnes summarizes the nature and effectiveness of radio in China:

> By reason of its very practical contribution, probably no agency is as valuable to the process of language standardization in China as radio. The acceptance of Peking Radio as the embodiment of PTH has developed informally, but it apparently enjoys unanimous support in the language community. As those who have listened to it are aware, this is partly because Peking Radio does not broadcast with a voice identical with that of native Peking speakers. This in effect gives it a national, rather than a dialectal, appeal.
>
> (1973:46)

Although it is not official, radio actually also plays a role of linguistic standardizer. Again, Barnes further comments on this:

> radio programmers frequently exercise their mandate as national broadcasters by editing out lexical matter peculiar to Peking and not likely to be understood elsewhere. The agency has at other times informally assumed the role of national lexicographer in resolving questions of conflicting pronunciations.
>
> (1973:47)

Obviously, however, radio broadcasts have not all been in Putonghua since its establishment or a tremendous amount of non-Mandarin speakers would not understand the most of a single broadcast. In 1956, nineteen Chinese dialects and sub-dialects were broadcast (Barnes 1973:38). Although the frequency of local dialect broadcasting is slowly decreasing, most often in non-Mandarin speaking areas there are still broadcasts in both the local dialect and PTH. Furthermore, in the rural areas broadcasts are often only in the local dialect (Barnes 1977:268). If broadcasts were only in

PTH in these areas, a lot of people simply would not listen to the radio at all for lack of comprehensibility. Those non-Mandarin speakers who either have not attended school at all since 1949 or only completed primary school (often the case in rural areas) simply do not know enough PTH to understand even one broadcast.

Radio broadcasts in the major minority languages are both local and central (out of Beijing). There are also broadcasts in all localities in Chinese. As an example, "in Xinjiang there are regular broadcasts in Chinese, Uygur, Kazak and Mongolian." (Lehmann 1975:114). Just what percentage of the broadcasts are in the minority languages of these regions, I was not able to find out. The policy is a very good and honourable one, the reality, however, is often quite different.

The newspapers and magazines are also important linguistically. The established simplified characters are used. Regarding grammar and expressions, Putonghua is used for the most part, although this may not always be the case for all local papers and magazines. As was mentioned before, there is a newspaper printed in Shanghai in both characters and pinyin; there may also be other locations that print such newspapers. There are, however, no newspapers printed only in pinyin. Therefore, given that most papers and magazines are in the characters only, one must have a competent level of literacy in order to read them.

There are many magazines and newspapers printed regularly in the major minority languages. "Moreover, many local newspapers are printed in the local national minority language as well as in Chinese."(Lehmann 1975:114).

In entertainment, it used to be the practice that, in Chinese, actors and actresses would use the dialect or subdialect of the setting of the story. This is now highly discouraged, however. It is now increasingly more and more common for Putonghua to be used no matter what the setting.

Entertainment does exist in the minority languages, the most popular being plays. There are movies in the major minority languages such as Uygur, Mongolian, Kazak, and Tibetan.

As is the case with newspapers and magazines, in Chinese, publications are in the official simplified characters when applicable and are written in PTH. The only exception here is poetry that is typically regional in nature and origin. There are also publications in the main minority languages. Although at first the most common publications were Communist works, today there is a vast variety of books being published in minority languages. These include literature, history, and textbooks for children and adults.

C. Borrowing and Absorbing New Words and Concepts (into Chinese)

In Chinese, as in other languages, the borrowing and absorbing of new terms and concepts has been done using purely

phonetic or semantic principles or a combination of the two. Phonetic borrowings are most often rejected, however (Kratochvil 1968:140).

Examples of the former, phonetic-based borrowing, are as given by Barnes (1973:43) in Table XI below.

TABLE XI

Examples of Phonetic-Based Borrowing

new term	meaning
lo - chi	'logic'
mo - teng	'modern'
a - ssu - p'i - ling	'aspirin'

For writing purposes, "the original loan is analyzed into syllabic units, and then characters with similar sound values are selected to represent them." (Barnes 1973:43).

