Englishization and language change in modern Chinese in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT: This paper is a study of the impact of English on modern Chinese morphology and syntax in Taiwan. This process, termed 'Englishization' (Kachru, 1989), was initiated by the translation of Western literary works, mainly from English, into written Chinese. First, the historical background of this process in modern Chinese will be briefly addressed. Second, the morphological and syntactic features of Chinese that have been influenced by English, and the mechanism by which these features have been brought about, will be discussed.

This study has two purposes: to describe the Englishized features based primarily on previous observations of other scholars, and to present new observations of the recent developments in this process. The evidence comes from limited empirical data collected from newspapers, magazines, and creative literary texts.

This research has confirmed that translation is an initiator of syntactic change and provides the mechanism through which such a process takes place. The results of the study indicate that the Englishization of modern Chinese, initiated by translation, has developed further with time and has become an inevitable trend.

INTRODUCTION[1]

In this paper, I will discuss the impact of English on modern written Chinese, or what has been termed 'Englishization' (Kachru, 1989), at the level of syntax and morphology in Taiwan.

Since the beginning of the process of Englishization, Chinese scholars have been observing the syntactic change initiated by the translation of English literary works into Chinese. In terms of the domain and coverage of the Englishized syntactic features, Wang's analysis (1945) is by far the most comprehensive and systematic, surpassing all the other studies in this area. His work, however, was completed almost fifty years ago.

Methodologically and linguistically speaking, only three empirical studies have been conducted so far (Tsao, 1978; Chuo, 1979; Kubler, 1985). However, their methodologies remain to be refined and their scope and domain need to be expanded.

There are also works that are not based on linguistic frameworks but are merely fragmentary and anecdotal (e.g., Yu, 1979, 1981; Huang, 1984), and some of them are judgmental (Wei, 1953; Huang, 1963). The scope and domain of these studies is largely limited.

Since Englishization of modern Chinese syntax is an on-going process, and the phenomenon of Englishization has expanded further with time, an empirical study is needed to reassess the influence of English on Chinese in Taiwan at the presdent time. This study is designed not only to describe the Englishized features, but also to update the literature on the recent developments in this process.

In the discussion of the process of Englishization, a word of caution is in order: the three terms Englishization, Europeanization, and Westernization will be used interchangeably to denote the same process of influence of Western languages, mainly English, on Chinese.

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The translation of Western or European works into Chinese started near the end of the sixteenth century (Tsien, 1954: 305). However, it was not until after the 1919 May-Fourth Modernization Movement that English became the major source language of most Chinese translations of literary works (Ma, 1963). Therefore, most Chinese scholars, for example, Wang (1945), Kubler (1985), and Li (1980) refer to the process as Europeanization. It is hoped that the interchangeable use of these three terms will not cause any confusion in the discussion.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the turn of the twentieth century, a great need for modernization was perceived by a small number of Chinese elites as a means of saving China from exploitation and division by Western imperial colonizers (Cheng, 1983). These elites used the translation of a large number of Western works, chiefly from English into Chinese, as a tool to introduce Western concepts, ideas, and thoughts to Chinese people. *Baihua*, the modern Chinese vernacular oral form, was proposed to serve as the written medium, instead of *wenyan*, the classical literary written form, which had been the medium for two millennia.

During the process of translation, some translators 'often simply carried over the constructions of the language they were translating from verbatim into Chinese' (Kubler, 1985: 26). There are two possible reasons for this: either a conscious, deliberate effort to bring the foreign language grammar into Chinese, or simply laziness. For those translators desiring to incorporate Western grammar into Chinese, Western languages were regarded as more precise and logical than Chinese. They insisted that, 'in order to be faithful to the original, we must remodel the Chinese language in exact accordance with the rhetorical taste and grammatical order of a Western language' (Tsung, 1928: 371). Hence, some of the stylistic and structural features of the original were imitated through translation of Western works into the vernacular (Ma, 1963: 53).

Some translators, on the other hand, could not find, at that time, the Chinese equivalents for many of the English constructions. The easiest way to translate is word for word; thus, they simply did the translation on a verbatim basis (Kubler, 1985: 26). As a result, a great number of Westernized Chinese translations appeared.

One more factor contributes to the Englishization of Chinese syntax. The new written medium for translation, *baihua* at that time, was 'very fluid and not yet standardized' (Kubler, 1985: 24), and there was uncertainty as to how it was to be written. Hence, 'it was especially receptive to outside influences of all kinds' (Kubler, 1985: 24). In addition, 'in this period new features in Chinese grammatical constructions were experimented with and developed' (Li, 1962: 1).

As a consequence of all these factors, although grammar has generally been admitted to be the most conservative part of a language, European grammars, and particularly English grammar, have become assimilated into modern Chinese grammar. Syntactic change has thereby occurred in the modern vernacular written form, *baihua*, initiated by translation.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON MODERN CHINESE SYNTAX AND MORPHOLOGY

As stated at the beginning of this paper, this study will update and analyse the recent trends in the Englishization of Chinese grammar. In the following sections, I shall discuss

the types of data used in the study, the methodology for analysis, and the results of the analysis.

In the discussion of Englishized Chinese syntactic and morphological features, Wang's (1945)[2] and Kubler's (1985) research will be heavily cited. Wang has completed by far the most comprehensive analysis of Englishized syntactic features. Kubler has conducted a similar study, though it is smaller in domain and limited to only one novel. Updated information on developments since Wang's time will be presented, based largely on the empirical data collected by the writer.