Examples of the latter, semantic-based borrowing, are given here in Table XII.

TABLE XII

Examples of Semantic-Based Borrowing

component meanings	combined meaning
'iron' & 'road'	'railway'
'fire' & 'ship'	'steamship'
'display-minute' & 'lens'	'microscope' (Forrest 1973:257)
'horse' & 'power'	'horsepower'
'original' & 'particle'	'atom' (Barnes 1973:43)

Forrest further mentions that the Chinese word for 'lightening' (diàn) was adapted to mean 'electric' (1973:257). This in fact is very widely used now. Just a few examples are in Table XIII following.

TABLE XIII

From Lightening to Electric for Borrowing

new word	component meanings	combined meaning
diànbào	'electric' & 'report'	'telegram'
diànchē	'electric' & 'vehicle'	'trolley'
diàngōng	'electric' & 'work'	'electrician'
diànshàn	'electric' & 'fan'	'electric fan'
diànhuà	'electric' & 'speech'	'telephone'

Some examples of both semantic-based and phonetic-based borrowing combined are given in Table XIV here.

TABLE XIV

Combination Semantic and Phonetic Borrowing[1]

new word	component meanings	meaning
píjiǔ	'pi' (the sound) & 'liquor'	'beer'
mǐlǎoshǔ	'mi' (the sound) & 'mouse'	'Mickey Mouse'
bīngqílín	'ice' & phonetic of 'cream'	'ice cream'
léidá	'thunder' & 'reach, communicate'	'radar'
láifùqiāng	'back n' forth' & 'gun'	'rifle'

---

1 The examples in Table XIV were given in: Barnes (1973:43) for 'beer' and 'Mickey Mouse'; Chao (1970:190) for the others.

There are not many problems with the types of borrowings already given here, however, this is not to say that problems do not exist. "The real difficulties were met with when the Chinese began not merely to adopt the superficial products of European science, but that science itself." (Forrest 1973:257). For example, 'hydrochloric acid' was borrowed on the phonetic principle as: ha-i-chu-jo-ke-lo-li-ke a-hsi-te (Barnes 1973:44). Also, 'phenyl-dithio carbonyl' was borrowed on the semantic principle and is a seven syllable compound (Barnes 1973:44). Further complicating matters is the fact that the characters chosen to represent these terms, whether on the phonetic or semantic principle, are often not clearly related to the term itself at all.

Although there is an official committee assigned to researching and publicizing new terms, these lists have appeared so sporadically that some scientists say that pinyin is the only answer (Barnes 1973:48). This, they claim, would bring Chinese usage into closer conformity with internationally accepted conventions so that this part of the lexicon could be put on a rational basis (Barnes 1973:48).

Regarding scientific symbols, as late as 1961 a report was given in China that "the majority of students still read the scientific symbols written in the Latin alphabet with the English pronunciation." (GMRB 22/03/61). I presume by now, with the ongoing research, both linguistic and educational, that throughout China these symbols are now learned with the

Putonghua pronunciation.

In conclusion here, the problem of borrowing and absorbing scientific terms is neither easily nor readily solved.

CHAPTER IV

LOOKING AT TODAY IN THE PRC

A. Language Proficiency

Most Han young people (under thirty-five) in China, speak an acceptable amount of Putonghua, at least those who come from the cities. It is very difficult to know exactly what the linguistic situations are outside of the major cities.

Older people were never pressured (or expected) to learn Putonghua. "The government concedes that a large segment of this population, especially the current generation of older people and dialect speakers, is unlikely ever to use the standardized form." (Barnes 1973:40). Mainly, PTH was aimed at radio announcers, teachers, young students and people in theatre and media (Zhou 1958:16). Professors in universities still often use their own dialect to teach, even when they teach in a different region. In fact, even the lectures of some of the professors at Beijing University "are known to be understood completely only by a small number of students." (Kratochvil 1968:20). Furthermore, Chinese officials do not always use

PTH even when delivering an address to PTH speakers (Kratochvil 1968:19).

Obviously, not everyone speaks PTH exactly the same; the variants, however usually are not so extreme as to impede comprehension. There are distinct variants in each dialect and sub-dialect region.

Among the minorities who do not speak Chinese as a first language, active knowledge of Putonghua depends on the amount of contact with Han people. In the large cities, for example Urumqi and Huhehaote, most of the minority people can speak PTH. I was even told by some minority people from Xinjiang that over half of the minority population of Xinjiang can speak and understand PTH. After 1949 tremendous amounts of Han people were relocated to minority areas; in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang, for example, of its 850,000 population seventy-six percent are Han, ten percent are Uygur, and ten percent are Hui (CR 1/81:33).

Of the Han population, once again, it is mainly those of the younger segment who are literate; the estimate of literacy is usually given as about eighty-five percent. This is probably an overly high estimate, however. Again, in the countryside it is questionable just what percentage of the people, even young people, are literate to a competent degree. I say this because 'literacy' has been officially defined in China as knowledge of as few as 1,500 characters, at least in the past.

During the first ten to fifteen years of the Communist rule there were schools for adults to learn how to write. These do not exist anymore; literacy is acquired through the regular schools by the school-aged only.

Among the minorities, the percentage of those literate in Chinese is very low. As a matter of fact, of the minority students who are accepted into university, three-quarters of them "must then spend their first year in college in an intensive Chinese-language program so they can take classes taught in Chinese." (IHT 31/10/80).

Concerning the non-Chinese languages, quite simply, the minorities who have their own languages speak them. Even the Han who live in the minority regions usually do not speak an adequate amount of the local language.

Literacy among the minorities depends on the development of the respective minority. The only specific information I have is that about half of the Uygur population in the countryside (in Xinjiang) are literate in Uygur and fifty to seventy percent are literate in the cities (Molloniaz et al. 05/81).

There are a few Han students at Minority Nationality Institutes in China who are literate in at least one of the minority languages.

As mentioned in a previous section on education, pinyin is only used to introduce a new character, once a student finishes primary school. The consequence of this is that as

time goes by the student loses touch with pinyin. Therefore, young adults have a very poor knowledge of pinyin (Song 12/81). Basically the same is true of the minority nationality students since they learn Chinese in the same way as do the Han students. Most older people know no pinyin at all.

B. Pinyin: Linguistic Feasibility

The question of monosyllabism and the vast amount of homonyms have led a lot of people to discard pinyin as a possibility for the sole written form of Chinese. Of course, as discussed earlier, Chinese is not a monosyllabic language. Furthermore, with tone marks homonyms are not really a serious problem at all.

Homonymy is not great once the following have been eliminated: homonyms which only exist in combinations, that is, in polysyllabic words, those homonyms which belong only to different grammatical classes or specialized fields and highly literary forms, some of which have not been used for years.

After all, if homonymy was such an insurmountable problem, how would people be able to communicate through speech. "To get around some of the homophones, modern Chinese speech employs many compounds, most of which consist of two characters each." (Chu 1969:29).

In the following list, Chou Yukuang (Serruys 1962:112) has devised several methods of finally exterminating homonyms:

a) exchange one of a pair of homonyms for synonym;
b) lengthen one-syllable homonyms to two-syllable forms which contrast;
c) substitute a new compound for one of a pair of homonyms;
d) add distinguishing suffixes to homophonous words;[1]
e) lengthen one-syllable literary words into two-syllable colloquial words;
f) avoid compressed literary language and write out the whole expression in colloquial;
g) of several synonyms, choose the one with no homophones;
h) of compounds which can be written either element first, choose the non-homophonous variant and use it to the total exclusion of the other;
i) where alternate readings are permissible, choose the one, which by tone or sound, eliminates homonymy;
j) even when tone differences already distinguish two words, accentuate the difference whenever possible by forming a bisyllabic word;
k) use the distinction of stressed and unstressed tones as a means of distinction of words in the spelling as well;
l) use foreign words as loan words written according to the Chinese orthographic system or the foreign spelling, instead of transliteration or translation, when the latter is confusing with other words.