CORPUS OF DATA

The corpus of data includes: full coverage of two days' issues of the newspaper *Central Daily News* (*CDN*), on October 11, 1989 and January 16, 1990, and a thirty-minute coverage of radio news from Broadcasting Corporation of China on December 7, 1990; miscellaneous portions of issues of *CDN*,[3] some articles from magazines,[4] and writings of prose by contemporary Chinese writers in Taiwan.[5] The data was collected between 1989 and 1993.

DATA ANALYSIS

All the Englishized syntactic features occurring in the texts examined were recorded and categorized. Wang's observations, along with those of others (e.g., Tsao, 1978; Kubler, 1985; Yu, 1987) were taken as a starting point for comparison. Any deviations from the observations of the above scholars were recorded as new developments. A frequency count of the major syntactic patterns was made, to indicate the development of the most common and uncommon patterns.

ENGLISHIZED FEATURES

Generally speaking, all the Englishized morphological and syntactic devices observed by Wang in 1945 are now found to be in widespread use. The major features are presented in the following sections.

MORPHOLOGY

1. *Pluralization suffix* -men

The traditional use of the pluralization suffix *-men*, observed by Wang (1945), was originally limited to the personal pronouns, e.g., *women* 'we' and *tamen* 'they,' and nouns of human relations, e.g., *xiongdimen* 'brothers' and *jiemeimen* 'sisters.' As regards the plurality of other nouns, it is usually 'either left unmarked or else indicated by combinations of numbers and measures or by context' such as *san ge erzi* 'three sons' (Kubler, 1985: 49).

Since Englishization, Chinese people have begun to extend the use of the pluralizer *-men* to nouns denoting persons, e.g., *zuojiamen* 'writers,' *xuezhemen* 'scholars,' *nongfumen* 'peasants,' and *pongyoumen* 'friends.' Wang remarks that in his time, such usage was not common. Words like *haorenmen* 'good people' and *weiyuanmen* 'committee members' were hardly heard. Nowadays, however, as the data in this study indicates, such extension of

the pluralizing suffix to nouns denoting humans is very common in newspapers. It is even extended to nonhuman nouns such as *dongwumen* 'animals,' *gomen* 'dogs,' (*CDN*, June 28, 1993, p. 3), and *maomen* 'cats' (*CDN*, April 7, 1992, p. 3), though such usage is still rare.

As previously mentioned by Kubler, in Chinese the plurality of nouns is either unmarked or marked by preceding numbers. Therefore, the pluralization marker *men* is not needed. Such a language constraint, however, is violated in the October 25, 1991 edition of *Central Daily News*, where a usage such as *tade si ge erzimen* 'his four sons' (word-for-word translation in the original Chinese order) appeared. This usage may be an accidental one. However, it does indicate the possibility of the impact of English grammar on the initiator of this usage.

Up to now, as shown by the data, Englishization has not gone as far as to extend the suffix *-men* to inanimate nouns. This may well be due to the resistance from the native linguistic constraint. But one cannot exclude the possibility that this extension may happen some day, as long as this trend of Englishization continues.

2. *Adverbial suffix* -de

In Chinese, an adjective can be changed into an adverb by adding the adverbial suffix *-de*, e.g., *man* 'slow' + *-de* = *mande* 'slowly.' However, it is not the case that all adverbs are marked with the marker *-de*. Yet now the Chinese tend to believe that, since English grammar requires the presence of the suffix *-ly* in de-adjectival adverbs, Chinese adverbs should also be marked with the suffix *-de*. Therefore, *-de* is even attached to words that are already adverbs. For example, *huran* 'suddenly,' *tongshi* 'simultaneously,' and *shouxian* 'first' are already adverbs, and thus do not need the marking of any suffix. Adding the suffix *-de* to these adverbs results in new forms such as *hurande* *'suddenlyly' and *tongshide* *'simultaneouslyly' (Kubler, 1985).

According to Kubler (1985: 60), 'the tendency in modern Chinese, both written and spoken, automatically to use a redundant suffix *-de* with all adverbs reflects no doubt a conscious desire on the part of Chinese to distinguish the word classes of their language by means of formal grammatical elements.' Kratochvil also notes that present trends in Chinese grammar seem to indicate that 'the balance has begun to shift in favour of a much greater redundancy in the occurrence of the non-contextual devices' (1968: 142, quoted in Kubler, 1985: 60).

As a result, the recent trend in the use of *-de* is that 'one can now freely and very extensively change all words into adverbs' (Beijing Shifan Xueyuan, 1959: 147, quoted in Kubler, 1985: 61). The fifty-one examples found in the data seem to support this observation. Adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and even verbs could be marked with *-de* to function as adverbs. Take the following instance from *CDN*, for example.

hua   se   jing   ye   bu   tui
flower color should also not fade

<u>jianchi de</u>   zhanfangzhe guyoude seze
persist adverbial suffix bloom   original color

But the flower did not fade away at all and it persistently bloomed in its original color.
(October 11, 1989, p. 5)

The word *jianchi* in the above sentence is a verb. After being suffixed with *-de*, a new adverb *jianchide* has been coined, which has no equivalent in English. Such extension in the

use of the adverbial suffix -de may be viewed as hypercorrection and a native device, no longer determined by its original English model.

3. *Other prefixes and suffixes*

Below are other native devices that have resulted from the influence of English affixes: *fei-* 'non-'; *fan-* 'anti-'; *fu-* 'vice-'; *hou-*, *-hou* 'post-'; *-zhe* '-er, -or'; *-jia* '-ist'; *-zhuyi* '-ism'; *-xing* '-tion', -ty, -ness'; *-hua* '-ize, -ify'; *-du* '-th.'