As just before mentioned, b) above is already done to a great extent naturally. Furthermore, all new words that come into PTH are polymorphemic (Kratochvil 1968:14). "Generally speaking, wherever there is the possibility of choice between a monomorphemic and a polymorphemic construction, the latter tends to win" (Kratochvil 1968:141).

---

1 Possibly the only suffix intended here is the rotarization typical of the Beijing sub-dialect.

In the case of pairs that only appear to be homonyms, but are not, a diacritic is used. If a syllable is preceded by a, o, or e and follows another syllable forming a compound word and, thus, is liable to cause confusion, the diacritic ' is used; for example, pi'ao ('fur coat'), but piao ('to float') (Legeza 1968:13).

A disputed point is the necessity of tone marks constantly. Since tones do carry meaning and greatly aid in distinguishing homonyms, they cannot be totally ignored. For example, mai without a tone mark is both 'to buy' and 'to sell' in Putonghua. Are the tone marks necessary at all times, however? One author, Cao Bohan, does not think these diacritics are necessary when there is a sufficient context, however, when a sufficient context is lacking, the tones must be indicated (ZGYW 02/53). The problem that I see here is one of constant choice and decision making. It would seem best to, at least at first, always include these diacritics until usage would guide their omission. A further complication is the fact that tones assimilate in connected speech, even within polysyllabic words. On the question of tone indication, a lot of research still needs to be done.

Another area that presents possible problems in pinyin is word and phrase boundaries. What was formerly written character by character would be written word by word and phrase by phrase in pinyin. This would also aid in decreasing some of the ambiguity of character writing. An example of

grammatical ambiguity given by Chao demonstrates the problem sometimes encountered with character writing. The two following possible meanings come from one string of characters: 'It was not a French general who elected...' and 'Illegal People's Congress will elect...' (Chao 1959:296). Once the associated words were connected in pinyin, this problem would not exist.

Besides the inclusion of tone diacritics, the issue of word and phrase boundaries in pinyin is commonly pointed out as the reason for its inefficiency. "There is disagreement as to what constitutes a word; that is, whether a phrase should be rendered as one word, or two or more." (Seybolt and Chiang 1979:21).

> For example the English expression 'new writing' tends to be written as one word in pinyin, xinwenzi, but it could be rendered as two, xin 'new' wenzi 'writing'. If it were broken into syllables, it would be three xin wen zi conforming to the three characters 新文字. (Seybolt and Chiang 1979:21)

Another example of this is given by Chu (1969:30) as follows:

> The compound for the 'People's Republic of China'* can be written alphabetically as one long word or as two, three, four or seven words, depending upon how one delimits the internal components of the overall compound.
>
> *中华人民共和国

This problem, of course, is not only a question of bound versus free, but of the semantic intent (in Chinese)

of such compounds. The problem, however, is certainly not insolvable; it is a question of research and practice for Chinese linguists to provide a solution to the "boundary" problem encountered in pinyin.

C. Computers: Aid to Maintaining Current Script

Due to the awkwardness and inefficiency of old Chinese typewriters, beyond actual publishing, everything is written out by hand with only rare exceptions. Hsia (1956:115) estimated that it takes twelve times longer to type in characters than in the Latin alphabet. Likewise, printing is still a very slow process in China. Most typesetting, in fact, is still done by hand (Hsia 1956:115).

After a ten-year research project at the Computer Sciences Department of Chinese University in Hong Kong, a machine was designed to type in Chinese characters. It has "256 keys with which people should be able to reproduce, at a reasonable speed, the 16,000 characters in the modern Chinese lexicon." (NS 12/11/81:422). Eighteen of these keys are "functional" keys which change the keyboard's operation.

> The remaining 238 are divided into five zones on the keyboard which are colour-coded for ease of identification. The positioning of the components in four of the zones corresponds to the position they take up in a written character, while the fifth, central, zone contains another set of commonly used character

> components which can be placed anywhere on the written character. Within this plan, the components are arranged according to frequency of use.
>
> (NS 12/11/81:423)

Furthermore, it only takes an average of 2.7 keystrokes to form a character while English words average six letters, thus, information processed in Chinese requires only half the computer storage space of English (NS 12/11/81: 423). Another advantage according to Loh, the one who devised the computer, is that anyone who can write Chinese can learn to manipulate the keyboard in a week (NS 12/11/81:423).

This computer is not only a typewriter, but can be used as a telecommunications terminal and in typesetting as well. Compared with the old system of typesetting by hand, it is well worth it:

3000 words/ hour for the computer

600 characters/ hour by hand (with a 5-10% error rate)

(NS 12/11/81:423). A British company, Monotype, has designed a printing system based on the above technique (NS 12/11/81: 422).

A further advantage of the above computer is described in the following:

> By changing the function keys, the typewriter can type documents in Russian and Arabic, as well as Chinese and English; if necessary the machine can shift between the different languages in the same sentence.
>
> (NS 12/11/81:424)

There are other systems also under consideration by China, ranging from digital programming to pinyin. The following quote, however, emphasizes the use of characters over pinyin:

> Whichever system or combination of systems China eventually opts for, most Chinese scientists agree that, for all its complexity, future data processing in China will use the ancient ideographic script, rather than modified or Romanised forms of it.
>
> (NS 12/11/81:424)

There are many more centres outside of China in which Chinese language studies are ongoing. In this field, for example, there are computer centres at both the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Illinois and a phonology laboratory at the former. At the computer centres work is being done in twenty Chinese dialects and at the phonology laboratory a machine dictionary with over seven thousand entries has been compiled (Wang 1973:60).

CONCLUSION

A. Current Official Language Policy of the PRC

Many, many years ago the people of the various regions of China were isolated from each other; their spoken language became more and more diverse aided by the vast amount of illiteracy. This problem "has been troubling the Chinese for 2000 years and has never been satisfactorily solved." (Serruys 1962:9). Anxious to once again unite written and spoken language among all the people, a strong obsessive ideology coloured initial Chinese Communist claims of nationalizing PTH and implementing a romanized script. This changed quickly as they realized, whereas, it may be possible to plan languages, they cannot be forced. Now language reformers and government officials alike in China usually address most any question regarding linguistics and languages in China with deng yi deng ('wait a while'; 'give it time').

As one report put it: the language reform will have to proceed in gradual stages, realistically speaking; it will be many years before the ultimate objective of pinyin as the written language can be achieved (CR 11/80:41).

Given that so much effort has been put into simplifying the characters, it does not seem likely that pinyin is expected to replace the characters in the foreseeable future (French 1971:116). Even concerning the preparatory work of the pinyin take-over DeFrancis (1967:145) points out that "the reformers have been left very much to their own devices."

Currently, the main purpose of pinyin is to enhance PTH pronunciation through the schools. This is clearly a use as a teaching tool only; as pointed out previously, by secondary school the students start to forget pinyin. Although the policy is that pinyin should be used (with characters) on road signs, bus stops, and various other places, its application other than in the schools, that is, its public applications, remain minimal (Barnes 1973:46). At any rate, the spread of Putonghua has a long way to go before being secured enough among all the people so as to enable a phonetic script.

At least partially due to the above stipulations, linguistics is certainly out of focus now. Today technology and economics are in the foreground and English is the main language studied in China for these sciences.

B. Attitudes of the People

Once more, as put by Serruys, I would like to make note of the fact that:

> It was realized that it was an impossible task to spread and teach the Standard Language without the help

> of characters and that without a widespread acceptance of a Standard Language spread of an alphabet would be impossible.
>
> (1962:80)

Pinyin, however, "for technical as well as social reasons", "is still far from being in a position to supersede the characters." (Chao1968:110). It is the aspect of "social reasons" that I will briefly cover in this section.