The first four morphemes function like prefixes.[6] Words are directly suffixed to them to yield the meaning, e.g., *feichengyuan* 'nonmember,' *fanshehui* 'anti-social,' *fuxiaozhang* 'vice-chancellor,' and *houxiandai* 'postmodern.'

The rest of the morphemes function as suffixes. Among these morphemes, the following are found to be in the widest currency, according to the data.

a. *-hua*: -Hua, 'which denotes change of state or action' (Kubler, 1985: 73), corresponds to the English suffixes *-ize* and *-ify*, e.g., *guojihua* 'internationalize' and *shehuihua* 'social-ize.' Ever since this innovation was introduced into Chinese through translation, its use has been expanded in such a manner that it is no longer determined by the original English model. Sixty-three instances are found of such usage in this study. Words such as *shiyonghua* 'to make practical,' *renxinghua* 'to make humanly,' *dixiahua* 'to make under-ground,' and *ruanhua* 'to make soft,' are all native innovations that do not correspond to any English words.

b. *-xing*: This suffix is used 'either to form attributives indicating quality or capacity, or to form abstract nouns meaning state, condition, or quality, somewhat like the English mor-phemes *-tion*, *-ity*, and *-ness*' (Kubler, 1985: 73). Tsao observes that this suffix has been in such extensive use that 'it is safe to say whenever we see the suffix attached to a stem, the new combination is a noun' (1978: 44). In the data, forty-eight words were found to be formed with this suffix, some of which do not have corresponding English words, such as *yishuxing* 'the quality of being artistic,' *kongzhixing* 'the quality of being controlled,' *pipanxing* 'the quality of being judgmental.' It seems that any lexical item, be it a verb, a noun, or an adjective, could serve as the stem for this suffix to form a new noun.

In summary, as demonstrated by the above examples, though the innovative use of the suf-fixes may be a result of the influence of English, they have gained their native currency by being expanded beyond the original scope of English use. Wang (1945) notes that with these new suffixes in the language, Chinese people could create new words without having to trace them back to the original English model. In this respect, Chinese morphology is enriched by the inventory of these suffixes. Most significantly, as remarked by Kubler, 'at least partially due to the influence of the European languages, modern Chinese is gaining a morphology which it did not previously possess in a systematic way' (1985: 142). This study indicates that, based on such a systematic way of gaining a morphology, contemporary Chinese people tend to create as many new words as possible, without resistance from native language constraint.

SYNTAX

1. *Increasing use of subjects*

According to Li and Thompson (1981), Chinese is a topic-prominent language whereas English is subject-prominent. For an English sentence to be complete, it must have a subject

and a predicate. The subject typically occurs before the verb and the verb agrees with it in number. In contrast, in Chinese, it is the topic and not the subject that determines a complete sentence. The topic is what the sentence is about. It 'sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds' (Li and Thompson, 1981: 15). It is an essential element in the discourse. By discourse we mean 'the context in which a given sentence occurs, whether it is a conversation, a paragraph, a story, or some other kind of language situation' (Li and Thompson, 1981: 100). In a piece of discourse, as soon as the subject can be interpreted from the context, it is omitted. Generally speaking, it is quite common for a piece of Chinese discourse consisting of twenty sentences to have only one subject at the very beginning of the first sentence, as long as this piece of discourse has a certain topic referring to the same person or to the same thing throughout the discourse.

Due to the influence of English, some Chinese have started to perceive the need to insert a subject in every sentence, so that the sentence can be considered grammatical. Owing to such a belief and practice, the use of subjects has increased considerably. In the data, there are seventy-eight instances of redundancy via the use of subjects. Below is an example where the subject *tamen*, 'they,' marked in parenthesis, is redundant.

sanshiduowei   guonei   chubanyezhe bari qingchen
more than thirty domestic publishers   eight morning

dida   falankefu, (tamen) canjia   shiyiri
arrive in Frankfurt they   participated in eleventh

dao shiliuri   juxingde disishiyijie falankefu
to   sixteenth held   forty-first Frankfurt

shuzhan
book exhibition.

More than thirty domestic publishers arrived in Frankfurt on the morning of the eighth to participate in the forty-first book exhibition held in Frankfurt from the eleventh to the sixteenth.
(*CDN*, October 11, 1989, p. 3)

Since Chinese people tend to use subjects more commonly in sentences nowadays, Kubler comments that 'because of European language influence, modern Chinese seems to be moving slowly from a topic–comment-type sentence structure to a subject–predicate one like that of Western languages' (1985: 142–143). The written data of formal reporting found in newspapers in this study seems to confirm such a tendency.

2. *Increased use of the copula verb* 'shi' (*to be*)

Wang (1945: 97–98) notes that in Chinese, a descriptive sentence[7] takes adjectives as predicates and does not require the presence of any verb before the adjectives in the predicate, for instance:

zhe duo   hua   hen *piaoliang*
this classifier flower very beautiful

This flower is very *beautiful*.

An assertive sentence[8] takes noun phrases as predicates and the verb *shi* is used, for example:

ta <u>shi</u> *hao   ren*
he is   good man
He is a *good man.*

However, due to the influence of English grammar, which requires the copula verb *to be* to precede predicate adjectives, Chinese people have started to use *shi*, the equivalent of *to be*, used before the noun phrases in the assertive sentences, to precede the adjectives in the descriptive sentences. In such cases, the word *de* also follows the adjectives. Such a construction of *shi ... de* was used only occasionally in traditional Chinese. Kubler remarks that 'it has now, as Wei (1953: 44–5) points out, become much more frequent than before' (1985: 134). Such usage of *shi . . . de* is in wide currency in Taiwan nowadays.

What is worth noting is the development of another way of using *shi* with adjectives, which is to delete *de* after the adjectives. Such usage is completely Englishized, with the verb *shi* functioning as a one-to-one corresponding word for the English copula verb *be*. Wang states that, compared with the *shi . . . de* construction, this usage 'further contradicts the vernacular usage' (1945: 276).[9] It is the observation of the author that this feature is employed frequently in the news reports of TTV (Taiwan TV Station).[10] In this study, though, this usage is still rare. Take one instance from the data, for example:

zhengde <u>shi</u> huopo waixiang
Zhengde is   lively   outgoing

Zhengde is lively and outgoing.
(*CDN*, January 16, 1990, p. 6)

According to Wang, by using *shi* before adjectives, the Europeanized grammar tends to convert a descriptive sentence into an assertive sentence.[11] He makes a quite disapproving comment (1945: 278):

> Such usage is to remove one of the three types of sentences in Chinese, namely, the descriptive sentence, and it does not in the least cope with the Chinese language convention . . . The increase of subject is merely to make the sentences redundant without violating the Chinese grammar; the increase of use of verb *shi* (preceding the adjectives) is to overthrow the (Chinese) language habit that has existed for thousands of years.

In spite of Wang's disapproval, the *shi . . . de* construction, which was used occasionally before, has now gained popularity in Taiwan. In addition, this study indicates that there seems to be a new development on the completely Englishized usage of *shi*.

3. *Lengthening of sentences: modifying clauses with head nouns*

In traditional Chinese, a head noun is always preceded by its modifier. When a head noun is modified by an adjective which is too long and too complicated, the whole sentence is divided into several short and syntactically simple ones.

Nonetheless, due to the necessity of incorporating English relative clauses into Chinese grammatical structure in translation, people have lately adopted a procedure: the head noun is preceded and modified by the modifying clause, which is marked with the subordinating particle *de*. Take the following sentence from *CDN*, for example

(1) xian nian sishier   sui,   (2) biye   yu   zhengzhan
now aged forty-two years,   graduated from Politics-War

xuexiao, (3) xianhou ceng duoci huode shuicaihua
Academy   has   numerous won   watercolor painting

shoujiang de   Lin Shun Xiong, duiyu
first prize subordinating marker Lin Shun Xiong toward

dongwu de   miaohui yixiang you qi dute
animal adjectival marker sketch always has his unique

de   shoufa
adjectival marker way

Lin Shun Xiong, who is now forty-two years old, graduated from the Politics-War
Academy, and has won numerous first prizes in watercolour painting contests, has his
unique way of sketching animals.
  (*CDN*, January 16, 1990, p. 3)

In the above sentence, the head noun *Lin Shun Xiong* is modified by the modifying clause,
consisting of three subclauses marked by underlined numbers. In contrast, the traditional
way of stating this is as follows.[12]

Lin Shun Xiong, (1) xian nian sishier   sui,   (2) biye
Lin Shun Xiong,   now aged forty-two years   graduated

yu   zhengzhan xuexiao, (3) xianhou, ceng duoci   huode
from Politics-War Academy   has numerous won

shuicaihua   shoujiang, (4) duiyu dongwu de
watercolor painting first prize   toward animal

miaohui yixiang you qi dute   de   shoufa
sketch   always has his unique adjectival marker way

Lin Shun Xiong is forty-two years old now. (Subject deleted) graduated from the Politics-
War Academy. (Subject deleted) has won numerous first prizes in watercolor painting
contests. (Subject deleted) has his unique way of sketching animals.

The Englishized long sentence is broken up into four syntactically simple and short
sentences.
  Wang notes that the construction of long modifying clauses is 'a new style resulting from
the influence of Western languages and it is not identical to the original form in terms of the
grammatical structure' (1945: 281). This conclusion is based on the following linguistic
facts. In English, the head noun can always be modified and followed by the relative clauses,
and thus it is easy to produce very long sentences. In Chinese, the subordinate clause
precedes its headnoun and since there is no category of relative pronoun or relative adverb-
ial, it is very difficult to produce long sentences. In order to accommodate the English
relative clause into Chinese structure, the translators make the following changes when
translating: 1) move the head noun from before the relative clause to after it, 2) delete the
relative pronoun or relative adverbial, and 3) use the subordinating marker *de* to precede
and modify the head noun. The diagram below demonstrates these changes.

English: N (head noun) + relative pronoun + X
relative adverbial
Chinese: X + de (subordinating particle) + N (head noun)

As shown above, such a device is not identical to the original structure but is a new style brought about by the English influence. Ma (1963: 53) describes such constructions as 'so long and complicated that it is hard to grasp their full meaning.'

Quite interestingly, the findings of this study indicate that this long-winded and intangible construction has gained such popularity with journalists that it is employed extensively in newspapers and, to a much lesser degree, in magazines. This feature occurs with the highest frequency (i.e., ninety-nine occurrences) among all the structures found in the data. Only four were found in radio news reports. Compared with Wang's findings, the length of the structure tends to be longer. Generally speaking, the average length is one to two subclauses used in one modifying clause. Yet, as demonstrated in the above example, there are also several instances of long clauses consisting of three or even four subclauses. Such usage, termed by Wang 'mostly a fashion for the time being' (1945: 283) (forty-eight years ago), has been developed into a common usage in today's newspapers and magazines.