Sun, Huang and Tsai, three Chinese students, do not think that pinyin will ever replace the characters. One other Chinese student, Zeng, thinks the replacement will happen , but in five hundred years! They all agree, further, that the dialects will never disappear (Huang et al. 2/82). Regarding the issue of the dialects, most people, I feel, would say the same. On the question of pinyin, I tend to believe, it has been my experience,that whether they would actually say it or not, most feel, if at all this happens, then many, many years down the road it would be possible. These feelings about the characters and pinyin certainly are an important factor on the impact pinyin could or will have.

Even with the few problems mentioned in earlier sections, there is little doubt in general that pinyin could replace the characters.

> The main question, then, is do the Chinese really want to do it. Are they willing to forsake the revered orthography of their ancestors for one of foreign origin? The answer is by no means clear, even at the highest levels.
>
> (Seybolt and Chiang 1979:18)

On this same issue, Serruys notes that there "is, in spite of enthusiastic letters to editors in language journals, a deep seated and emotional attachment to the traditional Chinese script." (1962:77).

At this point no one can definitely say whether pinyin will replace the characters even if the difficulties are remedied. This truly is a matter of what the people will want when this possibility presents itself. This, obviously, is in the future, not even in the next few decades.

I will take the liberty here of generalizing that the minority nationalities of China do not find either the Chinese characters or pinyin more "pleasant". Given that learning Putonghua is necessary, most prefer pinyin; it is, obviously, much easier to learn than the characters are. However, for those who wish to try to get into university, the characters are mandatory.

In Tibet (Xizang) and the Northwest especially, the minorities resent that they must learn Putonghua, but the Han do not learn their languages except a few out of sheer necessity. If for no other reason than cultural reasons, the minorities who have their own languages do not believe that their languages will ever "die out".

C. All in All

As with all languages, certainly most languages, the standard is not absolute in all cases. Rather, "there is a

range of variants both in the written style and the standard language together with an abstract idea of unity based on past traditions and stimulated by modern needs."(Kratochvil 1968:20). Kratochvil (1968:20) further points out that "most educated Chinese eliminate possible communicational barriers only by relatively minor adjustments of their speech behavior" while at the same time considering Putonghua "as a symbol of national language unity or an important achievement of modern cultural movements rather than a practical language norm" (Kratochvil 1968:20).

What in fact has been happening in China since the strong impact of Putonghua began in 1949 and what will continue to happen more and more is the borrowing and even merging of local dialects with PTH. The result, even predicted result by Chinese language planners, will not be a total homogeneous group of "perfect" PTH speakers. The result, the goal, in fact, is to attain a level of acceptable mutual comprehensibility among all the peoples of China.

This is not to say, however, that this is in the foreseeable future. And furthermore, it would not be until after this stage has been secured that pinyin would be strongly implemented and seriously considered to replace the Chinese characters. This is in evidence of what Forrest points out in the following:

> Languages, and especially spoken languages, are born and not made, but have often been artificially guided and controlled in their evolution, and it is not impossible that from these beginnings there may arise a unified spoken language, and a dignified literary language for the whole of China. The complete supersession of the local forms of Chinese, however, is probably still far in the future and its achievement depends on a long period of peaceful and centralised government.
>
> (1973:261)

On the supposition that pinyin does, however, take over for the characters, what would happen to the vast amount of literature and documents of the past (in the old literary style)? Kuo Mo-jo (Serruys 1962:67) addressed this issue as follows:

> In future times, there can always be a number of scholars who will earnestly do research in the Chinese characters, who will know them, just as there are nowadays with us scholars who painstakingly investigate the bone and bronze scripts.