4. *Variety of third person and impersonal singular and plural pronouns*

In traditional Chinese, no gender difference is made between the third person singular pronouns. All these forms are represented by *ta* 他 (with the radical 亻 meaning *human* and 也 meaning *also*). Since 1917, however, due to the influence of European grammar[13] (Wang, 1945: 316), people not only make a gender differentiation by using different written forms of *ta* 他 for the masculine pronoun and *ta* 她 (with the radical 女 meaning *female*) for feminine, but also copy the neuter *it* from English and use the written form *ta* 它 (with the radical 宀 meaning *roof* and ヒ meaning *knife*) to refer to something inanimate or abstract.

Furthermore, two new words are created to make differences not even seen in English. One is *ta* 牠 (with the radical 牛 meaning *ox*), which originally referred to objects, now referring to animals. Wang observes (1945: 316) that *ta* 牠 was originally created to represent neuter. Nevertheless, on the one hand, *ta* 它 is a word already present in Chinese; on the other hand, the meaning of the radical 牛 in *ta* 牠, which refers to *wu* 'objects,' was hardly understood by the general public. *Ta* 它 won out over *ta* 牠 in becoming the neuter pronoun. As noted by Kubler (1985: 76), the current general practice of using neuter *ta* is that '它 is used for inanimate objects and 牠 for animate ones.'

The presence of the other *ta* 祂 is pointed out by Huang (1963: 3). It refers to God, as created by missionaries when translating the Bible into Chinese. The radical of this new pronoun 示 is believed by the author to have been copied from those of the characters *shen* 神 (deities and gods), *zhi* 祉 (deities and gods), and *qi* 祈 (pray), where the radical 示 means 'revealing and expressing,' used to denote the aspects pertaining to gods and deities.

In this respect, Englishized Chinese grammar has even come one step ahead of English. Hock (1990) says that these patterns of pronouns have become nativized and have taken on a life of their own, and are no longer determined by English. One must, however, note that all these five pronouns are pronounced the same, and with the same tone. A distinction between the forms is made in the written language and not in the spoken form.

As regards the current usage of these pronouns found in the data, *ta* 她 is not only used to refer to a female person, but also, as in English, to a ship, a country, an airplane, a train, a

newspaper, or a school, a practice which was barely seen in Wang's time. The use of *ta* 牠 to refer to an animal was not mentioned by Wang at all. The four occurrences of this usage found in the newspaper indicate that this is a new development. *Ta* 祂, referring to God, was also not observed by Wang. It occurs mostly in the Chinese version of the Bible. It is found in two recent editions of a magazine (*Sinorama*, February 1991, p. 62, and September 1991, p. 52) where it is even used to refer to Buddha in Buddhism and the Jade Emperor – China's Lord of Heaven in Taoism. This finding seems to suggest that the use of this pronoun has been extended from the Christian god to gods in general.

Among these pronouns, the use of impersonal *ta* 它 is the most controversial one. Both Wang (1945) and Zhang (1966) argue that, based on traditional vernacular Chinese, this word is not needed, especially when it refers to an inanimate object. According to the traditional rule, if an inanimate thing occurs in the subject position, and is referred to again in the text, the same noun phrase is repeated. Take, for example, the following text from Wang's book.

dangchu tian jia   you <u>huashu</u> yi   ke,
originally Tian family have birch   one classifier

dixiong san ge   yin   fen   le jia,
brothers three classifier because divine family

<u>na huashu</u>   bian ku le;
that birch tree start wither

houlai gandong le ta xiongdi   men,
later   move   they brothers plural marker

renjiu gui   zai yi   chu,
still   come back in   one place

<u>na huashu</u>   ye jiu   rong le.
that birch tree also start thrive

Originally the Tian family had *a birch tree*. Because the three Tian brothers divided the family's property, *the birch tree* started to wither. Later, the three brothers were so moved by such an act that they decided to put the property back together. *The birch tree* thrived again.

As seen above, the noun phrase *na huashu* 'that birch tree' is repeated twice when it is in the subject position of the sentence.

The influence coming from English grammar has now changed Chinese language habits in the usage of *ta* 它. English grammar dictates that, when an inanimate noun phrase is referred to again, it is replaced by the neuter pronoun *it*. Due to such an influence, Chinese people have become self-conscious about using *ta* 它 in the subject position, and tend to avoid the repetition of the same noun phrase. As a consequence, in the data, we find extensive usage of *ta* functioning exactly like its English counterpart *it* in the subject position, used to refer to the virtue of modesty, the city of Peking, a newspaper, the beauty of European scenery, a baby, the water in a river, and so on.

In the case of an inanimate thing being referred to again in the object position, it is usually omitted in traditional vernacular Chinese. Nevertheless, since English grammar always requires an object to follow a transitive verb, nine cases of using *ta* 它 in the object position,

as in English practice, were found in magazines and creative literary texts, whose usage, as commented on by Wang, is 'affecting the structure of the Chinese sentence' (1945: 322). Consider the following example from creative literary writing.

zai   chang de ren dou shuo, zhe shi Guangdong laide
over there people all   say   this is Guangdong come

yuebing,   zhishi kanzhe bu gan chi ta
moon cake only   looking not dare eat *it*

People over there just looked at the moon cake, exclaiming 'this is from Canton,' without daring to eat it.
   (Yen, 1986: 32)

The underlined *ta* in the object position referring to the inanimate object 'moon cake' in the above sentence is not used in traditional vernacular Chinese. Though the use of *ta* in an object position is infrequent in traditional Chinese, the increase in the frequency of this usage found in this study suggests that the influence of English has accelerated this process.

With the plural form of the pronouns, traditionally, all third person and impersonal plural pronouns are represented by *tamen* 他们. Nowadays, in modern Chinese, there are three other variations coming into shape in the written form. *Tamen* 她们 is used to refer to all third person female pronouns. *Tamen* 它们 refers to the plural form of inanimate objects. *Tamen* 牠们 refers to the plural form of animate objects.

On this phenomenon, Wang (1945: 318) suggests that the difference in the plural forms of modern Chinese pronouns does not result from the imitation of English grammar, since English does not make a gender differentiation in the third person and impersonal plural pronouns. Such a device is a nativized one. While translators are coining the new usage, since there is no restriction from any realistic language constraint, there is ample room for making any kind of distinction. This case may again be one of hypercorrection.

Among these plural pronouns, the neuter *tamen* 它们 receives a great deal of disapproval from grammarians. Cited by Chao, 'the word *ta* 它 has no plural form, so we cannot use *tamen* 它们 to represent things in the plural number' (Chinese Language Special Class, 1963: 135, quoted in Kubler, 1985: 82). Chan also comments disprovingly, '*tamen* is not to be used for the neuter *they* or *them* in any position' (1959: 4, quoted in Kubler, 1985: 82).

As indicated by the data, probably due to the resistance from native Chinese constraints, there are only three instances found of such a usage, which is a relatively small number compared with those of other features found in this study.

5. *Extended use of the passive construction of* 'bei'

The syntactic marker *bei* deriving 'originally from a full verb meaning "be inflicted upon"' (Tsao, 1978: 47) has long been discussed by a great number of scholars, such as Wang (1945), Wei (1953), Huang (1963), Zhang (1966), Tsao (1978), Yu (1987), and others. Their discussions are, however, mostly limited to the extension of *bei* from the traditional 'unhappy and unhoped-for state' to a 'state of happiness or something hoped for.' As a matter of fact, there are some developments formed in the past few years which have not yet been thoroughly discussed in the literature.

According to the findings in this research, in recent years, developments in the use of the passive construction can be characterized in three ways: 1) an increase in the usage of

passive constructions, 2) a violation against the traditional vernacular usage, and 3) the consistent use of the feature *bei* to denote the passive voice in almost all instances instead of alternative constructions.

With respect to the increase in passive constructions, Zhang (1966) notes that, compared with English people, Chinese people do not tend to use the passive voice as frequently, due to differences in ways of thinking. Where the situations for applying a passive construction remain the same, Chinese people tend to choose an active voice to express the meaning, while English speakers choose a passive one.

However, times have changed and so has the usage. Analysis of the data reveals that more and more passive constructions are used these days in newspapers, magazines, creative literary texts, and professional articles. What used to be expressed in an active voice is now replaced by a passive voice, a phenomenon also noted by Yu (1987). Take one instance from *CDN* as an example:

siwei yenyuan ershiqi ri   zaoshang <u>bei</u>
four actors   twenty-seventh morning passive voice marker

<u>tongzhi</u> yao   dao xinwenju   peiban
notify   have to go to Bureau of Information accompany

li   zongtong guanshang xiyen
Lee President view   *The Wedding Banquet*

[These] four actors were notified on the morning of the twenty-seventh to go to the Bureau of Information to accompany President Lee to view the movie *The Wedding Banquet*
    (*CDN*, March 29, 1993, p. 3)

The conventional usage is stated as follows.

siwei yenyuan ershiqi ri   zaoshang jiehuo tongzhi
four actors   twenty-seventh morning receive notice

yao   dao xinwenju   peiban
have to go to Bureau of Information accompany

li   zongtong guanshang xiyen
Lee President view   *The Wedding Banquet*

[These] four actors received the notice on the morning of the twenty-seventh to go to the Bureau of Information to accompany President Lee to view the movie *The Wedding Banquet*.

Such an Englishized usage of *bei* is considered 'very un-Chinese' by Wang Huan (1957, quoted by Kubler, 1985: 98). Nevertheless, a large number of instances of this type[14] can be found in news reports in newspapers, on TV, in creative literary texts, and, to a large extent, in technical articles in magazines addressing recent medical, nutritional, technological, and business developments.

With regard to the violations of vernacular usage, more and more cases are found which suggest that when there is a passive sense involved, the marker of the passive voice *bei* is applied to denote the passive sense regardless of the vernacular constraints. According to

Wei (1953), there are two contexts in which the passive marker *bei* needs to be omitted from the construction, even when a passive sense is involved. These are when:

a. The subject of the sentence is inanimate, e.g.,

wode shoubiao diu le
my watch lost perfect tense marker
My watch was lost.

b. There is no need to express the agent of the action, e.g.,

nimen dou gai da
you all should beat
You all should be beaten.

Yet, nine occurrences of *bei* denoting the passive sense, resulting in violation of the traditional constraints, are found in newspapers and even more so in technical articles, such as the following:

Entartete Kunst – zhongwen <u>bei</u>
Entartete Kunst Chinese passive voice marker

fanzuo 'tuifei yishu' daodi shi shemo yisi?
translate degenerate art exactly is what meaning

Entartete Kunst (German) is translated as 'degenerate art' in Chinese. What exactly does it mean?
(*Yishujia* [*Artist*], May 1992, Vol. 204, p. 231)

In the above example, the passive marker *bei* should be deleted because Entartete Kunst 'degenerate art' is an inanimate subject. However, due to the influence of English grammar which requires the presence of the passive construction of *be + PP* whenever a passive sense is involved, the Chinese equivalent form *bei + Verb* is also employed to denote the passive sense. The nine instances of this usage are all cases of such English influence.[15]

Concerning the prevalent use of the feature *bei*, noted by both Yu (1987) and Kubler (1985), while in traditional Chinese the passive voice can be expressed using constructions ranging from 'the colloquial *jiao*, *ai*, *rang*, and *gei* to the more literary *jian*, *yu*, and *wei . . . suo*, *bei* has taken precedence over all of these to become the passive par excellence of modern Chinese' (Kubler, 1985: 89). These two scholars suggest that it may be because the pronunciation of *bei* is close to that of *by* in English that *bei* has become the prevalent passive marker used in contemporary modern Chinese writing. The instances found in this study support such an observation.