Barring pinyin as the only scriptic solution to the Chinese language, Chao made the following speculation:

> If vested interest could be discounted in favour of end efficiency, my guess for an ideal system of visual and auditory symbols for general purposes of speech and thought will involve neither the extreme paucity in elementary units nor the extreme luxury of thousands of them, but probably about 200 monosyllabic symbols, such that a string 'seven plus or minus two' of them can be easily grasped in one span of attention.
>
> (1968:226)

My own speculation is that there would be much less trouble with the characters if they were spaced word for word instead of character for character.

With standardization of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation and the tremendous improvements in education since 1949, the road is being paved for linguistic unity in China. Pinyin, although linguistically possible, may or may not replace the Chinese characters for extra-linguistic reasons. With more success stories like Loh's team's computer, no definite prediction can be made for the script to represent Putonghua in the future.

In closing, a word about the minority nationality languages, the input the minorities themselves have on what affects their languages has increased considerably since 1949. For example, the enforced romanized Uygur script was rejected by the Uygur people so, officially, it was changed back to their original Arabic script. In general, research, policies, and practice are becoming much more realistic now throughout the People's Republic of China.

I totally agree with Kratochvil (1968:170), all in all:

> China is a fascinating living experiment in language and its function in modern society; the experience which may be gained by observing the development of MSC[1] can be of considerable importance for our understanding of language in general.

---

1 MSC is Kratochvil's abbreviation for Modern Standard Chinese; in other words, it is Putonghua, PTH.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of meanings and pronunciations (Mandarin: PTH) of the characters used as examples of the simplification process in Chapter II on pages 37 to 41.

Characters from left to right:

1. bàn, 'to do', 'to take'
   tóu, 'head'
   huān, 'happy'

2. wéi, a family name
   xīng, 'thrive'
   shí, 'time'

3. gè, a measure word
   ěr, 'you', 'your' (in Classical Chinese: wényán)
   zhòng, 'numerous', 'many' (for people only)

4. chǔ, 'get along with'; chù, 'place', 'spot'
   yún, 'clouds'
   diàn, 'electricity'

5. lǐ, 'inside', 'inner', a Chinese mile
   zhǐ, 'only'

6. yǒng, 'to recite a poem', 'sing'
   nián, 'sticky'
   fǎng, 'to imitate', 'to copy'

7. shuāng, 'double', 'both', a measure word
   yáng, 'sun'

8. fén, 'grave' (noun)
   dān, 'to carry on a pole'; dàn, 'a load to be carried'

9. dūn, 'ton', a measure word
   chèn, 'to serve for contrast or as a background'

10. dōng, 'a sound of a drum or like a drum'
    xiàng, 'toward'

11. chóng, 'insect'
    niè, a family name

12.
    a. xí, 'review'
       chǎn, 'to produce', 'product'
       yī, 'medical science'

    b. háo, 'howl', 'wail' (for people only); hào, 'number'
       shā, 'to kill'

    c. tiáo, 'strip', 'bar', a measure word

    d. cóng, 'from'

    e. yún, 'clouds'
       diàn, 'electricity'

    f. xún, 'to find', 'to look for'
       duó, 'to rob'

    g. guān, 'to close', 'to shut'
       chǎng, 'factory'

13. liáo, 'to treat' (in the medical sense)

Characters from top to bottom:

14. huān, 'happy'
    xì, 'a play', 'theatre'
    hái, 'still', 'yet'; huán, 'to return'
    huài, 'bad'
    luàn, 'disorder'
    xīng, 'thrive'
    yìng, yīng, 'answer', 'promise'; yīng, 'should'

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CR: China Reconstructs, Beijing, PRC.
CCED: A Current Chinese-English Dictionary, Hong Kong: Cosmos 1978.
GMRB: Guangming Ribao, Beijing, PRC. as in Seybolt et al. 1979.
IHT: International Herald Tribune, Hong Kong.
LAQC: Les Amitiés Québec-Chine, publication of this organization.
NG: National Geographic, Washington, DC.
NS: New Scientist, London (weekly).
WC: Women of China, Beijing, PRC.
ZGYW: Zhongguo Yuwen, Beijing, PRC. as in Seybolt et al. 1979.

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