In short, 'modern standard Chinese seems to be developing, under the influence of European languages, the category of verbal passive which had not existed in its grammatical system' (Kratochvil, 1968, quoted in Kubler, 1985: 96). In this research, the much more frequent occurrences of *bei* suggest that some day the Chinese passive construction may be used exactly in the same manner as the English construction. Also, the marker *bei* may become the only passive marker the Chinese know of for denoting any passive sense.

6. Dang (*when*) *as a conjunction*

In traditional vernacular Chinese, temporal clauses are usually very short, ending with phrases such as *de shihou* 'the time at which' or just *shi* 'time.' For example:

wo lai   <u>de shihou,</u>   kandao ta
I   came temporal clause saw   him
When I came, I saw him.

When the English conjunction *when* and the long temporal English clauses were intro-
duced into Chinese, the translators could barely find a good way to translate them, because
there was no parallel structure in Chinese. In addition, the temporal structures in English
and Chinese differ. Whereas the English conjunction *when* appears at the beginning of
temporal clauses, the traditional Chinese temporal expression *de shihou* only occurs at the
end of the clause to show the temporal order. If *de shihou* is employed in a long temporal
clause to mark the meaning of the temporal relationship in the text, the readers might not
realize that a temporal relationship was meant until they came to the very end of the clause
(Kubler, 1985: 119). Thus, to avoid lack of clarity in meaning, the translators use the word
dang, originally a verb meaning 'at the time when,' 'at the beginning of a clause, in the same
position as the English *when*, and combine it with the traditional expression to form the
new pattern *dang . . . (de) shi (hou)*, "when"' (Kubler, 1985: 119). For example:

<u>dang</u>   jizhe   xunji 'ruguo xinjiapo   yu
when   reporter ask   if   Singapore with

zhonggong   guanxi   zhengchanghua
People's Republic of China relation normalization

dui taiwan hui dailai shemo yingxiang <u>shi</u>
on Taiwan will bring what   effect   temporal phrase

liguangyao   biaoshi bu hui you
Prime Minister Kuan-Yew Lee said   not will have

shemo yingxiang
what   effect

When the reporter asked, 'what effect will it have on Taiwan if Singapore normalizes its
diplomatic relationship with the People's Republic of China?', Prime Minister Kuan-
Yew Lee said that it would have no effect on Taiwan.
    (*CDN*, January 16, 1990, p. 1)

Wang comments that this device is still a mixture of Chinese and English grammar. If this
temporal expression is to be totally Englishized, the Chinese phrase *de shihou* or *shi* should
be completely deleted so that *dang* can correspond one-to-one with *when*. Forty-eight
years have passed, and Wang's comment has become a reality, embodied in ten occurrences
of such usage found in the data. One is the translation of the title of the American Movie
When Sally Met Harry (*dang shali yudao hali*) where *shali* and *hali* are the transliterations
of *Sally* and *Harry*. What is surprising is that there is no expression of *de shihou* or *shi*
attached in the translation. In other words, this is a totally Englishized structure.
    The ten examples found in the data may indicate the beginning of total Englishization in
such temporal structure. Hock (1990) suggests that, from this perspective, the use of *dang*
. . . *(de) shi(hou)* may serve only as a transitional compromise before the stage of complete
Englishization is achieved.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ENGLISHIZATION OF CHINESE

This research on the Englishization of Chinese provides a case study of how language changes. Syntactic and morphological changes occur, initiated by translation of English literary works into Chinese. This study also provides an explanation for such a process and accounts for the mechnisms by which this process is brought about.[16] Since the Chinese case of language contact with English involves 'borrowing from a prestigious literary language' (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 66), this study presents a relationship of development between language change and language contact through written texts. Moreover, this study confirms the observation of 'translation as an initiator of syntactic change' (Kachru, 1989). It is hoped that research in other languages could be performed in this area, to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between various mechanisms of translation and the resulting language change due to translation.

CONCLUSION

In this study, the recent developments of ten morphological and syntactic Englishized features based on empirical research were presented, a finding not recorded by any other scholars. The written data indicates that most of the Englishized constructions are in wide use in journalistic register, professional jargon, and creative literary texts. These constructions include: long modifying clauses, increase of subjects, passive construction of *bei*, third impersonal singular pronoun *ta* as a subject, and the morphological suffixes *de*, *xing*, and *hua*. The completely Englishized features, such as the temporal conjunction *dang* and the use of only the copula verb *shi* before adjectives, are beginning to show as new developments. Another device that is manifesting itself as a latest development is the usage of *ta* 祂, extended from the Christian god to gods in general. The feature that has met the most resistance from the native language constraint is the usage of the third impersonal plural pronoun *tamen* 它 们.

The findings of this research suggest that the process of syntactic change in modern Chinese, initiated by the translation of Western literary works in the written form, has progressed further with time, although some Englishized features are still meeting with resistance from the native constraints. This confirms Tsao's observation. Tsao remarks (1978: 46–47):

> Due to the continuing influence of English, most of the . . . innovations originally designed to facilitate the translation of English text have been incorporated into contemporary Chinese grammar and a few . . . devices in existence before the introduction of English have been expanded considerably.

In addition, as most of the frequent occurrences of many Englishized features and the extension of use of some other devices, as shown in this research, suggest that contemporary Chinese people in journalism and literary creation have become more conscious of the usage of the grammatical features discussed above than they were in Wang's time. Such a development may be viewed as 'a conscious desire on the part of Chinese to distinguish the word' on the one hand and grammatical 'classes of their language by means of formal grammatical elements' (Kubler, 1985: 60) on the other. It also serves as a good piece of evidence, *indicating the strength of the impact of English on written Chinese and on*

Chinese people's grammatical ideas. It is believed that such a process of Englishization
Chinese will continue to become more of a trend.

NOTES

1. The author is grateful to Dr Chin-Chuan Cheng, Dr Braj B. Kachru, and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.
2. In Wang's work, more than thirty Europeanized constructions are presented, based on a corpus of creative literary works in the twenties and thirties. These constructions are compared and contrasted with traditional Chinese vernacular, examples of which are taken from *Dreams of the Red Chamber*, the paradigmatic classic literary work of standard vernacular, written in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Peking dialect, and which is safely assumed to be a language 'as yet unaffected by English' (Tsao, 1978).
    Wang also traces the first appearance of certain Europeanized usages. In addition, Wang points out the Chinese syntactic constructions which can never be Englishized according to the intrinsic structural differences between Chinese and English. On the whole, Wang's work provides the best source of knowledge on the impact of English on Chinese syntax.
3. Portions of the *CDN* were excerpted from the following issues – 1989: October 13; 1991: October 25 (p. 6); 1992: April 5 (p. 3), April 7 (p. 3), September 16 (p. 1), and September 30 (p. 2); 1993: March 29 (p. 3), and June 8 (p. 3).
4. Magazines that contain the data include *Guanghua* (*Sinorama*, Chinese–English Bilingual Monthly) [February 1991, 56–63, September 1991, 50–53, and July 1992, September 1992, 8–12], *Lianhewenxue* (*Unitas*, a Literary Monthly) [May 1989, 113–14, and May 1992, 127–9], *Yishujia* (*Artist*) [May 1992, 127–9], *Xinxinwen* (*The Journalist*, Weekly Magazine) [May 1992, 88–91], and *Nuxing* (*Mademoiselle*) [April 1992, 46–48, 70, and June 1992, 60]. Issues addressed by the selected articles include: a current social zeal to pursue Zen Buddhism in Taiwan, the discussion of degenerate art in Germany in the thirties, racial problems in the USA, dietary information for middle-aged women, and so on.
5. Portions of prose were taken from *Wushi Huishou* (*Reflections of Fifty Years of Life*) by Yen, Yuan-Shu (1986: 31–54, 101–118), and *Shei Lai Kan Wo* (*Who Came To See Me*) by Ye, Qing-Bing (1978: 99–114, 165–176).
6. Among these morphemes, *hou* can be used as both a prefix and a suffix.
7. A descriptive sentence describes the quality of a person or that of an object (Wang, 1959: 90).
8. An assertive sentence asserts that the reference of the subject is the same as that of the predicate or that the object or the person referred by the subject has a certain quality or is of a certain kind (Wang, 1959: 97).
9. Wang's work was written in Chinese. All quotations from Wang are the author's translations.
10. The TTV news reports have the highest audience viewing rate among the three TV stations in Taiwan. The author believes that the audience is being influenced by this usage of the *shi* construction by watching the news.
11. Wang observes that in modern Chinese, almost all the descriptive sentences can be converted into assertive sentences by attaching *shi . . . de* (1959: 99). What is worth a special note is that descriptive sentences do not take copula verbs; all the sentences that take copula verbs are assertive sentences. They have to take the form *shi . . . de. Shi* cannot stand alone in such sentences (1945: 109). Wang provides the following examples and illustrations:

    zhe hua   shi   hong de
    this flower copula verb red
    This flower is red.

    The above sentence cannot be stated as:

    *zhe hua   shi   hong
    this flower copula verb red
    This flower is red.

    Though a descriptive sentence can be converted into an assertive sentence by attaching *shi . . . de*, they are not the same in terms of their meanings and forms. Take the following two sentences for instance:

    (1) wode shenzi shi   ganjing de
         my   body   copula verb clean
         My body is clean.

    (2) wode shenzi hen ganjing
         my   body   very clean
         My body is very clean.

    Sentence (1) judges the type of the body, i.e., this body is clean. it implicates a denial that the body is not clean.

Sentence (2) just describes the quality or state of the body, which is clean. There is no sense of contrast or denial involved.

Structurally speaking, in sentence (1), the noun phrase after *de* is deleted. The original sentence should be:

wode shenzi shi   ganjing de <u>shenzi</u>
my   body copula verb clean   body
My body is a clean one.

In sentence (2), there is no deletion involved in the descriptives.

Based on the above illustration a distinction should be made between the descriptive and the assertive sentences.

12. This is the author's writing and constitutes the conventional way of stating this type of sentence.
13. It is a result of Englishization alone rather than Europeanization that the three written forms 他, 她, and 它 are distinguished.
14. According to the data in this study, verbs that are used in this type include *wendao, xunji* 'ask'; *tongzhi* 'notify'; *zhaodai* 'treat'; and *yunxu* 'allow,' among others.
15. Verbs used in this type of data include *shiyong* 'employ'; *fengxichulai* 'extract'; *pohuai* 'destroy'; *xinlai* 'trust'; and *huaiyi* 'suspect,' among others.
16. For a general discussion of the relationship between translation and syntactic change, see Danchev (1984).

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